

Recommendations of the  
Advisory Panel on Communications Concerning Territorial Integrity

For Practical Initiatives to Strengthen Communication  
Based on Changes in the Domestic and Overseas Environment

Advisory Panel on Communications Concerning Territorial Integrity

July 29, 2019

## Table of Contents

I	Recommendations	3
II	Reviews by the Advisory Panel	
1	Background and Development of Events	8
2	Needs and Objectives of Holding this Session of the Advisory Panel	11
3	Reviews in the Respective Policy Areas	
	(1) Overseas Communications	13
	(2) Domestic Awareness	16
	(3) National Museum of Territory and Sovereignty	19
	(4) Material Research	23
4	Integrative Promotion of Measures in the Respective Policy Areas	27

### Reference

Members of the Advisory Panel on Communications Concerning Territorial Integrity	28
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Meetings of the Advisory Panel on Communications Concerning Territorial Integrity	29
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## I Recommendations

### 1 Background and Challenges Related to the Initiatives on Domestic and Overseas Communications Concerning Territorial Integrity

Since the first appointment of a Minister in charge of Territorial Issues in December 2012, the Government of Japan has been taking initiatives to strengthen domestic and overseas communications concerning territorial integrity with regard to Takeshima and the Senkaku Islands, in addition to the Northern Territories, which was already being addressed under a cross-governmental framework. In July 2013 and June 2015, the Advisory Panel submitted a report and recommendations on such initiatives to the Minister in charge of Territorial Issues. Taking into consideration the direction of policies suggested in these documents, the Government has taken measures related to overseas communications, domestic awareness and material research. In January 2018, the National Museum of Territory and Sovereignty was established as an institutional hub for public communication, both domestically and internationally. This Museum is scheduled to be expanded and relocated in this fiscal year. Furthermore, the Government has also been engaged in various activities, including protesting against Russia, China, and the Republic of Korea (hereinafter, Korea), revising the educational curriculum guidelines, and sending governmental representatives to the events organized by Shimane Prefecture and Ishigaki City, among others.

Meanwhile the illegal occupation of the Northern Territories and Takeshima is still ongoing, and incidents such as military exercises by Russia and Korea have occurred recently. Furthermore, Chinese Coast Guard vessels have repeatedly approached and invaded Japan's territorial waters surrounding the Senkaku Islands. As these phenomena demonstrate, Japan's territory and sovereignty continue to be infringed upon and threatened, and there seems to be no change to this situation.

### 2 This Session of the Advisory Panel Meeting

Based on the recognition of the above, this Advisory Panel was convened under the auspices of Mitsuhiro Miyakoshi, Minister in charge of Territorial Issues. Meetings were held from May to July 2019, to discuss domestic and overseas communications concerning territorial integrity. In these meetings, the Panel carefully examined the Government's measures, and considered the future direction of policies.

### 3 Recommendations

Whereas the Advisory Panel appreciated the abovementioned initiatives for their past achievements to a certain degree, the Panel has reached the conclusion that it is necessary to drastically improve and expand communication qualitatively and quantitatively. With this aim, the Panel issues the following recommendations.

## (1) Overall Matters

### (i) **Integrated efforts in collaboration and cooperation with the relevant organizations**

The Government should communicate, collaborate and cooperate closely, both internally, across governmental organizations, as well as externally, with local governmental offices, relevant research institutes, and other entities to enhance the effectiveness of measures for domestic and overseas communications concerning territorial integrity, and enable more integrated efforts.

### (ii) **Importance of domestic interest and awareness**

The Government should place particular emphasis on enhancing domestic awareness in order to improve the quality and quantity of domestic and overseas communications. In so doing, the Government should effectively achieve a virtuous cycle of creating more opportunities for researchers to publicize their work, energizing research activities and improving their quality, and increasing the number of researchers.

### (iii) **Analysis of claims and communication methods by China and Korea**

The Government should analyze the claims and communication methods of China and Korea, and consider more effective forms of communication with the public and information dissemination.

## (2) Overseas Communications

### (iv) **Development of relationship and strategic communication with experts in third-party countries**

When communicating Japan's claims to experts in third-party countries (target audiences), the Government should practice strategic communication by reaching a shared understanding through interactive communication with the target audiences, rather than engaging in one-sided propaganda. To this end, the Government should develop a collaborative and cooperative relationship urgently with overseas experts, and implement communication projects using more effective and well-considered methods and formats.

### (v) **Enhancing communication in English to experts in third-party countries**

The Government should enhance efforts to disseminate, in English, materials that provide grounds for Japan's territorial claims, thereby enabling experts in third-party countries to deepen their understanding on Japan's position and refer to said materials.

### (vi) **Need to take into consideration the differences between Takeshima and the Senkaku**

## **Islands, and make counterarguments to the claims by China and Korea**

The Government should adopt effective means of overseas communication by taking into account not only the existence or absence of territorial issues on Takeshima and the Senkaku Islands, but also the significant differences between the two in the nature of the issues, circumstances in the surrounding areas, as well as interest by third-party countries. Furthermore, in order to enhance the persuasiveness of Japan's claims, the Government should counter the claims by China and Korea more effectively.

### (3) Domestic Awareness

#### **(vii) Support for teachers by providing training, teaching materials, and other efforts**

The Government should enhance support for the training of teachers, provision of teaching materials, and other efforts, in response to the revisions to the educational curriculum guidelines, which call for the further enhancement of curricula on territorial affairs in primary and secondary education. In university as well, the Government should provide support to enable faculty to obtain research materials concerning territorial integrity.

#### **(viii) Teaching practices for territorial affairs**

When teaching territorial affairs, teachers should take care to avoid giving the impression of just pushing Japan's claims on the students, or inadvertently fostering a sense of dislike for China and Korea. To that end, the teaching at school classes is expected to enable pupils and students to gain an accurate understanding of Japan's stated position, and to analyze the differences between the positions of Japan and the other countries by comparing them, putting this subject in a broader perspective that includes various viewpoints such as history and international law.

#### **(ix) Importance of raising awareness among the generation in their 20s and 30s**

The Government should take more measures to raise awareness among the generation in their 20s and 30s, who show a relatively low interest in the matters concerning territorial integrity.

### (4) National Museum of Territory and Sovereignty

#### **(x) Attachment of hub and archive functions**

As with the National Museum of Territory and Sovereignty, the Government should add a hub function, besides an exhibition function, to promote collaboration among the relevant organizations across Japan, as well as an archive function to enhance

convenience in browsing materials.

(xi) **Coordination with the website**

In the museum, which serves as an institutional hub for domestic and overseas communications to the public, the Government should make information available in multiple languages, guide users to higher-level information through the website, and ensure good coordination, so as to maximize the synergy between the virtual and the physical museum.

(xii) **Utilization of the latest technologies and new exhibits to ensure continued appeal**

The Government should utilize the latest technologies and other means to ensure that museum exhibits provide visitors with attractive experiences, and change exhibits periodically to maintain the museum's appeal. Furthermore, the Government should develop an organizational system specifically for these goals.

(5) Material Research

(xiii) **Utilization of the collected materials for general, educational and academic purposes**

The materials collected by the research projects commissioned by the Government should be made available for general, educational and academic purposes through the Museum and the Internet with explanations attached and in a way that is easy to understand.

(xiv) **Need for analysis of the claims by China and Korea, selective material collection, conservation and administration of the originals of materials, and promotion of research and studies**

With regard to the research projects commissioned by the Government, which have been productive to a certain degree, materials should be collected in a more focused and selective manner to more effectively contribute to structuring and communicating Japan's claims, while analyzing China's and Korea's claims and their grounds. Care should also be taken for the conservation and administration of the originals of the materials whose copies have been collected. Furthermore, the Government should put in place appropriate measures to enhance domestic research and studies in the medium- to long-term, including nurturing researchers.

(6) Follow-up

(xv) **Third-party evaluation of the reflection of these recommendations in the**

### **Government's measures and their effectiveness**

The Government should have a third-party body such as this Advisory Panel evaluate the extent to which these recommendations are practiced in actual measures of the Government and how effective they are, and ensure that new measures can be implemented as a reflection of the results of the evaluation.

## II Reviews by the Advisory Panel

### 1 Background and Development of Events

#### (1) Appointment of Minister in charge of Territorial Issues, and Establishment of the Office of Policy Planning and Coordination on Territory and Sovereignty (hereinafter, the Territory Office)

With regard to awareness-raising and other related-matters, the Government has been tackling this for many years with the Minister of State for Okinawa and Northern Territories Affairs, as far as the Northern Territories issue is concerned. Similarly, with Takeshima and the Senkaku Islands, the new post of Minister in charge of Territorial Issues was established in December 2012, as was the Territory Office, in February 2013, within the Cabinet Secretariat, to be responsible for planning and policymaking, as well as comprehensive governmental coordination, in relation to domestic and overseas communication to the public.

#### (2) Meetings of the Advisory Panel and the Submission of the Report and Recommendations

Soon after the establishment of the Territory Office, the Advisory Panel on Communications Concerning Territorial Integrity (hereinafter, Advisory Panel) was convened under the leadership of the Minister in charge of Territorial Issues. The Advisory Panel submitted to the Minister and made public a report in July 2013, and then recommendations in June 2015, which summarize the implementation status of the report and the need for further measures to be taken.

The 2013 report sets out strong expectations for the creation of a nation-wide system for domestic and overseas communications concerning Japan's territorial integrity, and suggests, as the methods to achieve that goal, concepts and ideas of measures aimed at strengthening domestic and overseas communications on Japan's positions with regard to Takeshima and the Senkaku Islands. Placing emphasis on overseas communications, the report points out the need to enhance communication in English to third-party audiences (countries apart from China and Korea), and the need to communicate relevant contents by effective means, while proposing the direction of measures to be taken and effective forms of communication along with specific lines of messaging for Takeshima and the Senkaku Islands.

The 2015 recommendations complement the 2013 report in the area of overseas communications with proposals on means of strengthening multilayered communication through non-governmental experts and others; and call for further measures in the areas of domestic awareness and material research by emphasizing the importance of conducting public opinion polls, strengthening collaboration with school education, developing teaching materials, disseminating the advanced practices by Shimane Prefecture among others,

studying and preserving historical materials, and nurturing researchers.

### (3) Implementation of Various Measures for Issues Concerning Territorial Integrity

Based on the contents of the report and recommendations, the Government, local governments, and relevant organizations have been advancing the following initiatives to date.

- (i) Within the Government, the Interagency Coordination Group on Communications Concerning Territorial Integrity was established in November 2013 under the leadership of the Minister in charge of Territorial Issues to engage in comprehensive coordination for issues related to domestic and overseas communications concerning territorial integrity. The Interagency Coordination Group brings together the Minister in charge of Territorial Issues and the Territory Office, as well as high-ranking officials from the Cabinet Secretariat (Cabinet Public Relations Office, Office of Global Communications), the Cabinet Office (Public Relations Office, Northern Territories Affairs Administration), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, the Ministry of Land, Infrastructure, Transport and Tourism, the Japan Coast Guard, and the Ministry of Defense, serving as a mechanism for information-sharing and comprehensive coordination on moves by the related countries and initiatives by the respective ministries and agencies on matters related to territorial integrity.

Under this collaborative mechanism, the relevant ministries and agencies have engaged in various measures, including sharing information on a daily basis regarding various controls and regulations near the border and protests against the related countries, promoting territorial education through the revision of curriculum guidelines and other efforts, and standardizing geographic names in foreign languages.

- (ii) From the perspective of promoting nationwide initiatives that include the local governments, in the case of the Northern Territories, the Northern Territories Affairs Administration under the Cabinet Office has long campaigned for their return, with the development of an institutional framework including relevant organizations and the prefectural governments. In contrast, with regard to initiatives on the issue of Takeshima and the Senkaku Islands, which lack nation-wide organizations, effort has been made to strengthen collaboration and cooperation by means such as sending government representatives to the events of local governments, and organizing temporary panel exhibits at various local events.

In the area of academic research, the Japan Information Center was established in 2017 in the Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIJA), subsidized by the Ministry of

Foreign Affairs, which contributed to strengthening institutional systems for communication at the expert level and promotion of research.

(iii) With the abovementioned collaboration between the Government and the relevant organizations, the Territory Office has implemented various measures that would not be easy for an individual ministry or agency, in the areas of overseas communications, domestic awareness, and further, material research that forms the basis for communications. (For details, see “3. Reviews in the Respective Policy Areas.”)

In 2018, the National Museum of Territory and Sovereignty opened in Tokyo, as a step toward the development of an institutional hub for domestic and overseas communications. This Museum is scheduled to be relocated with significant expansion in the fiscal year of 2019.

## 2 Needs and Objectives of Holding this Session of the Advisory Panel

For more than six years since the establishment of the Territory Office, tireless efforts have been made with the abovementioned initiatives. Nevertheless, the reality of the situations surrounding Japan offer no indication that the territorial issues have come closer to any solution. To name but a few recent incidents, Russia's implementation of military exercises and announcement of development plans in the Northern Territories, the landing on Takeshima by members of the Korean National Assembly, military exercises conducted by Korea, unauthorized investigative activities by foreign oceanographic research vessels in Japan's Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ), and repeated invasion in the territorial water by Chinese Coast Guard vessels around the Senkaku Islands have been observed. None of these can be overlooked by any means, and they indicate the increasing severity of the situation.

Given such circumstances, it is an urgent challenge to strengthen initiatives on domestic and overseas communications concerning territorial integrity in any way to improve their quality and enable more effective communications. Until now, while the establishment of the Territory Office has provided, to some extent, the framework for implementing various initiatives, in order to dramatically improve the effectiveness of these initiatives, it is necessary to combine a wide range of measures as effectively as possible. In particular, to realize highly effective communication to overseas audiences, there is a need to make communication more active than ever among the relevant parties, including the Government, local governments, and research institutes, as well as to enhance the cohesiveness of the initiatives. Furthermore, there is also a need to create a cycle of raising domestic interest and awareness in Japan, increasing the number of researchers, improving the quality and quantity of research, and conveying better quality information at multiple levels. It is important to consider overseas communications in connection with raising domestic awareness.

Based on this recognition of the issues, the Advisory Panel was convened under the leadership of Mitsuhiro Miyakoshi, Minister in charge of Territorial Issues, bearing the following broad purposes in mind.

[Three purposes]

- To evaluate the results of the projects for communication and awareness, including the opening of the Museum.
- To consider new directions for the measures, putting into perspective the significant changes in the domestic and overseas environments, such as the increasing severity in the international situation including moves by the neighboring countries, and domestically, the enhancement of descriptive accounts on territorial integrity in the new curriculum guidelines.
- Particularly bearing in mind the expanded relocation of the Museum planned in the

fiscal year of 2019, to consider the approaches to raising awareness and communications by utilizing the Museum.

To address the above objectives, this Advisory Panel reflected on the existing initiatives for the key areas of measures that the Territory Office has been dealing with: (1) Overseas communications; (2) Domestic awareness; (3) National Museum of Territory and Sovereignty; and (4) Material research, as well as analyzed the current status of the initiatives, and at the same time, discussed integrated measures for the promotion of domestic and overseas communications concerning territorial integrity.

### 3 Reviews in the Respective Policy Areas

#### (1) Overseas Communications

##### A. Initiatives to date

For the purpose of strengthening the communication of information concerning territorial integrity to overseas parties, the Territory Office has organized events such as seminars in foreign countries, and published English translations of Japanese academic papers on the website, mainly in pursuit of communicating in English to experts in third-party countries, namely the United States and countries in Europe and Asia, by using the schemes of the Cabinet Office's Public Relations Office.

The communication projects in foreign countries include, for the United States, the dispatch of Japanese experts to graduate schools and other institutes to organize workshops for students as well as panel discussions and roundtables for professors and experts; and for Europe and Asia, holding seminars co-organized by domestic and overseas research institutes. All these projects take the approach of listening to the voices of experts in other countries and spreading common understanding through two-way dialogue, not the one-way sending of information.

Furthermore, to make up for the lack of information in foreign languages concerning academic arguments and materials that serve as evidence for Japan's territorial claims, Japanese academic papers considered to be appropriate have been translated into English and made public on the website.

##### B. Analysis of the current status

While certain achievements can be observed through the continued implementation of the overseas communications projects, such as the development of networks with foreign experts and accumulation of project knowhow, the reality is that widespread understanding of Japan's position is still far from being achieved.

With regard to the Senkaku Islands, it is relatively easy to explain Japan's position under the current international circumstances where the recognition of the threat of China incites interest in the said islands. In contrast, in the case of Takeshima, the conflict is perceived as an ordinary territorial issue between two countries, which hardly attracts attention; hence, it is undeniably difficult to bring up the issue and explain Japan's position.

With regard to the English translation of Japanese academic papers, as there are not so many existing Japanese-language academic papers for translation, this initiative has been gradually drawing close to completion. Nonetheless, the amount of information conveyed in English cannot be regarded as adequate.

### C. Comments on the future direction of measures

#### a. Methods to implement highly effective projects for communication

- (i) Taking the approach of one-way scattering of propaganda overseas, as done by China and Korea, is counterproductive. Japan should strengthen communications by taking an approach of sharing the interests and viewpoints of others, and engaging in strategic and two-way communication at various levels, including researchers in a wide range of relevant disciplines.
- (ii) To implement effective communications activities overseas, there is a need to take time to understand the interests of local audiences and the extent of their knowledge, and develop attractive content. In general, the level of interest in the territorial claims of other countries is low. There may be a case where a meeting of longer discussion among a smaller number of participants is more effective than larger-scale symposiums, in order to raise the level of international interest and understanding in Japan's territorial claims.
- (iii) To deepen the cooperative relationship with overseas parties, it is important to maintain continued engagement rather than a one-time involvement.

#### b. Countering and responding to the claims of China and Korea

- (iv) In foreign countries, Japan should emphasize the dissemination of its claims using content and methods understandable to the international community. Moreover, in addition to simply explaining Japan's own position, it is necessary to reply to the claims of China and Korea with effective and clear logic or counter them from a higher or broader perspective.
- (v) It is necessary to strengthen communication with China and Korea. In particular, the sharing of Japan's views with researchers in China and Korea is expected to generate diverse views among those in both countries, and discourage groundless arguments through discussion.

#### c. Communication of academic papers and other information in English

- (vi) To strengthen overseas communications by Japanese researchers, it is not sufficient to just rely on the existing publications. Rather, there is a need to author new papers for overseas audiences. With regard to the Takeshima issue, which Japan has been proposing to Korea to refer to the International Court of Justice, it may be advisable to organize and compile Japan's territorial claims, historical background, and legal grounds.

d. Need to take into consideration differences in the circumstances of Takeshima and the Senkaku Islands

- (vii) For Takeshima and the Senkaku Islands, as there are significant differences in the issues that need to be addressed, circumstances in the surrounding areas, as well as interest among third-party countries, Japan should communicate information strategically while taking these characteristics into consideration.

e. Importance of raising awareness in Japan

- (viii) Overseas and domestic communications are interrelated. Hence, in order to raise the quality and quantity of information concerning Japan's territorial claims that is disseminated overseas, it is necessary to increase the number of researchers in Japan in such related disciplines as international law, international relations, and history, and to promote research activities in these areas. To that end, it is necessary to raise the level of awareness in Japan and increase the opportunities where researchers can play a part.
- (ix) To draw domestic attention to and facilitate understanding on the importance of communicating Japan's territorial claims to overseas parties, it is suggested to indicate the possible loss that would be caused when the territory is threatened—namely the area of the EEZ, fishery and mineral resources, etc. Nevertheless, it is necessary to bear in mind that the preservation of territory naturally occurs, because it is a matter of sovereignty.

## (2) Domestic Awareness

### A. Initiatives to date

To strengthen domestic communications, the Territory Office focuses on collaboration with school education, and conducts training seminars aimed at spreading knowledge and promoting understanding of territorial integrity among social-studies teachers across Japan. Measures have also been taken to raise awareness in the public by holding panel exhibits and displaying posters.

The Office's main initiative, in collaboration with school education, and in tandem with the enhancement of descriptive accounts on territorial integrity in the curriculum guidelines and other materials by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology (MEXT), is teachers' seminars, held with the participation of the Supervisors in charge of social studies on the Boards of Education of all the prefectures and major cities in Japan. It also disseminated leading practices for primary and secondary education implemented by Shimane Prefecture and other municipalities.

For the public, previous measures include panel exhibits held in conjunction with public events organized by the Self-Defense Forces and the Japan Coast Guard, and the display of posters at transport facilities such as stations and in trains to raise awareness. Alongside other measures to strengthen public communication, the Museum was opened in January 2018.

### B. Analysis of the current status

In the new curriculum guidelines, descriptive accounts on territorial integrity have been enhanced. From the following fiscal year, new textbooks authorized in accordance with the new curriculum guidelines will be distributed to elementary schools, junior high schools, and senior high schools successively. Against this background, training for school teachers is necessary to ensure that they can teach matters of territory and sovereignty adequately in classes. It is necessary to promote a thorough and widespread understanding of the objectives of the territorial education so that it can be taught appropriately in the overall curriculum. In addition, teaching materials to complement textbooks need to be developed.

The level of interest in territorial integrity among Japanese nationals is generally high, according to the opinion surveys by the Cabinet Office and other research. It is understood that there is demand for in-depth information provided through TV programs and other media, rather than just superficial information.

### C. Comments on the future direction of measures

#### a. Approaches to school classes in territorial education

(i) In actual classes at school, offering only explanations on the grounds for Japan's territorial claims may be perceived as pushing a one-sided opinion, or may give rise to a sense of dislike for the other country. Hence, it may be appropriate to offer explanations in comparison with the opposing claims of Korea and China. In such situations, it is important to enable teachers to obtain supplementary references and teaching materials to facilitate an accurate understanding of Japan's position among pupils and students, as well as to compare the grounds for the opposing claims of both parties rather than simply showing both claims side by side, so as to encourage students to consider the issues from a broader perspective and viewpoints such as history and international law.

b. Need for training teachers

(ii) Since knowledge on international law and international relations is necessary to teach territory and sovereignty, improving the degree of understanding among social-studies teachers is imperative. For this reason, there is a need to enhance measures such as seminars for teachers by the Territory Office.

c. Points to note regarding territorial education under the new curriculum guidelines

(iii) Descriptive accounts concerning territory have been enhanced in the new curriculum guidelines. Territorial education should be put into practice more firmly in the course of the appropriate revision of textbooks.

(iv) There has been a criticism that the modern and contemporary eras come last in history classes and is taken lightly. As those eras are the main part of the newly established subject of general history, which is compulsory at senior high schools in the new curriculum guidelines, sufficient attention should be paid to the teaching of territorial integrity as part of that subject, based on the curriculum guidelines.

(v) The new curriculum guidelines suggest improvements in school classes from the perspective of 'independent, interactive, and in-depth learning.' This perspective should be applied to territorial education as well. The Takeshima Issue Research Group of Shimane Prefecture has been taking the initiative in drawing up teaching methods that contribute to such improvement.

(vi) Under the current circumstances, whereby teachers have to cope with various educational challenges, ensuring the appropriate implementation of the education on territorial integrity poses a significant challenge.

d. Lifelong/advanced education

(vii) Some are of the view that cross-national confrontation over territory is a source of

wars, or that it is now no use thinking much of national borders. In making territorial claims, we should consider the method of presentation to make universally appropriate statements in the international community, as a part of Japan's diplomatic policy packages.

(viii) There is also a need for promoting territorial education at the university level. It would be possible to provide research materials on territorial integrity and materials for raising awareness, albeit with constraints due to the structure of faculties and departments, as well as academic (university) freedom.

(ix) Surveys should be conducted to find out whether territorial education is included in the teacher training courses at universities.

#### e. Trends in Korea

(x) In Korea, the territorial education on Takeshima begins in the lower school grades, teaching hours are long, and the teaching materials are also extensive. Bearing this in mind, the territorial education on Takeshima needs to be advanced in the new curriculum guidelines through the enrichment of teaching materials and training workshops.

### (3) National Museum of Territory and Sovereignty

#### A. Initiatives to date

In addition to the abovementioned measures for domestic and overseas communications, the Territory Office opened the National Museum of Territory and Sovereignty in Hibiya, Tokyo, in January 2018 for the development of an institution for domestic and overseas communications. For one and a half years since its opening, the Museum has organized special exhibits and lectures along with a permanent exhibit, and has welcomed approximately ten thousand visitors. The Museum has also accumulated operational knowhow while building collaborative relations with relevant organizations.

Currently with its small area of about one hundred square meters, its location underground, and no sign aboveground, the Museum is undeniably weak as a communication hub. For this reason, Mitsuhiro Miyakoshi, Minister in charge of Territorial Issues, announced in May this year that the Museum will be expanded and relocated to a space of about seven hundred square meters on the first floor (including the mezzanine) in a building located in Toranomon, Tokyo. With this, physical challenges such as the currently restrictive space and barely noticeable location will be rectified.

#### B. Analysis of the current status

Apart from the abovementioned physical challenges, which are to be resolved by the relocation, the Museum has received many requests for improvement, including a lack of displays about the Northern Territories, the limited number of displays that counter the claims of China and Korea, and experiential displays of models and dioramas that cannot be viewed on the Internet and in books. The new Museum is expected to exhibit content that can meet such demands in the expanded space.

The demographics of the visitors to the Museum are biased towards middle-aged and senior men, with fewer female and younger visitors. There have been many requests for the Museum to extend its opening hours to weekends or night-times. For the new Museum, besides the extension of the opening hours, organization of more events such as lectures and special exhibits, collaboration with educational institutions to make it a destination for school trips and social-studies field visits, and tie-ups with tours of the National Diet Building are expected, among others.

Furthermore, with regard to the communication through the website, which is anticipated to have a synergistic effect with the Museum, the current “Digital Museum” site on the homepage of the Territory Office basically contains the same content as in the Museum. For the new Museum, it is expected that the physical Museum and the website will be operated in an integrated manner, that they will offer content in a way that makes the most

of their respective characteristics, and that the website will have a synergistic effect, whereby it provides more in-depth information on the content that visitors have encountered and taken an interest in at the physical Museum.

### C. Comments on the future direction of measures

#### a. Northern Territories

(i) At the new Museum, it is vital to have exhibits about the Northern Territories. Without such exhibits, visitors may mistakenly come to believe that importance is not being placed on the Northern Territories issue, thereby possibly sending the wrong message to the public. The new Museum should properly convey Japan's claims and views on the Northern Territories.

#### b. Functions that the Museum should fulfill

(ii) There is a need for the Museum to offer appealing contents to attract many visitors. For this, the new Museum needs to

- a) fulfill a hub function, facilitating access to various references;
- b) utilize digital/IT technology, such as virtual reality (VR) to exhibit displays that enable visitors to experience the life in the local community at the time, by, taking the Senkaku Islands as an example, reproducing the scenery of harbors and dried bonito factories in the pre-war era;
- c) and function as an archive, where regular members of the public, as well as researchers and journalists, especially overseas researchers and journalists residing in Tokyo, can view materials in English and deepen their knowledge.

#### c. Concepts and ideas for attractive exhibits

- (iii) There should be exhibits that visitors can experience with their five senses, which the current Museum does not have. It may be possible to attract interest in the islands by showing not only the "present," that is, the issue of territorial rights, but also the "past," or in short, the relationship between the Japanese people and the islands, in terms of industries, nature and natural monuments, among others.
- (iv) For the Senkaku Islands, one idea could be an exhibit to visualize, with an animation or VR, how a Chinese envoy traveled from Fuzhou to Ryukyu, on a vessel navigated by Ryukyu seamen, using the Senkaku Islands as landmarks.
- (v) It would be easier to understand the history of the incorporation of the Senkaku Islands into Japan when paired with the history of the Ryukyu dynasty, which had been in power

until being replaced by Okinawa Prefecture in the Meiji era. Hence, there should be an exhibit that explains Ryukyu's history simply, in a manner that children can understand.

d. Means of maintaining and ensuring the appeal of Museum contents

- (vi) The Museum needs to offer exhibits that give visitors the impression that it is well worth visiting. It is important to actively manage the Museum, such as by changing the exhibits periodically, asking for advice from experts, appointing an artistic director, and producing attractive exhibits with solid concepts. It is also desirable to have permanent staff members who can provide guidance to researchers and foreign visitors.
- (vii) In order to present a wide-ranging and revolving lineup of objects in a limited space, it may be reasonable to install electric displays so that the contents can be changed easily, rather than having to change physical panels.
- (viii) Using questionnaires to ask elementary and junior high school students what they wish to see at the Museum may produce unexpected ideas that grown-ups could never come up with. Specific arrangements for those students may be necessary, such as quizzes at various points during their visit, or distributing worksheets, so as to avoid one-way communication.

e. Collaboration with the relevant facilities

- (ix) Efforts should be made to advance collaboration with the relevant facilities, including the Diplomatic Archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. For example, it is undoubtedly possible to distribute brochures or create mutual links on the websites.

f. Interconnectivity with the website / archive function

- (x) Due to space constraints at the Museum, it is obviously needed to enhance communication through the website, complementing the physical Museum. In addition to functioning as a hub, the Museum should also serve as an archive by providing visitors with various videos and materials, such as local newspapers and news recordings, in collaboration with the relevant organizations. Meanwhile, since the more video contents and materials are posted on the website, the higher the risk of cyberattacks, care should be taken to ensure adequate security and keep the visitors to the site from being victimized.

g. Target audiences and regional traveling exhibitions

- (xi) There appears to be a wide gender and age imbalance in terms of visitors to the current Museum. It is important to consider how to generate interest in the issue of territorial integrity among women and those age groups who do not visit the Museum. There is

relatively low interest in territorial integrity among those in their 20s and 30s, thus it is particularly important to appeal to these age groups. A further suggestion would be to conduct traveling exhibitions in the form of special exhibitions at museums, art galleries, and libraries in Japan. It may be possible to raise interest among a broader range of generations by proactively bringing exhibitions to them, for instance, by creating a package of traveling exhibitions and organizing monthly exhibitions that take place all around the nation. At the same time, the new Museum can be a place for in-depth learning for those who have such an interest.

#### h. Multilingual exhibits

- (xii) If the explanations at the Museum are provided in multiple languages, the number of foreign visitors can be expected to increase. Providing multilingual services should be considered not only on the website, but also at the Museum. Aside from English, Russian, Chinese, and Korean translation should also be provided.

#### i. Cases in Korea

- (xiii) It should be noted that Korea is taking measures to raise domestic awareness by establishing “Dokdo Museums” widely across the nation and also naming a warship “Dokdo.”

#### j. Initiatives by Shimane Prefecture

- (xiv) The Takeshima Library in Shimane Prefecture, in collaboration with researchers, has collected many materials, supported by voluntary contributions from citizens for the development of research. Recent initiatives include pointing out errors in the grounds for Korea’s territorial claims, issuing booklets explaining the Takeshima issue from the perspective of international law, issuing materials for public awareness in braille and enlarged font, and organizing traveling exhibitions for raising awareness, which have had a large impact. Furthermore, information on the holding of the events is also disseminated via PR materials that are available not only in municipally-run facilities but also convenience stores and other locations.

#### (4) Material Research

##### A. Initiatives to date

Since the fiscal year of 2014, the Territory Office has commissioned projects to conduct research on materials that provide grounds and references for Japan's territorial claims on Takeshima and the Senkaku Islands, by establishing committees of experts. Based on the advice of the experts, the material research focused mainly on the collection of materials. Plenty of materials have already been recorded digitally. The primary outcomes were compiled in annual reports for each fiscal year since fiscal 2014, while individual materials have been published on the portal site in the form of databases in Japanese and English.

As for the results of the material research commissioned by the Territory Office to date, progress has been made on the collection of evidence that Japanese nationals have been using the Senkaku Islands and Takeshima. These cover the respective periods from the Cabinet decision to incorporate the Senkaku Islands as part of Japanese territory in 1895 and the Cabinet decision to incorporate Takeshima as part of Shimane Prefecture in 1905, to the end of the Second World War respectively. In the case of the Senkaku Islands, as many materials were burnt in Okinawa Prefecture during the war, there have been some cases where valuable materials were newly discovered when private collections were donated to public organizations.

One of the greatest achievements of the material research project commissioned by the Territory Office, as with the Senkaku Islands, is the discovery of materials in the decade leading up to the Cabinet decision in 1895, during which the lack of signs of control by other countries was carefully examined by the Meiji Government. This contributed to the understanding of the events prior to the incorporation of the Senkaku Islands as part of Japan. For example, materials were found which indicate that Uotsuri Island (part of the Senkaku Islands) was provisionally placed under the jurisdiction of the Yaeyama Police in 1891.

With regard to Takeshima, materials were found which clarify further details on the drafting process of the San Francisco Peace Treaty by the Allied Powers including the United States and the United Kingdom, and indicate that the Treaty was drafted with the recognition that Takeshima is part of Japanese territory. Since last fiscal year, overseas research has been implemented in collaboration with JIIA.

##### B. Analysis of the current status

The material research commissioned by the Territory Office has produced significant results in the collection of materials, and many valuable materials have been digitized and obtained in a format that is easy to use. On the other hand, due in part to the vulnerability

of the research body, there are many materials that have been collected but not yet archived nor analyzed. Therefore, it has not been possible to attach adequate explanations to these materials, nor use them as public materials for the website or physical Museum. Furthermore, they are neither being fully utilized to substantiate the reasoning of the Government's position.

With regard to the collection of materials, there are differences in the extent of collection depending on the time periods. It is necessary to continue striving to collect the materials of the periods of particular importance. Although it has never been actively done, some materials contributing to counterarguments against the claims of the other countries have been collected, and published in annual reports. It is necessary to collect, analyze, and publicize materials systematically and strategically.

C. Comments on the future direction of measures

a. Shift from the collection of materials to analysis and utilization

- (i) Despite the limited number of personnel available to join the material research project commissioned by the Territory Office for both Takeshima and the Senkaku Islands, a very large number of materials have been collected successfully. However, the work of organizing and categorizing the materials collected has been shelved. Focus should be shifted from collection to analysis. It would be desirable to organize these materials to make them widely available for use by the Museum, school education, and research. For that reason, where necessary, further efforts should be made to review the responsibilities of the Material Research Committee, and to develop the organization of research activity.

b. Need for continuing the collection of materials and clarification of targets

- (ii) With regard to the collection of materials, new materials have been continuously discovered, and there are materials that have not yet been obtained although their existence is clear. Even for the obtained materials, new discoveries occur often when researchers are reviewing them. Hence, the Territory Office should continue its organizational activities. The collection of materials also contributes to the progress of research.
- (iii) The material research project commissioned by the Territory Office has achieved, to a certain extent, its original goal of preventing the loss of materials related to Takeshima and the Senkaku Islands, which can be taken as a great step forward. On the other hand, many of the collected materials tend to be in the period after the Cabinet decision on the incorporation of the islands, in which materials are relatively easy to obtain, or tend to be collected from the perspective of local history. From now on, importance should

be placed on materials from periods in which a relatively small number of materials have been discovered, and they should be prioritized for research.

c. Purpose of material research, and prioritizing activities

- (iv) The aim of the material research to be promoted by the Territory Office is considered to be the collection and analysis of materials valuable to the territorial claims of the Government of Japan, and priority should be placed on the study of materials that are meaningful for achieving this aim. Furthermore, necessary materials differ depending on whether the purpose is publicity and raising awareness, or preparation for an international lawsuit or response in the event of diplomatic issues. In the case of the latter, methods can also be different, such as cases where it is necessary to keep the information undisclosed. Hence, the purpose should be clarified.
- (v) When deciding on the priorities of a material research project, the differences in claims between Japan and the other country, China or Korea, should be analyzed, and focus should be placed on materials that provide grounds for effective counterarguments against the claims of the other country.
- (vi) Counterarguments against the claims made by the other country are necessary for effective presentation of the territorial claims, as the simple utterance of grounds for the territorial claims has little persuasiveness. However, taking the case of the Northern Territories, if the Japanese side starts arguing on a specific point of Russia's claims, this will never reach a conclusion nor any productive result. Hence, Japan should consider, from a broader perspective, objectively persuasive lines of messaging from the viewpoint of third-party countries, and carry out research on the necessary materials to that end.

d. Proposals for specific activities

- (vii) Besides the Northern Territories, for which diplomatic negotiations are ongoing, as with Takeshima, Japan should prepare an official document, or a "white paper," that puts together the view of the Government. With regard to the Senkaku Islands, part of Japan's inherent territory, continued effort should be made to collect and organize materials that contribute to proving Japan's territoriality, based on the fundamental position that there are no issues to be resolved related to the territoriality of the islands. At the same time, Japan's viewpoints should be compiled into a document.
- (viii) As for the incorporation of the Senkaku Islands as part of Japan's territory, Japan should present materials that objectively represent the historical background that the Senkaku Islands were mostly utilized by the people of Ryukyu at the time of the incorporation, putting the issue in a broader perspective from the viewpoint of the

relationship with Ryukyu and that between Japan and China respectively. There would appear to be Chinese researchers who have shown an interest in such materials.

- (ix) As for the Northern Territories, the creation of the collection of materials jointly by the foreign ministries of Japan and Russia contributed to significant progress in the understanding of these materials by both countries. If the same were true to the cases of Takeshima and the Senkaku Islands, whatever the extent, it would be possible to promote research activities by compiling the basic materials and creating such a collection, if not as a joint endeavor with the opposing country, then at least one by Japan for researchers' use.

e. Material preservation and storage

- (x) With regard to the preservation and storage of the original copies of valuable documents, it is important to specify the important materials and their locations, and consider how to preserve them. It is necessary to confirm if there is any risk from the viewpoint of their vulnerability to earthquakes or tsunamis, and the weakness of buildings. For personal collections, which must usually be dealt with delicately, it is necessary to consider ways to prevent their loss, including purchasing them, if appropriate.

f. Promotion of research and studies on territory and sovereignty

- (xi) Research and studies are, by their nature, to be carried out freely based on the researchers' ideas. In the field of territory and sovereignty, it would be ideal to make available outcomes needed by the Government through the facilitation of academic research. However, under the current circumstances, there are only a few researchers in the related disciplines, and the Government is unable to obtain adequate outcomes without taking measures to promote research. In this situation, the Government should take medium- to long-term measures to strengthen functions related to research and studies in the nation such as nurturing researchers, with an appropriate combination of facilitation measures, including project commissions and grants, depending on the characteristics of the entity conducting the research. Furthermore, when doing so, the Government should also promote research and studies that provide a comprehensive and interrelated overview of the Northern Territories, Takeshima, and the Senkaku Islands.
- (xii) In the future course of promoting material research, efforts should be made to advance collaboration with research institutes more than ever before, including prefectural history compilation projects and the Japan Institute of International Affairs.

#### 4 Integrative Promotion of Measures in the Respective Policy Areas

In “3. Reviews in the Respective Policy Areas,” the current state was analyzed and the future direction of measures was considered in the respective areas of measures: (1) Overseas communications; (2) Domestic awareness; (3) National Museum of Territory and Sovereignty; and (4) Material research. As pointed out in “2. Needs and Objectives of Holding this Session of the Advisory Panel,” the respective measures in the areas of (1) to (4) are closely interlinked. To find solutions to the issues concerning territory and sovereignty, it is vital for the national Government, local governments, and the academic and educational communities to have an accurate understanding of Japan’s position, including the background up to the present day, the grounds for Japan’s territorial claims, the claims by the other countries and Japan’s counterarguments, and the basic approach to pursue a peaceful solution under the rule of law, and also to collaborate with each other’s activities and implement measures in a united manner.

To that end, the Government needs to ensure that the relevant ministries and agencies understand one another’s activities and deepen the necessary collaboration more than ever before, through flexibly holding meetings of the Interagency Coordination Group on Communications Concerning Territorial Integrity under the auspice of the Minister in charge of Territorial Issues. At the same time, the Government needs to implement, at various levels, effective measures for said policy challenge in a manner that strengthens synergy, in broader collaboration not just internally, within the Government, but also externally, with local governments and the academic and educational communities.

We ask the Minister in charge of Territorial Issues and other relevant parties to refer to this report in advancing measures for domestic and overseas communications concerning territorial integrity. Furthermore, appropriate follow-ups are essential to ensure steady implementation of the measures on the basis of this report. To this end, it is highly effective to utilize third-party evaluations.

## Members of the Advisory Panel on Communications Concerning Territorial Integrity

(Names after the Chair in order of Japanese syllabary)

(Chair)	Masashi Nishihara	President, Research Institute for Peace and Security
	Shin Kawashima	Professor, University of Tokyo
	Shigeru Sasaki	Former teacher, Shotoku Gakuin High School
	Masao Shimojo	Professor, Takushoku University
	Susumu Takai	Special Research Fellow, Center for Island Studies, Ocean Policy Planning and Management Department, Sasakawa Peace Foundation
	Takashi Tsukamoto	Former Professor, Tokai University
	Kazuhiro Nakatani	Professor, University of Tokyo
	Tetsuya Nakano	Professor, Kansai University
	Shinji Hyodo	Director, Regional Studies Department, National Institute for Defense Studies
	Satoshi Hirano	Professor, University of Tokyo
	Yuichi Hosoya	Professor, Keio University
	Chisako Masuo	Associate Professor, Kyushu University
	Shino Watanabe	Professor, Sophia University

Meetings of the Advisory Panel  
on Communications Concerning Territorial Integrity

First meeting (May 21, 2019)

- General discussion on domestic and overseas communications concerning territorial integrity

Second meeting (June 17, 2019)

- Discussion on overseas communications

Third meeting (June 24, 2019)

- Discussion on domestic awareness and the National Museum of Territory and Sovereignty

Fourth meeting (July 5, 2019)

- Discussion on material research and the compilation of recommendations