THE EFFECT OF POLITICAL TENSIONS ON INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS

BETWEEN SOUTH KOREA AND JAPAN

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A Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements

for the Degree of Master of Arts Program in Korean Studies

(Interdisciplinary Program)

Graduate School

Chulalongkorn University

Academic Year 2013

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ผลกระทบของความตึงเครียดทางการเมืองต่อความสัมพันธ์ทางวัฒนธรรม
ระหว่างเกาหลีใต้และญี่ปุ่น

นายแพนดู รักมาติกา

Thesis Title	THE EFFECT OF POLITICAL TENSIONS ON INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN SOUTH KOREA AND JAPAN
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Field of Study	Korean Studies
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แพนดู รักมาติกา : ผลกระทบของความตึงเครียดทางการเมืองต่อความสัมพันธ์ทางวัฒนธรรมระหว่างเกาหลีใต้และญี่ปุ่น. (THE EFFECT OF POLITICAL TENSIONS ON INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN SOUTH KOREA AND JAPAN) อ.ที่ปรึกษาวิทยานิพนธ์หลัก: ศ. ดร.ไชยวัฒน์ ค้ำชู, 81 หน้า.

ประเทศเกาหลีใต้และประเทศญี่ปุ่นเป็นเพื่อนบ้านที่ตั้งอยู่ติดกันและทั้งสองได้รักษาความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างกันมาเป็นเวลาประมาณนานถึง 1,500 ปี จนกระทั่งทุกวันนี้ ทั้งสองประเทศยังคงมีสัมพันธ์ที่ซับซ้อนเนื่องมาจากความคล้ายคลึงใน วัฒนธรรม ประวัติศาสตร์ และการเมือง แต่ทั้งๆที่มีความความใกล้ชิดเหล่านั้น ความสัมพันธ์ของทั้งสองกลับเลวร้ายลงกว่าเดิมและผู้คนเกิดความขุ่นเคืองกันเนื่องด้วยความตึงเครียดทางการเมืองซึ่งเกิดขึ้นระหว่างรัฐบาลของทั้งสองฝ่าย ภูมิหลังนั้นมาจากความขมขื่นของเกาหลีที่เคยตกเป็นอาณานิคมของญี่ปุ่นและความขัดแย้งกันอย่างรุนแรงในเรื่องอาณาเขต อย่างไรก็ตามการศึกษาครั้งนี้กลับพบว่าทั้งๆที่มีความขัดแย้งทางการเมืองบ่อยครั้ง แต่ภาพรวมการแลกเปลี่ยนทางวัฒนธรรมระหว่างผู้คนทั้งสองประเทศนั้นเพิ่มขึ้นอย่างสม่ำเสมอมาตลอด ดังนั้นการศึกษาครั้งนี้มีจุดประสงค์เพื่อที่จะศึกษาผลกระทบจากความตึงเครียดทางการเมืองต่อความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างวัฒนธรรมของทั้งสองประเทศ ในช่วงระหว่างปี ค.ศ. 1998-2012 และทำไมจำนวนของการแลกเปลี่ยนเยาวชนคนรุ่นใหม่และปริมาณการค้าขายระหว่างกันถึงเพิ่มขึ้นทั้งๆที่ยังมีความตึงเครียดทางการเมืองที่ยืดเยื้อมาเป็นเวลานาน ผลของการศึกษาครั้งนี้พบว่า เมื่อไหร่ก็ตามที่ความตึงเครียดทางการเมืองเพิ่มขึ้น ก็ดูเหมือนว่าการแลกเปลี่ยนระหว่างวัฒนธรรมจะลดลงตามไปด้วย และเมื่อมีความแตกแยกระหว่างวัฒนธรรมเกิดขึ้นตัวเลขการเติบโตทางเศรษฐกิจก็ลดต่ำลงและก็เป็นเช่นนี้ในทางกลับกัน สิ่งเหล่านี้เกิดขึ้นเนื่องจากผู้คนของทั้งสองฝ่ายต่างพร้อมใจกันตอบโต้อีกฝ่ายเช่นโดยการ การประท้วงตามท้องถนนและแสดงความคิดเห็นอย่างก้าวร้าวตามสื่อต่างๆ อีกทั้งทางรัฐบาลถูกกระตุ้นให้แสดงถึงความต้องการของผู้คนทั้งสองฝ่ายโดยได้กำหนดให้มีข้อจำกัดทางเศรษฐกิจต่อกันโดยการกีดกันทางการค้าและวิธีการอื่นๆ การศึกษาครั้งนี้ยังพบว่าทั้งเกาหลีและญี่ปุ่นจำเป็นที่จะต้องพัฒนาความเข้าใจระหว่างคนของทั้งสองประเทศเพื่อที่จะรักษาคู่ค้าทางเศรษฐกิจเนื่องจากทั้งสองประเทศเป็นคู่ค้าที่มีความสนิทสนมกัน และผลการวิเคราะห์ข้อมูลพบว่าทั้งสองประเทศมีความสำคัญทางตลาดการส่งออกซึ่งกันและกัน จากการศึกษางานวิจัยที่มีอยู่นั้น ได้ให้คำอธิบายที่เป็นไปได้ถึงความสัมพันธ์ที่ไม่ปรกตินี้ โดยเชื่อมการวัดภูมิรัฐศาสตร์และการเข้ามามีส่วนร่วมระหว่างสองประเทศของสหรัฐอเมริกาในแง่ของกรอบทฤษฎีความสัมพันธ์ระหว่างประเทศ ความสัมพันธ์ของเกาหลีและญี่ปุ่นอยู่ในข่ายทฤษฎีสัจนิยมและทฤษฎีเสรีนิยม สัจนิยมเชื่อว่าแต่ละประเทศมีความสนใจหรือจุดมุ่งหมายที่ต่างกัน ดังนั้นความขัดแย้งจึงเป็นสิ่งที่หลีกเลี่ยงไม่ได้ ในขณะที่เสรีนิยมสนับสนุนการพึ่งพากันทางเศรษฐกิจระหว่างประเทศ ทั้งๆที่เกาหลีและญี่ปุ่นมีความขัดแย้งกันอย่างรุนแรง พวกเขาก็ยังรักษาความสัมพันธ์อย่างใกล้ชิดและสร้างความเป็นหุ้นส่วนอย่างแนบแน่น และผลการวิเคราะห์ข้อมูลชี้ให้เห็ว่าประเทศเกาหลีและญี่ปุ่นนั้นอยู่ในความสัมพันธ์แบบกลืนไม่เข้าคายไม่ออกเมื่อความจำเป็นที่เพิ่มขึ้นในการที่จะต้องกระชับความร่วมมือระหว่างประเทศเผชิญกับความขมขื่นทางประวัติศาสตร์และความเป็นชาตินิยมสูง

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PANDU RACHMATIKA: THE EFFECT OF POLITICAL TENSIONS ON INTERCULTURAL RELATIONS BETWEEN SOUTH KOREA AND JAPAN. ADVISOR: PROF. CHAIWAT KHAMCHOO, Ph.D., 81 pp.

South Korea and Japan are immediate neighbors and have been maintaining a relationship for approximately 1,500 years. To this day, they continue to engage in interactions ranging from cultural, social, economic and political spheres. However, despite these close ties, the relations have become worse and people have been riled up by the occasional political conflict that occurs from time to time between the governments. Its root cause is due to Korea's bitterness of the Japanese colonization and ongoing territorial disputes. However, this thesis found that in spite of the frequent political rifts the intercultural and economic exchanges between the people has been increasing steadily. This thesis intends to examine the effect of the political tensions on the intercultural relations indicators of the two countries during the time period of 1998-2012 and why the number of youth exchange and trade volumes increased despite the long standing political tension. According to this thesis findings, whenever the number of political tension conflicts arose the intercultural exchange indicators decrease. And when the intercultural disharmony turns up the economic indicators go down and vice versa. This happened because people took massive and drastic action such as street protests and spreading aggressive comments through conservative mass media. Governments are obliged to represent their people's aspirations and therefore impose economic restrictions towards each other by trade barrier, restriction and other damaging mechanisms. This thesis argues both South Korea and Japan are in need of nurturing the understanding between the two countries peoples in order to maintain their strategic economic partnership as both countries are close trade partners, data analyses show both countries are important in terms of export market towards each other. The study of existing research works also gave possible explanations to the two countries 'unusual' relationship by linking their geo-political measures and the involvement of the United States between them. In terms of international relations theoretical framework Korea-Japan relations lies between the realism and liberalism theory. Realism believes every state has its own agendas therefore conflict is inevitable, whereas liberalism promotes economic dependency between states as a peace facilitator. Korea and Japan despite having a fierce conflict between them hold close ties that help to build a tight partnership. This thesis contends that Korea and Japan are faced with a dilemma between the growing needs of strengthening the cooperation and historical bitterness as well as strong nationalistic ideology.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My first and utmost gratitude goes to the one and only god Allah SWT for granting me ability and blessing to finish the thesis. Without his blessing it was impossible for me to finish my study in Thailand.

My deepest gratitude also goes to my principal adviser Prof. Chaiwat Khamchoo, Ph.D for his patience and warm approach in giving me substantial suggestions during this thesis work. As sometimes i did not fulfil his expectation i express my sincere apology and will try even harder to keep improving my academic ability in the future. To my committee members, Asoc. Prof. Buddhagarn Rutchatorn, Ph.D and Wichian Intasi, Ph.D i also express gratitude to the precious suggestions they gave during the defense. For Asoc. Prof. Eun Ki-Soo and Asoc Prof. Park Tae-Gyun who have taught me many things concerning Korean Studies, I express gratitude as it was very pleasing experience learning about Korea and its language.

I also should express gratitude to my parents Mr. Benno Bedjadji and Mrs. Dientje Rachmaningrum, Mrs. Sri Suyati my grandmother and the rest of my family members for their endless love and prayers that have helped me during my stay abroad far from home.

Moreover I must thank Ms. Nongluck our program secretary for her countless supports during my stay in Thailand, Ms. Saranya for translating my abstract into Thai, and to all my batch friends especially Ms. Chidchanok and Mr. Sok Piseth who have always been close to me.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research Background

This first chapter gives an explanation on research background, its significances, the history and current situations relating to relations between South Korea and Japan. The research objectives, expected outcomes, and research limitations will also be introduced in this chapter.

Korea and Japan are immediate neighbours and have been maintaining a relationship for approximately 1.500 years. Until today, they have a complex interaction ranging from cultural, historical, and political spheres. Korea has a specific geographical position which makes them a strategic hub for ventures and enterprises from mainland China to the more southern part of Pacific Ocean (Brown, 2008). During ancient times, Korea also bridged intercultural exchanges from China to Japan via Chinese migration to Japan. The old Confucianism, rice cultivation techniques, Buddhism, Chinese foods, and Chinese characters were transmitted to Japan via Korean Peninsula (Diamond, 2004). In the 19th century when modernization was taking place in both countries, Japan overtook China's position as Korea's main trading partner (Diamond, 2004).

Nonetheless, the relations between the two worsened during the Japanese imperial war time. To support the total war efforts in Pacific with superior western countries, Japan had managed to colonize numerous Asian countries including Korea and utilizing them as war resource suppliers. Through the assimilation policy during

the Japanese colonial rule in Korea (1910-1945) they systematically attempted to suppress Korean cultures and replace with Japanese ones, e.g., changing their names into Japanese, using Japanese anthem as the Korean national anthem, forcing Koreans to eat Japanese foods, etc. In addition to cultural assimilation, Japan exploited Korea mainly for the military expansion by sending Korean young men into the battlefields and treating Korean woman as comfort purposes.

Figure 1: Korea and Japan Map in Ancient Time

Source:http://english.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2011/05/04/2011050401104.html

Not until 1965 when president Park-Jung Hee signed the normalization treaty between Korea and Japan which reopened the trades between them and resume the relationship (Oda, 1967).Due to their geographical significances, Korea and Japan were also drawn into a super powers competition during the cold war era as the U.S allies in Asia (Niwa, 2013). The U.S as the patron of liberal bloc heavily relied on them in preventing communism expansion from the Soviet Union and China. In spite of that during more recent times their relationship has become more hostile as the conflict widens into a new dimension, such as territorial disputes (Sang-Hun, 2008). Presently, the dispute for the Liancourt rocks (also known as Dokdo/Takeshima)

sovereignty is probably an important contributing factor to the heated political tensions but it is not the only one. Provocative manoeuvres from conservative politicians of both countries worsened the relationship. It ignites hatred and drives people's minds into hostility by stirring nationalism feelings (Mifune, 2013). Mizuho Aoki (2013) says that according to surveys that were done by Japanese think thank named Genron NPO and South Korean think thank East Asia Institute, the primary reasons behind the unfavourable cross-border images are a lack of basic understanding of each other due to insufficient direct communications between citizens and the reliance of the people to their respective domestic media for information about each other's country. Other than that, despite the fact that cultural interaction between peoples has deepened in the past years, people get riled up by political issues, so we need to nurture more citizen level interactions, said Kazuo Ogura, a former Japanese ambassador to (Aoki, 2013).

The issue of political tensions between Korea and Japan has generated much discussion in both countries and researchers have been doing numerous works to analyse and explain the relationship. The results from those works are actually quite useful to clarify the situation and give us a thorough understanding of the issue of the relationship between Korea and Japan. But they are lacking the empirical data of the cultural exchange indicators and its correlation to the political tensions that have occurred. Work by Sang Yeon-Kim in 2013 focuses on how collective memory and national identity formed between the two countries (Sang-Yeon, 2013). He dealt with media and governments statements over Dokdo/Takeshima issue. As he believes, in Korean eyes, Japanese claim over the islands is based on distorted view of history. While in Japanese eyes, Presidents of Korea have been always stirring nationalism

into domestic politics and showed firm stance over recovering sovereignty over the islands. Robert Kelly (2012) analysed the relationship solely based on international relations theory such as liberalism, constructivism, etc. As concluded he argues that, two states that share a lot of cultural characteristics, structural-geographic conditions, threat perceptions, and domestic institutions, and values can't ally and can hardly talk to each other (Kelly, 2012). As he also compared Korea-Japan with U.S and Canada, as Canada perceives U.S as a bigger threat than Russia. However the works that use cultural exchange empirical indicators as a basic argument to improve two countries relationship are lacking and is almost none to find. One work by Park Cheol-Hee (2013). was showing the growing cooperation indicators between the two countries and he also emphasized the importance to deepen the cooperation, but he didn't show how exactly the political tensions may damage the cooperation indicators (Cheol-Hee, 2013).

Figure 2: Korean Soldiers Guarding Liancourt Rocks

Source:
http://www.washingtonpost.com/blogs/worldviews/files/2013/02/21349367721_image_1024w.jpg

Thomas U. Berger in his work states that apologizing for Japanese government is a costly political step and proves to be highly risky to the political (Berger, 2012). Furthermore he argues that Korea and China also have their own shares in this issue as shown by hesitated manners of their governments in hastening the conflict resolutions. Likewise, Japanese administrations have tendency to change, ratify, and even contradict the previous apology gestures. For example in October 2006 after the then Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's apology statement was published, on the same day 80 Japanese lawmakers took a pilgrimage to Yasukuni Shrine where more than 1000 criminal war crime souls are enshrined (Hiroko, 2007: online). Two years after that declaration Abe shifted his stance by refuting the allegation of Japanese military force slavery towards comforting women. He declared: the war criminals status is not corresponding to the laws of Japan, meaning that they are not considered as criminals in Japan (Hong, 2013).

As can be reasonably expected, such behaviours have triggered harsh reactions from the involved countries. Taiwanese President Ma Ying-Jeou in 2010 reacted strongly: so the battle is not over yet, and it is very regretful that the Japanese government keeps denying their past violations (Yan-Chih, 2010). In Korea in 2010, 24% of Koreans felt that Japanese had never stated an apology for their colonial rule in Korea, whilst 58% said Japanese had never apologized in a proper manner. As far as political and historical matters are concerned, this kind of reaction will usually get soured as it really depends on the political stands of the prime minister and his/her party, also it will soon change as the administration shifts. Hence, it will only bring the discussion into unending anxiety. A similar situation applies in Korea as the

current president Park-Geun Hye leads a Korean conservative party which holds traditional perceptions towards Korean 'traditional enemies' such as North Korea and Japan so the tensions are expected to rise under her presidency.

We have learnt from the above examples, that Korea and Japan actually have two sides to their relationship structure. On the one hand it is a very tight and long intercultural relationship of East Asian countries lasting for thousands of years, and on the other hand it is the unstable political tensions that have become the main source of focus, not only for themselves, but also the focus of neighbouring countries. As the world is still currently undergoing crisis and sluggish economic recovery, a solid and strong cooperation between East Asian countries has become more urgent than ever before (Luan, editor, 2013: online). Since the long reliable big export markets such as United States and Europe are under great uncertainties, it is inevitable that Asians should strengthen their domestic capabilities in which one of them is through easing local hostilities. The relationship between Korea and Japan that has, and is causing political stress and turmoil has been discussed as a prominent research topic for many years. However, the other aspect the contemporary intercultural relations has been particularly overlooked by many researchers and considered as insignificant in terms of giving future insight into the two countries relationship.

The main purpose of this thesis is not to overlook the result from the previous works concerning political and historical theses but rather, is to widen the discussion into the topics that could provide fresher explanation and more encouraging suggestion to improve the two countries relationship. This research will combine two facets of relationship which are both political and historical approaches and

intercultural relations between the two countries. Intercultural relations can be translated into various concepts, and for this research I will mainly use youth exchanges indicators, and economic ties indicators, such as, export and import numbers, etc. all of which will be described in the latter chapters of this work. If there is a single chance to rejuvenate their relationship it is by nurturing intercultural relations between the two countries citizens. For example, Korea used to ban Japanese cultural imports such as Japanese comic books, Japanese animation, and other various Japanese cultural goods from entering Korea, but now the ban has been lifted and allowed the people to experience each other's cultures easier, promoting better relationships. (Kono & Hara, 2011). As we are now living in the globalized world, any information can be found easily on the internet, enabling people to learn objective knowledge with less government interventions. Complementary idea of intensifying cultural exchanges among the two countries could be a breakthrough shared by the like of Park- Cheol Hee (2013) a political scientist of Seoul National University that opined, as until now publics have only been able to learn about other nations (Korea & Japan) through media and scholars. By opening up the cultures, they will be able to come in direct contact with the voices in the other nations (Cheol-Hee, 2013). This is further complemented by Uichiro Niwa (2013) a former Japanese ambassador to China that ironically said: it looks ludicrous when Japan and South Korea, all of which are both settled democracies, to be involved in disputes over small islands. Both Korea and Japan governments are actually sharing similar ideas that cultural exchanges on a people to people level needs to be strengthened (Niwa, 2013). This can be seen from the five-year plan for Japan-Korea cultural exchanges (from 2006-2010) that was signed by

the governments of the two countries to foster and enhance relations between the two neighbouring countries to form a longer term perspective and to strengthen people to people exchange.

The people of the two countries are now undergoing changes into a new understanding as the traditional values they usually held are gradually moving into the new values (Asia, 2013). This is the point where researchers have overlooked and deemed as an unimportant factor. Thus it keeps producing new discussion variations from political and historical premises. Not so many people are conscious of how many Sake (Japanese traditional alcohol) houses have been built in recent years and slowly alternating Korean alcohol preference from their traditional Soju (Korean traditional alcohol) and how many Japanese students recently travelled to Korea to learn the Korean language and vice versa. These are facts that could lead to a better relationship between the two countries in the future. Japan foundation in 2013 released data that Korea has the 2nd largest number of students that were studying the Japanese language worldwide (840,187) students), followed by Australia (393,175), and Indonesia (271,213). On the economic sector, Korea has become an increasingly significant export market for Japan, as evidenced by the fact that Japan's reliance on exports to Korea rose from 6.4% in 2000 to 8.1% in 2010, while Japan is the 4th biggest export market of Korea. In addition to increased exports of consumer goods, there has also been apparent growth in exports of production goods. As both governments have agreed to resume the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA), the economic ties between them are expected to become even closer. These figures are clues that both cultural and economic ties between the two countries have been progressing positively.

This research will therefore provide a more complete picture of the relationships between two countries by focusing on intercultural relations on a people level, how the current real conditions are and how the two countries could build a better and more mutually beneficial relationship. By combining the review data of the political tensions between the two countries during the past 15 years from 1998-2012, and meticulous measurement of intercultural relations annual indicators, it tries to give a more complete picture and understanding of the two countries, not only on the government level but also on a people to people level. This thesis intends to examine to what extent political tensions have affected the intercultural and economic relations between the two countries.

1.2 Research Questions

1. How the political tensions between South Korea and Japan have affected their cultural and economic relations

2. Why should Korea and Japan keep maintaining the partnership despite their historical bitterness

1.3 Hypothesis

1. Political tensions have negative impacts on cultural and economic relations

2. The more the conflict occurred the more it damages the cooperation ties

3. Korea and Japan are in need to maintain their partnership because of geo-political, security, and economic interests

1.4 Objectives

1. To understand the political tension, intercultural exchange and economic ties between Korea and Japan during 1998-2012

2. To examine the effect of political tensions from 1998-2012 on the intercultural and economic ties between the two countries

3. To clarify how political disputes harm the intercultural and economic relations of Korea and Japan

1.5 Expected Outcome

This thesis hopefully will help to form a better and more complete understanding concerning the Korea and Japan relations. Not only in aspects of political tension and hostility but also the actual condition of the intercultural and economic ties between them.

1.6 Scoop and Limitation

As far as the cultural exchange term is used, it covers wide range of aspects and indicators, and due to the time constraints and data available not all of the indicators will be examined. Instead, this thesis will use only indicators of cultural exchanges in terms of, e.g. student exchange numbers, language exchanges numbers, etc. and economic relations indicators, e.g. trade and investment data, etc. to show both cultural and economic growths between the two countries. The second limitation is since the study will compare the political tensions as an effect on each country's political stance it is difficult to cover a wide range of political tension moments which happened during past administrations and it is also because the

tendency of Japan to change their prime ministers. Therefore, myself as an author will only use the time frame of 15 years from 1998-2012, in which Korea will be represented by Kim-Dae Jung, Roh-Moo Hyun, Lee-Myung Bak, and currently Park-Geun Hye administrations, and Japan will be represented by Junichiro Koizumi, Yasuo Fukuda, Taro Aso, Yukio Hatoyama, Naoto Kan, Yoshihiko Noda, and Shinzo Abe administrations. Due to time constraints this thesis is not able to examine each president's policy towards various tensions that have occurred. Moreover, generally they hold similar a stance when it comes to historical and territorial disputes between them.

This thesis proposes to examine how political tensions between Korea and Japan have affected their intercultural and economic ties from 1998-2012 the reason why it started from 1998 is even though As i propose the timeframe of this research ranges from 1998-2012, some may ask question; why start from 1998? Even though Korea and Japan have normalized the basic diplomatic relations in 1965, I found evidence that they started to turn relations into a higher level in 1998 by signing the Japan –South Korea Joint Declaration: A New Japan-Korea Partnership towards the 21st Century (in Korean: 한일공동선언). The declaration was signed by Korean President Kim Dae-Jung and Japanese Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi in October 1998 and was made to reaffirm friendly and cooperative relations between Japan and South Korea. The two leaders shared the view that in order for Japan and Korea to build solid, good-neighborly and friendly relations in the 21st century it was important that both countries squarely face the past and develop relations based on mutual understanding and trust. They also shared the view that there was a need to enhance the relations between Japan and Korea in a wide range of areas to a

balanced cooperative relationship of a higher dimension, including in political, security and economic areas as well as in personnel and cultural exchanges. The determination to make the upcoming 2002 World Cup also pushed better cooperation between peoples of Japan and Korea. Starting from 1998 both countries decided to promote exchanges among various groups and regions at various levels in the two societies, inter alia, researchers, teachers, journalists, civic circle and other diverse groups (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, 1998: online). Besides, from 1998 the data regarding the two countries relationship concerning the subject under discussion started to become accessible from several public resources such as internet and newspaper, thus making the data analyses more feasible.

1.7 Thesis Organization

This thesis is consisted of five chapters. Following to this introductory chapter, chapter two is concerned with literature review and analytical framework. Chapter three explains the research methodology. Chapter four analyses how political tensions between South Korea and Japan have affected their intercultural and economic ties. And the last chapter is the concluding chapter.

1.8 Definition of Terms

Intercultural Relations : One field of social science studies to study, communicate, and understand cultures outside of one's own cultures (Lauring, 2011).

Political Tensions : A state or condition caused by lack of trust between people, groups, or countries which have a dispute about something in political aspects (Macmillan, 2009).

Economic Ties : Economic cooperation between countries is cooperation between countries in the economic field, bilateral, regional and international levels (Daily Tape, 2011)

All of these concepts will be explained in a greater detail in the latter chapters of this thesis.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEWS AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter presents a descriptive explanation on conceptual frameworks to analyse the factors affecting political tensions between countries. The second part of this chapter reviews the most prominent theories in the history of international relations and also the review on the concept of intercultural relations and its indicators. All of which are listed below.

2.1 Types of Policy

    2.1.1   Foreign policy

    2.1.2   Domestic policy

    2.1.3   Interconnection between foreign and domestic policies

2.2 Theories related to international relations

    2.2.1   Realism

    2.2.2   Liberalism

2.3 Concepts related to intercultural relations

    2.3.1   Exchanges in education, art and culture

    2.3.2   Economic impacts of intercultural exchanges

    2.3.3   Korea-Japan cultural and economic bans

2.4 Knowledge related to Korea and Japan politics

    2.4.1   Korea presidential election and political parties

    2.4.2   Japan Prime Minister appointment and national diet

2.5 Literature review

2.1 Types of Policy

Hussain (2011: online) stated that in the 21st century where countries are interdependent to each other, decisions by one state might collaterally affect the other states. Since every country has its own agendas, goals, and interests, tensions might occur when there are differences on perspectives or approaches between countries towards particular cases. And the product of those above mentioned factors generally referred as 'policy'. Hill describes policy as 'the product of political influence, determining, and setting limits to what the country does (Hill, 1993). Therefore policy may influence the shape of relations between countries. According to (Neack, 2008) policy can be divided into two major categories; foreign policy and domestic policy. Furthermore she argues that the head of government in any kind of political system is motivated by two similar goals: retain political power and build and maintain political coalitions. Both foreign and domestic policies might affect his/her decisions when he/she wants to achieve domestic goals through foreign policies or the foreign policy decisions not to negatively affect the domestic ones. (Farnham, 2004) also argued that foreign and domestic policies significantly influence the shape of countries' international relations. She stated that the head of the government has to consider domestic sentiments as well as the international situation. If there is a conflict between domestic and international interest the head of the government will likely have to give emphasis on domestic interest.

2.1.1 Foreign Policy

In the broadest definition, foreign policy is a policy that applies towards the states' outside territorial borders (Karbo, Beasley, & Jeffrey, 2012). Engaging in war

with another country, signing an international treaty, or aiding a rebel insurgency in another country, are examples of foreign policy. However, in today's contemporary politics, the line separating foreign and domestic policy has become blurred and unclear to clarify. The example for this case is the Libyan crisis in 2011, when that time current authoritarian leader Muammar al-Qaddafi was threatened by revolutionary forces who were asking him to eliminate his corrupt and vicious patronage. This issue actually supposed to be a domestic affair for Libya, but after the media widely published the violent repressive attacks towards the revolutionary sides including civilians, western country leaders through United Nation Security Council conceived the war as a violation to human rights and began calling for immediate international response. Later on the members of The North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) launched air bombings to prevent further civilian killings and by the mid-2011 United States and several European countries also engaged into the conflict. Issues that started as a domestic affair suddenly became a foreign policy issue for Libya and also several countries in the world. One of the aftermaths of this war was United Nations (UN) imposing a no-fly zone over Libya, meaning no commercial aircrafts could fly over or land in Libya, which impaired the country's economic backbones in oil business.

Another example for a domestic policy that turned into international interests is the nuclear enrichment program of Iran carried out by the former president Mahmoud Ahmadinejad during his tenure in 2005-2013. Even though he himself persistently declared that the program's intent was in developing renewable energy and was based on votes in 2008, that 90% of Iranians believed it was important for Iran to have a nuclear based energy source, International Atomic Energy Agency

(IAEA) argued Iran had a tendency to further develop the program into a weaponry projects. Iran's noncompliance response to continue the program has made the country receive various sanctions and bans from the international podium; it also raised the resentful feelings of Iranians towards Western societies. Furthermore, the most definitive factor that distinguishes foreign policy with domestic policy is the intended target of the policy. When the primary target of the policy located outside the country's borders, then it is defined as foreign policy, even it could have collateral effects for politics domestically (Karbo et al., 2012). In some cases however, policy could be both perceived as foreign and domestic at the same time, for example the environmental friendly policy, a government may be running the industrial carbon limitation program inside the country and at the same time limiting the import number of foreign automobiles. Moreover, foreign policy may be destined to particular foreign leaders, international organizations, terrorist groups, other states, or even the global economy.

2.1.2 Domestic Policy

In the contrary of the foreign policy, domestic policy is meant for the internal political system, it is directly connected to issues inside a country's borders (Karbo et al., 2012). Business regulation, education, energy, health care, law enforcement, money and taxes, natural resources, social welfare, and human rights and freedoms are examples of domestic policy. Domestic policy often at times reflects a country's historical background, it's social and economic states, priorities of its people, and approach of the current government. This domestic policy however, frequently affects the foreign policy of particular countries and therefore participates in shaping

the relations with foreign countries. Goldmann describes several ways on how domestic policy may affect its foreign counterpart. The first way is when there are foreign policy issues that become the centrepiece of domestic political struggles. This means, when competing political leaders or parties using foreign policy issues to attract people in the sake of their votes and supports. The second way is when the attitudes or choices of the domestic dominant constituent change. This means the government should alternate its current policy into one preferred by the dominant constituent. The last one is when transformation of the political system happens, which might lead to various political changes, one of which is the direction of the foreign policy.

Hagan provided another answer as he argued the policy makers have objective to build domestic political support in order for any of its preferred foreign policy to be accepted or implemented (Hagan, 1995). Hence, foreign policy strategies become the results of the domestic political necessities to build domestic support backing the implementation of the foreign policy. The second objective is foreign policy decisions are orchestrated in order to reduce domestic political risks. The purpose is to retain current government's political stability, which means the leader who is facing significant domestic resistance or when he/she needs to improve domestic and international political legitimacy has to raise public approval of foreign policy affairs.

From what we have observed on how political tensions are supposed to be formed, the political tensions between Korea and Japan should be understood along the framework of both their foreign and domestic policies. In other words, Korea's foreign policy decisions towards Japan under various presidential administrations or

across political party ideologies and vice versa will be carefully mentioned and explained in the latter chapters.

2.1.3 Interconnection between Domestic and Foreign Policies

In the framework of domestic and foreign policies, domestic policy has significant effect in influencing one country's foreign policy. As the country's government needs to consider the domestic sentiments before deciding its international policy. And if there was a conflict between domestic and international interest the head of the government will be more likely to give emphasis on domestic interest.

2.2 Theories related to International Relations

Study of theories related to international relations is relevant to this research as this thesis needs to adequately perceive the fundamentals of relations between one state with another state and state with the people. This research's ultimate objective is to understand how the political tensions between Korea and Japan as a country have affected the intercultural relations of their populaces as well as their economic ties. Therefore it is important to learn how the theories help in explaining this particular issue.

International relations theories can be divided into two major epistemological schools which are positivist and post-positivist. Positivist theory mainly focused on classic state-level analysis such as state interactions, military forces power, balance of power and others. Whereas post-positivist widened the discussions into the likes of gender, ethics, post-colonial security and some other terms that positivist deemed

as immaterial. Many researchers and international relations theorists have been consistently debating theories in international relations theory, such as constructivism, institutionalism, Marxism, and many others. However, this thesis will confine to international relations theories that could help to answer the research objectives which are realism and liberalism.

2.2.1 Realism

Realism is an international relations theory which theorizes world politics is mainly directed by competitive self-interest. Realists suggest that humankind is self-centred and egocentric by nature (Donelly, 2008). Further, realism sees humans as individual who are driven to seek more power and conflict-prone unless conditions which allow humans to live together exist. In summary, realism views world politics mainly from its competitive and self-centred perspectives. The realism theory is usually contradicted with the liberalism theory, which views world politics in a more cooperative perspective. Realists place states as the main actors in international politics, which purposely pursue to their own security, national interests, and seek for power (Korab-Karpowicz & Julian, 2013). The adverse side of the realists' focus on competition and self-interest is their disbelief with little regard to consideration to the ethical norms in relations among states. Realists often, at times argue international politics is a world without justice, as states attempting to maximize their national interests at any cost.

Some realists, however, do not deny the importance of moral ethics in international relations. Mostly made acquainted by twentieth-century realists such as Hans Morgenthau, Carl Von Clausewitz and Reinhold Niebuhr, they usually associated

as classical realism thinkers. Classical realism is not fundamentally dissimilar to the typical realism theory but it doesn't reject the probability of ethics judgment in international politics, rather, the classical realist are known to be critical towards moralism, something that they deemed as an abstract concept. Classical realists emphasize more to the carefulness of political action measured on the rightness of the action among other feasible alternatives on the basis of its potential political risks (Bull, 1995). Classical realism has today been broadly replaced by neorealism which is first introduced by Kenneth Waltz in 1979 (Sagan, 2004). Neorealism is one of the most influential theories in international relations. Together with neoliberalism they have significantly influenced international relations discussion for the last recent decades (Powell, 1994).

Neorealism ascended into the surface prominently by Kenneth N. Waltz who reconstructed realism in international relations and calls his theory as structural realism. Waltz's earlier contribution to the realm of international relations was through his book "Man, the State, and War" published in 1959, in this book he divided theories of the causes of political tension and war into three categories which he referred as 'images' (Hollander, 2000). The first image describes that tensions are primarily caused by particular individuals acting as state leaders. The second image describes tensions are caused by domestic requirement of states, as he sees oftentimes war caused by imperialist states that want to open new markets in order to bolster their domestic economic system at home. The third image, the one he argues as the most persuasive, postulates the root cause of tension is structure of international system itself, structure that he calls an 'anarchic structure'. However, anarchy here is not defined as chaotic condition but rather one in which

there is an absence of sovereign body that administers the interactions between states. Unlike in domestic system where people can rely on law enforcement bodies and government to preserve their rights and interests, there is no body such as that in anarchic international system. So there is no one, nor somebody hold position above states that is able to enforce rules or laws between all states. As a consequence, if an issue occurs, it can be resolved only by forcing one state's forces to achieve its goal towards another state(s). Under the anarchic system, state is never sure about the intentions of other states and is afraid to their actions both intended to themselves or other states. Therefore, this system limits international cooperation by fears of insecurity and unequal gains (Waltz, 1979). Because of this reinforced theoretical perspectives, neorealism or as Waltz calls as structural realism has become very influential in the discussion of international relations, surpassing the previously dominant realism thought mainly pioneered by Hans Morgenthau.

2.2.2 Liberalism

Liberalism is one of the most influential theories of international relations. Liberalism resembles a cooperation of principles and institutions, noticeable by particular characteristics such as, individual freedom, political participation, private property and opportunity equality. This means, all liberal democratic societies share the equal degree of above mentioned rights (Doyle & Recchia, 2011). Theorists identify liberalism with essential principle of the importance of individual freedom. The ultimate belief of liberalism is attaining shared commitment of four fundamental institutions. First, nationals hold juridical equality and other essential civic rights such as religion and press. Second, for the sake of impact on foreign affairs, the state is

subject to neither the external power of other states nor the internal power, for example, by monarchs or military forces. Third, the economy recognizes the rights of private property, which is justified by individual acquisition or by social agreement. And the last one is, economic decisions are mainly formed by the effects of supply and demand, both domestically and internationally, and they are also free from strict control by bureaucracies.

Contemporary thesis on liberalism in international relations composed of three distinct traditions of liberalism, presented by three most influential theorists of liberalism; John Locke, Adam Smith, and Immanuel Kant. Locke, attributed as the father of classical liberalism, claims that states have rights extracted from individual rights of political independence and property (territorial integrity) known as liberal individualism. The second is Adam Smith, who latter introduced commercial liberalism and liberal pacifism. The third most prominent scholar is Immanuel Kant a liberal republican who theorized an internationalism that institutes peace among liberal states. Both liberal and commercial individualism, have given the strongest influence on contemporary international relations theory. Contemporary liberalists argue that liberal democracy has impact on foreign affairs, something that they call as a separate peace. Which means, liberal states are living in peace with other liberal states, but at the same time they also tend to ignite war on non-liberal (Doyle & Recchia, 2011).

Most contemporary liberal theorists however, agree that becoming democracy doesn't always guarantee the absence of conflict, tension, or even war. Even though researchers imply that overall, the consolidation of liberal democracy within countries reduces the potentials of both international and domestic conflicts, but

there is also risk that democracy produces political turmoil domestically. If rule of law and public institutions are weak, politicians will have tendency to use nationalism as issue to hold the power, which may be ended in international or domestic tension (Doyle, 1983). The overly stressing belief in individual rights and shared commercial interests as mentioned by above mentioned scholars which establish grounds for peace and safety among liberal states may result in conflict in relations between liberal and non-liberal states. This can be seen in today's relations between the United States of America with its liberal allies and also with Russia, China, or even Iran. As summary, liberalism is not a recipe of world peace, rather it just offers a set of normative guidelines and empirical hypotheses towards international cooperation. But still, it needs constant surveillance to avoid campaigns and unwise political attempts.

In 1970, as a response to neorealism there was a new theory introduced primarily by schools like Harvard and Princeton University, the neoliberalism. Robert Keohane and Joseph Nye are considered the inventors of this school of thought. The goal of the early liberals was democratization and to end the war, neoliberals has the same goals, however, they objected the unscientific approaches that were used by the early liberals. Instead, neoliberals apply mathematical and scientific techniques mainly borrowed from economics, namely the game theory (Keohane, 1984). Most neoliberal analyses placed mainly on the perspectives of rational choice and economic calculation. Neoliberals believe that putting states together in the same institutions can decrease delusive communication between them, thence, minimizing the risks of conflict occurrence. The ultimate belief of neoliberalism as evidenced in the democratic peace theory is no two established democracies have

ever fought against each other (Archibugi, 2008). Therefore, promoting liberal democracy across countries will effectively decrease conflict. And since strong middle class has always been recognized as a fundamental factor for liberal democracy, neoliberals have strived on advising states to choose policies that promote the democracy and vibrant middle class. Finally, the exercise of military power is futile if complex interdependence is formed. If between states there is an interdependent cooperation, it means the role of the military in conflict resolution will be minimized. Still, it could become effective and usable when it comes to military relations with the alliance and with the rival bloc (Keohanne & Nye, 1989).

2.3 Concepts related to Intercultural Relations

As stated in the earlier part of this research, as far as study of intercultural relations is concerned, there are various factors which are related to many different disciplines. Such as, anthropology, sociology, history, economics, human development, political science, psychology and linguistics (Martin & Nakayama, 2004). According to these facts, it is required to find a proper concept of intercultural relations that covers various disciplines, especially in terms of international systems and the globalized world. However this thesis will mainly use cultural exchanges between youths for intercultural relations.

2.3.1 Exchanges in Education, Art and Culture

Cultural exchange could be interpreted as introduction of ideas, meanings and values across national borders (Robertson, 2007). It is usually manifested to the forms of sport, business, cuisine, culture, religions, or languages. It encompasses

cultural interconnectedness among different populations and cultures (Inda & Rosaldo, 2002). This transmission is attributed to common consumption of cultures that have been spread by teaching, internet, popular culture, or abroad travel. The process allows youths to take part in widespread socio-cultural relations outside their country's borders. The rapid economic increase in emerging countries shows need to prepare today's students for jobs that require new skill sets (Stewart, 2012). According to Stewart, to compete successfully in a global marketplace, multinationals businesses increasingly need employees with knowledge of foreign languages and cultures in order to work efficiently with foreign employees and partners outside their own countries.

2.3.1.1 Korea-Japan Efforts to Strengthen Bilateral Cooperation

The governments of Korea and Japan have made several efforts to harmonize the bilateral relationship by strengthening the cooperation in several sectors and societal levels. Beside the agreement of Japan –South Korea Joint Declaration: A New Japan-Korea Partnership towards the 21st Century (in Korean: 한일공동선언) in 1998 they also agreed on the five-year plan for Korea-Japan cultural exchanges (2006-2010) in order to nurture people to people exchange networking and enhance grass root interactions. Both governments have actually realized that they need to reduce the hostility and stabilize the diplomatic relations in order to promote stronger cooperation. Furthermore Japan is the 4th largest exporter of Korea's export market. Evidence can be seen from the fact that Japan relies on Korea for their export market as the share rose from 6.4% in 2000 to 8.1% in 2010. In addition to increased exports of consumer goods, there has also been apparent growth in exports of

production goods. As both governments have agreed to resume the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA), the economic ties between them are expected to become even closer.

2.3.2 Economic Impact of Intercultural Exchanges

This thesis argues that intercultural exchanges between peoples of two different nations have impacts on several other sectors and the most predominantly is in economic sector. Michael Johnson an expert on international trade policy and also a member of the International Business and Development Exchange (IBDE) advisory board explains how diplomatic relations and intercultural exchanges impact the economic activities bilaterally. Most partnership including economic between friendly nations, especially those who join the international organization that governs some particular rules such as World Trade Organization (WTO), operates without any significant problems. However when political disputes arise and inflict negative ideas on people's minds, the cooperation is damaged and most often the subsequent events fall into three main categories: Conflict of policies between sovereign governments, Disputes over practical trade actions which are initiated by the governments and disputes over the proper application to trade of internationally agreed standards in specific areas like environmental and labour issues.

2.3.2.1 Conflict of Policies between Sovereign Governments

This type of dispute arises when there is a clash of policy priorities between governments and makes one side to launch action that hinders the economic

interests of the other side. Such actions like import and/or export bans, usually targeted on important goods, investment and current payment restrictions, and restrictions on the movement of people. The actions are intended to damage the target country in order to force it to change its policy. Depending on the scale of the actions it may require export and/or import licensing schemes, controls over transfers of investments funds and current payments, special immigration controls at national borders, hard penalties for breaches and sometimes military measures.

Figure 3: Korean President Park Geun-Hye and Japanese Minister Shinzo Abe Hold Meeting With U.S. President Barrack Obama

Source: http://www.csmonitor.com/Commentary/Common-Ground/2014/0326/Japan-and-South-Korea-Don-t-let-history-dictate-the-future

2.3.2.2 Disputes over Practical Trade Actions Initiated By the Governments

This dispute arises from the context of the internationally agreed rules such as WTO rules. It may damage the economy in a very wide range of ways including: Direct protectionism, such as the imposition by a country of a WTO-illegal tariff or other trade restriction, discriminatory treatment of different trading partners, whose goods and services are all supposed to receive equal treatment in the importing

country's market, Indirect protectionism, such as abuse of a domestic standard to keep out imported goods, disagreements over the proper application of an agreed standard, attempts by a country to enforce its domestic standards on traders in overseas markets, unfair use of government subsidies to favour domestic production and gain advantage in international markets, producers in one country selling goods abroad below the home market price, or below cost ("dumping"), conflicts between the national regulations and standards of trading partners, reflecting genuine differences in their social priorities. The actions can be very damaging to business in the countries which are targeted by them.

2.3.2.3 Disputes over the Proper Application to Trade in Specific Areas

This dispute rises where governments impose trade restrictions to enforce worldwide policy objectives. In the recent years increasing concern over environmental issues such as global warming and bio-degradation forces governments to limit trade unilaterally. Usually such actions pursue a worldwide objectives, and/or to press the agreed rules to be compromised to allow such action. The policy aims sometimes are not country-specific, but the impact on trade of individual partners can be damaging. Examples include such actions as: Protect biodiversity and reduce greenhouse gas emissions, enforce public health standards, and promote improved labour or environment standards in a partner country.

2.3.3 Korea-Japan Cultural and Economic Bans

This thesis found that both Korean and Japanese governments have made several economic damaging measures towards each other. Some of them are made because of vague reasons and directed by uneasy feelings between the two countries during that particular times. In 1998 Japan imposed import restriction on Korean agricultural products by giving very high tariff barriers. These barriers were appllied only to Korea even though Japan had many other trade partners that sell similar agricultural commodities to Korea. In 2000 Korea imposed import diversification policy that targeted only to Japanese products. This diversification meant Korea reduced the amount of the imported goods from Japan and allowed other countries to import goods, reducing Japan's trade income. Korean government argued this measure was taken to reduce the current deficit account, but everyone knows that diversifying the market is not an appropriate step to reduce the deficit account. If government wants to reduce the deficit it should lower the whole volume of import and lift up the export volume.

In 2003 Korea and Japan started to open the discussion over the free trade agreement together with China, this discussion was slowed down by the participants' reluctant approaches and could only be signed 10 years later in 2013. Not until 2004 when the ban on imports of Japanese CDs and DVDs was lifted. Currently, it is still illegal to broadcast Japanese music and television dramas publicly. Japan hit back in 2011 when people did massive protests over Korean pop booms in Japan. Over 500 hundred demonstrators gathered in front of Fuji TV station that aired many Korean entertainment programs. Japanese actor Sousuke Takaoka used his twitter to spread anti-Korean sentiments by saying: "I will never watch Fuji TV again, I often think it is

Korean TV. Japanese people want traditional Japanese programs. This protest quickly turned into political debate when right wing nationalist groups in Japan spread some political statements such as "Long live the emperor" and played the Japanese national anthem over Korean entertainment clips on the internet. They also whipped Japanese flags on the street while having the following protests. Also in 2011, Banri Keida, Trade Minister of Japan imposed food import restriction to only South Korean and Chinese exporters. The latest one in 2013 Korea imposed fish import bans on Japanese fishery products. Both Korea and Japan are now led by two leaders that have a 'hawkish' leadership style, Korea by Park Geun-Hye and Japan by Shinzo Abe. Their leadership styles are feared to be deepening the tensions between the two countries.

Figure 4: Comfort Women Survivors Protest in Seoul

Source: http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/world/2007-03/07/xin_460304071647628105907
3.jpg

2.4 Knowledge Related to Korea and Japan Politics

Besides several commonalities, Korea and Japan also have some differences, particularly in the context of political systems. This part is relevant since political systems explain how they choose their leaders and leaders are the ones who decide the country's direction. This will be succinctly introduced in the following paragraphs as they are related to the subject of this thesis.

2.4.1 Korea Presidential Election and Political Parties

The Korean president is elected by direct and secret ballot vote and he/she will hold the office for a five-year term without possibility to being re-elected. The first free direct presidential election of Korea was held in 1987, which marked the emergence of the sixth republic. Prior to this election, Korean presidents were elected by indirect vote. For example in 1980, former president Chun Doo-Hwan was elected by the electoral college as the only presidential candidate.

The latest Korean presidential election was held on the 19th December 2012, it was the sixth election after democratization. The current Korean president Park Geun-Hye, that came for New Frontier Party (Saenuri, in Korean; 새누리당) was the winner in this election, defeating her opponent from Democratic Party United (Minjudang, in Korean; 민주당) Moon-Jae-In, with 51,65% of the vote compared to Moon's 48,0% (Korea Times, 2012: online). Her vote of 15.773.128 ballots was the highest number won by past candidates since the direct vote began in 1987 (Asia, 2013).

Korea has a multi-party system, where political parties are capable of gaining control of government offices, separately or in coalition (Economist, 2008). Korean main political parties are the Democratic Party United (DUP), the New Frontier Party and the Unified Progressive Party as they hold most seats in National Assembly based on elections in 2012. DUP holds liberal views and has 127 seats in National Assembly, New Frontier party holds conservative views and has 152 seats, and UPP is a socialist progressive party with alignments with labour and farmer unions, and has six seats, the last party who has seats in National Assembly is the progressive Justice Party with five seats. The national assembly of Korea is elected every four years and it has 300 members.

Figure 5: Yasukuni Shrine

Source: http://www.japan-guide.com/e/e2321.html

2.4.2 Japan Prime Minister Appointment and National Diet

Japan Prime Minister is the head of the Japanese Government and was appointed by the Emperor of Japan. Before doing so he must be chosen by the national diet from among its members and should retain the support of the House of Representatives to hold the office. The original form of Japan's Prime Minister's office was created in 1885, four years before the authorization of Meiji Constitution. The current form of the office is based on current Constitution of Japan that enacted on May 1947 as a new constitution of post-war Japan (Ito, 2012). Japan National Diet has two legislative houses. One is the House of Representatives and the other one is the House of Councillors. They are elected by a direct parallel voting system.

Like the Prime Minister's office the current form of the Diet is based upon the 1947 post-war Japan Constitution. In addition to this, the Japanese political system holds three categories of elections. First is the general election that is held every four years to vote the member of the House of Representatives. Second is the election every three years to vote the members of the House of Councillors. And the last, is the election every four years to vote local representative members in villages and prefectures. Besides legislating laws, Japan National Diet is responsible in selecting the Japan Prime Minister before officially being appointed by the Emperor.

2.5 Literature Review

Research papers and articles that have been written regarding Korea-Japan political disputes, art & culture and economics are large in number as the issue has been long seen as an 'interesting' research topic for researchers. Most recent work

from Hoong Leong (2009) discussed about the intercultural relations of Asia in general but mostly talked only about international migration, despite it is actually just one aspect from the wide range of intercultural relations aspects. Besides migration, cultural exchanges usually involve youths, in the form of student exchange programs, school study trips, establishment of language centres, etc., while economic relationships can be seen in terms of trade numbers and investments in which both countries have been expanding and increasing. The combination of these two aspects concerning Korea and Japan relations have been rarely touched and barely used as a tool to analyse the actual situations between the two countries populaces. Reiko Ogawa (2013) says that cultural exchange activities can be an effective way to improve the souring relations between the two countries. She further explains two countries can promote a better bilateral understanding through cultural exchanges, e.g. youth exchanges, school field trips, and more grassroots activities that probably could be facilitated by cultural exchanges centres in both countries (Ogawa, 2005). In politics and history several notable researchers are reviewed (Literatures that have been mentioned in earlier parts of this research are not listed here) such as; Japan and Korea: The Political Dimension by Lee Chong-Sik in 1985, 1910 Korea-Japan Annexation Treaty by Kawasaki Yutaka in 1996, Alignment Despite Antagonism: the US-Korea-Japan Security Triangle by Victor Cha in 1999, Korea and the UN by Park Chi-Yong in 2000, The Lost Legacy by Donald Macintyre in 2002, Japanese Apology by Yun Kyung-Min in 2005, Troubled Apologies Among Japan, Korea and the United States in 2008 by Alexis Dudden, 38 degrees of separation: a forgotten occupation by Bruce cummings in 2010 and Desolate Dots in the Sea Stir Deep Emotions as South Korea Resists a Japanese Claim by Chloe Sang-

Hun in 2012. In culture; A Legacy Lost in 2002 by Donald Macintyre, Japanese History in 2002 and A Brief History of Korea by Shin-Hyong Sik in 2004. And in economics; Recovery from A Financial Crisis: The Case of South Korea by Koo Jah-Yeong and Sherry Kiser in 2001, The Japanese Economy by David Flath in 2005, Reviving Japan's Economy by Takatoshi Ito, Hugh Patrick and David E. Weinstein in 2005, Economic Development and Authoritarianism: A Case Study on The Korean Developmental State by Ann Sasa and Jensen in 2008 and Strategy for Industrial Development and Growth of Major Industries in Korea by Seung Hun-Chun in 2010. And many others relevant works that I could not read all of them due to the time restraints. All these works however did not link the three issues of political tensions, intercultural relations and economic impact. How exactly do political tensions have effects on the intercultural and economic relations between Korea-Japan, despite the frequent tensions the intercultural and economic cooperation indicators kept growing, how is it possible?. And does political tension and intercultural exchange have impact on economic ties indicators between Korea and Japan?. One work by Victor Cha thoroughly explains why Korea and Japan keep growing partnership despite the antagonism between the two. However his work focuses more in the context of U.S-Japan-Korea alliance in East Asia and they are somehow 'forced' to join hands because the status as U.S' allies. It may answer on the motives of their ongoing partnership but it does not clearly describe how exactly the tensions affect the cooperation indicators of the two countries.

CHAPTER III
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This chapter explains a whole process of research design which will be used to acquire data. The data resources, indicators, scope of study and measurements will also be introduced within this chapter.

3.1 Methods

Data will be collected from the assortment of secondary resources such as government publications, news reports, figures and statistics from several dependable organizations or institutions in both countries.

3.2 Indicators Used

In order to comparatively examine the effect of political tensions in Korea and Japan intercultural relations, the increase and decrease of the intercultural indicators will be analysed during the tenures of various Presidents and Prime Ministers. A decrease of indicators will be considered as negative effect and increase considered as positive. The concepts of cultural exchanges and economic ties are needed to be transformed into more tangible and concrete forms.

3.2.1 Intercultural Exchange Indicators

As mentioned before, cultural exchange could be interpreted as introduction of ideas, meanings and values across national borders to promote deeper

understanding between each other. Indicator for cultural exchanges for this context is the number of Korean and Japanese students, young people, or other peoples that have been studying Korean and Japanese culture in formal institutions and the recipients of both governments scholarship program. Such students are those who took Korean or Japanese studies degree programs in Universities and those who learned the Korean or Japanese language in institutions that registered under Korean International Cooperation Agency (KOICA) and Japan Cooperation International Agency (JICA).

3.2.2 Economic Indicators

Economic ties represented as number of trade (import and export) volumes between Korea and Japan. And the volumes of Korean and Japanese inward and outward FDI. Limited to those that have been invested only in the two countries.

3.2.2.1 Description of International Trade

International trade is the exchange of goods and services across international borders or territories (Heakal, 2012). International trade is considered to be susceptible to global events. For example, political unrest in Asia may result in an increase of labour cost, thereby raising the manufacturing costs. Trading globally exposed the countries to the goods or services not available in their homes. Products that have been traded are ranging from food, clothes, spare parts, oil, jewellery, wine, water, and currencies. From service sectors, the likes of tourism, banking, consulting, and transportation are also being traded. Simply defined

international trade is, a product that is sold outside a country's border is called an export, and a product that is bought outside a country's border is called import (Blades & Lequiller, 2006).

3.2.2.2 Description of Investment

International capital and investment that is directed into a country by entity resides outside the country's territorial borders is generally termed as foreign direct investment (hereinafter referred to only as FDI). FDI can be done by both purchasing a company in the targeted country or by expanding the business of company in that country. Meaning it includes mergers and acquisitions, constructing new facilities and infrastructures, or reinvesting the capitals earned from abroad operations (Hannon & Reddy, 2012). FDI is different to portfolio investment which is considered as a passive investment. FDI often involves presence in managerial ranks, joint venture, technology transfer, and expertise sharing. There are two types of FDI, first is inward FDI which accounted to foreign capital and investment that is set inside the home country. Second is outward FDI which accounted to ones that domestic company invested outside the country's borders. These two types of FDI are resulting to a net FDI inflow and FDI stock, summed as cumulative number during certain times of investment period.

3.3 Data Resources

Data resources are categorized into two groups, which are data related to political tensions between Korea and Japan, and data related to intercultural relations indicators.

3.3.1 Data Related To Political Tensions between Korea and Japan

This data will mainly take forms of official government statements, report on newspapers, and other relevant resources such as expert editorials, blogs or public surveys.

English language newspapers of Korea are the main resources as they provide non-political alignment, e.g., conservative or progressive reports and generally can be considered as 'interest free'. Such newspapers are;

- The Korea Herald (based in Seoul)

- The Korea Times (based in Seoul)

- Indigo (based in Busan)

- The Korea observer (based in Seoul)

- And some other Newspapers that have English language report version, such as Chosun-Ilbo, Dong-A Ilbo, Jung-Ang Ilbo (conservative), Hankook lbo (Moderate), and The Hankyoreh (Liberal)

In Japan media situations applied a bit differently as their five major newspapers are divided into two groups, liberal/left and conservative/right. Such newspapers are;

- Asahi Shimbun (liberal)

- Mainaichi Shimbun (liberal)

- Yomiuri Shimbun (conservative)

- Sankei Shimbun (conservative)

- Nikkei Shimbun (conservative)

3.3.2 Data Related To Intercultural Relations Indicators

This data category contains information, figures, and statistics of cultural exchanges and economic ties indicators as explained in previous chapters. This data provided by both reliable national and international organizations and institutions such as;

- Statistics Korea (KOSTAT)

- Korean Statistical Information Service (KOSIS)

- Korea International Cooperation Agency (KOICA)

- Statistics Bureau of Japan

- Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO)

- Japan Foundation

- Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA)

- Organization for Economic Co-Operation and Development (OECD) Database

- World Trade Organization (WTO)

- United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO)

CHAPTER IV
RESULT AND ANALYSIS

4.1 The Cause of Korea-Japan Disputes

Before proceeding to discuss the results and analysis of how political tensions have an impact on intercultural and economic ties, it is necessary to examine the root cause of continuous political disputes between Korea and Japan.

4.1.1 Historical Antagonism

The root causes of the political tensions between Korea and Japan is mainly come from historical perspectives so it is necessary to review their past relationship. As the relationship between them is very complicated the agreement over several disputed historical events is yet to be conclusively made. Attempts have been made to deal with this historical animosity, for example the joint history project initiated by then Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi and Korean President Kim-Dae Jung in 2001. The project, however still could not completely erase the differing interpretations among these historians of the two countries. After conducting research for around 3 years the project publicised the first report over three historical periods namely the ancient time, medieval time, and modern time. By the time this report was made public Korean government urged both governments to respect the research by putting its results in the school textbooks of the two nations, but unfortunately Japan refused the proposal. This stance of Japan left Korean government in confusion as why would Japan spent so much time and money to fund the project if the result is not going to be implemented in Japan. After this

point Korea decided to stop the project in 2005, even though from 2007 until now they were trying to re-visit the project. To appreciate why the Japanese government refused to put the research findings into their school textbooks, it is necessary to look at the research project's latest publication published in 2002 before the project was postponed.

4.1.1.1 Ancient Times

Relations between the two nations started around 3rd century BC when people of Goguryeo, Baekje, Silla and Gaya of Korea migrated to the Kyushu region of Japan. Therefore many classical wisdom and knowledge from Asia were transmitted to Japan via Korean Peninsula. Uija, the last king of Baekje formed an alliance with Japan and sent two of his royal members, namely Prince Buyeo Pung and King Zenko to Japan as hostages. However Baekje was defeated by joined forces of Silla and Chinese Tang Dinasty in 660. The remaining Baekje military generals demanded Prince Buyeo Pung to be returned and military assistance from Japanese empire. In the Battle of Baekgang Japan and Baekje defeated Silla and its Chinese allies but Baekje was unable to reestablish its kingdom. By this time the tensions between Silla and Japan were starting to escalate. Empress Jito granted King Zeko of Baekje the monarch tittle of Kudara no Konokishi and allowed him to pass this hereditary tittle to his descendants. There are also explanations about the Korean ancestry of Emperor Kanmu (50th Japanese Emperor, lived in 737-806) of Japan as his mother was descendant of Baekje King, Muryeong.

4.1.1.2 Medieval to Modern Times (13th – 21st centuries)

In the 13th-15th centuries Japanese pirates were frequently involved in fights with Korean sailors and coast guards along the Korean coast. During 1592-1598 when Japan launched series of invasions to Korea, many Korea's cultural heritages were destroyed and taken by the Japanese armies. Korean combat troops were almost completely defeated on land battles but their Navy fleet was almost undefeated under the command of Admiral Yi Sun-Sin. He led Korean Naval to cut off Japanese supply lines by the sea and forced the Japanese armies to retreat from the battlefield. After the wars, during 1607-1811 Korea sent its diplomatic missions to Japan 11 times to stabilize the tensions.

As the influence of Qing Dynasty in China during the 19th century decreased, Korea began to distance itself from Chinese teachings and beliefs. Korea also isolated the country from Western and Japanese influences. On the other hand Japan rapidly modernized the country and began to have interest in conquering China through the Korean peninsula. As Korea was the entry point for Japan to enter Mainland China. It was also Japan's weak spot if foreign forces occupied Korea as it could easily launch attacks on nearby Japan. In 1895 Qing was defeated by Japan in Korea and Empress Myeongseong was killed by Japanese assassins latter on in 1905. Later on Japan's defeat by Russia in the north made it definitively govern the Korean peninsula.

In 1910 after the signing of Japan-Korea Annexation Treaty Korea independence was officially taken and the country completely annexed into the empire of Japan. During this period, around 100.000 Koreans both men and women were forced to aid Japanese Imperial Army. Men were forced to volunteer to the Imperial Army battlefront while women were used in sexual means; these women were known as

the comfort women. The events during this colonial rule are still remembered by Korean people and make them hold negative sentiments towards the Japanese.

After World War II ended, Korea got its independence from Japan after 35 years. At the Yalta Conference, agreements signed, the Korean Peninsula was divided by the 38th parallel line into two parts, North Korea (under Soviet alignment) and South Korea (under U.S alignment). Since then South Korea was reluctant to open any diplomatic contacts with Japan. The early Korean administrations tried to gather support and legitimacy from both local and international citizens by making a perception that South Korea is under constant threats from the North (North Korea) and from the South (Japan). The diplomatic relationship between Japan and South Korea took place in 1965, when the normalization treaty was signed. This treaty normalized the basic diplomatic relations between the two. Japan also recognized South Korea as the only legitimate administration on the Korean Peninsula as they do not establish any diplomatic ties with North Korea. In the 2002 FIFA World Cup they joined hands to host the biggest event of world football. And currently the Korean Wave has been experienced major success in Japan as Korean movies, dramas and music gathers many fans in Japan.

4.1.2 Nationalistic Ideology

Both Koreans and Japanese are known to be strong nationalistic nations. This ideology has in many occasions been the main trigger of antagonistic feelings between the two countries peoples. When tensions come up concerning the historical bitterness, strong nationalistic ideology quickly spreads hatred into the bigger movements through streets, conservative newspapers and other mass media.

When this kind of movement heats up, governments sometimes tend to follow the peoples' aspiration by taking particular measures towards each other, such as economic bans. And even, politicians sometimes use this sentiment to gather support and votes from people. In the following parts the backgrounds of this strong nationalistic traits of both countries will be examined in a greater detail.

4.1.2.1 Korean Nationalism and Confucianism

Nationalism in Korean context is marked by various movements throughout history to preserve Korean cultural identity, history, and ethnicity (Tongshik, 1999). The nationalist movements of Korea pursue the protection of Korea's cultural legacy and national identity from foreign culture. Tongshik further explains that in the case of Korea, nationalist movement came as a reaction to the invasion of stronger powers, in particular the Japanese imperialism. In order to obtain political and cultural self-determination, Korea had to first maintain Korea's cultural dependency, and since Japan attempted to erase the whole aspects of Korean culture during colonial time, research related to the national culture movement of Korea had started from the movement for independence from Japan. The Donghak (Eastern Learning) in 1870s, which was an academic movement as a reaction to Seohak (Western Learning) and also known as Donghak peasant revolution, could be considered as an early form of Korean nationalist movement against foreign clouts. It was then followed by the righteous army movement (sometimes called irregular armies or militias) which emerged when the national armies needed assistance, such as during Japanese invasions of Korea (1592-1598), the first and second Manchu's invasions (1627 & 1636), and during Japanese occupation (1910-1945). Later, the

nationalist movements continued to inspire the course of Korean history. Such events as division of Korea (become North and South Korea), Korean reunification movement (in Korean; 남북통일), and state sentiment movement towards other countries (anti-America, anti-Japanese sentiment), have been seen as Korea's struggles to defend their national identity and culture (Gi-Wook, 2006; Jianwei, 2003; Kirk, 2002; Tongshik, 1999). Shin Gi-Wook in 2006 said that Korea has political ideology which according to him it is kind of ethnic nationalism. It has come from a belief that Koreans form a nation that shares the same bloodline, a notion that Koreans usually referred to as Minjok (in Korean: 민족). Literally, Minjok translated as a nation, people, ethnic group, and race nation. In the Chinese lamguageit means ethnicity, culture, and nationality. This ideology therefore, believes all Koreans are brothers and sisters regardless their residence or political affinity, since bloodline is interpreted being the main determinant in defining the association towards Korea as a nation.

Professor Andrei Lankov of Kookmin University described Korea as 'Confucian Country', especially during its pre-modern time. But even until today, the legacy of Confucianism remains as core foundation to Korean society, shaping the people's moral beliefs, way of life, social relations, high culture, and basis of the legal system. The founder of Confucianism, a Chinese sage Confucius, said that his teaching did not mention about world of spirits or gods, rather he was looking for a way to create a perfect and harmonious society. The values that Confucianism brings assumed that by learning Confucian guidance, it embodies high moral virtues, and would imbue individuals with higher moral standards. Hence, people with better understanding of Confucian theories are likely to be human with superior moral qualities. By the time

of King Sejong the great (in Korean; 세종대왕), the fourth king of Joseon, all learning contents were developed from the foundation of Confucian thought. Confucian schools were built; most taught by foreign educated scholars, large libraries containing Confucian books were made, encouragement to art and an education curriculum consisted of 13 to 15 prominent Confucian works (MacArthur, 2011). As Ming China (1368-1644) adopted Neo-Confucianism as the primary belief system, the new Joseon Dynasty (1398-1910) followed and also endorsed Neo-Confucianism as the state ideology. During this time, Buddhism, and any other organized religion were considered a threat to the Neo-Confucian belief. Buddhism became restricted and occasionally oppressed by the new ruling dynasty. As Neo-Confucianism promoted education, there were a number of Neo-Confucian schools like Seowon (in Korean; 서원) and Hyanggyo (in Korean; 향교) established throughout the country. The schools later generated famous Korean Neo-Confucian scholars such as, Jo Gwang-Jo, Yi Hwang, and Yi I. Neo-Confucian scholars were principally questioned the mystical and superstitious elements that dominate the conservative Confucianism as they tried to apply more rational practices and beliefs. During the Japanese Invasions to Korea in 1592-1598, most of the Korean Neo-Confucian books and scholars were brought to Japan and they influenced Japanese Confucian scholar like Fujiwara Seika. In the late 19th century, reformers and modernizers in Japan and Korea saw Confucianism as the obstacle to a bright and modern future. In the 1960s and 1970s however, after several countries in East Asia went through economic successes, Confucianism was considered as one of factors behind that miracle.

4.1.2.2 Japanese Nationalism and Shinto

During Meiji Period (1868-1912), nationalist ideology of Japan was initially developed to promote Japanese national unity and patriotism, first to defend the country from western powers, and later to pursue equality with the great powers (Nussbaum, 2005: online). It later was used to justify the totalitarian government during Taisho and Showa periods, and provided political and ideological foundation for the Japanese Imperial Army for their actions during the World War II. Therefore, Japanese nationalism served similar purpose and drew inspiration from the Western Fascism (Behr, 1987). Around the last days of the Tokugawa Shogunate, especially after the Convention of Kanagawa signed by Commodore Matthew C. Perry, the perceived notion of foreign threat had led to the development of nationalist movement. Some powerful territorial lords called Daimyo encouraged the concept of Fukko (a return to the past), while some others promoted Osei (Emperor's supreme power). The two concepts later merged into one becoming Sonno-Joi (honour the emperor and expel the barbarians (foreigners)) concept which became the major power in initiating the Meji Restoration (Hunt, 2009).

Confucianism in the form of Neo-Confucianism was also flourishing in Japan during the Edo period (1603-1807). Like Korean Confucianism, Japanese Neo-Confucianism is a social philosophy mostly based on superstitious ideas. The ideas were characterized by beliefs such as, universe could be understood through human reason, and it depends on man to create harmony in the universe (Craig, 1998). Since Confucianism in Japan draws many commonalities with those in Korea, it will be more beneficial to explain another indigenous and main spiritual belief of Japanese people, the Shinto practices. Shinto is a series of practices carried out to establish a

connection of modern Japan to its ancient past (Nelson, 1996). Shinto literally

meaning is Way of the Gods or Japanese usually refer to it as Kami (Gods, Deities or

spirits). Shinto believers trust that Kami and people are not separated. They exist

within the same realm and have interrelated connection (Pilgrim & Ellwood, 1985).

Shinto beliefs are built among the main three spiritual concepts, which are Impurity,

Purification, and afterlife. Impurity teaches that wrong deeds may create ritual

impurity and one should want to be purified from such deeds to attain peace of

mind and good fortune, rather than perceive wrong deeds as sin. Purification rituals

of Shinto called Harae are vital to Japanese daily life. New buildings are to be

blessed by Shinto priests to prevent misfortunes and bad luck during the

construction process. Even the Japanese businesses located outside Japan they have

to perform such ceremonies by visiting a Shinto priest in order to re-purify the

business's fortune. Shinto has dual perspectives towards afterlife. On the one hand it

views death and corpses as a pollution called Kegare. However, on the other hand

death is also perceived to be a path towards glorification, this is evidenced in some

individuals that are enshrined after death, such as War veterans in Yasukuni Shrine.

4.1.3 Territorial Disputes

Korea and Japan were also involved in disputes over a group of small islands

named Dokdo (in Korean) or Takeshima (in Japan). Many believe the disputes are

mainly due to the large deposit of natural gas beneath the sea around the islands.

Besides historical reason this territorial dispute has many times triggered political

conflicts between the governments and stirred negative sentiments among it

peoples. The other name of the islands is The Liancourt rocks which originates from

a French ship which almost got wrecked around the islands in 1849, the name of that ship was Le Liancourt. The Liancourt rocks consist of two big islets and 35 other smaller rocks, it is located in rich fishing grounds and reportedly contains large amounts of natural gas. The exact location of Liancourt is in the Sea of Japan, The Japan government listed them as part of Okinoshima, Oki District, Shimane Prefecture. While Korea listed them as part Ulleung-eup, Ulleung Country, North Gyeongsang Province. In 1951 Dean Rusk, U.S Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs sent the Rusk Document to Yang You-Chan the South Korean ambassador to the U.S, this document showed U.S supports to Japan regarding the Liancourt's sovereignty. Therefore, in rush moments in 1954 Korea dispatched groups of coastguards to be deployed on the islands and unilaterally claimed it. Japan, also in 1954 proposed a reference to the International Court of Justice to bring Korea to the discussion table, but unfortunately Korea rejected the proposal by claiming that The Liancourt Rocksundeniably belong to Korean territories, and thus should not be dealt through either diplomatic approaches or judicial reviews by any international organizations. There are different interpretations about the historical background over the sovereignty of Liancourt. Korea believes to the references of Korean island called Usan-do according to various historical records, maps and encyclopedia such as Samguk Sagi, Annals of Joseon Dinasty, Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam and Dongguk Munhon Bigo. While Japanese researchers said that Usan-do is non-existent islands told in the folktale book. Researchers have disagreements over who had first occupied the islands due to uncertainties in historical records and maps, it is because the islands have changed its names several times in the ancient times. In 1965 when Korea and Japan signed the normalization

treaty, they agreed that Liancourt would be considered as joint territorial borders and both countries may use it to mark their boundaries. And they agreed that the rest of the problems concerning Liancourt would have to be resolved in the future. However, in the 1980s Korean President Chun Doo-Hwan ordered this part of the treaty to be destroyed. In 2006 the U.S ambassador to South Korea, Tom Schieffer stated that "the United States of America understands that Japan is within its rights under international law concerning Liancourt sovereignty, and the U.S is having serious concerns that Koreans are about to do something irrational". In August 2012 Korean President Lee Myung-Bak visited the islands, he was the first Korean President to visit the disputed rocks. Japan subsequently withdrew its ambassador to Korea, Masatoshi Muto to go back to Japan. They also filed an official complaint through its Minister of Foreign Affairs Koichiro Gemba. Japan in August 2012 also proposed to Korea to go back to the discussion with the International Court of Justice (ICJ) as mediator, this proposal was officially rejected by Korea on August 30, 2012.

4.2 Result

The result analyses begin by listing the political tensions that occurred between Korean and Japanese governments during each time frame; 1998-2002, 2003-2007 and 2008-2012. This step is necessary in order to know how often they had been involved in disputes and backgrounds of each dispute. The disputes chronology shown in this chapter is the one reported by mass media like newspapers and some other resources accessible by the public as mentioned in chapter 3. Those that did not get reported may not be included here.

4.2.1 1998-2002

During the Korea-Japan joint Declaration in 1998 Japanese Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi apologized for what Korea have suffered during Japanese Imperial colonial time. While some Koreans welcomed this apology many of them recognized it as 'insincere' since after such an apology another dispute occurred between the two nations. Within the same year a Japanese anime named Hetalia was stopped from being aired by a Japanese TV station after heavy protests from Korea. This series took character personifications of several countries in the world and Koreans did not welcome the way the creator Hidekazu Himaruya represents Korean characteristics in the series. They said it was a disgrace and did not represent Koreans correctly. The series kept its distribution though, through internet streaming and online networks.

Table 1: Number of political tensions between Korea and Japan from 1998 to 2002 and its backgrounds

No	Year	Number of Political Tension	Background Issue	Data Retrieved From
1	1998	2	Japanese Colonization, Japanese Media Ban	Japan Times
2	1999	0	No major disputes reported by mass media	-
3	2000	2	Comfort Women, Kimchi Dispute	The New York Times, Asahi Shinbun
4	2001	3	Yasukuni Visit, School Textbook, Kimchi Dispute	International Herald Tribune, Yonhap News
5	2002	1	Korean Artifact	Asahi Shinbun

In 2000 the Women's International War Crimes tribunal on Japan's Military Sexual Slavery was held in Tokyo Japan. After hearing 75 survivor testimonies and countless other video interviews, the tribunal judges found Emperor Hirohito and other Japanese officials guilty of crimes against humanity and responsible for the compensations to the victims. This news quickly spread on mass media and triggered controversies in the societies. The Kimchi disputes began in the 1990s when Kimchi gained popularity reaching several countries outside Korea including Japan. However in Japan the Kimchi has different tastes and production steps and Koreans could not accept that it was called Kimchi as it was fundamentally different. In 2000 the disputes continued and the Korean side took legal steps by sending it to the Codex Alimentarius, an international food standards designator to decide Kimchi as only that which is produced and tasted in traditional Korean style.

Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi started visiting the Yasukuni Shrine in 2001 and commented that he was 'respecting' to the servicemen who died for Japanese causes. His visit drew strong objection from Korea and China. In 2001 the Japanese government approved the content of school history books advised by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT). However it drew strong criticisms from foreign, Korean and even Japanese historians itself as it was considered as deceiving history. The book omitted the Japanese war crimes including comfort women and the Nanking Massacre from the book. The Kimchi dispute continued until this year when Codex Alimentarius decided Korean style production of Kimchi was the most original way of producing Kimchi. During the colonial rule Japan relocated tens of thousands of Korean cultural artefacts to Japan. In 2002 several medieval artefacts were stolen from a Japanese temple and when

the thieves were caught they claimed that they just 'reclaimed' Korean historical artefacts.

4.2.2 2003-2007

In October 2003, Shintaro Ishihara the Governor of Tokyo stated that "The annexation of Korean was Koreans' own choice". If someone was to be blamed it was ancestors of Koreans itself. His statements drew heavy criticisms from Korea. In 2005 Prime Minister Koizumi issued an apology for his visits to Yasukuni but on the same day 47 Diet members visited the shrine for a homage.

Table 2: Intercultural and economic indicators between Korea and Japan From 1998 to 2002

No	Year	Number of Political Tension	Intercultural Exchange (People)	Increase/Decrease Percentage (%)	Trade & Investment (US$100 million)	Increase/Decrease Percentage (%)
1	1998	2	902,132	0	318,2	0
2	1999	0	954,014	5,4	400,0	20,5
3	2000	2	912,162	-4,4	523,0	23,5
4	2001	3	874,121	-4,16	431,4	-17,5
5	2002	1	903,172	3,2	450,0	4,22

During this visit Koizumi's cabinet members did not participate. In 2005 Japanese living in Shimane prefecture celebrated "Takeshima Day" to celebrate their claims although the islets are occupied by Korea and guarded by Korean coast guards. In

2007 the then Deputy Chief Cabinet Secretary of Japanese government, Hakubun Shimomura stated that comfort women were sold by their own Korean parents so that it could not be blamed to Japanese army.

Table 3: Number of political tensions between Korea and Japan from 2003 to 2007 and its backgrounds

No	Year	Number of Political Tension	Background Issue	Data Retrieved From
1	2003	1	Japanese Colonization	Seoul Shinmoon, Yonhap News, Donga Ilbo
2	2004	0	No major disputes reported by mass media	-
3	2005	3	Japanese Colonization, Yasukuni Visit, Dokdo/Takeshima Dispute,	Japan Times, Chosun Ilbo, Yonhap News
4	2006	1	No direct disputes covered media. Except comments made by U.S ambassador to Korea regarding the Liancourt Rocks	No major disputes reported by mass media
5	2007	4	Japanese Colonization, Comfort Women, Japanese Products Plagiarism, Yasukuni Tribute	Yonhap News, Seoul Shinmoon, Asahi Shinbun, The Korea Times

In July the U.S House of Representatives passed a non-binding resolution that Japan was to apologize for forcing women into sexual acts during World War II. Later in December the European Parliament adopted a resolution demanding the Japanese government to apologize to the survivors of comfort women.

In 2005 the Japanese government offered an official apology to the surviving 200,000 comfort women but received sceptical receptions in Korea. Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe sent tribute to Yasukuni but he did not visit it in person. Korea was accused of plagiarizing Japanese products in 2007 when Korean singer Ivy was charged with copying a Japanese video game Final Fantasy VII: Advent Children in her music video. The Korean court decided to ban the video from distribution as it found major similarities to the game from that music clip.

4.2.3 2008-2012

In 2008, the tension originally began on August 2001 when the then Japanese Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi visited the Yasukuni Shrine and continued doing it for 6 times during his tenure. He stated that he was "paying respect to the men who died for Japan's causes". Taro Aso, the Prime Minister of Japan during 2008-2009 did not visit the Shrine but he was still sending gifts as a tribute from a Japanese Prime Minister. President Roh Moo-Hyun of Korea stopped all bilateral talks with the Japanese government until his tenure expired in 2008. The other tension that was heated in this year was disputes regarding the Japanese cultural treasure such as Koryu-Ji in which Korea suspects it is originated and carved in Korea. In this year the Japanese finally allowed limited access for Korean and International archaeologists to conduct research on some ancient tombs they previously closed from 1976. This very little access to the sites caused a suspicion especially from Korea.

Tension in the 2009 year was less compared to other years in 2008-2013. The only concern of Korea was Taro Aso who was sending tributary gifts to Yasukuni

despite not physically visiting the area. In 2010 Korea and Japan were frequently involved in disputes concerning the issues that are known to be more sensitive to both parties. It began when Japanese Minister of State for Government Revitalization Yukio Edano stated that; Japan's invasion in the past was inevitable and it is mostly due to Korea's inability to modernize itself. The second dispute began when history textbooks for Japanese schools were approved by Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform (JSHTR) despite its content unilaterally including Dokdo/Takeshima as Japanese territory, an inclusion that raised objections from Korea. Besides Dokdo/Takeshima there is another territorial dispute between Korea and Japan, it is concerning an island called Tsushima or Daemado in Korean.

Table 4: Intercultural and economic indicators between Korea and Japan From 2003 to 2007

No	Year	Number of Political Tension	Intercultural Exchange (People)	Increase/Decrease Percentage (%)	Trade and Investment (US$100 million)	Increase/Decrease Percentage (%)
1	2003	1	894,131	0	535,9	0
2	2004	0	920,166	2,8	678,5	26,7
3	2005	3	905,172	-1,6	724,3	-6,78
4	2006	0	933,104	3,0	784,6	8,28
5	2007	4	909,957	-2,5	599,7	-23,5

In 2010 some Korean congress members struck claims over the island and called for public support by saying that the people living on that island were ethnically related to Koreans. On the other side, Mayor of Tsushima Yasunari Takarabe firmly said; Tsushima has always belonged to Japan and cannot be Korean territory by any means.

In 2011 the South Korean government claimed that Japan had stolen 34,369 pieces of Korean cultural artifacts during its colonial rule in Korea. In 2011, Japanese Prime Minister Naoto Kan finally expressed an apology and returned the treasures of the Joseon Dynasty and several thousand historic books to Korea. Even though this might be considered as a "positive gesture" from the Japanese government, the problem has lasted for more than 50 years and every time it reoccurs it reminds Korean people of their past bitterness.

Table 5: Number of political tensions between Korea and Japan from 2008 to 2012 and its backgrounds

No	Year	Number of Political Tension	Background Issue	Data Retrieved From
1	2008	4	Yasukuni Visit, Cultural Originality	Yonhap News, New York Times, Nagasaki Shimbun
2	2009	1	Tribute to Yasukuni	Yonhap News
3	2010	5	Japanese Colonization, Historical Textbook, Tsushima/Daemado Disputes	Seoul Shinmoon, Asahi Shimbun, Chosun Ilbo
4	2011	2	Comfort Women, Korean Artefact	Asahi Shinbun, Nagasaki Shinbun
5	2012	2	Japanese Colonization, Dokdo/Takeshima Disputes	Japan Times, Chosun Ilbo

Every Wednesday, Korean survivors of Japanese comfort women hold protest in front of Japanese embassy in Seoul and this year was the 1000th time they held such action, bringing huge wave of emotions among Koreans. In 2012 Japan proposed to Korea that disputes of Dokdo/Takeshima should be brought to International Court of Justice for better judgment, but Korea rejected this in August 30th 2012. On August 2012 Korean President Lee Myung-Bak became the first president of Korea to visit the island, causing Japanese Ambassador to Korea Masatoshi Muto be called back to Japan. In this year too, Korea officially demanded Emperor Akihito to apologize publicly for Japanese colonial rule. Despite numerous apologies by several Japanese government officials in the past years, many Koreans still consider them as "insincere".

Table 6: Intercultural and economic indicators between Korea and Japan From 2008 to 2012

| No	Year	Number of Political Tension	Intercultural Exchange (People)	Increase/Decrease Percentage (%)	Trade and Investment (US$100 million)	Increase/Decrease Percentage (%)
1	2008	4	894,131	0	892,1	0
2	2009	1	910,957	+1,8	712,0	-20.2
3	2010	5	964,014	+5,8	924,7	+22.9
4	2011	2	933,166	-3,2	1,080,2	+14.4
5	2012	2	840,187	-9,9	1,032,0	-5.7

4.4 Analysis

From the data gathered from various sources as shown during 1998-2012, Korea and Japan have been involved in total 29 disputes. The background of each dispute is different but the most frequent background is related to historical legacy. Disputes

came from such backgrounds as; Japanese colonization, Yasukuni shrine and comfort women have occurred as the most frequent by 15 times, more than a half of the total number of disputes. Disputes regarding the sovereignty of Liancourt rocks has occurred three times. The rest eight disputes divided into minor backgrounds such as Kimchi dispute, cultural artefact, school textbook, business, and entertainment industry.

The intercultural relation and economic indicators have grown relatively positively during the past 15 years. However there are indications that when the number of disputes rises the intercultural and economic indicators weakened particularly as examined in 1998-2007 timeframe. In 2008-2012 South Korean led by president Lee Myung-Bak whose stance was very conservative towards "Korean traditional enemies" such as Japan and North Korea, during his premiership both countries were involved in 14 disputes.

Figure 6: The overall numbers of political tension, intercultural exchange and economic partnership between Korea and Japan From 1998 to 2012
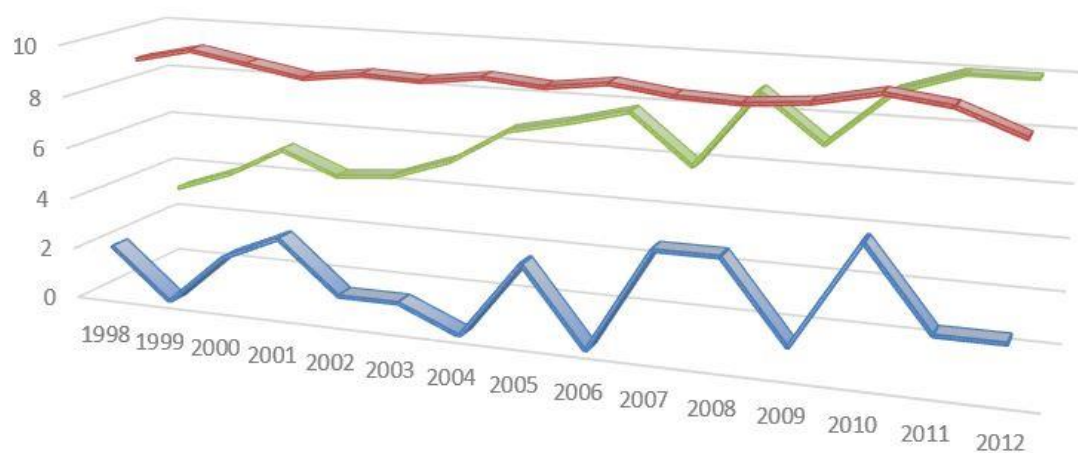
	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Political Tension	2	0	2	3	1	1	0	3	0	4	4	1	5	2	2
Intercultural Exchange	9	9.5	9.1	8.7	9	8.9	9.2	9	9.3	9	8.9	9.1	9.6	9.3	8.4
Economic Partnership	3.2	4	5.2	4.3	4.5	5.3	6.7	7.2	7.8	5.9	8.9	7.1	9.2	10	10

As a result the number of people engaged in intercultural exchange decreased by 49,170, 5.5% less than those in 2008. But the economic indicators were increased significantly by 11.4 % as President Lee known for his ambitious economic plan called Mbnomics and "Korea 7-4-7" plan. The most important point of his plan was market-friendly strategy to pursue 7% economic growth in Korea. Even though in 2011 the plan was brought down due to the tax issue it drove significant growth to Korean investment activities. The data also show that political tensions brought major negative effects on intercultural indicators.

One reason is both Korea and Japan have strong nationalistic ideology so it is hard for them to erase tragic memories of the past. At the same time both peoples have a tendency to lose their temper when disputes concerning such issues occur. Another reason is due to government inconsistency, The Japanese government for example has decided to change the stance over several sensitive issues particularly the Yasukuni shrine visit and comfort women. Such behaviours have decreased people's trust of governments. There are several possible reasons to explain why Korea and Japan cooperation indicators keep growing despite the frequent political tensions. The first answer comes from literature review of Victor Cha in his book "Alignment despite Antagonism: the US-Korea-Japan Security Triangle". According to Cha Korea and Japan serve not only their own interests but also U.S interests in East Asia, particularly the security interests. As the main U.S allies in Asia and "threats" from emerging China the close partnership between the two is included in U.S main

agenda in East Asia. The second reason is from strategic economic perspectives, both countries are known as export driven economies so they rely on international markets to grow the economy. According to the export data of 2011-2014 from Trading Economics website, Korea is one of the most important export market for Japan. Korea is the 3rd largest exporter of the Japan export market after China and U.S with 8% share of the total export. Japan is also important for the Korean export market, market as it is the 4th after ASEAN, U.S and EU markets. As strategic partners in export marketing it is crucial to keep growing the partnership and minimize the political rift.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

Korea and Japan have had a relationship since the 3rd century BC when Korean ancestors started to move into Japanese territory by bringing Chinese knowledge and wisdom. However, this tight relationship is often at times hindered by the political tensions that occur from time to time. The background of this tension is mainly due to historical bitterness between them during the Japanese imperial times in Korea. This thesis questions how the two countries on one hand are having long standing disputes and on the other hand keep tightening their cooperation in many sectors. If the disputes really have negative impacts, the two countries would not continue their current cooperation and should have engaged in a full scale confrontation by now. This thesis hypothesizes the reason behind this unusual relationship is because there is an outside force that stands between the two countries, in this thesis context it is the U.S involvement in East Asia affairs. The second reason is because they are very close trade partners that have to maintain the investment climate. Tensions by any reasons have directly damaging effects on this partnership. The findings of this thesis have confirmed this hypotheses by using literature review, data analysis and precise analytical framework.

Entering the 21st century both countries have raised to become Asian superpowers with affluent technology and advanced economic systems. They were also involved in international political struggles during the cold war era between the U.S and Soviet Union. This is also why Korea and Japan keep strengthening their relations from time to time despite the long standing political tensions. As Victor Cha

mentioned in his book, the cooperation of the two countries is important because of the interest of the US in East Asia. This geo-political and security measure has meant the U.S has always been trying to get involved in the relationship between Korea and Japan and ensure they do not take too aggressive and drastic measures towards each other.

Figure 7: The mechanism of how political tensions harm the intercultural and economic ties

POLITICAL TENSION Historical Bitterness Nationalistic Ideology Territorial Dispute	→ NEGATIVE IMPACT →	INTERCULTURAL DISHARMONY Street Protest Mass Media Spread Hatred	→ NEGATIVE IMPACT →	GOVERNMENT MEASURE Trade Barrier Restriction

Liberalized world has made countries interconnected and practically need each other to work together to solve more complicated problems. Korea and Japan too, as neighbours need to make sure cooperation between them is not disturbed by any possible threats. Korea is ranked 3rd largest in Japan's main trading partners, while Japan is fourth most important in Korea's trading partner ranking. Korea and Japan are known as countries that are using an outward looking economic strategy to promote growth and generate income; therefore every single disturbance in foreign markets may damage their economy. However there are many people that are still reluctant in seeing their governments cooperate with each other, as they perceive 'enemies should not work together'. These negative sentiments have in many occasions hindered the cooperation agenda and even politicians have used this to gather votes and legitimate offensive political campaigns towards each other.

Figure 8: The dilemma between Korea and Japan when the growing need to strengthen the ties hindered by political dispute
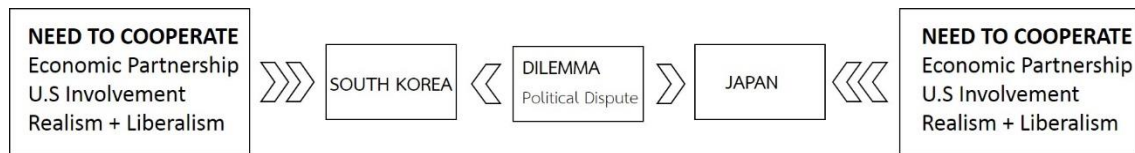
Both governments however realize that negative sentiments are threats for cooperation and therefore have made several attempts to improve understanding between the grassroots people. Many believe misunderstanding between them were mostly due to the lack of open communication between people and this prevented them to know each other's culture more deeply. Two governments since then tried to open the barriers by signing several agreements to promote more intercultural exchanges between the people.

Promoting intercultural exchange is seen as the only way to erase past memories that in years have been the main reason hindering their partnership. This thesis found exact evidences that political disputes have direct negative impact on intercultural relations where at the end also damaged the economic indicators. The only one exception is for the year 2010, in this year both political tension numbers and cooperation indicators are increased. For the reason that is still unknown until this thesis finished, however it opens the possibility to explore the similar question for the future researchers.

This thesis employs two analytical frameworks to explain this unusual relationship between Korea and Japan. In the framework of domestic and foreign policies, this is likely to happen since government is always in the position to

represent the people's feelings, otherwise they will lose legitimacy and be at risk of losing power. So when negative sentiments are spread among people due to any reasons, government needs to act accordingly by taking several measures towards the "enemy of the people". The hatred between two peoples is easily triggered because of strong nationalism ideology the two societies hold. In the context of Korea and Japan, governments usually respond to the people's sentiment by taking economic measures that may damage each other economics. This thesis found 7 economic measures that have been taken by the two countries to damage each other's economy during 1998-2012. These political tensions have direct negative impact on both intercultural and economic relations.

All of this means managing a good perception between each other. As the world now views Asia as the 'new Europe' and the main engine of economic growth after sluggish recoveries in the western world, the roles of Korea and Japan as the prominent countries become even more important to maintain the stability in the region. And by doing so, is to reduce negative sentiment and minimize the domestic conflicts between each other. In the framework of international relations, both realism and liberalism theories can best describe the 'unusual' relations between Korea and Japan. Realism states every country has its own national interests and when it collides with other countries interests the conflict is inevitable. Realism also states every country has tendency to maximize their own national agenda and will not hesitate to take any measures to protect it. While liberalism thinks economic cooperation can be a peace facilitator between the countries. Cooperation will make disputing countries work together and at the same time protect their own national interests. Korea and Japan relations lie in between these two theories, in which

despite the long standing political disputes they keep growing their close ties to pursue their economic interests.

5.1 Suggestion for Future Research

It is necessary to conduct similar research as this in the future by using updated timeframes and new data so people may monitor their progress and understand why they have to ensure good communication between each other. There is also the possibility to use different indicators that I used for this research, as in intercultural exchange I focus more on educational indicators by overviewing data of students that learn languages in foreign countries, (Korean students learning in Japan and vice versa) scholarship recipients etc. Some of the future research may use socio-cultural indicators such as intercultural marriage, change in nationality and other indicators. In political tension I also used only data published by newspapers and other news agencies as it is fully accessible for public use, there is I believe more detailed data regarding this that require higher access to government agencies that I could not get during my work but very fundamental for future research. Future research may also explain in a more specific way how does political rift damage the cooperation indicators between Korea and Japan. In this research I suggest the more frequent the tensions arise the more they damage the indicators. Despite this, the numbers are positive overall but there were some points in my timeframe of 1998-2013 that indicators went down sharply, Which I believe besides the global economic conditions, was also due to hard political rifts regarding historic and past indiscretions occurring in those periods.

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