



Insight Report

The 7th Japan-Korea Future Dialogue

Building a new relationship rather than restoring the old

July, 2019



The Genron NPO

■ About the Japan-Korea Future Dialogue

Open dialogue that strives to improve Japan-Korea relationship

Launched in 2013, the “Japan-Korea Future Dialogue” has been conducted to create new bilateral track II relations by overcoming the deep-rooted antagonistic sentiment. The forum is an open round-table discussion and is broadcasted over the Internet, there is few other dialogue that is so open to the public of both countries. Prior to the forum, an annual joint opinion poll is conducted in both nations in order to grasp the state of understanding to particular issues and perception of each other, aimed for promoting greater mutual understanding between Japanese and South Koreans.

INDEX

Preface	4
Overview and the Results	6
Program	9
Co-Organizers	10
List of Panelists (Japanese Side)	11
List of Panelists (South Korea Side)	12
The Japan-Korea Future Dialogue in Photographs	13
Summary of Open Forum	17
Session 1: Public Opinion on Japan-South Korea Relations	17
Session 2: Rebuilding Japan-South Korea Relations	24
The Results of the 7th Japan-South Korea Joint Public Opinion Poll (2019)	29
Survey Overview	29
1. Impression	30
2. Present and Future Bilateral Relations	33
3. Political Leader and Diplomatic Relations	41
4. Basic Understanding	44
5. People-to-People Exchange	44
6. Perceptions of Historical Issues	45
7. Military and Security Issues in East Asia	50
8. North Korea's Nuclear Issues	54
9. Economic Relations	56
Media Coverage	58

Preface

The 7th Japan-Korea Future Dialogue, 2019



“The Japan-Korea Future Dialogue” has been jointly established by the Genron NPO of Japan and the East Asia Institute (EAI) of South Korea in 2013. This year’s dialogue counts the seventh meeting and has been joined by Chey Institute for Advanced Studies as one of the co-organizers.

While there are many private sector dialogues between the two countries, our initiative is unique in that it is open to the public and that it sets its agenda taking into consideration the mutual perceptions and understanding between the peoples of both countries revealed by the results of the Japan-South Korea Joint Public Opinion Poll.

The reason why we place such an importance on the openness of the Dialogue and the trend of people’s perceptions is because we strongly believe that we cannot talk about the future of our countries unless the citizens themselves, as the stakeholders, would willing to work on to improve our bilateral relations.

The results of the 7th Japan-South Korea Joint Public Opinion Poll published on June 12 showed a worrying trend that people’s feeling toward the other countries turned negative although the past few years saw some improvements, reflecting the recent disputes between the two governments over the South Korea’s Supreme Court ruling on the wartime laborers issue and the radar lock-on incident by Korean air force.

The backlash has been particularly strong in Japan. We faced unprecedented difficulties in organizing the Dialogue as many Japanese citizens even opposed the idea of having a dialogue itself with South Korea.

Nonetheless, the Genron NPO called for public donations to support the Dialogue insisting that “We do need a dialogue more than any time ever in such adversity”. Nearly three hundred people kindly made their contributions and we were finally able to organize the 7th Japan-Korea Future Dialogue.

Many contributors also participated in the Dialogue in person and I made a statement at the venue: “The government officials of the both countries should take it seriously the fact that such a dialogue was realized by the efforts of many citizens”.

June 22 marked the fifty-fourth anniversary of the signing of the Treaty on Basic Relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea and the diplomatic relations between the two countries have been normalized in December, 1965.

We duly understand that there are unsolved structural issues between the two countries since the diplomatic normalization. But we should not spare our efforts to build forward-looking bilateral relations despite all difficulties. In this connection, we should focus on one of the results of the Opinion Poll where most frequently selected answer in both countries, despite serious conflict situation, was “we should make our effort to improve our relations”.

Although we have yet to find even a clue to solve the on-going political confrontation between the Japanese and South Korean governments, I believe that we have made an important first step toward to overcome our differences, by uniting our efforts together, by having this Dialogue where we debate seriously while accepting the reality with calm.

Lastly but not the least, I would like to express my sincere gratitude for your support which made our Dialogue possible.

August 10, 2019

Yasushi Kudo
President
The Genron NPO

Overview and the Results

The 7th Japan-Korea Future Dialogue has been convened between Friday, June 21 and Saturday, June 22, 2019 at the Elizabeth Rose Conference Hall in the United Nations University in Tokyo, Japan.

Since the 6th Japan-Korea Future Dialogue organized in Seoul last year, a number of grave incidents occurred in South Korea which could undermine the agreement under the Treaty on Basic Relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea signed in 1965 as part of the diplomatic normalization process. Such incidences include dissolution of the foundation established under the agreement on comfort women, the dispute over the radar lock-on incident and the South Korean Supreme Court decision ordering Japanese firms to compensate for the wartime forced laborers. The Korean government so far has yet to make an official response while the Japanese government takes tough position. Depending on the progress of the wartime laborers issue, there is an increasing and widespread worry for further worsening of the bilateral relations.

While North East Asia undergoes historic geopolitical power shift, Japan and Korea, both as allies of the United States, have crucial roles to play in tackling number of regional challenges such as North Korean denuclearization and coping with rapid increase of Chinese influences. If we are to leave the worsening bilateral political disputes and allow it to be further inflamed by emotions, the consequences could be far too grave. Not only it would affect the two countries, it could harm the peace and prosperity of the entire North East Asia region at worst.

Against such a background, we are convinced that we need to have a platform where the peoples of the two countries meet face-to-face and exchange frank opinions. While many such bilateral dialogues and fora are postponed or cancelled, we are determined to have this Dialogue continued as it is our strong believe that we shall not cut off civil society talks in times of such difficulties, more than any time ever.

This year's Dialogue has been made possible only by the public donations of nearly three hundreds citizens, when most of the subsidies and institutional donations were cut off. It is the power of people who made it possible.

June 22, the day the Dialogue's public forum was convened, marked the fifty-fourth anniversary of the signing of the Treaty on Basic Relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea. It was under this very circumstance where the future of the 1965-Treaty framework was questioned, we have launched a challenging theme "How to re-build the current Japan-Korea relationship".

Thirty-two prominent politicians, researchers and experts in diplomatic and security issues, journalists and business leaders from Japan and South Korea participated in this year's Dialogue as panelists. Closed sessions held on June 21 and in the morning of June 22 were followed by two Public Forum sessions held in the afternoon of June 22.

Under Session 1 of the Public Forum, the participants reviewed the results of "the 7th Japan-South Korea Joint Public Opinion Poll" conducted by the Genron NPO and the East Asia Institute.

In response to the unveiled public perceptions on the bilateral relations and on the current difficulties surrounding the two countries, the participants discussed to

identify the priority issues that need to be tackled not only by the governments but in collaboration with the civil society.

Based on the analysis in Session 1, the following Session 2 discussed whether it is possible to re-build Japan-Korea relations, how to do it, what should be done by both countries.

In the preceding closed sessions held on June 21 and in the morning of 22, participants made fruitful dialogue including multifaceted analysis on the existing situation and problem identification, as well as presenting variety of proposals for the profound evolution of the bilateral relations and for establishing cooperative framework for common goals of Japan and South Korea.

■ About the 7th Japan-South Korea Joint Public Opinion Poll

The Genron NPO and the East Asia Institute (EAI) have been conducting a Japan-South Korea Joint Public Opinion Poll survey since 2013. The objectives of the survey is to monitor the current and changing peoples' sentiments and understandings of Japan and South Korea toward each other, in order to assess perceptual gaps between the citizens of the two countries, in an effort to turn them toward common understandings and to seek solutions for a varieties of common challenges the two countries face. The results of the survey served as baseline information to stimulate deeper discussions during the "Japan-Korea Future Dialogue".

This year's results revealed that more than 60 percent of citizens of both countries thought the bilateral relations were "bad" and the percentage of those who thought that they would further deteriorate is on the rise. Such pessimistic views are particularly widespread among Japanese with those who have "good impression" toward Korea became the lowest since the survey began.

Contrarily, more Koreans have "good impression" toward Japan since the first survey in 2013, presumably due to the factors such as diversification of information sources including social media and increased number of South Korean visitors to Japan. 70 percent of Korean respondents think that they should make efforts to improve the bilateral relations while only 40 percent of Japanese think the same. More than 80 percent of Koreans consider the Japan-Korea relationships important, while in Japan only half think the same, which is the lowest since the survey started.

Regarding the issue on the South Korean Supreme Court decision on the wartime forced laborers, the reactions of the both countries are opposite. Depending on the policies and actions of the both governments, there is an increasing risk of further deterioration of national sentiments and pessimistic views.

Such a trend in the public opinions provides us with clues to analyze factors affecting national sentiments against each other from variety of angles. The survey results have also shed light on the obstacles for peace and prosperity of the Korean Peninsula and East Asia region at large, including uncertainty of the future of North Korean denuclearization.

(See Page 29 for the summary of the survey results.)

■ **How the media reported on “the 7th Japan-South Korea Joint Public Opinion Poll” and “the 7th Japan-Korea Future Dialogue”?**

The results of the Japan-South Korea Joint Public Opinion Poll published on June 12, 2019, prior to the “the Japan-Korea Future Dialogue”, have been widely reported by the Japanese and overseas media, reflecting the fact that there was increasing public awareness on the worsening Japan-Korea relationships and on the sharp difference in the evaluation of the Korean court ruling of wartime laborers issue between the two countries.

The comments of the presidents of both the East Asia Institute (EAI) and the Genron NPO have been reported by the media, i.e. the JoongAng Ilbo of South Korea reported the comment of Dr. Sohn Yul, the President of the East Asia Institute (EAI), “The young generations are the hope of the future Japan-Korea relations”, in response to the results of the survey which revealed that the younger generations had better impression of the other country. While the comment of Mr. Kudo, the president of the Genron NPO was reported by the Japan Times, demanding “The governments of both countries should answer to the voices of their people who want the bilateral relations be improved”.

As for the media coverage on “the 7th Japan-Korea Future Dialogue”, newspapers widely reported the opinions of experts stressing the importance of citizen level exchange. The Kyodo News of Japan cited the comment of Dr. Junya Nishino, Professor of Keio University “The political leaders of the both countries should clearly express their commitments to avoid the breakdown of the diplomatic relations”.

In total, media reporting of both events counted at least 98 as of July 12, 2019.

(See Page 58 for Media Coverage)

Program

The 7th Japan-Korea Future Dialogue -Closed Session

Friday, June 21, 2019.

Venue: Elizabeth Rose Hall, 5th Floor, United Nations University

Time	Program
13:30 - 15:15	Session 1 Analyzing the issues in Japan-Korea relationship based on the 2019 Japan-Korea Joint Opinion Poll results
15:15 - 15:45	Coffee break
15:45 - 17:30	Session 2 Future of North Korea denuclearization and the issues facing Japan-Korea cooperation

The 7th Japan-Korea Future Dialogue -Closed Session

Saturday, June 22, 2019.

Venue: Elizabeth Rose Hall, 5th Floor, United Nations University

Time	Program
10:00 - 12:00	Session 3 How to re-build the current Japan-Korea relationship

The 7th Japan-Korea Future Dialogue - Public Forum

Saturday, June 22, 2019.

Venue: Elizabeth Rose Hall, 5th Floor, United Nations University

Time	Program
13:00 - 13:15	Opening Remarks
13:15 - 15:00	Session 1 Analyzing the issues in Japan-Korea relationship based on the 2019 Japan-Korea Joint Opinion Poll results
15:00 - 15:20	Coffee break
15:20 - 17:05	Session 2 Is it possible to re-build Japan-Korea relations?
17:05 - 17:30	Q & A session and closing remarks

Co-Organizers

■ About The Genron NPO

The Genron NPO is a non-profit, independent think tank based in Japan. Established in 2001 as the only venue in the country for responsible and future-oriented debate, The Genron NPO has sought to strengthen democracy in Japan, promote peace and stability in Northeast Asia, and develop solutions for pressing global issues. The institution was founded by Yasushi Kudo, the former editor-in-chief of a political journal titled "Ronso Toyo Keizai." The advisory board of The Genron NPO consists of 13 prominent Japanese leaders from various fields. The institution is representative of the Japanese intellectual network, with over 7,000 registered experts and more than 500 Japanese opinion leaders involved in its activities. The Genron NPO is a member institution of an international think tank network, the Council of Councils, since its establishment in 2012.



The Genron NPO

■ About EAI (East Asia Institute)

The EAI was established as an independent think-tank dedicated to developing ideas and formulating policy recommendations on the main challenges facing the region. Through hosting scholarly seminars, forums, education program and various publications it can achieve these aims in creating influential products. The EAI is conducting research activities along with two main programs, the Foreign Affairs and Security Program and the Governance Research Program, which are conducted by the five research centers. Also through the utilization of the research task force team, the EAI addresses imminent and critical issues. In this way by working together with recognized scholars and leading policymakers, the EAI is at the center of producing research outcomes reflecting innovation and influential policy debate. As one of the leading think-tanks in Korea, the EAI is fulfilling the way in forming a true knowledge-net community in Northeast Asia by setting up a system of joint research and scholarly exchanges in the U.S., China, and Taiwan as well as many other countries.



EAI
EAST ASIA INSTITUTE

■ About Chey Institute for Advanced Studies

Korea Foundation for Advanced Studies

한 국 고 등 교 육 재 단

Chey Institute for Advanced Studies (CIAS) is a non-partisan institute launched in commemoration of the 20th anniversary of the death of former SK Chairman Chey Jong-hyun, the founder of Korea Foundation for Advanced Studies, with the vision to keep his legacy alive. It aims to build on the international academic cooperation network of Korea Foundation for Advanced Studies and its human resources to analyze global challenges and present alternatives. CIAS also aims to conduct in-depth research and analysis on scientific innovation and risks to more systematically deal with the unprecedented challenges and opportunities posed by the human society. Chey Institute for Advanced Studies will further promote the below international academic exchange programs previously led by Korea Foundation for Advanced Studies

List of Panelists (Japanese) * both closed and public sessions



Ichiro Aisawa
Member of the House of Representative



Seiichi Kondo
Director, Kondo Research Institute of Cultural and Foreign Affairs, Former Commissioner, Agency for Cultural Affairs



Shogo Aoki
President
Noritsu Co., Ltd., Former National President, Junior Chamber International Japan



Yasuyo Sakata
Professor, Kanda University of International Studies



Atsushi Ijuin
Lead Economist,
Japan Center for Economic Research



Yoshihide Soeya
Professor, School of Law, Keio University



Hideki Okuzono
Associate Professor
University of Shizuoka, Graduate School of International Relations



Katsumi Sawada
Director, The Mainichi Shimbun Foreign News Department



Kazuo Ogura
Councilor,
Japan Foundation, Former Ambassador to the Republic of Korea



Hideshi Tokuchi
Visiting Professor
National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies



Osamu Onoda
Advisor,
Toshiba Infrastructure Systems & Solution Corporation



Gen Nakatani
Member of the House of Representative (LDP), Former Minister of Defense



Yasushi Kudo
President
The Genron NPO



Junya Nishino
Professor, School of Law, Keio University



Kwon Yongseok
Associate Professor
Graduate School of Law, Hitotsubashi University



Koji Matsubara
Editor, "Houdou 1930"BS-TBS Inc.



Yoji Koda
Former Maritime Self-Defense Commander



Rui Matsukawa
Member of the House of Councilors

List of Panelists (South Korea)

*** both closed and public sessions**



Kim Ki Jung
Professor, Yonsei University



Lee Hawon
Tokyo Bureau Chief, Chosun Ilbo



Kim Se Yeon
National Assembly Member,
Liberty Korea Party



Chun Chaesung
Director of Center for National
Security Studies, East Asia
Institute



Noh Woong Rae
National Assembly Member,
Democratic Party



Cho Hyung Jin
CO-Rep Director, Chorokbaem
Media Co., Ltd.



Park In-Kook
President, Chey Institute for
Advanced Studies,
Former Ambassador to the UN



Chey Chul One
CEO, Might & Main Corp.



Sohn Yul
President, East Asia Institute ,
Professor, Yonsei University



Choi Taewook
Professor, Hallym University



Song Yongmoo
Former Minister of National
Defense



Ha Young Sun
Chairman of Board of Trustees,
East Asia Institute



Shin Kak Soo
Former South Korean
Ambassador to Japan

The Japan-Korea Future Dialogue in Photographs

Public Forum

Elizabeth Rose Conference Hall, the United Nations University







Welcome Dinner



Reception



Summary of the Open Forum

Session 1: Public Opinion on Japan-South Korea Relations

In the afternoon of June 22, 2019, The Genron NPO held a public forum as a part of The 7th Japan-Korea Future Dialogue. A total of thirty individuals participated in the forum, including politicians, journalists, researchers, diplomats, and economists from both Japan and South Korea. Session One aimed to analyze the issues in the Japan-South Korea relationship utilizing the results of a public opinion poll conducted in both countries on June 12.

The Genron NPO President Yasushi Kudo opened the forum by describing the current state of the relationship between the two countries, explaining that a number of issues over the previous year have increased the friction between the two governments, and Japanese public opinion towards South Korea has taken a negative turn. "Even the holding of this dialogue itself was threatened," Kudo explained. "But we were able to gather donations from almost 300 individuals who endorsed our position that the difficulties we now face are the very reason such a dialogue must exist."

Kudo cited the historical significance of the day, the 54th anniversary of the signing of The Treaty on Basic Relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea, and encouraging all present to take part in the discussion. Yul Sohn, president of the East Asia Institute and professor at Yonsei University, provided a Korean perspective in opening remarks, while Kudo presented a Japanese perspective and highlighted some of the poll results for the audience. (Report available at http://www.genron-npo.net/en/opinion_polls/archives/5489.html).



Japanese and South Korean Perception of National Security

Associate Professor Hideki Okuzono of the University of Shizuoka's Graduate School of International Relations was first to speak.

"In the past, the fact that Japan and Korea belonged to the same camp within the Cold War structure acted as a unifying force between the countries, but we haven't come up with something of similar value to replace that," Okuzono said. He pointed out that the opinion poll

showed an increase in the percentage of South Koreans who view North Korea as a military threat (67.4% →73.0%), implying that South Korean views on security are approaching the Japanese view.

While some differences exist, "Japan and Korea are both trying to keep the US engaged in Northeast Asia even as it delves deeper into an "America First" mindset, and both are looking into how to build a constructive relationship with China and how to eliminate the nuclear threat from North Korea," he explained.



Chosun Ilbo Tokyo Bureau Chief Hawon Lee provided a somewhat grim description of how it feels to work as a journalist in Japan when he said, "Sometimes you feel like a correspondent embedded in an enemy country."

He noted the broad diversity of opinion in his own country, and citing the conscripted workers issue, noted that many South Koreans believe that "promises made between nations must be kept." He called upon Japan to have the courage to come to the table and engage in dialogue about such issues.

Shogo Aoki is president of a company called Noritsuisu that promotes exchange between young economic experts in Japan and Korea. He presented the somewhat pessimistic view that it is impossible to completely separate intergovernmental issues from relationships in civil society. However, he noted that young people in both countries tend to have more positive impressions of their neighbor, and proposed the establishment of a youth-focused version of the forum to encourage them to discuss political issues and provide feedback to their governments.

Hyung Jin Cho is a representative director at Chorokbaem Media, which

produces a number of Korean drama series, and he provided a more positive outlook on harnessing the rich cultural exchange between members of the younger generation. He believes that online media have increased the speed at which people can share their culture with other countries, and that the trend is irreversible. Moreover, Cho thinks cultural exchange is expanding the breadth of understanding among younger people in both countries, and as they will be the next generation of leaders, he believes that although cultural exchange will never directly resolve issues of diplomacy, "it will provide a starting point."

Associate Professor Yongseok Kwon of the Graduate School of Law at Hitotsubashi University moves between the academic worlds of both Japan and Korea, studying not only political and diplomatic aspects of the Japan-Korea relationship, but also cultural aspects.

Kwon asserted that, "Culturally speaking, South Korea is the most pro-Japanese country in the world. There is no other country that consumes as much and as diverse a range of Japanese culture."

But he did point out one problem that exists in Japan.



"While you will see a diversity in opinions about Japan in the Korean media, there is no such diversity in Japan, with Japanese media tone tending to lean towards the government position," he explained.

Professor Junya Nishino of Keio University's School of Law is more cautious of the potential influence of cultural exchange saying, "Sharing culture can help build a stronger sense of affinity between countries, but that doesn't lead to a deeper

understanding."

He argued that, "In order to ensure the two countries can maintain a relationship long-term, people have to know the history of Japan and South Korea and have to understand how today's relationship was built. Intergovernmental relationships and civil society level exchange should be kept separate, but there needs to be a mutual understanding regarding political issues on the civil side as well."



How media framing influences societal opinion

While the internet is contributing greatly to international exchange among youth, Professor Ki Jung Kim of Yonsei University fears that the way the media frames issues is unnecessarily increasing discord between Japan and Korea.

Koji Matsubara is a newscaster with the BS-TBS program Hodo 1930, and added to Kim's remark, telling the forum that his program presented 20 special reports on Korea in the previous six months, and they made him "painfully aware" of how little he knew about Korea.



"News programs on terrestrial television have little time to work with, so they tend to report only on strongly-worded statements by politicians that will have an impact, without providing any background information," Matsubara explained. Professor Yasuyo Sakata of the Kanda University of International Studies also discussed the Japanese media's framing of Korea.

"Whenever the Korean media criticizes Japan, it is dismissed as an expression of anti-Japanese opinion in Japan," she said. "Although Japan-Korea relations are becoming increasingly multi-faceted, the framework of perception is still rooted in the past." She also described how the survey clarified Korean views on Japan and Northeast Asia. "It is timely in the sense that the information helps break down the one-sided perception," he said, and shared his belief that the media needs to put more effort into destroying stereotypes.

Woong-rae Noh belongs to the ruling

Democratic Party as a member of the South Korean National Assembly, and he said that "Misapprehensions and suspicions are born out of a lack of mutual understanding."

However, he also called for understanding regarding the distrust that remains among South Koreans, pointing out that the annual visits to Yasukuni Shrine by Japanese politicians cause South Koreans to "question whether Japanese remorse regarding the war is sincere."

Regarding the conscripted workers issue, he expressed his belief that "Agreements between states should be followed. Legally, there are limitations to what can be agreed between the two countries, but I think a compromise can be reached if both work diplomatically to find a solution."

National Assembly member Se Yeon Kim belongs to the Liberty Korea Party. Kim also touched upon historical issues and the difficulty of sweeping away the distrust felt on both sides.



"It seems that both countries think the other country is going back on past decisions and actions," he explained.

Regarding diplomatic and security issues, Kim said, "Korea believes it

necessary to strengthen the relationship with China to find a resolution to the North Korea problem. I hope that the Japan will try and think about what sort of diplomacy it would pursue if it were in Korea's position."



Increasing public understanding of the issues

Seiichi Kondo, former Commissioner of the Agency for Cultural Affairs, recognizes the media has limited ability to improve relations. Deteriorating national sentiment in Japan may be rooted in growing dissatisfaction in Japanese civil society due to pressures from globalization and the introduction of AI, and it may be exacerbated by intergovernmental issues and media coverage.

"We can do nothing about the fact that

politics is about power, finance is about profit, and media is about ratings. Citizens need to understand those limits, and should find their own position on issues without getting caught up in what people in political or financial circles are saying."

A former UNESCO ambassador, Kondo supported his point with an excerpt from the UNESCO constitution, which states that peace cannot be based exclusively upon political and economic efforts by governments. It must be founded "upon the intellectual and moral solidarity of mankind."



Loss of opportunity from a lack of cooperation

Former South Korean Ambassador to

Japan Kak Soo Shin addressed the forum next.

"What's important is not only the visible damage arising from the deteriorated relationship," he said. "But also the loss of opportunity due to the relationship not being improved."

Shin presented three items that must be addressed: domestic issues such as decreased birth rates, aging populations and the onset of the fourth industrial revolution; the future of Northeast Asia, which is dealing with the US-China conflict and US isolationism; and the danger to freedom and multilateralism posed by the global rise in nationalism.

"If Japan and Korea were able to cooperate in these conditions, we would be able to build a much better world," Shin argued.

Professor Taewook Choi of Hallym University looks at Japan-Korea cooperation from Asian and global perspectives. Referring to the joint declaration signed by President Kim and Prime Minister Obuchi in 1998, he said, "No one expected historical issues

to be resolved, but researchers had high hopes that Japan and Korea were creating a new future for the region. Cooperating on various levels, from education to AI to handling aging populations, is making those historical issues grow smaller."

Choi suggested that Genron could add a question to the opinion poll on where Japan and Korea can cooperate in the future.

Yongmoo Song is the Former South Korean Minister of National Defense, and he explained that the Moon administration's goal is to resolve the North Korean nuclear issue and reunify the Korean peninsula, eventually expanding liberal democracy into China and Siberia. He said that South Korea is preparing to take on a role similar to that of West Germany, which, after the reunification of East and West Germany, took the lead in integrating the East's economy with the EU and improving relations with Russia. "That will be an opportunity for Japan and Korea to work together," Song said.



Does the public recognize the "new normal" of the Japan-Korea relationship?

Towards the end of Session One, Kudo again emphasized the importance of gathering experts on Japan-Korea relations to engage in public dialogue. However, he noted that of the 384 Japanese experts polled by Genron NPO, approximately 30% were

negatively disposed to improving the relationship. Kudo asked the panelists their thoughts about the risk of further deterioration of public sentiment towards each country if such expert opinions reach the general populace.

Mainichi Shimbun Foreign News Department Director Katsumi Sawada responded that the relationship

between Japan and Korea has become more equal with the increase in Korean power, calling it the "new normal" between the countries, and proposed one reason for the decline in Japanese public perception of Korea.

"Perhaps older people, including experts, have been unable to accept that change, and therefore have a strongly negative view towards Korea," he suggested.

He also pointed to a major difference in

the two countries regarding why the Japan-South Korea relationship is important. The most popular response in South Korea pointed to an increase in mutual benefit with greater financial and industrial interdependence.

However, Japanese respondents selected answers such as "because we are neighbors" or "because we are both Asian," and Sawada believes that such an emotional outlook has a greater risk of deteriorating rapidly whenever issues arise.



Professor Yoshihide Soeya of Keio University's School of Law said, "Historically speaking, Japanese opinion on Korea changed regularly while Korean opinion on Japan remained consistent, but now that situation has reversed."

He pointed out that South Koreans are having an increasingly positive view of Japan, one that is unaffected by intergovernmental relations, and Japanese people do not recognize the dynamic nature of South Korean society.

Sohn summarized the discussions from the Korean perspective, saying, "In South Korea, there has been a decoupling of government policy towards Japan and public opinion. But in Japan, there is a kind of 'negative coupling' in which public sentiment is being affected by intergovernmental relations, even though exchange with South Korea is progressing positively."

Kudo brought Session One to a close with a plea to panelists to be more open in expressing their true beliefs during the upcoming discussions in Session Two.



Session 2: Rebuilding Japan-South Korea Relations

Moderation for Session Two of the public forum of the Japan-Korea Future Dialogue on June 22, 2019 was provided by Yasushi Kudo, President of The Genron NPO, and Yul Sohn, President of the East Asia Institute and professor at Yonsei University. Session Two discussions were centered on the possibility of restoring the relationship between Japan and South Korea.

Building a new relationship rather than restoring the old

Professor Junya Nishino of the School of Law at Keio University gave an opening statement providing a Japanese perspective of the session's theme. He described how the relationship between the two countries has changed drastically over the last 30 years and continues to do so. He broached the idea that, rather than attempting to restore the relationship as it was, "Perhaps we should be thinking about how to build a new relationship."

Nishino described Japan-South Korea relations as being centered in three areas - politics, business, and economy - with economy being the primary motive force driving the relationship between the two countries. However, two new aspects to the relationship appeared in the 2000s, namely security and civil society, and civil society in particular has had an increasingly powerful presence.

Nishino mentioned that the results of joint public opinion poll show there is no major difference at the public opinion level, therefore ongoing diplomatic and political frictions could be neutralized by harnessing public opinion. He argued that short-term factors can be managed if political leaders in both countries clearly show their people how important the Japan-South Korea relationship is, and asserted that the relationship cannot be allowed to collapse.

Structural factors remain more difficult to resolve, Nishino said, so the only way to do so is to promote positive aspects

such as the abundant private interaction and cultural exchange, and to minimize negative aspects.

The time for strategic dialogue aimed at building a better future

Chaesung Chun, Director of Center for National Security Studies at the East Asia Institute and professor at Seoul University asked the panel to consider the strategic direction of the Japan-South Korea relationship.

Chun described how the environment around the countries has been transformed by the US "America First" policy and the deterioration of the US-China relationship. He argued that the only way through the situation is for Japan and Korea to cooperate, but pointed out that the reason they continue to get wrapped up in controversy surrounding historical and other issues is that, "There has been no strategic dialogue aimed at building a better future."

"If Japan and South Korea want to continue to enjoy the benefits of the free order built more than 70 years ago, it is now time for them to cooperate and take strategic action," Chun said, and called for dialogue to achieve that end.

Regarding North Korea, Chun expressed the view that even with the nuclear issue provisionally resolved, confusion and opposition will continue due to the intersection of geopolitical interests of the great powers of the US, China, and Russia. It is necessary for the two countries to cooperate in handling these issues, he explained, again emphasizing the importance of strategic dialogue.



The conscripted worker lawsuit rulings

With the opening statements complete, panelists plunged into a discussion about the rulings made in the lawsuits filed in South Korea regarding the issue of Japan's conscription of workers during Korean occupation.

Gen Nakatani, a member of Japan's House of Representatives, stated his belief that the current framework must not be discarded. The treaty signed 54 years to the day before the public forum included provisions on claim rights and economic cooperation, he reminded the panel, and it has served as the foundation of the Japan-Korea relationship ever since. Moreover, he added, the South Korean government confirmed its responsibility for providing compensation ten years ago. If this framework is to be discarded, Nakatani argued, the only option is to invoke Article 3 of the treaty, which states that if a conflict cannot be resolved through diplomatic means, it must be left up to decision by arbitration. Therefore, Nakatani concluded, judgment in this matter should be entrusted to the hands of the International Court of Justice.

In response, Chosun Ilbo Tokyo Bureau Chief Hawon Lee agreed on the facts of the matter, i.e. that the claims issue had been resolved in 1965. However, he added, "Does it not still seem as if the corporate response has been somewhat lacking? Finding a legal resolution does not bring the issue to an end; measures

must be found to relieve the emotional issues that remain."

Lee noted that if Japan were to accept the settlement proposal announced by the Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs on June 19, through which a foundation would be established to provide compensation funded by Japanese and Korean corporate defendants, it would be in accordance with the original agreement. Lee expressed his hope that Japanese companies would voluntarily fund the foundation. He also offered a new idea for cases for which providing compensation to actual conscripted workers was difficult. A foundation could be built for children and a breakthrough could be reached in that way as they will be the ones responsible for the future relationship between the two countries.

Rui Matsukawa, a member of Japan's House of Councilors of Japan, stated that the 1965 system serves as the foundation of the intergovernmental relationship, and if there is a desire to change it, "Both countries must be involved. It can't be resolved only through the work of actors in civil society."

She also emphasized that a fundamental premise of this must be the handling of the claims issue by the Korean government, even in the case of Lee's new idea. Matsukawa also admitted that civil actors do not know enough about the claims rights negotiation process, and that "the

government must provide a clear explanation."

Noh Woong Rae is a member of the South Korean National Assembly and member of the ruling Democratic Party. He was pessimistic about the possibility of finding a resolution to the issue through the international courts, as establishing an arbitration committee as desired by the Japanese requires the cooperation of the Korean government and the Moon administration will "never allow it." He called on Japan to, "offer its own wisdom if this is truly an issue that cannot be resolved by Korea alone."

Following this series of exchanges, Koji Matsubara, a newscaster with the BS-TBS program Hodo 1930, lamented the fact that discussion about the

conscripted worker issue never results in any sort of agreement being reached.

"Personally speaking, I don't feel that I have to follow an arrangement made between two governments, no matter what it might entail," he said, and expressed a certain understanding regarding the new proposal made by Hawon Lee.

Matsukawa responded by explaining some of the frustration felt by the Japanese government regarding the situation.

"If President Moon would just engage with us and suggest something, maybe we could come up with something new, but there's nothing we can do if he doesn't even try."



Former South Korean Ambassador to Japan Kak Soo Shin answered Matsukawa, asking for a level of understanding as government actions are, by their very nature, constrained by law. While he admitted that a response has been slow, the settlement proposal of June 19 shows that "while it may be slow, the Korean government is also moving on this issue."

Sohn added, "Perhaps the Japanese government is asking for too urgent a response. The settlement proposal is simply a first step towards resolving the issue. Associate Professor Hideki Okuzono of the University of Shizuoka's Graduate School of International Relations believes that "the Japanese government will never accept the proposal," as although there

are similar lawsuits regarding numerous disputes ongoing, they are not covered by the proposal. Okuzono suggested that President Moon's history as both a former civic activist and lawyer would suggest a tendency to demand that 100% of victim claims be accepted, but no progress will be made if he cannot find a way of putting aside that way of thinking to reach a compromise.

Keio University School of Law professor Yoshihide Soeya stated that while the Korean government hasn't denied the current framework, it has stepped outside it regarding the individual right to claim. He described the Japanese response as, "Not a demand for Korea to intervene legally, but to fulfill their role as government."



Shared strategic interests and the necessity for dialogue

As Chaesung Chun pointed out in his opening, Kak Soo Shin noted that "the two countries share strategic issues," and that the lack of dialogue regarding those issues is part of the problem. He added that there is a misunderstanding among the Japanese that Korea is leaning towards China and that President Moon is pro-North Korea. However, the lack of discussion is the reason for that misunderstanding, and he called for a quick resumption of dialogue between the countries.

Yonsei University professor Ki Jung Kim made a point about shared strategy.

"There is no need to take exactly the same position, but there should be an attempt to agree on the basics," Kim said. "Also, we must be able to maintain stability even when our respective governments change."

Kim proposed that peace on the Korean peninsula should be one part of that shared strategy, saying, "Japan will also greatly benefit from such a peace, and I hope that it will work with Korea towards achieving that."

Professor Yasuyo Sakata of the Kanda University of International Studies lamented the fact that none of the various proposals to improve the Japan-South Korea have been fully utilized by either government.

Considering that, he asked the Korean panelists whether a new shared strategy is even possible, noting the major changes in the strategic environment that have arisen due to the conflict between the US and China conflict.

Young Sun Ha is Chairman of the Board of Trustees at the East Asia Institute, and he pointed out that too many people in power in both countries attempt to use the strained relationship to benefit themselves domestically. He believes the issue needs to be decoupled from politics. He warned the panel that, "Both the US and China are producing strategies for 50, even 100 years into the future. If Japan and South Korea don't also engage in strategic dialogue with an eye on the future, we will regret it within the decade."

Se Yeon Kim, a National Assembly Member with the Liberty Korea Party, stated that deeper dialogue is necessary to achieve true mutual understanding, but as the level of that dialogue rises to summit and ministerial level talks, the difficulty increases. Accordingly, Kim argued that more multitiered dialogue should be created through increased talks at lower governmental and business levels, and through an increase in talks between younger individuals such as students and people in their twenties and thirties.

In response to Kim, Kazuo Ogura, Councilor at the Japan Foundation and

former Ambassador to the Republic of Korea, said, "While the younger generation will build the future, only those who know the past, the older generation, are truly able to discuss the future." With this, Chun and Nishino were asked to provide commentary summarizing the discussions.

Formulating a shared strategy is an urgent issue for both countries

Chaesung Chun mentioned South Korea's participation in the Indo-Pacific Strategy and the need for the two countries to study how to deal with China, urging Japan and South Korea to obtain a shared awareness of the situations they face as soon as possible.

Regarding the day's dialogue, Chun pointed out that the discussion often degraded into government talking points, and reminded the panel that, "Citizens in democracies are allowed to

make different arguments than their governments do. We need to be engaging in practical discussions from freer points of view."

Nishino made the point that while the lawsuits regarding conscripted workers have caused some instability in the "1965 framework," he pointed out that the Japan-South Korea relationship is built upon a numerous similar efforts, including the Japan-Republic of Korea Joint Declaration of 1998. Nishino argued that the overall flow of the relationship must be carefully taken care of. Nishino also mentioned that he hopes the Future Dialogue will continue to be held into the future.

After the comments by Chun and Nishino, Sohn and Kudo offered their own concluding remarks as moderators, and Kudo wrapped up Session 2 with a closing statement.



A fresh start for the Japan-Korea Future Dialogue

In closing, Kudo called for more discussion in both countries, both to earn the support of the citizenry and to promote concrete collaboration, not simply exchange. He reminded those gathered that this year's Japan-Korea Future Dialogue was in danger of being

cancelled with the loss of government and corporate funding. For Kudo, the fact that it was realized through citizen contributions means that the forum has made a fresh start, as a "true dialogue between citizens." He expressed his determination to continue Genron's efforts and concluded The 7th Japan-Korea Future Dialogue.

The Results of the 7th Japan-South Korea Joint Public Opinion Poll (2019)

Survey Overview

From May to June 2019, The Genron NPO and East Asia Institute (EAI) conducted joint public opinion polls in Japan and South Korea. The purpose of this annual survey is to grasp the state of mutual understanding and perception of each other among the Japanese and South Korean public and to monitor the changes over time, in order to contribute to promote greater mutual understanding between them. The result of this survey will be presented at the bilateral track II dialogue 'Japan-Korea Future Dialogue' on June 22, 2019.

The opinion poll in Japan was conducted between May 18 and June 2, targeting men and women across the country over the age of 18. Questionnaires were delivered to participants and self-administered, resulting in a collection of 1,000 valid responses. The final academic qualifications of the respondents were as follows: 48.6% of the respondents were men and 51.4% of them were women. Elementary/middle school graduates: 7.6%, high school graduates: 45.1%, junior college/technical college graduates: 21.8%, four-year university graduates: 22.7% and graduate school graduates: 1.1%. Age distribution of the respondents were as follows: under 20: 2.5%, between 20 and 29: 11.9%, between 30 and 39: 14.8%, between 40 and 49, 17.2%, between 50 and 59, 14.6%, and 60 and above: 39.0%.

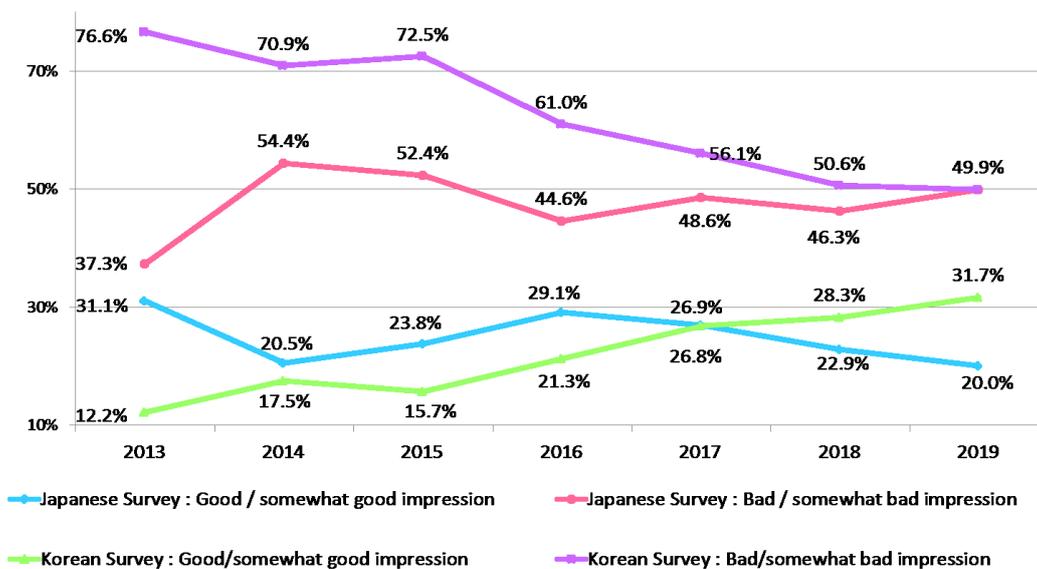
The opinion poll in South Korea was conducted between May 15 and 27 by face-to-face interview method, targeting men and women aged 19 and over. 49.6% of the respondents were men and 50.4% of them were women. The number of total valid responses was 1,008. The final academic qualifications of respondents were as follows: middle school graduates or below: 13.8%, high school graduates: 39.3%, junior college/technical college graduates: 13.2%, four-year university graduates: 31.6% and graduate school graduates: 1.9%. Age distribution of the respondents were as follows; between 19 and 29: 17.3%, between 30 and 39: 16.8%, between 40 and 49, 19.6%, between 50 and 59, 19.8%, and 60 and above: 26.5%.

1. Impression

1-1. Impressions of One Another's Countries

The Japanese respondents' impression of South Korea has been the worst since the survey began in 2013, whereas South Koreans' impression of Japan has shown some improvement. The percentage of the South Koreans who have a "bad impression" of Japan dropped to less than 50% for the first time.

[Graph 1: Your impression of the other country]



1-2. Reasons behind Each Other's Impressions

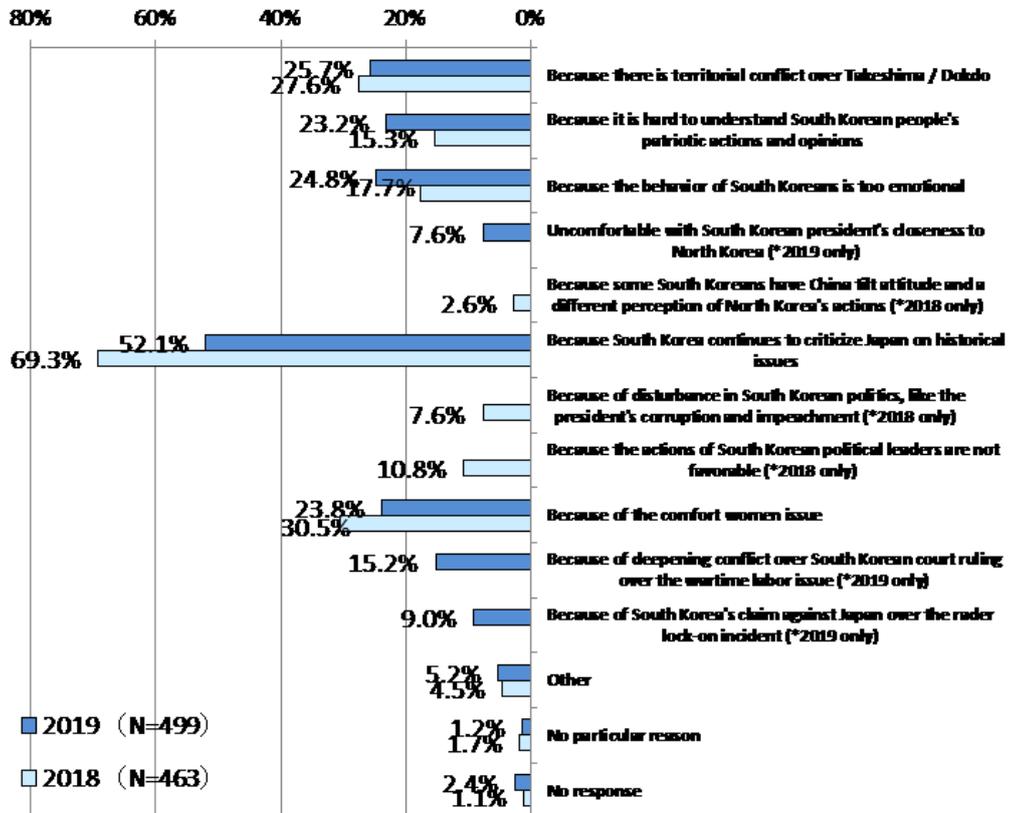
The top reason why Japanese has the bad impression of South Korea is "South Korea's continued criticism against Japan on historical issues", with the majority at 52.1%. Two recent incidents of the "South Korean Supreme Court ruling over the wartime labor" and the "radar lock-on dispute" are selected by 15.2% and 9% of the Japanese respectively. There were also increases in the numbers of Japanese who ascribe the emotional, patriotic behaviors of South Koreans to their bad impression of South Korea.

In regards to the reason for the bad impressions of Japan among South Koreans, more than half of the South Korean respondents chose "no remorse over Japan's past wartime aggression" and the "territorial conflict over Dokdo", especially the former have increased to 76.1% from 70% (2018).

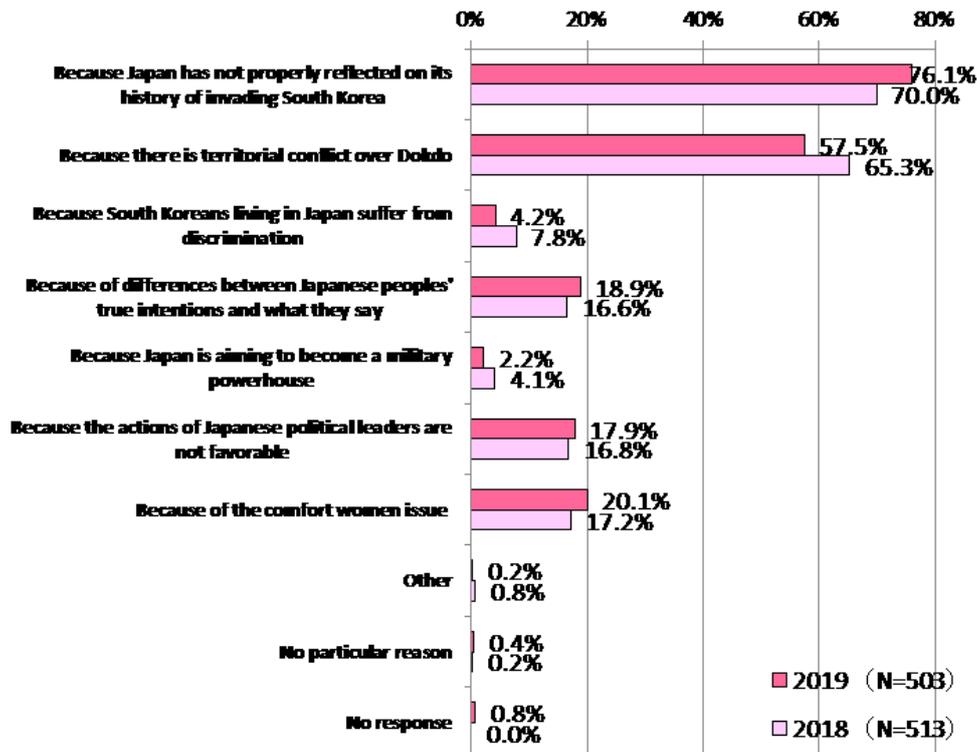
Regarding the reasons for good impression of Japan, 69.7% of the South Koreans selected "because Japanese people are kind and earnest" and 60.3% selected "because Japan is a developed country with a high standard of living". The two options exceed others by far.

Around half of the Japanese selected "because South Korean food and shopping are attractive" (52.5%) and "because of interest in South Korean dramas, music or culture" (49.5%).

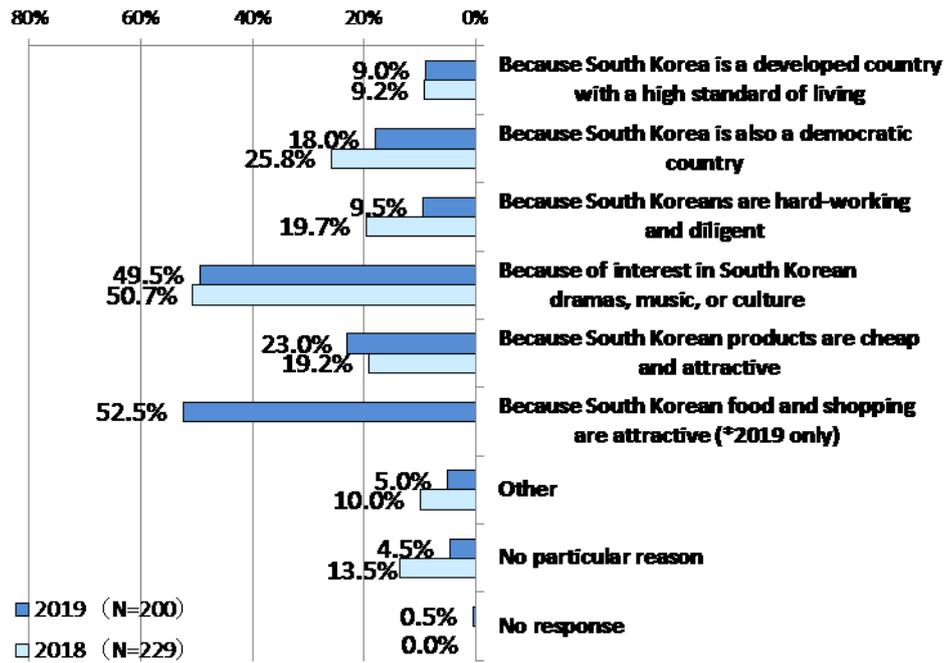
[Graph 3: Reason for having a bad impression]
[Japanese Public Opinion]



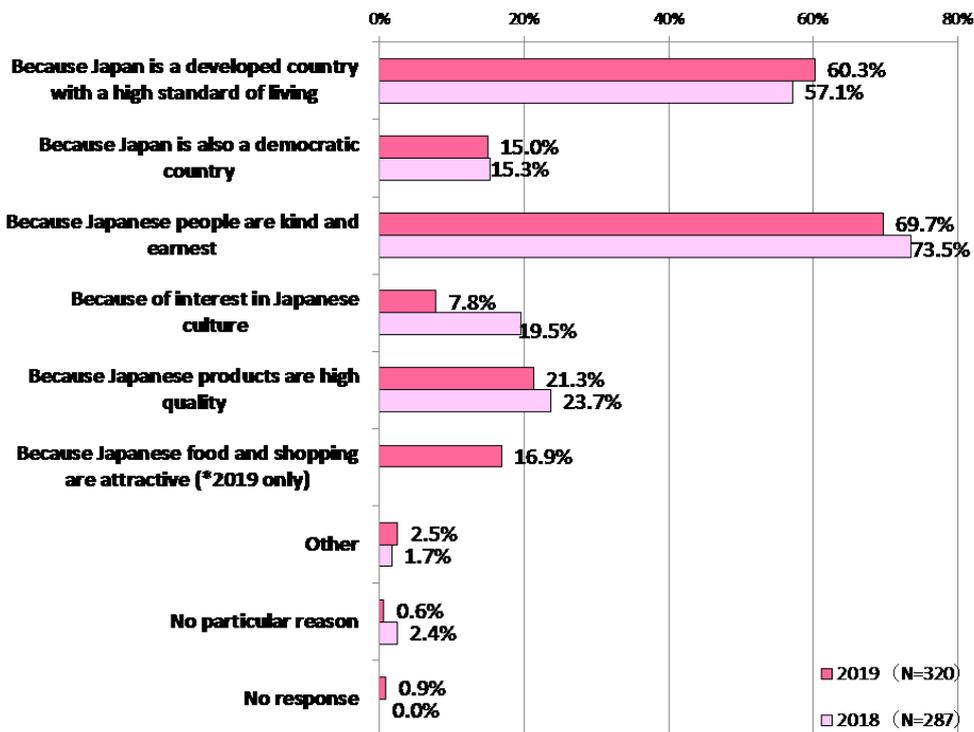
[South Korean Public Opinion]



[Graph 4: Reason for having a good impression]
[Japanese Public Opinion]



[South Korean Public Opinion]



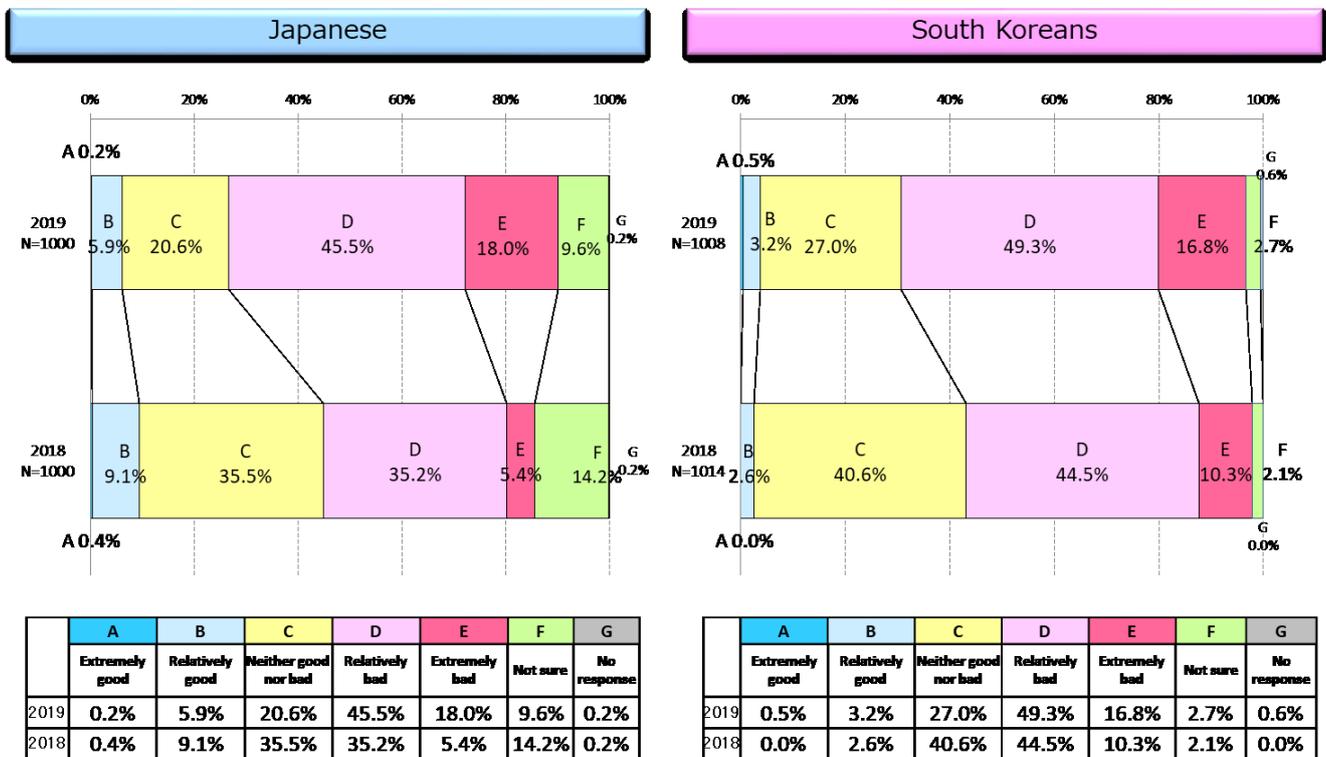
2. Present and Future Bilateral Relations

2-1. Perception of Present and Future Japan-South Korea Relations

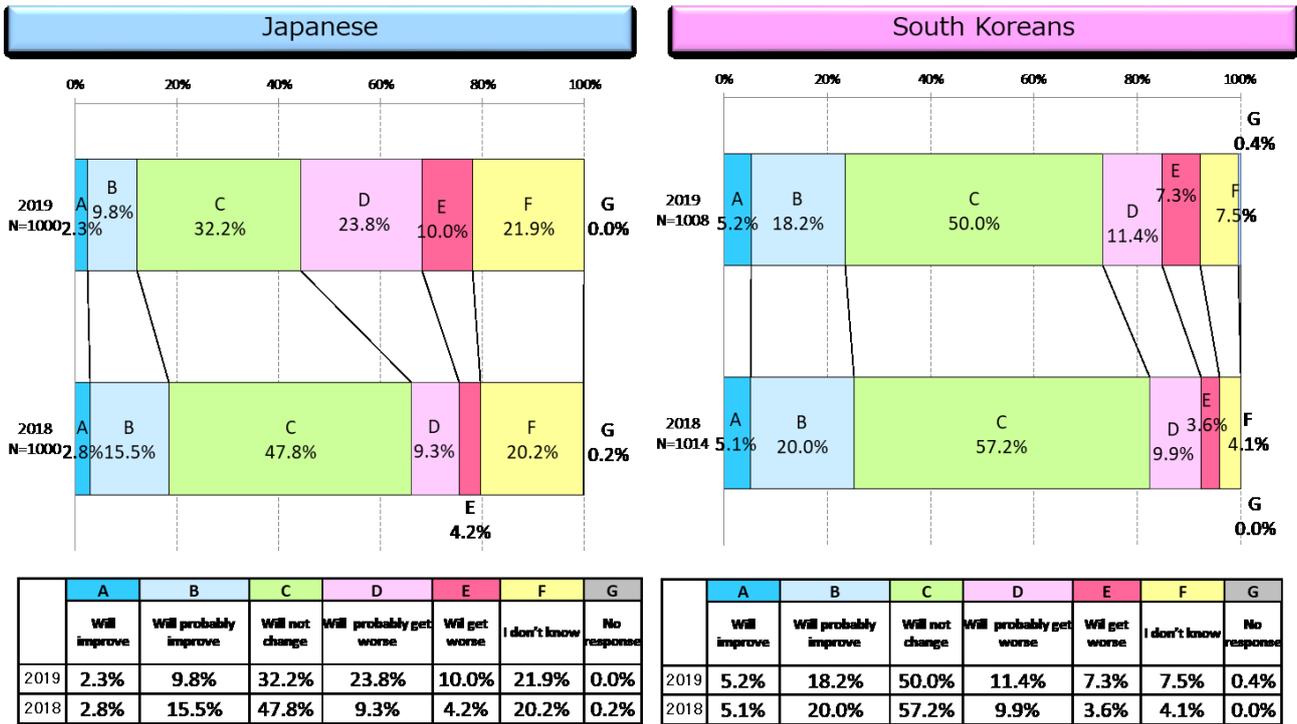
More than 60% of both Japanese and South Korean respondents believe that the bilateral relations have deteriorated. 63.5% of the Japanese perceive the bilateral relations as “bad”, a 23-percentage-point increase from 40.6% (2018). 66.1% of the South Koreans feel the same, an 11-percentage-point increase from 54.8% (2018). Only 6.1% of the Japanese and 3.7% of the South Korean think that the relations between the two countries are “good”.

As for the future prospects, 33.8% of the Japanese and 18.7% of the South Koreans believe that the bilateral relations will continue to deteriorate. The results show that Japanese are more pessimistic about the future of Japan- South Korea relationships.

[Graph 5: What do you think of current Japan-Korea relations?]



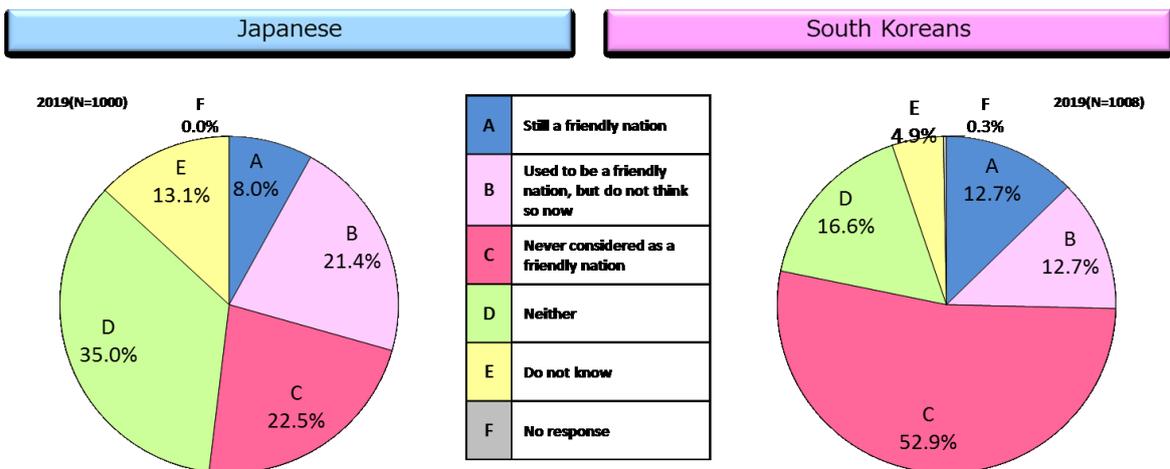
[Graph 6: Future of Japan-Korea relations]



2-2. Is Japan/South Korea a friendly nation?

43.9% of the Japanese and 65.6% of the South Koreans do not consider the other country as a friendly nation. 52.9% of South Koreans “never considered Japan as a friendly nation” while 21.4% of Japanese feel that South Korea “used to be a friendly nation, but do not think so now.”

[Graph 7: Is Japan/South Korea a friendly nation?]



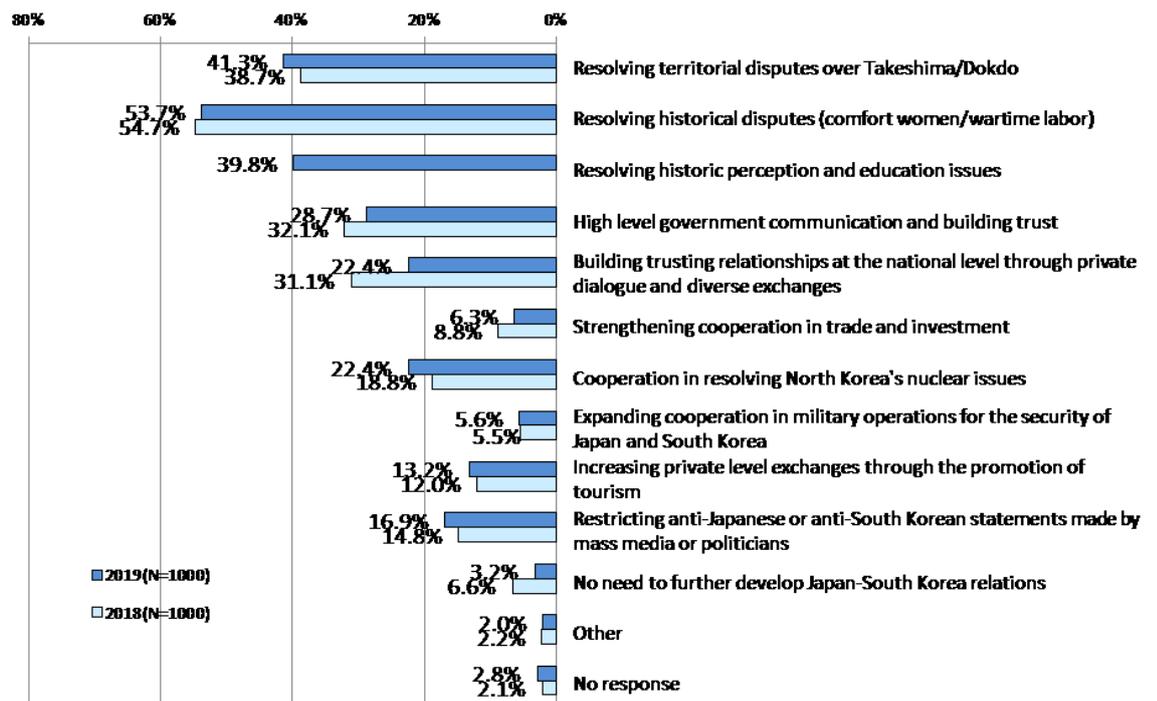
2-3. What Should be Done to Improve Japan-South Korea Relations?

While more than 70% of South Koreans think that the two countries “should make efforts to improve the relationships,” only 40% of Japanese feel the same. Yet, the majority of Japanese think that both countries should “avoid confrontation” or should “overcome the difficulties in a future-oriented manner.”

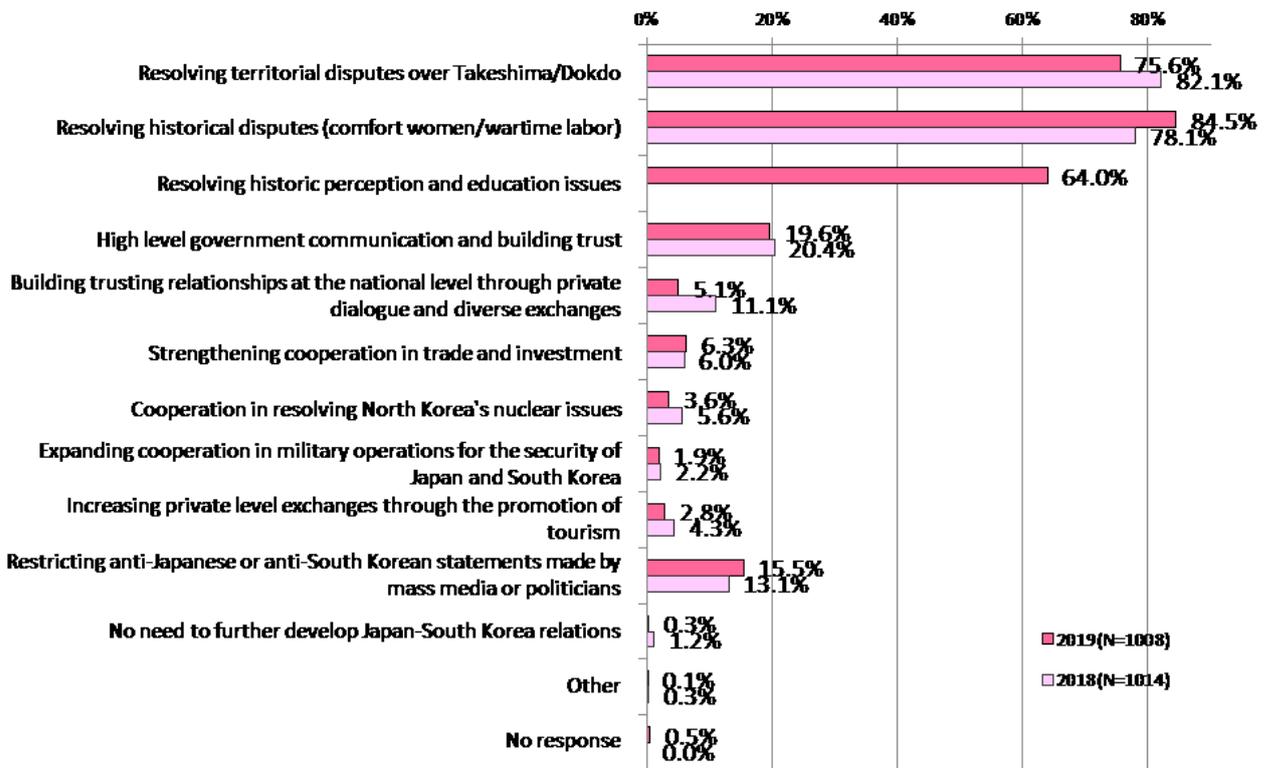
As regard to a question “what should be done to improve Japan-South Korea relations,” the vast majority of both nationals feel that it is necessary to resolve “territorial disputes over Takeshima/Dokdo” and issues relating to “historical recognition”.

As for the South Korean side, those who feel the “strengthening economic cooperation” will be an effective measure have tripled to 18.3 % since 2018. There is a notable gap in whether the “cooperation in resolving North Korea’s nuclear issues” will contribute improving the Japan-South Korea relations. 22.4% of Japanese say it will contribute while only 5.1% of South Koreans think the same.

**[Graph 8: What should be done to develop Japan-South Korea relations?]
[Japanese Public Opinion]**



[South Korean Public Opinion]

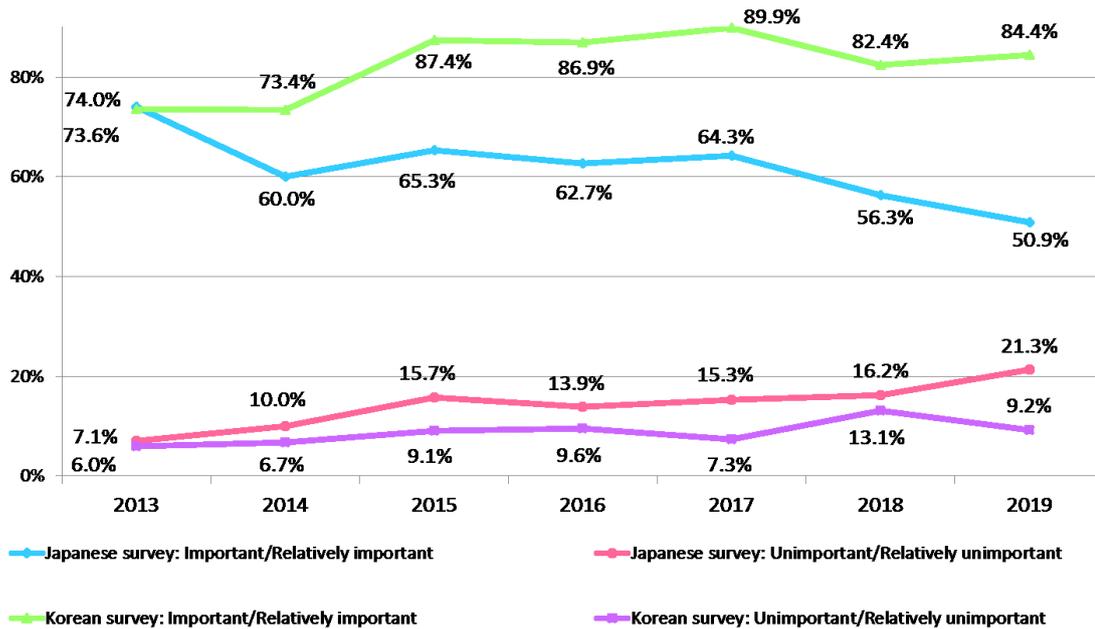


2-4. How Both Nationals View the Importance of Bilateral Relations

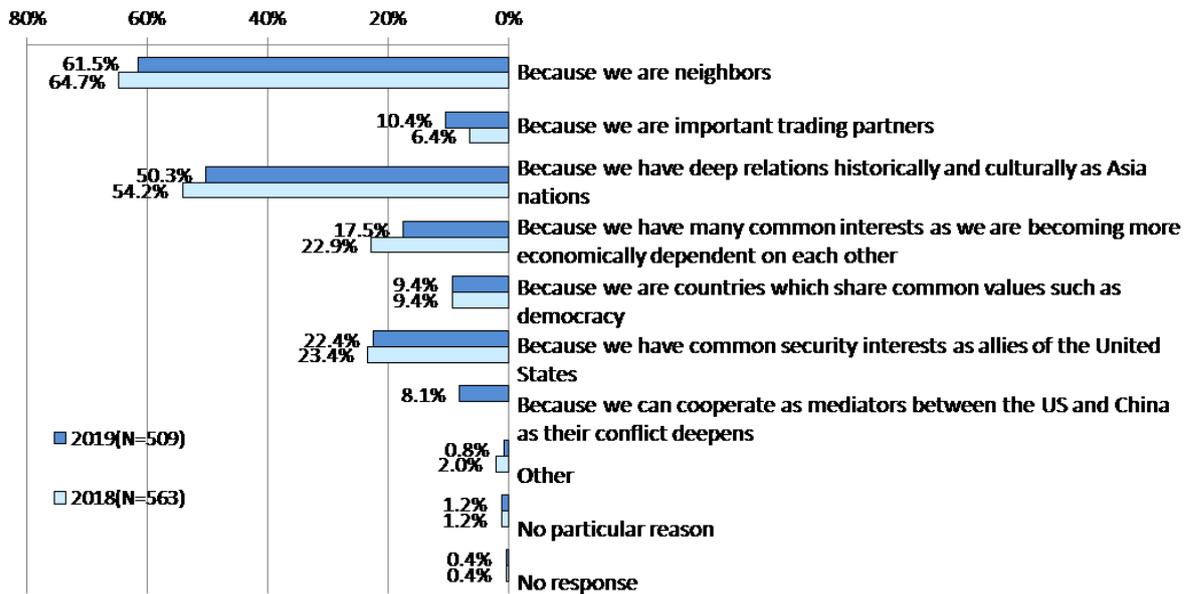
While 84.4% of the South Koreans consider Japan-South Korea relations “important”, only 50.9% of Japanese think the same, hitting the lowest point since the survey began.

Among Japanese who consider the relationships important, when they are asked why, many chose rather general reasons such as “because we are neighbors” or “as same Asian nations,” while many South Koreans looked into more economic importance of Japan as the two countries “have many common interests by the economic interdependency” and Japan “as trade partner.” While 22.4% of the Japanese chose “because we have common security interests as allies of the United States”, only 9.8% of the South Koreans think the same.

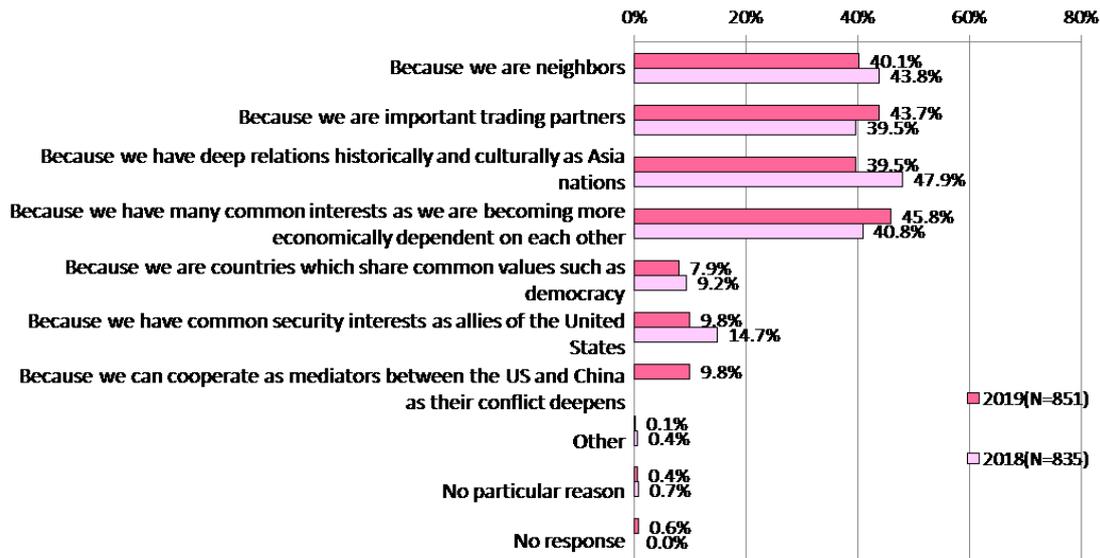
[Graph 9: Is the Japan-Korea relationship important now? (Change over 7 years)]



[Graph 10: Why is the Japan-Korea relationship important?]
Japanese Public Opinion



South Korean Public Opinion



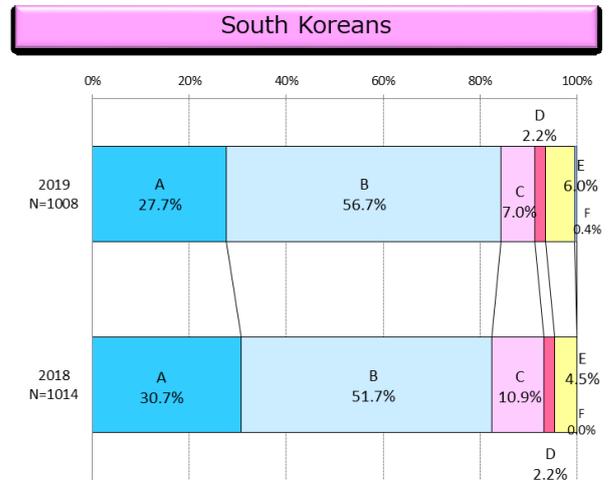
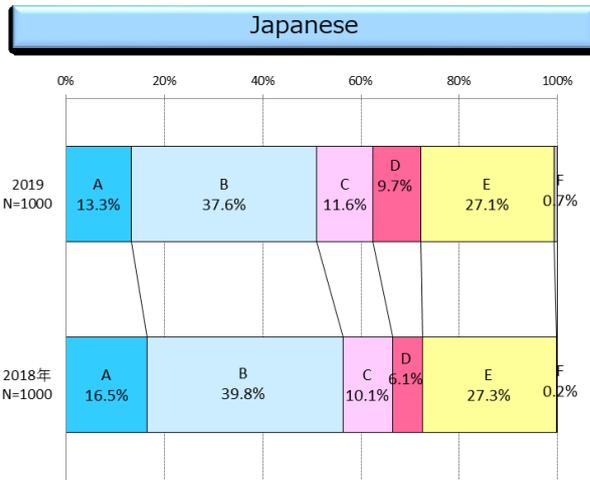
2-5. Importance and Sense of Affinity as Compared to China

Concerning Japan-South Korea relations in comparison with their relations with China, approximately 40% of the Japanese and more than 50% of the South Koreans feel that “both are equally important”. Yet, more than 30% of South Koreans consider relations with China to be more important. Only 5.6% of the Japanese and 5.5% of the South Koreans think Japan-Korean relations more important than those with China.

Regarding the sense of affinity toward each other as compared to China, there is a slight difference in the perception of Japanese and South Koreans. The top answer by the Japanese remains the same as last year; “no affinity felt towards neither” (36.8%). The highest percentage (25.9%) of the South Koreans feel “more affinity toward China.” In terms of the affinity toward each other, 26.9% of the Japanese feel “more affinity toward South Korea”, and only 17.8% of the South Koreans feel “more affinity toward Japan”.

When comparing the sense of affinity toward the United States and China, more than 60% of both countries’ respondents feel “more affinity towards the U.S.” Those who feel “more affinity toward China than the U.S.” were mere 6.3% among the South Koreans and 3.3% among the Japanese.

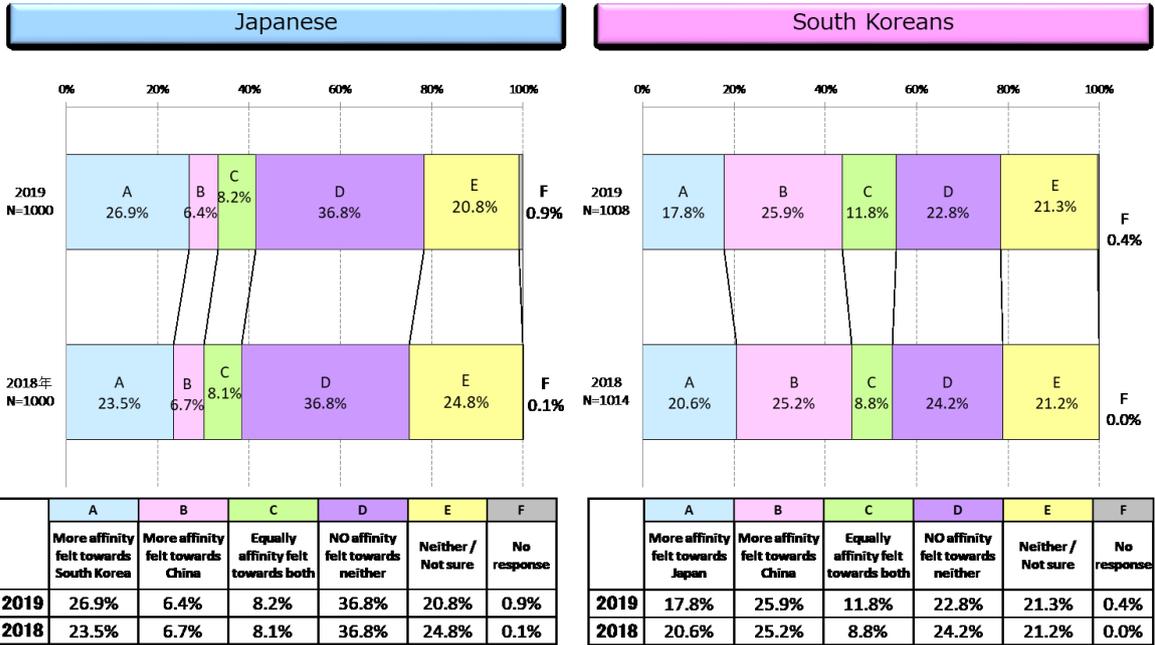
[Graph 11: Importance of relations between Japan and South Korea]



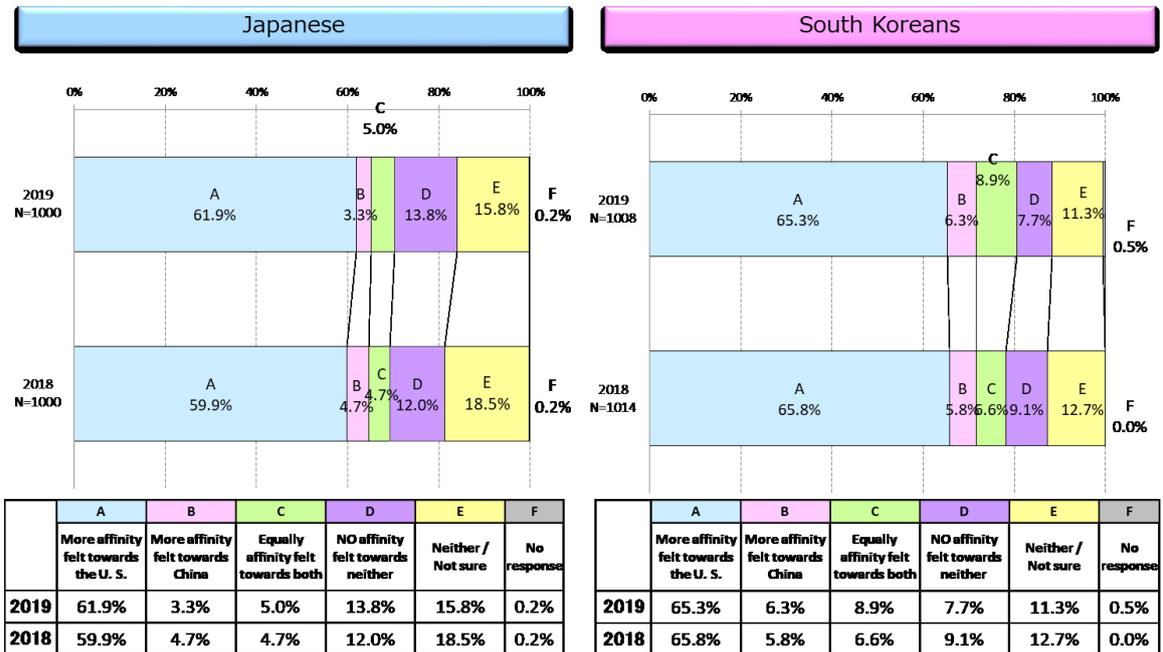
	A	B	C	D	E	F
	Important	Relatively important	Relatively unimportant	Unimportant	Neither/not sure	No response
2019	13.3%	37.6%	11.6%	9.7%	27.1%	0.7%
2018	16.5%	39.8%	10.1%	6.1%	27.3%	0.2%

	A	B	C	D	E	F
	Important	Relatively important	Relatively unimportant	Unimportant	Neither/not sure	No response
2019	27.7%	56.7%	7.0%	2.2%	6.0%	0.4%
2018	30.7%	51.7%	10.9%	2.2%	4.5%	0.0%

[Graph 12: Affinity to the other country and China]

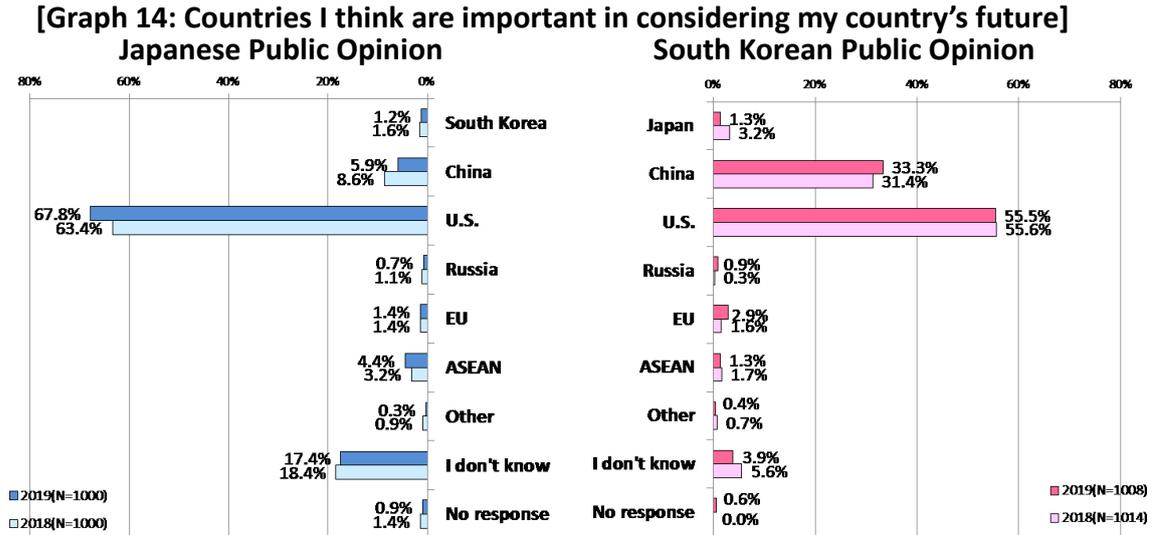


[Graph 13: Affinity to the United States and China]



2-6. Countries Important to the Future of Japan/South Korea

Both Japanese and South Koreans view that the “United States” is the most important country for them when they consider their nation’s future. It is notable that the percentage of Japanese who selected “the U.S.” rose to 67.8%, surpassing other countries by far. The South Koreans also selected the U.S. as their top choice with just above the majority at 55.5%, followed by China at 33.3%. Merely some 1% of respondents of the two countries consider each other as the most important country to their nation’s future.

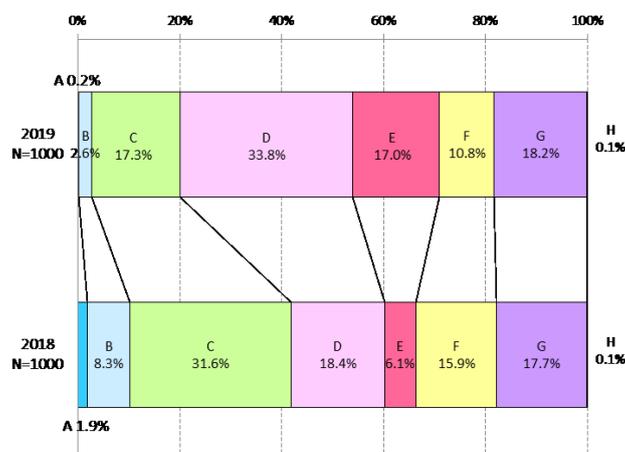


3. Political Leader and Diplomatic Relations

3-1. Impressions of One Another’s Leader

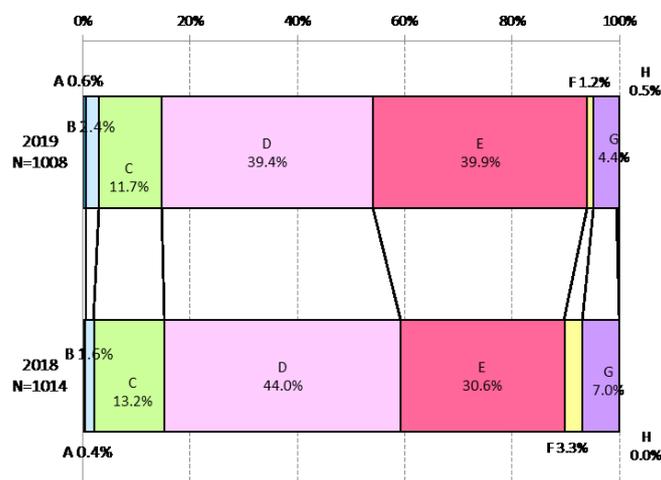
The Japanese who have “bad” impression of South Korean President Moon Jae-in doubled since last year, exceeding the majority to 50.8%. South Koreans’ “bad” impression of Prime Minister Abe remains very high as previous year at nearly 80%.

[Graph 15: What is your impression of the other country's leader?]
[Graph 15.1: What is your impression of South Korean President Moon Jae-in?]
Japanese Public Opinion



	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
	Very good	Somewhat good	Neither	Somewhat bad	Very bad	Not sure	Do not care	No response
2019	0.2%	2.6%	17.3%	33.8%	17.0%	10.8%	18.2%	0.1%
2018	1.9%	8.3%	31.6%	18.4%	6.1%	15.9%	17.7%	0.1%

[Graph 15.2: What is your impression of Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe?]
South Korean Public Opinion

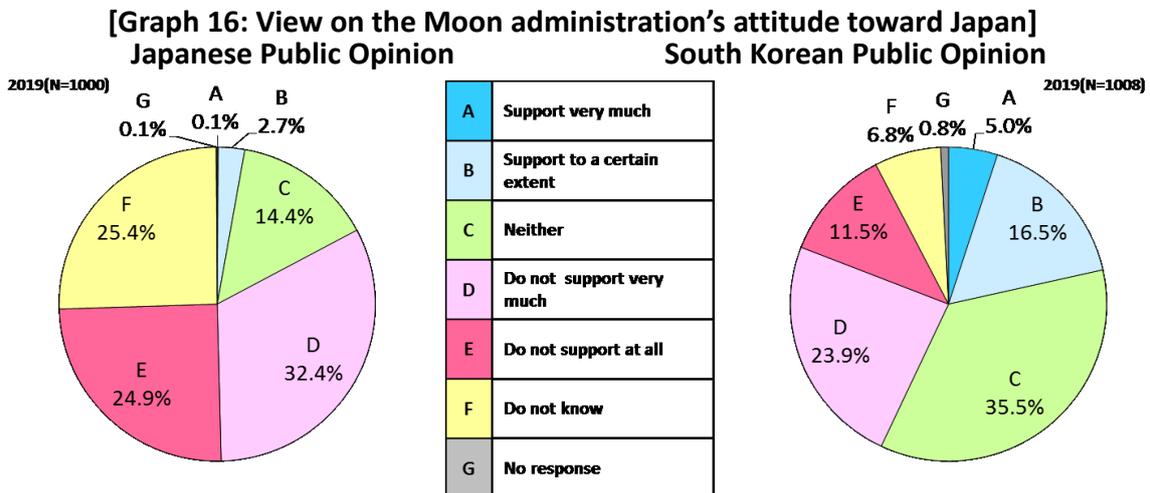


	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H
	Very good	Somewhat good	Neither	Somewhat bad	Very bad	Not sure	Do not care	No response
2019	0.6%	2.4%	11.7%	39.4%	39.9%	1.2%	4.4%	0.5%
2018	0.4%	1.6%	13.2%	44.0%	30.6%	3.3%	7.0%	0.0%

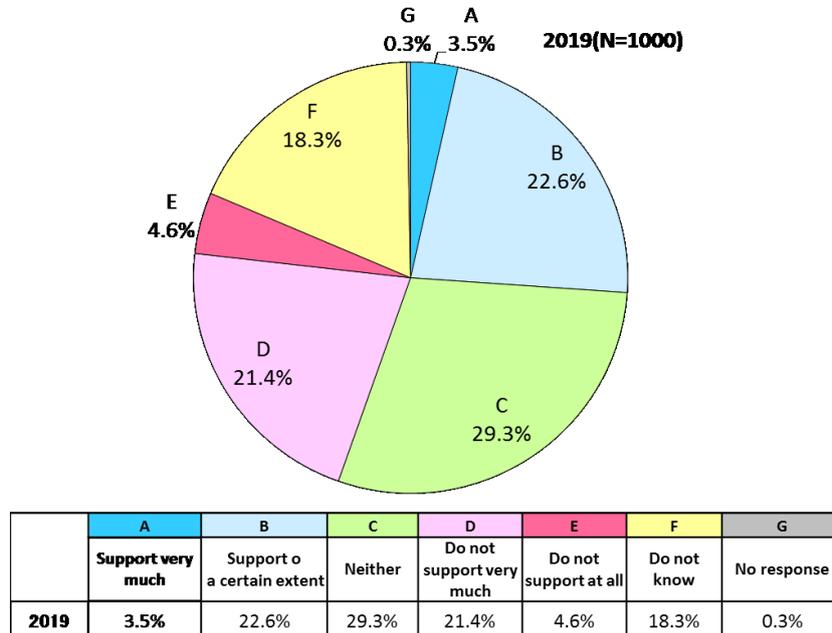
3-2. Approval on Japanese/South Korean government's attitude toward each other

Nearly 60% (57.3%) of the Japanese see the Moon administration's attitude toward Japan unpreferable, while 35.4% of the South Koreans see the same, exceeding 21.5% of those who see it on a positive note.

As regards to Japanese view on Abe administration's attitude toward South Korea, their opinion is divided.



[Graph 17: View on the Abe administration's attitude toward South Korea (Japanese survey only)]

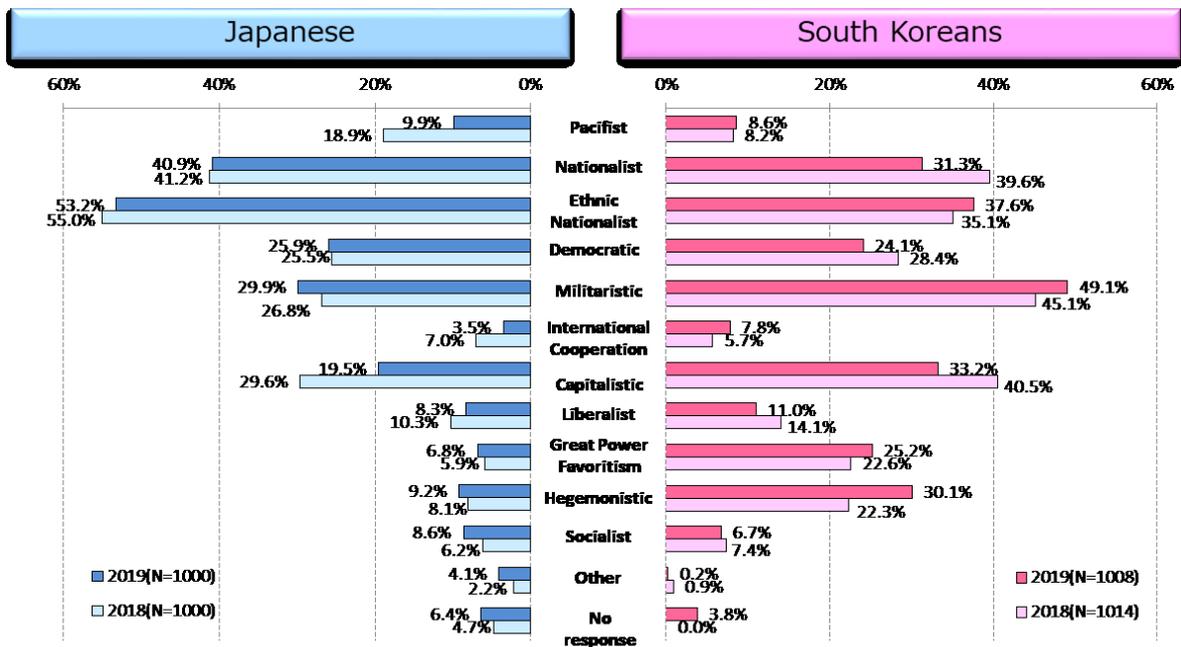


4. Basic Understanding

4-1. Understanding of the Social/Political Systems

The majority of the Japanese continue to view South Korea as “ethno nationalism” while close to half of the South Koreans still view Japan as a “militaristic” country. An increasing number of South Korean also sees Japan as “hegemonistic”. Only just over 20% of respondents of both countries consider the other country as “democratic.”

[Graph 18: What do you think of the socio-political regime of the other country?]



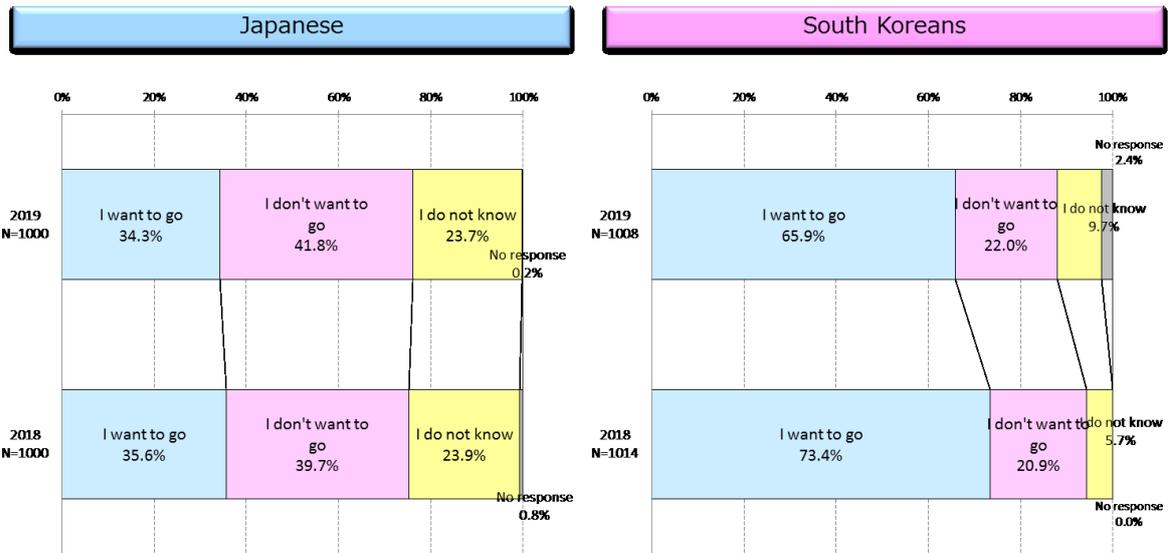
5. People-to-people Exchange

5-1. Interest in Visiting One Another's Countries

The percentage of the Japanese who “want to go” to South Korea remains at 34.3%, exceeded by those who “do not want to go” (41.8%). Contrarily, 65.9% of the South Koreans “want to go” to Japan although the percentage has decreased since 2018.

Regarding the purposes of the visits, “shopping” became the top answer among the Japanese for the first time since the survey began. On contrary, the top reason for the South Koreans to visit Japan is “exploring nature and sightseeing” which exceeds 90%.

[Graph 19: Do you want to go to the other country?]



6. Perceptions of Historical Issues

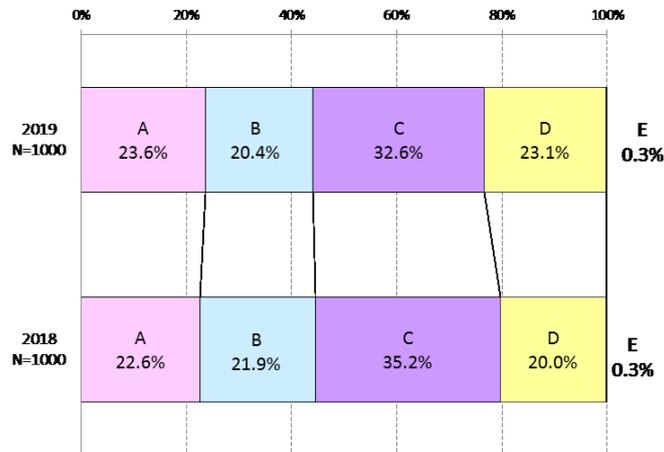
6-1. Views on Historical Issues between Japan and South Korea

The survey revealed that an increasing number of South Koreans call for resolving historical issues between the two countries as a precondition for the development of the bilateral relations. The percentage of South Korean respondents who consider that “bilateral relations will not improve unless historical issues are resolved” has increased from 33.5% (2018) to 39.1% this year. In contrast, Japanese tend to consider that “the historical issues are difficult to be resolved even if bilateral relations improve.”

As for historical issues that need to be solved, the majority of Japanese continue to select South Korea’s “anti-Japan education” and “anti-Japan behavior.” Nearly 40% of Japanese still chose “comfort women issue”. Notable increase is observed in the percentage of Japanese who indicated “South Korean politicians’ remarks on Japan” from 29.2% (2018) to 35.7% in 2019. 11.3% also named the issue of “wartime forced labor reparation.”

As for the South Korean side, while the top priority continues to be the “comfort women issue” selected by more than 70%, “wartime labor reparation” has increased by 16% this year, exceeding 60%.

[Graph 20: Japan-South Korean relations and historical issues]
Japanese Public Opinion



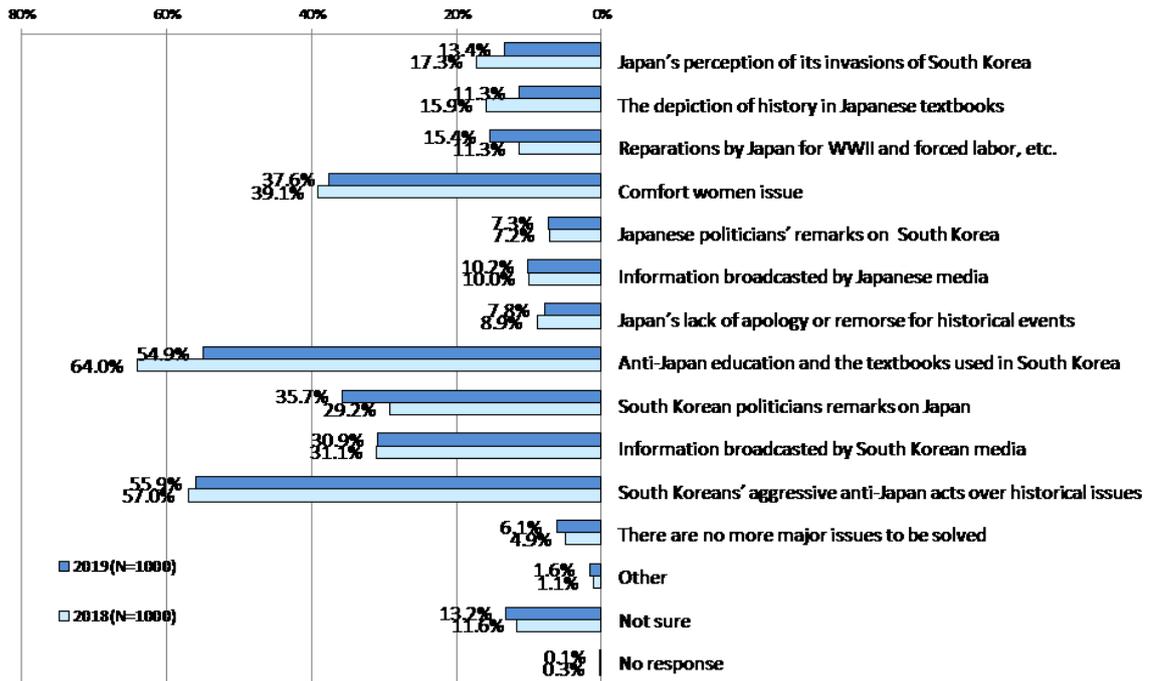
	A	B	C	D	E
	Bilateral relations will not improve unless historical issues are resolved	Historical issues will be gradually be resolved as bilateral relations improve	It is difficult to resolve historical issues even if bilateral relations improve	I don't know	No response
2019	23.6%	20.4%	32.6%	23.1%	0.3%
2018	22.6%	21.9%	35.2%	20.0%	0.3%

South Korean Public Opinion

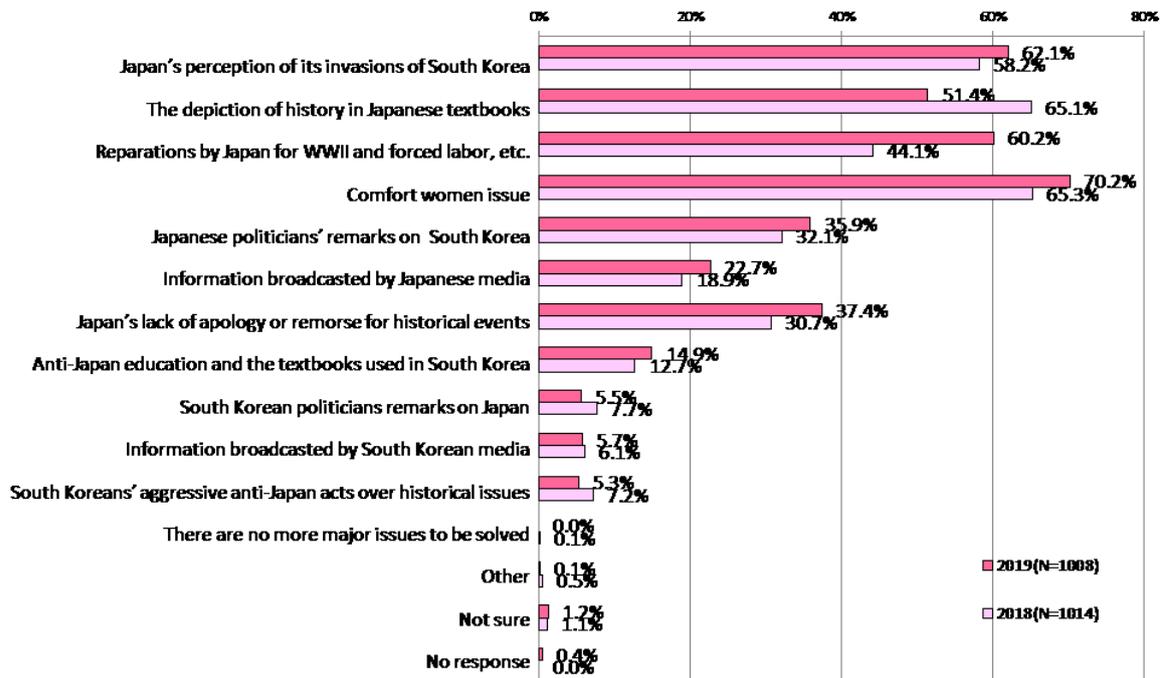


	A	B	C	D	E
	Bilateral relations will not improve unless historical issues are resolved	Historical issues will be gradually be resolved as bilateral relations improve	It is difficult to resolve historical issues even if bilateral relations improve	I don't know	No response
2019	39.1%	30.8%	25.0%	4.5%	0.7%
2018	33.5%	35.8%	27.4%	3.3%	0.0%

[Graph 21: Japan-Korea historical issues that need to be solved]
Japanese Public Opinion



South Korean Public Opinion

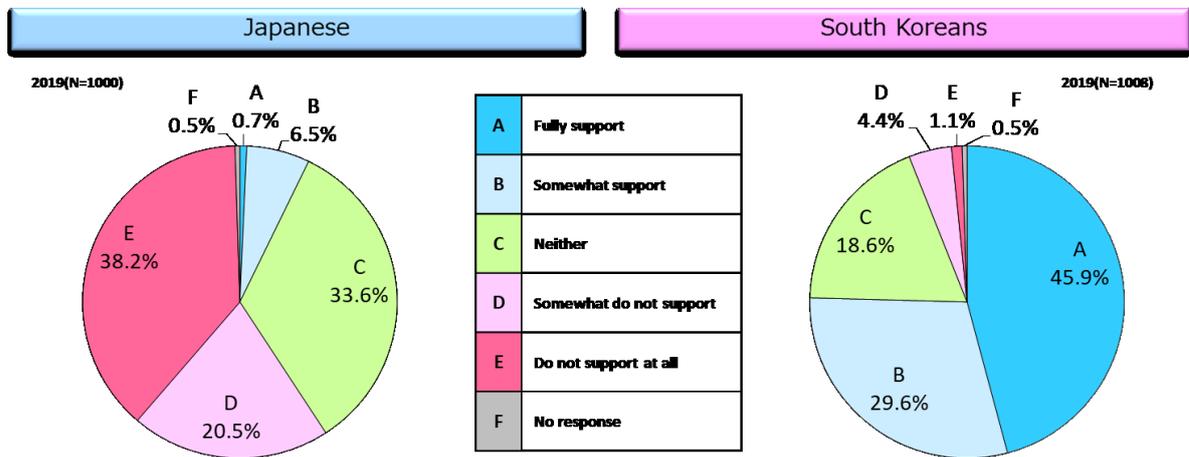


6-2. Views on the South Korean Supreme Court ruling on the wartime labor

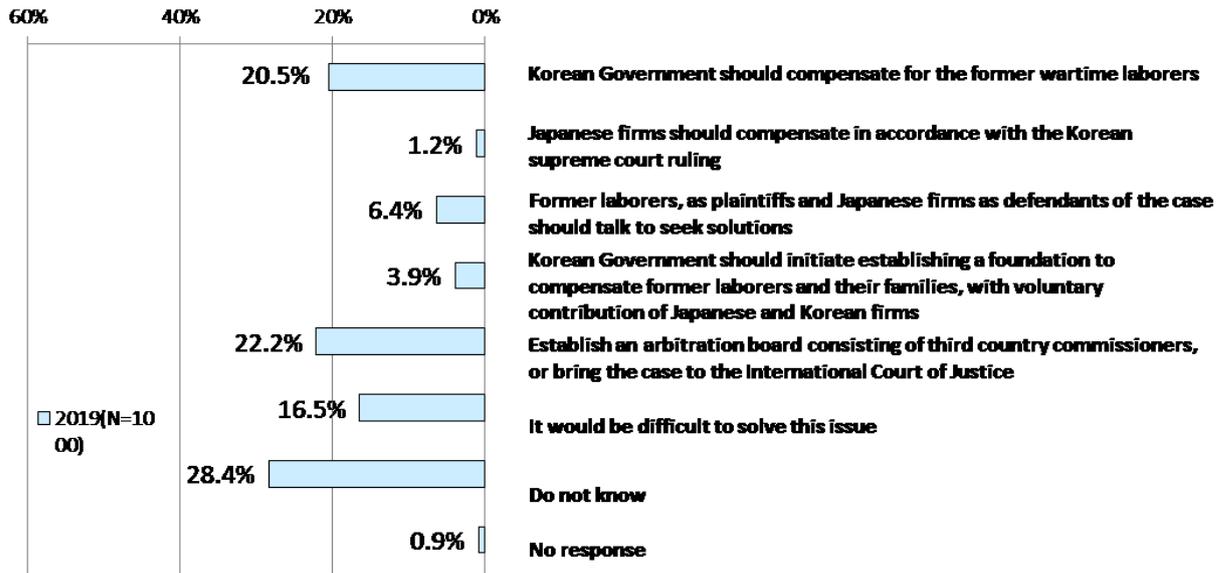
Regarding the South Korean Supreme Court's ruling, ordering Japanese firms to compensate wartime forced laborers, 75.5% of the South Korean respondents support the court decision, while 58.7% of Japanese see it unpreferable and 33.6% answered "I do not know".

In response to question regarding what should be done to resolve the issue, nearly 60% of the South Koreans think that "Japanese firms should make compensation in accordance with the Supreme Court order." Contrarily, only 1.2% of Japanese agree with it. Many Japanese consider that they should seek a solution through "arbitration, or the International Court of Justice" or consider that "compensation should be made by Korean Government." Moreover, 55% of Japanese agree that the Japanese Government should take retaliatory measures if assets of Japanese firms are seized and monetized.

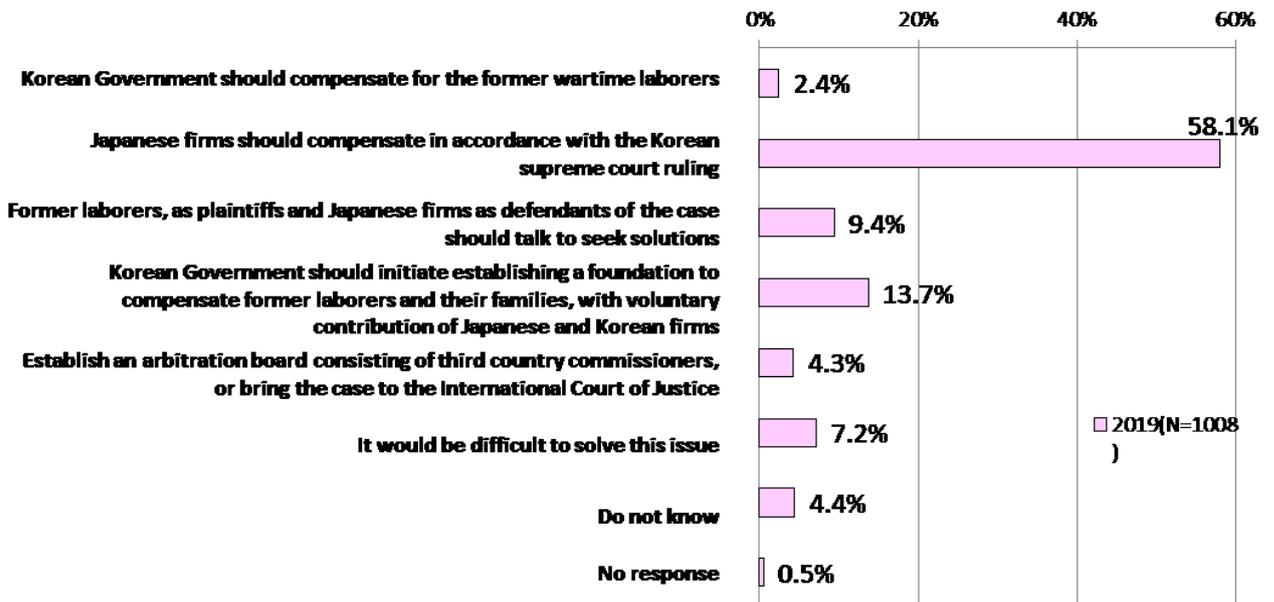
[Graph 22: Do you support the South Korean Supreme Court ruling over the wartime labor?]



[Graph 23: What should be done to resolve the wartime labor issue?]
Japanese Public Opinion



South Korean Public Opinion

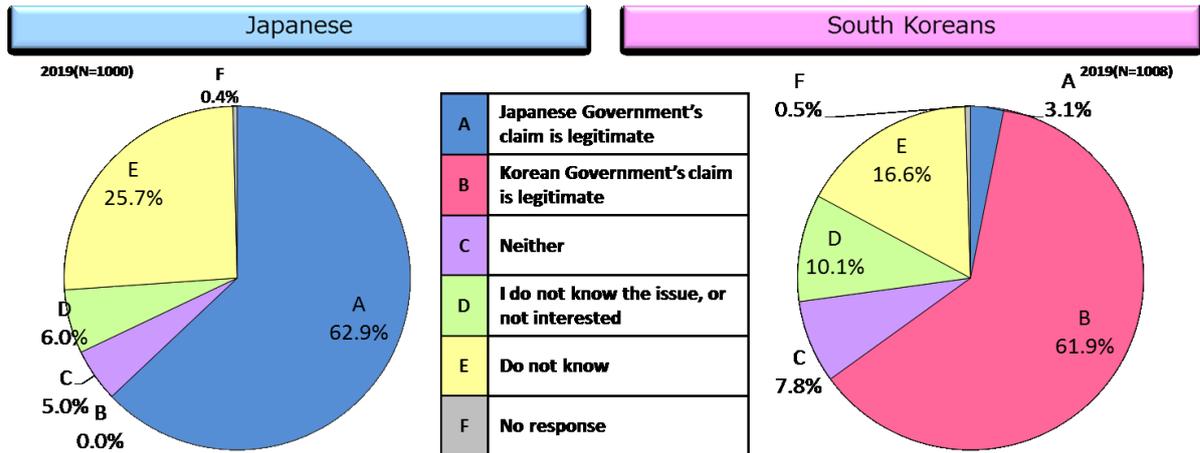


7. Military and Security Issues in East Asia

7-1. The Radar Lock-on Dispute

Regarding the radar lock-on incident, about 60% of each country's respondents believe the legitimacy of their own governments' claims. None of Japanese respondent considers that "Korean Government's claim is legitimate"

[Graph 24: Which government's claim is legitimate over the radar lock-on incident?]



7-2. Support for Japan-South Korea Defense Cooperation

In the presence of the dispute over the radar lock-on incident involving the Japanese Defense Force and the Korean Navy, the survey asked whether Japan and South Korea should pursue defense cooperation: the results show that only 12.8% of the Japanese and 20.4% of the South Koreans respectively answered that they should. The top response is that "the military (defense) authorities should first improve their communications and restore the trust before seeking further defense cooperation", selected by 44.9% of the South Koreans and 40.1% of the Japanese.

The survey also asked whether the military alliance with the United States of the other country is necessary for their own nation's security: Just over 40% of the Japanese and nearly 60% of the South Korean think the other countries' cooperation with the U.S. is important for their own security.

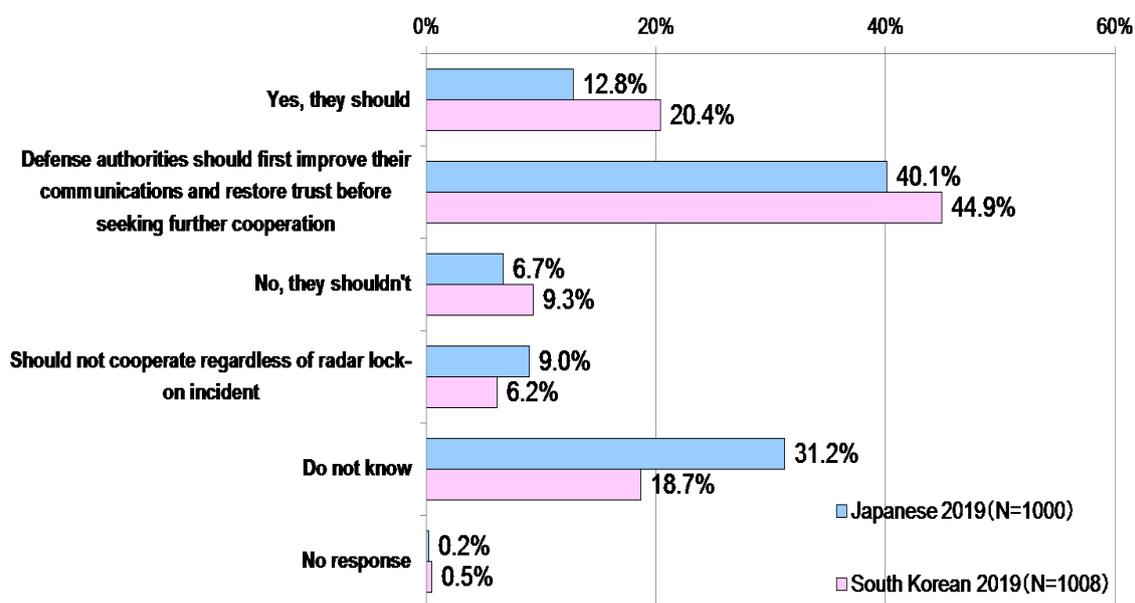
Regarding the question whether to support strengthening of Japan-South Korea-United States trilateral military-security cooperation, 45.8% of the Japanese avoided clear judgement and responded "I do not know", but 43.3% support the idea, increased by 8% from the 2018 survey. 66.2% of the South Koreans support the idea to strengthen the trilateral cooperation.

As to reasons for supporting the trilateral military-security cooperation, notable majorities, six in ten of the Japanese and seven in ten of the South Korean, answered because "it is crucial for the peace and stability of the Korean peninsula." The second highest answer selected by the Japanese: "to strengthen North-East Asia's security system under the U.S. umbrella" was supported by a sizable 40.2%, whereas only 15.6% of the South Koreans selected the same option. Instead, about

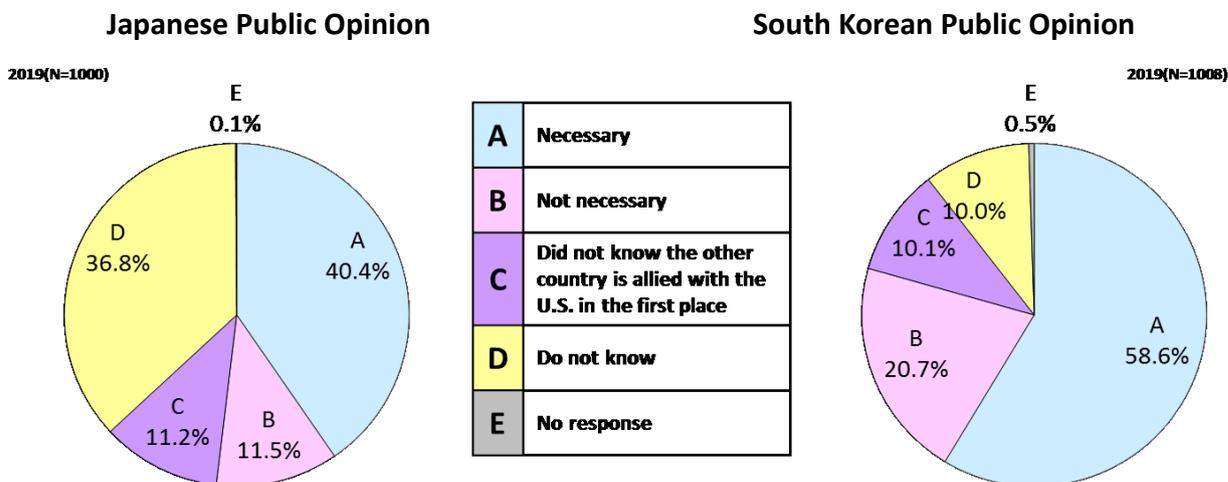
40% of South Korean chose “to counterbalance with the rise of Chinese military power.” The percentage of Japanese who selected the same option dropped by 15 percentage points to just over 30% since 2018.

The survey also asked South Korean the reason for disagreement with the military cooperation. More than 60% responded that “it increases the tension on the Korean Peninsula,” an increase of 11 percentage points since the 2018 survey. The top answer of 2018 “cannot trust each other due to historical issues” dropped by 31 percentage points to 24.7%.

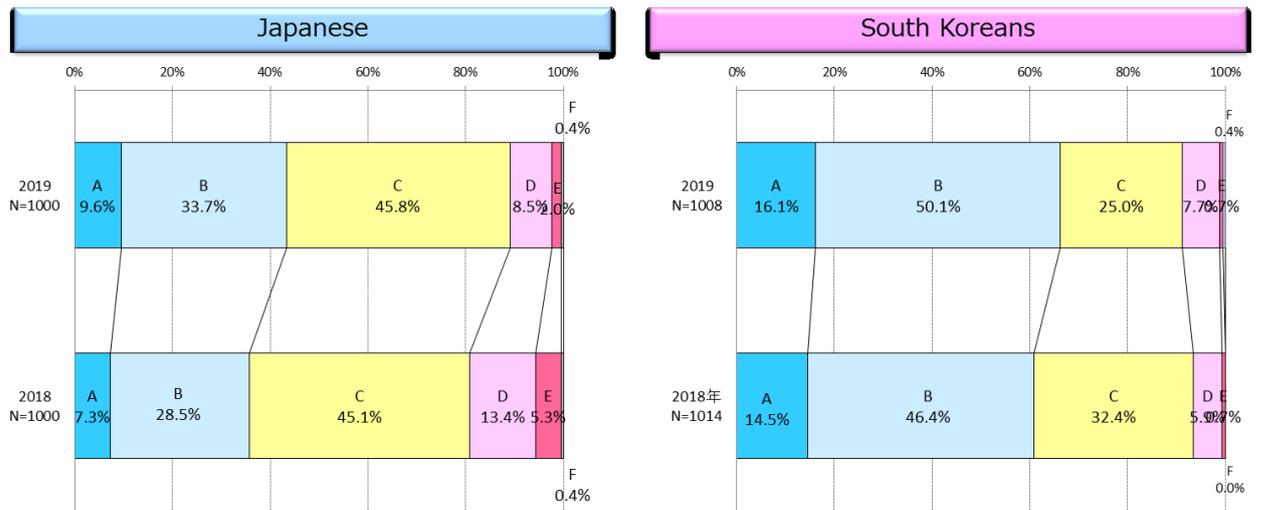
[Graph 25: Do you think that Japan and South Korea should pursue defense cooperation?]



[Graph 26: Do you think that the other country’s military alliance with the United States necessary for your country’s own national security?]



[Graph 26: Do you agree or disagree with the strengthening of Japan-South Korea-United States trilateral military-security cooperation?]



	A	B	C	D	E	F
	Yes, strongly agree	Yes, somewhat agree	Neither	No, somewhat disagree	No, strongly disagree	No response
2019	9.6%	33.7%	45.8%	8.5%	2.0%	0.4%
2018	7.3%	28.5%	45.1%	13.4%	5.3%	0.4%

	A	B	C	D	E	F
	Yes, strongly agree	Yes, somewhat agree	Neither	No, somewhat disagree	No, strongly disagree	No response
2019	16.1%	50.1%	25.0%	7.7%	0.7%	0.4%
2018	14.5%	46.4%	32.4%	5.9%	0.7%	0.0%

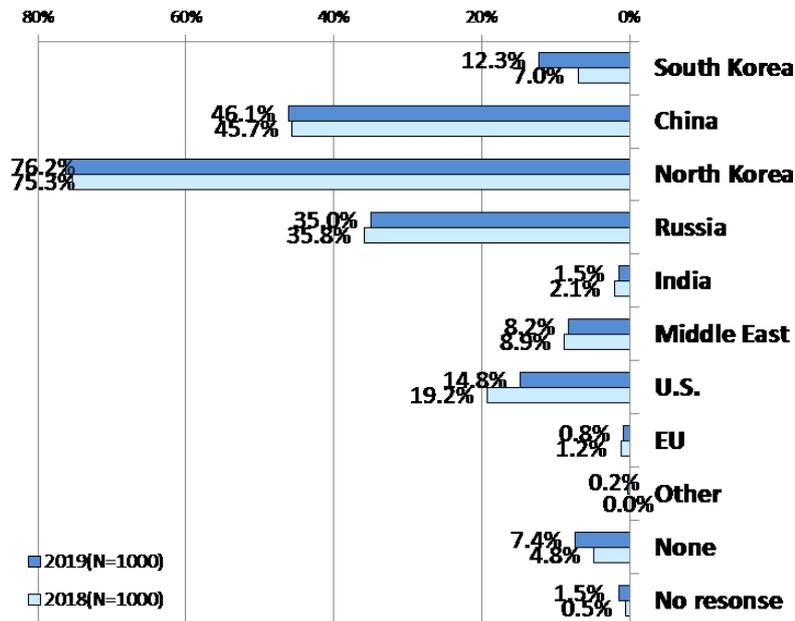
7-3. Views on Military Threats and Possible Military Conflict

More than 70% of both Japanese and South Koreans feel military threats from North Korea. The percentage increased 6 percentage points since the last survey in South Korea where North-South summit took place three times over the past year. About 40% of both nationals view China as a military threat. Four in ten of South Koreans continues to feel that Japan poses a military threat, while only 12.3% of Japanese consider South Korea as a military threat, although the percentage increased by 5 percentage points since 2018.

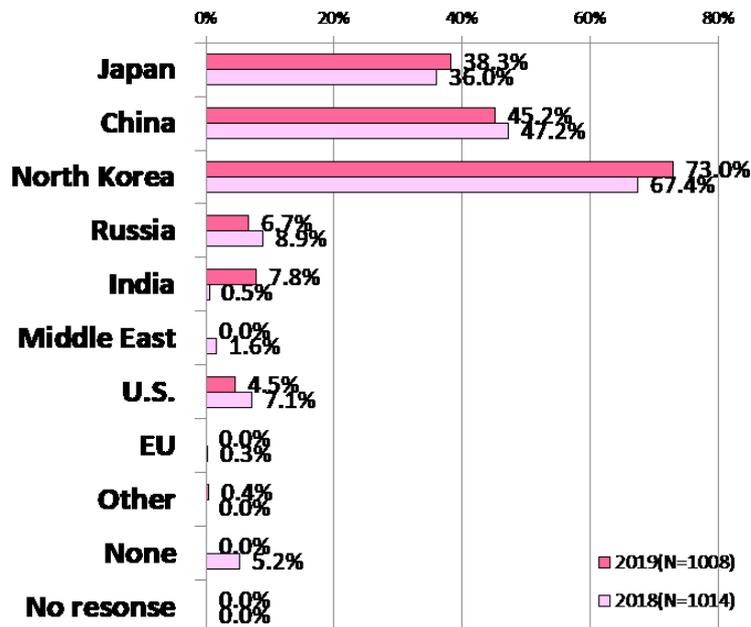
As to the reasons for South Koreans to view Japan as a military threat, many Koreans indicate “territorial dispute over Takeshima/Dokdo and right-ward tilt/militarism resurgence of some Japanese.

In terms of the possibility of military conflict between Japan and South Korea, close to 60% of the Japanese believe that conflict “will not occur”. Among South Koreans, combining the percentage of those who responded “within a few years” and “eventually”, nearly 30% still believe the military conflict “will occur”.

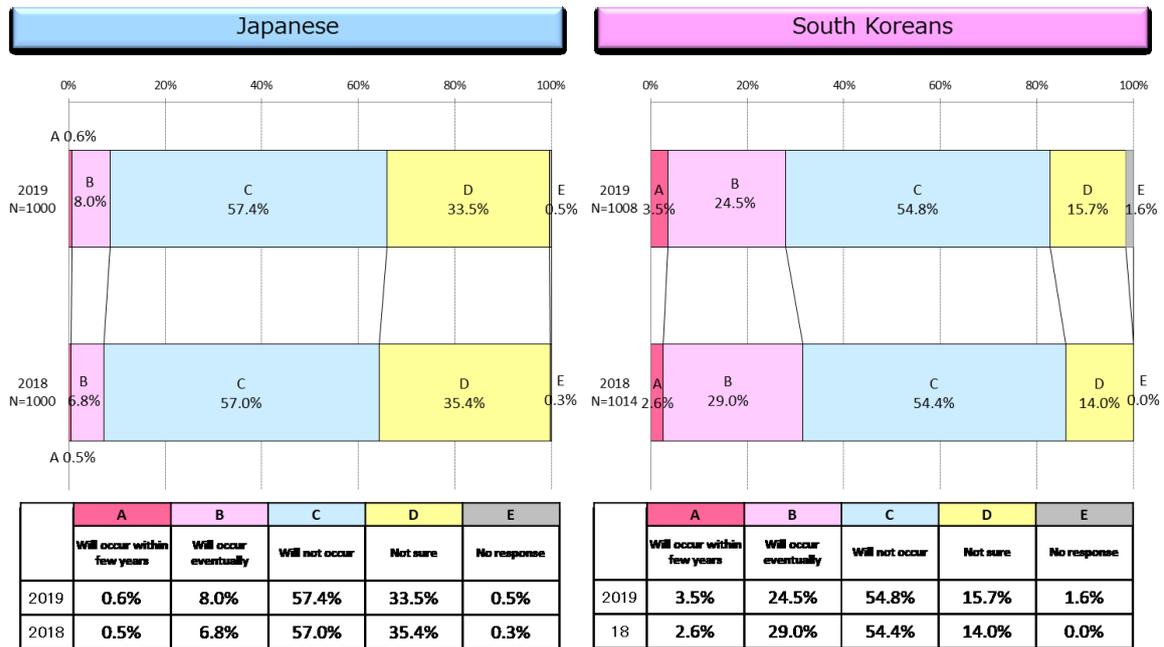
[Graph 27: Countries you view as a military threat]
Japanese Public Opinion



South Korean Public Opinion



[Graph 28: Will a military conflict occur between Japan and South Korea?]

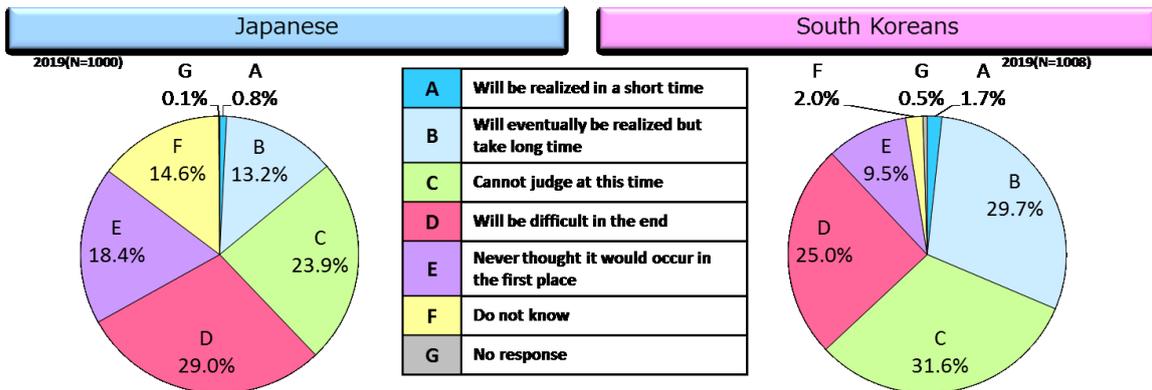


8. North Korea's Nuclear Issues

8-1. North Korea's Development of Nuclear Weapons

Since 2018, continued diplomatic efforts have been made for the complete denuclearization of North Korea, including three North-South Summit meetings and two U.S.-North Korea Summit meetings. Nevertheless, an increasing number of both Japanese and South Koreans are skeptical about the progress: 47.4% of the Japanese answered that the denuclearization would be “difficult in the end” or “never thought it would happen in the first place”. Among the South Koreans, 34.5% are skeptical (chosen either of the denuclearization would be “difficult in the end” or “never thought it would happen in the first place”). This exceeds 31.4% who responded that it will happen (chosen either of the denuclearization “will be realized in a short time” and “will eventually be realized but take long time”). Comparing with the 2018 results where nearly 60% (59.3%) of South Korean responded that either the denuclearization “will be realized in a short time” or “will eventually be realized but take long time”, this year’s result shows that pessimistic views grew in South Korea over the past year.

[Graph 29: Will North Korea's denuclearization be realized?]

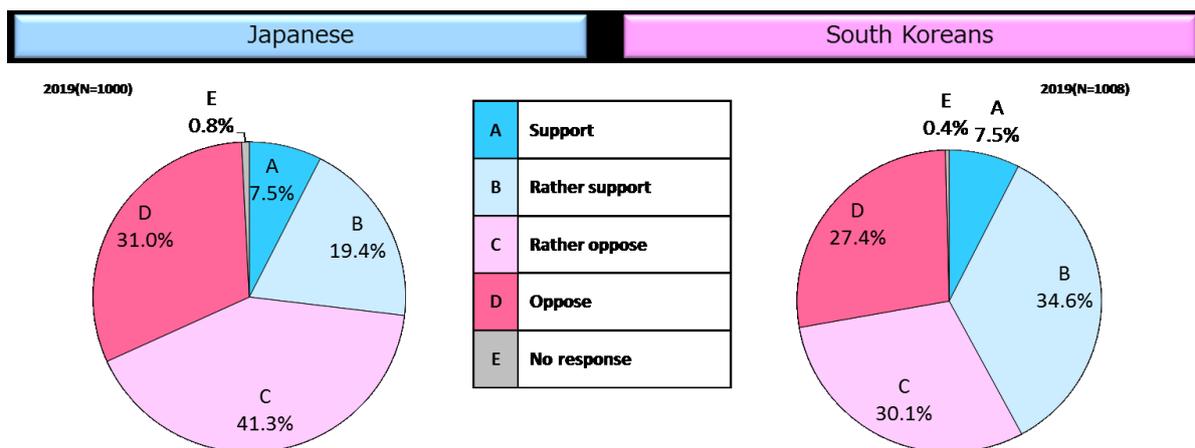


8-2. Support for Japan’s Active Contributions for the Future Peace Processes on Korean Peninsula

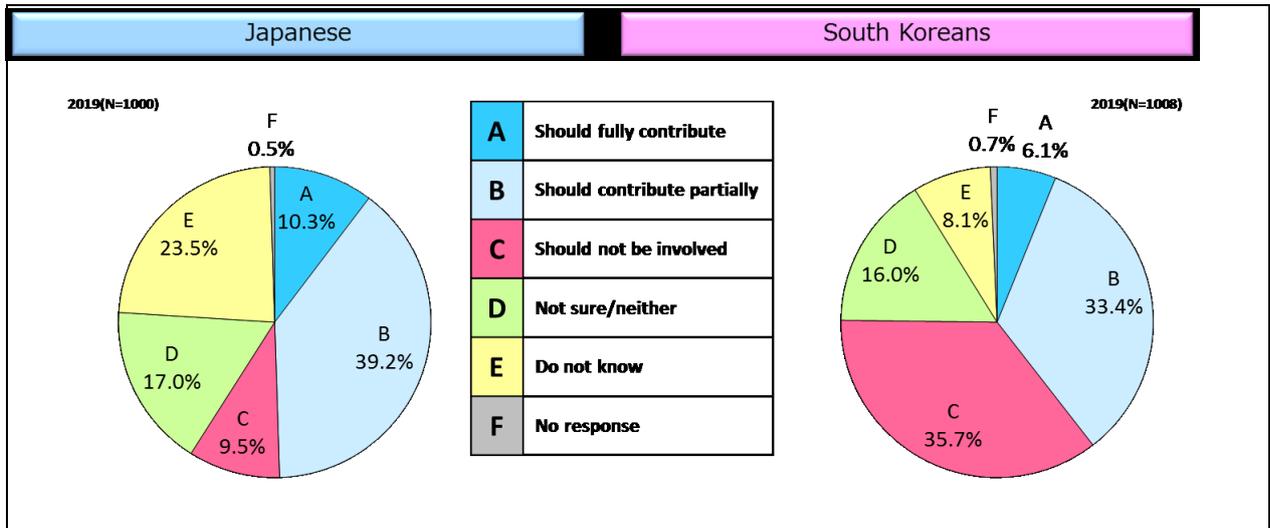
Regarding the question whether the Japanese Self-Defense Forces should support the U.S. Forces stationed in South Korea when conflict arises in the Korean Peninsula, 72.3% of the Japanese and 57.5% of the South Koreans responded negative, while 42.1% of the South Koreans responded affirmative.

Regarding the Japanese contribution to the peace process on the Korean Peninsula, 49.5% of the Japanese supported the active contribution by Japan, while less than 10% (9.5%) responded that Japan “should not be involved.” As for the South Koreans, the response is mixed as 39.5% responded positive while 35.7% responded negative on Japan’s involvement.

[Graph 30: Do you support or oppose Japanese Self-Defense Forces supporting the U.S Forces stationed in South Korea when a military conflict occurs on the Korean Peninsula?]



[Graph 31: Should Japan contribute if a peace process began on the Korean Peninsula?]



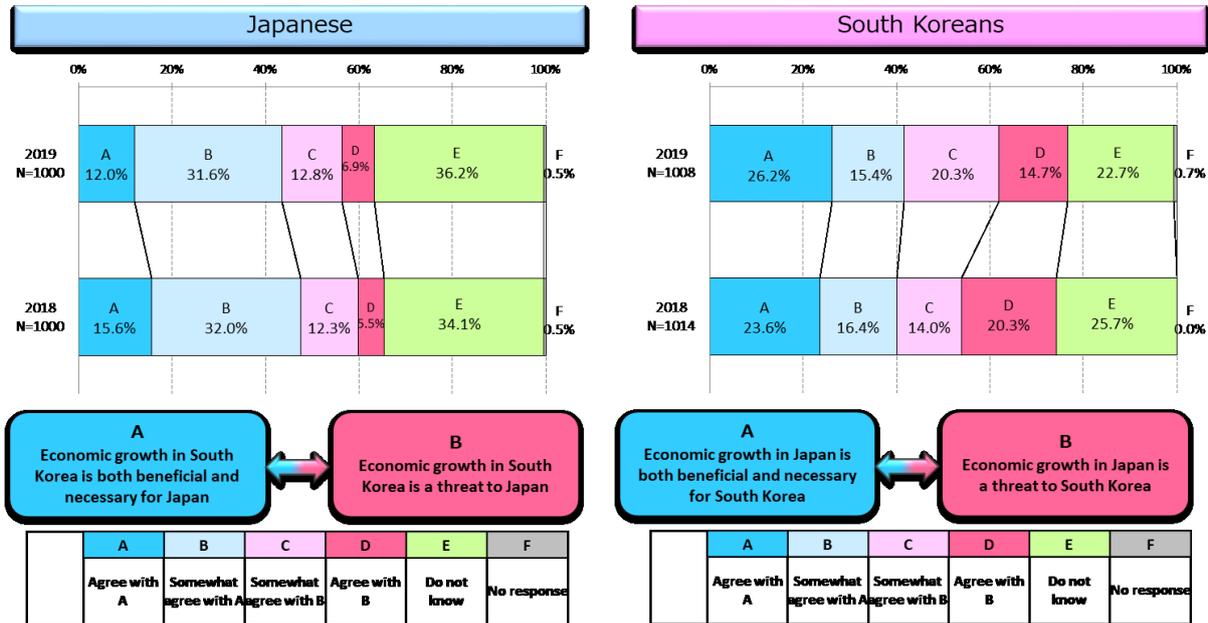
9. Economic Relations

9-1. Economic Relations between Japan and South Korea

In terms of economic relationship between Japan and South Korea, more than 40% of the Japanese view South Korea’s economic growth to be “beneficial” to Japan, but there was a decrease from 2018. The public opinion is divided in South Korea, where more than 40% view Japan’s economic growth as “beneficial”, while more than 30% view it as a threat.

As for the economic cooperation between the two countries, more than 80% of the South Koreans consider it necessary, while only some 40% of Japanese think the same. It is notable that more than 20% of Japanese do not think the economic cooperation with South Korea “unnecessary.”

[Graph 32: Japan-South Korean Economic Relations]

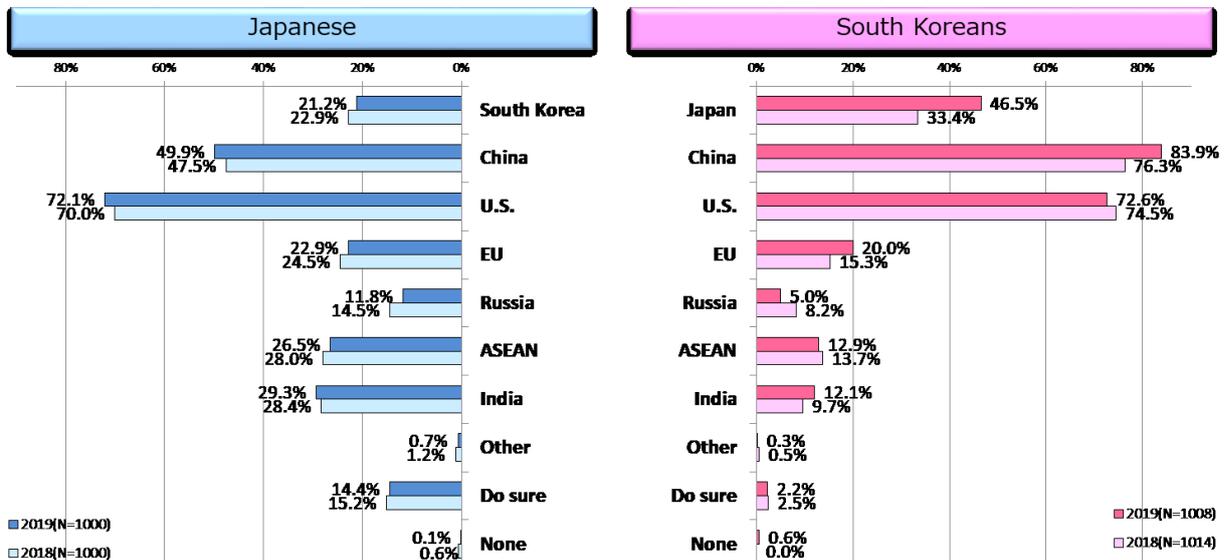


9-2. Countries and Regions of Economic Importance to Japan/South Korea

More than 70% of the Japanese responded that “the United States” is the most “important country” in terms of economic relation with Japan. “China” was the second important country, chosen by nearly half of the Japanese respondents. Only some 20% named South Korea.

On the other hand, more than 80% of South Koreans said that “China” is the most important country, exceeding “the United States” which was selected by some 70% of the South Koreans. The percentage who selected “Japan” has increased by 13 percentage points since last year, and became close to 50%.

[Graph 33: Economically important countries and regions]



Media Coverage

Overview

Numbers of Media Coverage “Japan Korea Joint Public Opinion Survey”

- TV News: 4
- Newspapers: 6
- Newspaper online sites: 28
- Internet news sites: 20
- Korean news sites: 12
- Chinese news site: 3
- English news site: 10
- Portuguese news site: 1

* As of July 12 2019

Numbers of Media Coverage “Japan-Korea Future Dialogue”

- TV News: 1
- Newspapers: 2
- Newspaper online sites: 12
- Internet news sites: 6
- Korean news sites: 1
- Chinese news site: 1
- English news site: 2

TV News

TV Asahi, June 12, 2019



日本と韓国の共同世論調査で、日本に対する印象が「良い」と答えた韓国人の割合が 2013 年の調査開始以来、最も高い結果となりました。

日本の非営利組織「言論 NPO」と韓国のシンクタンク「東アジア研究院」は、先月中旬から今月初めにかけて日本と韓国でそれぞれ約 1000 人を対象に世論調査を行いました。その結果、韓国に対する印象が「良い」と回答した日本人は 20.0%で過去最低となりました。一方で、日本に対する印象が「良い」と答えた韓国人は 31.7%で過去最高となり、特に 20 代未満では 57.1%に上りました。

言論 NPO・工藤泰志代表：「直接交流と情報源という問題が国民間での生活視点での対日印象や対韓印象の改善に寄与している」

言論 NPO の工藤代表は、旅行などを通じた直接的な交流やスマートフォンのアプリの利用など情報源が多様化したことが印象の改善につながっていると分析しています。また、「東アジア研究院」の孫院長は、日韓両政府は韓国世論の反日感情を前提とした政策作りを見直すべきだと指摘しました。

日韓共同世論調査 6割以上が関係「悪い」



日本と韓国の団体が共同で行った世論調査で、両国の国民の6割以上が日韓関係について「悪い」と答え、前年より大幅に悪化していることが分かった。

調査結果によると、現在の日韓関係について「悪い」と回答したのは日本人が63.5%、韓国人が66.1%で、前年に比べ日本人は20ポイント以上、韓国人は10ポイント以上、上昇した。

言論NPO・工藤泰志代表「今回、日本の国民の意識が急激に変わったのは、徴用工とレーダー照射を含めた文在寅政権下に起こった出来事に日本の国民が鋭く反応したからだと思います。」

一方、日韓の経済協力が自国の将来にとって「必要だと思う」と答えた人は、日本人が約4割なのに対し、韓国人は約8割で2倍近く経済協力の必要性を感じている。

調査を行った団体の関係者は、韓国経済は日本に比べて対外依存度が高いことが背景にあるとみている。

共同世論調査、日韓関係 両国ともに 「悪い」 6割以上



日本の民間団体と韓国のシンクタンクが共同で行った世論調査で、日韓関係について、両国ともに6割以上が「悪い」と回答。この1年間で、大幅に悪化したことがわかりました。

日本の民間団体「言論NPO」と韓国のシンクタンク「東アジア研究院」は、先月から今月初めにかけて、それぞれおよそ1000人を対象に世論調査を行い、12日、結果を公表しました。

それによりますと、現在の日韓関係について、「非常に悪い」または「どちらかといえは悪い」と答えた人は、日本側で63.5%、韓国側で66.1%でした。去年と比べると、日本側はおよそ23ポイント、韓国側はおよそ11ポイント高くなっていて、双方の国民が日韓関係が悪化したと考えていることが明らかになりました。

その一因とみられる元徴用工訴訟判決について、「評価する」と答えた人は、日本側では7.2%、韓国側では75.5%と評価をめぐって大きな隔たりがありました。また、韓国軍による日本の自衛隊機へのレーダー照射問題では、両国ともに6割以上の人が「自国の主張が正しい」と答えています。

その一方で、日本に対して「良い印象を持つ」と答えた韓国人は31.7%と、2013年に調査を始めて以来最高となりました。

「若い層の中に、特に韓国なのですが、日本に対する印象が良いという人たちが増えている」（言論NPO 工藤泰志代表）

「良い印象を持つ」理由としては、「日本人は親切で誠実だから」や「生活レベルの高い先進国だから」などが挙がっています。

日韓で世論調査 6割以上が「悪い」 両国ともに悪化

日本と韓国の民間団体による共同世論調査の結果が公表され、現在の日韓関係について両国ともに60%以上が「悪い」と答え、去年よりも日本で20ポイント以上、韓国で10ポイント以上高くなりました。

この世論調査は、日本のNPO法人「言論NPO」と韓国のシンクタンク「東アジア研究院」が2013年から毎年行っていて、先月から今月初めにかけ日韓双方でおよそ1000人ずつが回答しました。

この中で、

▽現在の日韓関係について、「非常に悪い」、もしくは「どちらかといえば悪い」と答えたのは、日本側で63.5%、韓国側で66.1%となっています。

去年と比べると、日本側では23ポイント、韓国側では11ポイント高くなっていて、「徴用」をめぐる問題や韓国軍による自衛隊機へのレーダー照射の問題などを受けて、両国の国民が日韓関係が悪化していると捉えていることが浮き彫りになりました。

▽「困難な現状にどう対応すべきか」という質問に対しては、日本側では「今のところは無視すべき」や「今もこれからも何もする必要はない」など、関係改善に否定的な意見が30%余りを占めています。

▽韓国側では70.8%が「改善に向けた努力を行うべき」と答え、関係改善を求める意見が多くなっています。

▽太平洋戦争中の「徴用」をめぐる裁判で韓国の最高裁判所が日本企業に賠償を命じた判決については、日本側では「評価しない」が58.7%だったのに対し、韓国側では「評価する」が75.5%となっていて、両国で見方が大きく異なる結果となりました。

言論NPOの工藤泰志代表は「国民の意識の変化を政府がどう受け止めるのか、大きな問題が突きつけられている。政府レベルの対応がないのは残念だが、こういう時こそ民間は対話や交流を深めなければいけない」と話していました。

Yomiuri Shimbun, Page7, June 13, 2019

日韓関係「悪い」 両国とも大幅増

研究機関世論調査

日本の調査研究機関「言論NPO」と韓国の「東アジア研究院」は12日、日韓の約20000人を対象に5、6月に行った共同世論調査の結果を発表した。日韓関係が「悪い」と答えた人は、日本が昨年より23%増の64%、韓国は11%増の66%となり、冷え込んでい

る日韓関係を反映する形となった。

日韓関係について「重要」と答えたのは、日本が51%にとどまったのに対し、韓国は84%に上った。

Asahi Shimbun, Page4, June 13, 2019

相手国への印象 日韓温度差

世論調査 韓国は最高 日本は最低

日韓が互いの国に「良い印象」を抱く割合は、韓国では過去最高なのに日本では過去最低——。2013年から両国の民間機関が毎年実施してきた世論調査の結果から、そんな認識の違いが明らかになった。徴用工問題や往来者数の増加が影響しているようだ。

日本のNPO法人「言論NPO」と韓国のシンクタンク「東アジア研究院」が12日、都内で記者会見して、調査結果を発表した。5月中旬～6月初旬に調査を実施し、約1千人ずつ回答を得たという。

日本で韓国の印象が「良い」と答えた人は過去最低の20・0%。最も高かったのは13年の31・1%だった。一方、韓国では過去最高の31・7%が日本の印象が「良い」と回答。13年の12・2%が最低だった。

相手にマイナスの印象を抱く理由は、日本では「歴史問題などで日本を批判し続けるから」が52・1%で最多。韓国も76・1%が「(日本が)侵略の歴史を反省していないから」を挙げた。元徴用工への賠償を命じた韓国大法院の判決について、韓国では75・5%が「評価」、日本では58・7%が「評価しない」とした。

昨年は互いの年間往来者数が1千万人を超えており、言論NPOの工藤泰志代表は「韓国では交流の深化が対日感情の悪化を吸収できた」と話した。

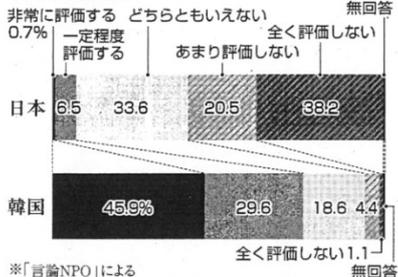
(清水大輔)

「徴用工」で日韓隔たり

関係改善へ努力 韓国7割、日本4割

世論調査

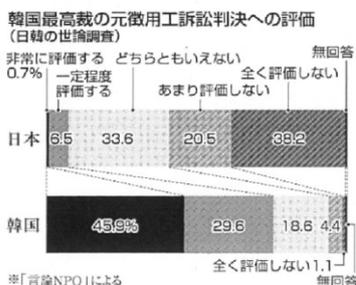
韓国最高裁の元徴用工訴訟判決への評価 (日韓の世論調査)



記者会見する言論NPOの工藤泰志代表 (12日、東京都内)

日本の民間非営利団体「言論NPO」と韓国のシンクタンク「東アジア研究院」は12日、日韓でそれぞれ約千人を対象に5〜6月に行った世論調査の結果を発表した。元徴用工訴訟で日本企業に賠償を命じた韓国最高裁判決について、日本の58・7%が「評価しない」か「28・4%で最も多く、調査開始以降、最低の20%だった。韓国では過去最高の31・7%だった。韓国の回答

「悪い印象を持つ」と回答。韓国では75・5%が「評価する」と回答、両国の隔たりが鮮明になった。徴用工問題の解決方法を問う質問では、日本は「分らない」が28・4%で最も多く、調査開始以降、最低の20%だった。韓国では過去最高の31・7%だった。韓国の回答



「相手国に好印象」

日本人最低20% 韓国人最高31%

日本の民間非営利団体「言論NPO」と韓国のシンクタンク「東アジア研究院」は12日、両国それぞれ約千人を対象に同日韓共同世論調査の結果を発表した。相手国に良い印象を持つ日本人は2013年の調査開始以来、最低の20・0%だった。韓国では75・5%が「評価する」と回答、両国の隔たりが鮮明になった。徴用工問題の解決方法を問う質問では、日本は「分からない」が28・4%で最も多く、調査開始以降、最低の20%だった。韓国では過去最高の31・7%だった。韓国の回答

都内で記者会見した言論NPOの工藤泰志代表は「元徴用工判決やレーダー照射問題の影響で、日本で韓国に対する印象がひどく悪化した」と指摘。日本に良い印象を持つ韓国人が増えたことについては、訪日客の増加と、日本文化に良い印象を持つ若い世代が増加していることを理由に挙げた。

日韓共同世論調査 「徴用工」評価も正反対

北朝鮮の非核化実現の見通しを問う質問では、前向きな姿勢を示した韓国人が昨年(59・3%)のおよそ半数の31・4%に減少。日本では47・4%が懐疑的な見方を示した。調査は両団体が毎年行っており、自国の約千人を対象に5、6月に実施した。(塩入雄一郎)

者が日本に良い印象を持つ理由としては「日本人は親切で誠実だから」「生活レベルの高い先進国だから」が多数を占めた。現在の日韓関係については、両国とも6割超が悪印象を認めた。韓国では70・8%が改善に向け努力すべきだと回答した一方、日本でもそう答えたのは40・2%だった。北朝鮮の非核化実現の見通しを問う質問には、日本では47・4%が懐疑的な見方を示し、韓国では31・4%が前向き、34・5%が懐疑的と指摘。韓国海軍による自衛隊機へのレーダー照射を巡っては、「関係改善の努力をしたい」との国民の意識を(両国)政府はきちんと受け止めるべきだ」と指摘した。東京都内で記者会見した言論NPOの工藤泰志代表は、徴用工問題とレーダー照射が日本の対韓感情悪化に直結したと分析。「関係改善の努力を」との国民の意識を(両国)政府はきちんと受け止めるべきだ」と指摘した。

News Agencies/Newspaper Online Sites

Kyodo News, June 12, 2019

徴用工問題で日韓隔たり 世論調査、解決法に差



日本の民間非営利団体「言論 NPO」と韓国のシンクタンク「東アジア研究院」は 12 日、日韓でそれぞれ約千人を対象に 5～6 月に行った世論調査の結果を発表した。元徴用工訴訟で日本企業に賠償を命じた韓国最高裁判決について、日本の 58.7%が「評価しない」と否定的だった一方、韓国では 75.5%が「評価する」と回答、両国の隔たりが鮮明になった。徴用工問題の解決方法を問う質問では、日本は「分からない」が 28.4%で最も多く、次いで 22.2%が第三国の委員を交えた仲裁委員会設置や国際司法裁判所への提訴を挙げた。韓国では 58.1%が判決に従い日本企業が賠償すべきと答えた。

Yomiuri Shimbun, June 12, 2019

日韓関係「悪い」急増、6割超に…共同世論調査

日本の調査研究機関「言論 NPO」と韓国の「東アジア研究院」は 12 日、日韓の約 2000 人を対象に 5、6 月に行った共同世論調査の結果を発表した。日韓関係が「悪い」と答えた人は、日本が昨年より 23 ポイント増の 64%、韓国は 11 ポイント増の 66%となり、冷え込んでいる日韓関係を反映する形となった。一方、日韓関係について「重要」と答えたのは、日本が 51%にとどまったのに対し、韓国は 84%に上った。言論 NPO の工藤泰志代表は「韓国では日本との経済的関係を重視している人が多いからではないか」と分析した。

Mainichi Shimbun, June 12, 2019

日本に良い印象持つ韓国人は過去最高 日韓共同世論調査

非営利団体「言論 NPO」（工藤泰志代表）と韓国のシンクタンク「東アジア研究院」は 12 日、日韓共同世論調査の結果を発表した。韓国に良い印象を持つ日本人が 20・0%で過去最低だったのに対し、日本に良い印象を持つ韓国人は 31・7%で過去最高となった。元徴用工判決やレーダー照射問題が日本人の韓国に対する印象に影を落とす一方、韓国から日本への渡航者の増加が印象の改善につながったとみられる。共同調査は 5～6 月に実施し、今回が 7 回目。日本は 1000 人、韓国は 1008 人から回答を得た。

相手国に対する印象について「良くない」と「どちらかといえば良くない」を合わせた割合は日韓いずれも 49・9%だった。日本人の回答は 50%前後で推移しているが、韓国人の回答は 15 年の 72・5%から改善しており、初めて 5 割を切った。

「良くない印象」の理由では、日韓双方とも歴史や領土を巡る対立を挙げた。韓国人が日本の「良い印象」として挙げた理由では、「日本人は親切で誠実」「生活レベルが高い」といった交流に基づく回答が多かった。

現在の日韓関係を「悪い」と感じている人は日本が 63・5%（前年 40・6%）、韓国が 66・1%（同 54・8%）で、日本は 22・9 ポイントも増えている。文在寅（ムン・ジェイン）政権の対日政策について日本人の 57・3%が「評価しない」と答えたが、韓国人も「評価しない」が 35・4%で、「評価する」（21・5%）を上回った。

元徴用工を巡る韓国最高裁の判決については、日本人の 6 割近くが「評価しない」と答えたが、韓国人は 7 割超が「評価する」と回答した。韓国軍による海上自衛隊哨戒機へのレーダー照射に関しては、日韓とも 6 割超が自国政府の主張が正しいと答え、双方の見解の相違が鮮明に示された。

Nikkei Shimbun, June 12, 2019

「今後も関係悪化」日本人は 20 ポイント増 33%

日韓世論調査、韓国人は半数が「不変」

NPO 法人「言論 NPO」などが 12 日発表した日韓共同世論調査によると、今後の日韓関係が悪化すると回答した日本人が 33.8%と昨年比で約 20 ポイント上昇した。「変わらない」は 32.2%で約 16 ポイント低下した。韓国人への調査では「変わらない」が 50.0%、悪化が 18.7%で、日本人の方が今後の関係悪化を懸念する比率が高かった。

元徴用工訴訟で日本企業に賠償を命じた韓国最高裁の判決については、日本人の 58.7%が評価しないと答える一方、韓国人は 75.5%が評価すると答えた。昨年、韓国海軍駆逐艦が日本の哨戒機に火器管制レーダーを照射した事件については、日本人の 62.9%、韓国人の 61.9%がそれぞれ自国政府の主張が正しいと回答した。

相手国に「良い印象を持っている」は日本人は 20.0%と約 3 ポイント低下。過去 7 年間の調査で最低値になった。韓国人は 31.7%と約 3 ポイント上昇した。

Asahi Shimbun, June 12, 2019

日本に「良い印象」韓国で 13 年以來最高 一方日本は…

日韓が互いの国に「良い印象」を抱く割合は、韓国では過去最高なのに日本では過去最低——。2013 年から両国の民間機関が毎年実施してきた世論調査の結果から、そんな認識の違いが明らかになった。徴用工問題や往来者数の増加が影響しているようだ。日本の NPO 法人「言論 NPO」と韓国のシンクタンク「東アジア研究院」が 12 日、都

内で記者会見して、調査結果を発表した。5月中旬～6月初旬に調査を実施し、約1千人ずつ回答を得たという。

日本で韓国の印象が「良い」と答えた人は過去最低の20・0%。最も高かったのは13年の31・1%だった。一方、韓国では過去最高の31・7%が日本の印象が「良い」と回答。13年の12・2%が最低値だった。

ログイン前の続き相手にマイナスの印象を抱く理由は、日本では「歴史問題などで日本を批判し続けるから」が52・1%で最多。「韓国人の言動が感情的で激しいから」も24・8%だった。韓国も76・1%が「(日本が)侵略の歴史を反省していないから」を挙げた。元徴用工への賠償を命じた韓国大法院の判決について、韓国では75・5%が「評価」、日本では58・7%が「評価しない」とし、問題解決に向け韓国の6割近くが「日本企業が賠償すべきだ」と回答したが、日本では同様の考えは1・2%に過ぎなかった。

歴史問題が大きく影響している一方、昨年互いの年間往来者数が1千万人を超えており、言論NPOの工藤泰志代表は「韓国では交流の深化が対日感情の悪化を吸収できた。政治問題のクッション役を果たす交流を両国ともに進めていくべきだ」と話した。

Jiji Press, June 12, 2019

韓国の印象、過去最低＝「徴用工・レーダー影響」－共同世論調査

日本の民間団体「言論NPO」と韓国の民間シンクタンク「東アジア研究院」は12日、共同世論調査の結果を発表した。相手国の印象を「良い」と答えた人は、日本で昨年比2・9ポイント減の20%となり、2013年の調査開始以降、過去最低だった。一方、韓国では昨年比3・4ポイント増の31・7%と過去最高を記録した。

昨年の徴用工判決やレーダー照射事件に関しては、自国の主張を評価する割合がそれぞれ6～7割だった。真っ向から対立する結果となった。

東京都内で記者会見した言論NPOの工藤泰志代表は「徴用工問題とレーダー照射が間違いなく日本人の意識を変えた。韓国では渡航経験や情報源の多様化があり、大きな対立感情に飛び火しなかった」と分析した。

日韓両国の首脳に関する調査では、文在寅大統領の印象を「悪い」と答えた日本人が5割を超え、昨年から倍増。安倍晋三首相に対する韓国人の印象も「悪い」が昨年同様8割近くに上った。一方、文政権の日本への対応を「評価しない」と答えた韓国人も35・4%となり、「評価する」の21・5%を上回った。

北朝鮮の非核化が将来「実現する」と答えた人の割合は、日本で14%、韓国で31・4%と懐疑的な見方が強まり、特に韓国では昨年の59・3%から大きく後退した。金正恩朝鮮労働党委員長の非核化への意思を「信頼できる」と回答したのは日本で1・7%、韓国で9・8%といずれも低かった。

日韓共同世論調査は今回で7回目。両国で5～6月、それぞれ約1000人を対象に実施した。

Asahi Shimbun, June 13, 2019

相手国への印象、日韓温度差 韓国は最高、日本は最低 世論調査

日韓が互いの国に「良い印象」を抱く割合は、韓国では過去最高なのに日本では過去最低――。2013年から両国の民間機関が毎年実施してきた世論調査の結果から、そんな認識の違いが明らかになった。徴用工問題や往来者数の増加が影響しているようだ。

日本のNPO法人「言論NPO」と韓国のシンクタンク「東アジア研究院」が12日、都内で記者会見して、調査結果を発表した。5月中旬～6月初旬に調査を実施し、約1千人ずつ回答を得たという。

日本で韓国の印象が「良い」と答えた人は過去最低の20・0%。最も高かったのは1

3年の31・1%だった。一方、韓国では過去最高の31・7%が日本の印象が「良い」と回答。13年の12・2%が最低値だった。

相手にマイナスの印象を抱く理由は、日本では「歴史問題などで日本を批判し続けるから」が52・1%で最多。韓国も76・1%が「(日本が)侵略の歴史を反省していないから」を挙げた。元徴用工への賠償を命じた韓国大法院の判決について、韓国では75・5%が「評価」、日本では58・7%が「評価しない」とした。

昨年は互いの年間往来者数が1千万人を超えており、言論NPOの工藤泰志代表は「韓国では交流の深化が対日感情の悪化を吸収できた」と話した。

Nishi-Nippon Shimbun, June 13, 2019

「相手国に好印象」日本人最低 20% 韓国人最高 31% 日韓共同世論調査

日本の民間非営利団体「言論NPO」と韓国の「東アジア研究院」は12日、両国でそれぞれ行った第7回日韓共同世論調査の結果を発表した。相手国に良い印象を持つ日本人は2013年の調査開始以来、最低の20・0%だったのに対し、韓国人は最高の31・7%だった。「悪い印象を持つ」と答えた人は両国ともに49・9%。初めて質問項目に加えた韓国人元徴用工訴訟判決や「レーダー照射」事件については、日韓両国民で評価が正反対に分かれた。

都内で記者会見した言論NPOの工藤泰志代表は「元徴用工判決やレーダー照射問題の影響で、日本で韓国に対する印象がひどく悪化した」と指摘。日本に良い印象を持つ韓国人が増えたことについては、訪日客の増加と、日本文化に良い印象を持つ若い世代が増加していることを理由に挙げた。

調査結果によると、日本企業に対し元徴用工へ賠償を行うよう命じた韓国最高裁判決について、韓国人の75・5%が「評価する」と答えたのに対し、日本人は58・7%が「評価しない」と回答。レーダー照射事件については、両国民の6割以上が自国政府の主張が正しいとの認識を示した。

相手国の首脳に対する印象を聞いたところ、文在寅大統領に悪い印象を持つ日本人が50・8%と、昨年(24・5%)から倍増。安倍晋三首相に悪い印象を持つ韓国人は79・3%で、昨年から4・7ポイント増加した。

北朝鮮の非核化実現の見通しを問う質問では、前向きな姿勢を示した韓国人が昨年(59・3%)のおよそ半数の31・4%に減少。日本では47・4%が懐疑的な見方を示した。調査は両団体が毎年行っており、自国の約千人を対象に5、6月に実施した。

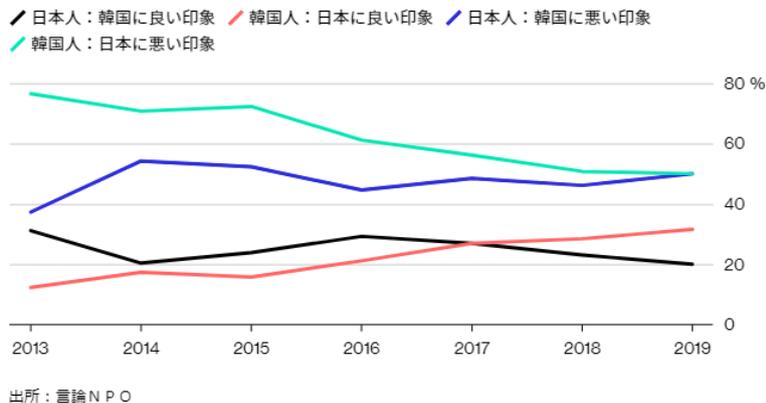
Bloomberg, June 12, 2019

日韓関係「悪い」が大幅増、両国の厳しい状況を反映
— 言論NPO調査

日韓関係を巡っては、昨年秋以降、日本企業に賠償を命じた韓国人元徴用工訴訟や、韓国艦艇による自衛隊機へのレーダー照射事案など両国が対立する場面が続いた。慰安婦問題でも2月、韓国の文喜相国会議長が当時の天皇陛下（現在の上皇さま）の謝罪で解決すると発言し、日本政府が抗議。2019年の外交青書では、日韓関係について「非常に厳しい状況に直面している」との認識を示した。

相手国に対する印象に関しては、日本人で韓国に「良い」「どちらかといえば良い」とした人が20%と13年の調査開始以来、最低となった。一方、韓国人で良い印象とした人は、31.7%と昨年の28.3%から増加し、過去最高だった。

日本人の韓国への印象、「良い」は過去最低の2割
韓国人の日本への「良い」印象は3割超で上昇傾向



日本人で韓国に良い印象を持つ理由で最も多いのは「韓国の食文化や買い物が魅力的だから」で、良くない印象を持つ理由は「歴史問題などで日本を批判し続けるから」だった。韓国人が日本に良い印象を持つのは「日本人は親切で誠実だから」が最も多く、良くない印象を持つのは「韓国を侵略した歴史について正しく反省していないから」が多かった。

言論NPOの工藤泰志代表は、相手国に対する印象に差が生じた背景として、渡航経験の有無を指摘する。日本人で韓国に行ったことがあると回答したのは22.5%で、訪問時期は「11年以上前」が47.1%と最も多かった。韓国人で日本を訪問したことがある人は42%と半数に迫っており、時期も「5年以内」とした人が7割を超えている。

世界の中で自国との関係が重要だと思う国はどこかとの問いに対しては、日本人は米国が67.8%と最も多く、中国が5.9%と続いた。韓国人でもトップは米国の55.5%、2番目は中国で33.3%だった。軍事的な脅威を感じる国については、両国民とも北朝鮮、中国の順だったが、日本人が3番目をロシアとしたのに対し、韓国人は日本を3番目の脅威とした。

世論調査は、日本では5月18日から6月2日まで、韓国では5月15-27日まで全国で実施。日本は18歳以上、韓国は19歳以上の男女を対象に行った。

日本に「良いイメージ」持つ韓国人増える一方で...
日本人がその逆な理由

日韓関係が悪化する中で、両国の国民が互いに対して持つ感情が、対照的な変化を見せている。日本のNPO法人「言論NPO」と韓国のシンクタンク「東アジア研究院（EAI）」が2019年6月12日に発表した「第7回日韓共同世論調査」の結果で明らかになった。日本観光を楽しむ韓国の若者が増えていることが背景に、日本に対して良いイメージを持つ韓国人が増えている。半面、韓国に対して良いイメージを持つ日本人は減少している。韓国旅行する日本人も大幅に増えているのになぜなのか。

「過去最高を更新した渡航者数と若年層の改善」

18年に韓国から日本を訪れた人は5.6%増の753万8952人で過去最高を記録し、日本から韓国を訪れた人は前年比27.6%増の294万8527人と、政府統計で大幅な伸びをみせている。これが影響したとみられるのが、今回の調査の「あなたは、相手国に対してどのような印象を持っていますか」という問いに対する韓国側の回答だ。韓国では、日本に対して「良い印象を持っている」と答えた人が前年比3.4ポイント増の31.7%で、13年の調査開始以来最高を記録。逆に「悪い印象を持っている」は0.7ポイント減の49.9%で、過去最低だった。言論NPOでは、その理由として「過去最高を更新した渡航者数と若年層の改善」を挙げている。

半面、日本では、韓国に対して「良い印象を持っている」が2.9ポイント下がって20.0%と過去最低を記録。「悪い印象を持っている」は3.6ポイント多い49.9%だった。この1年の日韓関係で大きな障害になったのが、韓国大法院（最高裁）が日本企業に対して元徴用工らへの賠償を命じる判決を下した問題と、韓国海軍の駆逐艦が海自機に火器管制レーダーを照射した問題だ。この両方の問題で、両国民の見解は真っ向から対立している。

元徴用工をめぐる判決については、日本では「評価しない」が58.7%だったのに対して、韓国では「評価する」が75.5%。レーダー照射の問題では、日本で「日本政府の主張が正しいと思う」が62.9%だったのに対して、韓国では「韓国政府の主張が正しいと思う」が61.9%だった。

徴用工・レーダー問題、日本の方が深刻に受け止める

「現在の日韓関係についてどう思いますか」という問いには、日本では63.5%が「悪い」と答え、前年より22.9ポイントも増えた。韓国で「悪い」と答えたのは11.3ポイント多い66.1%だった。「悪い」と答えた人の伸び率は日本の方が圧倒的に高く、日本の方が元徴用工・レーダー照射の問題を深刻に受け止めているとみられる。

韓国に行く日本人が増えたにもかかわらず日本人の対韓感情が悪化した背景には、現地の観光で得られたポジティブな感情を、両問題をめぐるネガティブな感情が上回ったことがあるとみられ、言論NPOの工藤泰志代表も「基本的に、そういう整理しか今回はできない」と話す。工藤氏は、民間交流が「今、かろうじてクッション役になっている」とも話すが、「民間、市民レベルでの交流は大事だ。どれだけ政府（間の関係）が悪化しても、それを抑え込む力がある。だけど、今はギリギリだという実感がある」と危機感を募らせていた。

調査は日本では5月18日から6月3日まで訪問留置回収法、韓国では5月15日から5月27日まで調査員による対面式聴取法で行われた。有効回答数はそれぞれ1000、1008だった。

日本人の対韓好感度が下落 韓国人の対日好感度は上昇続く
＝共同調査

【東京聯合ニュース】韓国民間シンクタンク、東アジア研究院（E A I）と日本の民間非営利団体「言論NPO」が12日発表した共同調査の結果によると、韓国人の日本に対する好感度が上昇した半面、日本人の韓国に対する好感度は下落したことが分かった。今回の調査で、日本人に対する印象が「良い」と答えた韓国人は31.7%と、前年の28.3%に比べ3.4ポイント増加した。一方、韓国に対する印象が「良い」と答えた日本人は20.0%で、前年の22.9%から2.9ポイント減少した。

このような傾向は2013年の第1回調査から続いており、韓国人の日本に対する好感度は6年間で19.5ポイント上昇したが、日本人の韓国に対する好感度は同期間に11.1ポイント下落した。

歴史問題で解決すべき課題（複数回答）は、韓国人の70.2%が「慰安婦問題」、日本人の55.9%が「日本と歴史問題に対する韓国人の過度な反日行動」と答えた。

相手国の首脳に対して肯定的な印象を持っていると答えた人は韓国人の3.0%、日本人の2.8%にとどまり、否定的な印象を持っているとした回答者は韓国人の79.3%、日本人の50.8%に上った。

北朝鮮の非核化実現については韓日ともに否定的な認識が目立ち、韓国人の69.9%、日本人の78.8%が「金正恩（キム・ジョンウン）国務委員長（朝鮮労働党委員長）の非核化の意志を信じない」と答えた。

今回の調査は、韓国では5月15～27日に1008人を対象に、日本では5月18日～6月2日に1000人を対象に行われた。

韓日若い世代であるほど好感度はさらに高い

韓日関係が悪化の一途をたどっているが、両国の若い世代は比較的にお互いに対して好感を持っていることが分かった。韓国の「東アジア研究院（E A I）」と日本のシンクタンク「言論NPO」が19歳以上の両国国民2008人（韓国1008人、日本1000人）を対象に5～6月に調査した結果だ。韓日関係の改善はお互いに拒否感が少ない両国の若い世代から広がる可能性を示唆している。

12日に発表された結果によると、韓国人回答者の中で20代（19～29歳）は日本に対する好感度を聞く質問に42%が「良い印象を持っている」と答えた。「良い印象」という回答は30代37%、40代28%、50代31%、60歳以上26%で、20代で最も高く次が30代だった。日本も似たような結果だった。20代27%、30代28%、40代23%、50代19%、60歳以上13%で、20代と30代が最も高かった。韓日両国とも2030世代が相手国に対して最も好意的であるということを見せている。ソン・ヨル東アジア研究院長は「今回の調査結果では韓国と日本両方とも若い世代がお互いに対して比較的に開かれた姿勢を持っているということが分かる」として「若い世代が韓日関係の希望」と指摘した。

全般的に韓国人の日本に対する好感度は少しずつ上昇する傾向だ。E A Iは2013年から毎年この調査を実施してきたが、日本に対して「良い」または「概して良い」と答えた韓国人は26.8%（2017年）→28.3%（2018年）→31.7%（2019年）だった。日本に対する好感の理由を聞く質問（回答複数選択可）には韓国人の69.7%は「親切で誠実な国民性のため」と答え「生活水準が高い先進国だから」と答えた人々も60.3%に達した。この他にも「同じ自由民主主義国家であるため」（15%）、「日本製品の品質が良いから」（21.3%）、「日本の魅力的な食文化と買い物のため」（16.9%）などだった。

反面、日本の韓国に対する好感度は小幅下落した。韓国に良い印象を持っていると答えた日本人回答者の割合は2018年22.9%から今年は2.9%ポイント下落した20%

だった。韓国に対して好感を持つ理由について日本人回答者は「韓国文化に関心がある」（49.5%）、「韓国の魅力的な食文化と買い物のため」（52.5%）、「韓国製品が安くて魅力的だから」（23%）などと複数回答した。

歴史認識にあっては両国の考えの違いが再確認された。韓国人回答者は解決が必要な歴史問題（複数選択）で「慰安婦問題」（70.2%）、「侵略戦争に対する日本の認識」（62.1%）、「日本の戦争賠償および強制労働などに対する賠償問題などの解決」（60.2%）などを挙げた。一方、日本人回答者は「日本関連歴史問題に対する韓国人の行き過ぎた反日行動」（55.9%）、「韓国の反日教育および教科書の内容」（54.9%）、「慰安婦問題」（37.6%）を選択した。

韓国大法院（最高裁）の強制徴用判決に対する認識も異なった。韓国国民は「韓国大法院の判決により日本企業が賠償措置を取るべきだ」が58.1%で飛び切り1位となった一方、日本では「分からない」（28.4%）が1位、「第3国を含む仲裁委員会や国際司法裁判所（ICJ）に共同提訴してその判断に任せるべきだ」（22.2%）が2位、「韓国政府が賠償措置を取るべきだ」（20.5%）が3位だった。

歴史問題に対する認識の違いは明確だったが、経済、安保分野での韓日協力については必要だという見方が多数だった。軍事・安保協力に対して韓国人の58.6%、日本人の40.4%が「必要だ」と答えて必要ないという回答（韓国20.7%、日本11.5%）を追い抜いた。また、韓日経済協力に対しては韓国人回答者は83.1%が必要だと答えた。「必要でない」と答えた韓国人回答者の割合は8.9%にとどまった。日本も韓国との経済協力に対して「必要だ」が43.4%、「必要でない」が23.9%だった。

「韓日関係の重要性」を聞く質問に韓国人の70.8%は「改善のために努力する必要がある」と答えた。日本人は40.2%だけが同じ回答を選んだ。日本人の14.6%は「自分そのまま放っておく必要がある」と答えた。韓日関係の改善の必要性を韓国人がさらに感じていると見られる項目だ。

Overseas Media

Japan Times, June 12, 2019

Wide gap remains between Japanese and South Koreans over wartime labor issue, poll shows

Japanese and South Koreans have vastly different views on rulings last year by the South Korean Supreme Court ordering Japanese companies to compensate wartime forced laborers, a survey showed Wednesday.

Among the roughly 2,000 people polled across both countries, 58.7 percent of Japanese said they do not approve of the court decision, while 75.5 percent of South Koreans expressed support.

The issue has caused diplomatic relations between the neighboring countries to deteriorate sharply, with South Korea calling on Japan to own up to atrocities committed during its 1910-1945 colonial rule of the Korean Peninsula.

Tokyo maintains that Seoul forfeited its right to make compensation claims as part of a 1965 treaty that normalized postwar ties and provided South Korea with what the treaty called huge “economic cooperation” consisting of grants worth \$300 million and loans of \$200 million over 10 years — funds totaling 1.5 times the annual national budget of South Korea at that time.

The annual survey was conducted between May and June by Tokyo-based nonprofit think tank Genron NPO and the Seoul-based East Asia Institute.

Asked how the issue should be resolved, 28.4 percent of Japanese said they do not know, followed by 22.2 percent who favored setting up an arbitration panel involving a third country or taking the matter to the International Court of Justice.

By contrast, 58.1 percent of South Koreans said the Japanese companies — Nippon Steel Corp., previously called Nippon Steel and Sumitomo Metal Corp., and Mitsubishi Heavy Industries Ltd. — should pay the workers in line with the court rulings.

The respondents were also asked for their views on an incident last December where a South Korean destroyer allegedly locked its fire-control radar onto a Japanese patrol plane in Japan's exclusive economic zone outside its territorial waters in the Sea of Japan. South Korea has denied the accusation, hitting back with its own allegations of Japanese planes flying dangerously close to its warships.

According to the survey, more than 60 percent of respondents on both sides said they believe the version of events given by their own government.

Yasushi Kudo, head of Genron NPO, said that the wartime labor issue and the fire-control radar incident had a direct role in souring ties between the two countries.

"Both governments should acknowledge the desire among their people to improve the relationship," he told a news conference in Tokyo.

The survey, however, revealed a contrast in public opinion.

On the Japanese side, only 20 percent said they had favorable feelings toward South Korea, the lowest mark since the survey began in 2013, while a record-high 31.7 percent of South Koreans said they had favorable feelings toward Japan.

Among those with a negative view of South Korea, the top reason given, at 52.1 percent, was again the country's criticism of Japan over wartime history.

Asked to name positive aspects of South Korea, roughly half of those with a favorable view of the country cited cuisine and shopping, followed closely by TV dramas and music.

South Koreans with a favorable view of Japan most often cited the belief, held by 69.7 percent, that Japanese are "kind and honest," followed by the view that Japan is an "advanced country with a high standard of living."

More than 60 percent of respondents on both sides said Japan-South Korea relations are poor at the moment, though only 40.2 percent of Japanese called for efforts to improve ties compared with 70.8 percent of South Koreans.

On the likelihood of North Korea giving up its nuclear weapons amid negotiations with the United States, South Koreans were evenly split between optimists and pessimists at around 30 percent each. Japanese held a more cynical view, with 47.4 percent saying denuclearization is unlikely.

NHK World Japan, June 12, 2019

Poll: Japan, S.Korea divided over relations



According to the latest polls, South Koreans think that ties with Japan need to be improved, while Japanese respondents took a more negative stance.

Japanese nonprofit Genron NPO and South Korean think-tank, the East Asia Institute ran a joint survey between May and June. About 1,000 people responded from each country. Their views differed on an issue that's seen to be worsening relations.

Since last October, South Korea's Supreme Court has issued a series of rulings on a wartime labor issue. The rulings ordered Japanese firms to compensate those who say they were forced to work for them in World War Two.

More than 75 percent of respondents in the South said they value the ruling. But only 7 point 2 percent of the Japanese respondents agreed.

The head of the Japanese NPO expressed his concern over the results.

Yasushi Kudo, president of Genron NPO, said "People in Japan and South Korea want to resolve the issue. But we deeply regret that the movement hasn't started yet at the government level."

Kudo said it's time for both countries to have more exchanges and dialogues at the citizen level.

The Japanese government maintains the issue of the right to claim compensation was settled completely and finally when a bilateral agreement was signed in 1965.

The Mainichi, June 13, 2019

Japanese, South Koreans at odds on wartime labor issue, poll shows

TOKYO (Kyodo) -- Japanese and South Koreans have vastly differing views on rulings last year by the South Korean Supreme Court ordering Japanese companies to compensate wartime laborers for forced work, a survey showed Wednesday.

Among the roughly 2,000 people polled across both countries, 58.7 percent of Japanese said they do not approve of the court decision, while 75.5 percent of South Korean's expressed support.

The issue has caused diplomatic relations between the neighboring countries to deteriorate sharply, with South Korea calling on Japan to own up to atrocities committed during its 1910-1945 colonial rule of the Korean Peninsula.

Tokyo maintains that Seoul forfeited its right to make compensation claims as part of a 1965 treaty that provided it with \$500 million in financial aid.

The annual survey was conducted between May and June by Tokyo-based non-profit think tank Genron NPO and the Seoul-based East Asia Institute.

Asked how the issue should be resolved, 28.4 percent of Japanese said they do not know, followed by 22.2 percent who favored setting up an arbitration panel involving a third country or taking the matter to the International Court of Justice.

Meanwhile, 58.1 percent of South Koreans said the Japanese companies -- Nippon Steel Corp., previously called Nippon Steel and Sumitomo Metal Corp., and Mitsubishi Heavy Industries Ltd. -- should pay the workers in line with the court rulings.

The respondents were also asked for their views on an incident last December where a South Korean destroyer allegedly locked its fire-control radar onto a Japanese patrol plane in Japan's exclusive economic zone outside its territorial waters in the Sea of Japan. South Korea has denied the accusation, hitting back with its own claims of Japanese planes flying dangerously close to its warships.

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Yasushi Kudo, head of Genron NPO, said that the wartime labor issue and the fire-control radar incident had a direct role in souring ties between the two countries.

"Both governments should acknowledge the desire among their people to improve the relationship," he told a press conference in Tokyo.

The survey, however, revealed a contrast in public opinion.

On the Japanese side, only 20 percent said they had favorable feelings toward South Korea, the lowest since 2013 when the survey began, while a record-high 31.7 percent of South Koreans said they had favorable feelings toward Japan.

Continuing to rank the top among reasons for Japanese seeing South Korea in a negative light, at 52.1 percent, was the country's criticism of Japan over wartime history. Asked for reasons to like South Korea, roughly half cited cuisine and shopping, followed closely by TV dramas and music.

The most common reason for South Koreans to see Japan favorably was the belief, held by 69.7 percent, that Japanese are "kind and honest," followed by the view that Japan is an "advanced country with a high standard of living."

More than 60 percent of respondents on both sides said Japan-South Korea relations are poor at the moment, though only 40.2 percent of Japanese called for efforts to improve ties compared with 70.8 percent of South Koreans.

On the likelihood of North Korea giving up its nuclear weapons amid negotiations with the United States, South Koreans were a near-even split between optimists and pessimists at around 30 percent each. Japanese were somewhat more cynical, with 47.4 percent saying denuclearization is unlikely.

List of Media Coverage on “Japan-Korea Joint Public Opinion Survey” (Japanese)

TV News				
	Date	Madia	Title	URL
1	June 12, 2019	Nippon Television NEWS 24	日韓共同世論調査 6割以上が関係「悪い」	http://www.news24.jp/articles/2019/06/12/10450102.html
2	June 12, 2019	TBS News	共同世論調査、日韓関係 両国ともに「悪い」6割以上	https://news.tbs.co.jp/newseve/tbs_newseve3698062.html
3	June 12, 2019	TV Asahi	対日感情「良い」韓国人は過去最高 逆だと過去最低	https://news.tv-asahi.co.jp/news_international/articles/000156927.html

National News Papers				
	Date	Madia	Title	
1	June 13, 2019	Yomiuri Shinbun Morning ed., Page7	日韓関係「悪い」 両国とも大幅増 研究機関世論調査	
2	June 13, 2019	Asahi Shinbun Morning ed., Page4	相手国への印象 日韓温度差 世論調査 韓国は最高 日本は最低	

Local News Papers				
	Date	Madia	Title	
1	June 13, 2019	Fukui Shinbun Morning ed., Page12	「徴用工」で日韓隔たり 関係改善へ努力 韓国7割、日本4割 世論調査	
2	June 13, 2019	Nishinippon Shinbun Morning ed., Page5	「相手国に好印象」 日本人最低20% 韓国人最高31% 日韓世論調査 「徴用工」評価も正反対	

News Agencies/Newspaper Online Sites				
	Date	Madia	Title	URL
1	June 12, 2019	Jiji Press	韓国の印象、過去最低＝「徴用工・レーダー影響」－共同世論調査	https://www.jiji.com/jc/article?k=2019061201018&g=int
2	June 12, 2019	Kyodo News	徴用工問題で日韓隔たり 世論調査、解決法に差	https://this.kiji.is/511464998861636705?c=39546741839462401
3	June 12, 2019	Yonhap News	日本人の対韓好感度が下落 韓国人の対日好感度は上昇 続く＝共同調査	https://jp.yna.co.kr/view/AJP20190612004200882?section=search
4	June 12, 2019	Okinawa Times	徴用工問題で日韓隔たり 世論調査、解決法に差	https://www.okinawatimes.co.jp/articles/-/431871
5	June 12, 2019	Chugoku Shinbun	徴用工問題で日韓隔たり 世論調査、解決法に差	https://www.chugoku-np.co.jp/news/article/article.php?comment
6	June 12, 2019	Tokyo Shinbun	徴用工問題で日韓隔たり 世論調査、解決法に差	https://www.tokyo-np.co.jp/s/article/2019061201001848.html
7	June 12, 2019	Kyoto Shinbun	徴用工問題で日韓隔たり 世論調査、解決法に差	https://www.kyoto-np.co.jp/top/article/20190612000109

News Agencies/Newspaper Online Sites				
	Date	Media	Title	URL
8	June 12, 2019	Kahoku Shinpo	徴用工問題で日韓隔たり世論調査、解決法に差	https://www.kahoku.co.jp/naigainews/201906/2019061201001848.html
9	June 12, 2019	Sanin-Chuo Shinpo	徴用工問題で日韓隔たり世論調査、解決法に差	http://www.sanin-chuo.co.jp/www/contents/1560330158459/i
10	June 12, 2019	Fukushima Minyu	徴用工問題で日韓隔たり世論調査、解決法に差	http://www.minyu-net.com/newspack/KD2019061201001848.p
11	June 12, 2019	Nara Shinbun	徴用工問題で日韓隔たり世論調査、解決法に差	https://www.nara-np.co.jp/global/2019061201001848.html
12	June 12, 2019	Daily Suports	徴用工問題で日韓隔たり世論調査、解決法に差	https://www.daily.co.jp/society/world/2019/06/12/0012420122.shtml
13	June 12, 2019	Toonippo	徴用工問題で日韓隔たり世論調査、解決法に差	https://www.toonippo.co.jp/articles/-/204445
14	June 12, 2019	Saga Shinbun	徴用工問題で日韓隔たり世論調査、解決法に差	https://www.saga-s.co.jp/articles/-/386433
15	June 12, 2019	Shikoku Shinbun	徴用工問題で日韓隔たり世論調査、解決法に差	https://www.shikoku-np.co.jp/national/international/2019061200
16	June 12, 2019	Miyazaki Nichinichi	徴用工問題で日韓隔たり世論調査、解決法に差	https://www.the-miyanichi.co.jp/news/World/201906120100
17	June 12, 2019	Kanagawa Shinbun	徴用工問題で日韓隔たり世論調査、解決法に差	https://www.kanaloco.jp/article/entry-174174.html
18	June 12, 2019	Iwate Nippo	徴用工問題で日韓隔たり世論調査、解決法に差	https://www.iwate-np.co.jp/article/kyodo/2019/6/12/285285
19	June 12, 2019	Yomiuri Shinbun	日韓関係「悪い」急増、6割超に...共同世論調査	https://www.yomiuri.co.jp/world/20190612-OYT1T50212/
20	June 12, 2019	Mainichi Shinbun	日本に良い印象持つ韓国人は過去最高 日韓共同世論調査	https://mainichi.jp/articles/20190612/k00/00m/030/295000c
21	June 12, 2019	Asahi Shinbun	日本に「良い印象」韓国で13年以来最高 一方日本は...	https://www.asahi.com/articles/ASM6D4HC9M6DUHBI01W.html
22	June 12, 2019	Nikkei Shinbun	「今後も関係悪化」日本人は20ポイント増33% 日韓世論調査、韓国人は半数が「不変」	https://www.nikkei.com/article/DGXMZO46005180S9A610C1PP8000/
23	June 12, 2019	JoongAng Ilbo	韓日若い世代であるほど好感度はさらに高い	https://japanese.joins.com/article/376/254376.html?servcode=A00&sectcode=A10
24	June 12, 2019	Chosun Ilbo	日本人の対韓好感度が下落 韓国人の対日好感度は上昇 続く＝共同調査	http://www.chosunonline.com/site/data/html_dir/2019/06/12/2019061280234.html
25	June 13, 2019	Mainichi Shinbun	日韓共同世論調査 「韓国に好印象」最低 日本側、元徴用工判決など影響 NPOなど調査	https://mainichi.jp/articles/20190613/ddm/005/040/038000c
26	June 13, 2019	Nishinippon Shinbun	「相手国に好印象」日本人最低20% 韓国人最高31% 日韓共同世論調査	https://www.nishinippon.co.jp/item/n/518116/
27	June 13, 2019	Asahi Shinbun	相手国への印象、日韓温度差 韓国は最高、日本は最低 世論調査	https://www.asahi.com/articles/DA3S14053628.html

Internet News Sites				
	Date	Madia	Title	URL
1	June 12, 2019	Bloomberg	日韓関係「悪い」が大幅増、両国の厳しい状況を反映—言論NPO調査	https://www.bloomberg.co.jp/news/articles/2019-06-12/PSXAPJ6KLVRG01
2	June 12, 2019	Exite News	韓国の印象、過去最低＝「徴用工・レーダー影響」—共同世論調査	https://www.excite.co.jp/news/article/Jiji_20190612X583/
3	June 12, 2019	Nippon.com	韓国の印象、過去最低＝「徴用工・レーダー影響」—共同世論調査	https://www.nippon.com/ja/news/yji2019061201077/
4	June 13, 2019	Niconico News	韓国人の日本への好感度が上昇！一方日本人は...＝韓国ネット「信じられない」	https://news.nicovideo.jp/watch/nw5476332
5	June 12, 2019	Yahoo! News	韓日若い世代であるほど好感度はさらに高い(中央日報日本語版)	https://headlines.yahoo.co.jp/hl?a=20190612-00000047-cnippou-kr
6	June 12, 2019	NHK News Web	日韓で世論調査 6割以上が「悪い」両国ともに悪化	https://www3.nhk.or.jp/news/html/20190612/k10011950011000.html?utm_int=nsearch_contents_search-items_001
7	June 12, 2019	Yahoo! News	日韓関係「悪い」が大幅増、両国の厳しい状況を反映—言論NPO調査	https://headlines.yahoo.co.jp/hl?a=20190612-21000000-bloom_st-bus_all
8	June 12, 2019	goo News	日韓関係「悪い」が大幅増、両国の厳しい状況を反映—言論NPO調査	https://news.goo.ne.jp/article/bloomberg/politics/bloomberg-PSXAPJ6KLVRG01.html
9	June 12, 2019	BIGLOBE News	日韓関係「悪い」急増、6割以上に...共同世論調査	https://news.biglobe.ne.jp/international/0612/vm_190612_9867135360.html
10	June 12, 2019	au Headline	日韓関係「悪い」急増、6割以上に...共同世論調査	https://news.headlines.auone.jp/stories/international/international/12450894?genreid=55&subgenreid=151&articleid=12450894&cpid=10130057
11	June 12, 2019	livedoor News	日韓関係「悪い」急増、6割以上に...共同世論調査	https://news.livedoor.com/article/detail/16609521/
12	June 12, 2019	J-CAST	日本に「良いイメージ」持つ韓国人増える一方で... 日本人がその逆な理由	https://www.j-cast.com/2019/06/12/359916.html
13	June 12, 2019	Yahoo! News	日本に「良いイメージ」持つ韓国人増える一方で... 日本人がその逆な理由	https://headlines.yahoo.co.jp/hl?a=20190612-00000013-jct-soci
14	June 12, 2019	Niconico News	日本に「良いイメージ」持つ韓国人増える一方で... 日本人がその逆な理由	https://news.nicovideo.jp/watch/nw5471779
15	June 12, 2019	BIGLOBE News	日本に「良いイメージ」持つ韓国人増える一方で... 日本人がその逆な理由	https://news.biglobe.ne.jp/domestic/0612/jc_190612_7666725581.html
16	June 12, 2019	Rakuten Info Seek	日本に「良いイメージ」持つ韓国人増える一方で... 日本人がその逆な理由	https://news.infoseek.co.jp/article/20190612jcast20192359916/
17	June 12, 2019	MSN News	日本に「良い印象」韓国で13年以來最高 一方日本は...	https://www.msn.com/ja-jp/news/world/%E6%97%A5%E6%9C%AC%E3%81%AB%E3%80%8C%E8%89%AF%E3%81%84%E5%8D%B0%E8%B1%A1%E3%80%8D%E9%9F%93%E5%9B%BD%E3%81%A7%EF%BC%91%EF%BC%93%E5%B9%B4%E4%BB%A5%E6%9D%A5%E6%9C%80%E9%AB%98%E4%B8%80%E6%96%B9%E6%97%A5%E6%9C%AC%E3%81%AF%E9%80%AC/?ocid=ACCMOT
18	June 12, 2019	Yahoo! News	日本に良い印象持つ韓国人は過去最高 日韓共同世論調査	
19	June 26, 2019	Newsweek Japanese Edition	韓国人の日本に対する好感度は上昇、いっぽう日本人は.....	https://www.newsweekjapan.jp/stories/world/2019/06/post-12399.php
20	June 12, 2019	livedoor News	日本人の対韓好感度が下落 韓国人の対日好感度は上昇 続く＝共同調査	https://news.livedoor.com/article/detail/16607965/

List of Media Coverage on “Japan-Korea Joint Public Opinion Survey” (Non-Japanese)

Korean Media				
	Date	Madia	Title	URL
1	June 12, 2019	MK News	일본인의 한국 호감도 하락... 한국인의 일본 호감도는 상승	https://www.mk.co.kr/news/society/view/2019/06/411287/
2	June 12, 2019	Joins	한국인의 北 김정은 비핵화 신뢰도 하락...EAI 조사	https://news.joins.com/article/23494967
3	June 12, 2019	The Hankook-Ilbo	한일 10명 중 6명 “한일관계 나빠”... 일본서 부정적 변화 뚜렷	https://www.hankookilbo.com/News/Read/20190612177743840
4	June 12, 2019	Chosun Online	"한국인 日 호감도 상승하는 데... 日은 한국 싫다"	http://news.chosun.com/site/data/html_dir/2019/06/12/2019061202166.html
5	June 12, 2019	The Kyunghyang Shinmun	한·일, 양국관계 부정인식 증 가...상대국 호감도는 한국↑, 일본↓	http://news.khan.co.kr/kh_news/khan_art_view.html?art_id=201906121530001
6	June 12, 2019	Yonhap News	한국·일본 상대국에 대한 인 상	https://www.yna.co.kr/view/GYH20190612001200044
7	June 12, 2019	Yonhap News	일본인의 한국 호감도 하락... 한국인의 일본 호감도는 상승	https://www.yna.co.kr/view/AKR20190612128900073
8	June 12, 2019	YTN	韓·日 공동조사 “韓의 日 호감 도 ↑... 日의 韓 호감도 ↓”	https://www.ytn.co.kr/ln/0104_201906121903057857
9	June 13, 2019	머니투데이	"한국인 日 호감도 4년새 16%P ↑ ...10대 호감 많아"	https://news.mt.co.kr/mtview.php?no=2019061218273007983
0	June 13, 2019	Joins	한국인 59% “일본과 안보협 력”... “경제협력 필요”엔 83%	https://news.joins.com/article/23495343
11	June 14, 2019	The Korea Daily	“문 대통령, 방일해 일본 젊은 이들 직접 만나면 양국 관계 개선 도움 될 것”	http://www.koreadaily.com/news/read.asp?art_id=7333147
12	June 14, 2019	뉴스타운 (풍자) (보도자료) (블로그)	韓·日 10명 중 6명이 “양국관 계 최악“	http://www.newstown.co.kr/news/articleView.html?idxno=415286

Chinese Media				
	Date	Madia	Title	URL
1	July 1, 2019	搜狐	日本制裁韩国, 真的只是为了 报复劳工赔偿案判决?	http://www.sohu.com/a/324189588_114988
2	June 12, 2019	中国網	调查: 日韩两国年轻一代对彼 此抱有更多好感	http://news.china.com.cn/2019-06/14/content_74885783.htm
3	June 13, 2019	环球网(環球時報)	日韩联合民调显示两国就二 战劳工诉讼问题仍存在隔阂	http://world.huanqiu.com/exclusive/2019-06/14990289.html?agt=15422

English Media				
	Date	Madia	Title	URL
1	June 12, 2019	The Mainichi	Japanese, South Koreans at odds on wartime labor issue, poll shows (Kyodo)	https://mainichi.jp/english/articles/20190613/p2g/00m/0na/037000c
2	June 12, 2019	NHK World Japan	Poll: Japan, S.Korea divided over relations	https://www3.nhk.or.jp/nhkworld/en/news/20190612_38/
3	June 12, 2019	The Japan Times	Wide gap remains between Japanese and South Koreans over wartime labor issue, poll shows (Kyodo)	https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2019/06/12/national/japanese-south-koreans-odds-wartime-labor-issue-poll-shows/#.XQmZiFz7Tcs
4	June 12, 2019	Nippon.com	Share of Japanese with Good Image of S. Korea Hits Record Low	https://www.nippon.com/en/news/yji2019061201077/share-of-japanese-with-good-image-of-s-korea-hits-record-low.html
5	June 12, 2019	Xinhua	Most Japanese, South Koreans rate current bilateral relations as "bad": poll	http://www.xinhuanet.com/english/2019-06/12/c_138137822.htm
6	June 13, 2019	The Asahi Shimbun	S. Korea 'love' for Japan hits high, but reverse at record low	http://www.asahi.com/ajw/articles/AJ201906130039.html
7	June 13, 2019	The Korea Bizwire	Japan's Favorability Toward S. Korea Decreases While S. Korea's Likeability Towards Japan Increases	http://koreabizwire.com/japans-favorability-toward-s-korea-decreases-while-s-koreas-likeability-towards-japan-increases
8	June 26, 2019	NHK World Japan	The state of Japan-South Korea relations	https://www3.nhk.or.jp/nhkworld/en/news/backstories/592/

Portuguese Media				
	Date	Madia	Title	URL
1	June 12, 2019	IPC Digital	Japoneses e sul-coreanos acreditam que relacoes diplomaticas entre os dois paises pioraram muito em 1 ano	https://ipc.digital/japoneses-e-sul-coreanos-acreditam-que-relacoes-diplomaticas-entre-os-dois-paises-pioraram-muito-em-1-ano/

National Newspapers

Yomiuri Shimbun, Page7, June 2, 2019

日韓の有識者などが両国の課題について議論する「日韓未来対話」が21、22日に東京都渋谷区の国連大学で開催される。雇用・工問題などを巡り、日韓関係が大きく冷え込む中、民間レベルの対話を進めることで、両国の関係改善の糸口を探ろうとする試みだ。

日本の調査研究機関「言論NPO」などが主催する「日韓未来対話」は2013年に初めて開催されて以降、毎年東京とソウルで交互に行われてきた。7回目となる今回は、日本から中谷元・元防衛相、小倉和夫・元駐韓大使らが、韓国からは申珪秀・元駐日大使らがパ

日韓改善 民間レベルで探る

21、22日「未来対話」 言論NPOなど主催

ネリストとして参加する予定だ。

日韓関係の立て直しや北朝鮮の非核化の行方などをテーマに議論が行われる。初日は非公開で、2日目は一般公開され、インターネット中継も行われる。

言論NPOの工藤泰志代表は「今年は開催に否定的な声もあったが、民間レベルの対話の重要性を訴え、各方面に協力を求めた」と話し、「両国間の懸案に対する認識を共有し、解決が可能かどうかを議論する環境を作りたい」と力を込める。

問い合わせは言論NPO事務局(03・62662・8772)まで。

Local Newspapers

Chunichi Shimbun, Page10, May 30, 2019

資金難克服し日韓対話

市民募金で開催にめど

来月東京で民間フォーラム



民間非営利団体「言論NPO」が2013年から続けてきた日韓の識者らによるフォーラム「日韓未来対話」が今年、政府関係の悪化を背景に企業の資金援助が激減し開催が危ぶまれた。しかし、対話を続けてほしいと市民らが募金。言論NPOは6月21、22両日に開催にめどが付いたと、準備に力を入れている。

「政府関係が難しい時に民間外交が途切れると、2国間の課題に向き合う努力がなくなってしまう」と開催の必要性を訴える工藤

民間非営利団体「言論NPO」代表は「多くの市民に支えられる対話という、本来目指したものに近づけることができると、今回の開催には大変な重みがある」と話している。

韓国のシンクタンク、世

クリック、日韓未来対話 民間非営利団体「言論NPO」が韓国のシンクタンク「東アジア研究院」と共に2013年から年に1回、東京とソウルで交互に開いてきた。日韓間の懸案を識者が民間の立場で話し合うフォーラム。元外交官や研究者、経

これを受けて5月初旬から市民に支援を求めると、応じる人が相次ぎ、「今こそ対話が大事な時だ」などのメッセージも届いた。工藤代表は「日本社会が健全なバランス感覚を持っていると感じている」と喜んでいる。問い合わせは言論NPO。http://www.genron-iponet/

2016年9月、ソウルで開催された「日韓未来対話」(共同)

宗研究所の陳昌深・日本研究センター長は「韓国では関係改善を求める声が民間から出ているが、日本ではそうした声はあまりないと指摘する。未来対話の継続は貴重な動きになりそう

だ。

未来対話では研究者や元外交官ら20人以上が、両国での世論調査も踏まえ懸案の解決策を探る。今年は元雇用・工問題が議論の核心になると想定されている。例年、企業の援助が運営費の多くを占めるが、今回はほとんど協力を得られなかった。

Kyodo News, June 22, 2019

都内で「日韓未来対話」 市民交流の拡大を

日韓の研究者や元外交官らが懸案や解決法を話し合うフォーラム「日韓未来対話」（「言論NPO」など主催）が22日、東京都内で開かれた。政治・外交関係の一層の悪化を防ぐ「管理」を強めながら、市民の交流を拡大することが重要だとの指摘が多く出た。

慶応大の西野純也教授は日韓関係を形作る要素として1990年代以降、市民社会が占める領域が拡大し、両国民が相手側の文化を享受できるようになった一方、「政治決着」ができない状況が生まれたと指摘した。

関係が悪化した現在の局面では「両国の政治リーダーは日韓関係を破綻させないとの強い意志を、正確に発信する必要がある」と注文した。

Mainichi Shimbun, July 11, 2019

日韓の未来、歴史事実踏まえ＝国家公務員共済組合連合会理事長・松元崇

韓国との対立が激しくなっている。そのような中で先月、言論NPOが主催した「日韓未来対話」が開かれた。今年で7回目だが、折からの日韓関係悪化で企業からの寄付が集まらず、今年は個人寄付を募っての開催となった。継続は力なりというが、こういう時だからこそ、その開催には大きな意味があったといえよう。私も同NPOの理事を務めていることから、公開セッションの最後を傍聴し、質問もさせてもらった。

私から質問したのは二つ。一つ目は、セッションの中で「日韓の文化交流が重要」という話があったが、韓国のテレビで日本のドラマが放映されていない状況について何とかならないかということ。二つ目は、徴用工問題について、私がかつて社外取締役を務めていた三菱マテリアルの株主総会で「自分の父親は高島炭鉱（長崎県）で徴用工とともに働いていたが、戦後の同窓会で、韓国の元徴用工の人たちは高島炭鉱で働いていたことを誇りにしていた」という話があった。そんな事実を、韓国の人たちは知らないのではないかということ。要は、文化面での相互交流を深めつつ、事実とかけ離れた虚像に基づく対立を、何とかやめられないかということである。

韓国は戦後、北朝鮮と分断され、朝鮮戦争など大変な苦難の歴史を歩んできた。その歴史への責任が、韓国を併合した日本にもあることを忘れてはならない。しかしながら、日本と連合国との戦争が終わった時点では、朝鮮半島は、あたかも戦火を免れた中立国が戦争景気を満喫するような状態だったとされていたことも忘れてはならないだろう。

日韓の友好関係を確固たるものにしていくために、しっかりと事実を踏まえた歴史認識の上に立って、「日韓未来対話」が今後とも続いていくことを望みたい。

改善のカギは直に触れることか 過去最悪の日韓関係、
双方の感情に隔たり

いわゆる徴用工問題や韓国艦艇による自衛隊機への火器管制レーダー照射問題の影響で、「過去最悪」といわれる日韓関係。解決の糸口が見えない中、韓国の印象が「良い」と感じる日本人が過去最低となった一方、日本の印象を「良い」と感じる韓国人は過去最高になったことが、民間機関の調査で明らかになった。こうしたアンバランスは、なぜ生まれているのか。（大渡美咲）

調査は今年5～6月、日本の民間非営利団体「言論NPO」と韓国のシンクタンク「東アジア研究院」がそれぞれ18歳以上の約1000人を対象に実施。

これによると韓国の印象が「良い」と答えた日本人は過去最低の20・0%で、最も高かった25年の31・1%から大きく下落。対照的に韓国では日本の印象が「良い」と答えた人は過去最高の31・7%。25年（12・2%）から毎年改善している。

日韓ともに「良い」との回答は20代未満の若い世代が多く、日本は全体の36・0%、韓国は57・1%に上る。「良い」の理由は、日本では「韓国の食文化や買い物」が52・5%と最多で、次いで「韓国のドラマや音楽などの文化に関心がある」の49・5%。韓国では「日本人は親切で誠実」が最多の69・7%、次いで「生活レベルが高い」が60・3%だった。

「良くない」の理由は、日本は「歴史問題などで批判し続けるから」が最多の52・1%、「竹島をめぐる領土対立」が25・7%。対する韓国は「侵略の歴史を反省していないから」が76・1%、「独島をめぐる領土対立」が57・5%となった。

日本企業に対していわゆる元徴用工へ強制労働の賠償を行うよう命じた韓国最高裁の判決については、日本では「評価しない」が58・7%。解決方法については「分からない」が28・4%、「第三国を交えた仲裁委員会設置や国際司法裁判所への提訴」が22・2%だった。韓国では58・1%が「判決に従い日本企業が賠償すべき」と回答した。

自衛隊機へのレーダー照射では日本の62・9%、韓国の61・9%がそれぞれ「自国政府の主張が正しい」との認識を示した。

現在の日韓関係については、両国とも6割超が「悪い」と認識。韓国では70・8%が「改善に向け努力すべき」と回答したが、日本側は40・2%にとどまる。

日本の対韓感情の悪化は昨今の政治情勢とリンクしているが、韓国側の日本への感情は意外なほど良好といえる。

調査を行った言論NPOの工藤泰志代表は、「日本を訪れる韓国旅行者の増加が背景にある」と指摘。訪日韓国人は平成25年の245万人から31年は753万人と3倍以上に増えており、「日本を直に訪れ、生で触れた感触を通じて日本に好印象を持つ人が多くなっている」と分析した。

東アジア研究院のソン・ヨル代表も「SNSを主な情報源にしている20～30代の若い世代は、（いわゆる）徴用工などの問題に関心が薄い」と指摘した。

こうした結果を受けて、政治家や研究者、元外交官らが日韓間の懸案や解決法を話し合うフォーラム「日韓未来対話」（言論NPOなど主催）が6月22日、東京都内で開かれた。

フォーラムでは、いわゆる徴用工問題を巡り出席した自民党国会議員と韓国与党議員が応酬する場面もあったが、両国の政治・外交関係がこれ以上悪化するのを防ぎつつ、市民レベルの交流を拡大することが重要との指摘が多く出された。

元駐日韓国大使のシン・ガクス氏は、「北朝鮮情勢が悪化すれば、最大の被害を受けるのは日韓両国。戦略的対話が必要だが、コミュニケーションがうまくいっておらず、誤解が生まれている」。韓国与党「共に民主党」のノ・ウンレ議員は、「政治的な関係だけで両国関係を見る時代は終わった。冷静で温かい視線を持ち、民間交流を活発にすることが大切だ」と話した。

日韓関係に詳しい慶応大の西野純也教授は、「1990年代以降、政府レベルだけでなく市民レベルで日韓交流が進んだ一方、いわゆる世論の影響を無視できない状況が生まれた」と指摘。「現在の局面では、両国の政治リーダーが日韓関係を破綻させないという強い意志を発信する必要がある」と注文をつけた。

J-Cast News, June 25, 2019

日韓「対話重要」だけど「徴用工」の解決は...
識者討論、なお埋まらない溝

日韓の研究者や国会議員が両国の懸案などについて話し合う「日韓未来対話」（言論NPO、東アジア研究院主催）が2019年6月22日、都内で開かれた。

日韓双方が、両国間の交流や対話が重要だという点では一致した。たが、現時点で最大の懸案でもある、韓国大法院（最高裁）が日本企業に対して元徴用工らへの賠償を命じる判決を下した問題では、認識の差が改めて浮き彫りになった。

「日韓未来対話」では、日韓の研究者や国会議員が両国の懸案などについて話し合った、
「日本側が環境を作ることも必要なのではないか」

徴用工問題をめぐっては、韓国外務省が2019年6月19日、韓国企業と被告となった日本企業が資金を拠出して元徴用工に賠償することに日本側が応じれば、日韓請求権協定に基づく協議に応じるという案を提案。日本政府は直後に「この問題の解決策にはならない」と拒否していた。

朝鮮日報東京支局長の李河遠（イ・ハウオン）氏は、賠償問題は「完全かつ最終的に解決された」とする1965年の日韓請求権協定について、

「（内容が）不足していると思うが、守らなければならないと思う韓国人のひとり」
だとしたうえで、日本企業が中国人元労働者に和解金を支払った事例を念頭に、

「日本（企業）の方で補償が難しい場合は、未来の世代のために関連企業が財団など基金を作って、奨学金を作るとか、若者の交流のために何か活動する姿を示すのも、日本の関連企業が姿勢を示すことを必要なのではないか。日本側が環境を作ることも必要なのではないか」
などと独自のアイデアを披露した。

「『民間で何とかしてよ』では『できるはずがない』」

松川るい参院議員は、

「65年の請求権協定に違反した状態に、判決のせいではなっている。韓国政府の側が関わらないで、何かが解決することはあり得ないと思う。『民間で何とかしてよ』とか、そういう話で、できるはずがない」

として、韓国政府が現実的な解決策を出さない限り事態は進展しないとの見方を示した。その上で、日韓は「戦略的利益を共有できる民主主義国」だとして、対話を呼びかけた。

「もう少し中長期的視点で何とかしたいと思う。政治家同士の腹を割った話も大事だと思う」

一方、韓国の与党・共に民主党の盧雄来（ノ・ウンレ）国会議員は

「断定的に『請求権協定の違反』と言ってしまえば、解決が難しくなる。韓国だけの責任で解決はできない」

と主張。日本政府は、韓国が仲裁手続きに応じなかった場合、国際司法裁判所（IJC）への提訴を視野に入れているが、

「私はこれを認めることはできない。『違反である』と言ってしまえば、非常に無責任な結果をもたらすだろう。最悪の結果、例えば（日本企業の資産売却が）執行された場合、（日韓関係は）ただでさえ悪いのに、最悪の関係になってしまう可能性がある」

などと反発した。

韓国は最高裁判決という制約が...

申瑛秀（シン・ガクス）元駐日大使は、

「文政権とは全く関係がなく縁もないので、政府を代弁する立場ではない」

としたうえで、韓国政府が置かれた立場への理解を求めた。

「遅れてしまったが、韓国政府がとにかく動き始めた。（中略）韓国は最高裁判決という制約があるので、その限度の中で韓国政府の立場を語らなければならないということを日本政府や国民は理解しなければならない。その土台の上に解決策を模索して、その中で双方の立場の違いを縮める努力が必要だ」

（J-CAST ニュース編集部 工藤博司）

Nikkei ASIAN REVIEW, July 9, 2019

Japan drags business into politics with South Korea sanctions

The Tokyo-Seoul relationship stands to deteriorate further. Japan is not known for playing diplomatic hardball, hence the widespread surprise at its recent, brusquely-expressed imposition of economic sanctions on South Korea in retaliation to a recent South Korean court decision over wartime compensation claims. Traditionally, the Japanese approach to political frictions has been to separate them from the logic of commerce. By slapping export restrictions on certain high-tech items critical to Korean manufacturing, the Japanese government is signaling that this twin-track approach can no longer be taken for granted.

In doing so, it is following precedents set by the two superpowers. The U.S. under President Donald Trump has used the threat of tariffs to squeeze concessions from China, Mexico and NATO allies unwilling to increase their military budgets and singled out Chinese tech company Huawei as a threat to national security.

China itself has long used economic muscle to pursue political goals. In 2010, it unofficially blocked exports of rare earths, minerals crucial for auto production, to Japan after an incident near the disputed Senkaku Islands. In 2017, it shut down the flow of tourists to South Korea in retaliation for the Korean adoption of an American antimissile system. Trade has already been weaponized in East Asia -- as, of course, has history.

Japan's spat with South Korea arose from the decision of its courts to allow alleged victims of forced labor in the wartime era to sue Japanese companies for compensation today. The Japanese side maintains that all such claims were settled in a 1965 treaty between the two countries.

"Apology fatigue" is clearly a factor in the sharp Japanese response, as is deep concern that the legal floodgates could be opened to all kinds of prior claims -- beyond South Korea. Targeted export restrictions are an astute device, as trade flows in the other direction are tiny and noncritical.

The rights and wrongs of this particular issue, the latest in a series of controversies about 70-year old events, are unimportant. Historical grievances do not create political conflict in today's world. Rather, it is the other way around.

A good counterexample is the lack of political heat between Vietnam and the U.S., which has not apologized nor been asked to apologize for its actions in a more recent war.

As it happens, Korean soldiers were also involved in the Vietnam War and have been accused of serious atrocities, but the Vietnamese authorities, in whose eyes South Korea is a valuable potential investor rather than a rival, have maintained silence on the subject. The contrast with the Japan-South Korea relationship is obvious. The two countries have similar industrial structures and compete head-to-head in a wide range of sectors -- from steel to autos, from flat panel displays to shipbuilding. In theory, economic competition is a plus-sum game, but it is no coincidence that the rise of Samsung Electronics and the decline of the Japanese electronics industry happened at the same time.

Indeed, in Japan it is widely believed that the Korean company's astute poaching of Japanese engineers from Toshiba contributed greatly to its long domination of the market for flash memory semiconductors, vital to mobile phones, tablets and many other electronic devices. Today Toshiba, like Sharp, is a shadow of its former self.

Crucially, Japan and South Korea have very different geopolitical orientations too, stemming from their differing locations and economic scales. In a recent joint survey by Japanese NPO Genron and the Seoul-based East Asia Institute, people were asked which countries were economically important to their own country.

China was the top pick for South Korean respondents, the U.S. for the Japanese. This merely reflects reality. Exports to China are equivalent to 16% of South Korean gross domestic product, against less than 3% of Japanese GDP.

Human contact tells the same story. South Korean students in China are by far the largest group by nationality -- three to five times more numerous than Japanese students, though Japan's population is more than twice as large.

The Genron/East Asia Institute survey came up with some other interesting findings. Some 28% of Korean respondents believe there will be a military conflict with Japan, 38% view Japan as a military threat and 35% view economic growth in Japan as a threat to South Korea. The equivalent proportions on the Japan side are 9%, 12% and 20%.

Could the deterioration in relations between the two countries have implications for the future of the Korean Peninsula? Probably not. Any deal to alter current arrangement will either be agreed between the U.S. and China or will not happen at all.

However, in the currently unlikely event of a grand bargain that offers verified denuclearization in return for phased reduction and ultimate withdrawal of the U.S. military presence, the common threat would disappear. With it would go any remaining rationale for Japan-Korean cooperation.

With Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe facing an upper house election later this month and South Korean President Moon Jae-in dealing with falling support rates and a shrinking economy, it is tempting to dismiss this latest iteration of Japan-Korean mutual distrust as the product of domestic political dynamics and/or "unresolved" historical issues.

That would be a misreading. It was only the coming of the first Cold War and the requirements of America's geopolitical strategy that brought them together in the first place. The rise of China and the looming possibility of a new Cold War changes all that permanently.

The first Cold War was strongly ideological and it seemed natural for countries with similar economic systems -- capitalist or communist -- to line up on opposite sides. In historical terms, though, that was an aberration. In previous centuries, geography and national interest were the driving forces, not economic principles, and this is likely to be the case again.

In the grand wrestling match between the U.S. and China, Japan knows which side it is on. South Korea would prefer to hedge its bets but as time goes on, that will become increasingly difficult. If forced, it is likely to choose China.

List of Media Coverage on “Japan-Korea Future Dialogue” (Japanese)

National News Papers			
	Date	Madia	Title
1	June 2, 2019	Yomiuri Shinbun Morning ed., Page 7	日韓改善 民間レベルで探る 21、22日「未来対話」 言論NPOなど主催

Local News Papers			
	Date	Madia	Title
1	May 30, 2019	Chugoku Shinbun Morning ed.,	資金難克服し日韓対話 市民募金で開催にめど 来月東京で民間フォーラム

News Agencies/Newspaper Online Sites				
	Date	Madia	Title	URL
1	June 22, 2019	Kyodo News	都内で「日韓未来対話」市民 交流の拡大を	https://this.kii.is/515116572907193441
2	June 22, 2019	Chunichi Shinbun	都内で「日韓未来対話」市民 交流の拡大を	
3	June 22, 2019	Saga Shinbun	都内で「日韓未来対話」市民 交流の拡大を	https://www.saga-s.co.jp/articles/-/391093
4	June 22, 2019	Okinawa Times	都内で「日韓未来対話」市民 交流の拡大を	https://www.okinawatimes.co.jp/articles/-/436281
5	June 22, 2019	Sanyo Shinbun	都内で「日韓未来対話」市民 交流の拡大を	https://www.sanyonews.jp/article/911655
6	June 22, 2019	Tokyo Shinbun	都内で「日韓未来対話」市民 交流の拡大を	https://www.tokyo-np.co.jp/s/article/2019062201002418.html
7	June 22, 2019	Kahoku Shinpo	都内で「日韓未来対話」市民 交流の拡大を	https://www.kahoku.co.jp/naigainews/201906/2019062201002418.html
8	June 22, 2019	Chugoku Shinbun	都内で「日韓未来対話」市民 交流の拡大を	https://www.chugoku-np.co.jp/news/article/article.php?comment_id=545739&comment_sub_id=0&category_id=25
9	June 22, 2019	Kochi Shinbu	都内で「日韓未来対話」市民 交流の拡大を	https://www.kochinews.co.jp/article/287310/
10	June 22, 2019	Shinmai Web	都内で「日韓未来対話」市民 交流の拡大を	https://www.shinmai.co.jp/news/world/article.php?date=20190622&id=2019062201002418
11	June 22, 2019	Nishinippon Shinbun	都内で「日韓未来対話」市民 交流の拡大を	https://www.nishinippon.co.jp/item/o/520884/
12	June 22, 2019	Kyoto Shinbun	都内で「日韓未来対話」市民 交流の拡大を	
13	June 22, 2019	Saga Shinbun	都内で「日韓未来対話」市民 交流の拡大を	https://www.saga-s.co.jp/articles/-/391091
14	June 22, 2019	Shizuoka Shinbun	都内で「日韓未来対話」市民 交流の拡大を	https://www.at-s.com/news/article/international/649069.html
15	June 22, 2019	Tokushima Shinbun	都内で「日韓未来対話」市民 交流の拡大を	https://www.topics.or.jp/articles/-/220041
16	July 11, 2019	Mainichi Shinbun	日韓の未来、歴史事実踏まえ ＝国家公務員共済組合連合 会理事長・松元崇	https://mainichi.jp/articles/20190711/ddm/008/070/081000c

Internet News Sites				
	Date	Media	Title	URL
1	June 25, 2019	J-CAST News	日韓「対話重要」だけど「徴用工」の解決は... 識者討論、なお埋まらない溝	https://www.j-cast.com/2019/06/25360949.html?p=all
2	June 25, 2019	BIGLOBE	日韓「対話重要」だけど「徴用工」の解決は... 識者討論、なお埋まらない溝	https://news.biglobe.ne.jp/domestic/0625/jc_190625_4088343302.html

List of Media Coverage on “Japan-Korea Future Dialogue” (Non-Japanese)

Korean Media				
	Date	Media	Title	URL
1	July 9, 2019	Chosun Ilbo	“일본인들, 한국과 대화해봤자 변할 것 없다 생각... 反韓감정 심각”	https://news.biglobe.ne.jp/domestic/0625/jc_190625_4088343302.html
Chinese Media				
	Date	Media	Title	URL
1	July 2, 2019	正北方网	日本突然制裁韩国背后:不睦已久 专家称尚有分寸	http://m.northnews.cn/pcarticle/3108029
English Media				
	Date	Media	Title	URL
1	June 13, 2019	The Mainichi	Japanese, South Koreans at odds on wartime labor issue, poll shows	https://mainichi.jp/english/articles/20190613/p2g/00m/0na/037000c
2	July 9, 2019	Nikkei Asian Review	Japan drags business into politics with South Korea sanctions	https://asia.nikkei.com/Opinion/Japan-drags-business-into-politics-with-South-Korea-sanctions

