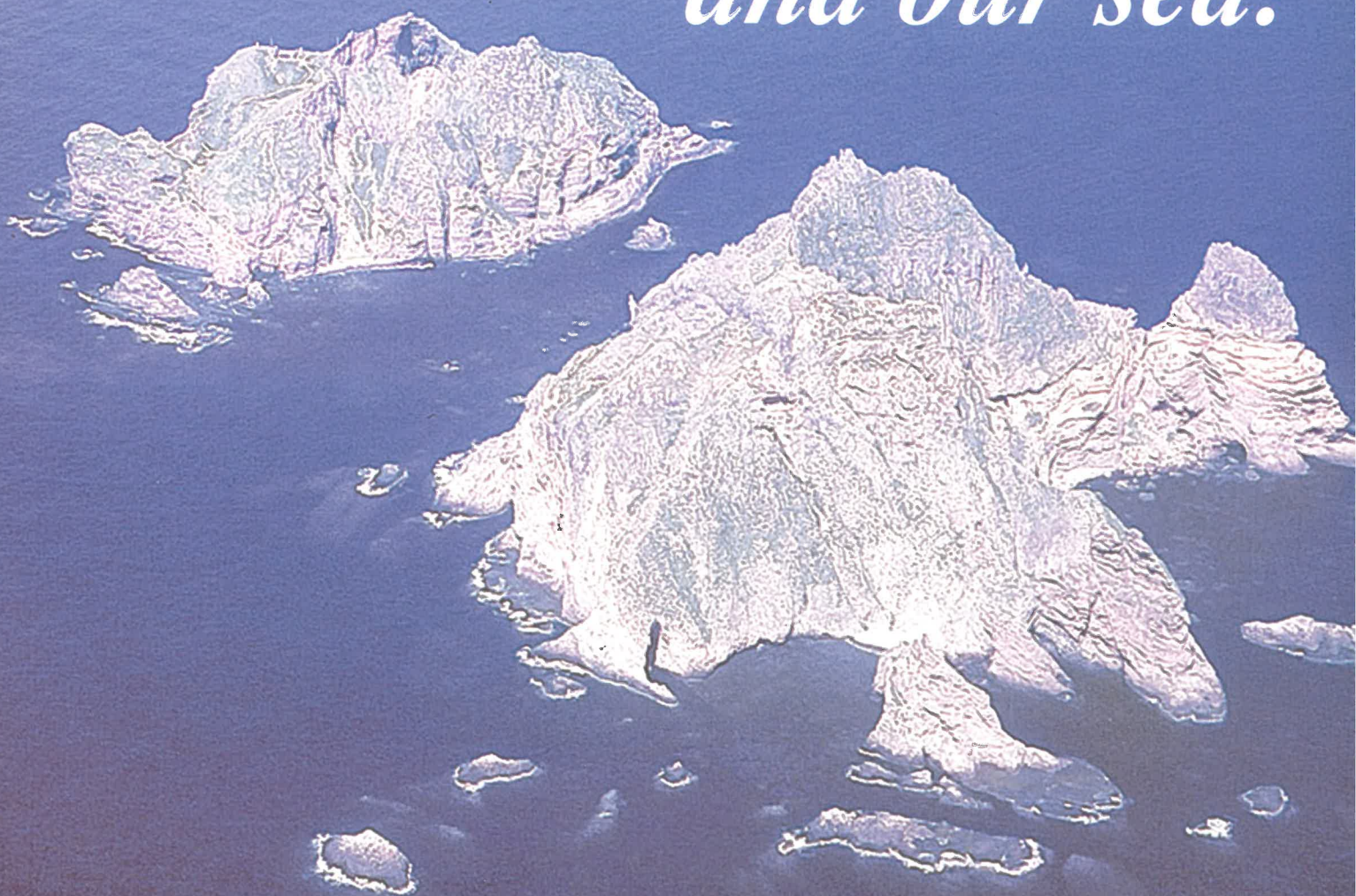


竹島

TAKESHIMA

*Return
our islands
and our sea!*





On the Occasion of Takeshima Day

The Shimane Prefecture Assembly approved an ordinance establishing Takeshima Day during a regular session in February 2005. Though this prefecture had urged the national government to establish Japanese territorial rights to Takeshima for many years, there was no progress whatsoever. Maintaining the status quo would cause the Takeshima Problem to fade from peoples' minds. Therefore, this ordinance was formulated because many citizens of the prefecture wanted to inform Japanese public opinion and encourage active efforts at the national level.

Both Japan and South Korea claim Takeshima as their own territory. South Korea has been in de facto control of the islets since 1952, however, when it unilaterally established the so-called Syngman Rhee Line. It has seized many Japanese fishing vessels since then.

To resolve this difficult problem, I think it is important to first properly verify the historical background of the dispute, understand each other's claims as claims, and then proceed with a rational discussion. I also believe it is necessary to create a platform for proceeding with this discussion, so I established the Takeshima Problem Research Council, comprised of members with specialized knowledge on the subject. I hope that the Council will objectively study and discuss the Takeshima Problem, systematically organize the claims of both Japan and South Korea, and promote dialogue through the exchange of opinions with South Korean researchers.

A territorial issue to begin with is a problem that has arisen between states, and it is better by far that it should be resolved peacefully through the diplomatic efforts of both countries. That's why I hope the Japanese government strives to achieve a greater understanding on the part of its citizens and is persistent in its diplomatic efforts. We are also in the process of formulating a proposal that seeks a judgment from the International Court of Justice.

Both this prefecture and North Gyeongsang Province of South Korea are local governments; we claim that Takeshima is under our jurisdiction, while North Gyeongsang Province claims that it is under theirs. We were both aware of this when the governments formed sister-government ties in 1989 with the long and extensive interaction between us as the cornerstone. Since then, the two governments have forged a relationship of mutual trust by conducting many exchange and

cooperative activities. The trend of history is for Japanese-Korean exchange, centered on these two local governments, to become more vibrant, and it is also our responsibility to see that this happens.

I have stated that the exchange activities between the two local governments should be separated from the territorial issue, and called for exchange to be continued by different entities in a wide range of sectors. When Shimane Prefecture passed the ordinance establishing Takeshima Day, however, North Gyeongsang Province declared that it would withdraw from its sister government ties with Shimane Prefecture. This is extremely regrettable. I believe that Japan and South Korea should use the establishment of this ordinance as the opportunity to calmly discuss what is right and what is wrong in their relationship. I also believe that aiming for a resolution of this issue while furthering our understanding will facilitate true friendly relations. I have no intention whatsoever of severing the sister relations between Shimane Prefecture and North Gyeongsang Province. I think every aspect of our relationship with North Gyeongsang Province from start to finish should be based on sincerity.

Considering the current situation, I think that it will take some time to improve the friendly relations between our two governments, but there have been many positive developments in Shimane Prefecture. Exchange activities have been resumed with South Korean schools, and Shimane companies have formed joint ventures with South Korean companies. In addition to our expectations for the progress of bilateral diplomatic negotiations, we as a prefecture want to create friendly relations based on mutual trust, engendered by wide-ranging ties.

島根県知事

澄田信義

Nobuyoshi Sumita, Governor
Shimane Prefecture

Do you know the facts about Takeshima?

Takeshima is located in the Sea of Japan about 157 kilometers northwest of the Oki Islands. The islets that constitute Takeshima lie at 37 degrees 14 minutes north latitude and 131 degrees 52 minutes east longitude. It is now part of Okinoshima-cho, Shimane Prefecture.

Takeshima is comprised of a western island that rises to 157 meters above sea level, an eastern island of slightly lower elevation, and dozens of reefs. The total area of the group is 230,000 square meters, or roughly five times that of the Tokyo Dome. South Korea refers to Takeshima as Dokdo.

Living conditions are extremely harsh due to the lack of drinking water and other factors. The surrounding area, however, which extends from the Tsushima warm current in the south to where it meets the Liman cold current, has a rich variety and quantity of finfish, shellfish, and edible seaweed. It is known as a prime fishing ground.

A review of history shows that Takeshima is undoubtedly Japanese territory. One basis for this assertion can be found in the important act of Prefectural Notice #40 promulgated under the name of then prefectural governor Bukichi Matsunaga a century ago, on February 22, 1905.

“The islands located 37 degrees, 9 minutes, and 30 seconds north latitude and 131 degrees 55 minutes east longitude, a distance of 85 nautical miles from the Oki Islands, shall be known as Takeshima, and are hereby under the jurisdiction of the Okinoshima Branch Office of this prefecture.”

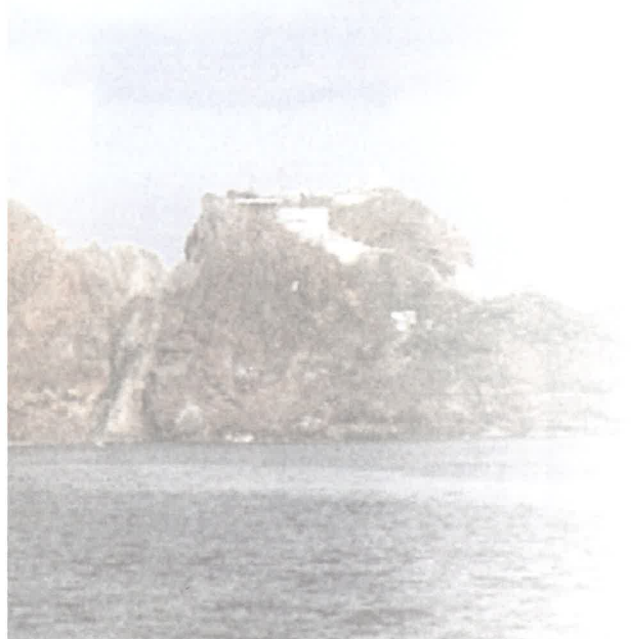
This notice stating that Takeshima was under the jurisdiction of Shimane Prefecture was made in consideration of the decision of the Japanese Cabinet almost a month before, on January 28. The islands, which had in the past been known by such names as Matsushima and the Liancourt Rocks, were thereby designated Takeshima by the government. They decided to incorporate them into Japanese territory and made them part of Shimane Prefecture.

Roughly 157 kilometers northwest of the Oki Islands, it came under Shimane Prefecture’s jurisdiction in 1905

Prior to the Cabinet decision, it was confirmed that the huts built by an Oki Islands fishing company to be used for sea lion hunting constituted occupation in view of the fact that no traces of occupancy by other countries could be found. Following the proper procedures, they concluded that Takeshima was Japanese territory based on international law—specifically, the laws regarding title of occupation.

In addition, as part of the postwar process for the Second World War, it was again confirmed that Takeshima was part of Japanese territory by the San Francisco Peace Treaty, which came into force on April 28, 1952.

South Korea, however, unilaterally declared the Syngman Rhee Line on January 18, 1952, effectively drawing a line in the Sea of Japan and other international waters and including Takeshima as the territory of their own country. Despite the repeated protests of the Japanese government, South Korea later strengthened their de facto control. Takeshima was included in the “provisional area” under the joint control of Japan and South Korea as part of the new Japanese-Korean fisheries agreement that took effect on January 22, 1999. As it stands today, however, Japanese fishing vessels still cannot approach the islands.





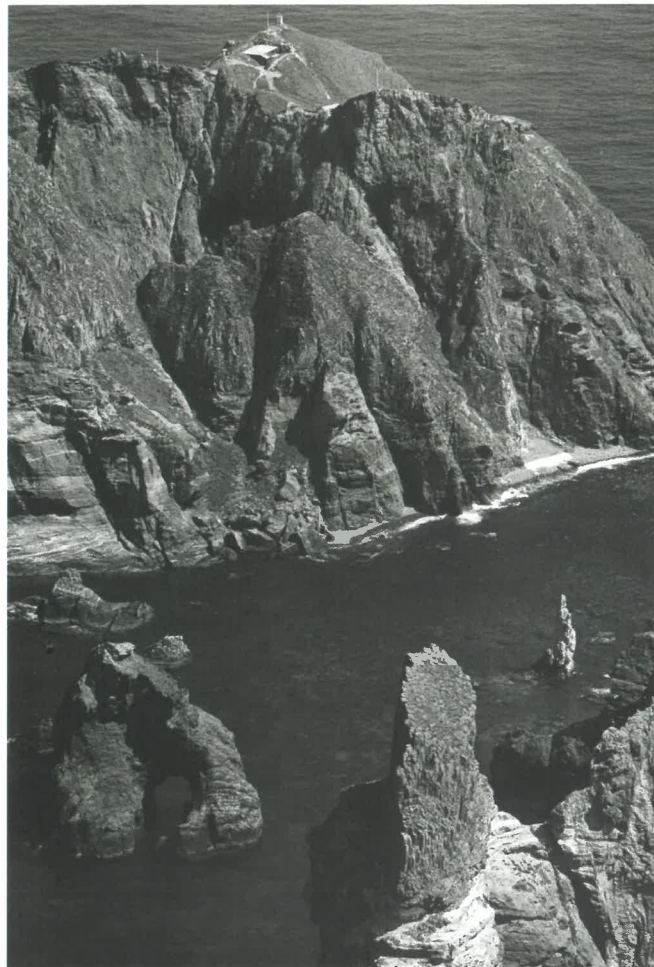
Proceeding with an objective investigation of the facts

Shimane Prefecture enacted an ordinance creating Takeshima Day in March 2005 on the occasion of the 100th anniversary of the incorporation of Takeshima, known as Dokdo in South Korea, into the prefecture. Also, the Takeshima Problem Research Council was launched that June as part of the effort to raise awareness of the issue. The Council's objective is to ascertain the current conditions regarding the issue of Takeshima's territorial rights. The council, which consists of 10 members from both Shimane Prefecture and other parts of Japan, plans to release an interim report at the end of business year 2005 and submit its final report at the end of business year 2006. It is examining the issue from the perspectives of history and international law. The following lists the points at issue that had been summarized as of the council's fifth meeting, held at the end of 2005.

It is commonly known that the Takeshima Problem originated with the South Korean government's establishment of the so-called Syngman Rhee Line on January 18, 1952. Because this overlapped with the period of negotiations between Japan and South Korea for normalizing relations between the two countries (1952 to 1965), progress on the issue was limited to memoranda issued by both countries that repeated their claims on the islets. This dialogue ended in 1965, when the Treaty on Basic Relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea was signed, in effect shelving the issue.

The claims of the Japanese government at that time can be summarized as follows.

1. The Oya and Murakawa families of Yonago in the Tottori domain were authorized by the Shogunate to travel to Ulleungdo and conduct fishing activities in 1618. In addition to the island of Ulleungdo, Takeshima, then known as Matsushima, was recognized as part of Japan.
2. Takeshima was incorporated as part of Shimane Prefecture with the Cabinet's decision of 1905. This act was in accordance with international law.
3. After being incorporated in Shimane Prefecture, Takeshima was effectively controlled by Japan.
4. Takeshima remained Japanese territory with the promulgation of the San Francisco Peace Treaty, which defined Japanese territory after World War II.



Left
The Shimane Prefecture Notice #40 of February 22, 1905, published after the decision of the Japanese Cabinet to incorporate Takeshima as Japanese territory.

Right
A 1965 aerial photograph of Takeshima (© Shisei Kuwabara)

Japan and South Korea's Differing Claims and Historical Awareness

The views of South Korea differ, however. Here are their claims.

1. Historically, the present-day Dokdo was called Usando. The existence of the island of Usando is recorded in such books as *Sejong Sillok Jiriji* (Chronicles of King Sejong) and *Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam* (Survey of the Geography of Korea).
2. Ahn Yong-bok traveled to Japan in the latter half of the 17th century. It is recorded in *Sukjong Sillok* (The Chronicles of King Sukjong) that he had Japanese authorities recognize both Ulleungdo and Usando as Korean territory.
3. In 1906, when Shimane Prefecture government officials visited Ulleungdo after inspecting Takeshima, Uldo magistrate Chim Heung-taek reported to the governor of the Korean province, "Dokdo is part of Ulleungdo," i.e., Dokdo belonged to his country.
4. The General Headquarters of the Allied forces designated Dokdo as South Korean territory in 1946.

Japan and South Korea used these arguments to insist that Takeshima was their territory based on historical reasons as well as international law. Japan has made no new claims since then, however.

The Takeshima problem flared up again after the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea came into force in 1994. This caused the necessity to conclude a new Japan-South Korea fisheries agreement. The problem at that time became where to place the base point of the Exclusive Economic Zone (EEZ). Then, South Korea built berthing facilities on Takeshima in 1996 to further solidify their de facto control.

Meanwhile, the Japanese government avoided making the Takeshima problem a diplomatic issue and shelved it instead. They concluded a new Japan-South Korea Fishing Agreement in 1999.

Due to these circumstances, interest in the Takeshima problem in Japan gradually eroded. Shimane Prefecture proclaimed Takeshima Day in the spring of 2005 to halt this trend.

South Korea objected to this step and assumed a hard-line stance, however. President Ro Mu Hyun established a governmental institution under his direct control to correct the errors of Japanese history textbooks and the Japanese awareness of Takeshima, and launched an aggressive

publicity campaign. The government released an English language report titled, "Dokdo: Korean Territory Since the Sixth Century," and again stated these four claims:

1. Dokdo has been Korean territory since 512. Over the years, it has been called Usando, Sambongdo, Kajido, and Seokdo.
2. Both Ulleungdo and Takeshima became Korean territory as a result of the activities of Ahn Yong-bok.
3. The Korean Government Imperial Ordinance #41 of 1900 states that Dokdo is part of Ulleungdo. Meanwhile, the Japanese Council of State (corresponding to the Cabinet) issued a ruling in 1877 when compiling a land register that removed Takeshima from Japanese territory.
4. Dokdo became Korean territory on the order of the General Headquarters of the Allied forces.

Each one of these claims is questionable, however. The Takeshima Problem Research Council spent six months studying all the claims made by the governments of Japan and South Korea, as well as the books, academic papers, and articles on this question. During their investigation, several issues arose that they thought required debate and verification.

While these issues will be discussed in the following pages, one specific claim by South Korea that Takeshima was Usando, and is part of Ulleungdo, is based on this passage in the *Dongguk Munheon Bigo* (Explanatory Notes for Korean documents): "According to the *Yeoji* (Topographical Records), Ulleungdo (island) and Usando (island) are all part of Usan-guk (an autonomous state), and Usando (island) is what the Japanese call Matsushima (the present-day Takeshima)."

Yet, it is recorded in the geographical survey *Kangaego*, the underlying source material for the *Dongguk Munheon Bigo*, that the *Yeoji* states Usando and Ulleungdo are the same island.

Many of these questionable assertions were not brought up during the disputes between the governments of Japan and South Korea. The Takeshima Problem Research Council will continue its efforts to objectively investigate the facts, organize the arguments in coordination with the materials and documents that are the basis of those facts, and present their results.



Observation of Ulleungdo from the sea

Members of the Takeshima Problem Research Council take part in an Opinion Exchange Session with Korean researchers during their visit to Korea

A Portrait Drawn with Broad Discrepancies

When we reflect on the problem of the territorial rights to Takeshima (Dokdo in South Korea), one Korean cannot be overlooked. His name was Ahn Yong-bok. In South Korea, he is considered a hero who made Japan recognize that Ulleungdo and Takeshima belonged to Korea. In contrast, in Japan, he is viewed as a perpetrator of many falsehoods—one reason the problem of territorial rights later became so complicated. The conflicting judgments are closely related to the wide divergence between the claims and opinions of both countries regarding the islets.

■The attribution of Ulleungdo is the origin of the dispute

Ahn Yong-bok first appeared in the 1690s, during the first half of the Edo period. The curtain on this stage was raised on Ulleungdo, an island about 90 kilometers northwest of Takeshima. It was previously known as Usan-guk (an autonomous state) and was incorporated into the kingdom of Silla in 512. Possession later passed to Koryo and Choson, but in 1417 the Choson Dynasty adopted the so-called “vacant island policy” that completely prohibited entry to and inhabitation of the island. This was due to concerns that it would become a base of operations for Japanese pirates to attack sites along the Korean Peninsula.

For their part, the Japanese called Ulleungdo Takeshima. Yonago merchant Oya Jinkichi asked the Tottori domain government for permission to sail there in the early 1600s. The Shogunate gave exclusive permission to the Oya family and the Murakawa family, also from Yonago, to travel there. Both families alternated going every year to harvest abalone and wakame. Oya Jinkichi’s Buddhist memorial tablet has the inscription, “Laid the foundation for travel to Takeshima”.

There was an unusual occurrence involving the seemingly tranquil island in 1692. According to *Takeshima-ko* (Thoughts on Takeshima) by Okajima Masayoshi, a retainer of the Tottori feudal lord, and the *Takeshima Tokai Yuraiki Nukigaki Hikae* (Copied Excerpts from an Account of a Voyage to Takeshima), written by Oya Kyuemon of Yonago, a ship from the Murakawa family, who had the rights to Takeshima (actually, Ulleungdo) that year, approached the island at the end of March 1692. They saw signs that people had been fishing there, including many dried abalone and their missing fishing equipment and boats.

After a search, they encountered some Korean fishermen. The captain of the Murakawa ship told them the island was Japanese territory and never to go there again. As evidence that their interests had been violated, the crew brought back some dried abalone and miso koji (the starter culture for miso) that the Korean fishermen had made.

The fateful encounter with Ahn Yong-bok came one year later, in 1693. The Oya family vessel sailed that year and the crewmen discovered Korean fishermen at Ulleungdo, as the crew members of the Murakawa family vessel had the previous year. Among the Koreans were Ahn Yong-bok and Park O-dun.

The crewmen of the Oya vessel had a strong foreboding of danger regarding their second encounter with the Koreans, despite the stern warning of the previous occasion. They took the two Koreans to Yonago by way of the Oki Islands to lodge a complaint with the Tottori domain.

The Shogunate government at Edo, which had been asked for a decision by the Tottori domain, gave orders to the local Tottori government that the two be strictly prohibited from traveling to Ulleungdo and directed that they be sent to Nagasaki. The Tsushima domain, which served as the liaison for Japan in its diplomatic relations with Korea, handed the two men over to Korean officials. The Tsushima feudal lord, So Yoshitsugu, wrote a letter to the Choson Dynasty demanding that they prohibit travel by Koreans to the island and that they com-

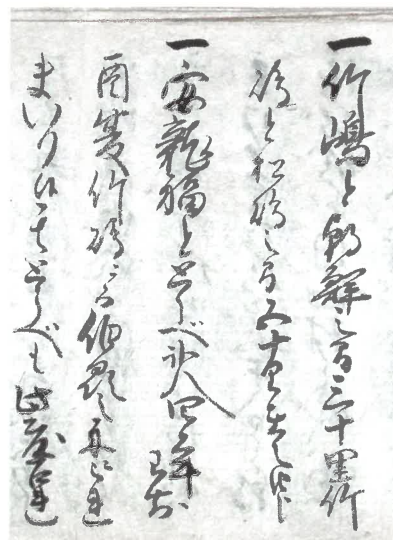
pletely comply with this ban. The dynasty indicated they would severely punish them as criminals.

Negotiations between the Choson Dynasty and the Tsushima domain were difficult, however, because neither would back down from their claims of Ulleungdo as their country’s territory. Further complicating the issue was a change of administration in the Choson Dynasty, which resulted in a switch from an initial stance of appeasement in its relations with Japan to a hard-line policy.

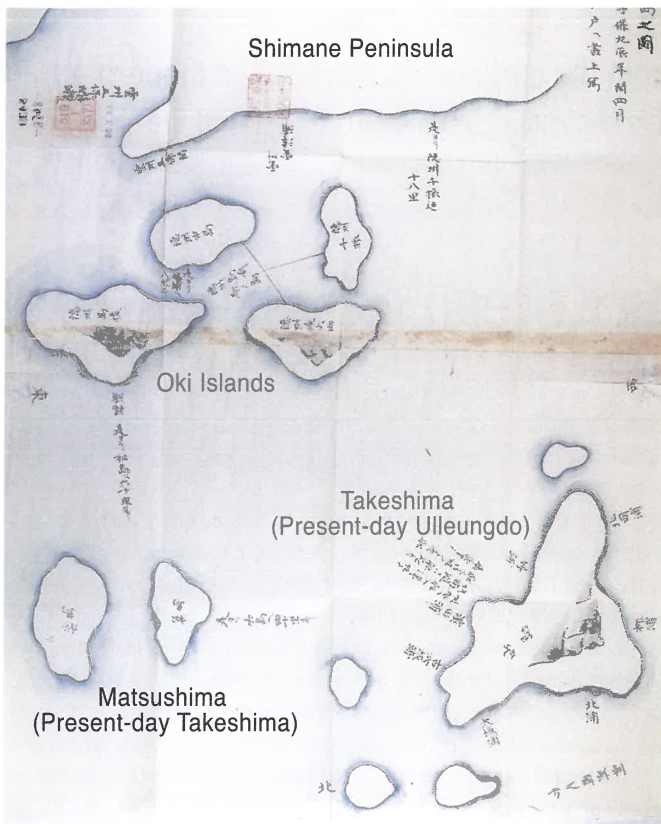
In Tsushima domain too, there was an unforeseen development—the death of the feudal lord So Yoshitsugu. Those within the domain who held that Ulleungdo was Korean territory, based on the documents presented by the Choson Dynasty, came to the forefront. Then, in October 1695, when the new feudal lord was installed and arrived in Edo to live for a year as part of the arrangement requiring the periodic residency of feudal lords in the capital, the Tsushima domain sounded out the Shogunate government about breaking off negotiations, stating that Ulleungdo was part of Korean territory. On January 28, 1696, the Shogunate issued an order to the Tottori domain forbidding travel to Ulleungdo and ordered the Tsushima domain to communicate this policy to the Choson Dynasty.

Instead of the situation being resolved, however, developments took an unexpected turn that further increased the confusion. The cause was the behavior of Ahn Yong-bok, who suddenly reappeared on the Oki Islands in May 1696. His behavior was the reason the dispute over the attribution of Ulleungdo caused sparks to fly regarding the issue of territorial rights for the present-day Takeshima.

According to old documents discovered in the spring of 2005 in the home of the long-established Murakami family in Ama-cho in the Oki Islands, Ahn Yong-bok claimed to have made a second trip to Japan to plead the case to the Tottori domain that Ulleungdo and the present-day Takeshima, then called Matsushima, were Korean territory. Ahn, who had been expelled by Tottori and investigated by the authorities when he returned to Korea, claimed, according to the *Sukjong Sillok*, that “Matsushima was Usando, which was the territory of Korea.” He also stated that Japan had recognized this.



This is part of the old document found in the home of the Murakami family in Ama-cho in May 2005, which contains the statement of Ahn Yong-bok. The words “Takeshima” (the present-day Ulleungdo), “Matsushima” (the present-day Takeshima), and “Ahn Yong-bok” are clearly legible.



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The Tottori domain presented this map of Takeshima to the Shogunate in April 1724. It shows Takeshima (the present-day Ulleungdo) and Matsushima (the present-day Takeshima). (From the collection of the Tottori Prefectural Museum)

■ The Dubious Argument that Usando is Takeshima

Undoubtedly, the South Korean argument is established if one quotes from the *Yeojiji* in the *Dongguk Munheon Bigo*, where it is written that the *Yeojiji* states, "Usan is Matsushima." The latter document was compiled in 1656, about 40 years before Ahn made his statements. The *Yeojiji* does not exist, however, so this statement cannot be confirmed. In addition, it was pointed out when it appeared that the *Dongguk Munheon Bigo* itself was compiled in a slapdash manner. The document itself merely consists of remnants of other sources that were used as a reference, and based on the highly dubious claims of Ahn Yong-bok.

The name Usando first appears in the *Taejong Sillok* (Chronicle of King Taejong), compiled in 1431. This document states that the island was inhabited in 1417. There is a small island alongside the island of Sambong, which South Korea claims is the same island as Takeshima, and that two families were living there in 1474. It would be very difficult for people to live on the island now called Takeshima, however, and we must look askance at the view that Usando was Takeshima.

Meanwhile, there are areas in the Japanese claims and views that also require investigation. One of these is the Tottori domain's December 25, 1695, response to the Shogunate, which had inquired about the period that both islands were incorporated in Tottori. The domain answered that neither Ulleungdo nor the present-day Takeshima were part of the Tottori domain. Even if it is assumed that the present-day Takeshima was not part of Tottori, this does not mean it was not recognized as Japanese territory, much less that it is proof that it was Korean territory. This does require further investigation in the future, however.



Benzaiten, the goddess of fortune, to whom prayers for a safe sea journey were offered when sailing to Takeshima (the present-day Ulleungdo) Fuku'ura, Okinoshima-cho, Shimane Prefecture

■ Testimony filled with contradictions and falsehoods

Ahn's statements are filled with contradictions and falsehoods, however. He stated that before coming to the Oki Islands, he had discovered many Japanese at Ulleungdo and chastised them for territorial infringement. At that time, however, the Shogunate in Edo already had forbidden travel to the island, so it is unlikely such an encounter took place. Ahn also claimed that he met the Tottori feudal lord and told him that the Tsushima feudal lord had taken from him a note written by the Shogun stating that Ulleungdo and the present-day Takeshima were Korean territory. Ahn further claimed that when he said he would protest this treatment to the Shogunate, the father of the Tsushima feudal lord came and beseeched him to stop.

This is also doubtful for several reasons. First, the Tottori feudal lord was then living in Edo as part of the alternate-year living arrangement, so he was not in the Tottori domain. Also, the Tsushima feudal lord, So Yoshit-sugu, had died two years previously. His father, So Yoshizane, was the guardian of the new feudal lord and was in Edo at that time serving in that role. It is not possible that either of them had met Ahn Yong-bok.

During his first trip to Japan, Ahn Yong-bok said he had gone to Ulleungdo to catch abalone on official orders, but then changed his story to say he was there to get abalone and wakame for his own profit. After returning to Korea, he then said he had encountered a storm and been washed ashore. Thus, he repeatedly changed his story.

In Korea, however, Ahn Yong-bok's statements recorded in the *Sukjong Sillok*, compiled in 1728, took on a life of their own, and the criminal who had violated the vacant island policy was now treated as a hero. The primary reason was due to the interpretation of the *Yeojiji* (Geographical Characteristics) in the *Dongguk Munheon Bigo*, compiled in 1770.

South Korea uses this statement found in that document: "According to the *Yeojiji*, Ulleungdo (island) and Usando (island) are all part of Usan-guk (an autonomous state), and Usando (island) is what the Japanese call Matsushima (the present-day Takeshima)." They searched for the name Usando in the *Sejong Sillok* and the *Dongguk Yeoji Seungnam*, older documents dating from the 15th century, and insisted on their claim by stating that the present-day Takeshima and Usando were the same island, and that the origin of their claim as its territory is older, and therefore justified.

As a result, they maintain that the present-day Takeshima has been their territory since 512, when the Usan-guk autonomous state was incorporated in Silla.



Points at Issue

From the early modern era to the modern era
The imperial ordinance in Korea, and the
Cabinet decision and prefectural notice in Japan

The highly doubtful basis of the Korean argument

The first government of the Meiji era was formed in Japan in 1868, and the country took its first step to becoming a modern state. One issue that arose at that time was territorial demarcation, an essential element of sovereignty. Pressured by this necessity, one step taken by the government was the Cabinet decision on January 28, 1905, to incorporate Takeshima (Dokdo in Korean) into Japan, and Shimane Prefecture's Notice #40 on February 22.

The direct cause of this decision was the request made by Yozaburo Nakai of Oki on September 29, 1904, to the Home Affairs Ministry, Foreign Ministry, and Agriculture and Commerce Ministry to incorporate Takeshima and lease it to him. Nakai had begun harvesting sea lions on Takeshima in May 1903. Almost immediately, however, the excessive harvesting of sea lions as a result of unbridled competition had harmful consequences. In addition, he was concerned that there could be trouble with other countries or other unforeseen developments due to the lack of clearly defined territorial rights.

After receiving the request, the national government confirmed there were no signs on Takeshima by which another country's occupancy could be recognized. The government also confirmed that the construction of huts by Nakai's fishing company on the island constituted occupation under international law. With these two facts as the basis, the government incorporated the territory based on the title of occupation under international law.

Later, in March 1906 after Shimane Prefecture issued its notice, Prefecture Governor Bukichi Matsunaga ordered the dispatch of a prefectural research team to Takeshima. Accompanying the team was Hekiun Okuhara, who published a log of his trip to Takeshima in his book, *Takeshima and Ulleungdo*. According to his account, the team assiduously conducted observation and research.

■ The twists and turns until the Takeshima territorial rights were established

There were many incidents before territorial rights were established over Takeshima in 1905, however. Hakubo Sada, an official in the Foreign Ministry, returned from an inspection tour of Korea in 1870 and submitted a report titled, *Takeshima Matsushima Chosen Fuzoku ni Ainari Soro Shimatsu* (The circumstances of Takeshima and Matsushima's Annexation to Chosen). Putting aside the question of Takeshima (the present-day Ulleungdo), the report stated there were no written records concerning Matsushima (the present-day Takeshima).

In 1876, Shimane Prefecture received an inquiry from the Home Affairs Ministry about Takeshima (the present-day Ulleungdo) regarding the compilation of a land register. The prefecture responded that "It should be included in the entire western portion of San'in" (San'in is the regional name for this part of the Honshu coastline bordering the Sea of Japan). Despite this, the Council of State, which gave precedence to the final decision of the Ministry, concluded that the island and another island "have no relation to Japan," and were not Japanese territory. This other island is thought to have been the present-day Takeshima.

There was also confusion over the names of the islands. At one point, for example, the Home Affairs Ministry used the name Takeshima for Ulleungdo, while the Foreign Ministry used the name Matsushima for the same island. Ulleungdo was called Takeshima from the Edo period. Here is the reason for the confusion: Philip Franz von Siebold, the physician who came to

Japan to serve at the Dutch trading post on Dejima in Nagasaki, and who contributed to the development of Western medicine and other learning in Japan, published a map of Japan in the West. Ulleungdo was named as Matsushima on his map.

There was a series of upheavals in Japan, but one event that caused confusion in Japanese diplomacy was the turmoil that resulted during the period of the Meiji Restoration following the fall of the Edo Shogunate, which had ruled for roughly 260 years and followed a policy of national isolation. The Tsushima domain, which had borne the responsibility for diplomacy between Japan and Korea during the Edo period, was incorporated in Nagasaki Prefecture. The circumstances of the diplomacy surrounding Ulleungdo in the 1690s and the issue of sovereignty over the island became unclear for a period.

To resolve these questions, Foreign Minister Munenori Terajima ordered an on-site survey of Ulleungdo in 1880 and dispatched the warship *Amagi*. Masanobu Kitazawa wrote an account of this survey in *Takeshima Kosho* (A Study of Takeshima). In this account, he reported that Matsushima was Ulleungdo and confirmed that it was part of Korea.

The problem here, however, is his designation of a small island to the north of Ulleungdo (viewed from the location that was the survey's base point) as Takeshima. It is a fact that he concluded that both Ulleungdo and the island he called Takeshima were Korean territory.

The island in question, however, was not the current Takeshima, because Takeshima lies to the southeast of Ulleungdo. Based on the position of the islands, it is reasonable to conclude that the Takeshima Kitazawa was referring to is Jukdo, about two kilometers away from Ulleungdo.

■ Is Seokdo Dokdo?

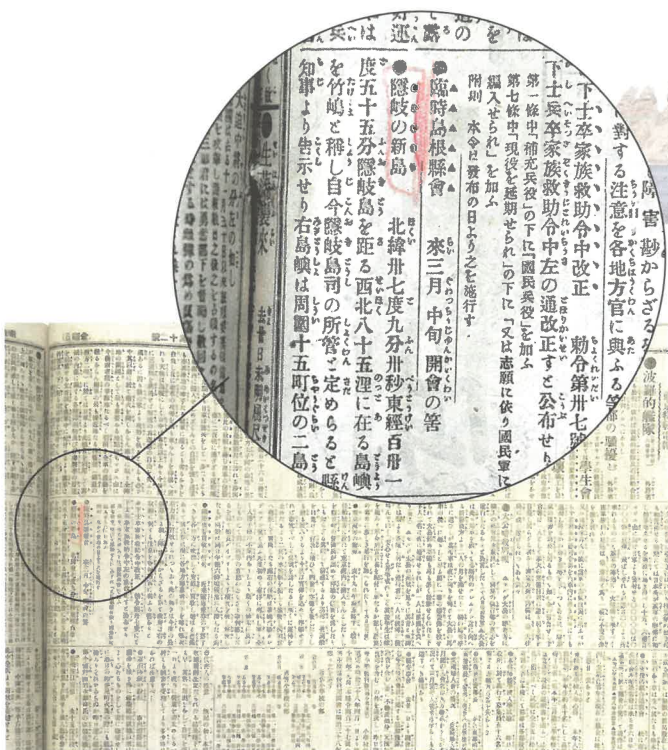
In contrast, South Korea argues that it established territorial sovereignty just ahead of Japan on October 25, 1900, five years before the Japanese Cabinet decision and the Shimane Prefecture notice, when the Korean Government issued Imperial Ordinance #41 of 1900. This ordinance elevated the status of the island of Ulleungdo to a gun (roughly equivalent to a county), assigned a permanent magistrate, and stated that the administrative dis-



Jukdo is located about two kilometers to the east across the sea from Ulleungdo. A study of Korean books, documents, and maps makes it highly likely that Usando was not the present-day Takeshima (Dokdo in Korean), but Jukdo.



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The article in the San-In Shimbu (now the San-In Chuo Shimpō) dated February 24, 1905, reporting that Takeshima had been incorporated in Shimane Prefecture.

trict included Ulleungdo, Jukdo, and Seokdo.

The South Korean government claims that the Seokdo in that ordinance is the present-day Dokdo because the first character in the name of the island (seok) means stone, the word for stone in Korean is *dol*, and this pronunciation resembles that of *dok*, the first character in Dokdo. Nonetheless, various questions must be resolved to specify the island previously known as Usando as the present-day Dokdo, and that Seokdo and Dokdo are the same islands.

The Takeshima Problem Research Council has analyzed about 60 old Korean maps that date from the 15th century to the beginning of the 20th century. Many of the maps that were made up until the 17th century state that Usan was Ulleungdo, or they position Usan to the west of Ulleungdo between that island and the Korean Peninsula—in the opposite direction from where the present-day Takeshima is actually located.

Starting in the 18th century, the maps do place Usando to the east of Ulleungdo, but show it as being very close to the latter island. This depiction remains unchanged in those shown in two maps of Korea produced by the Korean Ministry of Education and published throughout Korea: the *Taehanyeojido* of 1898 and the *Taehanjondo* of 1899, just before the Korean government issued Imperial Ordinance #41 in 1900.

In addition, the *Chosen Gensei Benran* (A Handbook of Today's Choson, 1935) and other sources mark the easternmost limits of the country's territory as "Ulleungdo's Jukdo in North Gyeongsang Province." This location is given as 130 degrees 56 minutes east longitude. This location is identical to that given in *Joseon Sangshik Mundam* (General Questions and Answers about Choson, first published in 1948), written by historian Choe Nam-seon, whose opinion was solicited when the Syngman Rhee Line was created.

The island that the Japanese now call Takeshima and the South Koreans call Dokdo is located at 131 degrees 52 minutes east longitude, so there is a large discrepancy in the longitude cited by both books. Incidentally, a later edition of the previously-cited *Joseon Sangshik Mundam* specifies the same longitude for the easternmost limits of the country's territory, but changed only the name to Ulleungdo's Dokdo in

North Gyeongsang Province.

In 1882, King Kojong of Korea ordered Lee Gyu-won to conduct an on-site survey of Ulleungdo, for which information was lacking due to the so-called "vacant island" policy of Korea that had been in force for centuries. Neither the report nor the map that Lee produced referred to the present-day Takeshima. Lee reported that Sonjukdo (a name for an island that uses the first characters of Matsushima and Takeshima, respectively) and Usando, in which Kojong had developed an interest, were small islands near Ulleungdo.

Further, when Imperial Ordinance #41 was issued in 1900, the present-day Takeshima was known in both countries as Liancourt or a similar name. The names Seokdo and Dokdo were not used. We also know that U Yong-jeong, who urged that the status of Ulleungdo be upgraded to a gun (the primary subdivision of a province), sailed around Ulleungdo but did not go to the present-day Takeshima.

■ Usando was Jukdo—the natural perspective

- To summarize the foregoing discussion, it is natural that:
- The Seokdo in Imperial Ordinance #41
- The Usando in the *Taehanyeojido* and the *Taehanjondo*, and the Usando as reported by Lee Gyu-won, and
- The Takeshima cited as the easternmost limit of Korean territory can in all cases be understood to be the present-day Jukdo, the small island that was recorded by Masanobu Kitazawa as being near Ulleungdo. The "so-called Usando" depicted as being next to Ulleungdo in *Haedong Jido*, *Joseon Yeoji* and other old Korean maps actually designates Jukdo.

South Korea views the Meiji government's incorporation of Takeshima as Japanese territory in 1905 as part of the process that ended with the annexation of Korea in 1910 and considers it the first step in an invasion. The premise for the Korean assertion is the historical belief that the Seokdo in the Imperial Ordinance #41 is the present day Takeshima or Dokdo. This belief is not authenticated and requires verification.



Members of the investigation team who were dispatched to Takeshima by Shimane Prefecture - 1906 (donated by Hideo Okuhara)



Points at Issue

From the Modern Era to the Present The San Francisco Peace Treaty

Certifying Takeshima as Japanese Territory with a Peace Treaty

It is ironic that both Japan and South Korea base the legitimacy of their territorial claims to Takeshima, or Dokdo, on the assertion that the islets are theirs from the perspective of history and international law. Events after World War Two have an important meaning from the perspective of international law.

Japan's defeat in the war became official when it signed the surrender document on September 2, 1945. The United States, the country administering the postwar occupation, immediately announced its policy toward Japan by stating that Japanese sovereignty "would be limited to Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu, Shikoku, and...minor outlying islands." It was not clear whether Takeshima would be included as one of the "minor outlying islands" held by Japan.



Shigeru Yoshida, then prime minister of Japan, signs the San Francisco Peace Treaty on September 8, 1951. Under the treaty, Takeshima is territory held by Japan. (Photo courtesy of Kyodo News)

Further, the General Headquarters of the Allied forces (GHQ) issued SCAPIN (Supreme Commander for Allied Powers Instruction) #677 on January 29, 1946, which removed Takeshima, as well as Ulleungdo and Cheju, from the scope of Japanese administrative authority. When the so-called MacArthur Line of September 27, 1945, which defined the area in which Japanese fishing vessels were permitted to work, was expanded by SCAPIN #1033 on June 22, 1946, Takeshima was placed outside this line. Japanese ships and their crew members were forbidden from approaching closer than 12 nautical miles to the island.

■The principles of international law have great significance

It is an established principle of international law that a peace treaty is the final determination of a country's territory, however. Whereas the Potsdam Declaration of July 26, 1945 stated, "Japanese sovereignty shall be limited to...such minor islands as we determine," SCAPIN #677 specified, "Nothing in this directive shall be construed as an indication of Allied policy relating to the ultimate determination of the minor islands." The Allies again declined to make a decision in SCAPIN

#1033, which stated, "The present authorization is not an expression of Allied policy relative to ultimate determination of national jurisdiction, international boundaries or fishing rights..."

The peace treaty is therefore the key to the puzzle, but how does it deal with Takeshima? A draft of the peace treaty with Japan formulated in March 1947 defined the extent of Japanese sovereignty, which included the main islands of Honshu, Kyushu, Shikoku, and Hokkaido, as well as such outlying islands as Oki, Sado, and Tsushima. On the other hand, its provisions stated that Japan renounced the rights and title to the islands of Cheju, Komun, Ulleungdo, and Takeshima. This principle remained unchanged until the draft of November 1949.

■A Change in the Provisions Concerning Takeshima at the Draft Stage

The situation began to change when the acting Political Advisor in Japan, William J. Sebald, sent a note to the U.S. State Department stating, "Recommend reconsideration Liancourt Rocks (Takeshima), Japan's claim to these islands is old and appears valid." As a result, the treaty draft was amended in December 1949 to add Takeshima to the territory held by Japan and remove the island from the Korean territory that it would renounce.

The later American discussions with the British subsequently adhered to this policy, and the joint American and British draft of June 14, 1951, stated that the territory Japan would renounce would be Cheju, Komundo, and Ulleungdo. This clause eventually became Article 2 (a) of the San Francisco Peace Treaty. The treaty was signed on September 8, and all that awaited was its enforcement on April 28, 1952.

In response to this, the South Korean government that had taken office on August 15, 1948, demanded the revision of the Revised American and British Draft Treaty on July 19, 1951, to include both the islands of Dokdo (Takeshima) and Parangdo (a submerged island) as part

in the Declaration. As regards the island of Dokdo, otherwise known as Takeshima or Liancourt Rocks, this normally uninhabited rock formation was according to our information never treated as part of Korea and, since about 1905, has been under the jurisdiction of the Oki Islands Branch Office of Shimane Prefecture of Japan. The island does not appear ever before to have been claimed by Korea. It is understood that the Korean Government's request that "Parangdo" be included among the islands named in the treaty as having been renounced by Japan has been withdrawn.

During the formulation of the text of the San Francisco Peace Treaty, South Korea requested that Takeshima (Dokdo in Korean) be removed from Japanese territory. The above is a copy of the American reply of August 10, 1951 from Dean Rusk, then the United States Assistant Secretary of State for Far Eastern Affairs, that Takeshima was Japanese territory.



of its territory. The American government rejected this demand for revision, however, stating, “Takehima was...never treated as part of Korea and, since about 1905, has been under the jurisdiction of the Oki Islands Branch Office of Shimane Prefecture of Japan. The island does not appear ever before to have been claimed by Korea.”

■ The Syngman Rhee Line Incites Opposition

Suddenly, however, President Syngman Rhee of South Korea unilaterally declared what he termed the “Peace Line” in international waters between Japan and the Korean Peninsula on January 18, 1952, about three months before the San Francisco Peace Treaty was to go in effect. This was the so-called Syngman Rhee Line. Later, he directed that Japanese fishing vessels operating on the Korean side of this line be seized. This resulted in the tragic incident in which the Taiho Maru No. 1 of Japan was seized and the chief of the fishing crew was shot to death.

During the negotiations for the normalization of relations between Japan and South Korea, which had begun in February 1952, Japan repeatedly raised strong objections to this act, but was ignored by South Korea. Ultimately, the Syngman Rhee Line continued in force until June 22, 1965, when it was eliminated by the Treaty on Basic Relations and the Fisheries Agreement signed by Japan and South Korea.

According to the Japan-South Korean Fishery Council, the number of fishing boats seized just before and after the line was declared totaled 328, with 3,929 crewmen taken into custody, 44 of whom were killed or wounded. The total damages suffered exceeded ¥9 billion in the value of the currency at that time.

During that time, South Korea steadily strengthened its de facto control of Takeshima, even resorting to occupying it by force. The South Koreans also rejected the Japanese proposal of seeking to resolve the problem of territorial rights by taking the case to the International Court of Justice in The Hague, Netherlands. This court, the principal judicial organ of the United Nations, was established for the legal resolution of disputes between nations.

South Korea has maintained its illegal occupation of Takeshima to the present day.

In light of international law, we must conclude that South Korea’s claims, as well as its actions, are completely unconvincing. For example, consider its interpretation for Takeshima’s omission from the territory that Japan must renounce in Article 2 (a) of the San Francisco Peace Treaty: “The United States just considered Dokdo (Takehima in Japanese) to be a small rock formation, and decided that it was unnecessary to make a special mention of it in the treaty. This does not mean it is recognized as Japanese territory.” This is in contradiction to South Korea’s entreaties to the United States during the draft treaty stage to include Takeshima as South Korean territory.

South Korea also uses the Cairo Declaration of 1943 by the Allied powers to bolster its claims. The Cairo Declaration states, “Japan shall be stripped of all the islands in the Pacific which she has seized or occupied since the beginning of the First World War in 1914.” It also states, “Japan will also be expelled from all other territories which she has taken by violence and greed.”

But under no circumstance is Takeshima land that Japan seized from another country. Also, as we noted previously, it is an established principle of international law that a peace treaty is the final determination of

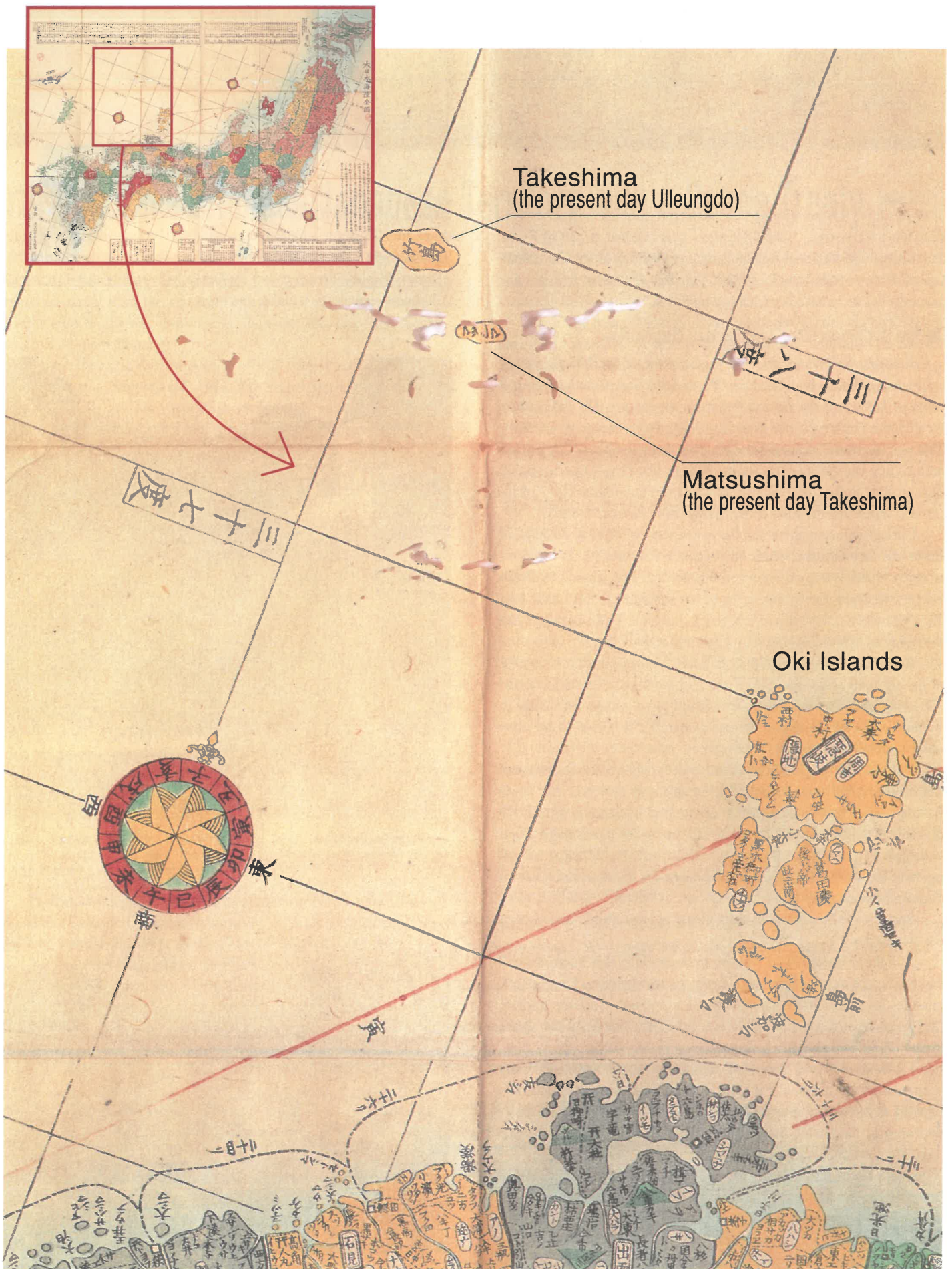
national territory. SCAPIN #677, the GHQ directive that removed Takeshima from Japanese administrative authority, became invalid when the San Francisco Peace Treaty went into effect. This treaty determined the extent of Japanese territory, and confirmed with finality that Takeshima is Japanese territory, as it always has been.



The station pole placed on Takeshima by Shimane Prefecture, showing that it as part of the Japanese territory – 27 June 1953



Fishermen (sent from the Oki Islands to Takeshima by Shimane Prefecture) on board the fisheries patrol boat, SS. Simakaze – May 1954



Dainippon Kairiku Zenzu (Map of Japan with Land and Sea Routes) (From the collection of Toru Toma, Izumo)

This map of Japan includes the distances of sea routes, using as a reference the Kaisei Nihon Yochi Rotei Zenzu (Revised Map of Japan with Transportation Routes) produced by Nagakubo Sekisui, a geographer from the Mito domain. The map was created and published in Edo in 1864. It depicts Ulleungdo, then called Takeshima, and Takeshima, then called Matsushima, to the northwest of Oki. This is a valuable document because it shows both Takeshima and Matsushima in yellow, the same color as Oki.

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