

The History and Reality of Issues Surrounding Japanese Textbooks: Contention between Internationalism and Patriotism*

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1. Introduction

For the 2012 Japanese general election, the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) pledged through its election manifesto *J-file 2012* to revise the Neighboring Country Clause (近隣諸国条項 kinrinshokokujōko), stating that “many textbooks still include biased descriptions based on a masochistic view of history.” As an advocate of overcoming such a view of history, Prime Minister Abe Shinzō touted the Fundamental Law of Education’s amendment in December 2006 as a major achievement of his first cabinet. Through a statement on the law’s amendment, Prime Minister Abe claimed that “according to the spirit of the Fundamental Law of Education established today, education shall be renewed to make it possible for individuals to develop their diverse potential, nurture them into citizens with a purpose, and shape Japan into a beautiful, dignified country.”¹ The amend-

* This article is translated from the Korean manuscript originally published in the *The Korea-Japan Historical Review* (한일관계사연구) issue 54, August 2016: 361-99.

¹ Kyōiku kihon hokai seihō seiritsu o ukete no naikaku sōridaijin no danwa [Prime Minister’s Statement Following the Passage of the Fundamental Law of Education’s Amendment] (December 15, 2006, Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology website).

ment sparked domestic controversy between those who were for and against it, especially surrounding the addition of the article promoting patriotism. Advocates of the article called for the importance of patriotism in overcoming a masochistic view of history while their opposition pointed out the danger behind enforced patriotism. Prime Minister Abe has actively taken advantage of textbook issues to present himself as a symbol of conservatism. Yet, among the objectives of education stated in the revised Fundamental Law of Education, Article 2-5 not only aims for patriotism through the phrase “respect our traditions and culture, and love the country and the region that nurtured them,” but also seeks to inspire internationalism by fostering “respect for other countries and a desire to contribute to world peace and the development of the international community.” In other words, a more in-depth review based on facts seems necessary to determine how Abe’s representation of “conservative, patriotic education” has actually been implemented in Japan.

Media reports titled “Historical Distortions in Japanese Textbooks Grow Increasingly Elaborate” (Hankook Ilbo editorial, March 18, 2016) and “Japan’s Abe Administration Strikes Out Large Portions of Textbook Descriptions Approved Four Years Ago” (Yonhap News, March 19, 2016) indicate how critical South Korea has been of the worsening distortion of history in Japanese textbooks. Japanese right-wingers, on the other hand, argue that their textbook descriptions have been based on masochistic views of history that regard Japan as subordinate to China and Korea.² These contrasting views over Japanese textbook descriptions may have been caused by their concurrent accommodation of patriotism and internationalism.³ Hence, based on the idea that patriotism and internationalism have been contending throughout changes made to Japanese textbook descriptions since August 1945, this article seeks to examine specific changes in descriptions of Japan’s colonial rule, wars of aggression, and territorial issues as

² Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform website (<http://www.tsukurukai.com/hikaku/hikaku.html>).

³ In this paper, patriotism is identified as attempts to curtail descriptions of colonial rule and wars of aggression due to love of country and internationalism as attempts to describe facts about colonial rule and wars of aggression to facilitate international understanding.

well as the Japanese government’s involvement in such changes.⁴

Table 1. Chronology of Japanese Textbook Issues

Year	Patriotism	Internationalism
1946		Textbook published by the Japanese Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture (MESSC) includes description of the Nanjing Massacre.
1949		Textbook screening system replaces state-issued textbooks.
1955	Japan Democratic Party (ruling party) distributes the booklet “The Problem of Deplorable Textbooks.”	
1965		Ienaga Saburō files a lawsuit against the Japanese textbook screening system.
1970		First trial of Ienaga’s second lawsuit finds the screening system in violation of the Japanese constitution and the education law.
1974		The Nanjing Massacre reappears in high school textbooks.
1975		The Nanjing Massacre reappears in middle school textbooks.
1980	The ruling LDP publishes a serial in its bulletin titled “Textbooks Now: Proposals to Normalize Education.”	
1982	High school textbook screening results are announced (The Asahi Shimbun reports the change in describing Japan’s entry into North China as an advance instead of an invasion).	Chief Cabinet Secretary Miyazawa Kiichi issues a statement introducing the “neighboring country clause” as a new criterion for textbook screening.
1984		All middle school history textbooks include a description of the Nanjing Massacre.

⁴ For research on historical developments in the Japanese textbook issue between August 1945 and 2001, refer to *Tawara Yoshifumi, Kyōkasho kōgeki no shinsō* [The Depths of the Textbook Attacks] (Tōkyō: Gakushu no tomosha, 1997) and Nam Sang-gu, “Ilbon yeoksa gyogwaseo munje reul boneun nun” [A Perspective to Viewing the Japanese History Textbook Issue], *Yeoksa yeongu*, no. 9 (2001): 293-326.

1985		All high school history textbooks include a description of the Nanjing Massacre.
1986	The National Conference to Defend Japan publishes the high school history textbook <i>New Edition of Japanese History</i> through Hara Shobō Press.	
1993	LDP launches a “History Review Committee.”	Chief Cabinet Secretary Kono Yohei issues a statement, extending an apology and expressing remorse regarding the Japanese military “comfort women” issue.
1994		High school Japanese history textbooks approved in 1993 and 1994 include descriptions of comfort women (22 out of 23 textbooks).
1995		Prime Minister Murayama Tomiichi issues a statement extending an apology and expressing remorse for Japan’s invasion and colonial rule of Korea.
1996	“Diet Members’ Alliance for a Bright Japan” and the “Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform” (JSHTR) are formed.	All seven approved middle school history textbooks include descriptions of comfort women.
1997	The group “Parliamentarians with the Future of Japan and History Education in Mind” is formed.	
1999	The Act on the National Flag and the Anthem is ratified.	
2001	The JSHTR publishes middle school history and civics textbooks through Fusosha Publishing.	The first Korea-Japan Joint History Research Committee is established.
2005	The number of middle school history textbooks describing the comfort women issue falls from eight to two.	The Korea-China-Japan Common History Compilation Committee publishes <i>A History to Open the Future</i> .
2006	“The Organization for Japan’s Educational Renewal” splits from the JSHTR. The Fundamental Law of Education is amended (with the addition of the “patriotism” article).	
2007		The second Korea-Japan Joint History Research Committee is established.
2008	Middle school curriculum guidelines note that Dokdo is a subject of territorial dispute.	

2011	The JSHTTR and the Organization for Japan's Educational Renewal publishes a history/civics textbook through the publishers Jiyūsha and Ikuhōsha. Descriptions of comfort women disappear from middle school history textbooks. All middle school geography/civics textbooks include descriptions of Dokdo.	
2014	Middle and high school curriculum guidelines stipulate Dokdo as inherently Japanese territory illegally occupied by Korea.	
2015	All approved middle school geography, civics, and history textbooks (18) describe Dokdo as Japanese territory.	Manabisha's middle school history textbook includes a description of comfort women.
2016	All approved high school geography A/B, politics and economy, modern society, and Japanese history A/B textbooks (24) describe Dokdo as Japanese territory.	
2017	Elementary and middle school curriculum guidelines stipulate that Dokdo is an inherent territory of Japan.	
2018	High school curriculum guidelines stipulate that Dokdo is an inherent territory of Japan.	
2019	All eight social studies textbooks for fifth grade and sixth grade elementary students describe Dokdo as Japanese territory.	

2. Historical Developments in the Japanese Textbook Issue⁵

1) Stage One: From the End of the Pacific War to the First Textbook Attack (1945-55)

As per instructions given by the General Headquarters of the Supreme Commander of the Allied Powers that occupied Japan in 1945, history text-

⁵ This part is a revised and supplemented version of Nam, "Ilbon yeoksa gyogwaseo munje reul boneun nun."

books based on imperialist views and used during the Pacific War were discarded and replaced. In 1946, the Japanese Ministry of Education, Science, Sports and Culture (hereafter as MESSC) published *Traces of Our Nation* (*Kuninoayumi*, elementary school), *History of Japan II* (日本の歴史 下 *Nihon no rekishi ge*, middle school), *History of Japan* (日本歴史 *Nihon rekishi*, high school), *History of Japan* (college of education), all of which noted that Japan “invaded Nanjing” and “committed atrocities during its occupation of Nanjing” in their description of the Nanjing Massacre.⁶ From 1949, a screening system replaced state-issued textbooks so that some textbooks described the Mukden Incident, the Sino-Japanese wars, and the aggressions in Southeast Asia as “invasions” by Japan.⁷ However, textbook descriptions of Japanese wars of aggression were not the result of changes in the Japanese perception of history, but due to policies under the Allied Powers’ occupation.

2) Stage Two: From the First Textbook Attack to the Ienaga Lawsuits (1955-65)

Once the Allied Powers’ occupation ended, conservative forces began to attack textbook descriptions of Japanese wars of aggression and acts of violence. MESSC Minister Okano Kiyohide mentioned that “while the good and the evil of the Pacific War may not be discussed, the fact that Japan fought against world powers for four years demonstrates the superiority of its people, which is why they need to believe in themselves again.”⁸ This comment indicated that instilling confidence back into the Japanese became a mission for the conservatives. With such a sense of mission, the ruling Japan Democratic Party (JDP) distributed the three-volume booklet *The Problem of Deplorable Textbooks* (うれうべき教科書の問題 *Ureubeki kyōkasho no mondai*) from August to November of 1955, an incident

⁶ Tawara, *Kyōkasho kōgeki no shinsō*: 169-70.

⁷ Tawara, 29.

⁸ This comment that appeared in the regular column *Tensei Jingo* (天声人語 *tenseijingo*) was quoted from the minutes of the House of Representatives’ budget committee session (February 9, 1953).

which has since been referred to as the First Textbook Attack. The attack was meant to point out that the Japan Teachers Union was providing left-leaning education on politics through biased textbooks. Textbooks covering Japan's invasion of China were criticized as "questionable whether it can serve as proper Japanese textbooks," which subsequently intensified the Japanese government's screening of textbook descriptions.

As a result, thirty percent of the textbook submissions failed to pass the screening in 1957, including *A New History of Japan* (新日本史 *Shinnihonshi*) by Ienaga Saburo.⁹ The reason for disqualifying Ienaga's high school history textbook was that the author's "extreme anxiousness to reflect on the past is too distant from the purpose of teaching Japanese history so that students may be aware of the efforts their ancestors made, grow conscious of their Japanese identity, and nurture abundant affection for their nation."¹⁰ This strict approach in screening textbooks led to decreasing descriptions about the aggressions and the violence that Japan inflicted.

In December 1957 and in December 1965, textbook authors expressed concern about the government's heavy regulation of textbooks. In 1960, the Japanese Historical Council and nine historical research societies each declared their concern over the government's infringement of academic freedom. In 1965, Ienaga filed his first lawsuit to argue that the textbook screening system was unconstitutional and unlawful. In 1967, he filed a second lawsuit against the government which had rejected his textbook for 1968, due to three detail descriptions at six different places in it.

3) Stage Three: From the Normalization of Korea-Japan Diplomatic Relations to the Second Textbook Attack (1965-82)

Upon his visit to Korea on February 17, 1965, the Japanese Foreign Minis-

⁹ Namimoto Katsutoshi, "1950-nendai no kyōkasho mondai" [The Textbook Issue in the 1950s], *Risshō Daigaku Bungakubu ronsō*, no. 83 (1986): 71.

¹⁰ Ienaga Saburō, *Kyōkasho kentei: Kyōiku o yugameru kyōiku gyōsei* [Textbook Screening: Educational Administration That Distorts Education] (Tōkyō: Nihon Hyoronsha, 1965): 71.

ter Shiina Etsusaburō issued a statement before signing a treaty made through a series of bilateral talks. The statement noted that “it is most unfortunate and deeply regretful that there was such a tragic period in the long history that Japan has shared with Korea.” Once he returned to Japan, Shiina attended a Lower House Foreign Affairs Committee meeting on February 24, 1965, and made it clear that the statement he had given in Korea was to express remorse for Japan’s unjust colonial rule of Korea. He commented, “I hope you understand the statement as a gesture to show how deeply Japan regrets the tragic part of its past with Korea and how determined she is to build friendly relations with Korea for the sake of its future. Moreover, from the standpoint of national sentiment or international politics, it does not seem just for one nation to rule another nation that has its own cultural and historical traditions.”¹¹ After the diplomatic relations between Japan and Korea had been normalized, descriptions related to Japan’s colonial rule of Korea began to increase as can be seen in Table 3 (p. 130).

In the 1970s, descriptions of colonial rule and wars of aggression multiplied for two reasons. First, through the first trial of Ienaga’s second lawsuit, Judge Sugimoto Ryōkichi ruled that textbook screening goes against the constitution and the education law, pointing out that “it is inadmissible to perform an ideological screening of textbook descriptions and there are certain limitations to intervening in them.” Second, the Japanese government’s policy changed after the diplomatic relations between Japan and China had been normalized in 1972. Such change could be sensed from an answer the then MESSC Minister Inaba Osamu gave at a parliamentary hearing on September 29, 1972: “The people of Japan need to be fully aware of how gravely the Chinese suffered from the war. Thus, I agree with Representative Yasunaga’s opinion that there is much to be done as regards elementary, middle, and high school education as well as social education. Regarding its invasion of China, Japan stated through a

¹¹ Nam Sang-gu, “Abe jeonggwon eui yeoksa insik gwa Han-Il gwangye” [The Recognition of History by the Government of Prime Minister Abe Shinzō and Korea-Japan Relations], *Hanil gwangyesa yeongu*, no. 46 (2013): 234-35.

draft of its joint communiqué with China that “The Government of Japan is deeply repentant over the damages that Japanese militarism has caused the people of China in the past.” Minister Inaba’s comment could be regarded as a reflection of the Japanese Government’s view at the time, meaning that the reestablishment of Japan-China relations seems to have influenced descriptions in Japanese textbooks.

Consequently, descriptions of the Nanjing Massacre reappeared in the 1974 edition of high school Japanese history textbooks as well as in the 1975 edition of middle school Japanese history textbooks. Efforts made by Japanese civil society and academia, notably the Ienaga lawsuits, in tandem with external factors such as the normalization of Korea-China relations all brought internationalist descriptions back to the surface.

As descriptions of Japanese aggressions increased, the conservatives began to launch an attack on textbooks, which is referred to as the second attack. From January 1980, the LDP began to publish through its bulletin *Jiyū Shinpō* (自由新報) a series titled “Textbooks Now: Proposals for the Normalization of Education.” A few months later, in July, full-scale attacks on textbooks followed after the Minister of Justice Okuno Seisuke had argued during a press conference that “current textbooks have serious issues such as avoiding expressions of love for our country.” The regulation of descriptions through textbook screening subsequently grew markedly heavier.

4) Stage Four: From the 1982 Textbook Crisis to the 1996 Approval of Middle School Textbooks with Comfort Women Descriptions (1982-96)

Around the time that the second attack on textbooks occurred, the daily *Asahi Shimbun* reported on June 26, 1982, that the MESSC was using the screening of high school history textbooks to force Japanese aggressions in north China to be described as an “advance” instead of an “invasion” and to drastically cut back descriptions of Japanese wars of aggression. However, none of the textbooks that passed the screening in 1982 replaced “invasion” with “advance”. Instead, such a change was made to the 1976 mid-

dle school social studies (history) textbook, the 1977 high school world history textbook, and the 1979 middle school social studies (history) textbook. There was also a case in the 1981 screening in which Japanese aggressions in Southeast Asia were described as an advance.

When the Asahi Shimbun report incited strong reactions from Korea and China, the Japanese government issued a statement through Chief Cabinet Secretary Miyazawa Kiichi two months later on August 26, 1982 to announce the creation of the “Neighboring Country Clause.” The clause was to be Japan’s promise to the international society that it would truthfully describe its past through textbooks including facts related to its colonial rule and wars of aggression so as to “be considerate of international understanding and cooperation when dealing with modern to contemporary historical facts related to neighboring Asian countries.” Unlike the conservatives’ intention to curtail descriptions of Japan’s wars of aggression, the second attack on textbooks resulted in improving textbook descriptions. As a result, the 1984 editions of middle school textbooks and the 1985 editions of high school textbooks all included descriptions of the Nanjing Massacre.

In the 1990s, the Japanese military comfort women issue came to the surface. Asian victims began to increasingly question Japan’s postwar treatment by taking actions such as filing lawsuits against the Japanese government to demand postwar compensation. In 1993, the Japanese government issued a statement through Chief Cabinet Secretary Kōno Yōhei to admit and apologize for the Japanese government and the military’s involvement in installing comfort stations and mobilizing comfort women. In 1995, Prime Minister Murayama Tomiichi issued a statement, apologizing and expressing remorse for Japan’s wars of aggression and colonial rule. These gestures by the Japanese government influenced textbook descriptions around that time. Twenty-two of the twenty-three high school Japanese history textbooks A/B that passed the screening in 1993 and in 1994 included descriptions about the comfort women issue as did all seven middle school history textbooks that passed the screening in 1996. Also, a question about the comfort women issue and the forced mobilization of Koreans and Chinese appeared in the 1997 National Center for University

Entrance Examinations (equivalent to the College Scholastic Ability Test in Korea).¹²

5) Stage Five: New Attacks on Textbooks (1993-Present)

As Japanese government officials offered apologies and expressed remorse for colonial rule and wars of aggression and descriptions of them increased in textbooks, conservatives in Japan once again began to launch efforts to counter such developments. In August 1993, the LDP formed a “History Review Committee (歴史検討委員会 *Rekishikentōiinkai*).” This committee also argued for the launching of a national campaign with scholars to “confront” textbooks describing Japanese aggression and wrongdoings, and established that the Pacific War’s purpose had been to liberate Asia, and that the Nanjing Massacre and the Japanese military comfort women were fabrications. The “Diet Members’ Alliance for a Bright Japan,” formed in June 1996, and the “Parliamentarians with the Future of Japan and History Education in Mind” formed in February 1997 demanded that descriptions of comfort women be removed from textbooks, arguing that “it is impossible to agree with servile, apologetic diplomacy and masochistic perceptions vilifying our country’s past as an aggressor nation.” During a parliamentary session on June 5, 1998, MESSC Minister Machimura Nobutaka claimed that textbook descriptions of Japanese history beyond the Meiji Restoration were skewed toward negative aspects.

In tandem with the above actions in the political sphere, the Japanese scholar Nishio Kanji led the formation of the Japanese Society for History Textbook Reform (hereafter as JSHTR, 新しい歴史教科書をつくる会 *Atarashi irekishi kyōkasho wo tsukuru kai*) in December 1996. Early on, the

¹² Fujioka Nobukatsu, “Saku toi no gensoku o itsudatsu shita sentan yūshi mondai” [Entrance Exam Questions that Deviate from the Principle of Creating Questions] (<http://www.jiyuushikan.org/rekishi/rekishi79.html>).

According to Fujioka, questions about forced mobilization appeared seven times in Japanese history and world history examinations between 1990 and 2004. After the question in the 2004 exam was criticized, no further questions on forced mobilization have appeared in the National Center for University Entrance Examinations.

JSHTR focused on criticizing the existing textbooks for including descriptions about comfort women based on masochistic views of history. From 2001, the JSHTR began to directly publish its own history and civics textbook. The issues surrounding Japanese textbooks since 2001 have been centered around historical distortions in textbooks such as those committed by the JSHTR or the Organization for Japan's Educational Renewal that split from the JSHTR in October 2006. Due to the attacks by conservatives including the JSHTR, middle school history textbooks with descriptions of comfort women fell from seven out of seven textbooks in 1996 to three out of eight textbooks in 2001 and two out of eight by 2005. By 2011, none of these textbooks contained descriptions of comfort women and there were fewer descriptions of Japan's colonial rule and wars of aggression.¹³ For the 2011 screening of middle school textbooks, the number of submitted history textbooks based on the JSHTR approach increased from one to two and the authorization rate of such textbooks rose from 0.039% (2001) to 3.8% and then to approximately 6.3% by 2015. On the other hand, the authorization rate of history textbooks published by Nihon Shoseki (Nihon Shoseki Shinsha since 2005), which most faithfully describe the comfort women issue, continued to drop from 13.7% in 1996 to 5.9% in 2001, and then to 3.1% by 2005 until the publisher halted submissions for screening in 2011.

After Prime Minister Abe began his second term in December 2012, the “Council for Educational Renewal (教育さいせい実行会議 Kyōiku saisei jikkō kaigi)” was installed as an advisory body to the prime minister and the “Headquarters for Educational Renewal (教育さいせい実行本部 Kyōiku saisei jikkō honbu)” that formed within the LDP took the lead in reforming education-related systems in Japan and in applying pressure on textbook descriptions about wars of aggression. On May 28, 2013, the Headquarters for Educational Renewal's Special Department to Review Textbook Screening Issues summoned the presidents and the chief editors

¹³ The Manabisha middle school history textbook approved in 2015 included a description of the Japanese military comfort women.

of the major textbook publishers Tōkyō Shoseki, Jitsukyō Shuppan, and Kyōiku Shuppan to answer questions from nearly forty-five LDP parliamentarians about textbook descriptions regarding the Nanjing Massacre, the comfort women issue, and territorial controversies. The parliamentarians responded to the publishers' answers by saying they "offered an insufficient explanation" and were "biased."¹⁴ On January 17, 2014, the textbook screening criteria was partially revised. The newly inserted guidelines demanded to not excessively highlight certain historical facts, to prevent students from developing misunderstandings by stipulating the lack of a common view about certain incidents in modern to contemporary history, and to base descriptions on high court rulings or on the government's unified opinion whenever it is available through cabinet decisions as well as other relevant channels. A few days later, on January 28, the commentary on middle and high school curriculum guidelines was revised to instruct textbook authors to reflect the Japanese government's view in descriptions about territorial controversies over Dokdo or the Senkaku Islands.

3. Changes in Descriptions of Colonial Rule and Wars of Aggression

In Japan, textbooks are authored based on curriculum guidelines. Table 2 summarizes the history of revisions those guidelines for middle schools went through after Japan's defeat in 1945 and how long each revised and approved history textbook remained in use.

Table 3 summarizes which aspects of Japan's colonial rule and wars of aggression were described in textbooks published between 1952 and 2011 by seven different publishers including Tōkyō Shoseki, Kyōiku Shuppan, Shimizu Shoin, Teikoku Shoin, Ōsaka Shoseki (Nihon Bunkyo Shuppan), Chūkyō Shuppan (Nihon Bunkyo Shuppan), and Nihon Shoseki (Nihon Shoseki Shinsha).

¹⁴ *Asahi Shimbun*, May 30, 2013.

Table 2. History of Middle School Curriculum Guideline Revisions and Textbook Publications

Curriculum Guidelines		Duration of Use of Approved History Textbooks									
Announced	Implemented										
	1952	1952	1953	1954	1955	1956	1957	1958	1959	1960	
1958	1962	1962	1966	1969							
1969	1972	1972	1975	1978							
1977	1981	1981	1984	1987	1990						
1989	1993	1993	1997								
1998	2002	2002	2006	2010							
2008	2012	2012	2016								

Table 3. Changes in Descriptions of Colonial Rule and Wars of Aggression

	Topic	Use
Colonial rule	Korea's annexation (colonization)	1952 (Nihon Shoseki, Shimizu Shoin), 1955 (Kyōiku Shuppan, Teikoku Shoin), 1956 (Tōkyō Shoseki, Osaka Shoseki), 1957 (Chūkyō Shuppan)
	Violence in colonies	1966 (Nihon Shoseki), 1975 (Tōkyō Shoseki, Kyōiku Shuppan), 1978 (Teikoku Shoin, Chūkyō Shuppan, Shimizu Shoin, Chūkyō Shuppan)
	Japanization policy (Korea)	1984 (Tōkyō Shoseki), 1987 (Chūkyō Shuppan, Osaka Shoseki), 1990 (Kyōiku Shuppan), 1993 (Nihon Shoseki, Teikoku Shoin), 1997 (Shimizu Shoin)
	March First Movement	1957 (Nihon Shoseki), 1962 (Kyōiku Shuppan, Chūkyō Shuppan), 1969 (Osaka Shoseki), 1972 (Teikoku Shoin, Shimizu Shoin), 1975 (Tōkyō Shoseki)
	Killing of Koreans during the Great Kantō Earthquake	1966 (Nihon Shoseki), 1975 (Chūkyō Shuppan), 1978 (Tōkyō Shoseki, Kyōiku Shuppan, Chūkyō Shuppan, Teikoku Shoin, Shimizu Shoin)
	Forced mobilization (Korea)	1966 (Nihon Shoseki), 1974 (Kyōiku Shuppan), 1978 (Chūkyō Shuppan, Teikoku Shoin, Shimizu Shoin), 1981 (Tōkyō Shoseki, Osaka Shoseki)
	Japanese military comfort women	1997 (Nihon Shoseki, Tōkyō Shoseki, Kyōiku Shuppan, Teikoku Shoin, Shimizu Shoin, Osaka Shoseki, Nihon Bunkyo Shuppan) 2002 (Nihon Shoseki Shinsha, Shimizu Shoin, Teikoku Shoin), 2006 (Nihon Shoseki Shinsha, Teikoku Shoin), 2012 (none) ※ 2016 (Manabisha)

	Colonization and Resistance (Taiwan)	1978 (Tōkyō Shoseki), 1993 (Nihon Shoseki), 1997 (Teikoku Shoin, Osaka Shoseki, Nihon Bunkyo Shuppan), 2002 (Kyōiku Shuppan), 2012 (Shimizu Shoin)
	Assimilation (Japanization) Policy (Taiwan)	1997 (Teikoku Shoin, Nihon Bunkyo Shuppan), 2002 (Nihon Shoseki, Kyōiku Shuppan), 2006 (Tōkyō Shoseki), 2012 (Shimizu Shoin)
	Forced mobilization (Taiwan)	1981 (Nihon Shoseki), 1990 (Kyōiku Shuppan), 1993 (Shimizu Shoin, Chūkyō Shuppan), 2012 (Teikoku Shoin)
Wars of aggression	Invasion of China	1984 (Nihon Shoseki, Tōkyō Shoseki, Kyōiku Shuppan, Osaka Shoseki, Shimizu Shoin, Chūkyō Shuppan), 1990 (Teikoku Shoin)
	Nanjing Massacre	1975 (Nihon Shoseki), 1978 (Tōkyō Shoseki, Kyōiku Shuppan), 1981 (Chūkyō Shuppan), 1984 (Osaka Shoseki), 1987 (Shimizu Shoin), 1990 (Teikoku Shoin)
	Invasion of Southeast Asia	1981 (Nihon Shoseki), 1978 (Tōkyō Shoseki, Kyōiku Shuppan, Teikoku Shoin, Osaka Shoseki), 1981 (Shimizu Shoin), 1987 (ChūkyōShuppan)

The trends and characteristics of textbook descriptions regarding Japan's colonial rule and wars of aggression are as follows. First, until the 1950s, textbook descriptions of Japan's colonization of Korea emphasized that it was an internationally acknowledged outcome of the Russo-Japanese War. For instance, the textbook published by Kyōiku Shuppan in 1957 stated that "after its war with Russia, Japan immediately renewed its alliance with [Great] Britain to gain approval for it to take leadership in Korea, and in 1910 (Meiji Year 43), Japan finally annexed Korea. ... [Great] Britain and the United States thus acknowledged Japan's annexation of Korea." From the 1960s, textbook descriptions changed to admit that resistance in the process of colonization was suppressed by force, but turning Taiwan and Korea into colonies (protectorates) of Japan was still noted as an outcome of the treaties of Shimonoseki and Portsmouth. Japan's wrongdoings toward its colonies began to be described in Japanese textbooks from 1966, and by 1982 all textbooks contained such descriptions. Meanwhile, descriptions related to the Japanese military comfort women appeared in all Japanese textbooks in 1997, but gradually disappeared subsequently so that none of the textbooks contained such descriptions

Table 4. Comparison of Descriptions of Japan's Colonial Rule of Korea and Taiwan

		Resistance & Armed Repression	Japanization Policy	Acts of Violence	War Mobilization	Development
Tōkyō	Taiwan	1978-	2006-			
Shoseki	Korea	1966-	1984-	1975-	1981-	
Kyōiku Shuppan	Taiwan	2002-	2002-		1990-	2006-15
	Korea	1962-	1990-	1975-	1974-	2006-11
Nihon Shoseki (Nihon Shoseki Shinsha)	Taiwan	1975-1980, 1993-	2002-		1981-	
	Korea	1957-	1993-	1966-	1966-	1975-96
Teikoku Shoin	Taiwan	1997-	1997-	1997-	2002-	1997-2001
	Korea	1975-	1993-	1978-	1978-	
Osaka Shoseki	Taiwan	1997-		2002-05		
	Korea	1970-	1987-	1978-	1981-	
Chūkyō Shuppan (Nihon Bunkyo Shuppan)	Taiwan	1997	1997		1993	
	Korea	1957-	1987-	1978	1978-	
Shimizu Shoin	Taiwan	2012-	2012-	2002-	1993-	
	Korea	1973-	1997	1978-	1978-	1974-86

by 2012. In 2016, the textbook published by Manabisha included a description regarding comfort women and passed the screening.

Second, there is an imbalance in the coverage between Japan's colonial rule of Korea and of Taiwan. Except for a few textbooks, Japan's colonial rule of Taiwan began to be described in Japanese textbooks after 1993. Such descriptions tended to be introduced briefly after Japan's colonial rule of Korea and offered only a few details regarding the policies of assimilation/Japanization that Japan practiced in Taiwan. Regarding independence movements, the March First Movement in Korea has been largely featured in all Japanese textbooks whereas only the textbook published by Teikoku Shoin in 2012 managed to introduce the League for the Establishment of a Taiwan Parliament and the textbook published by Ōsaka Shoseki in 2005 introduced the Musha Incident. Meanwhile, the textbooks published by Kyōiku Shuppan and Ikuhōshain 2012 used boxed columns about Hatta

Yoichi to indicate that Japan's colonial rule contributed to the modernization of Taiwan. There have also been a few textbooks that described Japan's colonial rule of Taiwan as comparable to that of Korea. The 2002 Teikoku Shoin textbook included a subsection titled "Colonial Policies in Korea and Taiwan" and the 2012 Shimizu Shoin textbook had a subsection titled "Taiwan under Japanese Rule."

Third, colonial rule tends to be described not as part of the Japanese Empire, but within a framework of oppression and exploitation, and of resistance to a lesser degree. Regarding the damage Korea suffered as a colony, Japanese textbook descriptions cover land exploitation through land surveys and the compulsory education of the Japanese language and history. Forcing Koreans to change their name and worship at Shinto shrines are mentioned as examples of the Japanization policy. In terms of resistance, the activities of righteous armies are described as a form of resistance through force, but nothing is mentioned regarding cultural resistance. As for the influence Japan's colonial rule had on Korean society and the people, descriptions note the discrimination Koreans suffered in terms of wages and lifestyle. The forced mobilization of Koreans described in Kyōiku Shuppan textbooks (1981-2005) through boxed columns titled "Considering History at the Regional Level" or in the 1997 Tōkyō Shoseki textbook's boxed column "Forced Mobilization of Koreans" shows that forced mobilization has been suggested as representative of the damage Japanese colonies suffered. However, since 2006, such columns have either been shortened or removed.

Japanese textbooks have basically stated that although the March First Movement developed into a nationwide protest as Koreans suffering from colonial rule continued to identify with the movement's purpose, the movement was successfully subdued by the Japanese military and police. In the 1990s, the Korean activist Ryu Gwan-sun's participation and death was added to descriptions about the March First Movement in the textbooks Tōkyō Shoseki published in 1997 and 2002. From 1997, Japanese textbooks began to introduce descriptions of the few Japanese such as Yanagi Muneyoshi who had been critical of Japan and sympathized with colonial Korea and its movements for independence. Descriptions of such

Table 5. Descriptions Related to the March First Movement

		Tōkyō Shoseki	Kyōiku Shuppan	Nihon Shoseki (Nihon Shoseki Shinsha) ¹⁵	Teikoku Shoin
Text	Account of the March First Movement	1975-2015	1962-2015	1957-2011	1972-2015
	The suffering public's identification with the movement against colonial rule	1975-96		1993-2011	
	Nationwide spread of the movement	1975-2015	1962-2015	1957-2011	1978-2015
	Suppression by the military and police	1975-96	1981-2015	1957-2011	1978-2001
	Suppression (through force)	1997-2015	1962-80		
	Specific number of victims	1975-77	1987-2005	1966-2011	1990-2001
	Declaration of Independence		1981-2005, 2012-15	1993-2011	
	Continuation of the movement	1981-2015		1962-87	1990-2001
	Changes to colonial policies due to the movement	1997-2015	2012-15		
	Ryu Gwan-sun	1997-2005	1993-2005	2006-11	2002-15
	Japanese who sympathized with colonial Korea	2002-15	1997-2001, 2012-15		2012-15
	Columns		1993-2001		
Figures/ Images	Areas where the movement occurred (map)	1975-97	1975-2015	1978-2011	
	Protests by female students	1993-2001	1993-2001	2002-11	1990-96
	Ryu Gwan-sun	1997-2005	1993-2005	2006-11	2002-15
	Sculpture of Independence		2006-15		
	Declaration of Independence		2012-15		

Japanese figures increased, with a column on Asakawa Takumi and a poem by Ishikawa Takuboku included in Tokyo Shoseki's textbook for 2012.

Table 6. Descriptions Related to the Nanjing Massacre

		Tōkyō Shoseki	Kyōiku Shuppan	Nihon Shoseki (Nihon Shoseki Shinsha)	Teikoku Shoin
No. of Victims	Many	1978-84, 2002-15	1978-85, 2002-15	1977-86	1990-2015
	Hundreds of thousands, 200,000, 300,000 Chinese	1985-2001	1987-2001	1987-2011	
	42,000		1975-77	1975-77	
Type of Victims	Captives	2012-15	1997-2015	1987-2011	
	Soldiers	1978-96	1981-2001		2001-15
	Residents (Civilians)	2012-15	1975-1980, 2006-15	2002-11	
	Women, Children	1978-2011	1981-2001	1975-97	1990-2015
Massacre (term)		1997-2001	1987-2001	1987-2001	1990-2015

Fourth, the Nanjing Massacre began to be described in Japanese textbooks from 1978. From 2002, related descriptions noted that “many” or a “massive number of” people were killed due to the massacre instead of providing a specific number of fatalities. Until 2001, Tōkyō Shoseki text books mentioned that “around 200,000 Chinese are estimated to have been killed.” This was changed to “a massive number of Chinese were killed” in 2002, and in 2012 the description noted that “despite various investigations and research efforts, the number of victims remains undetermined.” The Japanese government may have admitted its responsibility for causing “tremendous damage and suffering” through the statement Prime Minister Murayama issued in 1995, but changes in Japanese textbook descriptions since then have made the reality of such damage and suffering seem increasingly obscure.

4. Changes in Descriptions of Territorial Issues

1) Changes in the Japanese Government's Perception and Policies

The Commentary on the Curriculum Guidelines (hereafter as the Commentary), which serves as the standard for authoring textbooks in Japan, reflects how the Japanese government regards education on territorial issues.

For this article, middle school civics, geography, and history textbooks have been analyzed because they exhibit changes in descriptions more distinctly than any other tier of compulsory education. Table 7 summarizes descriptions in the Commentary that are related to territorial issues.

Table 7 indicates that territorial issues were first described in the Commentary on Middle School Curriculum Guidelines in 1970. The issue over the Kuril Islands was first specified in the Commentary in 1989, the Dokdo issue in 2008, and the Senkaku Islands issue in 2014. The Commentary first described in 2014 that Korea was illegally occupying Dokdo despite the island being an inherent part of Japanese territory. It was also in 2014 when the Commentary first associated the Kuril Islands with the term "illegal occupation." These changes reflected the Japanese government's shift in 2014 to a firmer stance on territorial issues due to the Abe administration's conservative nature. Unlike descriptions of colonial rule or wars of aggression, descriptions of territorial issues in the Commentary headed toward a unilateral dissemination of the Japanese government's stance.

About the 2014 revision's significance, Prime Minister Abe remarked at a parliamentary hearing that "it is very important to clearly specify that the said territories have been an inherent part of our country according to history and international law, and to make it possible for children to support Japan's argument in debates overseas."¹⁵ Minister Shimomura

¹⁵ 186th session of the House of Councilors Budget Committee, February 5 (2014). Search Engine for Diet Records, <http://kokkai.ndl.go.jp/>.

Table 7. Changes in Descriptions of Territorial Issues in the Commentary on Middle School Curriculum Guidelines

Date	Description (<u>Underline by author</u>)
Sep. 1959	No relevant descriptions
May 1970	<p><Geography> With regard to <u>territorial issues, especially those that remain unresolved, students need to be aware of the just arguments our country is making</u> covering the main points of each issue it faces.</p>
May 1978	<p><Geography> It is important to bring to the students' attention the issues of territory and <u>economic zones that our country is facing</u> and furnish them with a foundation upon which they may deepen their understanding of such issues. Regarding unresolved territorial issues, students need to gain an accurate understanding of each issue's main points based on the just arguments our country has been making.</p> <p><Civics> Regarding territory, the limit of territorial waters should be discussed as a matter pertinent to real life.</p>
July 1989	<p><Geography> Issues of territory and economic zones that our country is facing should be brought to the students' attention so that they are equipped with the foundation to further their understanding of such issues. The Northern Territories dispute needs to be treated accurately based on the just arguments our country has been making, noting that the islands have been part of our inherent territory and that <u>our country has been demanding their return.</u></p> <p><Civics> Although some territorial (including territorial waters and sky) <u>matters remain unresolved, students need to understand that such matters must be resolved through peaceful means</u> and at the same time ...</p>
Sep. 1999	<p><Geography> It is important to bring to the students' attention the issues our country is facing in terms of territory and economic zones. When "pointing out that the Northern Territories have been an inherent part of our country and raising awareness toward the issues surrounding our country's territorial boundaries," it is necessary to <u>confirm the location and the extent of the Northern Territories (Habomai Islands, Shikotan Island, Kunashiri Island, Etorofu Island).</u> At the same time, it will also be necessary to specify that our country is making a just argument in demanding the return of our inherent territory currently occupied by the Russian Federation.</p> <p><Civics> It is important for students to understand that our country is still involved in international disputes over territory (including territorial waters and the sky) and that it is striving to resolve them through peaceful means.</p>

July 2008	<p><Geography> Based on just arguments our country is making, it is important to bring to the students' attention the issues our country is facing in terms of territory and economic zones. When "pointing out that the Northern Territories have been an inherent part of our country and raising awareness toward issues surrounding our country's territorial boundaries," it is necessary to confirm the location and the extent of the Northern Territories (Habomai Islands, Shikotan Island, Kunashiri Island, Etorofu Island). At the same time, it will also be necessary to specify that our country is demanding the return of our inherent territory because it is currently occupied by the Russian Federation. Likewise, it is necessary to cover <u>the difference between our country and Korea's respective arguments over the territorial sovereignty of Takeshima, which will be as helpful as the Northern Territories issue in furthering the students' understanding of our country's territory and its boundaries.</u></p> <p><Civics> Students should understand that our country is still involved in international disputes over territory (including territorial waters and the sky), striving to resolve them through peaceful means, and that groups other than individual countries and international organizations are working on such issues in an international capacity.</p>
Jan. 2014	<p><Geography> Regarding the Northern Territories (Habomai Islands, Shikotan Island, Kunashiri Island, Etorofu Island) and Takeshima, it is necessary to confirm their respective location and extent as well as the fact that they are each being <u>illegally occupied</u> by the Russian Federation and Korea despite having <u>inherently been part of our country</u>. To deepen the students' understanding of our country's territory and its boundaries, it is necessary to inform of the fact that our country is demanding the Russian Federation to return the Northern Territories and <u>repeatedly making protests to Korea regarding Takeshima</u>.</p> <p>Also, besides confirming the location and extent of the Senkaku Islands, it is necessary for students to understand that <u>there are no sovereignty issues</u> pertaining to the islands since our country is currently exercising effective control over what has <u>inherently been part of its territory</u>.</p> <p><Civics> Regarding international disputes over territory (including territorial waters and the sky), students should be able to draw from their scholastic progress in geography and history to understand that our country is still involved in issues related to its <u>inherent territory, namely the Northern Territories and Takeshima</u>. Students should understand the history and current situation of such issues, the just arguments our country is making, and that our country is striving to resolve the issues through peaceful means.</p> <p>Also, regarding the current situation surrounding our country's inherent territory the Senkaku Islands, students should understand the history leading up to our country's currently lawful control over the islands and that there are no sovereignty issues over the islands that need to be resolved.</p>

	<p><History> The textbook chapter “Delimitation of Territory” covers the territorial demarcation between Japan and Russia, the Ryūkyū Islands issue, and the development of Hokkaido. <u>The chapter will offer the opportunity to additionally mention how our country formally and legitimately incorporated Takeshima and the Senkaku Islands based on international law</u> as well as to cover our country’s diplomacy with China and Korea.</p>
<p>July 2017</p>	<p><Geography> Regarding Takeshima and the Northern Territories (Habomai Islands, Shikotan Island, Kunashiri Island, Etorofu Island), it is necessary to confirm their respective location and area. Since they are each illegally occupied by Korea and the Russian Federation <u>despite being inherently part of our country’s territory, it is also necessary to point out that our country is repeatedly making protests to Korea about Takeshima and demanding the Russian Federation to return the Northern Territories.</u> Students need to be accurately informed that our country’s arguments are just both in terms of history and international law and thus gain a deeper understanding of our country’s territorial boundaries. On “pointing out that the Senkaku Islands have inherently been our territory and are therefore not involved in any territorial issues,” students need to understand not only the islands’ location and extent, but also that there are no unresolved sovereignty issues over the islands because they are under our country’s effective control <u>based on historically and legally just reasons.</u></p> <p><Civics> Having learned about the extent and characteristics of or changes to territory through geography lessons and about the demarcation of territory through history lessons, students should be able to recognize issues involving territory (including territorial waters and the sky) as international matters. Students should be aware that our country has unresolved issues over Takeshima and the Northern Territories (Habomai Islands, Shikotan Island, Kunashiri Island, Etorofu Island). This means being aware of the <u>developments in each territorial issue from past to present as well as the difficulties Japan experienced due to the illegal occupation of those territories such as restrictions on sailing, fishing, or developing marine resources, the seizure of boats, and the detainment of sailors and resulting casualties.</u> Based on such an awareness, students should comprehend state sovereignty in relation to the <u>just arguments on territorial issues our country is making in terms of history and international law</u> and its efforts to resolve such issues through peaceful means. Also, regarding the circumstances surrounding our country’s inherent territory Senkaku Islands, students should be aware of the past developments leading up to the present as well as the historical and the legal legitimacy of our country’s position, allowing them to understand that there is no sovereignty issue to be resolved regarding the islands.</p> <p><History> The textbook chapter “Delimitation of Territory” covers the territorial demarcation between Japan and Russia, the Ryukyu Islands issue, and the development of Hokkaido. In addition, it should be mentioned that the Northern Territories (Habomai Islands, Shikotan Island, Kunashiri Island, Etorofu Island) have consistently</p>

	<p>been delimited as part of our country's territory. At the same time, students should be informed about <u>how our country formally and legally incorporated Takeshima and the Senkaku Islands based on international law</u>, which will allow them to understand the historical and the legal legitimacy of our country's stance.</p>
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Hakubun of the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT) explained at the hearing that “in order to provide a proper, solid education on modern to contemporary history, a plan to reform the textbook screening system was announced at the end of last year. The plan’s aim was to establish the precise description of modern to contemporary history as a prerequisite for curriculum guidelines as per the revised education law. The Commentary should also reflect this change through an immediate revision.”¹⁶

The ruling LDP as well as the opposing Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) and the Japan Innovation Party all consented to the MEXT’s revision of the Commentary, saying that “the Senkaku Islands and Takeshima have inherently been Japanese territory, so there should be no problem with stating the fact in descriptions” or that “it’s a natural decision, which makes it surprising that such facts have not been described so far.”¹⁷ An editorial in the daily Yomiuri Shimbun also expressed support for the Commentary’s revision, noting that “acquiring precise knowledge about a territory is important for children since the future of Japan depends on them.” The editorial further mentioned that “it is natural for the MEXT to faithfully support lessons about territory based on the government’s view. It means talents capable of arguing for Japan’s stance in international society can be cultivated.”¹⁸

¹⁶ 186th session of the House of Representatives Fourth Budget Subcommittee, February 26, 2014. Search Engine for Diet Records, <http://kokkai.ndl.go.jp/>.

¹⁷ *Sankei Shimbun* (January 29, 2014).

¹⁸ *Yomiuri Shimbun* (January 29, 2014).

2) Changes in Textbook Descriptions

From 1947 to 2015, 222 geography textbooks, 204 civics textbooks, and 247 history textbooks passed the screening for Japanese middle school curricula.¹⁹ As for changes since 1947 in the coverage of Dokdo in Japanese middle school textbooks under the social studies category, such coverage increased mainly in geography textbooks since 2001 and became a steady part of geography, civics, and history textbooks by 2015.²⁰

Table 8-1. Proportional Changes in the Coverage of Dokdo in Japanese Middle School Geography Textbooks

Approved Year	No. of Textbooks	Text + Map	Text	Map	Total (Percentage)
1955	19			1	1 (5%)
1971	8			2	2 (25%)
1974	8			1	1 (13%)
1977	8			3	3 (38%)
1980	8		2	2	4 (50%)
1983	8		2	2	4 (50%)
1986	8		1	3	4 (50%)
1989	8		1	4	5 (62%)
1992	8			5	5 (62%)
1996	7			4	4 (57%)
2001	7	1		6	7 (100%)
2005	6	2		4	6 (100%)
2011	4	4			4 (100%)
2015	4	4			4 (100%)

¹⁹ Japanese Textbook Library Information Database, <http://mokuokudb.textbook-rc.or.jp/kyoka/KYL010.aspx>.

²⁰ Nam Sang-gu, "Jeonhu Ilbon junghakgyo gyogwaseo eui Dokdo gisul chuiwa hyeonhwang" [Japanese History Textbook: Claiming Sovereignty over Dokdo and Its Progress], *Yeongto haeyang yeongu* 1 (2011): 176-209.

Table 8-2. Proportional Changes in the Coverage of Dokdo in Japanese Middle School Civics Textbooks

Approved Year	No. of Textbooks	Text + Map	Text	Map	Total (Percentage)
1961	13			1	1 (8%)
1971	8			1	1 (13%)
2001	8	1		1	2 (25%)
2005	8	3		1	4 (50%)
2011	7	6		1	7 (100%)
2015	6	6			6 (100%)

Table 8-3. Proportional Changes in the Coverage of Dokdo in Japanese Middle School History Textbooks

Approved Year	No. of Textbooks	Text + Map	Text	Map	Total (Percentage)
2011	8		1	2	3 (37%)
2015	8	7	1		8 (100%)

Textbook descriptions that passed screening in 2015 displayed a stark difference from previous versions. The textbook Shimizu Shoin published and passed screening in 1980 simply described that “the Senkaku Islands at the westernmost of Japanese territory and Takeshima off the shore of Shimane Prefecture are both part of Japan but their sovereignty is being questioned because China has been making claims over the former while Korea has been doing so over the latter.” Some of the other textbooks from the 1980s simply inserted a map of Japan that included Dokdo labeled as Takeshima. Among the textbooks that passed screening in 2001, a civics textbook by Fūsosha Publishing briefly noted that Dokdo “has historically been an inherent territory of our country,” while a geography textbook by Nihon Shoseki mentioned that “there is an issue surrounding Takeshima in the Sea of Japan between Japan and Korea. The two country’s governments negotiated and concluded a new fisheries agreement which temporarily defines the waters around Takeshima as a jointly controlled fishing

zone.” However, as can be seen through Table 9, textbooks began to include further details related to Dokdo from 2005, particularly those that supported the Japanese government’s claim over the island’s sovereignty. The textbook screening in 2011 was conducted under the administration of the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) but exhibited a substantial increase in Dokdo-related details. This was not a result of the DPJ administration’s policies, but because of the Commentary revised in 2008.

Table 9. Changes in Dokdo-related Descriptions in Japanese Middle School Social Studies Textbooks (2005-15)

	Approved in 2001 (7 geography, 8 civics, 8 history)	Approved in 2005 (6 geography, 8 civics, 9 history)	Approved in 2011 (4 geography, 7 civics, 7 history)	Approved in 2015 (4 geography, 6 civics, 8 history)
Korea is illegally occupying Dokdo		1 civics textbook	1 geography textbook, 3 civics textbooks	(all) 4 geography textbooks, 5 civics textbooks, 4 history textbooks
Dokdo is an inherent territory of Japan	1 civics textbook	2 civics textbooks	3 geography textbooks, 4 civics textbooks, 1 history textbook	(all) 4 geography textbooks, (all) 6 civics textbooks, 5 history textbooks
Dokdo is labeled as Takeshima, included within the borderline or the exclusive economic zone of Japan	1 civics textbook	(all) 6 geography textbooks, 3 civics textbooks	(all) 4 geography textbooks, (all) 7 civics textbooks, 2 history textbooks	(all) 4 geography textbooks, (all) 6 civics textbooks, 6 history textbooks
Specific grounds supportive of Japan’s sovereignty argument are suggested			3 civics textbooks, 2 history textbooks	
Japan has fished at Dokdo since the early seventeenth century				3 geography textbooks, 2 civics textbooks, 3 history textbooks

Japan established sovereignty over Dokdo in the mid-seventeenth century			2 civics textbooks	2 civics textbooks, 3 history textbooks
Dokdo was (legally) incorporated into Shimane Prefecture in 1905			2 geography textbooks, 2 civics textbooks	3 geography textbooks, 3 civics textbooks, (all) 8 history textbooks
Japan gained recognition of its jurisdiction over Dokdo even after World War II			2 civics textbooks	1 civics textbook
Dokdo was excluded from the territories to be returned through the San Francisco Peace Treaty. This fact proves that Dokdo was recognized as Japanese territory				3 civics textbooks, 2 history textbooks
The United States stated that it never recognized Dokdo as Korean territory				2 history textbooks
Korea claimed sovereignty and occupied Dokdo since 1952 (or 1953, 1954)			2 geography textbooks, 2 civics textbooks	3 geography textbooks, 4 civics textbooks, 5 history textbooks
Korea unilaterally proclaimed the Syngman Rhee Line, and occupied Dokdo			1 civics textbook	3 civics textbooks, 2 history textbooks
Korea is refusing to resolve the issue through the International Court of Justice			2 civics textbooks	2 geography textbooks, 3 civics textbooks, 3 history textbooks
Korea is making a starkly different argument / Korea claims that Dokdo is Korean territory	1 geography textbook		2 geography textbooks, 1 civics textbook	

Details related to Dokdo increased gradually from 2001 and then sharply in civics textbooks as well as in geography and history textbooks after the Commentary was revised again in January 2014.

5. The Japanese Government's Involvement in Textbook Descriptions

1) Instructions Through the Commentary

The Japanese government has had two ways to become involved in textbook descriptions: encouraging government views to be actively represented through the curriculum guidelines and commentary on such guidelines or ordering descriptions to be corrected through screening to better reflect government views. In Japan, the curriculum guidelines serve as a legal basis for textbook descriptions, but because they only sketch an outline, specific standards are suggested through the commentary on curriculum guidelines that offer detailed explanations. The curriculum guidelines are revised approximately every ten years and are therefore limited in terms of reflecting an administration's perceptions or views of history.²¹ Table 10 summarizes the changes in descriptions of colonial rule and wars of aggression in the commentary for middle school curriculum guidelines.

The Commentary began to describe the damage from the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki since 1978, but only from 1998 did it begin to describe the damage Japan inflicted upon the people of other Asian countries. One reason for disqualifying Ienaga's 1963 textbook on Japanese history was that it contained photos featuring dismal aspects of war such as the air raids on the Japanese mainland or Hiroshima in ruins due to the atomic bombing. The Commentary's 1978 edition offered details on the damage from atomic bombs in relation to the calamity of war.

Textbooks could still include content not covered in the Commentary, which is how some were able to contain descriptions about the reality of colonial rule (including the damage had caused) since the 1970s. However, the Commentary has carried significance for representing the Japanese

²¹ On January 28, 2014, the Japanese government partially revised the Commentary revised in July 2008 to reinforce education on Dokdo and the Senkaku Islands.

Table 10. Changes in Descriptions of Colonial Rule and Wars of Aggression in the Commentary for Middle School Curriculum Guidelines

Time	Major Descriptions (Underline by Author)
Sep. 1959	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Japan took a <u>path to war by advancing onto the continent</u>. - In particular, it is important to deeply consider the tragedy the war (Pacific War) caused for humanity.
May 1970	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Curriculums should cover how this war (Russo-Japanese War) uplifted the national self-awareness of Asians. They should also note that there were domestic arguments against the war in Japan and that the self-awareness of the Japanese later developed into a sense of themselves as a powerful nation superior to other Asian nations. On <u>the moves Korea made between the late Meiji period to the early Taishō era</u>, curriculums should cover <u>Japan's annexation of Korea</u> in association with the circumstances in Japan and East Asia. - On its connection to Japan's <u>advancement into the continent</u>. - Regarding the livelihood of people during the war, curriculums should indicate how the war's escalation and extension, especially after the Japan-China Incident, led to the mobilization of all resources, which drove people into hardship due to an extreme shortage of supplies. Regarding the defeat in the war, students should comprehend the circumstances that contributed to the defeat including the <u>atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki</u> as well as the Soviet Union's declaration of war on Japan.
May 1978	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Students should realize that the victory in the war (Russo-Japanese War) on the one hand promoted national self-awareness for several Asian countries. On the other hand, this led the Japanese to assume a sense of leadership over multiple nations. <u>Regarding the relations with the continent after the Russo-Japanese War, students should comprehend the situation in the context of Japan's annexation of Korea.</u> - Students should understand that national movements arose in Asia and Africa, and that the trend at the time was visible, especially through the development of the Chinese Revolution and the independence movement in India. - Students should understand the fact that such a trend emboldened the military and led to its <u>advancement into mainland China</u>. - At the same time, <u>taking into consideration the fact that atomic bombs were dropped on Nagasaki and Hiroshima</u>, students should understand the importance of making efforts to prevent the <u>calamity of war</u> from recurring in this age of nuclear power and realize a democratic, peaceful international society.
July 1989	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Regarding the First Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War, students should comprehend in detail the cause, developments, outcomes, and domestic and foreign reactions to the wars. They should also <u>broaden their grasp of developments in Asia after the Russo-Japanese War including the colonization of Korea, the national movement in China, and the establishment of the Republic of China.</u> - Students should realize that national movements were supported in Asia around the time. - Students should understand that such movements emboldened the military and eventually led to the advancement into mainland China. - In addition, based on the fact that world wars have caused much calamity for humanity, students should comprehend the importance of making efforts to realize world peace.

Dec. 1998	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Regarding the First Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War, curriculums should cover our country's movements, the outline of each war, domestic and foreign reactions toward the wars, and the colonization of Korea. - At the same time, students should be made aware of the <u>rise of national movements in Korea</u> and China and efforts to promote world peace by establishing the League of Nations and signing an arms limitation treaty. - Students should understand the fact that the emboldened military <u>extended its influence to mainland China</u> ... - Curriculums should help students comprehend that our country <u>inflicted tremendous damage upon many people in different countries, especially those in Asia</u>, that our country suffered the ravages of war, and that world wars have brought calamity upon mankind, which will lead to the realization that it is important to contribute to achieving international cooperation and world peace.
July 2008	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Regarding the First Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War, curriculums should cover our country's movements and relations with the continent at the time, the outline of each war, domestic and foreign reactions toward the wars, and the <u>colonization of Korea</u>. - On the rise of national movements and international cooperation, curriculums should cover the <u>rise of national movements in Korea</u> and China as well as the establishment of the League of Nations and the conclusion of arms limitation treaty. - The fact that the military was emboldened and <u>extended its influence to the continent</u>, that the war with China became drawn out ... - Curriculums should help students comprehend that our country <u>inflicted tremendous damage upon many people in different countries, especially those in Asia</u>, that our country suffered the ravages of war through air raids on various regions, the Battle on Okinawa, and the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and that world wars have brought calamity upon mankind, which will lead to the realization that it is important to contribute to achieving international cooperation and world peace.
July 2017	- Identical to revisions made in July 2008.

government's official views. The Commentary has been shifting toward the inclusion of descriptions, albeit concise, of the damage caused by colonial rule and wars of aggression. In particular, the description changes in 1998 seems to have reflected the 1995 Murayama Statement that expressed remorse for the damage and suffering due to colonial rule.

Meanwhile, the Commentary has required textbooks to describe the Japanese government's position on issues involving historical perception and territory, as can be seen from the review in part four of this article on how the Commentary influenced changes in textbook descriptions on territorial issues. Moreover, the Commentary for Type A High School History Textbooks (December 2019) indicates that textbooks should help students "realize that Japan's war victories inspired other Asian nations to pursue

movements for independence and modernization.” Such descriptions in the Commentary are not reflections of academic findings but those of the Japanese government’s views.

2) Involvement through the Screening System

The Japanese government has been controlling descriptions of colonial rule and wars of aggression through the textbook screening system since the mid-1950s. The Ienaga lawsuits were aimed at pointing out that this very system was unconstitutional. However, the system instead induced history textbooks based on the JSHTTR approach to include descriptions about colonial rule and wars of aggression. In other words, the screening system’s role has changed over time.

The feedback the screening system provided from the late 1950s to the 1960s led to the downplay of textbook descriptions on colonial rule and wars of aggression. Such feedback would suggest “not to be preoccupied with Japan’s wrongdoings in the Pacific War and instead romanticize the facts,” and advise that “it is unfitting to define the past wars of Japan as imperialist wars of aggression. It is inappropriate to state that Japan’s rule of China was a misfortune for the Chinese.” It would also recommend “the use of the term ‘Great East Asia War’ since the ‘Pacific War’ is not a historical term” or “the removal of this description because despite the statement that ‘our country inflicted unfathomable damage and suffering upon other Asian nations, especially through the Pacific War,’ some find that the war served as an opportunity for several Asian nations to gain independence.”²²

The following account from 1973 amply illustrates the fact that the Japanese government has utilized the screening system to control textbook descriptions and that its policy changes have been responsible for the varying degrees of screening applied to textbook descriptions on wars of aggression. “After the former Prime Minister Satō remarked during a budget committee session that ‘the Second Sino-Japanese War was regrettable’

²² Tawara, *Kyōkashokōgeki no shinso*: 168-69.

and the U.S. President Nixon’s visit to China became announced, no instructions were given on the inclusion of the subtitle ‘Second Sino-Japanese War’ in the manuscripts that publishers submitted for screening in the second half (Normally, an instruction would be given to change the war name to the ‘Japan-China Incident’). The term ‘invasion of China’ also managed to pass screening. Such changes clearly indicate a change in the government, or in the LDP’s policy and demonstrates how faithfully the government’s intention has been reflected in screening textbooks.”²³

The Japanese government loosened its control over such details after the normalization of Japan-China relations in 1972. However, up to the early 1980s it continued to involve itself in textbook descriptions on colonial rule and wars of aggression as can be seen in the summary of representative cases below.²⁴

Table 11. Cases of Instructions to Revise Descriptions of Colonial Rule and Wars of Aggression

Screened Year	Subject	Submitted Manuscript	Instructions for Revision ²⁶
1973	High School Japanese History	Pacific War	This was referred to as the Great East Asia War in Japan. (1974, p. 19)
1976	Middle School History	(invasion of Joseon, annexation of Korea) “(people of Joseon) were deprived of land,” “lost their land.”	Is contrary to the fact. This was the outcome of land surveys. (1977, p. 12)

²³ “73 Kyōkasho Repōto” [73 Textbook Report] (Nihon shuppan rōdōkumiai kyōgikai, 1973): 12.

²⁴ Refer to the annual textbook reports published by Nihon shuppan rōdōkumiai kyōgikai [Japan Federation of Publishing Workers Unions].

²⁵ The year of publication and the page numbers correspond with the year of each Textbook Report’s publication and the page number of each report that contains the instructions for revision listed herein.

	High School Japanese History	The people of Joseon ... were taken by force, and along with the Chinese prisoners of the Second Sino-Japanese War, they were forced to work like slaves deprived of their human rights.	“Taken away by force” may have been a reality, but it cannot be referred to as forced labor because the people were considered Japanese. Perhaps change the phrase to “due to an order for national mobilization.” Many most likely had to “work like slaves deprived of their human rights” but whether that applied to all laborers is a matter that requires further review of the circumstances at the time. (1977, p. 20)
1977	High School World History	Japan’s invasion of China	Unacceptable. “invasion” should be changed to “advancement” or “intrusion.” (1979, p. 24)
1979	Middle School History	Many people from Joseon were forced to relocate to the Japanese mainland.	Joseon was part of Japanese territory at the time, and since the relocation was based on the order for national mobilization, it cannot be characterized as enforcement. (1980, p. 31)
1981	High School Modern Social Studies	Invasion	The use of “aggression,” “intrusion,” or “infiltrate” is recommended. “Invasion” carries a negative value judgement. (1982, p. 13)
	High School Japanese History	The Xi’an Incident in China prompted the Republic of China’s government to form the Second United Front with the Communist Party of China, marking the beginning of a hardline approach to resisting Japan’s invasion and recovering the sovereignty of China.	Consistency should be maintained in referring to the content as “Japan’s invasion,” which is referred to as “advancement” or “intrusion” in other parts of the same book. Considering that the textbook is covering the history of our own country, the use of the term “invasion” seems questionable. (1982, p. 49)

The Japanese government became less involved in textbook descriptions about colonial rule and wars of aggression as the Neighboring Country Clause was introduced to resolve the 1982 Textbook Crisis. In June 1986, when Korea and China criticized the approval of the high school history textbook *New Edition of Japanese History* (新編日本史 *Shinpennihonshi*) authored by the National Conference to Defend Japan, the then Prime

Minister Nakasone Yasuhiro ordered the MESSC to conduct a secondary complete review of the textbook. The MESSC made the exception of giving the publisher four sets of instructions to perform revisions on 127 different places in the textbook.²⁶ The notably conservative Nakasone administration reduced its involvement in textbook descriptions, which in turn led to an increase of descriptions about colonial rule and wars of aggression. This demonstrated how much the Nakasone administration valued Japan's diplomatic relations with China and Korea²⁷ and that the connection between a conservative administration and textbook descriptions on colonial rule and wars of aggression is not one-dimensional.

As can be seen through the cases featured in Table 12, feedback from screening even caused the JSHTR history textbook to improve some of its descriptions on colonial rule and wars of aggression.²⁸

Meanwhile, textbook screening has steered high school textbooks toward diluting the Japanese military's involvement and the use of force when describing the Japanese military comfort women. Regarding the description that "the Japanese military sent Korean and Taiwanese females to battlefields to serve as comfort women, which has now developed into an international issue," the MESSC suggested through a screening in 1996 that "since the Japanese military's involvement in the operation of comfort women is currently under investigation, a way should be found to describe the matter so that there can be no misunderstandings." Eventually, the subject "Japanese military" was removed and thus there remained a statement that "in some cases females from Korea and Taiwan were sent to battlefields to serve as comfort women." Through a high school textbook screening in 2003, the term "Japanese military comfort women" was

²⁶ "87 Kyōkasho Repōtō": 16.

²⁷ Yoshida Yutaka, *Nihonjin no sensōkan: Sengo-shi no nakano henyō* [The Japanese View of the War: Changes over Postwar History] (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1995).

²⁸ For research on JSHTR textbooks and feedback from screening, refer to Nam Sang-gu, "Saeyeongmo balgan gyogwaseo eui geomjeong siltae e natanan Ilbon gyogwaseo geomjeong jedo eui munjejeom" [Loopholes in Japan's Textbook Screening System Shown in Screening the JSHTR's History Textbook], *Yeoksa gyoyuk nongip*, no. 43 (2009): 219-47. Table 12 has been quoted from the same article.

Table 12. Feedback from Screening the JSHTR Textbook and Corresponding Revisions

Screened Year	Submitted Description	Feedback	Revised Description
2001	<p>In 1910 (Meiji 43), Japan annexed Korea.</p> <p>① This was part of a policy to stabilize East Asia that the American and European powers supported.</p> <p>② Korea’s annexation was necessary to defend Japan’s safety and Manchuria’s interests, but it did not necessarily offer economic or political benefits.</p> <p>③ At the time, the annexation was carried out legally according to the principles of international relations.</p> <p>④ However, Koreans were naturally divided over the annexation and some resisted fiercely.</p>	<p>① This wording can be misconstrued to suggest that Western powers expressed their support when Japan annexed Korea.</p> <p>② This one-dimensional mention of “necessity” and “interests” with regard to Korea’s annexation can be misleading in understanding the reality of annexation and rule.</p> <p>③ Simply stating that the annexation was “carried out legally according to the principles of international relations” can spawn misunderstandings about the reality of the annexation process.</p> <p>④ This can be misconstrued to suggest that only some of those against the annexation in Korea “resisted fiercely.”</p>	<p>① Great Britain, the United States, and Russia raised no objections toward it because they were wary that one country’s influence might expand on the Korean peninsula. In 1910 (Meiji 43), Japan thus used force to quell the opposition in Korea and proceeded with its annexation of Korea.</p> <p>② The Japanese government believed its annexation of Korea was necessary to defend the safety of Japan and the interests of Manchuria.</p> <p>③ Removed</p> <p>④ Some in Korea voiced their acceptance of the annexation, but there was fierce resistance against Koreans losing their independence so that movements to regain it persisted henceforth. After its annexation of Korea, Japan developed Korea into a colony by improving railroads and irrigation facilities and conducting land surveys. However, more than a few Korean farmers were driven out of their farmland due to the land surveys. The assimilation policy such as teaching the Japanese language intensified the animosity Koreans held against Japan.</p>

	[Mobilization of People] (Entire description)	With barely any mention of the circumstances in Taiwan and Korea, the description generally lacks balance.	[Addition of the Following Description] Such requisition and conscription were carried out in colonies as well so that many in Korea and Taiwan sacrificed and suffered. In addition, many Koreans and Chinese under Japanese control were taken away to mines in Japan and forced to work under poor conditions. Moreover, Japanization as a policy of assimilation became reinforced so that Koreans and the Taiwanese were referred to by their Japanese names.
2005	Damage from Air Raids ...since the Meiji Restoration, it was the first defeat in war that the people of Japan experienced.	Considering that the “content” (5) in the curriculum guidelines requires students to “comprehend that world wars have brought calamity upon mankind,” it is inappropriate for descriptions to only cover the damage the Japanese suffered.	Since the Meiji Restoration, this was the first war defeat the people of Japan experienced. The surrender of Japan brought World War II to an end. It is estimated that a total of 22 million people were killed in action and 34 million people were wounded. (In response to the above feedback, the sacrifice of China was added to page 206 while the sacrifice of Southeast Asia was added to page 207.) *P. 206: <u>The war inflicted tremendous damage and suffering upon the people of several regions in Asia that turned into battlefields. In particular, many Chinese people and soldiers were sacrificed due to the Japanese military’s invasion.</u> *P. 207: <u>Many were sacrificed including civilians.</u>

<p>2009</p>	<p>[Greater East Asia Conference] After the conference, Japan gave a clearer reason for going to war, which was to allow Asia to build the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere without the involvement of American and European powers.</p>	<p>The description can cause misunderstandings about the Greater East Asia Conference.</p>	<p>[Greater East Asia Conference] After the conference, Japan underlined “building the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere without the involvement of American and European powers” as the nominal reason for the war.</p>
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corrected to “comfort women” because the former was considered to be an uncommon expression. Feedback from screening also demanded the removal of the subject “Japanese military” from the description “the Japanese military forcibly took away many women and brought unbearable pain to them.” A high school textbook screening in 2006 found that the expression “turned into comfort women by the Japanese military” left room for misunderstanding and became corrected to “turned into comfort women of the Japanese military.” Through the 2015 Korea-Japan Comfort Women Agreement, the Japanese government stated that “the issue of comfort women, with an involvement of the Japanese military authorities at that time, was a grave affront to the honor and dignity of large numbers of women, and the Government of Japan is painfully aware of responsibilities from this perspective. As Prime Minister of Japan, Prime Minister Abe expresses anew his most sincere apologies and remorse....” It will therefore be necessary to monitor how this statement will be reflected in Japanese textbooks in the future.

Through screenings in 2015 and 2016 based on the screening criteria revised on January 17, 2014, detailed numbers and statistics linked to the Nanjing Massacre or Korean deaths during the Great Kanto Earthquake have been replaced by the term “many.”

Since 2015, the Japanese government has been actively involved in textbook descriptions on territorial issues. Descriptions admitting that Korea and Japan have different views about Dokdo were previously allowed, but from 2015, such descriptions have not been allowed unless they are based on the premise that Dokdo is Japanese territory.

6. Conclusion

Changes in textbook descriptions on colonial rule, wars of aggression, and territorial issues can be delineated as a contention between patriotism and internationalism.

First, after Japan's defeat in the war, had contended each other, but textbook descriptions ... settled down to increasingly including facts about war damage. As of late, a rise of patriotism has had effects on reducing descriptions.... and using general terms. Nevertheless, the basic internationalist approach has remained in shape, which deems it....

Second, the conservative tendencies of the Japanese government and society are not directly reflected in textbook descriptions of colonial rule and wars of aggression, and only to a limited degree when they do become reflected in such descriptions. Changes have been extremely limited, even in textbooks approved under the Abe administration that has been calling for the disposal of a masochistic view of history. The reason changes have been limited is that textbook descriptions are based on the curriculum guidelines and its commentary is revised every ten years; that Japan's diplomatic relations with its neighbors including Korea and China as well as the Japanese government's perception of history have changed; that the accumulation of civic movements and research findings have been taken into consideration. The evidence can be found in the fact that under the Nakasone administration descriptions of colonial rule and wars of aggression increased and calls for the revision of descriptions in right-wing textbooks were made more actively.

Third, the Japanese society's conservative and patriotic tendencies have been actively reflected in textbook descriptions regarding territorial issues. The Abe administration has been eagerly involved in textbook descriptions of territorial issues through the Commentary on the Curriculum Guidelines revised in January 2014. As a result, the amount of such descriptions faithfully representing the Japanese government's view has been increasing rapidly and with no sign of internationalism in them.

Fourth, textbook descriptions of colonial rule and wars of aggression are increasingly exhibiting the humanitarian side of the Japanese. The mid-

dle school textbook published by Tōkyō Shoseki and approved in 2015 was the first to include a description about Sugihara Chiune, known as the Schindler of Japan.²⁹ Tokushima Prefecture and the city of Naruto announced in 2017 that they planned to jointly apply for materials related to the Bando Prisoner of War Camp³⁰ to be inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage List. These two cases may be based on impartial facts, but they have the potential to dilute or distort images of the inhumane policies the Japanese military committed during the Asia-Pacific War. We must be on our guard against such attempts which may be misled into creating a wrong historical image.

²⁹ The description about Sugihara began to appear in the Japanese right-wing middle school history textbook by Fusōsha Publishing, and among the eight middle school history textbooks approved in 2015, Sugihara was described in three (Tōkyō Shoseki, Ikuhōsha, Jiyūsha) of them.

³⁰ The Bando Prisoner of War Camp held up to as many as 1,000 soldiers between 1917 and 1920. The prison warden at the time (Colonel Matsue Toshihisa) treated the prisoners humanely and allowed them to engage in musical, theatrical, and sports activities. The German captives formed a symphony orchestra and performed Beethoven's Ninth Symphony for the first time in Japan on June 1, 2018.

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