On the Naming Dispute over the Sea between Korea and Japan
~For a Third Name, neither Sea of Japan nor East Sea~

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Abstract

The sea between the Korean Peninsula and the Japanese Archipelago is mainly called "Sea of Japan" in the international society. Concerning this, two Koreas have raised complaint under the rationale of the historical background and the international norms. The complaint of the Korean people concerning the naming issue most deeply lies in the fact that the name "Sea of Japan" which is "favorable" to Japan has been used as the (sole) official international name, whereas the name "East Sea" which is "favorable" to Korea has not been adopted even as the second official international name, regardless of its exact historical background. In the naming dispute like this, the best solution is to create a neutral single name through negotiations by the countries concerned. In case the countries concerned fail to create a neutral single name, the second-best solution is to use multiple names. From this kind of viewpoint, concerning the naming dispute, this article requests three countries, Japan, South Korea and North Korea, to negotiate to create a neutral single name.

Key words: The Naming Dispute, Sea of Japan, Eastsea, a neutralsingle name, Japan, South Korea, North Korea.

I have been interested in this naming dispute for quite long time. But the direct occasion I have come to write this article is that I listened to a lecture by Haruki WADA, emeritus professor of Tokyo University, at a symposium called "Challenge of North-East Asian Area Studies" held at Shimane Prefectural University at Hamada. Professor Wada insisted that it is desirable to pursue compromise through a third name "the Blue Sea"(青海) concerning the naming dispute over the sea between Korea and Japan. As I was deeply moved by his bravery that even though he is a Japanese scholar he raised a different opinion from the official position of the Japanese government and I basically have the same opinion as his, I have come to write this article. Of course, the logic written here is mine.
Introduction

The naming dispute between two Koreas and Japan over the sea between the Korean Peninsula and the Japanese Archipelago (the part of the question mark in the map below) still continues.

[Figure 1] The Sea Area in Question

The Japanese position that the sea should be solely called “Sea of Japan” in the international society and the Korean position that the sea should be called not only “Sea of Japan” but also “East Sea” confront each other.

Japan insists that the international society should use the sole name “Sea of Japan” with no need to add a second name, as the name “Sea of Japan” began to be widely used around the beginning of the 19th century and it was officially adopted in 1929 by the International Hydrographic Organization and has widely been used until now.

The survey conducted by Japan’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs confirmed that, although various names including the Sea of Japan “Sea of Korea”, “Oriental Sea” and “Sea of China” were used in maps published in Western countries by the end of 18th century, the name Sea of Japan has been overwhelmingly used since the beginning of 19th century. The name Sea of Japan is the only internationally established name for the sea area concerned. Japan has strongly opposed the unfounded argument concerning the name Sea of Japan and has called for a better understanding of the issue and support for Japan’s position from the international community in order to maintain the sole use of the name, Sea of Japan. Japan’s position is shared by many international organizations, including the United Nations.3

South Korea and North Korea insist that the international society should use not only “Sea of Japan” but also “East Sea” considering the historical background that “East Sea” has long been used and the international rules that multiple names should be used in case the countries concerned fail to agree to a single name over a certain international geographical figure.

Geographical names are part of cultural heritage and a reflection of people’s identity and history. “East Sea” is a name that has been used for more than 2000 years and is still in use by 75 million Koreans. While “East Sea” is less known today due to historical circumstances of the late 19th and early 20th centuries, its legitimacy is firmly grounded in historical documents and world maps. In addition, given the geographical feature of the sea area, the concurrent use of both names “East Sea” and “Sea of Japan” is in line with the general rules of international cartography. As such, many of the world’s prominent map producers and the media have begun to use “East Sea” and “Sea of Japan” simultaneously.4

From this kind of viewpoint, not only governments of two Koreas but also ordinary Koreans in and outside the Korean Peninsula have actively waged the movement for concurrent use of the name “East Sea” alongside “Sea of Japan”. And considerable successful cases have already appeared (Later I will deal with this point again).

By the way, there has been a third position that both sides should compromise through a neutral third name in order to settle the confrontation with securing the “efficiency” of naming.

In this article, I will discuss the issue focusing on what is the logic of each side, how we should evaluate those logics, how will the dispute develop, and which solution will be desirable.

For convenience’s sake, let me submit my conclusion briefly in advance. It will be desirable that the governments of the three countries, South Korea, North Korea and Japan should make political decision to compromise through a neutral third name and they should take necessary follow-up measures.

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Where Does the Dispute Arise?

In order to understand the issue, we need to understand some “types” of geographical names. The following three pairs will be helpful.

The first pair is “endonym” vs. “exonym”. An “endonym” is a name attached to a geographical figure by the party concerned. There might exist multiple parties. An “exonym” is a name attached to a geographical figure not by the party concerned but by an outsider.

The second pair is “local name” vs. “national name”. A “local name” is used in a part of the country. A national name is used in the whole country.

The third pair is “domestic name” vs. “international name”. A “domestic name” is used in a country. An “international name” is used all over the world.

These kinds of various names might be put in the complex relations and many kinds of “disputes” concerning naming might occur. It seems that the core reason of the naming dispute lies in the fact that an “endonym” has not been “extended” due to one reason or another.

A dispute might occur when an endonym is only used as local name but not used as national name.

A dispute might occur when an endonym is only used as domestic name but not used as international name.

Seeing the dispute from this kind of viewpoint, we can say that the dispute arises from the fact that the Korean endonym “East Sea” has not been extended at least to one of the international names by one reason or another.

It seems that we need to pay attention to the trend that endonyms are more and more respected in the naming disputes. Let me raise two examples.

One example is the case of “Mt. McKinley”. The U.S. President Obama changed the official name of the tallest mountain in North America from the widely known exonym “Mt. McKinley” to the hardly known endonym “Mt. Denali” through an administrative measure of the central government.

After 100 years since the exonym “Mt. McKinley” became the official national name driving away the endonym “Mt. Denali”, the name of the mountain returned to the endonym “Mt. Denali”. It shows naming of geographical figures is how much sensitive cultural, sentimental issue.

The other example is the case of “the Falkland Islands”. Though the English name “the Falkland Islands” has been used as the official international name, accepting the claim of Argentina, the U.N. has come to also use the name “Las Malvinas”.

In the case of the British territory of the Falkland Islands, the U.N. General Assembly adopted a resolution calling for the parallel usage of its Spanish name, Malvinas.

Beginning of the Dispute

It seems that this dispute arose in the process of negotiations for the fisheries agreement between South Korea and Japan in 1965.

After the war and with the restoration of law and administration, Korea has steadfastly exerted its vigorous effort to regain the legitimacy of the name “East Sea”. For instance, in the process of negotiations between Korea and Japan on the Fisheries Agreement in 1965, the two countries, unable to reach an agreement on the name of the sea area, agreed to maintain their respective names in each of their texts of the Agreement – that is, “East Sea” in the Korean version and “Sea of Japan” in the Japanese version.

President Obama’s three-day trip to Alaska this week will literally change the map of the nation’s 49th state. Mount McKinley – the 20,237-foot mountain and the tallest in North America – has been renamed Denali, as it was originally known by Alaska Natives before it was renamed to honor President William McKinley. “... Denali, meaning “the great one” in the Athabaskan language of Alaska natives, was the original name of the mountain. ... The name [Mt. McKinley] became official with the Mount McKinley National Park Act in 1917.”

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5. Gregory Korte, Aug.31, 2015, “Obama administration renames Mount McKinley to Denali”, USA TODAY.
6. By the way, interestingly (7), the then Republican nominee for the U.S. President vowed to return to “Mt. McKinley”. [Republican presidential front-runner Donald Trump vowed on Monday evening to overturn President Barack Obama’s decision to rename Alaska’s Mt. McKinley. “President Obama wants to change the name of Mt. McKinley to Denali after more than 100 years. Great insult to Ohio. I will change back!” he tweeted Monday evening.] Schuppe, Aug. 31, 2015, “Mt. McKinley to Denali: How a Mountain's Renaming Got Tied Up in Politics” NBC NEWS. [http://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/mckinley-denali-how-mountains-renaming-got-tied-politics-n418811].
Academic circles, historians and cartographers in Korea have continuously endeavored to restore the name “East Sea” on world maps. Such efforts were culminated when the Korean government officially raised the issue at the 1992 United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names immediately following its admission to the United Nations as a full member in 1991.

In 1992, objections to the name Sea of Japan were first raised by North Korea and South Korea at the Sixth United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names.

Logic of Each Side

A. Logic of South Korea

South Korea insists that not only “Sea of Japan” but also “East Sea” should be adopted as international official name from the logic as follows.

1) The Korean people have used the name “East Sea” for more than 2000 years.

Historically, the sea area between the Korean Peninsula and the Japanese Archipelago has been called “East Sea” in Korea for the past 2000 years. Numerous references, such as History of the Three Kingdoms (三國史記), the monument of King Gwanggaeto, and Map of Eight Provinces of Korea (八道總圖), reveal that “East Sea” has been used in Korea for more than 2000 years.

2) Various names such as “East Sea”, “Sea of Korea”, “Sea of Japan”, or “Oriental Sea” were used in the modern maps published in Europe.

Until the 19th century, maps published in Europe designated this area with various names such as “Sea of Korea,” “East Sea,” “Sea of Japan,” and “Oriental Sea.”

3) Even in Japan the name “Sea of Korea” was used for long time.

The name “Sea of Japan”, however, was not widely used even in Japan until the mid-19th century. It is worthy of note that, as late as 1870, even many Japanese maps referred to this body of water as “Sea of Joseon” (Joseon was the Korean dynasty lasting from 1392 to 1910) instead of “Sea of Japan”. Various Japanese maps such as Simplified Map of Japan’s Periphery (日本邊界略圖) by Takahashi Kageyasu in 1809, New World Map (新製輿地全圖) by Mitsukuri Shogoin in 1844, and Japan’s Northeast Marginal Boundary Map (本邦西北邊界略圖) by Yasuda Raishu in 1850 referred the sea area as “Sea of Joseon.”

11. As North Korea presents similar logic, I will not deal with it separately.
14. [https://www.newikis.com/ko/wiki/%ED%8C%8C%EC%9D%BC-%ED%8C%84%EB%8F%84%EC%9D%8F%84.gif].
4) In 1929 when the Korean people were under the Japan’s colonial rule, the name “Japan Sea” was adopted by the International Hydrographic Organization (IHO).

The name “Sea of Japan”, however, came into wider use in the 20th century with the advent of Japanese imperialism and military expansion in Asia. Following continuous onslaughts from Japan in the late 19th century, Korea was colonized by Japan in 1910. But even before that, Korea had already been deprived of its diplomatic representation by Japan in 1905. It was against this backdrop that the International Hydrographic Organization published the first and second editions of Limits of Oceans and Seas: S-23 in 1929 and 1937, with “Japan Sea” used to designate the sea area between Korea and Japan.18

5) Since the Korean people recovered their sovereignty, they have raised this issue continuously to the international society.

After the war and with the restoration of law and administration, Korea has steadfastly exerted its vigorous effort to regain the legitimacy of the name “East Sea”. For instance, in the process of negotiations between Korea and Japan on the Fisheries Agreement in 1965, the two countries, unable to reach an agreement on the name of the sea area, agreed to maintain their respective names in each of their texts of the Agreement – that is, “East Sea” in the Korean version and “Sea of Japan” in the Japanese version. Academic circles, historians and cartographers in Korea have continuously endeavored to restore the name “East Sea” on world maps. Such efforts were culminated when the Korean government officially raised the issue at the 1992 United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names immediately following its admission to the United Nations as a full member in 1991.19

6) The international rules support the concurrent use of “Sea of Japan” and “East Sea”.

Lying between Korea and Japan and extending north toward Russia, the sea area includes the territorial waters and Exclusive Economic Zones (EEZs) of the countries encircling the area. In other words, several countries share jurisdiction and sovereign rights over the sea area. When there is a geographical feature shared among two or more countries, its designation is generally standardized through consultations among the countries concerned. If the effort to standardize fails, however, the names used by each of the countries are used concurrently. This general rule of international cartography is also confirmed in the International Hydrographic Organization Technical Resolution A.4.2.6 and the United Nations Resolution on the Standardization of Geographical Names III/20.20

7) South Korea requested Japan to make negotiations for creating a mutually agreeable single name for the sea. But, Japan has opposed to the idea. Under these circumstances, South Korea insists that not only “Sea of Japan” but also “East Sea” should be adopted as international name.21

In following these cartographic rules and resolutions, Korea has made continuous efforts to seek a mutually agreeable solution through bilateral consultations with Japan. However, Japan’s intransigence and inflexibility have prevented

21. South Korea insisted that “East Sea” should be adopted as the international name replacing “Sea of Japan” in the initial phase of the dispute. But around 2011, South Korea changed their logic to “concurrent use” of both names. Probably, they changed their strategy realizing that the logic of “replacement” could not be accepted by the international society. [The government recently told the International Hydrographic Organization that the terms “East Sea” and “Sea of Japan” can be used together to refer to the sea between the Korean Peninsula and Japan, according to Seoul officials yesterday. Korea’s new stance is a pullback. Seoul originally wanted the name only to be East Sea, and it cited ancient historical documents to make its case for the name.] Moon Gwang-Ip, “Gov’t goes easy on East Sea renaming demand”, Korea JoongAng Daily, May 02, 2011. [http://koreajoongangdaily.joins.com/news/article/article.aspx?aid=2935590].
any meaningful discussion, resulting in constant deadlocks. Therefore, under these circumstances, Korea is of the view that both “East Sea” and “Sea of Japan” should be used concurrently in accordance with the established general rule of international cartography (The concurrent use of different names is well evident in such cases as English Channel / La Manche, Dover Strait / Pas de Calais, and Bay of Biscay / Golfe de Gascogne.)

B. Logic of Japan

Japan insists that the sole use of “Sea of Japan” is natural from the logic as follows.

1) In 1992, South Korea and North Korea suddenly raised objections to the sole use of “Sea of Japan”.

Objections to the name Sea of Japan were first raised by the ROK and North Korea at the Sixth United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names, held in 1992. Although there had been no prior objections made to the term, either during bilateral talks or at international fora, the ROK suddenly began insisting that the name of the Sea of Japan be changed to “East Sea”, or that both names be used together.

2) The name “Sea of Japan” was internationally established at the beginning of the 19th century long before the annexation of Korea by Japan.

The term Sea of Japan was first used in the early 17th century in the world map created by the Italian Jesuit priest Matteo Ricci. Research by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs has confirmed that while Western maps used a variety of names for the sea through the 18th century, including “Sea of Korea”, “Oriental Sea” and “Sea of China” in addition to Sea of Japan, from the early 19th century Sea of Japan overwhelmingly became the preferred term. Based on this fact, it can be concluded that use of the name Sea of Japan was established in the West by the early 19th century.

3) There is no international rule that advocates the use of “East Sea”.

The ROK contends that the United Nations (UN) and the International Hydrographic Organization (IHO) have issued resolutions that advocate the name “East Sea” be used together with Sea of Japan. However, neither UNCSGN Resolution III/20 nor IHO Technical Resolution A.4.2.6.2 includes any specific recommendation to use “East Sea” alongside Sea of Japan. Further, these resolutions presume that the geographical feature concerned is under the sovereignty of two or more countries, such as in the case of a bay or strait, and do not apply to the high seas such as the Sea of Japan. Following the ROK’s assertion, if even one of the countries bordering the Atlantic or the Pacific were to raise an objection to the name of the ocean, it would lead to the use of multiple names, which would clearly be unmanageable. The international community cannot accept such an argument.

25. [http://image.search.yahoo.co.jp/search?rf=2&ei=UTF-8&gdr=1&p=matteo+ricci+%E5%9C%B0%E5%9B%B3#mode%3Ddetail%26index%3D0%26sr%3D0].
26. [http://blogimg.goo.ne.jp/user_image/5a/hf/1dc87d4b10d9c30fbbab1be4a8872fsc8.jpg].
Further, as stated previously the UN has already officially confirmed its policy requiring the use of Sea of Japan as the standard geographical term in all official UN publications. The IHO publication “Limits of Oceans and Seas” (S-23) also uses only the name Japan Sea for the sea area concerned. This demonstrates that there is no UN or IHO resolution recommending the use of “East Sea” together with Sea of Japan.28

4) In 2004, the United Nations officially recognized “Sea of Japan” as the international name.

The United Nations (UN) recognized Sea of Japan as the standard geographical term in March 2004, and UN policy states that the standard geographical term be used in official UN publications. The UN Secretariat has further clarified its stance on the issue by affirming the need to observe prevailing practice to ensure fairness and neutrality, stating that "without taking sides on the issue, the simultaneous use of both [Sea of Japan and East Sea] infringes on the neutrality of the United Nations."29

5) Major countries including the U.S. officially use the sole name “Sea of Japan” for the area concerned.

The U.S. Board on Geographic Names, an agency of the government of the United States, has formally recognized and acknowledged Sea of Japan as the sole official name for the sea area concerned. All federal agencies of the United States are required to use the name Sea of Japan. Other agencies within the United States are strongly encouraged to use the term as well. The governments of other major countries, including the United Kingdom, France, Germany and China, officially use the name Sea of Japan.30

6) Japan does not challenge the use of the name “East Sea” inside two Koreas. But if we adopt “East Sea” as one more international name, it will cause confusion. So Japan opposes to the idea of using both names.

Some maps in use within the ROK show “East Sea” for the sea on the east side, “West Sea” for the sea on the west side, and “South Sea” for the sea on the south side of the Korean Peninsula. Japan does not presume to challenge the use of the name “East Sea” by the ROK in its domestic publications or media. However, Japan cannot accept the assertion to change the name of the Sea of Japan—the name actually used in the international community—to the purely domestic ROK term “East Sea” and to make this an international standard, as the confusion would necessarily have an adverse effect on the safety of international maritime traffic. Sea of Japan is the only internationally established name, a fact for which there is no room for debate. Japan emphatically refutes the assertions of the ROK and North Korea made at the UNCSGN, IHO and other international conferences.31

Evaluation

Let’s evaluate the South Korean logic and the Japanese logic focusing on several aspects.

A. About the Historical Background

Let’s evaluate the logics from the historical aspects focusing on several points.

Firstly, which “endonym” has each side used? South Korea insists that the Korean people have used the name “East Sea” as endonym for more than 2000 years. Korea submits as evidence the description in the book “History of the Three Kingdoms” (三国史記), the description on the monument of King Gwanggaeto, Map of Eight Provinces of Korea (八道總圖), etc. It seems that Japan has not used any name as endonym. We can say that the Korean people have used their own endonym for long time, even though there are some incorrect argument.32

Secondly, which names were used during the process of “competition”? When several names are used in designating a certain geographical figure, among them some kind of competition occurs. This competition is a kind of “standardization process”.

32. Though South Korea insists that “East Sea” was used around B.C. 50 on the basis of the description of the book “History of the Three Kingdoms”(三国史記), this kind of interpretation is wrong. South Korea insists that in the book describing some events of the time of around B.C. 50 the name “East Sea” is used, it testifies the existence of the name “East Sea” at that time. [This seminal book (“History of the Three Kingdoms”(三国史記)) recounts the history of ancient states in Korea and the name “East Sea” was used when describing historical events that occurred around B.C.50. (Northeast Asian History Foundation, May 2009, p.3.) But this kind of description does not testify that the name “East Sea” was used around B.C. 50. Such description only testifies that “East Sea” was used in the year A.D. 1145 when the book was written. We cannot know whether “East Sea” was used around B.C. 50 from such description. Probably the oldest evidence that testifies the use of “East Sea” is the monument of King Gwanggaeto. King Jangsu built the monument in A.D. 414 and here “East Sea” appears. So it testifies the existence of the name “East Sea” in the year A.D. 414. And so we can say that “East Sea” has been used at least for 1700 years.
The characteristics of the standardization are as follows.
1) There might be multiple candidates for the standard.
2) Usually one candidate remains to be the standard.
3) Sometimes multiple candidates remain to be the standard.

In the competition for the standard name of the sea, several names appeared. They were “Sea of China”, “Sea of Japan”, “Sea of Korea”, “Oriental Sea”, “East Sea”, etc. Among them “East Sea” is the Korean endonym and others are exonyms.

Thirdly, when was the name “Sea of Japan” “established” as the international name? In order to understand this point, we need to divide two kinds of phenomena. One is the phenomenon that a name “has come to be widely used in the international society”. The other is that a name is “to be officially adopted by the international organization” with authority to designate such names. Japan thinks highly of the former, but South Korea thinks highly of the latter.

Japan insists that the name “Sea of Japan” was established as the international name at the time when the name came to be widely used in the international society. But, South Korea insists the time when a name is officially adopted by the international organization should be the criterion.

During the 18th and 19th centuries, the international authorities decided no standard name for the sea. So it is not natural that “Sea of Japan” was the internationally established name. Many of the maps published during the period don’t have any name for the sea, and this fact shows that there was no internationally established name. Multiple names for the sea in the maps kept to date show that a certain name cannot be the sole justified name for the sea.

We should think highly of both phenomena with balance. Concerning the former, scholars of the both countries investigated many old European maps. But, unfortunately, there is strong tendency that each side manipulates the analyses and interpretations of the results. Korea insisted that it was the early 20th century that the name “Sea of Japan” came to be widely used in the international society. But Japan, criticizing such analysis, insisted that it was the early 19th century. About this point, I think that further review of the previous researches from the neutral viewpoint is necessary.

And concerning the latter, as it is a historical fact that in 1929 the name “Japan Sea” was officially adopted as the international name, we only need to evaluate it. Japan insists that there was no problem in the adoption. But South Korea insists that at that time the Korean people were under the Japanese colonial rule and so they could not raise their voice that there was defect in the adoption. We could see here one important source of Korean complaint about the issue exists.

Fourthly, is the “competition” over? We could interpret the Japanese position as insisting that Korea should accept the designation instead of raising complaint repeatedly at late timing, as the name “Sea of Japan” was established as the sole international name through the natural competition process. And we could interpret the Korean position as insisting that the name “East Sea” should be used alongside the name “Sea of Japan” as international name for the sea, as under the unnatural situation the name “Sea of Japan” was adopted as international name and during the process the Korean endonym “East Sea” was excluded which had been used from the earlier time.

We need to review this point from the “normative” aspect and from the “factual” aspect. Let’s deal with this point later again.

As for reference, several maps below will be helpful to understanding the situation before 1929 when the name “Japan Sea” was adopted as the international name at the IHO.

[Figure 7] Ortelius, Printed in the Netherlands (1570)

※“Sea of China” (MARE CIN) appears in the area

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of the sea.

※“Oriental Sea"(Oceanvs Eovs siue Orientalis) appears in the area of the sea.

[Figure 8] Botero, Printed in Italy (1582)

※“Sea of Korea” (MARE DI CORAI) appears in the area of the sea.

[Figure 11] Lapie, Printed in France (1832)

※ “Sea of Japan” (MARE DI CORAI) appears in the area of the sea. (“Sea of Korea” (MER DE COREE) appears in the area of the East China Sea.)

[Figure 12] Japan’s Northeast Marginal Boundary Map (1850)

※ “Sea of Josen (Korea)” [朝鮮海] appears in the part squared red.

B. About the International Rules

Concerning the international rules related to the naming issue of the international geographical figures, Korea interprets that if the countries concerned can not arrive to agreement about the name of a certain international geographical figure, multiple names should be adopted and these rules should be applied to the case of the sea between Korea and Japan and so “East Sea” should be

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36. [http://blogimg.goo.ne.jp/user_image/5a/ff/1dc87d9b10d0c30fbbabf1be4a8872fc8.jpg].
adopted as the other name of the sea. Japan opposes this logic.

The core of the debate over the international rules concerning the naming issue is the interpretation of the two documents below.

**International Hydrographic Organization Technical Resolution A.4.2.6.**

*International Standardization of Geographical Names (1974)*

It is recommended that where two or more countries share a given geographical feature (such as, for example, a bay, strait, channel or archipelago) under a different name form, they should endeavour to reach agreement on fixing a single name for the feature concerned. If they have different official languages and cannot agree on a common name form, it is recommended that the name forms of each of the languages in question should be accepted for charts and publications unless technical reasons prevent this practice on small-scale charts. E.g. English Channel/La Manche.

**United Nations Resolution on the Standardization of Geographical Names III/20 Names of features beyond a single sovereignty (1977)**

The Conference,

Considering the need for international standardization of names of geographical features that are under the sovereignty of more than one country or are divided among two or more countries,

Recommends that countries sharing a given geographical feature under different names should endeavour, as far as possible, to reach agreement on fixing a single name for the feature concerned; Further recommends that when countries sharing a given geographical feature do not succeed in agreeing on a common name, it should be a general rule of international cartography that the name used by each of the countries concerned will be accepted. A policy of accepting only one or some of such names while excluding the rest would be inconsistent in principle as well as inexpedient in practice. Only technical reasons may sometimes make it necessary, especially in the case of small-scale maps, to dispense with the use of certain names belonging to one language or another.

If we read these documents without bias, we should interpret them as concerning an international geographical figure, it would be desirable for the countries concerned to agree to a single name, but if the countries concerned fail to agree to a single name, multiple names should be used.

By the way, concerning this point, it seems that Japan opposes to the Korean suggestion that “East Sea” should be added as the other name of the sea on two grounds. The first is the problem of “the extent of application”. The second is “the expression of the documents”.

As one ground, concerning the extent of application, Japan insists that the international geographical figures of the documents do not include any “high seas”. And as the sea is one of the high seas, the rules should not be applied to the sea.

These resolutions presume that the geographical feature concerned is under the sovereignty of two or more countries, such as in the case of a bay or strait, and do not apply to the high seas such as the Sea of Japan.40

Does the expression “a given geographical feature (such as, for example, a bay, strait, channel or archipelago)” exclude such cases as the sea between Korea and Japan? Probably, it includes such case as the sea.

As the other ground, Japan raises the fact that the name “East Sea” does not appear in the documents.

The ROK contends that the United Nations (UN) and the International Hydrographic Organization (IHO) have issued resolutions that advocate the name “East Sea” be used together with Sea of Japan. However, neither UNCSGN Resolution III/20 nor IHO Technical Resolution A.4.2.6 includes any specific recommendation to use “East Sea” alongside Sea of Japan.41

This is a rather strange logic. Korea insists that the international rules should be “applied” to the case of the sea and so “East Sea” also should be used as international name. But Japan counterattacks it using the logic there does not appear such specific case as “East Sea”. As the international rules are “general”, so specific cases might or might not appear in such documents. Concerning a specific case that does not appear in the documents, both sides might contend over how such rules should be interpreted or applied.

C. Overall Evaluation

If we consider the historical backgrounds and the international rules, etc., under the current situation that both sides fail to agree to a single name, the suggestion of the concurrent use of the name “East Sea” alongside the name “Sea of Japan” is quite convincing.

There appears strong tendency that each country tries to interpret various points favorably to themselves in understanding the situation which names were how often used on the European maps before the year 1929 when the name “Japan Sea” was officially adopted by IHO. By the way, even if it is true that the name “Sea of Japan” came to be more widely used than any other name at some point (say at the middle of the 19th century), it is a different issue whether this could justify the “sole use” of the name “Sea of Japan”.

The core point raised concerning multiple names of an international geographical feature is not whether there is a name more widely used than any other name or if so when the name came to be widely used, but whether there is agreement to its naming among “countries concerned”.

This indicates that the international norm does not approach the issue of naming international geographical features from the aspect of “efficiency” alone. If we approach the issue from the viewpoint of efficiency alone, an international norm like “The name which is most widely used in the international society should be the sole standard name.” and as the result in most cases names “favorable to early comers” will be adopted.

But the international norm is not as simple as such. (From one reason or another) If there are different opinions among concerned countries, they should endeavor to arrive at a single name, and if this fails, multiple names should be used concurrently. We can say that this kind of viewpoint takes consideration of the “sentimental aspect of the latecomers”. So we can interpret that if other conditions are equal, the higher efficiency is better. But efficiency should not neglect the sentimental aspect of the latecomers.

Considering this situation, from the normative aspect of the dispute, we can say that “the challenge for introducing a neutral single name or adding one more standard name” is not over.

Current Situation

A. Attitudes of International Organizations

One important point to which we need to pay attention understanding the naming dispute is that what kinds of attitude the international organizations show towards it. Let’s check the attitudes of the International Hydrographic Organization (IHO) and the United Nations (UN) that play the most important role in the issue.

1) International Hydrographic Organization

The International Hydrographic Organization is an organization that coordinates with member countries over hydrographic issues. One of the organization’s functions is to help set international standards on the naming and delineation of nautical regions. In 1929, the organization (then called the International Hydrographic Bureau) published “IHO Special Publication 23” (IHO SP 23), which adopted the name of the sea as “Japan Sea”.

By the way, at that time, Korea could not participate in the IHO, because it was under the Japanese colonial rule from 1910. After South Korea officially joined the IHO in 1957, it has raised the naming issue.

On the last occasion when the issue was discussed at the IHO in 2012 in Monaco, the Korean request that the name “East Sea” be also adopted alongside “Sea of Japan” was rejected by the IHO. According to a South Korean delegate, the issue will be discussed again in 2017.

Concerning the attitudes of members of the IHO, a South Korean delegate depicted as follows.

“Our country [South Korea] asserted that both names be used ... but Japan insisted that only the term ‘Sea of Japan’ be used,” according to an official with the South’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. “Other countries advised us that the two countries should come to some sort of agreement to resolve the issue.”

It seems that many member countries want the countries concerned to create some sort of agreement instead of continuing confrontation.

2) United Nations

The United Nations is the organization created in order to secure “collective security” of the member states. Japan joined the United Nations in 1956. And South Korea and North Korea joined in 1991.

Though naming of the international geographical figures is not assumed to be duty of the United Nations, from the situation that many countries

communicate in the organization, it naturally intervenes in the naming disputes. Several fights between two Koreas and Japan for the naming of the sea have been made in the United Nations. Main cases are as follows.

In 1977, the third U.N. Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names (UNCSGN) adopted Resolution III/20, entitled "Names of Features beyond a Single Sovereignty". The resolution recommended that "when countries sharing a given geographical feature do not agree on a common name, it should be a general rule of cartography that the name used by each of the countries concerned will be accepted. A policy of accepting only one or some of such names while excluding the rest would be inconsistent as well as inexpedient in practice". This resolution shows the basic position of the UN concerning naming issues.

In 1992, during the 1992 Sixth UNGEGN, the South Korean government, in their first time participating in UNGEGN, requested that the name of the sea be determined through consultation, which the North Korean representative concurred with. The Japanese representative stated that the name of the Sea of Japan had already been accepted worldwide and that any change would introduce confusion. The conference recommended that the parties work together on the issue outside of the conference.44

At the Eighth UNGEGN in 2002, South Korea and Japan presented a number of papers to the conference regarding their positions on the naming issue. South Korea asked for a resolution to adjudicate the name, while Japan asked that the name be decided through resolution outside of the conference. No resolution was passed, and the Committee again urged the countries to develop a mutually agreeable solution. The chairman further noted that standardization could only occur after consensus had been reached.45

On 23 April 2004, the United Nations affirmed in a written document to the Japanese government that it will continue using the name Sea of Japan in its official documents.46 However, it agreed to leave the topic open for further discussion. In a letter to South Korea, it was explained that the UN was not determining the validity of either name, but wished to use the term most widely used until the parties resolved the disagreement. The letter further stated, "The use of an appellation by the Secretariat based on the practice is without prejudice to any negotiations or agreements between the interested parties and should not be interpreted as advocating or endorsing any party’s position, and can in no way be invoked by any party in support of a particular position in the matter."47

On 6 August 2012, representatives from North Korea and South Korea addressed an assembly at the United Nations Conference on the Standardization of Geographical Names, asking that the names "East Sea" and "Sea of Japan" be used concurrently for the sea. Ferjan Ormeling, chairman of the conference, responded that the organization had no authority to decide the issue and requested that the involved countries resolve the differences over the name amongst themselves.48

Reviewing this kind of process, we could notice that the UN facing the naming disputes over some international geographical figures urges the countries concerned to make a single name through negotiations as the best option and to use multiple names before the possible compromise as the second-best option. And concerning the naming dispute over the sea, the UN has long taken the position to urge the countries concerned to agree to a single name.49

B. Attitudes of Major Countries

The countries which play great role in any kind of international disputes are the permanent members of the UN Security Council, namely, the US, Russia, China, the UK and France. So their positions are important in any kind of international disputes, whether they are just or not. So it is necessary to look at their positions over the naming dispute.

The first country is the US. The US (especially its central government) keeps the position of "a single name to a single geographical feature" emphasizing the efficiency over the naming dispute. And the US backs up the sole use of "Sea of Japan" over the dispute. Its main reason is that the name "Sea of Japan" has widely been used in the international society. This is well shown in the answer to the petition for using the name "East Sea".

49. We could notice that the UN is not so active in moving to the second-best option in the situation that the countries concerned fail to agree to a single name. This attitude implies that the UN urges the countries concerned to agree to a single name and it also has the effect of lasting the status quo.
It is long-standing United States policy to refer to each sea or ocean by a single name. This policy applies to all seas, including those bordered by multiple countries that may each have their own names for such bodies of water. Concerning the body of water between the Japanese archipelago and the Korean peninsula, longstanding U.S. policy is to refer to it as the “Sea of Japan”. We are aware the Republic of Korea refers to the body of water as the “East Sea”, and the United States is not asking the Republic of Korea to change its nomenclature.50

The second country is Russia. Russia uses the single name “Sea of Japan” (The name in Russian is “Японское Море”, and this could be transcribed to “Yaponskoye More” in Latin alphabets and translated into “Japanese Sea” in English). Since the admiral Krusenstern offered one important opportunity for the name “Sea of Japan” to be widely used in the international society by raising the logic that this sea longest touches the Japanese archipelago and so it should be called “Sea of Japan” when he navigated the sea, Russia has called the sea “Sea of Japan”. The third country is China. China has also used the single name “Sea of Japan”. Though China has collaborated with two Koreas in several history issues (for example requesting Japan to apologize on its aggression and control on Asian countries and raising complaints on the visits to Yasukuni shrine by Japanese politicians), it does not back up the Korean position in the naming issue. It seems that the South Korean government and some politicians have requested China to back up the Korean position, but China has not accepted it51. We could assume two reasons working in the Chinese attitude. One is that for Chinese people “East Sea” means “East China Sea”. So they probably think that if they back up the Korean position, it will create confusion among themselves in naming seas in Asia52. The other is that though China is a latecomer in the international politics it is in the position of early-comer in the naming issues. China has two sea names named after itself, that is, “East China Sea” and “South China Sea” (In China they are just called “East Sea” and “South Sea”). So probably they are afraid that they will fall in awkward position, if they back up the Korean position and some other country request the international society to add some names to “East China Sea” or “South China Sea” emulating the Korean logic.

The fourth country is the UK. The UK has also used the single name “Sea of Japan”. The UK that has “splendid” history as an imperialist country lays emphasis on efficiency in the naming issues and does not show much consideration into the sentimental aspect of latecomers. It well shows this kind of attitude that the UK like the US supported single use of “Sea of Japan” in the response to the question of IHO53.

The fifth country is France. France shows “fluctuating” attitude. The case of some nautical maps in 2003 well shows it. France used the name “East Sea” alongside “Sea of Japan” in its some nautical maps in 2003. But after facing Japanese complaint against it, France returned to the sole use of “Sea of Japan”.

It was revealed on May 16 that the nautical map of the French Defense Ministry returned to the sole use of “Sea of Japan” in the version of this year from using both names of “Sea of Japan” and “East Sea” in the version of last year which was the first case through the history of the international nautical maps. It is said that recently the French government informed the South Korean diplomatic authorities and the Japanese diplomatic authorities that France had finished printing of nautical maps of this year under the policy of using the single name “Sea of Japan” and they will be distributed to the public soon. Concerning this, the South Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade raised strong complaint through the Korean embassy in France that South Korea cannot accept it a bit. The French government revealed its position that there exists dispute over the naming of the sea among countries concerned and the government does not back up position of any country in the footnote of the nautical map, while the government denoting the sea “Sea of Japan” on the nautical map of this year54.

Q: I have heard that the French Defense Ministry has included both terms “Sea of Japan” and “East


52. This was confirmed by Chinese response to Korean request to back up to use both names calling the sea. SEONG Ki-Myong, Apr. 20, 2011, “The name ‘Sea of Japan’ is already familiar to Chinese people”. [http://www.nocutnews.co.kr/news/825859].


Sea” in nautical maps. Is this true? And what response is the Japanese government taking?  
A: When the Embassy of Japan in France asked for confirmation from the Ocean Information Division of the French Navy on February 4, it received the reply that the French government recognizes the legitimacy of the term “Sea of Japan” (Mer du Japon) and that all French nautical maps carry only the term “Mer du Japon”. In the 2003 edition of the Nautical Map Catalog, however, the term “East Sea” is also included in several places, such as maps introducing individual sea areas. When Japan lodged a protest about this fact, we received the reply that the French government has not changed its policy of using the term “Sea of Japan” and would investigate why both terms were used in the catalog.55

It seems that this kind of fluctuation comes from the historical background of France that though France is one of early comers it was defeated by the UK in the competition of imperialist expansion. For example, in the names of seas around France, English names are far more popular than French ones in the international society. For the strait between the two countries, the northern part is usually called “Strait of Dover” and the southern part is called “English Channel”. Even the bay formed by France and Spain is usually called the English name, “Bay of Biscay”. Feeling unsatisfied with this kind of situation, France was only possible to request the international society to use neutral third names or to use both English and French names for each case. Under the situation that the UK does not respond to the request of using neutral third names, France insisted that both English and French names should be used at the same time and this request was accepted by IHO (Strait of Dover/Pas de Calais56, English Channel/La Manche, Bay de Biscay/Golfe de Gascogne). It is highly likable that France having this kind of historical background might have felt sympathy to the South Korean logic. But facing Japanese complaint France might have changed their position over the naming issue, reminded that France is overall in the position of early comer.

In all, among the five permanent members of the UN Security Council, there is no country favorable to two Koreas in the naming dispute. Only France showed a bit of sympathy. So it is obvious that the movement to add the name “East Sea” to the name “Sea of Japan” is in the unfavorable international environments.

C. Increasing Trend of Using Both Names

One more point that we need to pay attention to understanding the dispute is that the concurrent use of “East Sea” alongside “Sea of Japan” is quite increasing. Before two Koreas raised this issue to the international society, the sea was usually called “Sea of Japan” in the maps of many countries. But since two Koreas raised this issue and Korean civilian organizations inside and outside the Korean peninsula insisted the name “East Sea” should also be adopted as international official name, the concurrent use of the name “East Sea” alongside “Sea of Japan” is quite increasing. Its overall situation is as follows.

The international community is increasingly supporting the Korean view on the concurrent use of the names in question, that is, “East Sea” and “Sea of Japan”. The steady increase in the use of both names by many internationally respected cartographers and the media clearly indicates that the legitimacy of “East Sea” is gaining wide acceptance. For instance, studies carried out independently by Japan and Korea show that the maps using both names concurrently are on the increase, rising from 2.8 percent in 2000 to 10.8 percent (18.1 percent in case of commercial maps) in 2005, and then to 23.8 percent in 2007. This suggests growing support and understanding for the legitimacy of the name “East Sea”.57

Let’s see this phenomenon of increasing concurrent use of “East Sea” alongside “Sea of Japan” on several levels.

The first is the level of the “country”. Several countries have decided to use both names, “Sea of Japan” and “East Sea”. It seems that such cases known until now are Austria, Bulgaria and Turkey.

At the 15th International Seminar on the Naming of Seas in Sydney, Australia on Thursday, a two-day session called for using both the names “East Sea” and “Sea of Japan” for the body of water dividing Korea and Japan. The call was in line with recent trends in international geography to use exonym and eponym concurrently. ⋅⋅⋅ Peter Jordan, the chair of the Austrian Board on Geographical Names, on Thursday said the agency recently decided to use both names on maps, in printed matter such as newspapers, and in videos or films. The board is a joint government-civilian council that makes decisions on official geographical names used in Austria. Korean geographers who attended the seminar said so far only civilian organizations like National Geographic in the U.S. have decided to use both names, but Austria is the first country that decided to do so.58

56. The name of the city of English side is “Dover” and that of French side is “Calais”.
57. Northeast Asian History Foundation, May 2009, p.6
Geography textbooks to be used at elementary and secondary schools in Austria from September will carry the name “East Sea” for the body of water officially recognized as the Sea of Japan in line with demands from Seoul, a major publishing house in the country said Wednesday.59

Last year, an Austrian geographical committee instructed publishers to use both in the country’s print and broadcast media. Bulgaria, Turkey and the National Geographic Society of the U.S. have followed suit.60

The second is the level of the “state” in the U.S. The state of Virginia officially decided to use both names, “Sea of Japan” and “East Sea”. And in the New York state, a bill for the concurrent use of “East Sea” alongside “Sea of Japan” passed the state Senate, even though it failed to pass the state Congress later. In this way, the movement for the concurrent use of “East Sea” alongside “Sea of Japan” is spreading.

Virginia Gov. Terry McAuliffe this week signed into law a bill that will recognize the Sea of Japan as the East Sea in state textbooks, penning a new chapter in the commonwealth’s recent history of wading into sensitive geopolitical debates. The law requires that, beginning July 1, all textbooks approved by the state Board of Education to note when referring to the Sea of Japan that it is also referred to as the East Sea.61

The third is the level of the “community”. For example, at a county of the state of Maryland in the U.S., the movement for the concurrent use of “East Sea” alongside “Sea of Japan” is quite successful. This indicates this movement is unfolding even as “grass-root movement”.

A Maryland county has become the first in the U.S. to instruct teachers to call the body of water between Korea and Japan both “East Sea” and the “Sea of Japan”, marking a minor victory for Korean campaigners. The Board of Education of Anne Arundel County sent to principals and teachers of public schools under its control a teaching guide to that effect, the Voice of Korean Americans reported. … There are 80 elementary schools, 19 middle schools and 12 high schools in the county.64

The fourth is the level of the “individual organization” like map publisher or broadcasting company. It seems that cases of using both names on this level are gradually increasing.

The New York State Senate on Tuesday passed a bill requiring all public school textbooks to call the body of water between Korea and Japan “East Sea” as well as “Sea of Japan”. The Senate approved the bill proposed by Senator Tony Avella of the Independent Democratic Conference, a group of former Democratic Party members, by a vote of 59 in favor and 1 against. It will come into effect in July 2016 if it is passed by the state Assembly by June this year, when the state’s current legislative session ends, and signed by the state governor.62

Concerning this phenomenon, a newspaper described it as “the battlefield has extended to politics at the state level in the USA”.

What do you call the body of water between Japan and the Asian mainland? This should not be a problem of any strategic value, because it has been internationally accepted as “the Sea of Japan”. However, the issue has recently become the focus of a major international dispute between South Korea and Japan, and the battlefield has extended to politics at the state level in the USA.63

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Japan’s Sankei Shimbun reported on Sunday that major media and publishing companies in Europe are opting to use both references. Three major cartographers in the U.K. including Times Atlases have begun using both.66

Considering this situation, from the factual aspect of the dispute, we can say that “the challenge for the second standard name” of the sea is not over.

Prospect

Retrospecting the process of the dispute until now, unless the countries concerned do not make a political decision that they will create a neutral third name, probably, this dispute will develop as follows.

1) Two Koreas continue to request international organizations like the IHO to use both names and the Korean people will continue the movement for the use of both names.
2) Japan will deny using both names and act to keep the sole use of the name “Sea of Japan”.
3) If the request to use both names passes the IHO, etc., the dispute will be settled. But in this case, the problem of the “efficiency” will arise.
4) If the request to use both names fails to pass the IHO, two Koreas will try to request again at some appropriate time and the Korean people will continue the movement for the use of both names at various levels66.
5) In various scenes, the movement for the use of both names by the Korean people and the movement for the sole use of “Sea of Japan” by the Japanese people will collide each other. And this kind of collisions will worsen the sentiment between two peoples. The case of a French marine map already showed clearly this kind of possibility.
6) Individual organizations like a cartographer will respond to the dispute depending on each calculation. But the possibility of the use of both names will increase. Two reasons can be assumed. One reason is the phenomenon that the “sympathy” for the sentiment of being deprived of the latecomers is strengthening. The other reason is the strong “response” of the Korean people67.

Conclusion: Compromise through A Third Name?

We can say that the complaint of the Korean people concerning the issue most deeply lies in the fact that the name “Sea of Japan” which is “favorable” to Japan, one of the countries concerned, regardless of its exact historical background is solely used. And it also lies in the fact that other names were excluded during the process when the name “Sea of Japan” was adopted as the official international name.

We can say that the complaint of the Korean people has been “amplified” by the fact that the name “Japan Sea” was “officially adopted” as the international name by the IHO in 1929 when they had no right to express their opinion as they were under the Japanese colonial rule.

We can say that the complaint of the Korean people has been much more “amplified” by “perceiving” that though in the early phase when Western countries appeared in Asia, other names were more widely used than the name “Sea of Japan”, due to the imperial expansion of Japan, this trend was reversed and so the name “Sea of Japan” has come to be most widely used.

We need to understand that this kind of complaint (sentiment of being deprived of) is quite common in latecomers, which result from the internationalization of human life.

In the naming dispute like this, the best solution is to create a neutral single name through negotiations by the countries concerned.

In case the countries concerned fail to create a neutral single name, the second–best solution is to use multiple names. Even though efficiency is important, if we only think highly of the efficiency and stick to a single name favorable to an early comer, it will make relations among the countries concerned worse.

From this kind of viewpoint, concerning the
naming dispute, this article requests three countries, Japan, South Korea and North Korea, to agree to create a neutral single name and take the follow-up measures.

This kind of compromise could be realized through the procedures as follows.

1) The governments of the three countries agree to create a neutral single name.
2) The governments collect as many candidates as possible.
3) The governments gauge the popularity of the candidates through opinion polls.
4) The governments make final decision.

If this solution succeeds, it means the three countries have solved one of the pending issues. It will be a good occasion to soften sentimental confrontation easy to build up among people of these countries and strengthen the future cooperation. We need wisdom to evade unnecessary confrontations in the matters to which real interests are not related such as security concerns or economic interests.

68. There might be many candidates for a neutral single name. We can raise several examples from the ones already suggested or easily conceivable. a) the Oriental Sea, b) the Japan-Korea Sea/Korea-Japan Sea, c) the Blue Sea, d) the Sea of Friendship, e) the Sea of Peace.