

# **Japan's Territorial Issues and the Historical Understandings of the Concerned Countries**

**-Case Studies on the Senkaku Islands, Takeshima and the Northern Territories-**

March 2014

## Preface

This report is a summary of the results of research activities conducted as one of the research projects of the Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIJA) during fiscal 2013.

International order based on the rule of law is essential to secure the safety and prosperity of Japan. However, the conditions surrounding Japanese territory are becoming increasingly severe. The Northern Territories and Takeshima Island are occupied by Russia and the Republic of Korea (ROK) respectively. While Japan and Russia agreed to resolve the Northern Territories issue based on “the principles of law and justice” in the Tokyo Declaration on Japan-Russia Relations signed in 1993, in the case of Takeshima Island the ROK does not recognize the very existence of the dispute, refuses legal resolution, and continues occupation. As for the Senkaku Islands, China has repeatedly made dangerous provocations threatening Japan’s legitimate and valid control, based on China’s own assertions with no grounds in international law.

This survey research addresses the cases of the Senkaku Islands (China and Taiwan), Takeshima (ROK), and the Northern Territories (USSR and Russia) as confrontations and issues concerning Japan’s territory, analyzes how the assertions and viewpoints of the concerned countries in these cases are related to the underlying historical understandings, and considers the implications for policies to preserve the integrity of Japanese territory.

This paper also gives an overview of Japan’s 70 years of post-war history with its diplomatic principle of “a peace-loving nation” and its diplomatic emphasis on Asia in explaining Japan’s position concerning its understanding of historical issues.

We sincerely hope these research findings will contribute to improving foreign policy research in Japan, bring territorial disputes back to calm discussions, and assist proper political responses toward peaceful resolution.

Finally, please note that this research report is entirely the responsibility of the Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIJA)’s task force on Japan’s territory and maritime issues, and is not an expression of the position or thoughts of the Japanese government, related organs, or the individual researchers.

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President Yoshiji Nogami  
The Japan Institute of International Affairs

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Location Map of the Senkaku Islands, Takeshima and the Northern Territories



(Source : Japan Coast Guard website)

## **Introduction**

The three cases (the Senkaku Islands, Takeshima, and the Northern Territories) addressed in this report are issues concerning Japanese territory, each with different historical developments. These disputes regarding jurisdiction over the islands have all remained to this day unresolved in a manner that is acceptable to all the countries concerned.

Seeking the underlying causes for this is not the purpose of this report. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that these territorial issues are being presented as an aspect of the “historical understanding” issue, which has become a factor in delaying any possible resolution. How each country forms its historical understanding and historical viewpoint is a different question. However, even if the governments of Japan and neighboring countries have resolved the issues concerning the settlement of Japan’s past wars and colonial rule, given the background of deep distrust rooted in citizens’ memory and experience and the political use of them, Japan’s neighbors are still developing their own historical interpretations unrelated to resolutions based on international law or the post-war international arrangements.

In particular, the assertions made by China and South Korea regarding the Senkaku Islands and Takeshima place the territorial issues in the simple structure of Japan as the “invader” with South Korea and China as the “victims,” which undermines Japanese-Chinese and Japanese-South Korean relations while stirring up public opinion. As a recent example, in May 2013 Chinese Premier Li Keqiang stated, obviously with the Senkaku Islands in mind, that the 1943 Cairo Declaration clearly stipulates Japan must return to China all the land it stole in Northeast China (the former Manchuria), Taiwan and other islands. This interpretation is derived from the historical interpretation of the Cairo Declaration as an international document pressing settlement for Japan’s wars of invasion since the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-1895. As explained below, the September 2012 speech at the United Nations by China’s Minister for Foreign Affairs Yang is also based on that historical viewpoint.

According to a reliable joint Japanese-Chinese public opinion poll, in both countries impressions of the other country greatly worsened from 2012 to 2013. In 2013, nearly 93% of the Chinese had an “unfavorable impression” of Japan and over 90% of Japanese had an “unfavorable impression” of China. Especially in China, the percentage with an “unfavorable impression” jumped from 64.5% in 2012 to nearly 93% in 2013.

As for the reasons why, 78% (doubles the previous year's figure) cited "Japan's hardline stance on the territorial dispute." Moreover, about 64% cited "Japan's lack of apology or reflection on its history of aggression," greatly increasing from 40% the year before.<sup>1</sup>

A joint Japanese-South Korean opinion poll<sup>2</sup> also shows that, from 2012 to 2013, the percentage of people whose impressions of the other country "worsened" was 40% in Japan and almost 47% in South Korea. As reasons for these negative impressions, more than 50% of the Japanese cited "(South Korea's) Criticism of Japan over historical issues" and "Confrontation over Takeshima," while 77% of the Koreans cited "Japan's lack of reflection on its invasion of Korea" and 84.5% cited "The Dokdo issue." To summarize, these opinion polls conspicuously show decline in the positive impression of Japan since 2012 in both countries. It may be said that this is the result of a synergistic effect between the territorial issues and conflict over the historical issues.

The Northern Territories issue may appear unrelated to historical understanding. However, from Russia's perspective, this Northern Territories issue fundamentally cannot be separated from the historical interpretation of the 1945 Soviet-Japanese war and World War II. This understanding underlies the assertions made by the USSR and Russia. The Putin Administration in particular has embarked on revising historical education, calling to mind the historical understanding before the new Russia, redefining the historical interpretation confused by the systemic transition and fostering values to unite the Russian people. It goes without saying that this revision of historical education is highly likely to be reflected in Russia's historical understanding as well as its interpretation of the territorial issue.

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<sup>1</sup> "The 9<sup>th</sup> Japan-China Public Opinion Poll" (Genron NPO, 2013).

<sup>2</sup> "The 1<sup>st</sup> Japan-South Korea Public Opinion Poll, Comparative Analysis" (Genron NPO, May 2013).

## **【Part 1】 Japan’s Territorial Issues and the Historical Understanding of the Concerned Countries: Case Studies on the Senkaku Islands, Takeshima and the Northern Territories**

### **1. WWII and the Disposition of Territory – Formation of the Post-war International Order**

This report presents three case studies (the Senkaku Islands, Takeshima and the Northern Territories) as issues concerning Japan’s territory. Since before WWII, Japan has followed internationally recognized procedures regarding jurisdiction over these groups of islands and established its territorial sovereignty over each of them.

However, as countries involved in these three cases, China, South Korea and Russia have not come to recognize Japan’s establishment of territorial sovereignty based on the “rule of law.” While their respective reasons and backgrounds may vary, a common characteristic in recent years is the presentation of these territorial issues as a part of the “historical understanding” issue.

Although the governments of Japan and neighboring countries have resolved the issues concerning settlement of Japan’s past wars and colonial rule, given the background of deep distrust rooted in citizens’ memory and experience, countries are developing their own historical interpretations unrelated to resolution based on international law or the post-war international arrangements.

In particular, China has repeatedly claimed that the nationalization of the Senkaku Islands by the Japanese government is “a challenge against the post-war order” established by the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations during the Second World War, and “a denial of the fruits of victory in the war against fascism.” Russia has also come to emphasize its prior stance that all four Northern Territories islands are legally-acquired Russian territory as a result of World War II.

Now, we begin by confirming the international consensus regarding the disposition of territory in the Asia-Pacific during and after WWII.

From the outbreak of WWII in 1939 until the end of the war with Japan’s acceptance of the Potsdam Declaration in 1945, there were three documents shared and widely published by the Allies regarding the disposition of lands and territories in the

Asia-Pacific region. One was the Atlantic Charter issued by the UK and the US in August 1941 and supported in the Declaration by United Nations in January 1942. As shared principles of the Allies, the Atlantic Charter declares (1) no territorial aggrandizement and (2) no territorial changes that do not accord with the freely expressed wishes of the peoples concerned.

Another document was the Cairo Declaration by the UK , the US and China in November 1943. The Cairo Declaration stipulates principles for the disposition of territory held by Japan, and comprises the following five provisions: (1) The allies “covet no gain for themselves and have no thought of territorial expansion;” (2) “Japan shall be stripped of all the islands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the First World War in 1914;” (3) “All the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa, and The Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China;” (4) “Japan will also be expelled from all other territories which she has taken by violence and greed;” and (5) “Korea shall become free and independent.”

The third document was the Potsdam Declaration (July 1945) which Japan accepted as its terms of surrender. Clause 8 reads “The terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be carried out and Japanese sovereignty shall be limited to the islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku and such minor islands as we determine.”

The principles running through the above agreements, starting from the Atlantic Charter among the Allies, are: no expansion of territory and stripping the lands and islands that Japan “has taken by violence and greed.” At the conclusion of WWII, the Allies worked for post-war peace and order of the Asia-Pacific through these two principles.

For this series of international agreements to have legal validity over Japan, the conclusion of a peace treaty was necessary, and that was the Treaty of Peace with Japan (the San Francisco Peace Treaty) signed by 48 nations including Japan. Regarding land and territory, in accordance with the Cairo Declaration, and the Potsdam Declaration which pledged its execution, Article 2 of the San Francisco Peace Treaty stipulates “Korea,” “Formosa and the Pescadores,” “the Kurile Islands,” and “that portion of Sakhalin and the islands adjacent to it (the southern part of Sakhalin over which Japan acquired sovereignty as a consequence of the Treaty of Portsmouth)” as territories that Japan is to renounce.



As reviewed above, the disposition of territory with Japan's defeat in WWII was based on a series of agreements starting with the Atlantic Charter, finally legally established by the San Francisco Peace Treaty. However, the range of Japanese sovereignty over "such minor islands as we determine" in Clause 8 of the Potsdam Declaration was not specified by the peace treaty.

## **2. The Senkaku Islands in China's Historical Understanding**

### **(1) The Okinawa Reversion Agreement and two MOFA Statements (ROC, PRC)**

China officially began making claims to territorial sovereignty over the Senkaku Islands after a report was released on the seabed research conducted in the East China Sea by the UN Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) in 1968 and 1969. The 1969 report indicated the possibility of large-scale oil resources under the seabed north of Taiwan. The Republic of China (ROC) government, which had official diplomatic relations with Japan, first initiated research on the surrounding sea area in collaboration with a US oil development company, and then issued the "ROC Ministry of Foreign Affairs Statement" of June 11, 1971 which Chiang Kai-shek helped prepare in part as follows.<sup>3</sup>

"The islets are affiliated with the Province of Taiwan and constitute a part of the territory of the Republic of China. In accordance with the geographical position, geological structure, historical connection and long term use there by the inhabitants of Taiwan Province, the islets have been closely connected with the Republic of China. In accordance with its sacred duty to safeguard national territory, the Government of the Republic of China absolutely cannot abandon even an inch of its territorial sovereignty."

This ROC statement on the Senkaku Islands was released just prior to the June 17, 1971 signing of the Okinawa Reversion Agreement by Japan and the US. The Protocols to the Okinawa Reversion Agreement included the Senkaku Islands in the administrative rights over the Nansei Islands being returned from the U.S. to Japan, and thus the ROC Statement was also meant to serve as an objection. In any event, this claim by the ROC government lost momentum amid the vortex of the normalization of relations between Japan and the People's Republic of China (PRC) and the cessation of diplomatic relations between Japan and the ROC. Then, the government of the PRC issued its Ministry of Foreign Affairs Statement on December 30, 1971. This PRC Statement was the same as the ROC Statement in criticizing the inclusion of the

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<sup>3</sup> The full text in Japanese is recorded in 尖閣諸島について [Regarding the Senkaku Islands], Public Information and Cultural Affairs Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan(ed.), 1972.

Senkaku Islands as “an encroachment upon China’s territorial integrity and sovereignty” in the area of reversion in the Okinawa Reversion Agreement.

The PRC Ministry of Foreign Affairs Statement included two new claims. First, this was the first time the PRC government officially positioned the Senkaku Islands as appertaining to Taiwan. It incorporated a claim to sovereignty over the Senkaku Islands into the Chinese government’s long-standing claim to sovereignty over Taiwan, attempting to form the image that the PRC had been making claims to sovereignty over the Senkaku Islands since the 1950s. However, in fact the territorial claims by the ROC came first as explained above.

The other new claim by the PRC government was that “the Japanese government stole the Senkaku Islands during the Sino-Japanese War and in April 1895 forced the government of the Qing dynasty to conclude the unequal ‘Treaty of Shimonoseki’ by which Taiwan together with all islands appertaining to Taiwan were ceded.” This was the first time the word “stole” appeared as the official Chinese government position. It is important to note that, while the ROC Ministry of Foreign Affairs Statement six months earlier did claim territorial sovereignty over the Senkaku Islands based on geographical and historical reasons, it did not mention that they had been “stolen” by Japan during the Sino-Japanese War. In this respect, Taiwan differs from South Korea, which cannot differentiate the territorial issue from the historical understanding issue, despite both having experienced the same colonial rule by Japan.

Even the leaders of PRC admitted the fact that China’s Statement, which denies Japanese sovereignty over the Senkaku Islands, emerged from the seabed resources development issue. This was mentioned at the negotiations for the normalization of relations between Japan and China, which advanced in earnest from 1972. On July 28, 1972, at a meeting with Komeito Party Chairman Yoshikatsu Takeiri who was visiting China, Premier Chou En-lai said there was no need to touch upon the Senkaku Islands issue, as “the question of oil historians made this issue a problem.” He further elaborated that “in Japan [historian] Kiyoshi Inoue is also zealous. There is no need to look into this issue in depth.”<sup>4</sup>

Kiyoshi Inoue, who was cited by Premier Chou En-lai, was known as a leading Japanese Marxist historian of the 1960s, publishing 「尖閣」列島—釣魚諸島の史的

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<sup>4</sup> Akira Ishii et. al (ed.), 記録と考証 日中国交正常化・日中平和友好条約締結交渉 [Records and Historical Investigations: The Negotiations for Normalizing Diplomatic Ties between Japan and China and for the Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Japan and the People’s Republic of China] (Iwanami Shoten: 2003), pp. 20-21.

解明 [“Senkaku” Islands: Historical Analysis of the Diaoyu Islands] in 1972, which claimed that the Diaoyu Islands are Chinese territory based on ancient documents such as the records of Chinese envoys responsible for relations with tributary states. The May 4, 1972 People’s Daily ran an article by Inoue entitled 「釣魚列島等島嶼是中国領土」 [ “Senkaku” Islands are China’s Territory]. The PRC government often claims China’s sovereignty over the Senkaku Islands has been recognized by historical studies, using Professor Inoue’s assertions over 40 years ago as the basis of its claim.

Furthermore, in a September 27, 1972 meeting with Prime Minister Kakuei Tanaka who was visiting Beijing at the time, Premier Chou En-lai was suddenly asked for his opinion on the Senkaku Islands. Chou responded: “I do not want to talk about the Senkaku Islands this time. It is not good to discuss this now. It became an issue because of the oil out there. If there wasn’t oil, neither Taiwan nor the United States would make this an issue.”

Chou En-lai could have used Tanaka’s comments to undermine the Japanese government’s position that, there is no territorial issue. However, both Chou En-lai and Japanese leaders recognized that if the territorial sovereignty over the Senkaku Islands became a point of dispute, it could deadlock the overall negotiations on normalizing diplomatic relations. As a result, they chose to avoid making this an agenda item.

## **(2) Japan’s Observance of the Post-war International Order – Counterargument to China’s Speech by Foreign Minister Yang and the State Council White Paper**

On September 11, 2012 the Yoshihiko Noda administration transferred the ownership rights of the Senkaku Islands (Uotsuri Island, Kitakojima Island and Minamikojima Island) from a private individual to the state under the Civil Code in the interest of “peaceful and stable administration.” Using this Japanese government policy as an excuse, Chinese state vessels increased the frequency of their provocations, entering the contiguous zone and intruding into Japan’s territorial waters.

Against a backdrop of increasing tension between the two nations, PRC Foreign Minister Yang Jiechi presented China’s position on the Senkaku Islands issue once again in a statement at the UN General Assembly debate on September 27, 2012. Furthermore, on September 25, two days before Foreign Minister Yang’s speech, a white paper entitled “Diaoyu Dao, an Inherent Territory of China” was released by the State Council of the PRC.

China’s recent claims as seen in Foreign Minister Yang’s speech and the State

Council White Paper stress the following three points. The subsequent sections examine their validity.

- “International legal documents” such as the Cairo Declaration and the Potsdam Declaration clearly stipulate the range of Japanese territory, and the Senkaku Islands are not included.
- The “nationalization” (purchase of the islands by the Japanese government) of the Senkaku Islands, which are “indigenous territory of China,” is a violation of Chinese sovereignty, “a challenge to the post-war international order” established by the Cairo and the Declarations, “a outright denial of the outcomes of the World Anti-Fascist War ,” and a challenge to the UN Charter.
- “Nationalization” violates a tacit agreement and common understanding to “shelve” the Senkaku Islands issue between Japan and China.

#### ① **What is “A Challenge to the Post-war International Order”?**

The government of the PRC claims that the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations are international legal documents indicating that the Senkaku Islands are not included within the scope of Japanese territory. However, the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations do not stipulate that the Senkaku Islands are included in “Formosa and the Pescadores,” which Japan is to surrender. There is also no particular evidence that the ROC government made that claim during the process of forming the Cairo Declaration. As explained above, neither declaration clearly and strictly defines the range of Japan’s territory.

Hypothetically, if both declarations did recognize that the Senkaku Islands appertain to Taiwan, the ROC government would have sought confirmation of that in the process of drafting the San Francisco Peace Treaty. However, there is no evidence that the ROC government, which knew the treaty contents beforehand, acted to have the Senkaku Islands included in “Formosa and the Pescadores” that Japan was to renounce.

During the period until the conclusion of the San Francisco Peace Treaty, the issue of sovereignty over the Senkaku Islands was discussed in the foreign ministries of both the ROC and the PRC. In the ROC, the 1947 “Opinion on the Resolution of the Ryukyu Issue” by Tiengzheng Zhang of the Chinese delegation to Japan says the objective should be to claim the Miyako Islands and the Yaeyama Islands as ROC territory. Furthermore, if that is not possible, the ROC should at least demand the Senkaku Islands. However, there is no evidence that this opinion statement was ever officially adopted by the ROC Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Similarly, an internal PRC government document (dated May 15, 1950) recognizes the Senkaku Islands (Pinnacle Islands) to be included

in Miyako Islands and Yaeyama Islands, but mentions the Senkaku Islands “are very close to Taiwan, so research should be conducted to see if they can be incorporated as part of Taiwan.” However, there is no evidence that this research was subsequently pursued at the PRC Ministry of Foreign Affairs or reflected in its foreign policy.

In April 1952, the ROC government, which was not invited to the San Francisco Peace Conference, concluded the Sino-Japanese Peace Treaty with Japan just as the San Francisco Peace Treaty came into effect. It may be noted that the ROC government never raised the issue of sovereignty over the Senkaku Islands during the negotiation process. Additionally, the ROC government posed no objection in 1952 when it was notified that the US military administering Okinawa would also use part of the Senkaku Islands as a military training ground.

On the other hand, during the process of drafting the San Francisco Peace Treaty, the Japanese government lobbied the US government to stipulate that the Senkaku Islands should not be included in the territories to be renounced. As they are Japan’s indigenous territory, they clearly constitute a portion of the Nansei Islands. This request was accepted by the US government and the principal Allies. Thus the Senkaku Islands were not included in “Formosa and the Pescadores” which Japan surrendered under Article 2 of the peace treaty. Following the signing of the treaty, the Senkaku Islands were included as a part of the Nansei Islands (Okinawa) placed under US administration based on Article 3 of the peace treaty.

Thereafter the US, with its administrative rights over Okinawa, consistently treated the Senkaku Islands as part of Okinawa Prefecture, at times using part of the islands for military training. The Japanese government also continued its effective control, for example, by collecting taxes from the owners of the privately-held islands. Consequently, during the negotiations on the reversion of Okinawa which began in the late 1960s, both Japan and the US had no doubt that the Senkaku Islands were within the scope of the territory being returned. As a result, in keeping with the Okinawa Reversion Agreement signed in 1971, the territories under US administration, including the Senkaku Islands, were transferred to Japan with no change.

In this way, the Senkaku Islands were handled with a legal disposition of territory based on the international consensus of the Allies and the San Francisco Peace Treaty. Japan has not taken a stance of challenging or denying the post-war legal order centered around the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations. On the contrary, it has solemnly accepted and faithfully observed the post-war international order.

## ② **What is Denial of the Fruits of the “War Against Fascism”?**

Second is the issue of “occupation” of the Senkaku Islands as “a denial of the outcomes of the World Anti-Fascist War” and a challenge to the UN Charter.

From a Chinese viewpoint, the basic character of WWII was a war between the forces of “fascism” and the “united front against fascism.” As an orthodox interpretation, the PRC has established the argument that the victory of the anti-fascist camp was possible due to the resistance that China carried on against Japan in the Asia-Pacific region as a member of the anti-fascist forces (the Allies). Consequently, a great deal of emphasis is placed on the fact that China participated in the formation of the post-war international order centered around the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations as a core member of the Allies (US, UK, China and USSR) that formed the anti-fascist camp. This Chinese interpretation of WWII is also well reflected in the Japan-China Joint History Research Committee (2006-2009) research papers from the Chinese side.

Another characteristic of China’s interpretation of WWII is an emphasis on its role in the drawing up the UN Charter and establishing the United Nations. This comes from the viewpoint that China’s contribution to the war against fascism was a solid contributing factor to the establishment of the UN.

In short, China’s claims that Japan’s acts are an “outright denial of the outcomes of the World Anti-Fascist War” and a “challenge to the UN Charter” in Foreign Minister Yang’s UN speech and other Chinese statements are themselves a denial and a challenge to the interpretation of WWII by the Western countries and Japan. The underlying idea is that the historical viewpoint of the war against Japan is based on the Chinese people’s experience of constant “resistance” to Japan’s “invasion of China” in modern history. The historical interpretation regards the Cairo Declaration as an international document to settle the wars of invasion, beginning with the Sino-Japanese War. Therefore, this interpretation is based on the PRC’s historical viewpoint of the war against Japan.

## ③ **No Agreement on Shelving**

The Chinese assertion that there was an agreement to “shelve” the Senkaku Islands issue is now being examined in some detail, mostly through diplomatic records that have been released by Japan’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

China’s assertions of its agreement with Japan to “shelve” the issue apparently refer to remarks made at a series of Japan-China summit meetings during the 1970s. It

includes remarks made by Deng Xiaoping at a meeting with Japanese Foreign Minister Sunao Sonoda in Beijing on August 10, 1978. According to Takashi Tajima, who attended the conference as the Director of MOFA's China Division, Deng Xiaoping touched upon the Senkaku Islands issue and Foreign Minister Sonoda cautioned Deng saying, "You are aware of the Japanese position on the Senkaku islands, and Japan asks China to ensure that incidents like the recent incident never recur." There, "the recent incident" refers to an intrusion by Chinese fishing boats into Japanese territorial waters in mid-April of that same year. According to Tajima, Deng responded "The Chinese Government does not want this issue to cause problems between Japan and China," and then responded:

"I don't mind if it's shelved for a few years, a few decades, or even a century. The people of our generation don't have sufficient wisdom to settle this discussion, but the people of the next generation will probably be wiser than us. Based on the spirit of the Sino-Japanese Treaty of Peace and Friendship, they will eventually find a way acceptable to both sides."

In short, Deng said the Chinese side wants to refrain from discussing the Senkaku Islands issue, and the Japanese side just listened.

The term "shelve" was first used by a Chinese leader when Deng Xiaoping came to Japan in October 1978 for the exchange of instruments of ratification of the Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Japan and the People's Republic of China. When asked about the Senkaku Islands issue at a press conference on the afternoon of October 25, Deng explained:

"Certainly there are differences of opinion between us on this issue but when we normalized diplomatic relations between our two countries, both parties promised to leave the issue aside. At this time of negotiation on Treaty of Peace and Friendship, we agreed to leave the issue aside in much the same way. ...Even if this means the issue is temporarily shelved, I don't think I mind. I don't mind if it's shelved for ten years."

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According to the public record of Japan's Ministry of Foreign Affairs, during talks with Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda that morning, Deng said, "At this time, there's no need to raise subjects like this at a meeting like this. As I expressed this to Minister for Foreign Affairs Sonoda in Beijing, there's probably insufficient wisdom to resolve the issue in our generation but, with the next generation likely to be savvier than us, they will probably be able to find some resolution to the issue" regarding the Senkaku Islands.

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<sup>5</sup> Asahi Shimbun, October 26, 1978

In response, Fukuda said, “I am very glad we are able to frankly exchange opinions regarding issues between Japan and China, and I thank you,” yet there was no response from Fukuda on the Senkaku Islands issue.<sup>6</sup>

The Japanese government’s position on the Senkaku Islands issue was solidified immediately following the signing of the Okinawa Reversion Agreement. According to a report prepared for the then new Foreign Minister Takeo Fukuda on July 5, 1971, “The government of the ROC had recently officially requested resolution of this issue through discussions between Japan and the ROC,” but “regardless of any claims made by the ROC government, because it is an indisputable fact that the Senkaku Islands are part of Japanese territory, the government of Japan has repeatedly made clear within Japan and overseas our position that we will not discuss the territorial sovereignty of the Senkaku Islands with any country, and also explained this to the government of the ROC,” and this position had since been approved within the Japanese government.<sup>7</sup>

Furthermore, since the Statement of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the People’s Republic of China of December 30, 1971, the Tanaka administration held that the Senkaku Islands are part of Japanese territory, and the government of Japan will not discuss the territorial sovereignty of the Senkaku Islands with any country, even during the negotiations with China on the normalization of relations.<sup>8</sup>

Therefore, regardless of the claims made by the Chinese side, any consensus given by the Japanese government to “shelve” this issue would have been impossible due to its firm position since the signing of the Okinawa Reversion Agreement that it “will not discuss the Senkaku Islands issue with any country.”

Although the Japanese government did not agree to “shelve” this issue, it did recognize the difference in opinion coming from the Chinese side through negotiations between the two countries. Perhaps for that reason, in its mode of effective control over the Senkaku Islands, Japan has taken a policy of calm and cautious measures to the greatest possible extent, such as by limiting the building of structures and landings by the general public.

The Senkaku Islands were being peacefully managed until the 1980s, but in 1992

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<sup>6</sup> “Record of the Meetings between Prime Minister Fukuda and Vice Premier Deng Xiaoping (#2),” (China Division, October 25, 1978).

<sup>7</sup> “Issues with China (Report for the New Foreign Minister),” (China Division, July 5, 1971). “Visit to Japan by Vice-Premier Deng Xiaoping and its Assessment” (Asian Affairs Bureau, October 30, 1978).

<sup>8</sup> “Pending Items between Japan and China” (China Division, July 10, 1972).



China enacted its Law of the PRC on the Territorial Sea and the Contiguous Zone as a part of its domestic legislation. It unilaterally specified the Senkaku Islands to be a part of Chinese territory. While the enactment of this legislation had no actual impact on Japan's sovereignty over the Senkaku Islands, it was significant as China's first step toward attempting to change the status quo.

The "nationalization" of the Senkaku Islands by the Noda administration (actually the repurchase of the islands by the central government) was conducted as a measure to prevent the possibility of purchase by Tokyo Prefecture, which would have meant the construction of a harbor and a lighthouse - "changing the status quo" as feared by both countries. This is far from the "invasion of sovereignty" and "challenge to the post-war international order" claimed by the Chinese side.

So, why has the Chinese government recently been pushing such fundamentalist and strong assertions to the forefront? First, along with China's emergence as an economic superpower, its "national interests that must be protected" have expanded. According to the 2011 white paper "China's Peaceful Development," territorial integrity, state sovereignty and national security are "core interests" along with national reunification on its agenda. In becoming a economic superpower, China has come to focus its energies on the expansion of its national interests and international public diplomacy. Second is the political emergence of a military that is linked with state companies, oil capital, and conservative military leaders. It is fragmenting the decision-making process as a new player, and pushing forward its own claims internationally, rather than intervening in the policymaking process of the central government.

## **2. Takeshima (Dokdo) in South Korea's Historical Understanding**

### **(1) Dokdo as "Illegally Annexed in the Process of Colonization"**

With Japan's defeat in WWII in 1945, South Korea was liberated from the long colonial rule, passed through a period of US military government, and established as a country in 1948. With such history, it goes without saying that the national memory of Japanese colonial rule has had a large impact on the formation of South Korean historical understanding. In 2010, on the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Japan's annexation of Korea, the National Assembly of the Republic of Korea adopted a "Resolution Seeking the Settlement of Past History and the Development of Future-oriented Relations between South Korea and Japan." This resolution states that the Japan-Korea Treaty of 1905 and the 1910 annexation of Korea are "void," seeking "apologies and reparations

to the victims,” and it comments on Takeshima as follows:

“[The National Assembly of Korea] has confirmed that the Dokdo issue is a historical issue that arose when Japan forcibly and illegally annexed the island in the process of the colonization of Korea, and strictly demands that the government of Japan immediately renounce its claims to the sovereignty of Dokdo, and immediately abolish all measures and plans to harm our country’s sovereignty over Dokdo.”<sup>9</sup>

South Korea’s claim, as seen in this resolution, is that the Takeshima issue “is a historical issue that arose when Japan forcibly and illegally annexed the island in the process of the colonization of Korea.” This South Korean claim has fundamentally remained unchanged since the 1950s. This claim seeking settlement for colonial rule has also been reflected in the process of negotiations toward the normalization of relations between Japan and South Korea that began in 1951, and has made the negotiations difficult.

In South Korea’s claim that the Takeshima issue is a historical issue and one of settlement for colonial rule, the February 1905 measures incorporating Takeshima into Japanese territory overlap with the time when the Japan-Korea Treaty of 1905 was signed to make Korea a Japanese protectorate [November 1905]. This is posited as the first step in the “process of colonization.” Consequently, South Korea claims that Japan’s acts after the territorial annexation were acts of aggression and cannot be recognized as continuous territorial control based on international law.

From the understanding of international law, however, the measures incorporating Takeshima into Japanese territory are not immediately void. An important point from the perspective of validity of territorial sovereignty is that, prior to 1904, Korea was in a perfect position to exercise effective control over Takeshima, yet took no effective measures whatsoever to reinforce its presence. Even if one accepts that the Japanese side was engaged in “illegal rule” during the colonial era, South Korea would have to demonstrate facts that Korea exerted some sort of control over Takeshima prior to 1905 to break Japan’s argument that Takeshima is a part of Japanese territory. In other words, South Korea’s assertion that Japan “illegally ruled” Takeshima is equivalent to indirectly recognizing the fact of Japan’s effective possession and admitting that South Korea has no evidence to show that it has ever had effective control.

At any rate, it must be said that South Korea’s claims regarding the possession of

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<sup>9</sup> 外国の立法 [Foreign Legislation] (April 2011).

Takeshima are very vague and have little factual basis.

## **(2) The Status of Takeshima in the San Francisco Peace Treaty**

South Korea claims that Takeshima was confirmed as Korean territory “taken by force” stipulated in the Cairo Declaration (which declared its separation from Japan), the Potsdam Declaration (that required the execution of the Cairo Declaration), and the Treaty of Peace with Japan (the San Francisco Peace Treaty). However, the Potsdam Declaration, which required the execution of the Cairo Declaration, stipulates “such minor islands as we determine” among the territory where Japanese sovereignty is to remain. South Korea claims there is no evidence that Takeshima was included in “such minor islands (as Japanese territory).”

Japan continued to have effective control over Takeshima until the end of WWII. However, after the war, SCAPIN (Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers Instruction Note) 677 of January 29, 1946 included Takeshima together with Utsuryo Island and Cheju Island in the territory to be administratively separated from Japan. The MacArthur Line set in June 22, 1946 placed Takeshima outside the area where Japanese vessels were allowed to operate. South Korea uses these facts to claim Takeshima was separated from Japan and became South Korean territory.

However, SCAPIN 677 mentions that “Nothing in this directive shall be construed as an indication of Allied policy relating to the ultimate determination of the minor islands referred to in Article 8 of the Potsdam Declaration.” Moreover, Article 5 of the memorandum that set the MacArthur Line (SCAPIN 1033/1) clearly states “the present authorization is not an expression of Allied policy relative to ultimate determination of national jurisdiction, international boundaries or fishing rights in the area concerned or in any other area.”

The Allies’ ultimate determination is the San Francisco Peace Treaty. Regarding the disposition of land and territory, Article 2 states “Japan recognizing the independence of Korea, renounces all right, title and claim to Korea, including the islands of Quelpart, Port Hamilton and Dagelet.” Thus, Takeshima has been removed from the territories to be renounced. Takeshima, which was specified in SCAPIN 677, was removed in the peace treaty with Japan, with Port Hamilton newly added in its place. In other words, the removal of Takeshima in the San Francisco Peace Treaty was intentional, confirming Japan’s sovereignty over Takeshima.

In the process of drafting the San Francisco Peace Treaty, the South Korean

government submitted its opinion on the June 1951 US-UK draft, and asked the U.S. government to include Takeshima (Dokdo) in Article 2, which specifies the territories Japan was to renounce. The US State Department indicated it would respect this request, but their August 10 final response was the opposite, as follows:

“As regards to the island of Dokdo, otherwise known as Takeshima ...was according to our information never treated as part of Korea and, since about 1905, has been under the jurisdiction of the Oki Islands Branch Office of Shimane Prefecture of Japan. The island does not appear ever before to have been claimed by Korea. It is understood that the Korean government’s request that [Takeshima] be included among the islands named in the treaty as having been renounced by Japan has been withdrawn.”

In this way the South Korean request was withdrawn and Takeshima was not included in the territories being renounced by Japan in the San Francisco Peace Treaty signed in September 1951. On January 18, 1952, South Korea issued a declaration concerning maritime sovereignty and established the so-called “Syngman Rhee Line,” placing Takeshima on the South Korean side and unilaterally declaring the annexation of Takeshima.

### **(3) Normalization of Japan-South Korea Relations and the Takeshima Issue**

Research on the negotiations toward normalizing relations and the release of diplomatic materials has been pursued in both Japan and South Korea over the recent years. According to research surveying these documents, in the process of the negotiations toward normalizing relations, the Takeshima issue became the subject of discussions in the autumn of 1962. In two of the meetings between Foreign Minister Masayoshi Ohira and Foreign Minister Kim Jong-pil during the Park Chung-hee administration, the Park administration stressed its position that the Dokdo issue should be discussed after the normalization of relations. On the other hand, the Japanese side insisted on the necessity of having Takeshima as a subject of negotiations, suggesting the possibility of referral to the International Court of Justice (ICJ).

During this period of the negotiations toward normalizing relations, on November 8, 1962, the Park administration issued instructions, if the Japanese side raises the Dokdo issue, “to point out concerns that the atmosphere of the negotiations could be stiffened by evoking memories of Japan’s past invasion of Korea among the Korean people.” In other words, the Takeshima issue was avoided because it was clear that if Japan raised the Takeshima issue at the negotiations, then the South Korean side would most likely raise the issue of colonial rule (Japan’s invasion of Korea), which would definitely deadlock the negotiations. As was demonstrated by this instance, the deeply rooted

South Korean memory of Japan's colonial rule also cast a dark shadow over the negotiations on normalizing relations between Japan and South Korea.

The Japanese side held on to its proposal of referring the issue to the International Court of Justice (ICJ). Japan judged it to be difficult to reach an agreement regarding Takeshima, and thus tried to leave room for debate regarding the territorial issue through the "Exchange of Notes concerning Dispute Resolution." They called for a stipulation reading "all disputes between the two countries including Dokdo" in the Notes. However, reflecting the opinion of the South Korean side, the final version read "When there are disputes between both countries, efforts will first be made to resolve them through diplomatic routes, and when they cannot be resolved in that way, efforts will be made to resolve them through mediation following procedures agreed to by the governments of both countries."

The differences in textual interpretation as to whether the Dokdo issue is included in the "disputes between both countries" specified in this Exchange of Notes has yet to be resolved. However, the recently released diplomatic records suggest there was a tacit agreement between Japan and South Korea not to object to each other's interpretations.

This restrained posture taken by both countries during the negotiations on normalizing relations made it possible to conclude the 1965 Treaty on Basic Relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea. Japan and South Korea did not place high emphasis on the Takeshima issue after the normalization of relations. Even with the fishing problems, they sought mutual benefit by separating these from the issue of territorial sovereignty. Japan periodically makes international announcements that Takeshima is Japanese territory while the South Korean side does not particularly respond to such statements. Meanwhile, South Korea has advanced its "quiet effective control" by establishing a natural resources protection area and building docking facilities. Japan has only shown a restrained response of objecting each time.

Nonetheless, this restrained approach taken by both countries could be shattered by President Lee Myung-bak's sudden landing on Takeshima in August 2012.

#### **4. The Northern Territories Issue and Russia's Historical Understanding**

From the 1990s to the 2000s, with the new release of historical materials under the glasnost policy and the progress of research based on such documents, new understandings and opinions were announced in Russia. For example, Georgiy Kunaze,

one of the USSR Foreign Ministry's top Japan experts, wrote that the Yalta Agreement was "a secret agreement among the Allies during the war regarding territory and other compensation" for participating in the war against Japan, and thus cannot be a reliable basis for the Russian possession of the four islands. This new argument was a challenge to the official historical understanding which the USSR government had relied on until that time.

This new trend, however, seems to have reversed since September 2005 when President Vladimir Putin said, "It has been decided by international law that they [the four islands] are under Russian sovereignty, as outcomes of WWII, and we have no intention whatsoever of discussing this point." Since that statement, high Russian officials have repeatedly said that Russia's occupation of the four islands is legal, and that the islands are territory legitimately obtained by Russia as a result of WWII. Such claims cannot be considered internationally legitimate. The secret Yalta Agreement may be their only basis.

The secret Yalta Agreement (February 1945), which had not been disclosed, was the international agreement during WWII regarding the disposition of lands and territories in the Asia-Pacific region. In the Yalta Agreement, US, the UK and the USSR agreed on the conditions whereby the USSR would join the war against Japan as one of the Allies, two to three months after the end of the war against Germany. The terms included that the southern part of Sakhalin as well as the islands adjacent to it would be "returned" as measures to restore "the former rights which had been violated" by the Russo-Japanese War, and that the Kurile Islands would also be "handed over" to the Soviet Union,.

However, Japan only came to know the contents of the Yalta Agreement, the basis for the USSR's claim to the Kurile Islands, after the war in February 1946 when they were disclosed by the US Department of State. Japan had no way of knowing prior to that time. During WWII, Japan was only aware of the widely publicized Atlantic Charter, Cairo Declaration and Potsdam Declaration which the USSR also accepted. This included the principle of "no territorial aggrandizement" which ran through all those international agreements. In light of this principle, the USSR's claims to sovereignty over the Kurile Islands and the four Northern Territories islands are clearly a deviation.

The four Northern Territories islands (Habomai, Shikotan, Kunashiri and Etorofu) have never been the territory of any country except Japan's. They were unlawfully occupied by the Soviet Union after the Japanese surrender accepting the Potsdam

Declaration in August 1945. As a result, the four Northern Territories islands were not “handed over” to the USSR so they should be returned to Japan.

In addition the Kurile Islands, in light of the Cairo Conference, were also not territories “taken by violence and greed.” In 1855, the Treaty of Commerce, Navigation and Delimitation between Japan and Russia confirmed the already established natural boundaries, drawing the boundary between the islands of Etorofu and Uruppu. Also in the Treaty for the Exchange of Sakhalin for the Kurile Islands (1875) Japan received the Kurile Islands from Russia in exchange for ceding all of Sakhalin Island to Russia. Thus, the status of the Kurile Islands is determined by these two treaties. For that reason, the Yalta Agreement reflects that the Kurile Islands are to be “handed over” to the USSR while the southern part of Sakhalin, which Japan acquired from Russia in the Treaty of Portsmouth at the end of the Russo-Japanese War, is to be “returned” to the USSR. Such phrasing distinguishes the differences.

Following the conclusion of WWII, the draft contents of the Treaty of Peace draft with Japan were being discussed at the initiative of the US. The USSR was not indifferent. The US, UK, USSR and China were responsible for claims regarding land and territory made by the USSR. The decisions had already been made through the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations and the Yalta Agreement, and these international agreements simply had to be confirmed by the peace treaty.

In the debate over the draft Treaty of Peace draft with Japan, the range of the Kurile Islands to be ceded by Japan and the nationality of the Kurile Islands and southern Sakhalin should have become the principal subjects of discussion among the main Allies. Nonetheless, the final draft did not specify such issues. The Soviet representative (Andrei Gromyko), who attended the peace conference contrary to most expectations, strongly objected to the US-UK final draft (September 5, 1951) as it did not approve the USSR’s sovereignty over the Kurile Islands and southern Sakhalin, violating obligations guaranteed by the Yalta Agreement. As a result, he refused to sign the peace treaty.<sup>10</sup>

The Soviet representative stressed that both the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations are international agreements stipulating that the US, UK, USSR and China are obliged to “prevent the recurrence of Japanese militarism,” while being responsible for the development of democratization in Japan. However, he did not acknowledge the Atlantic Charter or recognize the principle of no territorial aggrandizement which

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<sup>10</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs (ed.), 日本外交文書 サンフランシスコ平和条約 [Japan Diplomatic Documents: San Francisco Peace Treaty] (2009), pp. 89-97.

constitutes the core of the international agreements. As mentioned in Stalin's "Declaration of Victory over Japan" (September 3, 1945), the USSR prioritized recovering its lost territory on southern Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands over committing to the principle of no territorial aggrandizement to which it had pledged.

To internationally justify Russia's strongly-rooted historical interpretation<sup>11</sup> that the duty of the Soviet people in the 1945 Soviet-Japanese War was "to bring southern Sakhalin and the Kurile Islands that had been stolen by Japan back to the fatherland," its basis can only be sought in the secret Yalta Agreement. It is only through this that Russia can justify its claim that the occupation of the four islands is legal, and that these are territories legitimately acquired as a result of WWII. On the other hand, the USSR accepts the Atlantic Charter, which prescribes the principle of no territorial aggrandizement, as well as the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations which inherit the same principle. This is the great contradiction in Russia's position.

However, it is true that the territorial expansion of the USSR in WWII was not limited to the Far East. Prior to occupying the four Northern Territories islands, the USSR worked to expand its sphere of influence in Eastern Europe. This included changes to international boundaries. The US and UK allowed this due to the necessity of Soviet cooperation in the war against Germany. Yet when compared to Eastern Europe where there were severe movements of international boundaries, Russia never had sovereignty over the four islands of the Northern Territories until the end of the WWII, and the nature of such issues greatly differs.

The Putin Administration has embarked on revising historical education to redefine the historical interpretation confused by the systemic transition to the new Russia. It hopes to foster values to unite the Russian people once again. This will most likely contribute to the construction of an understanding stressing the legitimacy of Russia's illegal occupation of the four Northern Territories islands and the secret Yalta Agreement, which will consequently be reflected in its stance on this Northern Territories issue.

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<sup>11</sup> For example, 全訳世界の歴史教科書シリーズ 22 (ソヴィエト連邦IV—その人々の歴史) [Full Translation World History Textbook Series 22 (USSR IV – History of its Peoples)] (Teikoku Shoin: 1981).



## **International Agreements on Japanese Territory**

- **The Atlantic Charter (Declaration of Principles)** (August 1941)

First: The United States and Great Britain agreed to seek no territorial gains as a result of the outcome of World War II.

Second: Any territorial adjustments would be made with the wishes of the affected people taken into consideration.

- **The Cairo Declaration** (November 1943)

They [the Three Great Allies] covet no gain for themselves and have no thought of territorial expansion. It is their purpose that Japan shall be stripped of all the islands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the first World War in 1914, and that all the territories Japan has stolen from the Chinese, such as Manchuria, Formosa, and The Pescadores, shall be restored to the Republic of China. Japan will also be expelled from all other territories which she has taken by violence and greed.

- **The Potsdam Declaration** (July 1945)

(8) The terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be carried out and Japanese sovereignty shall be limited to the islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku and such minor islands as we determine.

- **The Treaty of Peace with Japan (San Francisco Peace Treaty)**

(signed in September 1951, put into effect in April 1952)

Article 2(b): Japan renounces all right, title and claim to Formosa and the Pescadores.

Article 3: Japan will concur in any proposal of the United States to the United Nations to place under its trusteeship system, with the United States as the sole administering authority, Nansei Shoto south of 29° north latitude (including the Ryukyu Islands and the Daito Islands)... Pending the making of such a proposal and affirmative action thereon, the United States will have the right to exercise all and any powers of administration, legislation and jurisdiction over the territory and inhabitants of these islands, including their territorial waters.

- **The Treaty of Peace between Japan and the Republic of China**

(signed in April 1952, put into effect in August 1952)

Article 2: It is recognized that under Article 2 of the Treaty of Peace with Japan signed at the city of San Francisco in the United States of America on 8 September 1951 (hereinafter referred to as the San Francisco Treaty), Japan has renounced all right, title and claim to Taiwan (Formosa) and Penghu (the Pescadores) as well as the Spratly Islands and the Paracel Islands.

(Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan website)



View of Senkaku Islands



Location Map



Surrounding Area

**Basic Information about the Senkaku Islands**

“The Senkaku Islands” is the collective term for a group of islands that includes Uotsuri, Kitakojima, Minamikojima, Kuba, Taisho, Okinokitaiwa, Okinominamiiwa, and Tobise located at the west side of the Nansei Shoto Islands. They are part of Ishigaki City, Okinawa Prefecture. The Senkaku Islands are located in the East China Sea (approximately 170 km north of Ishigaki Island and approximately 410 km west of Okinawa Island).

The Senkaku Islands contain a wide variety of plants and animals, including endemic species. The surrounding seas are also rich fishing grounds.

After the incorporation of the Senkaku Islands into Japanese territory in 1895, Japanese citizens settled on the Islands and ran businesses such as dried bonito manufacture and bird feather collecting. At the peak, more than 200 Japanese lived on the Senkaku Islands.

(Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan website)

### Composition of the Senkaku Islands

Name	Size	Location
Uotsuri Island	3.6 km <sup>2</sup>	170 km northwest of Ishigaki Island (westernmost point of the Senkaku Islands)
Kuba Island	0.87 km <sup>2</sup>	160 km north of Ishigaki Island, 22 km northeast of Uotsuri Island
Kitakojima Island	0.26 km <sup>2</sup>	160 km north of Iriomote Island
Taisho Island	0.04 km <sup>2</sup>	150 km north of Ishigaki Island, 103 km east of Uotsuri Island (easternmost point of the Senkaku Islands)
Minamikojima Island	0.32 km <sup>2</sup>	160 km north of Iriomote Island
Okinokitaiwa Island	0.05 km <sup>2</sup>	160 km north of Ishigaki Island, 6 km northeast of Uotsuri Island
Okinominamiiwa Island	0.01 km <sup>2</sup>	160 km north of Ishigaki Island, 7.5 km northeast of Uotsuri Island
Tobise Island	0.02 km <sup>2</sup>	160 km north of Ishigaki Island, 1.5 km east of Uotsuri Island
Total Area	5.17 km <sup>2</sup>	

### Background to the Senkaku Islands

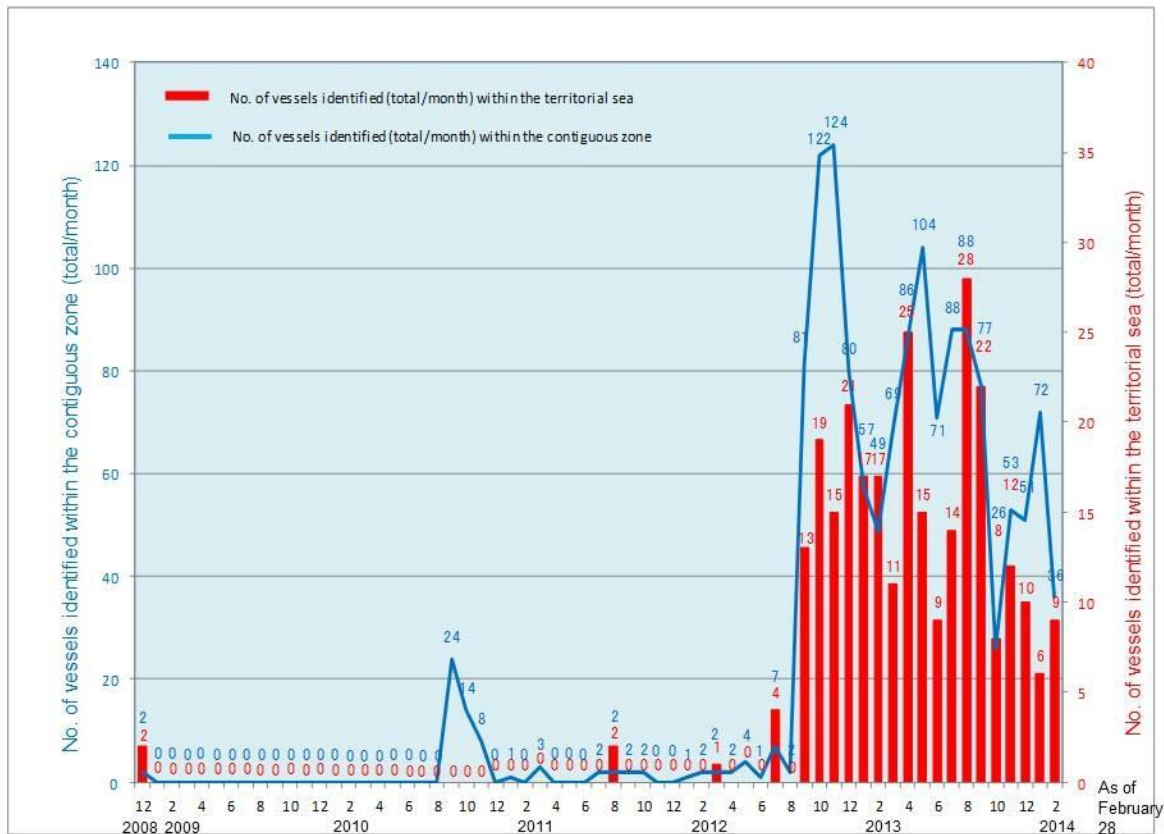
1895 (Jan)	<b>Incorporated into Okinawa Prefecture through a Cabinet decision.</b>
1946 (Jan)	A memorandum issued by the General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers put an end to Japan's administrative power over the islands. (Okinawa was placed under US administration.)
1951 (Sep)	The Treaty of Peace with Japan (San Francisco Peace Treaty) was signed. Japan renounced territorial sovereignty over the Island of Formosa (Taiwan) and the Pescadores under Article 2; the Senkaku Islands remained as part of the territory of Japan. In accordance with Article 3, the US exercised its administrative rights over the Islands pending the placement of the Nansei Shoto Islands under the UN trusteeship system.
1968	The UN Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East (ECAFE) conducted a survey on coastal mineral resources. ⇒ <b>The report indicated the possibility of oil reserves in the East China Sea.</b>
1971 (June)	The Agreement between Japan and the United States of America Concerning the Ryukyu Islands and the Daito Islands was signed, reverting the administrative rights over these territories to Japan from the US. The Agreed Minutes to the Agreement included the Senkaku Islands in the territories to be returned to Japan.
1971	<b>China and Taiwan officially asserted "territorial sovereignty" over the Islands for the first time</b> (in the form of foreign ministry statements in June for Taiwan and in December for China).
1992	China unilaterally established the Law on the Territorial Sea and the Contiguous Zone.

(Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan website)

## Trends in Chinese Government and Other Vessels in the Waters Surrounding the Senkaku Islands, and Japan's Response

March 4, 2014

Numbers of Chinese government and other vessels that entered Japan's contiguous zone or intruded into the territorial sea surrounding the Senkaku Islands



(Source: Japan Coast Guard)

- On May 7, 2008, then President Hu Jintao of the People's Republic of China, on his official visit to Japan, and then Prime Minister Yasuo Fukuda signed a joint statement between the Government of Japan and the Government of China on comprehensive promotion of “Mutually Beneficial Relationship based on Common Strategic Interests”, and recognized that the Japan-China relationship is one of the most important bilateral relationships for each of the two countries and that Japan and China now have great influence on and bear a solemn responsibility for peace, stability, and development of the Asia-Pacific region and the world.
- Only seven months later, on December 8 of that year, two Chinese government vessels made a sudden intrusion into Japan's territorial sea surrounding the Senkaku Islands. Despite repeated calls by patrol vessels of the Japan Coast Guard to leave the area and strong protests lodged against China through diplomatic channels, the vessels hovered and drifted inside Japan's territorial sea for some nine hours until the evening of that day. The incident made clear China's new position concerning the Senkaku Islands, one that had never been observed before: Chinese government vessels intrude into Japan's territorial sea with the clear intention of violating the sovereignty of Japan, attempting to change the status quo through force or coercion.

- After a collision of a Chinese fishing boat into Japan Coast Guard patrol vessels in Japan's territorial sea surrounding the Senkaku Islands on September 7, 2010, Chinese government vessels started to sail the waters surrounding the Islands more frequently than before. In August 2011, two Chinese government vessels intruded into Japan's territorial sea surrounding the Senkaku Islands, preceding one in March 2012 and four in July that year.
- On September 11, 2012, the ownership of three of the Senkaku Islands (Uotsuri, Kitakojima and Minamikojima Islands) was transferred from private citizens to the Government of Japan in accordance with Japan's domestic Civil Code. From September 14, on the pretext of protesting the transfer, Chinese government vessels started to enter Japan's contiguous zone almost daily, except on stormy days. Furthermore, they have repeatedly intruded into Japan's territorial sea, at a frequency of about five intrusions per month (for details, see the chart above). Such a situation is totally unacceptable to Japan. Each time Chinese government vessels intrude into Japan's territorial sea, on-site Japanese patrol vessels demand them to leave and, at the same time, the Japanese Government promptly lodges a strong protest against the Chinese government through diplomatic channels, strongly demanding the vessels leave immediately and that China prevent such an incident from occurring again.
- The Senkaku Islands are an inherent part of the territory of Japan in light of historical facts and based upon international law. Indeed, the Senkaku Islands are under the valid control of Japan. Japan responds firmly and calmly to any attempts by China to change the status quo through force or coercion with a determination that all government ministries and agencies concerned will work as one to firmly protect Japan's territorial land, waters, and airspace.

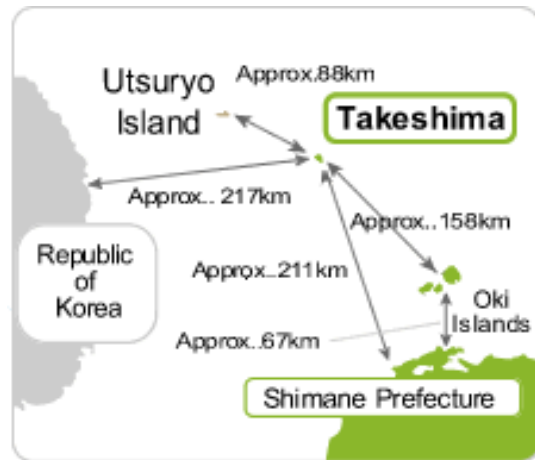
(Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan website)



View of Takeshima: Higashijima (Mejima) Island and Nishijima (Ojima) Island



Location Map



Surrounding Area

**Basic Information about Takeshima**

Takeshima is comprised of two main islands, Higashijima (Mejima) Island and Nishijima (Ojima) Island, and numerous small islands. It is part of Okinoshima Town of Shimane Prefecture.

Takeshima is located in the Sea of Japan approximately 158 km northwest of the Oki Islands at 37°14' north latitude and 131°52' east longitude. The total land area of Takeshima is approximately 0.21 square kilometers.

The two main islands are precipitous volcanic islands, with cliffs about the coastline on all sides. They have scarce vegetation and drinking water resources. In the early 17th century the Japanese people used the islands as a fishing ground for sea lions and abalone. Sea lion hunting business started on a full scale in the early 1900s.

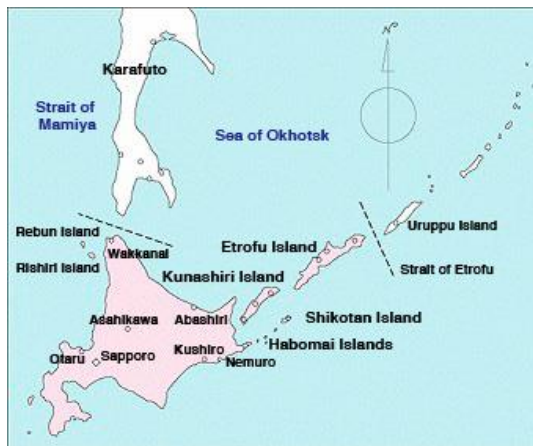
(Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan website)



## 北方領土 Northern Territories



View of Etorofu Island



Location Map



View of Kunashiri Island

### Basic Understanding of the Northern Territories Issue

The Northern Territories consist of four islands located off the northeast coast of the Nemuro Peninsula of Hokkaido. They are: Habomai, Shikotan, Kunashiri and Etorofu. The Northern Territories are not included in the Kurile Islands. Japan discovered and surveyed the Four Northern Islands before the Russians arrived there. By the early 19th century at the latest, Japan had effectively established control over the four islands. In 1855, the Treaty of Commerce, Navigation and Delimitation between Japan and Russia, which was concluded in a completely friendly and peaceful manner, confirmed the already established natural boundaries, drawing the boundary between the islands of Etorofu (the northernmost island of the Northern Territories) and Uruppu. The Four Northern Islands had never been held by foreign countries.

However, nearing the end of the Second World War, the Soviet Union, in violation of the Neutrality Pact that was still in force between Japan and the Soviet Union, opened the war with Japan. Even after Japan accepted the Potsdam Declaration, Soviet forces continued their offensive against Japan and occupied all of the Four Northern Islands from 28 August 1945 to 5 September 1945. Subsequently, the Soviet Union unilaterally incorporated the territories under occupation into its own territories without any legal grounds, and by 1949 had forcibly deported all Japanese residents of the Four Northern Islands (approximately 17,000 people).

As a result of negotiations to date, both Japan and Russia have agreed to resolve the issue of the attribution of the Four Northern Islands and to conclude a peace treaty, and have continued vigorous negotiations. The Russian side also states that it continues to pursue a solution on the demarcation of an internationally recognized national border that is acceptable to both countries.

### Composition of the Northern Territories

	Area of the Northern Territories		Island Area	Population	Administrative Jurisdiction Prior to WWII
	(km <sup>2</sup> )	(%)			
<b>Habomai Islands</b>	100	(2)	100	5,281	All were included in Habomai Village, Hanasaki County.
Suisho Island			14	986	
Akiyuri Island			3	88	
Yuri Island			11	501	
Shibotsu Island			60	2,249	
Taraku Island			12	1,457	
Todo Island, Kaigara Island			-	-	
<b>Shikotan Island</b>	253	(5)	250	1,038	Shikotan Island and the islands adjacent to it (Oshima Island, Kojima Island, Kamojima Island, etc.) form Shikotan County.
<b>Kunashiri Island</b>	1,499	(30)	1,499	7,364	The entire Kunashiri island forms Kunashiri County.
<b>Etorofu Island</b>	3,184	(63)	3,183	3,608	Etorofu Island consists of the three counties of Shibetoro, Shana, and Etorofu.
Total	5,036		5,032	17,291	All of these were under the jurisdiction of Nemuro Subprefecture of Hokkaido.

**Note:** The area and island areas are based on the “2009 Nationwide Prefectural and Municipalities Area Survey” by the Geospatial Information Authority of Japan (decimals rounded to the nearest integer). Note that the island areas cover only the main islands and do not include islets or reefs under 1 km<sup>2</sup>. The population figures are from August 15, 1945 (survey by the Association of Residents of Chishima and Habomai Islands).

(Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan website)



## **【Part 2】 Japan’s Path of 70 Years as “a Peace-Loving Nation”**

### **Introduction**

Japan has consistently followed the path of “a peace-loving nation” throughout the post-war era. Looking back on the history of Japanese diplomacy over the 70 years since the end of WWII, it has demonstrated its remorse over the war through its own actions. As “a peace-loving nation” underpinned by solid democracy humbly reflecting on its pre-war history, post-war Japan has not become a military superpower despite having become an economic superpower. It has adhered to a strictly defensive security policy, prevented an escalation of international conflicts, made the greatest possible investment of its national resources peace, stability, and prosperity of the international community, and contributed to international cooperation. Moreover, Japan has maintained its diplomacy in accordance with the ideal as “a peace-loving nation,” despite major changes in the regional and international security environment. It has asserted its policy of being a “Proactive Contributor to Peace” based on the principle of international cooperation, and aspires to make additional contributions to the peace, stability and prosperity of the international community. This paper overviews the path of Japan’s post-war diplomacy as “a peace-loving nation” based on the lessons learned from history and its future-oriented diplomacy toward Asia, drawing references from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs website.

### **1. Japan’s Path of 70 Years as “a Peace-Loving Nation”<sup>12</sup>**

Since the end of WWII, the Japanese government has expressed its principles as “a peace-loving nation” and its fundamental position over a diverse number of occasions. For example, the preamble to the Constitution of Japan enacted on November 3, 1946, cites high ideals and resolution toward perpetual peace in the international community. Also Japan’s second “Diplomatic Bluebook,” published in March 1958, claims that Japan’s national policy is to “establish and maintain peace based on freedom and justice,” and in accordance with this policy, “the fundamental spirit of Japan’s diplomacy is to advance peace diplomacy, realize international justice, and establish democracy in the international community.”

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<sup>12</sup> “Japan: Path of 60 Years as a Nation Striving for Peace,” Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan website.

### **(1) Maintenance of a Strictly Defensive Security Policy and the US-Japan Security Arrangements**

Under the principle of a strictly defensive security policy, Japan has adopted a basic defense policy of maintaining the minimum force required for self-defense and not possessing any offensive weapons. Japan does not possess offensive weapons such as long-range bombers, nuclear-powered submarines, ballistic missiles or weapons of mass destruction. Defense expenditures are limited to around 1% of GDP with a highly transparent defense policy and defensive force. Maintaining its Three Non-nuclear Principles to not possess and not produce any nuclear weapons and not permit their entry into Japan, a non-nuclear-weapons state under the nuclear non-proliferation treaty regime, has also been its firm belief. Finally, Japan also upholds the Japan-US Security arrangements which are absolutely essential for the peace, security, and prosperity of Japan, the Asia-Pacific region, and the international community.

### **(2) Preventing Escalation of International Conflicts**

As a nation striving for peace based on the Three Principles on Arms Exports and other guidelines, Japan has been dealing carefully with arms exports to prevent the escalation of international conflicts. As the only nation to have suffered atomic bombings, Japan has also actively worked towards the abolition of nuclear arms, strengthening the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), bringing the Comprehensive Nuclear Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) into effect at an early date, launching the Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Initiative (NPDI) centered on Japan and Australia, and also calling for disarmament and non-proliferation in the international community.

### **(3) Proactive Contributions to International Peace and Stability**

From the end of the Cold War era through the 21<sup>st</sup> century, proactive contributions to the peace, stability and prosperity of the international community have become increasingly important. Japanese diplomacy has steadily built up a concrete record of cooperation through human resources contributions for peacekeeping, peacebuilding and humanitarian and reconstruction support, with financial and material contributions such as the provision of official development assistance (ODA), and contributions to the

United Nations. Japan is contributing to the actualization of the stability and prosperity of the international community through efforts to address the economic development of developing countries based on the principle of human security to resolve global-scale issues via trade and investment relations with other countries. Finally, to strengthen global governance, Japan strives to establish the rule of law in the international community, and to realize democracy with respect to basic human rights and other universal values.

## **2. Japan's Diplomacy Emphasizing Asia**

After WWII, Japan's post-war settlement diplomacy played a significant role in normalizing Japan's relations with the nations of Southeast Asia, with the ROK (Republic of Korea) in 1965 and with China in 1972. Since that time, Japan has continued to consider and reflect on historical issues in its diplomatic policies, as may be seen in the 1977 "Fukuda Doctrine." This promised that, as a nation striving for peace, Japan will never become a military power and will build up amicable relations with other states as an equal partner. Japan has also made great efforts to assist the economic development and prosperity of Asian countries in various forms, including the provision of yen loans. As a result, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) states and other Asian countries have achieved stability and economic growth, with many countries becoming democratic in the process as well. With a track record of such efforts as a nation striving for peace, post-war Japan has earned the trust and favorable assessments of many members of the international community including those of the Asian region.

### **(1) Japan's Compensation to Countries and Peoples Damaged in the War<sup>13</sup>**

After WWII, Japan sincerely addressed compensation to countries and peoples harmed by the war. Following the war, the government of Japan settled the reparations and property and other claims issues collectively with the countries concerned. Specifically, Japan concluded the San Francisco Peace Treaty and bilateral peace treaties with the countries involved, paying compensation and fulfilling other obligations in accordance with such treaties. At the time Japan also settled individual claims. The methods of compensation were generally accepted by the international community, with the reparations, claims, and other issues regarding the war legally

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<sup>13</sup> "History Issues Q&A," Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan website.

resolved with the concerned countries through these treaties, etc.

- Examples of post-war settlements based on the San Francisco Peace Treaty
  - Philippines: Reparations of \$550 million (¥198 billion)
  - Vietnam: Reparations of \$39 million (¥14.04 billion)
  - The International Committee of the Red Cross: payments of 4.5 million pounds (about ¥4.541 billion) to compensate for prisoners of war
  - Renunciation of overseas assets (about \$23.681 billion; about ¥379.499 billion)
  
- Examples of post-war settlements based on individual peace treaties etc.
  - Burma: Payment of \$200 million (¥72 billion)
  - Indonesia: Payment of \$223.08 million (¥80.3088 billion)
  - USSR: The USSR renounced claims for reparations from Japan in the Soviet-Japan Joint Declaration (1956), and Japan and the USSR mutually abandoned all claims arising as a result of the war
  - South Korea: The 1965 Agreement between Japan and the Republic of Korea Concerning the Settlement of Problems in Regard to Property and Claims and Economic Cooperation confirmed that the property and claims issues were settled, with Japan providing \$500 million in economic cooperation (\$300 million in grants, \$200 million in loans)
  - China: The People's Republic of China (PRC) renounced its demand for war reparations from Japan in the Japan-PRC Joint Communique (1972). However, Japan made great contributions by taking the lead in providing assistance for and promoting investment in China as China pursued its economic openings. Japan provided 45 billion dollars' worth of official development assistance (ODA) to China since 1979 as it places great value on China's role on the global scene.

## **(2) Building Japan's Future-oriented Relations with Asian Nations<sup>14</sup>**

### **① Japan's Basic Position and Policy on History Issues**

Japan's post-war diplomatic stance as a nation striving for peace has emphasized cooperation with Asian countries, with a goal of building future-oriented relations while solemnly reflecting on the past history, working for regional peace and stability and

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<sup>14</sup> See "History Issues Q&A," Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan website.

prosperity. This is based on the idea that Japan should “join hands with the countries of Asia beginning with China and the ROK, which Japan is separated from by narrow bodies of water, to maintain the peace of the region, and aim to develop.” Therefore, Japan has made repeated efforts “to face the past squarely, understand history correctly, and build up future-oriented cooperative relations based on mutual understanding and trust with Asian countries.” On the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan website, the following explanation is given.

“In the past, Japan, through its colonial rule and aggression, caused tremendous damage and suffering to the people of many countries, particularly to those of Asian nations. Japan squarely faces these facts of history in a spirit of humility, and with feelings of deep remorse and heartfelt apology always engraved in mind, has resolutely maintained, consistently since the end of World War II, never turning into a military power but an economic power, its principle of resolving all matters by peaceful means. In this way, Japan has directly faced the past with regard to the war and, with feelings of deep remorse, has made maximum efforts to build future-oriented and co-operative relationships with Asian nations, especially China and the Republic of Korea. We will work to achieve the peace and prosperity of the world in the future as well.”

Japan has clearly expressed this type of historical understanding regarding the Asian nations. This sentiment has also been clearly expressed on a diverse range of occasions in meetings with the ROK, China and other countries, including comments by Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama in 1995 marking the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the war’s end, and comments by Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi in 2005 on the 60<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the war’s end. This understanding has been followed as the basic stance of the Japanese government by all administrations, including those of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) as well as the current administration of Prime Minister Shinzo Abe. With this in mind, Japan confirms that it will continue building future-oriented and mutually beneficial strategic relations with the ROK, China and the other nations of Asia.

## **② Agreements toward Japan’s Future-oriented Relations with China and the ROK**

In relation to China, the Joint Statement between the Government of Japan and the Government of the People’s Republic of China on Comprehensive Promotion of a

“Mutually Beneficial Relationship Based on Common Strategic Interests,” issued when Premier Hu Jintao visited Japan in May 2008, confirmed Japan’s and China’s resolution to face history squarely, turn toward the future and continuously strive to comprehensively promote a “mutually beneficial relationship based on common strategic interests between Japan and China,” in order to create a good future for the Asia Pacific and the world. China itself stated that, “The Chinese side expressed its positive valuation of Japan’s consistent pursuit of the path of a peaceful country and Japan’s contribution to the peace and stability.”

On relations with the ROK, at a joint press conference when President Lee Myung-bak visited Japan in April 2008, the two countries also confirmed their determination to face history squarely, have a common vision for the future, build up bilateral relations to a mature partnership and open up a new era for Japan and the ROK by contributing together to the international community.

The Japanese government has repeatedly made sincere efforts for the reconciliation of history with China and the ROK through the Japan-China Joint History Research Committee, the Japan-ROK Joint History Research Committee, the Asia Women’s Fund (a project related to the so-called “comfort women” issue), the Peace, Friendship, and Exchange Initiative, and youth exchange programs. Japan’s efforts to ease antagonistic feelings regarding historical issues, advance bilateral exchange, and build up peaceful and friendly bilateral relations should be judged fairly. Historical understanding is not a simple issue that can be resolved overnight, and thus has remained a complex and difficult issue linked with bilateral politics, security, domestic politics and citizens’ sentiment. The parties must refrain from using historical understanding as a political card, and work in sync toward reconciliation through academic and cultural exchange at the non-governmental level in addition to government efforts.

### **③ Japan’s Partnership with Southeast Asia (ASEAN)**

Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda announced Japan’s basic principles for diplomacy with Southeast Asia (the “Fukuda Doctrine”) in Manila in 1977, and promised Japan’s commitment to playing a positive role in realizing stability and prosperity in Southeast Asia as follows: (1) Japan rejects the role of a military power, and on that basis is resolved to contribute to world peace and prosperity; (2) as a true friend of the countries of Southeast Asia, Japan will do its best to consolidate relationships of mutual confidence and trust based on "heart-to-heart" understanding with these countries in

wide-ranging fields covering social and cultural areas; and (3) as an equal partner, Japan will contribute to building peace and prosperity throughout Southeast Asia. Based on these three principles, over the first 40 years of Japan-ASEAN relations, Japan has developed multi-layered, friendly and cooperative Japan-ASEAN relations.

The year 2013 marked the 40<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Japan-ASEAN relations. In January 2013, Prime Minister Abe took his first overseas trip after assuming office to three countries in Southeast Asia (Vietnam, Thailand and Indonesia), and announced “The Bounty of the Open Seas: Five New Principles for Japanese Diplomacy” at a summit meeting with Indonesia on January 18. Abe visited all 10 ASEAN member states within the year, and the ASEAN-Japan Commemorative Summit meeting held in Tokyo on December 14 adopted the Vision Statement on ASEAN-Japan Friendship and Cooperation, as well as its Implementation Plan, reconfirming the development of comprehensive and multi-layered relations across politics (peace and stability), economics (prosperity), society and culture (a better quality of life), and people-to-people exchanges (mutual trust), and promised the further strengthening of cooperative relations as strategic partners.

### **(3) Japan’s Positive Image in the International Community**

The steady efforts of Japanese diplomacy as “a peace-loving nation” throughout post-war history have been positively and highly evaluated by the international community. In a world public opinion poll for the BBC, Japan has been ranked highly as a country which is “having a mainly positive influence in the world” every year from 2006 through 2013. In United Nations Peacekeeping Operations (PKO), the activities of Japanese personnel have been highly regarded by the UN, the host countries and the international community as highly professional, orderly and highly reliable. Even the infrastructure preparation experience accumulated by Self-Defense Forces facilities units in maintaining and repairing roads and bridges in Cambodia and East Timor has been utilized greatly by United Nations PKO in recent years.

Japan received many offers of support and encouragement from the countries of the world following the Great East Japan Earthquake of March 11, 2011. This demonstrates that Japan’s post-war path as a peace-loving nation has been fundamentally correct, also proving that the world needs Japan and has faith in its recovery and revival.

## **Conclusion**

Since WWII Japan has consistently followed the path of “a peace-loving nation” for almost 70 years, and made every effort to contribute to the peace, stability and prosperity of the Asia -Pacific region and the international community. It has worked to proactively contribute to international peace and security by upholding a strictly defensive security policy and the Japan-US Security arrangements, regulating weapons exports, advancing nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation, cooperating with the United Nations, conducting Official Development Assistance (ODA), technology cooperation, UN Peacekeeping Operations (PKO) and engaging in other pragmatic cooperation efforts. For the countries of Asia, Japan has worked to respond diplomatically and resolve the issues of post-war settlement. This includes paying reparations and compensation, and repeatedly expressing its humble remorse and apologies publicly regarding issues of historical understanding concerning the war, invasions and colonial rule. Throughout the post-war era, Japan has consistently upheld its peace-driven national and foreign policy, making great contributions to the peace and prosperity of Asia. This national policy of Japan supported by the Japanese people will remain consistent in the future as well.

As the world becomes more globalized, the security environment surrounding Japan is becoming increasingly challenging. In such circumstances, threats include changes in the balance of power, the sudden progress of technological innovation, the threat of proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) and international terrorism, risks to the global commons, “human security” issues, and global economic risks. The environment of the Asia-Pacific region includes unresolved confrontations and tensions, with the risk of unstable conditions in grey zones escalating. In particular, North Korea’s increase in military force and provocations are an immediate threat to Japan, while China’s rapid rise and its military development without sufficient transparency, intensified activities into various areas, rigid unilateral assertions and external stance, are also a matter of concern to the region and the international community.

Considering how the security environment in the region surrounding Japan and the international community is becoming increasingly harsh, the Abe administration launched the policy of “Proactive Contributor to Peace.” This was based on the principle of international cooperation, firmly maintaining Japan’s path as a peace-loving nation while realizing the significance of the security of Japan as well as the peace and stability of the Asia-Pacific region. Japan aims to proactively contribute more than ever to secure the peace, stability, and prosperity of the international community. As Prime



Minister Shinzo Abe pledged, “(For almost 70 years) after the War, Japan created a free and democratic country, and consistently walked the path of peace. There is no doubt whatsoever that we will continue to pursue this path. Under the spirit of international cooperation, Japan will discharge its responsibilities for the peace, stability and prosperity of the world.”

Regarding issues concerning the sea and Japanese territory, Japan will continue its path as “a peace-loving nation” with the basic policy approach of “aiming to resolve issues peacefully and diplomatically based on law and justice.” In the words of former Prime Minister Yoshihiko Noda, “I believe that the spread of rule-based order in accordance with international law is an indispensable element of stability and prosperity not only for Japan, as a maritime nation, but also for the entire Asia-Pacific region.... No matter the issue, Japan will seek resolutions based on the principles of law and justice. We will exert efforts for a calm response, and place value on diplomatic decency. I once again express our resolve toward making efforts together with our neighboring countries for the future of this region.”

## **Japan's Official Statements on History Issues, War and Peace**

### ● **Statement by Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama (August 15, 1995)**

The world has seen fifty years elapse since the war came to an end. Now, when I remember the many people both at home and abroad who fell victim to war, my heart is overwhelmed by a flood of emotions.

The peace and prosperity of today were built as Japan overcame great difficulty to arise from a devastated land after defeat in the war. That achievement is something of which we are proud, and let me herein express my heartfelt admiration for the wisdom and untiring effort of each and every one of our citizens. Let me also express once again my profound gratitude for the indispensable support and assistance extended to Japan by the countries of the world, beginning with the United States of America. I am also delighted that we have been able to build the friendly relations which we enjoy today with the neighboring countries of the Asia-Pacific region, the United States and the countries of Europe.

Now that Japan has come to enjoy peace and abundance, we tend to overlook the priceless and blessings of peace. Our task is to convey to younger generations the horrors of war, so that we never repeat the errors in our history. I believe that, as we join hands, especially with the peoples of neighboring countries, to ensure true peace in the Asia-Pacific region -indeed, in the entire world- it is necessary, more than anything else, that we foster relations with all countries based on deep understanding and trust. Guided by this conviction, the Government has launched the Peace, Friendship and Exchange Initiative, which consists of two parts promoting: support for historical research into relations in the modern era between Japan and the neighboring countries of Asia and elsewhere; and rapid expansion of exchanges with those countries. Furthermore, I will continue in all sincerity to do my utmost in efforts being made on the issues arisen from the war, in order to further strengthen the relations of trust between Japan and those countries.

Now, upon this historic occasion of the 50th anniversary of the war's end, we should bear in mind that we must look into the past to learn from the lessons of history, and ensure that we do not stray from the path to the peace and prosperity of human society in the future.

During a certain period in the not too distant past, Japan, following a mistaken national policy, advanced along the road to war, only to ensnare the Japanese people in a fateful crisis, and, through its colonial rule and aggression, caused tremendous damage and suffering to the people of many countries, particularly to those of Asian nations. In the hope that no such mistake be made in the future, I regard, in a spirit of humility, these irrefutable facts of history, and express here once again my feelings of deep remorse and state my heartfelt apology. Allow me also to express my feelings of profound mourning for all victims, both at home and abroad, of that history.

Building from our deep remorse on this occasion of the 50th anniversary of the end of the war, Japan must eliminate self-righteous nationalism, promote international coordination as a responsible member of the international community and, thereby, advance the principles of peace and democracy. At the same time, as the only country to have experienced the devastation of atomic bombing, Japan, with a view to the ultimate elimination of nuclear weapons, must actively strive to further global disarmament in areas such as the strengthening of the nuclear non-proliferation regime. It is my conviction that in this way alone can Japan atone for its past and lay to rest the spirits of those who perished.

It is said that one can rely on good faith. And so, at this time of remembrance, I declare to the people of Japan and abroad my intention to make good faith the foundation of our Government policy, and this is my vow.

### ● **Statement by Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi (August 15, 2005)**

On the 60th anniversary of the end of the war, I reaffirm my determination that Japan must never again take the path to war, reflecting that the peace and prosperity we enjoy today are founded on the ultimate sacrifices of those who lost their lives for the war against their will.

More than three million compatriots died in the war -- in the battlefield thinking about their

homeland and worrying about their families, while others perished amidst the destruction of war, or after the war in remote foreign countries.

In the past, Japan, through its colonial rule and aggression, caused tremendous damage and suffering to the people of many countries, particularly to those of Asian nations. Sincerely facing these facts of history, I once again express my feelings of deep remorse and heartfelt apology, and also express the feelings of mourning for all victims, both at home and abroad, in the war. I am determined not to allow the lessons of that horrible war to erode, and to contribute to the peace and prosperity of the world without ever again waging a war.

After the war, Japan rebuilt itself from a devastated land owing to the ceaseless efforts of its people and the assistance extended by many countries, and accepted the San Francisco Peace Treaty, being the first step of its reversion to the international community. Japan has resolutely maintained its principle of resolving all matters by peaceful means and not by force, and proactively extended material and personnel assistance for the sake of the peace and prosperity of the world through official development assistance (ODA) and United Nations peace keeping operations. Japan's post war history has indeed been six decades of manifesting its remorse on the war through actions.

The post war generations now exceed 70% of Japan's population. Each and every Japanese, through his or her own experience and peace-oriented education, sincerely seeks international peace. Today, many Japanese are actively engaged in activities for peace and humanitarian assistance around the world, through such organizations as the Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers, and have been receiving much trust and high appreciation from the local people. Exchange with Asian countries in a wide variety of areas, such as economy and culture, has also increased on an unprecedented scale. I believe it is necessary to work hand in hand with other Asian countries, especially with China and the Republic of Korea, which are Japan's neighboring countries separated only by a strip of water, to maintain peace and pursue the development of the region. Through squarely facing the past and rightly recognizing the history, I intend to build a future-oriented cooperative relationship based on mutual understanding and trust with Asian countries.

● **Speech by Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi (April 22, 2005)**

Fifty years ago, Japan stood before the Asian and African nations assembled at Bandung to declare its determination to develop itself as a peaceful nation. That spirit of fifty years ago remains steadfast to this day. In the past, Japan, through its colonial rule and aggression, caused tremendous damage and suffering to the people of many countries, particularly to those of Asian nations. Japan squarely faces these facts of history in a spirit of humility. And with feelings of deep remorse and heartfelt apology always engraved in mind, Japan has resolutely maintained, consistently since the end of World War II, never turning into a military power but an economic power, its principle of resolving all matters by peaceful means, without recourse to use of force. Japan once again states its resolve to contribute to the peace and prosperity of the world in the future as well, prizing the relationship of trust it enjoys with the nations of the world.

● **Statement by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe - Pledge for everlasting peace – (Dec 26, 2013)**

Today, I paid a visit to Yasukuni Shrine and expressed my sincere condolences, paid my respects and prayed for the souls of all those who had fought for the country and made ultimate sacrifices. I also visited Chinreisha, a remembrance memorial to pray for the souls of all the people regardless of nationalities who lost their lives in the war, but not enshrined in Yasukuni Shrine.

While praying for the souls of the war dead, the preciousness of peace Japan enjoys today really came home to me.

The peace and prosperity Japan enjoys today is not created only by those who are living today. The peace and prosperity we enjoy today is built on the precious sacrifices of numerous people who perished on the field wishing for the happiness of their loving wives and children, and thinking about their fathers and mothers who had raised them.

Today, I have contemplated on this, and paid my deepest respects and gratitudes on my visit.

Japan must never wage a war again. This is my conviction based on the severe remorse for the past. I have renewed my determination before the souls of the war dead to firmly uphold the pledge never to wage a war again.

I have also made a pledge that we must build an age which is free from the sufferings by the devastation of war; Japan must be a country which joins hands with friends in Asia and friends around the world to realize peace of the entire world.

For 68 years after the war, Japan created a free and democratic country, and consistently walked the path of peace. There is no doubt whatsoever that we will continue to pursue this path. Under the spirit of international cooperation, Japan will discharge its responsibilities for the peace, stability and prosperity of the world.

Regrettably, it is a reality that the visit to Yasukuni Shrine has become a political and diplomatic issue. Some people criticize the visit to Yasukuni as paying homage to war criminals, but the purpose of my visit today, on the anniversary of my administration's taking office, is to report before the souls of the war dead how my administration has worked for one year and to renew the pledge that Japan must never wage a war again.

It is not my intention at all to hurt the feelings of the Chinese and Korean people. It is my wish to respect each other's character, protect freedom and democracy, and build friendship with China and Korea with respect, as did all the previous Prime Ministers who visited Yasukuni Shrine. I would like to ask for the kind understanding of all of you.

- **Japan-China Joint Declaration on Building a Partnership of Friendship and Cooperation for Peace and Development (November 26, 1998)**

"Both sides believe that squarely facing the past and correctly understanding history are the important foundation for further developing relations between Japan and China. The Japanese side observes the 1972 Joint Communiqué of the Government of Japan and the Government of the People's Republic of China and the 15 August 1995 Statement by former Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama. The Japanese side is keenly conscious of the responsibility for the serious distress and damage that Japan caused to the Chinese people through its aggression against China during a certain period in the past and expressed deep remorse for this. The Chinese side hopes that the Japanese side will learn lessons from the history and adhere to the path of peace and development. Based on this, both sides will develop long-standing relations of friendship."

- **Japan-ROK Joint Declaration: A New Japan-Republic of Korea Partnership towards the Twenty-first Century (October 8, 1998)**

"Looking back on the relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea during this century, Prime Minister Obuchi regarded in a spirit of humility the fact of history that Japan caused, during a certain period in the past, tremendous damage and suffering to the people of the Republic of Korea through its colonial rule, and expressed his deep remorse and heartfelt apology for this fact."

(Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan website)

- **The Constitution of Japan (November 3, 1946)**

We, the Japanese people, desire peace for all time and are deeply conscious of the high ideals controlling human relationship, and we have determined to preserve our security and existence, trusting in the justice and faith of the peace-loving peoples of the world. We desire to occupy an honored place in an international society striving for the preservation of peace, and the banishment of tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance for all time from the earth. We recognize that all peoples of the world have the right to live in peace, free from fear and want.

We believe that no nation is responsible to itself alone, but that laws of political morality are universal; and that obedience to such laws is incumbent upon all nations who would sustain their own sovereignty and justify their sovereign relationship with other nations.

We, the Japanese people, pledge our national honor to accomplish these high ideals and purposes with all our resources.

- **National Security Strategy (December 17, 2013)**

Japan has consistently followed the path of a peace-loving nation since the end of World War II. Japan has adhered to a basic policy of maintaining an exclusively national defense-oriented policy, not becoming a military power that poses a threat to other countries, and observing the Three Non-Nuclear Principles.

In addition, Japan has maintained its security, and contributed to peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region, by enhancing its alliance with the United States (US) with which it shares universal values and strategic interests, as well as by deepening cooperative relationships with other countries.

Moreover, Japan has contributed to the realization of stability and prosperity in the international community through initiatives for supporting the economic growth of developing countries and for addressing global issues based on the principle of human security, as well as through trade and investment relations with other countries. In particular, Japan's cooperation contributed to realizing stability, economic growth and democratization in many countries, especially those in Asia, including the member states of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN).

Furthermore, as a peace-loving nation, complying with the United Nations (UN) Charter, Japan has been cooperating with the UN and other international organizations, and has actively contributed to their activities. In particular, Japan has continuously participated in UN peacekeeping operations (PKO), as the role of military forces diversified after the end of the Cold War. In addition, as the only country to have ever suffered atomic bombings in war, Japan has consistently engaged in disarmament and non-proliferation efforts, playing a leading role in international initiatives to realize "a world free of nuclear weapons."

The course that Japan has taken as a peace-loving nation has garnered significant praise and respect from the international community, and Japan must continue these steps to further consolidate such a position.

At the same time, surrounded by an increasingly severe security environment and confronted by complex and grave national security challenges, it has become indispensable for Japan to make more proactive efforts in line with the principle of international cooperation. Japan cannot secure its own peace and security by itself, and the international community expects Japan to play a more proactive role for peace and stability in the world, in a way commensurate with its national capabilities.

Against this backdrop, under the evolving security environment, Japan will continue to adhere to the course that it has taken to date as a peace-loving nation, and as a major player in world politics and economy, contribute even more proactively in securing peace, stability, and prosperity of the international community, while achieving its own security as well as peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region, as a "Proactive Contributor to Peace" based on the principle of international cooperation. This is the fundamental principle of national security that Japan should stand to hold.

## **Japan's Contributions to the International Community**

### **(1) Human Resources Contributions**

#### **(Peacekeeping, Peacebuilding, Humanitarian and Reconstruction Support)**

- As part of its efforts for the peace and stability of the international community, Japan conducts UN Peacekeeping Operations (PKO), humanitarian international aid activities, and international election monitoring activities. Over the past 20 years, Japan has dispatched a total of more than 9,500 personnel for UN PKO and other activities in Angola, Cambodia, Mozambique, El Salvador, the Golan Heights, East Timor, Nepal, Sudan, Haiti and South Sudan (9,173 Japan Self-Defense Forces personnel, 82 civilian police officers and 251 electoral observers; as of December 2012).
- Since November 2001, the Japan Self-Defense Forces have been conducting fuel supply operations in the Indian Ocean and other cooperation assistance activities for the fight against terrorism.
- From December 2003 through December 2008, Japan conducted humanitarian and reconstruction activities in Iraq (cooperation by dispatching civilians to Iraq and receiving civilians from Iraq).
- Amid the diversification of UN PKO duties and functions, Japanese cooperation is also responding to change, and Japan is proactively conducting activities. Examples of Japan's contributions to UN PKO include the following:
  - Feb. 1996 – Jan. 2013, UN Disengagement Observer Force (UNDOF)
  - Feb 2010 – Feb. 2013, UN Stabilization Mission in Haiti (MINUSTAH)
  - Sept. 2010 – Sept. 2012, UN Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste (UNMIT)
  - Nov. 2011 – present, UN Mission in the Republic of South Sudan (UNMISS)
- As technical cooperation through Japan International Cooperation Assistance (JICA), Japan has dispatched a total of around 320,000 personnel to 179 countries and received about 350,000 foreign trainees through March 2007, and also dispatched about 34,000 Japan Overseas Cooperation Volunteers to 92 countries.

### **(2) Financial and Material Assistance (ODA)**

- Since 1954, Japan has provided a total of \$261.8 billion in ODA to 187 countries and regions (cumulative total through 2007)
- Japan was the world's top donor nation for 10 years from 1991 (contributed one-fifth of the world's ODA)
- Japan strictly prohibits any use of ODA for military expenditures or for aggravation of international conflicts (ODA Charter)

### **(3) Contributions to the United Nations**

- Japan served as a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council for 10 terms with the support of Asian nations; also a candidate for 2015.
- Japan contributes over 10% of the UN budget. Japan is the second largest UN donor after the US, providing about \$300 million or about 12% of the ordinary budget in 2012 and contributing about \$1.08 billion for the UN PKO budget in 2011.

(Source: Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan website)

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  - [http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/q\\_a/faq16.html](http://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/q_a/faq16.html) (English)