

# The essential facts to understand Takeshima

## Points that Junior High School Students of Japan and the Republic of Korea Should Consider Regarding the Takeshima (or Dokdo) Dispute



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# Points that Junior High School Students of Japan and the Republic of Korea (ROK) Should Consider Regarding the Takeshima (or Dokdo) Dispute

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stationed the Korea Coast Guard on the island. In response, the Government of Japan on September 25, 1954, proposed to the ROK that the dispute of territorial sovereignty over Takeshima be referred to the International Court of Justice. However, the ROK Government sent the memorandum below to the Japanese Government on October 28 and rejected Japan's proposal.

The memorandum states that, "Dokdo has been part of Korean territory since ancient times and remains so today," "The proposal of the Japanese Government that the dispute be submitted to the International Court of Justice is nothing but another attempt at the false claim in judicial disguise," and that "Dokdo is the first Korean territory, which became the victim of Japan's aggression against Korea."

For a while after that, the Takeshima dispute was in a pause. However, in February 1996, the announcement by the ROK Government to construct port and docking facilities on Takeshima led to a resurgence of the dispute.

Furthermore, on March 16, 2005, Shimane Prefectural Assembly sought to establish territorial rights to Takeshima and enacted an ordinance to designate "Takeshima Day," which intensified the conflict between Japan and the ROK. This bilateral conflict has continued to this day.

The Government of Japan took a critical stance towards the "Takeshima Day" Ordinance and intended to avoid officially bringing it to the surface, while the response taken by President Roh Moo-hyun of the ROK was in contrast to the Japanese response. On March 23, 2005, President Roh Moo-hyun stated his view below through "A Letter to the people of the ROK in relation to the ROK-Japan relationship."

“Japan incorporated Dokdo into its territory during the Russo-Japanese War. This represents the taking of Dokdo by force. February 22, the date which Shimane Prefecture of Japan designated as ‘Takeshima Day,’ is the date when Japan incorporated Dokdo into its territory 100 years ago. It is exactly the act of justifying the past aggression and denying the independence of the ROK.”

President Roh Moo-hyun’s “historical perception” shown in this statement is the same as the one included in the memorandum that the Permanent Mission of the Republic of Korea to Japan sent to the Japanese Government on October 28, 1954. The sentence “Japan incorporated Dokdo into its territory during the Russo-Japanese War” in the “historical perception” by President Roh Moo-hyun refers to the Government of Japan’s decision on January 28, 1905, to place Takeshima under the jurisdiction of Shimane Prefecture.

The “historical perception” expressed by President Roh Moo-hyun made it clear that it is essential to investigate the fact (historic titles) about which territory Takeshima actually was at the time when the Japanese Government incorporated the island into its territory through a Cabinet decision on January 28, 1905. In the Takeshima dispute, historical research concerning in what way we will reveal historical facts serves as the starting point.

In order to continuously study the Takeshima dispute in preparation for diplomacy with Japan, President Roh Moo-hyun launched the “Planning Group for establishing the correct history for the peace in Northeast Asia” in April 2005, which was upgraded as a larger research institute called the Northeast Asian History Foundation in September 2006. The Northeast Asian History Foundation has since launched research projects not only on the Takeshima dispute but also on “the Issue of History Textbook,” “the Issue of

Comfort Women,” “the Issue of Name ‘Sea of Japan (East Sea),’” and “the Issue of the History of Goguryeo” to address the historical problems between Japan.

In response, Shimane Prefecture, which established the “Takeshima Day” Ordinance, formed the Shimane Takeshima Issue Research Group in June 2005 and has continued to engage in research and investigation activities as well as awareness-raising activities regarding the Takeshima dispute to this day. It was 2013 when the Government of Japan launched the Office of Policy Planning and Coordination on Territory and Sovereignty in relation to the Takeshima dispute. The Japanese Government, which had been critical of Shimane Prefecture’s idea of the “Takeshima Day” Ordinance, also began claiming as follows around the time the Ordinance was enacted.

“Takeshima is indisputably an inherent part of the territory of Japan, in light of historical facts and based on international law.”

“The Republic of Korea has been occupying Takeshima with no basis in international law. Any measures the Republic of Korea takes regarding Takeshima based on such an illegal occupation have no legal justification.”

On the contrary, the Government of the ROK states its political stance as follows in the published “The Korean Government’s Basic Position on Dokdo.”

“Dokdo is an integral part of Korean territory, historically, geographically and under international law. No territorial dispute exists regarding Dokdo, and therefore Dokdo is not a matter to be dealt with through diplomatic negotiations or judicial settlement. The government of the Republic of Korea exercises Korea’s irrefutable territorial sovereignty over Dokdo. The



government will deal firmly and resolutely with any provocation and will continue to defend Korea's territorial integrity over Dokdo.”

Whereas the Government of Japan states that the ROK is engaged in “an illegal occupation” of Takeshima, “an inherent part of the territory of Japan,” the ROK side claims that “Dokdo is an integral part of Korean territory, historically, geographically and under international law.” Both sides are using similar languages but expressing ideas exactly opposite to each other. In addition, Japan started including the Takeshima disputes in school education in 2020. It is anticipated that this move will provoke a new conflict between the two countries.

Having said this, in February 2011, the ROK's Ministry of Culture and Education already announced the “Dokdo education system for primary, junior high, and high schools,” and in December of the same year the Northeast Asian History Foundation developed supplementary teaching materials on Dokdo education for primary, junior high, and high school students, which have been used in the area of territorial education. The Northeast Asian History Foundation revises the Dokdo education materials almost every year and has steadily been achieving results through trial and error. The Dokdo education in the ROK is characterized as its purpose to “become able to explain to Japanese people” stated in the *Dokdo: Korean Territory* and the *Dokdo Awareness* published in 2011. Moreover, in 2019, the *Practical Activities* was compiled by the Northeast Asian History Foundation, and this enabled Korean students to take more specific actions.

Perhaps as a result of the series of such Dokdo education, in 2018, junior high schools in Shimane Prefecture started to receive postcards and letters from junior high school students in the ROK with the message “Dokdo is

Korean territory.” These Korean students copy and paste the content of Dokdo education materials, the *Dokdo Awareness* published by the Northeast Asian History Foundation, on to their postcards and letters.

I sent my reply to the letters from Korean junior high school students, but no responses from them so far. Since then, more letters from junior high school students in the ROK have continued to arrive at junior high schools in Shimane Prefecture.

The point, however, is that even if the letters from those Korean junior high school students are shown to Japanese junior high school students, Japanese students will probably not understand the content as they do not have basic knowledge of the Takeshima dispute. This is also related to the fact that these letters are being sent from the ROK for the purpose of “persuading Japanese people” that “Dokdo is the territory of the ROK,” after reading the *Dokdo Awareness* written by adults in the country.

It is likely that junior high school students in the ROK write their letters claiming that “Dokdo is the territory of the ROK,” without having read any documents listed in the *Dokdo Awareness* as evidence, even if they have been taught that “Dokdo is the territory of the ROK.” Naturally, Japanese junior high school students will not understand the letters from the ROK if the content is not even understood by Korean students who wrote them.

Although I have had opportunities to read essays on the Takeshima dispute written by junior high school students in Shimane Prefecture, I would say that the current situation faced by the main actors of the next generation is at a critical level. Many junior high school students in Shimane write essays concerning the Takeshima dispute with views similar to this: “the ROK side has their views, while the Japanese side also has its own, so I want to investigate well and study both sides.” On the other hand, Korean students write their



essays with the purpose to persuade the Japanese to agree to their view that “Dokdo is the territory of the ROK.” Thus, there is a significant divergence in the approach to the issue between the two countries.

It seems that these letters from the ROK’s junior high school students do not aim to deepen mutual understanding with Japanese students but to convey the views of the Government of the ROK to the students in Japan. This will cause unnecessary feelings of hostility and only promote conflict driven by ethnicity-related emotions between children in Japan and the ROK.

This is the responsibility of adults in the two countries, who are unable to resolve the Takeshima dispute. Primarily, territorial disputes such as the Takeshima dispute should be resolved by adults. Involving primary, junior high and high school students in the dispute and having them speak for the political claims of adults is simply the selfish request of the adults. The Takeshima dispute is more than a territorial dispute in that the quality of Japan and the ROK as a nation is being questioned in dealing with this issue.

Actually, the Japanese Government states that Takeshima is “an inherent part of the territory of Japan,” and that the ROK is engaged in “an illegal occupation” of Takeshima, but it started claiming this view only around the period when the Shimane Prefectural Assembly passed the “Takeshima Day” Ordinance. Moreover, when the Shimane Prefectural Assembly demanded “the establishment of territorial sovereignty” over Takeshima and took action to enact the “Takeshima Day” Ordinance, the Minister for Foreign Affairs and senior officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan exerted pressure on Shimane Prefecture to prevent its action.

In Japan, however, Takeshima education is scheduled to start in FY2020, and “Handling of Contents” in FY2017 Teaching Guide for the Course of Study Lower Secondary School [Civics] states as follows.

“Instruction should cover that Japan has been striving for peaceful settlement of unsolved matters regarding the Northern Territories and Takeshima, which constitute the inherent part of the territory of Japan, and the fact that there exists no issue of territorial sovereignty to be resolved regarding the situation surrounding the Senkaku Islands.”

Japan places an emphasis on the fact that Japan “has been striving for peaceful settlement,” while the Dokdo education in the ROK has been established as an educational program for “persuading the Japanese.” Based on that educational policy, children in the ROK started to act.

The activities encouraged in the Dokdo education include sending letters to junior high school students in Japan. In FY2019, the *Practical Activities* for primary, junior high and high school students was newly compiled. Therefore, it is anticipated that more proactive activities will be conducted by the students of the ROK.

Given these situations, I have decided to review the content of the letters from the ROK’s junior high school students to learn what is taught about Dokdo in the ROK and consider any problems associated with the Dokdo education.

The 10 points listed below represent the grounds for argument included in the letters from the ROK’s students to support their view that “Dokdo is the territory of the ROK.” While I have already clarified the problems in the claims regarding these 10 points in “Takeshima education in the Republic of Korea: the current status and its problems,” I have decided to make this booklet so that junior high school students in Japan and the ROK can consider and discuss this issue together.

## 2. Ten evidences on which ROK's junior high school students' letters are based in considering Dokdo as Korean territory

- (1) *Samguksagi* (History of the Three Kingdoms) is a piece of literature that indicates Dokdo is part of the ROK territory. In this book, it is depicted that Dokdo, which belonged to Silla, became part of the territory of Korea when Isabu of Silla conquered Usan state in 512.
- (2) Dokdo is visible from Utsuryo Island. It is also recorded in the *Sejong Sillok, Jiriji* (Geography Section of the Annals of King Sejong's Reign: 1454) as follows. "The two islands of Usan and Mureung are located in the sea, east of Uljin Prefecture. They are not located far apart from each other, so Usan is visible from Utsuryo Island on a clear day." Since Usan Island here refers to the current Dokdo, it is clear that Dokdo was part of the territory of the ROK in the 15th century.
- (3) It is a fact that Ahn Yong-bok (安龍福), who visited Japan, negotiated with the lord of the Tottori Domain and had the lord acknowledge that Utsuryo Island and Dokdo were part of the Korean territory. This is also written in a historical document entitled, *Genroku Kyu Heishinen Chosenbune Chakugan Ikkon no Oboegaki* (Memorandum on the Arrival of a Boat from Korea in 1696).
- (4) On December 24, 1695, the Edo Shogunate sent an inquiry about Utsuryo Island and Dokdo to the Tottori Domain. The Tottori Domain responded to this inquiry by informing the Shogunate that Utsuryo Island and Dokdo did not belong to the domain. This response officially confirmed that Utsuryo Island and Dokdo were not Japanese territory.
- (5) Some Japanese documents and maps recognize that Dokdo was Korean

territory. One of them is *Inshū Shichō Gakki* (Records on Observations in Oki Province) written in 1667. This document describes that the Oki Islands marked the northwestern border of Japan, demonstrating that Japanese documents, as well as Korean documents, were recognizing Dokdo as part of the Korean territory.

- (6) In the *Kaisei Nippon Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Revised Complete Route Map of Japan) by NAGAKUBO Sekisui, the location of Utsuryo Island and Dokdo are recorded, but these islands are not colored in the same way as Korea (the ROK). In addition, the map does not show the latitude and longitude of these islands, because they were recognized as Korean territory.
- (7) In 1785, HAYASHI Shihei drew *Sangoku Setsujozu* (A Map of Three Adjoining Countries) in which he wrote on Takeshima “Korean possession.” Takeshima in this map refers to Utsuryo Island, and the upper right to it is Dokdo. HAYASHI Shihei recognized Dokdo as Korean territory.
- (8) In 1877, Dajokan, the Grand Council of State in Japan, issued the following order. “Takeshima and one other island have no connection to Japan.” As it is clear from an explanatory note and *Isotakeshima Ryakuzu* (Rough Sketch of Isotakeshima) submitted by Shimane Prefecture, current Utsuryo Island and Takeshima are depicted in them. Based on these, Dajokan stated that “Takeshima and one other island have no connection to Japan.”
- (9) In 1900, Emperor Gojong of the Korean Empire in the “Korean Imperial Ordinance No.41” stipulated that all of Ulleungdo, Jukdo and Seokdo (Dokdo) were to be placed under the jurisdiction of Uldo-gun (Uldo-country). Among these islands, Seokdo refers to the current Dokdo.

(10) In 1905, Japan determined Korea's Dokdo as terra nullius and placed the island under the jurisdiction of Governor of the Oki Islands of the Shimane Prefectural Government. Dokdo is the first victimized territory resulted from Japan's invasion of Korea.

These 10 proofs listed above are most often used in the letters from the junior high school students in the ROK to claim that Dokdo is the territory of the ROK, while there are more mentioned in their letters. The ROK students write letters to claim that "Dokdo is the territory of the ROK," referring to the contents of educational materials such as the *Dokdo Awareness* and *Dokdo Textbook*. Now, we shall explore together the details of the documents and old maps listed by the Korean students, including the facts associated with the history of these documents.

#### (1) Usan state in the *Samguksagi* (History of the Three Kingdoms)

First of all, I would like to find out whether the ROK's junior high school students who wrote the letters to Japan have actually read the *Samguksagi* (History of the Three Kingdoms) ("Silla Annals"). It is true that the *Samguksagi* (History of the Three Kingdoms) ("Silla Annals") contains an account that Isabu of Silla conquered Usan state. Actually, similar descriptions to this can also be found in the *Samguk yusa* (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms). Looking at "the account of King Jicheollo" in the *Samguk yusa* (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms), the distance around Uryo Island (Utsuryo Island) is described as 26,730 *po* (approximately 42.768 km). This distance is about the same length as the road around the current Utsuryo Island, as the total length of the road around Utsuryo Island completed in 2019 is announced to be 44.55 km. Therefore, this distance around Utsuryo Island can be understood

as the distance around Usan state. The following description about Usan state in the *Samguksagi* (History of the Three Kingdoms) (“the account of the thirteenth year of King Jijeung”) also supports this point.

“Usan state is a sea-island located exactly east of the Gangneung province and is also called Utsuryo Island. The land is a hundred square *ri*.”

According to the descriptions in “the account of the thirteenth year of King Jijeung” of the *Samguksagi* (History of the Three Kingdoms), Usan state was a sea-island, which was also called Utsuryo Island, and the distance around the island was a hundred square *ri*. Since this expression of “a hundred square *ri*” is a cliché used to indicate the administrative scope of a county or prefecture, it does not mean that the distance around the land was actually measured a hundred square *ri*. In addition, a hundred square *ri* in Korea is equivalent to a ten square *ri* in Japan. The length of the island is believed to be about 9.7 km with a width of 10 km. Based on this data, it is considered mostly correct that Usan state referred to Utsuryo Island.

However, the *Dokdo Awareness* draws only on “the account that Usan-guk (Usan state) entered under the rule of Silla” part of “the account of the thirteenth year of King Jijeung,” with no mentioning of the fact that Usan state was a sea-island, which was also called Utsuryo Island, with the area of a hundred square *ri*. King Jijeung of Silla’s conquest of Usan state is also described in the *Samguk yusa* (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms), but this, too, is not included in the *Dokdo Awareness*.

The important parts of the *Samguk yusa* (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms) are the facts that the distance around Utsuryo Island was 26,730 *po* (approximately 42.768 km) and the Utsuryo Island was depicted as Usan state

in the *Samguksagi* (History of the Three Kingdoms).

What is clear from these descriptions is the distance around Usan state depicted in the *Samguksagi* (History of the Three Kingdoms) and the *Samguk yusa* (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms); 26,730 *po* and the land area of a hundred square *ri*. Usan state in these documents refers to Utsuryo Island, and there is no description of Dokdo being included in it. Then, how was Dokdo determined as the territory of Korea from 512 and an attached island to Utsuryo Island?

The clue to this is found in *Dongguk Munheon Bigo* (Reference Compilation of Documents on Korea) selected by the government and compiled in 1770. It is a sentence in *Yeojigo* (Record of Geography) of *Dongguk Munheon Bigo* (Reference Compilation of Documents on Korea), “Utsuryo and Usan in *Yeojiji* are all land belonging to Usan state. Usan is what the Japanese called Matsushima.” Namely, based on this sentence, the ROK recognizes Usan Island as Japan’s Matsushima and regards that Matsushima as an attached island to Usan state.

Note, however, that there are no descriptions of Dokdo and Matsushima in the *Samguksagi* (History of the Three Kingdoms) and the *Samguk yusa* (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms). The ROK claims that their understanding of “Usan is what the Japanese called Matsushima” is related to an event in later years. The ROK started claiming this point based on the statement by a person called Ahn Yong-bok, who had illegally entered the Tottori Domain in Japan in 1969 and made the statement that “Usan Island is called Matsushima in Japan” during the interrogation conducted in Korea. The statement of Ahn Yong-bok is recorded in *Record of drifters, Chungwanji* and other documents, in addition to the *Annals of King Sukjong*, and the descriptions in these documents were further copied in other documents.



Nevertheless, it is necessary to consider that Ahn Yong-bok's statement of "Usan Island is Matsushima" only does not prove that Usan Island was Matsushima.

Furthermore, the *Ganggyeji* (Study of National Boundaries: 1756) by Shin Gyeong-jun (申景濬), which was the foundation of the *Dongguk Munheon Bigo* (Reference Compilation of Documents on Korea) (*Yeojigo* [Record of Geography]) contains a description of Usan Island and Utsuryo Island, "Usan Island and Utsuryo Island are the same island". This indicates that "Usan Island is Matsushima" was generated in the process of compiling the *Dongguk Munheon Bigo* (Reference Compilation of Documents on Korea). In addition, it was 1770 when the *Dongguk Munheon Bigo* (Reference Compilation of Documents on Korea) was compiled, whereas it was in 1696 when Ahn Yong-bok made the statement of "Usan Island is Matsushima." Despite such data, at the time of the publication of Shin Gyeong-jun's *Ganggyeji* (Study of National Boundaries), the basis of *Dongguk Munheon Bigo* (Reference Compilation of Documents on Korea) (*Yeojigo* [Record of Geography]), it was understood as "Usan Island and Utsuryo Island are the same island." What is suggested here is that the record was rewritten as "Usan Island is Matsushima" in the *Dongguk Munheon Bigo* (Reference Compilation of Documents on Korea) (*Yeojigo* [Record of Geography]).

Thus, it is questionable to determine, based on the rewritten *Dongguk Munheon Bigo* (Reference Compilation of Documents on Korea) (*Yeojigo* [Record of Geography]), that Usan Island was Matsushima (Dokdo) and Dokdo was an attached island of Usan state. Since neither the *Samguksagi* (History of the Three Kingdoms) nor the *Samguk yusa* (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms) has any description of Dokdo, it cannot be said that Dokdo was part of Korean territory in 512 during the Silla period.

(2) Usan Islands in *Sejong Sillok, Jiriji* (Geography Section of the *Annals of King Sejong's Reign*) – “Dokdo! We can see it from Ulleungdo”

The *Dokdo Awareness* describes that Takeshima can be seen from Utsuryo Island but it is not visible from the Oki Islands of Shimane Prefecture. According to this document, the distance from Utsuryo Island to Dokdo is 84.7 km, while it is 157.5 km from the Oki Islands. On the grounds of the distance to Dokdo, the ROK claims that Dokdo is its territory.

There is a reason for the ROK's claim that Dokdo is its territory because it is in a close distance and visible. Descriptions in the *Sejong Sillok, Jiriji* (Geography Section of the *Annals of King Sejong's Reign*) (the account of Uljin Prefecture) are the basis of the claim.

“The two islands of Usan and Utsuryo are listed as being in the sea to the east of the prefecture of Uljin. These islands are not so far apart. On a clear day, they are visible”

What is considered a problem in the record in the *Sejong Sillok, Jiriji* (Geography Section of the *Annals of King Sejong's Reign*) is the word “visible” as in “On a clear day, they are visible,” as it becomes important to be clear about from where the person is looking at which island. Researchers who interpret Usan Island as Dokdo assert that the Usan Island in the *Sejong Sillok, Jiriji* (Geography Section of the *Annals of King Sejong's Reign*) must refer to Dokdo, explaining that the only island visible from Utsuryo Island is Dokdo.

However, such an assertion is simply an interpretation of the description “visible” in the *Sejong Sillok, Jiriji* (Geography Section of the *Annals of King Sejong's Reign*) based on the relevant geographical conditions, and does not prove that Usan Island was Dokdo. What has to be conducted here is a critical

analysis of the *Sejong Sillok, Jiriji* (Geography Section of the Annals of King Sejong's Reign). Critical analysis of documents is conducted to clarify the background of certain literature in terms of what kinds of processes it has gone through when it was established.

The reason is that the policy (rules) related to the compilation of regional geography such as the *Sejong Sillok, Jiriji* (Geography Section of the Annals of King Sejong's Reign) was determined in advance. Regarding the rules, the *Geography of Gyeongsang Province*, which was the foundation of the *Sejong Sillok, Jiriji* (Geography Section of the Annals of King Sejong's Reign) describes as follows.

“Islands should be measured in terms of how far they are on the waterway from the land”

The description means that it was decided to record the distance from the government office to islands under its jurisdiction. Interpreting “the account of Uljin Prefecture” in the *Sejong Sillok, Jiriji* (Geography Section of the Annals of King Sejong's Reign) in accordance with the rules (editing policy), the word “visible” has to be read as it means that Utsuryo Island is “at a distance visible” from Uljin Prefecture that has jurisdiction over Utsuryo Island.

This fact indicated the argument that “Usan Island in the *Sejong Sillok, Jiriji* (Geography Section of the Annals of King Sejong's Reign) is Dokdo because Dokdo is the only island visible from Utsuryo Island,” claimed by researchers of the ROK who interpret that Usan Island refers to Dokdo, does not make sense. The correctness in the interpretation of the “visible” as “visible” from Uljin Prefecture that has jurisdiction over Utsuryo Island can be confirmed in “the account of Uljin Prefecture” found in another geography

document, the Government-selected *Sinjeung Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam* (Revised and Augmented Edition of the Survey of the Geography of Korea: 1530), as follows.

“Usan Island (Usando) and Utsuryo Island (Ulleungdo) are also called Buryo (Mureung) or Uryo (Uleung). These two islands are located in the ocean due east of the province. Three lofty peaks stand as if they would reach the sky, but the peak on the south side is not as high. When the weather and wind is good and the sky is clear, you can clearly see some trees around the top of the peaks and coastlines at the foot of them”

Reading “the account of Uljin Prefecture,” the “visible” island is obvious, because what are “visible” in the *Sinjeung Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam* (Revised and Augmented Edition of the Survey of the Geography of Korea) (“the account of Uljin Prefecture”) are “trees and coastlines” of the island. However, there are no trees growing or no coastlines existing at the foot of Dokdo as it is just a rocky island. The island “visible” in this document is not Dokdo; it is Utsuryo Island.

Such an error was due to the fact that “the account of Uljin Prefecture” of the *Sinjeung Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam* (Revised and Augmented Edition of the Survey of the Geography of Korea) was compiled in accordance with the “rules” in the same way as the *Sejong Sillok, Jiriji* (Geography Section of the Annals of King Sejong’s Reign). For this reason, the word “visible” in the *Sinjeung Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam* (Revised and Augmented Edition of the Survey of the Geography of Korea) must be interpreted as “Utsuryo Island is ‘visible’ from Uljin Prefecture on the Korean Peninsula.” Then, where has Usan Island as in “Usan Island and Utsuryo Island” described in the main text of this

document disappeared to?

That Usan Island appears in a let-in note within the *Sinjeung Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam* (Revised and Augmented Edition of the Survey of the Geography of Korea) (“the account of Uljin Prefecture”). The note states “Usan Island and Utsuryo Island are the same island,” namely meaning that Usan Island and Utsuryo Island are the same island with two different names. Usan Island in the *Sejong Sillok, Jiriji* (Geography Section of the Annals of King Sejong’s Reign) was interpreted as Utsuryo Island in the *Sinjeung Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam* (Revised and Augmented Edition of the Survey of the Geography of Korea). This indicates that at the time of the *Sinjeung Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam* (Revised and Augmented Edition of the Survey of the Geography of Korea) (“the account of Uljin Prefecture”), the existence of Usan Island was uncertain.

This is an extremely important fact in that the ROK has interpreted Usan Island in the *Sejong Sillok, Jiriji* (Geography Section of the Annals of King Sejong’s Reign) as Dokdo (Takehima), but the *Sinjeung Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam* (Revised and Augmented Edition of the Survey of the Geography of Korea), published later, described Usan Island and Utsuryo Island as the same island with two different names. Thus, Usan Island on which the ROK’s junior high school students are based when claiming the sovereignty is the one in the former. However, that Usan Island in the former was described as “Usan Island and Utsuryo Island are the same island” in “the account of Uljin Prefecture” of the latter, which later in the *Book on Our Country [Land]* (circa 1756) appeared as Utsuryo Island only with Usan Island deleted. The change seen in the latter document is the result of the progress of geography surveys.

In the 19th century, Kim Jeong-ho’s (金正浩) *Daedong Jiji* (Geography of the Great East) contains more accurate interpretation of the “visible” situation. In this book, Kim reads the “visible” situation as “From this prefecture, on a

clear day, viewing from a high land, it is visible like clouds” and interprets that Utsuryo Island was “visible” from Uljin Prefecture.

In the *Dokdo Awareness*, Usan Island with the uncertain geographical status in the *Sejong Sillok, Jiriji* (Geography Section of the Annals of King Sejong’s Reign) was determined as Dokdo, based on which the ROK claimed that “the only island visible from Utsuryo Island is Dokdo.” This is a mistake due to arbitral interpretation of the literature without conducting critical analysis of the documents. If literature is not correctly read, the understanding of relevant history will also be incorrect.

### **(3) In 1696, Ahn Yong-bok came to Japan and negotiated with the lord of the Tottori Domain**

The *Dokdo Awareness* states that Utsuryo Island and Dokdo became the territory of the ROK as a result of the activity of Ahn Yong-bok, who travelled to Japan. However, it was January 28, 1696, when the Edo Shogunate prohibited travel to Utsuryo Island. Ahn Yong-bok arrived in Akasaki of the Tottori Domain in June 1696. Therefore, the Edo Shogunate had banned travelling to Utsuryo Island before Ahn Yong-bok came to the Tottori Domain.

This fact indicates that Ahn Yong-bok’s statement that he had negotiated with the lord of the Tottori Domain to make Utsuryo Island and Dokdo part of the Korean territory contained some inconsistencies between the fact.

The inconsistencies can also be confirmed in an old record titled “The visit of Koreans to Inaba Province: what happened, including reporting to Minister Abe and his response” published in 2012 by the Northeast Asian History Foundation in the ROK, as it contains the description of the fact that Ahn Yong-bok was expelled from the Karo harbor in the suburbs of Tottori. Ahn Yong-bok’s statement about his negotiation with the lord of the Tottori

Domain to make Utsuryo Island and Dokdo Korean territory consists of parts with low credibility.

In response to the report from the Tottori Domain concerning the arrival of Ahn Yong-bok and others, the Edo Shogunate instructed the Tottori Domain to deport them or hand them over to the Tsushima Domain. Following the Shogunate's instruction, the Tottori Domain deported Ahn Yong-bok and others from the Karo harbor off the coast of Tottori. Ahn Yong-bok was expelled without having a meeting with the lord of the Tottori Domain or negotiations concerning the sovereignty over Utsuryo Island and Dokdo.

Furthermore, Ahn Yong-bok testified in the interrogation by the Korean authorities that he had travelled to Japan as "he followed Japanese fishermen who were engaging in fishing activities on Utsuryo Island and drifted in the country." He also testified that "Fifteen Japanese fishermen" whom he had met in Utsuryo Island were "punished."

This was also not true, because the Edo Shogunate instructed the Tottori Domain to collect a travel license, which had been given to the Ohya and Murakawa families, when travelling to Utsuryo Island was prohibited. The Ohya and Murakawa families could not travel to Utsuryo Island without the travel license. When these families travelled to Utsuryo Island, they had to follow the procedure in which they would receive a "traffic pass" issued by the Tottori Domain and borrow guns for sea lion hunting.

People in the Edo period always had to carry a "traffic pass" when travelling from their own domain to any other domains. The "traffic pass" served the same role as a passport today. On January 28, 1969, when the Edo Shogunate banned travelling to Utsuryo Island, the Tottori Domain collected the "travel license" from the Ohya and Murakawa families. For this reason, ships of the Ohya and Murakawa families could not travel to Utsuryo Island, which in turn means that



there was no such a fact that “Fifteen Japanese fishermen were punished.”

Ahn Yong-bok also made a statement in the interrogation by the Korean authorities that he encountered Japanese fishermen on Utsuryo Island, tracked them, and drifted to Japan. Some officials in the Korean Government were also suspicious of Ahn Yong-bok’s statement. Yu Jip-il (兪集一), who was a high-ranked official of the Government of Korea, suspected that something was not right that Ahn Yong-bok returned home on his own if he had drifted to Japan, rather than being deported through the Tsushima Domain, which was the normal procedure. The statement of Ahn Yong-bok is included not only in the *Annals of King Sukjong* but also in the *Record of drifters* and *Chungwanji*. The *Record of drifters* and other documents record part of the confession statements by Ahn Yong-bok as a criminal who was interrogated by the Border Defense Council of Joseon.

In the *Dokdo Awareness*, it seems that such Ahn Yong-bok’s statements are recognized as historical facts with no doubt about their credibility at all. Part of Ahn Yong-bok’s confession statements was included in the *Annals of King Sukjong* not because they are historical facts; they were simply recorded in the annals as the details of Ahn Yong-bok’s smuggling incident. Whether the descriptions in the *Annals of King Sukjong* were historical facts should be determined by the next dynasty when compiling its official history.

Due to the nature of Ahn Yong-bok’s statements, when reading them, it is necessary to investigate and review them using other relevant literature. In fact, the *Record of drifters* treats Ahn Yong-bok as a criminal of cross-border invasion. In other parts of the *Annals of King Sukjong*, some high-ranked officials of the Korean authority expressed their concerns that “Ahn Yong-bok should be killed or malevolent people in the future will cause problems overseas,” considering Ahn Yong-bok’s statements as a false testimony. Reading

the *Annals of King Sukjong*, it can be noticed that the evaluation of Ahn Yong-bok is divided into two: those who see his testimony as a fact and his achievement, and those who have opinions that his statements were a false testimony and he should be severely punished.

Today, Ahn Yong-bok is seen as a hero who “incorporated Utsuryo Island and Dokdo into Korean territory,” because only this view is conveyed to the people.

In other words, it is necessary to confirm using Japanese literature not only the statements of Ahn Yong-bok but also the details of what he did in Japan.

One of the Japanese documents is *Genroku Kyu Heishinen Chosenbune Chakugan Ikkon no Oboegaki* (Memorandum on the Arrival of a Boat from Korea in 1696), which was discovered in 2005. As in the title of this document, “arrival of a boat from Korea” indicates that Ahn Yong-bok did not drift to Japan. This can also be confirmed by the content of the document. Ahn Yong-bok’s boat was loaded with “government official’s clothes” and “a flag with a ship’s mark.” In the interrogation by the Korean authority, Ahn Yong-bok made statements that he had accidentally encountered Japanese fishermen on Utsuryo Island, followed them to Takeshima, was hit by strong wind while further chasing them, and drifted to Japan. Surprisingly, however, Ahn Yong-bok had even forged his ID showing that he was an official of the Korean authority. These “government official’s clothes,” “a flag with a ship’s mark,” and the “forged ID” are not the items to be possessed by general fishermen, suggesting that they had been well prepared and arranged. Namely, from the beginning, Ahn Yong-bok had an intention to smuggle himself into Japan, fabricate the status of an official of the Korean authority, and negotiate with the Tottori Domain.

However, Ahn Yong-bok’s attempt was spotted by the head of Oki. According to *Genroku Kyu Heishinen Chosenbune Chakugan Ikkon no Oboegaki*

(Memorandum on the Arrival of a Boat from Korea in 1696), Ahn Yong-bok, who arrived on the Oki islands, behaved in a suspicious way, such as asking the head of the area for food. Ahn Yong-bok explained that the reason for asking for food was due to the agreement between Korea and Japan that drifters were supposed to be rescued, and that was why he asked for food. To the eyes of the head of Oki, Ahn Yong-bok's boat did not seem that it had drifted. At the same time, Ahn Yong-bok told the Oki head that he had come to Japan as he had a "request" to the lord of the Tottori Domain. In response, the head of Oki countered and strictly asked why he had not prepared any food if that was his plan. Then, Ahn Yong-bok guided the Oki head in the boat to appeal the plight of the condition. The Oki head finally agreed to give him food saying, "If you are fine with poor quality rice due to the poor harvest in the previous year, and that's what we have," and collected rice, etc., from all over the village and gave it to Ahn Yong-bok.

Soon, Ahn Yong-bok set sail for the Tottori Domain, displaying ship marks of a flag on which it is written "Korean King's vassal Ahn, Taxation Officer for both islands of Ulleungdo, on board," on one side, and "Korean Officer Ahn on board," on the other side, and arrived in Akasaki in the domain. Among Ahn Yong-bok's statements, the information regarding the time when he arrived in Akasaki of the Tottori Domain and moved to the center of the domain was close to historical facts. The Tottori Domain had Ahn Yong-bok, who fabricated the status of an official of the Korean authority, on "a horse and kago (means of transportation)," let him stay in Aoshima in Lake Koyama within the domain, and waited for instructions from the Shogunate. The details of how this was carried out are described in the aforementioned old record. In this document, the fact that Ahn Yong-bok was expelled from the Karo harbor by the Tottori Domain is described. This fact regarding the

deportation of Ahn Yong-bok is also recorded in *Tsuko-Ichiran* (Compilation of Records on Foreign Relations), edited by the Edo Shogunate.

Ahn Yong-bok did not negotiate with the lord of the Tottori Domain or gain any statement from Japan acknowledging Utsuryo Island and Takeshima Islands as Korean territory.

**(4) In December 1695, the Edo Shogunate inquired the Tottori Domain about Utsuryo Island and Dokdo**

The “Written Answer” by the Tottori Domain, which the *Dokdo Awareness* uses as the ground for argument, contains answers of the Tottori Domain to seven enquiries by the Edo Shogunate. On February 24, 1695, the Edo Shogunate asked the Tottori Domain several questions such as, “When was Takeshima (present Utsuryo Island) incorporated into the Tottori Domain? Was it before the ancestors were given the territory, or was it after that?” and “Are there any islands other than Takeshima belonging to the Tottori Domain?”

Responding to these questions, the Tottori Domain replied on February 25, that “Takeshima is not an island belonging to the Tottori Domain.” Based on this answer from the Tottori Domain, the *Dokdo Awareness* claims that it is proof that the Edo Shogunate determined Utsuryo Island and Takeshima as non-Japanese territory.

However, in addition to the part “Takeshima is not an island belonging to the Tottori Domain,” this “Written Answer” of the domain contains parts that require careful interpretation, which is shown below.

“We have heard that when MATSUDAIRA Shintaro entered the Tottori Domain, it (fishery activities by the Ohya and Murakawa families in Yonago on Utsuryo Island) was permitted through an order of the Shogunate.”

This sentence is important in finding out the relation between the Tottori Domain and travel to Utsuryo Island. Here, the answer of “when MATSUDAIRA Shintaro entered the Tottori Domain” means that it was when Lord MATSUDAIRA Shintaro (IKEDA Mitsumasa) entered the territory of Inaba and Hoki Provinces (in the Tottori Domain) from the Himeji Province. IKEDA Mitsumasa’s transfer from Himeji to Tottori was decided in a year before (1617), meaning that his territory was already determined as of 1617. In other words, Utsuryo Island was not included in the territory of the Tottori Domain from the beginning.

The Ohya and Murakawa families in Yonago of the Tottori Domain were permitted to sail to Utsuryo Island as they were “instructed through an order of the Shogunate,” and it was when IKEDA Mitsumasa entered the Tottori Domain. The Ohya and Murakawa families requested ABE Shirogoro Masayuki, who came to Tottori as an inspector for these families, and gained a permit from the Shogunate for sailing to Utsuryo Island.

Furthermore, the lord of the Tottori Domain at that time was IKEDA Tsunakiyo, who was from a branch of the family of IKEDA Mitsumasa. Thus, when asked by the Shogunate if Takeshima (present Utsuryo Island) belonged to the Tottori Domain, the domain had no other options but to answer, “We have heard that when MATSUDAIRA Shintaro entered the Tottori Domain, it (fishery activities by the Ohya and Murakawa families in Yonago on Utsuryo Island) was permitted through an order of the Shogunate” and explain the situation as, “It was permitted so that the Ohya and Murakawa families can sail to the island and engage in fishery activities.” The same applies to Matsushima (present Takeshima). Since the time of MATSUDAIRA Shintaro, the territory of the Tottori Domain was fixed, and Takeshima (Utsuryo Island) and Matsushima were not included in the domain territory from the beginning.

This fact may be difficult to understand without having the knowledge of Japanese history.

The Edo Shogunate in response to the “Written Answer” by the Tottori Domain issued a ban on sailing to Utsuryo Island. However, it required attention here as to what had been the situation in which the Tottori Domain decided to write such a written answer, and why the Edo Shogunate sent the “Written Question” to the Tottori Domain.

The background to the Edo Shogunate’s move to take such a measure was the approach from the Tsushima Domain before the decision by the Shogunate. The Tsushima Domain expressed its view that, “As Korean people have started to travel to Utsuryo Island (Takeshima), there would be conflict with Japan. In addition, there will be forbidden trade conducted,” and therefore, it is not easy but, “It may be an idea to abandon Takeshima and mutually prohibit sailing between Japan and Korea.” Since the boatmen and others of the Ohya family had brought Ahn Yong-bok and Park Eo-doon (朴於屯) back from Utsuryo Island, the Tsushima Domain had been engaging in the negotiation with the Korean Dynasty over the attribution of Utsuryo Island in accordance with an order by the Shogunate. However, the Tsushima Domain proposed the Edo Shogunate that it stop the conflict over Utsuryo Island. The Shogunate, in response to this proposition, sent to the Tottori Domain the written question to “confirm whether Utsuryo Island belonged to the Tottori Domain.”

Hence, it started from the actions taken by the Tsushima Domain under the order of the Shogunate – the domain deported Ahn Yong-bok and Park Eo-doon brought back by the boatmen and others of the Ohya family of the Tottori Domain and requested the Korean dynasty to ensure that Korean fishermen avoid coming to Utsuryo Island. However, as the negotiation progressed, it turned out that Takeshima was Utsuryo Island of Korea, which

put the Tsushima Domain into a difficult position. Opinions were divided even within the Tsushima Domain, with some viewing Takeshima (Utsuryo Island) as Korean territory. Amid these negotiations, partly due to the death of the lord of the Tsushima Domain, the domain requested the Edo Shogunate a break in negotiations with Korea.

Responding to the request from the Tsushima Domain, the Shogunate sent the “Written Question” to the Tottori Domain to confirm the status of the islands in question. The “Written Answer” by the Tottori Domain was the response to the “Written Question.” In response to the Written Answer by the Tottori Domain, the Shogunate issued the notification of the ban on sailing for Takeshima on January 28, 1696, and notified the Tottori Domain.

In the *Dokdo Awareness*, the Tottori Domain’s “Written Answer” is treated as a document proving the Japanese recognition that Utsuryo Island and Takeshima were Korean territory, but such a view is based only on the interpretation of the part within the “Written Answer,” stating “(Takeshima is) not the territory of the Tottori Domain.”

It should be noted, however, that the “Written Answer” was written by the Tottori Domain because the Tsushima Domain told the Shogunate that Utsuryo Island was Korean territory and requested a break in negotiations with Korea concerning Utsuryo Island. In dealing with the situation, the Shogunate sent the “seven questions” to the Tottori Domain to confirm the status of the island in question, and the “Written Answer” was the response to the seven questions. The “ban of sailing” issued on January 28, 1696, was decided in this way. The measure of the “ban of sailing” to Utsuryo Island issued by the Shogunate had no relevance to the incident of Ahn Yong-bok who was smuggled to the Tottori Domain.



(5) *Inshū Shichō Gakki* (Records on Observations in Oki Province), a document written in 1667, which acknowledged Dokdo as Korean territory

The *Dokdo Awareness* uses the *Inshū Shichō Gakki* (Records on Observations in Oki Province) by SAITO Toyohito as a Japanese document that recognized Utsuryo Island and Dokdo as Korean territory. This document describes as follows.

The *Inshū Shichō Gakki* (Records on Observations in Oki Province) is the first Japanese book that contains Dokdo-related records. This book states that “the Oki Islands mark the northwestern border of Japan,” and does not include Dokdo in the territory of Japan. Dokdo in this book is described as Matsushima.

The *Kokudaiki* (History of the Province) in the *Inshū Shichō Gakki* (Records on Observations in Oki Province) contains a sentence, “this province marks the northwestern border of Japan,” and “this province” is interpreted as Oki Province (Oki Islands) in the *Inshū Shichō Gakki* (Records on Observations in Oki Province). For this reason, this book determined Oki Islands as the northwestern border of Japan, while Utsuryo Island and Dokdo were depicted as Korean territory.

The author, SAITO Toyohito, explains the reason that he interpreted “this province” to be the northwestern border of Japan as follows.

“Between the west and the north directions, Matsushima appears after sailing for two days and one night, following Takeshima after another one day of sailing. These two islands are unmanned land, from which Goryeo (Korea) can be seen, just like Oki is visible from Izumo. Thus, the Oki Islands mark the northwestern border of Japan.”

The kanji character “州” in “此州” used by SAITO Toyohito has the meaning of “island” as well as “country/province.” In Chinese writing, “州” may be used to mean “島 (island).” Similarly, the Oki Islands are written as “億伎洲” in the “*Shindaikan*” (the Age of the Gods) in the *Nihon Shoki* (Chronicles of Japan), and “洲” in this book is used in the same way as “州” with the meaning of “island.”

The important point in the *Kokudaiki* (History of the Province) is the reasoning on which SAITO Toyohito was based when determining “this province” as “the northwestern border of Japan.” The condition he used for interpreting “this province marks the northwestern border of Japan” was “Goryeo (Korea) is visible.”

Furthermore, the descriptions following “Between the west and the north” do not have any parts referring to the Oki Islands. Notwithstanding this fact, how is it possible to identify “this province” as the Oki Islands? The *Dokdo Awareness* does not provide any grounds for this point.

Confirming once again the island from which “Goryeo (Korea) is visible,” which was the condition to determine “this province” as “the northwestern border of Japan,” among the three islands of Takeshima (Utsuryo Island), Matsushima (Takeshima) and the Oki Islands, the Korean Peninsula is possibly visible only from Utsuryo Island.

The condition SAITO Toyohito used for interpreting “this province marks the northwestern border of Japan” in the *Inshū Shichō Gakki* (Records on Observations in Oki Province) (*Kokudaiki* [History of the Province]) was that the Korean Peninsula was visible from “this province.” It is only Utsuryo Island that meets the condition. Despite this fact, if “this province” is interpreted as the Oki Islands, it seems an illogical interpretation.

There was also a reason that SAITO Toyohito described that “this

province marks the northwestern border of Japan” and determined Utsuryo Island as Japanese territory. Namely, as it is clear from the main text of the *Inshū Shichō Gakki* (Records on Observations in Oki Province), Saito was aware that the Ohya and Murakawa families in Yonago of the Tottori Domain were given a “traffic pass” from the shogunate and engaging in fishery activities on Isotakeshima (Utsuryo Island). This can be confirmed in “Ochi-gun” (Ochi Country) (“Minamigata Village Note” a person sailing to Isotakeshima) and “*Takubisanengi*” in the *Inshū Shichō Gakki* (Records on Observations in Oki Province). Saito described Utsuryo Island as “the northwestern border of Japan” because he considered Utsuryo Island to be part of Japan.

Given Saito’s reasoning to his interpretation of “this province marks the northwestern border of Japan” to determine “this province” as the Oki Islands, it is impossible that he considered Utsuryo Island and Takeshima to be Korean territory. This point is also clear from the fact that the description of “Goryeo (Korea) can be seen, just like Oki is visible from Izumo” in the *Inshū Shichō Gakki* (Records on Observations in Oki Province) (*Kokudaiki* [History of the Province]) is quoted in NAGAKUBO Sekisui’s *Kaisei Nippon Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Revised Complete Route Map of Japanese Lands and Roads) and used as the ground for argument to determine Utsuryo Island as part of the territory of Japan.

The *Dokdo Awareness* interpreted “this province” as the Oki Islands because the descriptions in the *Kokudaiki* (History of the Province) were not understood correctly in it.

Now, what was the purpose of SAITO Toyohito for writing the *Kokudaiki* (History of the Province) and for “this province marks the northwestern border of Japan” to be described in it?

The *Kokudaiki* (History of the Province) is in the opening part of the

*Inshū Shichō Gakki* (Records on Observations in Oki Province), explaining the geographic location of Oki (Oki Province), followed by its history. In doing so, with Saigo in the Oki Islands as a base point, Saito radially extended lines to all directions to show the areas of Japan to reach. Saito was attempting to accurately convey the location of the Oki Islands by clarifying the positional relationship with the surrounding area. His explanation of the geographic location of the Oki Islands is as follows.

“The capital of the province is Saigo-misaki, the Southbank of Suki-gun. To the southern direction from there to reach Miho-no-seki of Unshu is 35 *ri*. To the southeast direction to reach Akasakiura of Hakushu is 40 *ri*. To the southwest direction to reach Yunotsu of Sekishu is 58 *ri*. There is no land that can be visited from the north to the east directions. Between the west and the north directions, Matsushima (present Takeshima) appears after sailing for two days and one night, following Takeshima (present Utsuryo Island) [so-called Isotakeshima with an abundance of bamboos, fish, and sea hares] after another day of sailing. These two islands are unmanned land, from which Goryeo (Korea) can be seen, just like Oki is visible from Izumo. Thus, this province marks the northwestern border of Japan.”

This part describes the geographic relation between the Oki Islands and the surrounding area. What is considered problematic in this part is the description of “this province marks the northwestern border of Japan.” Here, the condition for “this province marks the northwestern border of Japan” was Korea was visible in a way as described in this sentence: “Goryeo (Korea) can be seen, just like Oki is visible from Izumo.”

From the Oki Islands as a base point, Takeshima (Utsuryo Island) is located in the direction of Korea, as in the description, “Between the west and the north directions, Matsushima appears after sailing for two days and one night, following Takeshima after another day of sailing.” SAITO Toyohito’s geographic explanation in the *Kokudaiki* (History of the Province) starts from a southward position, and “Goryeo (Korea) can be seen, just like Oki is visible from Izumo.” This is also the reason that his description ends with the sentence, “this province marks the northwestern border of Japan.”

At this point, the basis of determining “this province” as the northwestern “border” is the Saigo-misaki cape on the Oki Islands. This fact means that the Oki Islands, the base point, cannot be interpreted as the northwestern “border.”

If “this province” is understood as the Oki Islands, as in the *Dokdo Awareness*, there has to be another location to be a base point, other than the Oki Islands, to determine the Oki Islands as the “northwestern border.” However, the base point that SAITO Toyohito referred to was Saigo-misaki cape of the Oki Islands. Therefore, the interpretation by the *Dokdo Awareness* to understand “this province” in the *Inshū Shichō Gakki* (Records on Observations in Oki Province) (*Kokudaiki* [History of the Province]) as the Oki Province (Oki Islands) was incorrect.

Regarding “this province” as in “this province marks the northwestern border of Japan” in the *Inshū Shichō Gakki* (Records on Observations in Oki Province) (*Kokudaiki* [History of the Province]), the person who was reading it correctly as Utsuryo Island was NAGAKUBO Sekisui. In the *Kaisei Nippon Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Revised Complete Route Map of Japanese Lands and Roads) by NAGAKUBO Sekisui, a note “Goryeo (Korea) can be seen, just like Oki is visible from Izumo” is added to a space near Utsuryo Island,

in accordance with the sentence, “Goryeo (Korea) can be seen, just like Oki is visible from Izumo” in the *Inshū Shichō Gakki* (Records on Observations in Oki Province) (*Kokudaiki* [History of the Province]), which the document uses as the ground for argument that Utsuryo Island was part of Japanese territory.

Now, the question is why NAGAKUBO Sekisui quoted “Goryeo (Korea) can be seen, just like Oki is visible from Izumo,” from *Inshū Shichō Gakki* (Records on Observations in Oki Province) (*Kokudaiki* [History of the Province]) by SAITO Toyohito.

In the following chapter, we will consider the fact that NAGAKUBO Sekisui’s *Kaisei Nippon Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Revised Complete Route Map of Japanese Lands and Roads) recognized Utsuryo Island as Japanese territory.

**(6) *Kaisei Nippon Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Revised Complete Route Map of Japanese Lands and Roads) by NAGAKUBO Sekisui depicts the island as Korean territory**

In the *Dokdo Awareness*, NAGAKUBO Sekisui’s *Kaisei Nippon Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Revised Complete Route Map of Japanese Lands and Roads) is treated as a Japanese old map that recognizes Utsuryo Island as the territory of Korea. The reason for this treatment is explained in the *Dokdo Awareness* for high school students as follows.

*Kaisei Nippon Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Revised Complete Route Map of Japanese Lands and Roads: 1779) was the representative map of Japan in the 18th and the 19th centuries, which accurately shows Japan’s territorial recognition at that time. In the map, Japan’s territory is colored, while Takeshima (Utsuryo Island) and Matsushima (Dokdo),

along with the mainland of Korea, are not colored, indicating that these two islands were the territory of Korea.

In this way, the ROK has used the fact that Takeshima (Utsuryo Island) and Matsushima (Dokdo) on the map in Nagakubo's *Kaisei Nippon Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Revised Complete Route Map of Japanese Lands and Roads) are not colored as evidence that he recognized these two islands as Korean territory.

However, the important point pertaining to the *Kaisei Nippon Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Revised Complete Route Map of Japanese Lands and Roads) is not the colored/non-colored drawings or the difference in colors used; it is the fact that NAGAKUBO Sekisui created the map referring to the *Inshū Shichō Gakki* (Records on Observations in Oki Province) by SAITO Toyohito.

Importantly, based on the *Inshū Shichō Gakki* (Records on Observations in Oki Province), Nagakubo wrote down the sentence, "Goryeo (Korea) can be seen, just like Oki is visible from Izumo" in a space close to Takeshima (Utsuryo Island), because he recognized Takeshima as the territory of Japan. This fact can be confirmed in the geography part of *Dainihonshi* (Grand history of Japan) compiled by the Mito Domain.

NAGAKUBO Sekisui, who was a samurai of the Mito Domain, participated in the compilation work of the *Dainihonshi* (Grand history of Japan) in which he was in charge of the geography part of *Dainihonshi* (Grand history of Japan). The account of Oki Province in the geography part of *Dainihonshi* (Grand history of Japan) contains Nagakubo's opinions on Takeshima, which are shown below.

"The names of the islands Takeshima and Matsushima themselves prove that they belong to Japan: we have no need of asking a learned man."



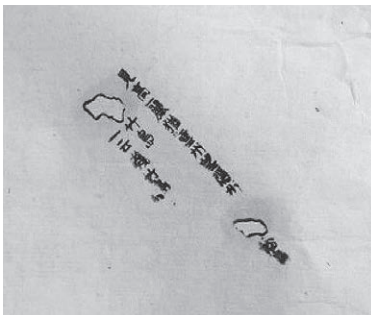
NAGAKUBO Sekisui, who engaged in the compilation work of the geography part of *Dainihonshi* (Grand history of Japan) and who also produced the *Kaisei Nippon Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Revised Complete Route Map of Japanese Lands and Roads), determined Takeshima and Matsushima as “the territory of Japan” based on the *Inshū Shichō Gakki* (Records on Observations in Oki Province) (*Kokudaiki* [History of the Province]) by SAITO Toyohito.

Thus, Nagakubo added the note that reads “Goryeo (Korea) can be seen, just like Oki is visible from Izumo” (Photo 2) to a space near Takeshima (Utsuryo Island) on the map in the *Kaisei Nippon Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Revised Complete Route Map of Japanese Lands and Roads) by quoting “Goryeo (Korea) can be seen, just like Oki is visible from Izumo” from the *Inshū Shichō Gakki* (Records on Observations in Oki Province) in order to indicate that Takeshima (Utsuryo Island) was part of Japan’s territory.

Nagakubo, who viewed Takeshima (Utsuryo Island) as “the territory of Japan,” quoted “Goryeo (Korea) can be seen, just like Oki is visible from Izumo” from the *Inshū Shichō Gakki* (Records on Observations in Oki Province) and added to the *Kaisei Nippon Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Revised Complete

Route Map of Japanese Lands and Roads) as “Goryeo (Korea) can be seen, just like Oki is visible from Izumo” also because SAITO Toyohito’s description of “this province” in the sentence “this province marks the northwestern border of Japan” referred to Utsuryo Island.

Saito, in describing Takeshima (Utsuryo Island), wrote that “this province marks the northwestern border



[Photo 2] *Kaisei Nippon Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Revised Complete Route Map of Japanese Lands and Roads) by NAGAKUBO Sekisui, Part

of Japan,” while Nagakubo added a note that reads “Goryeo (Korea) can be seen, just like Oki is visible from Izumo” to Takeshima which he drew on the map in the *Kaisei Nippon Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Revised Complete Route Map of Japanese Lands and Roads). This indicates that both Saito and Nagakubo recognized Takeshima (Utsuryo Island) as “the territory of Japan.” Hence, the reasoning used by the *Dokdo Awareness* that Takeshima in the *Kaisei Nippon Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Revised Complete Route Map of Japanese Lands and Roads) was not colored alone does not serve as evidence to explain that Nagakubo did not recognize Takeshima (Utsuryo Island) and Matsushima (Takeshima) as part of the territory of Japan.

(7) In 1785, *Sangoku Tsūran Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Combined Map of Japan and Neighboring Areas) by HAYASHI Shihei describes that the island is “Korean possession”

When the Takeshima dispute between Japan and the ROK comes to the surface, the mass media in the ROK typically features HAYASHI Shihei’s *Sangoku Tsūran Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Combined Map of Japan and Neighboring Areas: 1785) due to a note stating “Korean possession” added to the drawing of Takeshima (Utsuryo Island) in this map (Photo 3). The note has caused a misunderstanding among some scholars who did not know that Utsuryo Island had been called Takeshima in the early modern period over the Takeshima during that period and the current Takeshima, and who asserted that HAYASHI Shihei “recognizes Takeshima as Korean territory.”

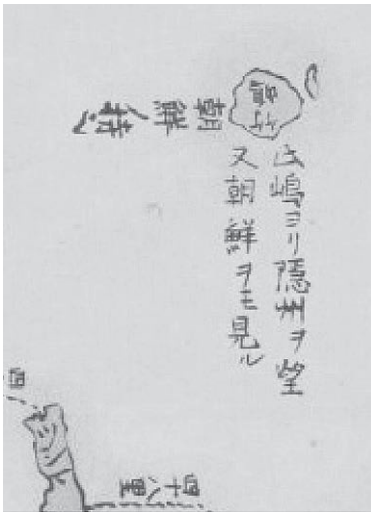
When it was found that the Takeshima in the *Sangoku Tsūran Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Combined Map of Japan and Neighboring Areas) was Utsuryo Island, a small island drawn on the upper right of Utsuryo Island came to be the current Takeshima.

Reading the map in Hayashi's *Sangoku Tsūran Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Combined Map of Japan and Neighboring Areas) requires further attention, because he added a note that reads "Oki is visible, and Korea can also be seen from this island" to a space near the current Takeshima (a small island drawn on the upper right of Utsuryo Island). This indicates that the above note in Hayashi's map was written by referring to the wording of "Goryeo (Korea) can be seen, just like Oki is visible from Izumo" written in the *Inshū Shichō Gakki* (Records on Observations in Oki Province) by SAITO Toyohito.

However, since HAYASHI Shihei recognized Takeshima (Utsuryo Island) as the territory of Korea, he wrote Takeshima (Utsuryo Island) as "Korean possession." A question arises here as to why Hayashi described Takeshima (Utsuryo Island) as "Korean possession," and drew a small island on its upper right space. In order to answer this question, it is necessary to clarify

how the *Sangoku Tsūran Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Combined Map of Japan and Neighboring Areas) was drawn and why the small island was drawn on the upper right of Utsuryo Island.

Regarding the drawing method Hayashi used for the *Sangoku Tsūran Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Combined Map of Japan and Neighboring Areas), he wrote in *Sangoku Tsūran Zuzetsu* (Illustrated Survey of Three Countries) that he connected "the drawings of Korea, Ryukyu, Ezo and Ogasawara Islands with this map in the middle to create



[Photo 3] *Sangoku Tsūran Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Combined Map of Japan and Neighboring Areas) by HAYASHI Shihei, Part

a new map.” By saying “with this map in the middle to create a new map,” Hayashi refers to NAGAKUBO Sekisui’s *Kaisei Nippon Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Revised Complete Route Map of Japanese Lands and Roads). In other words, Hayashi placed the *Kaisei Nippon Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Revised Complete Route Map of Japanese Lands and Roads) in the middle with which he connected several maps such as the *Chosen koku no Zu* (Map of Korea) (“Map of eight provinces of Korea”), the *Ryukyu koku no Zu* (Map of Ryukyu), the *Ezo koku no Zu* (Map of Ezo) and the *Mujinto no Zu* (Map of the Bonin Islands) included in the *Sangoku Tsūran Zusetsu* (Illustrated Survey of Three Countries) to create the *Sangoku Tsūran Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Combined Map of Japan and Neighboring Areas).

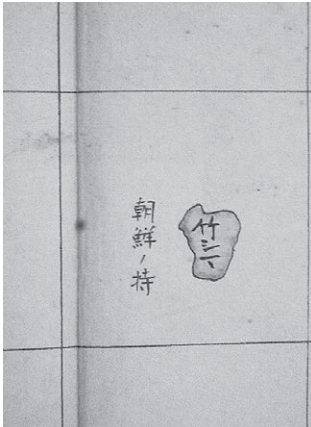
For this reason, the sentence “Goryeo (Korea) can be seen, just like Oki is visible from Izumo” from the *Inshū Shichō Gakki* (Records on Observations in Oki Province) quoted in the *Kaisei Nippon Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Revised Complete Route Map of Japanese Lands and Roads) was also followed in the *Sangoku Tsūran Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Combined Map of Japan and Neighboring Areas) by writing as “Oki is visible, and Korea can also be seen from this island.”

However, HAYASHI Shihei expressed a different view from the *Kaisei Nippon Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Revised Complete Route Map of Japanese Lands and Roads) when drawing the *Sangoku Tsūran Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Combined Map of Japan and Neighboring Areas). Hayashi recognized Takeshima (Utsuryo Island), which NAGAKUBO Sekisui drew as “Japan’s territory,” as “Korean possession.” This perception of Takeshima (Utsuryo Island) as “Korean possession” was also indicated even in the *Nihon Enkin Gaikoku no Zu* (Map of Japan and surrounding countries: 1782), which was the basis of the *Sangoku Tsūran Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Combined Map of Japan and Neighboring

Areas: 1785). In the *Nihon Enkin Gaikoku no Zu* (Map of Japan and surrounding countries) (Photo 4), a note saying “Korean possession” is added to Takeshima (Utsuryo Island, written as “竹シマ” in this map).

Hayashi’s perception of Takeshima (Utsuryo Island) was related to the fact that he had been visiting Nagasaki even before he started drawing the *Nihon Enkin Gaikoku no Zu* (Map of Japan and surrounding countries). Hayashi collected various kinds of maps in Nagasaki, and among those maps was said to be the *Chosen koku no Zu* (Map of Korea) (“Map of eight provinces of Korea”), conveyed by an interpreter of the Tsushima Domain. In doing so, it is likely that Hayashi learned that Takeshima (Utsuryo Island) became Korean territory. This is why he described Utsuryo Island as “Korean possession” in his maps.

However, Hayashi’s *Sangoku Tsūran Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Combined Map of Japan and Neighboring Areas) does not contain Matsushima (current Takeshima), which was depicted in Nagakubo’s *Kaisei Nippon Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Revised Complete Route Map of Japanese Lands and Roads). Similarly, Matsushima (current Takeshima) was also not depicted in the *Nihon Enkin Gaikoku no Zu* (Map of Japan and surrounding countries).



[Photo 4] *Nihon Enkin Gaikoku no Zu* (Map of Japan and surrounding countries) by HAYASHI Shihei, Part

In the revised *Sangoku Tsūran Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Combined Map of Japan and Neighboring Areas), published three years later, a note that reads “Oki is visible, and Korea can also be seen from this island” was added. Furthermore, there was another change to the map due to Hayashi’s

obtainment of “a rare map treasured by Mr. Narabayashi of Nagasaki,” namely, a small island was drawn on the upper right of Takeshima (Utsuryo Island).

In the late 18th century, the geographic recognition of Utsuryo Island in Korea became similar to the current recognition. The Utsuryo Island Map (1711) created under the instruction of investigator Bak Seok-chang (朴錫昌) was published, in which Jukdo, located about 2 km east of Utsuryo Island, was described as “so-called Usan Island” (Photo 5), and that was included in the map of Utsuryo Island (Photo 6) as so-called Usan Island later. The image of Utsuryo Island established in Bak’s Utsuryo Island Map was then used in *Dongguk Daejido* (Complete Map of the Eastern Country) by Jeong Sang-gi (鄭尚驥) (Photo 7) in which a small Usan Island was drawn on the right of Utsuryo Island.

However, the *Dokdo Awareness* has no explanation of Bak’s Utsuryo Island Map. This is why the ROK interprets the small island of Usan Island drawn in the upper right space of Utsuryo Island in Hayashi’s *Sangoku Tsūran*



[Photo 5] Utsuryo Island Map (1711) by Bak Seok-chang



Utsuryo Island Map (“the so-called Usan Island, field(s) of haejang bamboo” Part)





“rare map” refers to the “Map of Utsuryo Island” in the same group as Bak’s Utsuryo Island Map (Photo 8). This is because Hayashi explained about the map that he used in the *Nihon Enkin Gaikoku no Zu* (Map of Japan and surrounding countries), and he drew the Korean Peninsula based on the complete map conveyed by an interpreter of the Tsushima Domain. Therefore, there are two Utsuryo Islands depicted in the *Nihon Enkin Gaikoku no Zu* (Map of Japan and surrounding countries). One is the Utsuryo Island derived from the *Chosen koku no Zu* (Map of Korea) in the *Sangoku Tsūran Zusetsu* (Illustrated Survey of Three Countries), while the other is Takeshima (Utsuryo Island) drawn as “Takeshima (竹シマ)” in the *Kaisei Nippon Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Revised Complete Route Map of Japanese Lands and Roads). However, in the *Sangoku Tsūran Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Combined Map of Japan and Neighboring Areas), “a rare map treasured by Mr. Narabayashi of Nagasaki” is newly used. In the process of improvement from the *Nihon Enkin Gaikoku no Zu* (Map of Japan and surrounding countries: 1782) to the *Sangoku Tsūran Yochi Rotei*



[Photo 7] In the *Dongguk Daejido* (Complete Map of the Eastern Country) (enlarged part) by Jeong Sang-gi and the *Dokdo Awareness*, Usan Island in Jeong’s map is recognized as Dokdo.

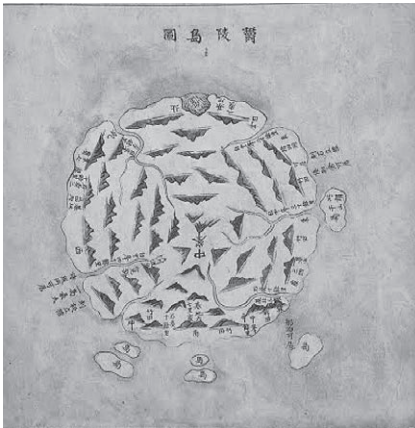


*Zenzu* (Combined Map of Japan and Neighboring Areas: 1785), there was one change, an additional small island depicted on the upper right of Utsuryo Island. It is assumed that the change was related to “a rare map treasured by Mr. Narabayashi of Nagasaki.” In fact, the map with a small island on the right-hand side of Utsuryo Island is the map of Utsuryo Island in the same group as Bak’s Utsuryo Island Map. Thus, the small island was depicted on the upper right of Utsuryo Island in the *Sangoku Tsūran Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Combined Map of Japan and Neighboring Areas) because “a rare map treasured by Mr. Narabayashi of Nagasaki” is a map of Utsuryo Island in the same group as Bak’s Utsuryo Island Map.

In other words, the small island on the right (or the upper right) of Utsuryo Island depicted in the *Sangoku Tsūran Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Combined Map of Japan and Neighboring Areas) is not Dokdo. From the beginning, Matsushima (current Takeshima) was not depicted in the *Sangoku Tsūran Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Combined Map of Japan and Neighboring Areas) and the *Nihon*

*Enkin Gaikoku no Zu* (Map of Japan and surrounding countries: 1782), which were created by placing NAGAKUBO Sekisui’s *Kaisei Nippon Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Revised Complete Route Map of Japanese Lands and Roads) in the middle.

Following the descriptions in the *Inshū Shichō Gakki* (Records on Observations in Oki Province) (*Kokudaiki* [History of the



[Photo 8] For example, the “Map of Utsuryo Island” in the Map of Eight Provinces of Korea

Province]) by SAITO Toyohito, Nagakubo drew Takeshima and Matsushima in the *Kaisei Nippon Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Revised Complete Route Map of Japanese Lands and Roads). The *Inshū Shichō Gakki* (Records on Observations in Oki Province) (*Kokudaiki* [History of the Province]) describes “Between the west and the north directions, Matsushima appears after sailing for two days and one night, following Takeshima after another one day of sailing.” Based on these descriptions, Saito drew a space between Matsushima and Takeshima to the northwest direction of the Oki Islands (Photo 2).

However, Matsushima (Dokdo) was not depicted in HAYASHI Shihei’s the *Sangoku Tsūran Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Combined Map of Japan and Neighboring Areas). Instead, Hayashi added a note “Korean possession” to the space near Utsuryo Island. This is not because he recognized the current Takeshima as “Korean possession.” A small island drawn on the upper right of Utsuryo Island in this map was based on the island described as “so-called Usan Island” depicted in the Utsuryo Island Map by Bak Seok-chang.

Despite this, the *Dokdo Awareness* considers HAYASHI Shihei’s *Sangoku Tsūran Yochi Rotei Zenzu* (Combined Map of Japan and Neighboring Areas) a Japanese old map that recognized Takeshima as Korean territory on the grounds that Hayashi’s map contains a note “Korean possession.” However, the Takeshima in Hayashi’s map referred to Utsuryo Island, and the small island drawn on its upper right was Jukdo, which was described as “so-called Usan Island” in Bak’s Utsuryo Island Map. Hence, the island that Hayashi described as “Korean possession” was the Utsuryo Island in the Utsuryo Island Map.

(8) In 1877, the statement of “*Takeshima and one other island have no connection to Japan*” and *Isotakeshima Ryakuzu* (Rough Sketch of Isotakeshima)

The *Dokdo Awareness* explains that the Government of Japan “recognizes that Dokdo is the territory of Korea,” based on the Dajokan Order of 1877 that states “Regarding the enquired case of Takeshima and one other island, understand that they have no connection to Japan.”

In this document, however, the evidence for determining the island in “*Takeshima and one other island*” as Dokdo are the “Inquiry about recording the Takeshima Island and another island in the Sea of Japan in a land register” submitted by Shimane Prefecture and the *Isotakeshima Ryakuzu* (Rough Sketch of Isotakeshima) only. It is true that interpreting these two documents without conducting any critical analysis of them will lead to the understanding of “*Takeshima and one other island*” in “*Takeshima and one other island, [...] have no connection to Japan*” as Isotakeshima (Utsuryo Island) and Matsushima (current Takeshima) depicted in *Isotakeshima Ryakuzu* (Rough Sketch of Isotakeshima).

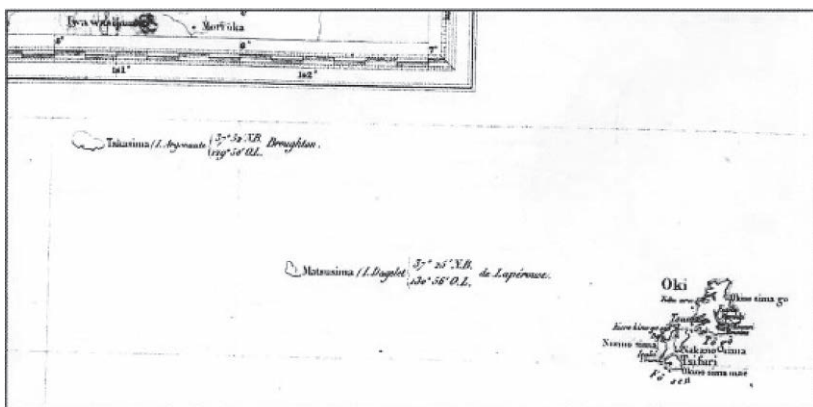
But, it is necessary to conduct a critical analysis of these documents and demonstrate whether the islands that Dajokan recognized as “*Takeshima and one other island*” are the same as the islands depicted in *Isotakeshima Ryakuzu* (Rough Sketch of Isotakeshima). This is due to the following fact in the background of naming a new island Takeshima when incorporating it into Shimane Prefecture.

Higashi Bunsuke, Governor of the Oki Islands, states that “the new island should be named Matsushima, its original name, but Utsuryo Island was already described as ‘Matsushima’ in nautical charts and other maps. Therefore, the name ‘Takeshima,’ which had been used for Utsuryo Island since the early

modern period should be used for the island to be incorporated.”

According to Governor Higashi, Takeshima was originally known as Utsuryo Island, but Utsuryo Island was described as Matsushima in nautical charts and other maps. In fact, as Governor Higashi states, “the name ‘Takeshima,’ which had been used for Utsuryo Island, is actually Matsushima,” in the “Map of Japan,” created by Philipp Franz von Siebold in 1840, two islands called Argonaut and Dagelet were described as Takeshima and Matsushima respectively, and these descriptions were later referred by other nautical charts and maps in which Utsuryo Island was described as Matsushima.

Siebold, who had stayed in Japan, took maps of Japan with him when returning home. Based on those maps, he created the “Map of Japan” (Photo 9) and described the location of Matsushima as “37°25'N and 130°56'E.” The latitude and longitude indicate the location of current Utsuryo Island. Thus, Matsushima was not the current Takeshima located at “131°55'E.” In addition,



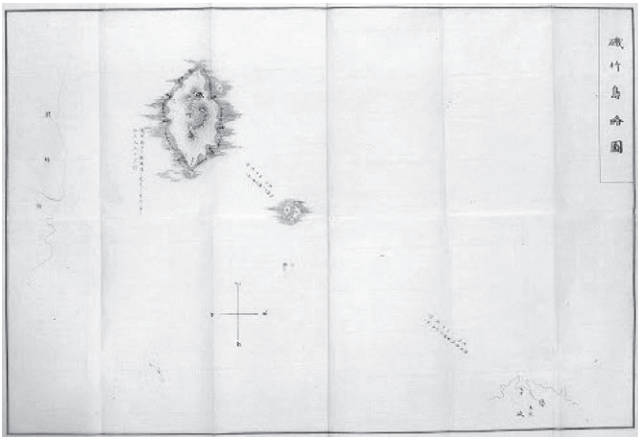
[Photo 9] “Map of Japan,” Philipp Franz von Siebold, (Part) (1840)

Latitude of Matsushima (37°25'N) and longitude (130°56'E) are the same as those of Utsuryo Island

the latitude and longitude of Argonaut, which was described as Takeshima in Siebold's "Map of Japan," were written as "37°52'N and 129°20'E," but there is no island in this location. Siebold must have accidentally described Utsuryo Island as Matsushima.

What this means is if Dajokan determined Takeshima and Matsushima as in "Takeshima and one other island" based on maps and nautical charts from Western countries, then these Takeshima and Matsushima were different to Takeshima (Utsuryo Island) and Matsushima (current Takeshima) depicted in *Isotakeshima Ryakuzu* (Rough Sketch of Isotakeshima).

Argonaut, which Siebold described as Takeshima, was drawn with broken lines with two letters of "PD" written on it in a nautical chart of the British Royal Navy published in 1863. The "PD" stands for position doubtful. Takeshima and Matsushima depicted in Siebold's "Map of Japan," were not those islands in "Inquiry about recording the Takeshima Island and another island in the Sea of Japan in a land register" submitted by Shimane Prefecture



[Photo 10] *Isotakeshima Ryakuzu* (Rough Sketch of Isotakeshima) submitted by Shimane Prefecture

and *Isotakeshima Ryakuzu* (Rough Sketch of Isotakeshima). Argonaut in the map by Siebold that was depicted as Takeshima was deleted in the British Royal Navy's nautical chart published in 1876, the year before the Dajokan Order, and Matsushima (Utsuryo Island) and Liancourt Rocks (current Takeshima) were drawn instead.

When the Dajokan Order stated as “Takeshima and one other island, [...] they have no connection to Japan,” it was also overlapping with the transitional period when Argonaut (Takeshima) was being deleted from nautical charts and other maps.

In other words, “one other island” as in “Takeshima and one other island,” which was described as “Takeshima and one other island, [...] they have no connection to Japan” in the Dajokan Order, cannot be determined based solely on “Inquiry about recording Takeshima Island and another island in the Sea of Japan in a land register” submitted by Shimane Prefecture and *Isotakeshima Ryakuzu* (Rough Sketch of Isotakeshima).

The *Dokdo Awareness* explains Dajokan that it is “the highest administrative body in the early Meiji Restoration,” but it seems to have failed to confirm the fact that Matsushima depicted in nautical charts and other maps at that time was Utsuryo Island. In March 1876, the year before the Dajokan Order was issued, the *Dainihon Kairiku Zenzu rensetsu Chosen Zenkoku narabini Karafuto* (Map of Great Japan together with neighboring Chosen and Karafuto) (hereinafter referred to as *Dainihon Kairiku Zenzu*) (Photo 11) drafted by OJIRI Hidekatsu, Acting Head of Drawing Section, Hydrographical Bureau, Navy Ministry, was published. In this map, Utsuryo Island is drawn as “Matsushima” and current Takeshima is drawn as “Oriutsu-se” and “Menerai-se” based on a Russian nautical chart. At that time, Takeshima (Dokdo) was shown as “Oriutsu-se,” “Menerai-se” or “Liancourt

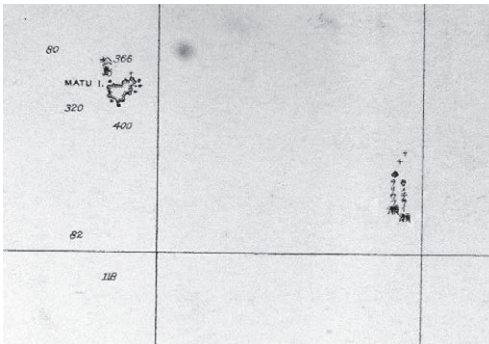
Rocks” in foreign nautical charts and other maps.

The *Dainihon Kairiku Zenzu* was completed in 1875, and was published the year before Dajokan issued the order, which stated “[...] Takeshima and one other island, understand that they have no connection to Japan.”

Regarding the Dajokan Order, the *Dokdo Awareness* states that the Ministry of Home Affairs “investigated and reviewed Dokdo-related materials for five months, and then drew the conclusion that the two islands were not the territory of Japan.” However, this is an arbitrary interpretation. A year before the issuance of the Dajokan Order, the *Dainihon Kairiku Zenzu* was already published. Therefore, it was possible, if intended, to confirm “one other island” as in “Takeshima and one other island” was not the current Takeshima. The Dajokan, however, examined only “Inquiry about recording Takeshima Island and another island in the Sea of Japan in a land register” submitted by Shimane Prefecture and *Isotakeshima Ryakuzu* (Rough Sketch of Isotakeshima) and instructed that

“Takeshima and one other island, [...] they have no connection to Japan.”

In any case, the fact that Matsushima and Utsuryo Island were the same island was revealed shortly, because a Japanese vessel “Amagi” conducted a survey on Matsushima on September 13, 1880, and confirmed that Matsushima was Utsuryo Island.



[Photo 11] *Dainihon Kairiku Zenzu rensatsu Chosen Zenkoku narabini Karafuto* (Map of Great Japan together with neighboring Chosen and Karafuto) by OJIRI Hidekatsu (Part) (1876)

Matsushima was described as Utsuryo Island, while “Oriutsu-se” and “Menerai-se” were written on Takeshima

Moreover, the fact that Matsushima and Utsuryo Island were the same island was clarified in *Takeshima Kosho* (A Study of Takeshima: 1881) by KITAZAWA Masanari who received an official order in August 1881. Matsushima as in “Takeshima and one other island” was determined as Utsuryo Island and Takeshima was thought to refer to Jukdo located 2 km east of Utsuryo Island. In the Dajokan Order of 1877, the current Takeshima (Dokdo), which was described as “Oriutsu-se,” “Menerai-se” or “Liancourt Rocks” at the time, was not seen to “have no connection to Japan.”

HIGASHI Bunsuke, Governor of the Oki Islands, remarked on this fact. In responding to a question about the naming of a new island (Takeshima) when it was to be incorporated into Japan, Governor Higashi said that “the name ‘Takeshima,’ which had been used for Utsuryo Island, is actually Matsushima, which is clear from nautical charts,” and that “by transferring the name that has been mistakenly used, the commonly known name of Takeshima” should be used for “the new island.”

Matsushima before Takeshima’s incorporation into Japanese territory referred to Utsuryo Island. This means that Matsushima, described as “one other island” as in “Takeshima and one other island, [...] they have no connection to Japan” in the Dajokan Order had no relation with the current Takeshima. Nevertheless, *Dokdo Awareness* (“the Russo-Japanese War and the invasion of Dokdo”) provides the following explanations to learners.

Japan made it clear in the Dajokan Order of 1877 that Dokdo was not Japan’s territory. Despite this, Japan incorporated Dokdo into its territory in 1905. We shall try to understand the reason for such an act.

What is conveyed to learners through the unit, “the Russo-Japanese War and



the invasion of Dokdo,” is the historical perception that Japan indicated its view in the Dajokan Order that Takeshima (Dokdo) was not Japanese territory but included it into Japanese territory during the Russo-Japanese War.

This “historical perception” is the same as the one expressed by the Government of the ROK to the Government of Japan, which was planning to refer the resolution of the Takeshima disputes to the International Court of Justice on October 28, 1954. The ROK President Roh Moo-hyun, in his “A Letter to the people of the ROK in relation to the ROK-Japan relationship” stated that, “Japan incorporated Dokdo into its territory during the Russo-Japanese War. This represents the taking of Dokdo by force.”

The ROK reacts in this way due to the understanding it has that Dokdo had become the territory of the ROK before the Russo-Japanese War. The basis for such “historical perception” is the Korean Imperial Ordinance No.41 that is examined in the next section.

#### **(9) In 1900, Emperor Gojong and Ishi-jima (Stone Island) in the Korean Imperial Ordinance No.41**

With regard to the Korean Imperial Ordinance No.41, which the *Dokdo Awareness* uses as the grounds for Dokdo’s incorporation in the ROK territory, this publication explains in “Contents and Meaning of the Korean Imperial Ordinance No.41” as follows.

“The Korean Imperial Government promulgate the Imperial Ordinance No.41, renamed Utsuryo Island as Utsu Island County, and promoted the Island Administrator to the County Magistrate. The Imperial Ordinance No.41 was published in the official gazette (No.1716) on October 27, 1900. Through this information, it is clear that the Korean

Empire had the territorial rights over Utsuryo Island and Dokdo.”

According to this explanation, in the Korean Imperial Ordinance No.41, Utsuryo Island was renamed as Utsu Island County, and promoted the Island Administrator to the County Magistrate. The Korean Empire published the Ordinance in the official gazette (No.1716). However, there was a problem here. Although the Korean Imperial Ordinance No.41 stipulated that the region under the jurisdiction of Utsu Island County was “all of Utsuryo Island, Takeshima and Ishi-jima,” there was no mention of Dokdo.

To address this problem, the *Dokdo Awareness* poses a question “Since when has the name Dokdo been used?” and explains the reason that Ishi-jima in the Korean Imperial Ordinance No.41 was Dokdo.

“In 1900, in the Korean Imperial Ordinance No.41 Dokdo was called Ishi-jima. Ishi-jima in the Korean language means a ‘stone island,’ namely an “island made of rocks.” Since the end of the 19th century, fishermen in the Jeolla Province used “Dok (獨)” for “Ishi (Dol: 石)”, and called Dokdo “Dokseom.”

The *Dokdo Awareness* stated that “in the Korean Imperial Ordinance No.41 Dokdo was called Ishi-jima,” because this Ordinance does not contain any description of Dokdo. In fact, it is stipulated in the Ordinance that the region under the jurisdiction of Utsu Island County was “all of Utsuryo Island, Takeshima and Ishi-jima.”

For the explanation that Ishi-jima and Dokdo refer to the same island, the ROK tried to make sense by stating that the pronunciation of “Ishi-jima” is similar to that of “Dokdo” by fishermen in Jeolla Province, and asserted

that Ishi-jima in “all of Utsuryo Island, Takeshima and Ishi-jima” was Dokdo. However, this explanation actually does not make sense. The earliest historical fact that the ROK called the island Dokdo was the report about Japanese military vessel “Niitaka” in September 1904 that it “is written as Dokdo in Korea and is called Lyanko Islands by Japanese fishermen.” It is illogical that the “Dokdo” that started to appear after 1904 is the same island as Ishi-jima in the Korean Imperial Ordinance No.41 issued in October 1900. Additionally, the residents of Utsuryo Island began engaging in fishing activities only after 1903 when a good fishing ground for squid was discovered near the island. Prior to that year, the residents of Utsuryo Island who moved from the Korean Peninsula to the island had been making a living engaging in agricultural activities.

It is a dogmatic decision to see Ishi-jima in the Korean Imperial Ordinance No.41 as Dokdo solely because people from Jeolla Province often visited Utsuryo Island.

The reason is that even before the Korean Imperial Ordinance No.41 stipulated that the region under the jurisdiction of Utsu Island County was “all of Utsuryo Island, Takeshima and Ishi-jima,” a traditional land of Utsuryo Island inherited from the Joseon era had existed in the Korean Empire. Ignoring such a historical fact, it is unreasonable to determine that Ishi-jima was Dokdo based only on the linguistic explanation.

With regard to the land area of Utsuryo Island, a number of Utsuryo Island maps with the drawing of the appearance of Utsuryo Island were created due to territorial claims over Utsuryo Island disputed between the Government of Korea and the Tsushima Domain. Among those Utsuryo Island maps, the Utsuryo Island Map (1711) created under the instruction of an investigator Bak Seok-chang had an influence even to posterity. In the map, Bak described the land area of Utsuryo Island as “80 *ri* from north to south, and 50 *ri* from

east to west.” This refers to Utsuryo Island only, and the current Takeshima (Dokdo) located 84.7 km southeast of Utsuryo Island was not depicted in the Utsuryo Island Map. In Bak’s map, a note that reads “so-called Usan Island” is added to Jukdo, located approximately 2 km east of Utsuryo Island, and this island became to be described as Jukdo or Usan Island in the maps of Utsuryo Island after Bak’s map. (Photo 6, Photo 7, and Photo 8).

The geographic recognition of viewing Utsuryo Island as a single island had not changed since the time of Usan Province written in *Samguksagi* (History of the Three Kingdoms) and *Samguk yusa* (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms). It remained unchanged in Ulleungdo Exterior Map (Map 12) created in 1882 under the instruction of inspector Lee Gyu-won (李奎遠), who was ordered by King Gojong to survey Ulleungdo. Lee Gyu-won described that the area of Utsuryo Island was “60 *ri*” from east to west and “50 *ri*” from north to south. In addition, Lee wrote “Chikuto (竹島)” next to a small island described by Bak Seok-chang as “so-called Usan Island,” drew a Seommok on the upper right of Utsuryo Island, and called it a small island nearby.

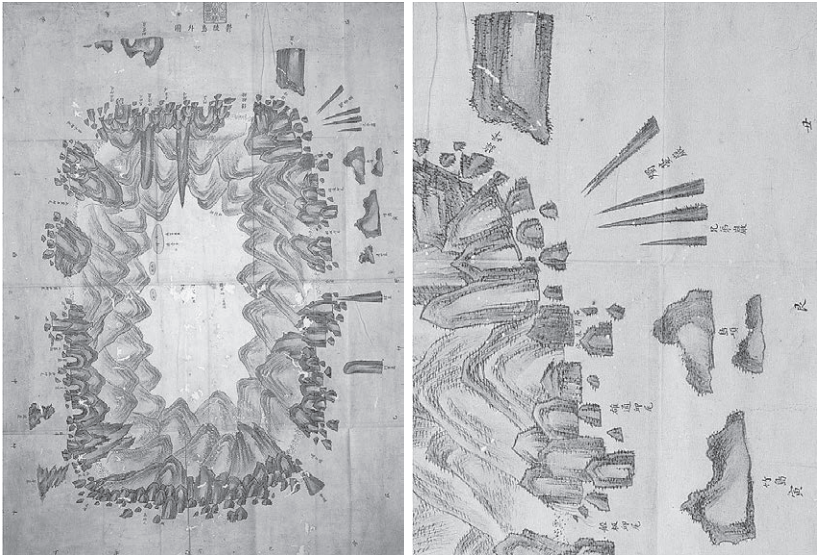
Inspector Lee Gyu-won created the Ulleungdo Interior Map in addition to the Ulleungdo Exterior Map. In the Ulleungdo Interior Map, Lee intended to describe the interior of Utsuryo Island and the islands and reef in the Ulleungdo Exterior Map. Dokdo was not depicted in the Ulleungdo Exterior Map.

Additionally, the decision was made to promulgate the Korean Imperial Ordinance No.41, because logging by Japanese people on Utsuryo Island had been continuing and an administrative body to manage the situation was needed. Indeed, one of the reasons for the promulgation of the Korean Imperial Ordinance No.41 was that “recently, foreign people come and go and trade, so for communication purpose” the Korean Empire recognized the

necessity to establish a responsible office with jurisdiction over Utsuryo Island.

The Korean Empire, then, dispatched U Yong-jeong (禹用鼎), inspector of the Home Office and chief inspector of Ulleungdo, to Utsuryo Island and ordered to conduct an investigation. From the Japanese side, AKATSUKA Shosuke, Vice Consulate at the Consulate-General in Busan, accompanied the investigation. This Japan-Korea joint investigation was carried out from June 1 to 6, 1900. In Akatsuka's report to the investigation order, the "Overview of Utsuryo Island Mountain and Forest Survey," the area border of Utsuryo Island was reported as follows.

Utsuryo Island is an island belonging to Gangwon Province in Korea, which is also called Matsushima or Takeshima, and [Note] located



[Photo 12] Ulleungdo Exterior Map by Lee Gyu-won, enlarged parts, described as Seommok and Chikuto

at 130°8'2"E, 37°5'N, [...] approximately over 6 *ri* from east to west, approximately over 4 *ri* from south to north, and approximately 20 *ri* of circumference.

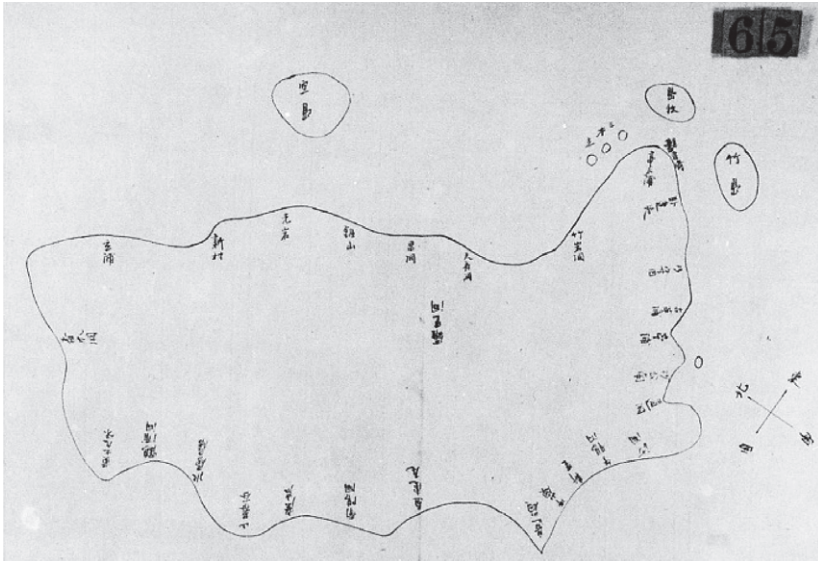
Clearly, this describes a single island of Utsuryo Island. Furthermore, Akatsuka's "Overview of Utsuryo Island Mountain and Forest Survey" has an attachment of the map of Utsuryo Island (Photo 13), in which three islands of Chikuto (Jukdo=Usando), Sonmoku (Seommok), and Konto (Gongam) are drawn as islands attached to the main island of Utsuryo Island. In Lee Gyu-won's Ulleungdo Exterior Map, these three islands are depicted as Chikuto, Seommok, and Gongam.

Among these three islands, "Seommok" is written as "Sonmoku" because "Seommok" was written in Chinese characters to match its Korean pronunciation (Seommok). The same applies to "Konto," and "Gongam" was seen as an island and written as "Konto" in accordance with Korean pronunciation. The Map of Utsuryo Island submitted by AKATSUKA Shosuke was based on the series of maps starting from Utsuryo Island Map (1711) by investigator Bak Seok-chang to the Ulleungdo Exterior Map by Lee Gyu-won.

The area border of Utsuryo Island indicated by Akatsuka is the same as the one reported by U Yong-jeong, Utsuryo Island inspection committee member. The Korean Imperial Ordinance No.41 was promulgated on October 25, 1900, because the Minister of Internal Affairs Lee Geon-ha (李乾夏) received U Yong-jeong's report and submitted the "Petition for renaming Ulleungdo as Uldo and promoting the administrator to county magistrate ('gunsu') to the State Council on the 24th, a day before the promulgation of the ordinance. In this "Petition" the area of Utsuryo Island was clearly stated

as “Its land extends 80 *ri* horizontally and 50 *ri* vertically.” The data in the “Petition” describing that the area of Utsuryo Island was “80 *ri* horizontally and 50 *ri* vertically” derived from the Utsuryo Island Map created in 1711 by an investigator, Bak Seok-chang. This fact indicates that “all of Utsuryo Island, Takeshima and Ishi-jima” stipulated by the Korean Imperial Ordinance No.41 as an area under the jurisdiction of Utsu Island County did not include Dokdo (Takeshima).

The year before U Yong-jeong, Utsuryo Island inspection committee member, was dispatched to Utsuryo Island, the Korean Empire published *Daikan Chishi* (Daehan Jiji; Geography of the Korean Empire) translated and compiled by Hyeun Chae (玄采) 1899. In this book, the area border of the Korean Empire is stated as “from 124°30'E to 130°35'E,” and determines its



[Photo 13] a map of Utsuryo Island attached to Akatsuka’s report “Overview of Utsuryo Island Mountain and Forest Survey” (1900)  
Konto (Gongam), Sonmoku (Seommok), Chikuto (Jukdo=Usando)

east end is at “130°35'E.” Naturally, Takeshima (Dokdo), which is located at “131°55'E” was outside of the Korean Empire border.

Furthermore, visiting Utsuryo Island by U Yong-jeong and others ended only after having gone around the island. The group of U Yong-jeong and others did not visit Takeshima (Dokdo) or even mentioned about the island’s existence. It is questionable that the Korean Empire determined such Takeshima (Dokdo) as Ishi-jima and included it in the area under the jurisdiction of Utsu Island County.

Now, regarding Takeshima and Ishi-jima specified as areas under the jurisdiction of Utsu Island County in the Korean Imperial Ordinance No.41, it needs to be clarified as to which small islands these two islands are referring to. Confirming this point in the Ulleungdo Exterior Map and two reports to the investigation order to investigate Ulleungdo (Utsuryo Island), the “Draft Report to the King” and the “Ulleungdo Inspection Journal” by inspector Lee Gyu-won, there are islands belonging to Utsuryo island, which are Chikuto and Seommok.

This Chikuto is located approximately 2 km east of Utsuryo Island. It is the same island as Jukdo described as “so-called Usan Island” in a note added to the *Utsuryo Island Map* created in 1711 under the instruction of an investigator Bak Seok-chang, and it is described as “Takeshima” in Lee’s Ulleungdo Exterior Map.

The only remaining “Ishi-jima” is the “Seommok” Lee Gyu-won described as “there are only bamboos growing in clusters” in the “Ulleungdo Inspection Journal.” U Yong-jeong and others who visited Utsuryo Island for inspection purposes used a map created based on Lee’s Ulleungdo Exterior Map.

The fact that Ishi-jima was Seommok can be confirmed by the description of Seommok in the nautical chart No.306 *Tikuhen wan to Suigen*





“All of Utsuryo Island, Takeshima and Ishi-jima” that the Korean Imperial Ordinance No.41 stipulated as the region under the jurisdiction of Utsu Island County are written in *kan-on* pronunciation (one of the pronunciation systems of Chinese characters in Japan). However, the pronunciation of Seommok is an exception in that it is not *kan-on* but transferred the sound of Korean language to Chinese characters. In fact, Lee Gyu-won in the “Ulleungdo Inspection Journal” comments on Seommok saying “its shape is similar to a cow-tongue cactus.” If “鼠項” is, in the same way as “島項,” read as a Korean word, it will be “So moku,” meaning “cow’s neck (項=nape).” In addition, the appearance of actual Seommok looks like cow’s nape due to Simon bamboo growing in clusters on the rocky island.

When the region under the jurisdiction of Utsu Island County was to be stipulated in the Korean Imperial Ordinance No.41 as “all of Utsuryo Island, Takeshima and Ishi-jima,” Seommok, which sounds like Korean language, becomes Ishi-jima if the former is noted in the *kan-on* reading. This fact indicates that Takeshima (Dokdo) was not included in the Korean Imperial Ordinance No.41.

The Government of the ROK has claimed so far that they promulgated the Korean Imperial Ordinance No.41 in October 25, 1900, and officially included Takeshima (Dokdo) in the Korean territory. However, Ishi-jima, described that it was in the area under the jurisdiction of Utsu Island County, was Seommok located in the upper right of Utsuryo Island. Even as of 1900, Takeshima (Dokdo) was not the part of Korean territory.

#### **(10) In 1905, Japan determined Korea’s Dokdo as terra nullius**

Having discussed the issue so far, we should now be able to determine if the claims by the ROK President Roh Moo-hyun and the *Dokdo Awareness*:

President Roh expressed criticism against Japan that “Japan incorporated Dokdo into its territory during the Russo-Japanese War. This represents the taking of Dokdo by force,” and the *Dokdo Awareness* criticizes stating that Japan incorporated Korea’s Dokdo into its territory as “terra nullius” in 1905.

The *Dokdo Awareness* explains that Dokdo became part of the territory of Korea when Isabu of Silla conquered Usan State in 512. However, the historical fact was found different to this. In the *Samguksagi* (History of the Three Kingdoms) and the *Samguk yusa* (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms), there is no description that Dokdo (Takeshima) was included in Usan State. In addition, Usan Island depicted in *Sejong Sillok, Jiriji* (Geography Section of the Annals of King Sejong’s Reign) was determined as a non-existent island and deleted from geography documents in posterity, and eventually it was decided to refer to Jukdo, located about 2 km east of Utsuryo Island. These facts are extremely important.

However, these facts are not included in the *Dokdo Awareness*. According to the historical fact, Usan Island was first identified as referring to the same island as Jukdo located 2 km east of Utsuryo Island when Bak Seok-chang added a note that read “so-called Usan Island” in the Utsuryo Island Map in 1711. Bak’s Utsuryo Island Map was the outcome report of site investigations on Utsuryo Island carried out by the investigators sent by the Government of Korea after the Ahn Yong-bok incident. Ahn stated that “Usan Island is called Matsushima in Japan, and it is part of Korean territory,” but site investigations found that Usan Island referred to Jukdo, which was located 2 km east of Utsuryo Island. The information about Usan Island was later used in the *Dongguk Daejido* (Complete Map of the Eastern Country) by Jeong Sang-gi and it was drawn on the right side of Utsuryo Island.

As it was the case in “The Map of Eight Provinces of Korea,” a map

attached to *Sinjeung Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam* (Revised and Augmented Edition of the Survey of the Geography of Korea), before Jeong Sang-gi depicted Usan Island on the right side of Utsuryo Island in the *Dongguk Daejido* (Complete Map of the Eastern Country), Usan Island had been drawn between the Korean Peninsula and Utsuryo Island. However, Usan Island became to be drawn on the right side or the upper right of Utsuryo Island when the Government of Korea dispatched the investigators to Utsuryo Island and created the Utsuryo Island Map. The small island, which had historically been called Usan Island, confirmed its existence as Jukdo.

Despite these facts, the *Dokdo Awareness* does not provide any explanations about Bak's Utsuryo Island Map to those who learn about the history of Dokdo. For this reason, children in the ROK have not gained any understanding of the difference between Utsu Island in "The Map of Eight Provinces of Korea" and Usan Island (Jukdo) in Jeong's *Dongguk Daejido* (Complete Map of the Eastern Country). Moreover, the *Dokdo Awareness* explains that Usan Island in the *Aguk ch'ongdo* (Complete Map of Korea), which is in line with Jeong's *Dongguk Daejido* (Complete Map of the Eastern Country) is Dokdo. This is not correct, because Usan Island depicted in the maps created following Jeong's *Dongguk Daejido* refers to Jukdo.

Nevertheless, the *Dokdo Awareness* states Usan Island is depicted in Jeong's *Dongguk Daejido* (Complete Map of the Eastern Country) as Dokdo (Takeshima), without providing any information about Bak's Utsuryo Island Map. Therefore, the ROK claims that a small island depicted at the upper right of Takeshima (Utsuryo Island) in the *Sangoku Setsujozu* (A Map of Three Adjoining Countries) by HAYASHI Shihei is Dokdo.

Children in the ROK write in their letters that "HAYASHI Shihei depicted Dokdo as the territory of Korea" because they are not taught

about the Utsuryo Island Map that Bak Seok-chang created as a report to an investigation order. In addition, Bak added a note that reads “so-called Usan Island” to the current Jukdo in the Utsuryo Island Map, and this act was related to the statement by Ahn Yong-bok that “Usan Island is called Matsushima in Japan, and it is part of Korean territory.”

Then, Jeong Sang-gi created the *Dongguk Daejido* (Complete Map of the Eastern Country) based on Bak’s Utsuryo Island Map in which a note stating “so-called Usan Island” was added to Jukdo. In the map of Korea created by Jeong, Usan Island was depicted as Jukdo, which was followed by other maps of Korea created in later years.

In other words, there was a problem with the statement of “Usan Island is called Matsushima in Japan” made by Ahn Yong-bok. In fact, when Ahn illegally entered the Tottori Domain, he had a map derived from *Sinjeung Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam* (Revised and Augmented Edition of the Survey of the Geography of Korea). Ahn described Usan Island depicted in that map as “called Matsushima in Japan.”

However, as a historical fact, Usan Island derived from the *Sinjeung Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam* (Revised and Augmented Edition of the Survey of the Geography of Korea) was deleted from geographic documents in later documents and its existence denied. Namely, Usan Island depicted in “The Map of Eight Provinces of Korea” of the *Sinjeung Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam* (Revised and Augmented Edition of the Survey of the Geography of Korea) and Usan Island that Bak Seok-chang described as “so-called Usan Island” in the Utsuryo Island Map had no continuity.

Thus, the inclusion of Usan Island in documents and old maps does not mean that it can be read as the current Dokdo (Takeshima). Claiming that “Dokdo is the territory of Korea” without examining documents and old

maps involves risks. When interpreting the *Sinjeung Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam* (Revised and Augmented Edition of the Survey of the Geography of Korea) and Jeong's *Dongguk Daejido* (Complete Map of the Eastern Country), it is crucial to verify whether Usan Island appearing in these documents and maps always refers to the same Usan Island, by examining the situations and historical background in which the documents and maps were created.

The same can be said about the ways to interpret the Dajokan Order of 1877. In the Dajokan Order, it is stated that, "Takeshima and one other island have no connection to Japan," However, it is risky to interpret that "one other island" refers to the current Takeshima because Takeshima (Utsuryo Island) and Matsushima (Takehima) are depicted in *Isotakeshima Ryakuzu* (Rough Sketch of Isotakeshima) submitted by Shimane Prefecture.

The maps and nautical charts at the time described Takeshima (Dokdo) as "Oriutsu-se," "Menerai-se" or "Liancourt Rocks." In *Isotakeshima Ryakuzu* (Rough Sketch of Isotakeshima) submitted by Shimane Prefecture, Utsuryo Island was depicted as Takeshima and Takeshima as Matsushima, which were the names used to call these islands up to the early modern period. However, the nautical charts and maps created around the time when the Dajokan Order was issued described Utsuryo Island as Matsushima and the current Takeshima (Dokdo) was not depicted as Takeshima. Namely, Takeshima and Matsushima in *Isotakeshima Ryakuzu* (Rough Sketch of Isotakeshima) submitted by Shimane Prefecture were different islands to Takeshima and Matsushima in the Dajokan Order, which ordered that, "Takeshima and one other island have no connection to Japan."

This fact can also be confirmed by the description by HIGASHI Bunsuke, Governor of the Oki Islands, made at the time of the current Takeshima incorporated into the territory of Japan that reads, "the name

'Takeshima,' which had been used for Utsuryo Island, is actually Matsushima, which is clear from nautical charts." Therefore, "one other island" cannot be determined as the current Takeshima (Dokdo) only by referring to "Takeshima and one other island, [...] they have no connection to Japan" in the Dajokan Order.

The *Dokdo Awareness* states that Japan recognized Takeshima as "not the territory of Japan" due to the Dajokan Order. However, "Matsushima" described as "one other island" was confirmed three years after the Dajokan Order that it was Utsuryo Island. Thus, the Dajokan Order was not the document to prove that the Government of Japan had determined Takeshima as the territory of Korea.

Furthermore, while the *Dokdo Awareness* states that "the territorial rights of Utsuryo Island and Dokdo belong to the Korean Empire" based on the Korean Imperial Ordinance No.41, this claim also required verifications (critical analysis of documents). Ishi-jima in the Korean Imperial Ordinance No.41 did not have any link to the pronunciation in the Jeolla Province as explained in the *Dokdo Awareness*.

There were two approaches used to verify the ROK's claim. One was to read "Seommok (So moku Somu)" in the Ulleungdo Exterior Map, written in the Korean pronunciation, using the traditional *hansetsu* method. Ishi-jima as in "all of Utsuryo Island, Takeshima and Ishi-jima," which was determined to be the region under the jurisdiction of Utsu Island County was "Seommok (Somoku Somu)" written in the Chinese language.

The other method was to review the investigation report by U Yong-jeong, Utsuryo Island inspection committee member, and others, which was a contributory factor to the promulgation of the Korean Imperial Ordinance No.41. In the "Petition for renaming Ulleungdo as Uldo and promote the

administrator to county magistrate ('gunsu')" that Lee Geon-ha submitted to the State Council in response to the report by U Yong-jeong and others, the area of Utsuryo Island is stated as "This area measures 80 *ri* from north to south and 50 *ri* from east to west." These are the same figures as the area border of Utsuryo Island established by Bak Seok-chang's Utsuryo Island Map. Moreover, both Bak's Utsuryo Island Map and Lee Gyu-won's Ulleungdo Exterior Map do not contain any description of Dokdo (Takeshima).

Based on these two points, it is clear that Dokdo was not included in the Korean Imperial Ordinance No.41 and that Dokdo was not the territory of Korea. Obviously, this also indicates that at the time when the Korean Imperial Ordinance No.41 was promulgated Takeshima (Dokdo) was an inhabited land belonging to neither Japan nor Korea.

On January 28, 1905, the Government of Japan incorporated Takeshima into the territory of Japan through a Cabinet decision. In doing so, the government described that Takeshima had no "trace of occupation by any other states" and recognized "the occupation under international law," and regarded "the island as belonging to Japan and to place it under the jurisdiction of the Governor of the Oki Islands Branch Office of the Shimane Prefectural Government."

Japan preempted the uninhabited island Takeshima, because there was no historical fact indicating that Dokdo had been the territory of Korea.



### 3. Conclusion

#### (1) Why do historical disputes occur between Japan and the ROK?

It is assumed that junior high school students in the ROK who have learned about the Takeshima (Dokdo) dispute through the *Dokdo Awareness* are naturally thinking that “Dokdo is the territory of Korea.” In contrast, the knowledge that Japanese junior high school students have about the Takeshima dispute is overwhelmingly poor. In Japanese compulsory education, the Takeshima dispute had not been officially included in the elementary and junior high school curriculums until FY2020 and FY2021, respectively. However, the class that deals with the Takeshima dispute does not focus on this issue; contents related to the Senkaku Islands are also taught at the same time.

Thus, there is a big difference to the situation in the ROK where the development of educational materials concerning Dokdo (*Dokdo Awareness*) started in 2011 and special lessons focusing on the Takeshima dispute have been given to students.

It is not surprising that both students and teachers lecturing the Takeshima dispute at junior high schools become confused if letters arrive from junior high school students in the ROK to Japanese schools with the message claiming that “Dokdo is the territory of Korea.” Japanese students and teachers would not be sure as to how they should respond to the letters from the ROK with the unilateral claim of “Dokdo is the territory of Korea.” In the current condition, even if the ROK’s students made an effort to send letters to Japan, no dialogues can be established with Japanese students.

Why is it often the case that Japan and the ROK encounter a difficulty in communicating with each other? It is regrettable that junior high school students, who will be leading the next generation, are swayed by the Takeshima

dispute of which even they have not gained sufficient understanding.

Essentially, territorial disputes such as the Takeshima dispute (it is regarded as a historical issue in the ROK) are supposed to be diplomatic issues that adults should resolve. It is the same as relinquishing the responsibility as an adult if the adults in Japan and the ROK have junior high school students learn about the Takeshima dispute and leave the resolution of the issue to the children of the next generation.

In addition, as mentioned in the beginning of this booklet, approaches to the Takeshima (Dokdo) dispute taken by the Government of Japan and the Government of the ROK differ. It is one of the factors that has contributed to delay the resolution of the Takeshima dispute.

The Takeshima dispute began on January 18, 1952, when the Government of the ROK established the Syngman Rhee Line on the high seas and included Takeshima within the line. It was considered a problem because as of 1905, Takeshima was already incorporated in the territory of Japan. To resolve the problem, on September 25, 1954, the Government of Japan proposed the ROK that the dispute of territorial sovereignty over Takeshima be referred to the International Court of Justice. However, the Government of the ROK refused the proposal and showed the following historical perception: “Dokdo is the first Korean territory, which became the victim of Japan’s aggression against Korea.”

As it is clear from this fact, the ROK perceives the Takeshima (Dokdo) dispute as a historical issue based on the interpretation of the past history, while Japan deals with the dispute as a territorial issue. The approaches and the ways to understand the Takeshima dispute are different between Japan and the ROK. Therefore, when Shimane Prefecture enacted a regulation to establish “Takeshima Day” in 2005, President Roh Moo-hyun of the ROK criticized

Japan, stating to the effect that it was exactly an act of justifying the past aggression and denying the independence of the ROK, and demanded Japan to express remorse.

Such a gap in the perception of history is causing a number of historical issues such as “the Issue of History Textbook,” “the Issue of Comfort Women,” and “the Issue of Name ‘Sea of Japan’.” The ROK side demands the “settlement of the past,” considering the past with Japan to be a problem. If the Japanese side makes counterarguments and claims against the ROK’s demand, the next move that the ROK makes would be to demand apologies and remorse from Japan based on their own “historical perception,” asserting that Japan’s response is “the act of justifying the past aggression and denying the independence of the ROK.”

However, the “historical perception” and the “historical fact” are not the same. I believe that Japanese and Korean junior high school students who have read this booklet can understand this point. In other words, the interpretations of even the same document are completely different between the *Dokdo Awareness*, which was edited and compiled based on the “historical perception” of “Dokdo is the territory of Korea,” and this booklet (Points that Junior High School Students of Japan and the ROK Should Consider Regarding the Takeshima (or Dokdo) Dispute).

How do differences in interpretations occur? It is because you get different “historical facts” depending on whether you have conducted a critical analysis of documents on which arguments would be based.

(2) Usan Island in the *Sejong Sillok, Jiriji* (Geography Section of the Annals of King Sejong's Reign) and in the *Dongguk Daejido* (Complete Map of the Eastern Country)

In fact, Usan Island appears in both the *Sejong Sillok, Jiriji* (Geography Section of the Annals of King Sejong's Reign) and the *Dongguk Daejido* (Complete Map of the Eastern Country) by Jeong Sang-gi. However, the Usan Island in these documents was found to refer to different islands. Usan Island depicted in Jeong's *Dongguk Daejido* (Complete Map of the Eastern Country, created in the mid-18th century) referred to the same island as Jukdo, which was derived from Bak Seok-chang's Utsuryo Island Map (1711).

The question is why Usan Island (Jukdo) was drawn in Jeong's *Dongguk Daejido* (Complete Map of the Eastern Country). The *Dokdo Awareness* provides only a very brief mention of the Jeong's map, stating, "In this map, Usan Island is drawn on the east side of Utsuryo Island. Usan Island refers to Dokdo today."

That Usan Island, however, was actually the current Jukdo, which was described as "the so-called Usan Island, field(s) of haejang bamboo" in Bak Seok-chang's Utsuryo Island Map. Bak's map of Utsuryo Island had an influence on Jeong's *Dongguk Daejido* (Complete Map of the Eastern Country), and became the basis of the maps of Utsuryo Island created later. One of those maps was the Ulleungdo Exterior Map (1882) by Lee Gyu-won, and the area determined in the Korean Imperial Ordinance No.41 to be under the jurisdiction of Utsu Island County coincided with the description in Bak's Utsuryo Island Map—"Its land extends 80 *ri* horizontally and 50 *ri* vertically."

The important point in relation to Bak's Utsuryo Island Map is the fact that Takeshima (Dokdo) was not depicted in this map. The same can be found in Lee's Ulleungdo Exterior Map. In Lee's map, which depicted islands

belonging to Utsuryo Island, Dokdo (Takeshima) was not considered to be the one belonging to Utsuryo Island.

Following Ahn Yong-bok's incident of illegal entry into Japan, the Korean dynasty dispatched investigators to Utsuryo Island and created the Utsuryo Island Map. After that, maps of Utsuryo Island based on the Utsuryo Island Map described the current Jukdo as "so-called Usan Island" or Usan Island. Lee's Ulleungdo Exterior Map (1882) depicted a small island, which Bak described as "so-called Usan Island," as "Chikuto." This Chikuto (Jukdo) is the same Takeshima as in "all of Utsuryo Island, Takeshima and Ishi-jima," which Article 2 of the Korean Imperial Ordinance No.41 stipulated as an area under the jurisdiction of Utsu Island County.

Any of the Usan Islands included in Bak Seok-chang's Utsuryo Island Map, Jeong Sang-gi's *Dongguk Daejido* (Complete Map of the Eastern Country), and Lee Gyu-won's Ulleungdo Exterior Map were not the same island as today's Dokdo (Takeshima).

Now, another question is whether the Usan island in the *Sejong Sillok, Jiriji* (Geography Section of the Annals of King Sejong's Reign) was Dokdo (Takeshima). The answer can be found by analyzing the description in the *Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam* (Survey of the Geography of Korea; later published as *Sinjeung Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam* [Revised and Augmented Edition of the Survey of the Geography of Korea]), which was edited and compiled based on the *Sejong Sillok, Jiriji* (Geography Section of the Annals of King Sejong's Reign). The *Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam* (Survey of the Geography of Korea) states that, "There is a view that Usan Island and Utsuryo Island are the same island" and determines that Usan Island and Utsuryo Island are the same island with different names. This document states that these islands are "the same island" because at the time when it was edited and compiled, Usan Island and

Utsuryo Island were not distinguishable.

Similar descriptions can also be confirmed in the “account of Uljin Prefecture” in the *Goryeosa* (History of Goryeo) (*Jiriji* [Geography Section]), edited and compiled during the same period as the *Sejong Sillok, Jiriji* (Geography Section of the Annals of King Sejong’s Reign). The main text of “the account of Uljin Prefecture” describes only Utsuryo Island, while Usan Island and Mureungdo (Utsuryo Island) are described as two separate islands. While the *Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam* (Survey of the Geography of Korea) states that “There is a view that Usan Island and Utsuryo Island are the same island,” the account of Uljin Prefecture in the *Goryeosa* (History of Goryeo) (*Jiriji* [Geography Section]) states that, “According to a view, Usan Island and Mureungdo are two different islands.” This confusion indicates that Usan Island and Utsuryo Island were not clearly distinguished at the time. Also, no description of Dokdo (Takeshima) is found here. Discussions concerning Usan Island during the period from the 16th to the 17th centuries were about whether this island and Utsuryo Island were the same island with different names.

Since Bak Seok-chang’s Utsuryo Island Map, Usan Island and Jukdo, located 2 km to the east of Utsuryo Island, were considered the same island, and Usan Island disappeared from the *Book on Our Country [Land]* and *Daedong Jiji* (Geography of the Great East), which were created based on the descriptions in the *Sinjeung Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam* (Revised and Augmented Edition of the Survey of the Geography of Korea). Usan Island in the *Sejong Sillok, Jiriji* (Geography Section of the Annals of King Sejong’s Reign) was determined to be Jukdo, which was located at 2 km to the east of Utsuryo Island.

However, when interpreting the *Sejong Sillok, Jiriji* (Geography Section

of the Annals of King Sejong's Reign) is based on the premise (historical perception) that "Usan Island is Dokdo," and Usan Island in the document is understood as Dokdo (Takehima). This is the limit of explaining history based on "historical perceptions."

Dealing with the Takehima dispute as a historical issue, in order to determine Usan Island in the *Sejong Sillok, Jiriji* (Geography Section of the Annals of King Sejong's Reign) to be Dokdo, such a fact needs to be demonstrated using other documents and historical materials. This process is called a "critical analysis of documents" or a "critical analysis of historical materials," which are inevitable if the Dokdo (Takehima) dispute is to be dealt with as a historical issue. When interpreting Usan Island in the *Sejong Sillok, Jiriji* (Geography Section of the Annals of King Sejong's Reign), it is not a critical analysis of documents if interpreting based on the belief that Usan Island must be Dokdo because the only island visible from Utsuryo Island was Dokdo.

Geography documents such as the *Sejong Sillok, Jiriji* (Geography Section of the Annals of King Sejong's Reign) and the *Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam* (Survey of the Geography of Korea) were following a specific "method" as their editing and compilation policy, and were created based on that method. Particularly in the case of an island such as Utsuryo Island, distance and direction from the government office with jurisdiction over the island were recorded. This fact suggests that there was a certain way to read the articles in the *Sejong Sillok, Jiriji* (Geography Section of the Annals of King Sejong's Reign) and the *Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam* (Survey of the Geography of Korea) according to the editing and compilation policy.

For this reason, the description of "visible" in the *Sejong Sillok, Jiriji* (Geography Section of the Annals of King Sejong's Reign) is interpreted

in a way that Utsuryo Island is “visible” from Uljin Prefecture, which has jurisdiction over Utsuryo Island. The interpretation that Usan Island must be Dokdo because Dokdo is the only island “visible” from Utsuryo Island is an interpretation based on the premise that “Usan Island is Dokdo,” and therefore, it cannot be accepted as a historical study. There would be a completely different history between interpreting documents with the recognition of the existence of the editing and compilation “method” and interpreting based on a specific “historical perception” to determine that the only island “visible” from Utsuryo Island must be Dokdo.

### (3) Importance of critical analysis of documents

Why did the *Dokdo Awareness* describe Usan Island in the *Sejong Sillok, Jiriji* (Geography Section of the Annals of King Sejong’s Reign) as “Dokdo”? It is because of the description in the *Dongguk Munheon Bigo* (Reference Compilation of Documents on Korea) (*Yeojigo* [Record of Geography]) that reads, “Usan is what the Japanese called Matsushima (current Takeshima),” which the ROK takes as the ground for argument.

However, a critical analysis of this document has revealed that the description of “Usan is what the Japanese called Matsushima” had originally been written as “Usan Island and Utsuryo Island are the same island” before the *Dongguk Munheon Bigo* (Reference Compilation of Documents on Korea) (*Yeojigo* [Record of Geography]) was edited and compiled. This indicates that “Usan Island and Utsuryo Island are the same island” was rewritten as “Usan is what the Japanese called Matsushima” during the editing and compiling process of the *Dongguk Munheon Bigo* (Reference Compilation of Documents on Korea) (*Yeojigo* [Record of Geography]).

Now, what was the reason for rewriting the description of “Usan Island



and Utsuryo Island are the same island” as “Usan is what the Japanese called Matsushima”? The statement, “Matsushima is therefore Usan Island. This is also Korean territory,” that Ahn Yong-bok, who illegally entered the Tottori Domain, made after returning to Korea is related to it, as Ahn’s statement had an influence on the editing and compiling of the *Dongguk Munheon Bigo* (Reference Compilation of Documents on Korea) (*Yeojigo* [Record of Geography]). This can be confirmed in Shin Gyeong-jun’s *Ganggyeji* (Study of National Boundaries), which was the basis for the *Dongguk Munheon Bigo* (Reference Compilation of Documents on Korea) (*Yeojigo* [Record of Geography]). Shin, who edited and compiled the *Dongguk Munheon Bigo* (Reference Compilation of Documents on Korea) (*Yeojigo* [Record of Geography]), and others rewrote “Usan Island and Utsuryo Island are the same island” as “Usan is what the Japanese called Matsushima” based on Ahn’s statement.

Nevertheless, Usan Island in Ahn’s statement, “Matsushima is therefore Usan Island. This is also Korean territory,” was not Matsushima (Dokdo). The “Map of eight provinces of Korea” that Ahn had with him when he smuggled himself to the Tottori Domain was the map of Korea from the *Sinjeung Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam* (Revised and Augmented Edition of the Survey of the Geography of Korea).

As has already been stated, the “Map of Korea” of the *Sinjeung Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam* (Revised and Augmented Edition of the Survey of the Geography of Korea) had no description of Dokdo. In fact, Usan Island in “The Map of Eight Provinces of Korea,” a map attached to *Sinjeung Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam* (Revised and Augmented Edition of the Survey of the Geography of Korea) was located between the Korean Peninsula and Utsuryo Island, and its size was also drawn in two-thirds of Utsuryo Island.

However, such an island did not exist. Namely, Ahn Yong-bok mentioned in his statement such non-existent Usan Island as Matsushima (Takeshima).

The ROK's Dokdo studies conclude that Matsushima (current Takeshima) was the territory of Korean dynasty based on the description of "Usan is what the Japanese called Matsushima" in the *Dongguk Munheon Bigo* (Reference Compilation of Documents on Korea) (*Yeojigo* [Record of Geography]) without verifying Ahn's statements. However, it has been revealed as the historical fact that the description in the *Dongguk Munheon Bigo* (Reference Compilation of Documents on Korea) (*Yeojigo* [Record of Geography]) was originally a different description of "Usan Island and Utsuryo Island are the same island," which was rewritten in the editing and compiling process of the document as "Usan is what the Japanese called Matsushima."

In addition, Usan Island that Ahn Yong-bok described as "Matsushima is therefore Usan Island. This is also Korean territory" was non-existent Usan Island in the *Sinjeung Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam* (Revised and Augmented Edition of the Survey of the Geography of Korea). Therefore, Usan Island that Ahn described as Matsushima (current Takeshima) was eliminated from the *Book on Our Country [Land]* and *Daedong Jiji* (Geography of the Great East).

The *Dokdo Awareness* explains that "Usan Island is Dokdo" based on the description of "Usan is what the Japanese called Matsushima" in the *Dongguk Munheon Bigo* (Reference Compilation of Documents on Korea) (*Yeojigo* [Record of Geography]). But, that description was the result of rewriting a different description based on the false statement made by Ahn Yong-bok. The "historical perception" of "Usan Island is Dokdo" and the historical fact regarding these islands did not coincide. Hence, it is a risky approach to talk about the Dokdo (Takeshima) dispute based on "historical perceptions" of the issue.

In relation to the historical issues between Japan and the ROK, the ROK has criticized Japan based on such “historical perceptions” without exception, demanded apology and remorse, and then urged the “settlement of the past.” This pattern has been perceived as normal between the two countries, and this seems an issue that the two parties should make efforts to overcome.

#### (4) “Settlement of the past” sought through “historical perception”

Actually, “the Issue of the Name ‘Sea of Japan,’” a problem between Japan and the ROK, is the one which the ROK has criticized Japan based on the historical perceptions without exception, demanded apology and remorse, and then urged the “settlement of the past.” According to the ROK’s assertion, the name East Sea has been used for the past 2,000 years. In 1929 when the International Hydrographic Bureau edited and compiled the *Limits of Oceans and Seas*, the ROK was under Japan’s colonial rule. Therefore, the ROK could not assert the legitimacy of “East Sea.” In addition, the ROK also asserts that it is inappropriate that the ROK’s Dokdo is located in the Sea of Japan, as it looks as though the island is within Japan’s territorial water, and insists that the name of the Sea of Japan be changed to East Sea.

The ROK’s historical perception is also the ground for the argument over this “Issue of the Name ‘Sea of Japan (issue of the use of the name ‘East Sea’ together).’”

However, as the historical fact shows, the ROK began using the name East Sea for the Sea of Japan only in the mid-20th century. There is no historical fact that the name East Sea has been used for 2,000 years. As described in the *Painful History of Korea* by Park Eun-sik (朴殷植: 1915) that “To the east (of Korea), the boundary stays along the coast of the Blue Sea, separated from the Sea of Japan,” the Blue Sea within the coastal part and the

Sea of Japan, which is outside of the Blue Sea, were distinguished. Similar views were reported in the Dong-A Ilbo newspaper on July 1, 1926, that, “East Sea, or also called the Blue Sea, is part of the Sea of Japan.” During the period when the *Limits of Oceans and Seas* was edited and compiled, the ROK perceived the East Sea as part of the Sea of Japan.

The range of the East Sea was extended to the entire Sea of Japan after 1945, when Japan’s colonial rule was ended. The Dong-A Ilbo newspaper published an article titled “Is it the East Sea or the Sea of Japan?” on June 15, 1946, to raise the issue concerning the name of the Sea of Japan.

The ROK began using the name “East Sea” to call the Sea of Japan only in the mid-20th century, not 2,000 years ago. Nevertheless, the ROK asserts that the name of the Sea of Japan be changed to “East Sea,” the name that has been used for 2,000 years, according to the ROK’s claim, and appeals to the international community.

However, the “historical perception” of the ROK that the name “East Sea” has been used to call the Sea of Japan for 2,000 years lacks solid foundation. Many of the historical issues arising between Japan and the ROK are caused by the ROK, which urges the “settlement of the past” and persistently demands apology and remorse from Japan, without conducting document analysis. The problem here is not only with the ROK that demands the “settlement of the past,” but also with the Japanese side that does not refute such demands.

It seems that the historical issues between Japan and the ROK originated from the “historical perception” that began with the Takeshima dispute. This suggests that the historical controversy concerning the historical issues between the two countries will continue and repeat forever unless the Takeshima dispute is resolved.

### (5) Takeshima (Dokdo) disputes as a means for promoting mutual understanding between Japan and the ROK

To prevent the two countries from continuing the historical controversy concerning the historical issues and repeating forever unless the Takeshima dispute is resolved is one of the reasons that I decided to write this booklet (Points that Junior High School Students of Japan and the ROK Should Consider Regarding the Takeshima (or Dokdo) Dispute). It has been my hope that junior high school students in Japan and the ROK consider together the difference between “historical perception” and “historical fact” through this booklet.

Since 2018, junior high schools in Shimane Prefecture have been receiving letters and postcards with messages about the Takeshima (Dokdo) dispute from junior high school students in the ROK. As I read those letters and postcards, I developed my interest in how and what Korean students were learning about the Takeshima (Dokdo) dispute through the *Dokdo Awareness*, a book that was said to be used in learning this issue.

I replied to the Korean junior high school students who sent letters to Japan, writing what I thought and how I felt from reading their letters. Although there has been no reply from those Korean students, expressing one’s own honest thought, as they did, is an act that requires courage. I believe that we should not waste the feelings of those students in the ROK.

For this reason, I have decided to make a booklet that can offer an opportunity for Korean junior high school students, who learned the Takeshima (Dokdo) dispute using the *Dokdo Awareness*, and Japanese students, who received the letters from the ROK, to read it and discuss the issue together. My intention was to create a platform in which junior high school students from the two countries can develop mutual understanding through

considering the issue of the Takeshima (Dokdo) dispute.

Just as it is between Japan and the ROK, naturally misunderstanding and distrust may be developed between any countries with different histories and cultures. The problem is to unilaterally criticize the other party without dealing with such misunderstanding and distrust, which will hinder mutual understanding and create more emotional distance between each other.

I hope that junior high school students in Japan and the ROK will work on the Takeshima (Dokdo) dispute as an issue to overcome without being bound by the ideas of old generations. It is the responsibility of both the younger generations (students in Japan and the ROK), who will play a leading role in the next era, and the adult generations to make the Takeshima (Dokdo) dispute between Japan and the ROK the first step towards the development of the mutual understanding of the two.

[Postscript] I have written my reply to the letters from junior high school students in the ROK. It is translated in Korean and posted on the website of the Takeshima Issue Research Group. If you are interested in it, please read it. The Japanese version of the reply is also available for viewing on the Takeshima Issue Research Group website.

(<https://www.pref.shimane.lg.jp/admin/pref/takeshima/web-takeshima/index.data/hagakikankoku.pdf>)

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