

## History Knows the Truth

History is not something which can be arbitrarily stitched together from disparate parts. Dokdo was the first piece of sovereign Korean territory absorbed by Japan in the latter's process of invading Joseon. For Japan to insist upon possession of Dokdo is no different from it, rejecting the history of the restoration of complete sovereignty to the Republic of Korea. It is effectively a denial of Korea's history of liberation from Japanese rule.

In order to comprehend the significance of Japan's actions, a proper understanding of how its invasion of the Korean peninsula unfolded - focusing on Japan's incorporation of Dokdo in 1905 - is required. Without such an understanding of Japan's invasion, one will not be able to understand why Japan's insistence of ownership over Dokdo is baseless.

Therefore, a comprehensive survey is needed of historical events before and after the Russo - Japanese War as they relate to Japan's seizure of Dokdo. We sincerely hope that all those who love Dokdo know how important this is to bringing closure to this island as a historical problem, setting right the wrongs committed by Imperial Japan's invasion of Joseon, and to completely returning rule over *all* Korean territory to the Republic of Korea.

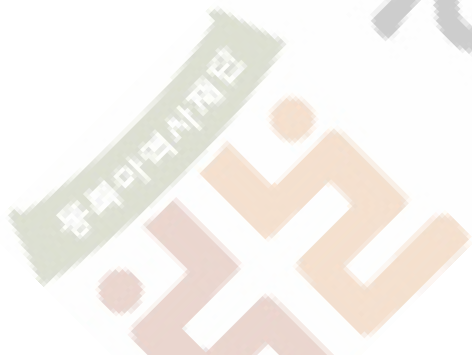


The History of

# Dokdo

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동북아역사재단  
NORTHEAST ASIA HISTORY FOUNDATION



## The History of **Dokdo**

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## History Knows the Truth

Historically, Dokdo has always been part of the territory of Korea. The love Koreans have for this island, like the one for the East Sea (Donghae in Korean), has never changed.

In March 2005, Japan's Shimane Prefecture established "Takeshima Day" (Takeshima is what the Japanese call Dokdo). The object of this anniversary, celebrated every year on February 22, is to spread the notion among the Japanese people that Dokdo is part of Japan's sovereign territory and that someday this island will be "returned" to Japan.

According to "Shimane Prefectural Notice No. 40" (*Shimane-ken kokujū yonjū-gō*), February 22 commemorates the fact that the Japanese named the island "Takeshima" and placed it under the jurisdiction of the Governor of the Oki Islands. February 22, 1905, was when this proclamation allowed Japan to acquire possession of Dokdo; therefore,



the Japanese consider this important evidence backing their claim to the island.

We must examine in detail the year 1905, which the Japanese argue is the year Dokdo was incorporated into Japan. Many historical facts that must be unearthed are hidden within this year. Superficially seen, based on a history cobbled together from a few factual fragments, we might be able to understand Japan's recent actions, from the declaration of "Takeshima Day" to the distortion of historical facts in Japanese textbooks of Japanese Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology.



However, history is not something that can be arbitrarily stitched together from disparate parts. Dokdo was the first piece of sovereign Korean territory absorbed by Japan in its process of invading Joseon (the name Koreans gave their dynasty from 1392 to 1910). For Japan to insist upon possession of Dokdo is no different from its rejecting the history of the restoration of complete sovereignty to Korea. It is effectively a denial of Korea's history of liberation from Japanese rule.

In order to comprehend the significance of Japan's actions, a proper understanding of how its invasion of the Korean peninsula unfolded - focusing on Japan's incorporation of Dokdo in 1905 - is required. Without such an understanding of Japan's invasion, one will not be able to understand why Japan's insistence of ownership over Dokdo is baseless.

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as a historical problem, setting right the wrongs committed by imperial Japan's invasion of Joseon, and to completely returning rule over all Korean territory to the Republic of Korea.





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One

# A Painful History

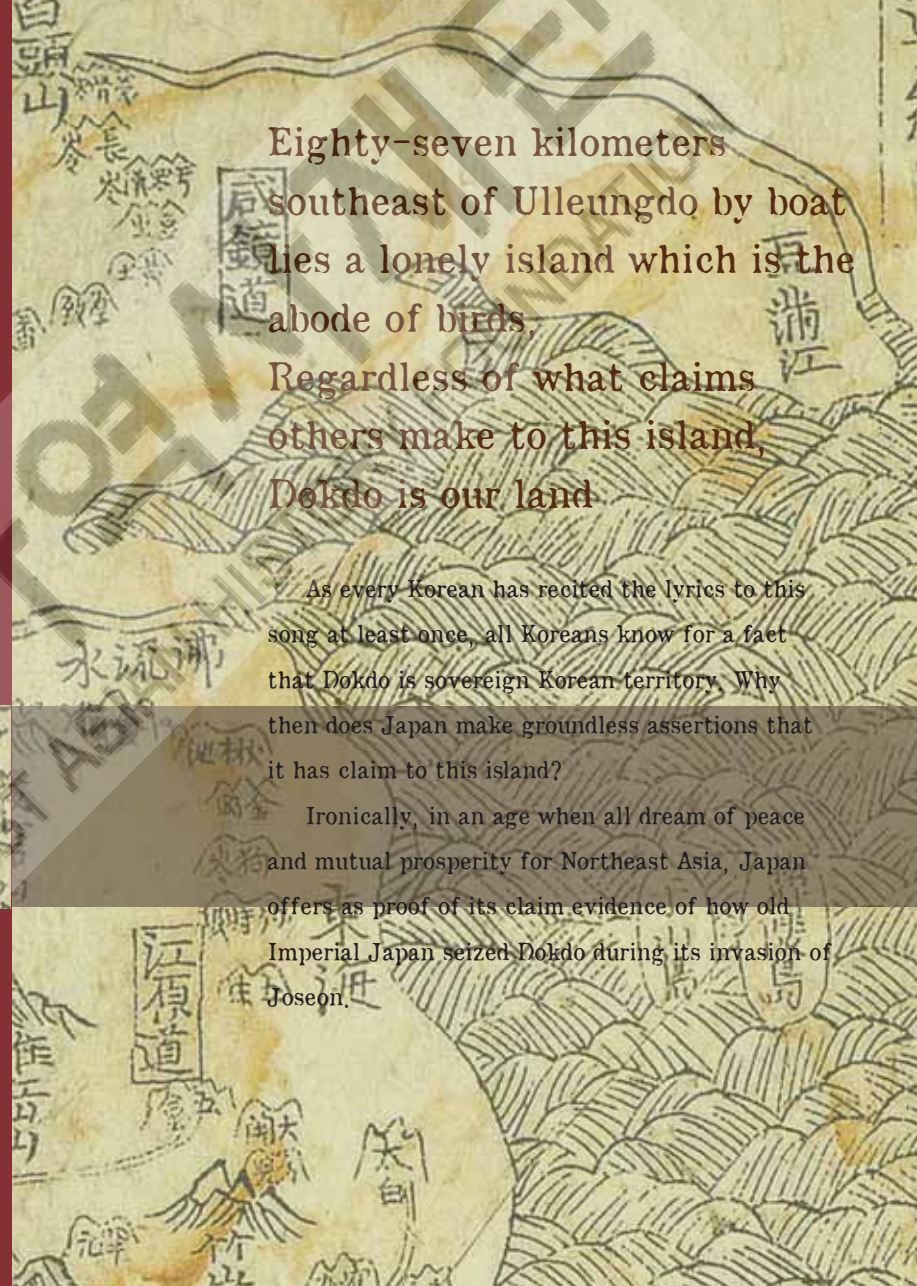
# 獨島

Eighty-seven kilometers southeast of Ulleungdo by boat lies a lonely island which is the abode of birds.

Regardless of what claims others make to this island, Dokdo is our land.

As every Korean has recited the lyrics to this song at least once, all Koreans know for a fact that Dokdo is sovereign Korean territory. Why then does Japan make groundless assertions that it has claim to this island?

Ironically, in an age when all dream of peace and mutual prosperity for Northeast Asia, Japan offers as proof of its claim evidence of how old Imperial Japan seized Dokdo during its invasion of Joseon.



## One The First Sign of Invasion: The Japanese Seizure of Dokdo

The lyrics to verse five of the song *Our Land, Dokdo* are as follows:

*"For the Japanese to falsely claim that Dokdo was an island without an owner after the Russo-Japanese War troubles us greatly. Yisabu, the Silla general, is laughing in his grave. Dokdo is our land."*

Events transpired as the lyrics describe. According to the section on "Military Administration" in the *Mangi yoram* of 1808, "Ulleungdo and Dokdo are the sovereign territory of Usan-guk." (During the era of the Three Kingdoms on the Korean Peninsula, Usan-guk was a country located on present-day Ulleungdo. It was destroyed by Silla in 512.) The Russo-Japanese War, however, provided Japan with an opportunity to seize Dokdo, which Japan had been greedily eyeing for strategic military purposes.



The section on "Military Administration" in the *Mangi yoram* defines both Ulleungdo and Dokdo as the territory of Usan-guk

The plan to invade Joseon was first proposed by Yoshida Shōin in the 1850s. Afterwards, Kido

Takayoshi, Saigō Takamori, and others belonging to the "Conquer Korea Advocates" (*seikanronsha*) followed in his footsteps.

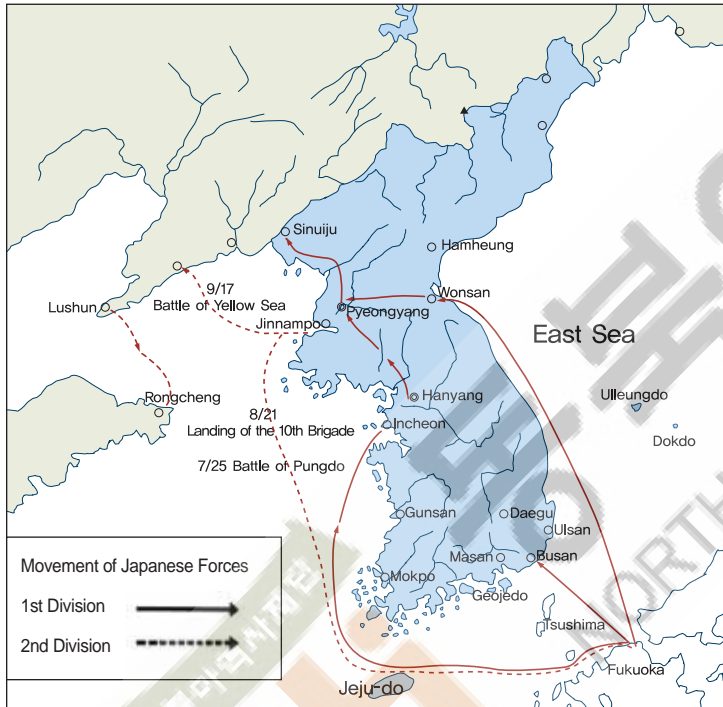
Japan actualized its plan to invade Joseon [Korea] in 1894, around the time of the Sino-Japanese War. It had been planning this invasion for a long time, and took advantage of the Revolutionary Uprising of the Donghak Peasant Army of 1894 to deploy troops to occupy the royal palace and other strategic places in Seoul, and in Busan, Incheon, and Wonsan. Japan converted the buildings of central government offices such as the Sayeok-won (the Bureau of Interpreters) and the Jangak-won (the Bureau of Music) into military barracks, installed military telegraph lines stretching across the entire country from Seoul to Busan and from Seoul to Incheon, and laid railroad tracks to use all these for the war against China. The Japanese battled the Chinese from the open sea of Pungdo off Asan Harbor to Pyeongyang and the Yellow Sea, devastating Joseon's land and seas in the process.

### ● The Conquer Korea Advocates

In the 1870s, in Japanese political circles those advocating the invasion of Korea gained great power. After the Meiji Restoration of 1868, Japan's political world was split into two camps: a modernized bureaucratic force which sought progress for the country through further modernization, and conservatives who opposed the changes wrought by modernization. Hawkish conservatives became the core force of the latter camp, and they sought to deflect discontent felt by the warrior class by pushing for an invasion of Joseon.

Japan prevailed over China and gained influence not only over Joseon but also possession of the Liaodong Peninsula. However, Russia, France, and Germany intervened and left Japan with no choice but to pull back. Russia's expanding influence in Joseon at this time was particularly irksome to Japan.

Japan knew that if it did not expel Russia from Korea, it would not be able to achieve its objective of using the peninsula as a military base.



Chronological Map of the Sino-Japanese War



After having landed in Incheon, the Kikoshi Brigade marches through the street (1904)

Therefore, Japan spared no efforts in ridding Korea of Russian influence. Japan, concerned by the increasing pro-Russian sentiment among the Joseon elite, ended up assassinating Empress Myeongseong (also known as Queen Min), who was behind the pro-Russian policy.

Japan, having undergone the humiliation of having to return the Liaodong Peninsula to Qing China due to the Triple Intervention, took the long-awaited opportunity on February 8, 1904, to launch a surprise attack against two Russian warships in Lushun Harbor. This marked the beginning of the Russo-Japanese War. On the same day, the Japanese army ignored the Joseon government's declaration of neutrality and began penetrating the peninsula through Incheon, Namyang, Gyeongsan, and Wonsan. The Kikoshi Brigade, the advance party of the Japanese army, entered Seoul on February 9. They were followed by the main force,

the Twelfth Army Division led by Inoue Hikaru. Japan planned much more meticulously this time to transform Korea into a military base, which it had failed to do ten years earlier during the Sino-Japanese War.

On February 23, 1904, the Japanese army surrounded the royal palace, threatened the royal household and government, and forced the signing of the Korea-Japan Protocol Agreement. Based on this document, Japan expanded its authority to

#### The Korea-Japan Protocol Agreement

Japan, which had initiated the Russo-Japanese War, forced the Korean Empire (Daehan Jeguk in Korean; in 1897, King Gojong proclaimed the founding of this Korean empire) to enter into a cooperative relationship with Japan through the forced signing of this treaty. An important part of this document stipulates that the government of the Korean Empire allow Japanese use of areas of strategic value whenever the Japanese deemed it convenient. The forced signing of this treaty can be seen as the first step in the colonization of the Korean empire. The house of Yi Ji-yong (one of the co-signers) was set aflame, showing how strong opposition was to the forced signing of this agreement.

#### Article Four of the Korea-Japan Protocol

In case of danger to the safety of the royal household of the Korean Empire or loss of national territory due to invasion by a third country or internal rebellion, the Japanese will rapidly act to take the necessary measures. The government of the Korean Empire will cooperate fully to facilitate Japanese initiation of these efforts. In order to carry out the above, the Japanese government will occupy areas of strategic military importance as is needed.

occupy or expropriate areas deemed necessary for the stationing of troops or ones with strategic military value. Japan's efforts to annex Joseon had become even more conspicuous.

In April 1904, Japan set up the command post for the imperial soldiers stationed in the Great Han [Korean] Empire and deployed soldiers to all areas of the peninsula. When the Russo-Japanese War peaked in July 1904, the Japanese commander stationed in the Korean Empire - having no legal authority to do so - installed a military government in Hamgyeong Province, in the northeast. By January 1905, the *gendarmarie* attached to the Japanese army even went so far as to assume police authority in Seoul and the adjoining areas. The Japanese promulgated severe martial rule so as to protect the military telegraph lines and railroads it had installed to aid the war effort. Anyone who damaged these military facilities or hindered the war effort was to be punished or even executed.

The Japanese also established fortresses in Yeonghung Bay and Jinhae, proclaimed martial law in those places, and seized the land these fortresses had occupied. By the end of July 1905, the Japanese tried to force Joseon into handing over as much as 9,750,000 *pyeong* (38,547,500 square yards) of land for military use in Yongsan, Pyeongyang, and Uiju.

With the situation being what it was, there was absolutely no way Ulleungdo and Dokdo, which were places of strategic importance to the Japanese in the war against Russia, could escape the seizure by



Manghyang Peak in Japanese-occupied Sadong Village, Ulleungdo, where the watchtower had been installed

Japan. Since the early stages of the Russo-Japanese War, the Japanese Army had become well aware of the strategic value of these islands. Ulleungdo and Dokdo formed the strategic axis where the southward-bound Russian Vladivostok Fleet and the

combined Japanese fleet collided. The Russian fleet threatened Japan's control of the seas, and on the days around May 15, 1904, the Japanese navy had already lost a third of its forces.

The Japanese forces, fighting for their very existence, had no choice but to devise the best strategy possible to break out of this crisis. Constructing new warships would have taken too much time, the Japanese took account of the strained war situation, and formulated a plan to use their remaining warships to effectively prosecute the war. It involved an expansion of naval bases and the installation of watchtowers to track the enemy's movement.

Ulleungdo and Dokdo were absolutely vital to Japan's battle plans. On May 18, 1904, Japan tried to force the Korean Empire into depriving Russia of the timber-felling rights to Ulleungdo which it had gained from the Empire, and then eliminated all Russian influence from the island by blockading it. On September 1, Japanese forces constructed

two watchtowers each for the east and west sides of Ulleungdo. Next, in order to install one watchtower on Dokdo as well, the Japanese dispatched the warship *Nitaka-maru* to survey the island. The *Nitaka-maru* departed on September 24, five days before a man named Nakai Yosaburo submitted a written application to the Japanese government for the incorporation of Dokdo into Japan.

Nakai Yosaburō was a commercial fisherman who plied his trade along foreign coastlines in a diving suit, and had been scheming to secure a monopoly over the numerous sea lions that inhabited Dokdo. When he first hatched his scheme, he knew that Dokdo was Korean territory and sought to submit a temporary-lease petition for the island to Joseon through the Japanese government. However, Kimotsuki Kaneyuki, Director of the Hydrographic Office in the Ministry of the navy,

#### Sea Lions

Sea lions are similar to seals, and also have short fur and webbed feet with claws. They grow to around two meters in length and live in packs, feeding upon anchovies, cuttlefish, and saury. At one time Dokdo was even known as "Gajido," or the "Isle of the Sea Lions," because so many of these animals lived there. However, fueled by their countrymen's desire for leather, Japanese hunters indiscriminately killed as many of these animals as possible. Now no trace is left of the sea lion on Dokdo.



incited Nakai to submit a petition to the Japanese government on September 29 to incorporate Dokdo into the national territory.

When Nakai submitted "A Request for the Incorporation of the Liancourt Islands into Japan's National Territory and for its Lease" (*Riyankotō Ryōdo hennyū narabi Kashisage negai*), a director named Inoue of the Home Ministry protested.

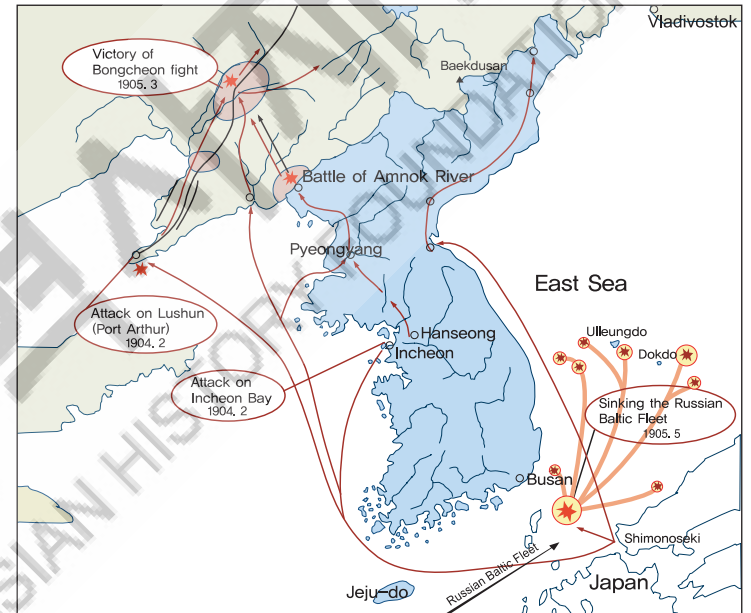
"If we incorporate a worthless piece of rock which is suspected of being sovereign Korean territory, many foreign countries with their eyes on Japan will become greatly convinced that we intend to annex Korea."

- Nakai Yosaburō's Summary of Business in Dokdo, 1906

Upon having his petition rejected by the Home Ministry, Nakai turned to the Bureau of Political Affairs in the Foreign Ministry. Bureau Head Yamaza Enjirō had been deeply involved in the Russo-Japanese War from beginning to end, and was known for having drafted the declaration of war against Russia. His reaction to the petition was completely different from that of the Home Ministry.

"At this juncture it is necessary to incorporate Dokdo into Japanese territory. Would not it be most desirable to install watchtowers, wireless, and submarine cables to keep track of enemy warships?"

- Nakai Yosaburō's Summary of Business in Dokdo, 1906



The Course of the Russo-Japanese War

The Bureau head's assertion of the merits of installing watchtowers and submarine cables to track enemy warships became a reality. In November 1904, the Japanese Navy again deployed a warship, the *Tsushima-maru*, to Dokdo for the purpose of surveying suitable locations for the construction of surveillance towers and communications facilities. However, the building of such towers on Dokdo was delayed due to the harsh winter weather and the difficulties presented by the ongoing war.

On January 1, 1905, the Japanese takeover of Lushun from the Russians marked a turning point in the war. Admiral Tōgō Heihachirō, supreme commander of the Japanese combined fleet, ordered all Japanese warships to gather in the Korea Strait to crush the Russian Baltic Fleet coming through the Indian Ocean. After having surrendered Lushun to the Japanese, it was obvious the Russian Baltic Fleet would have to pass through the straits to sail towards Vladivostok.

During this critical juncture, the Japanese wartime cabinet initiated concrete plans to seize Dokdo. On January 10, Home Minister Yoshikawa Akimasa sent a secret message to Prime Minister Katsura Tarō, entitled "The Case Regarding the Uninhabited Island" (*Munintō shozoku ni kansuru ken*), which requested the opening of a cabinet meeting to incorporate Dokdo. On January 28, the prime minister, navy minister, and eleven cabinet members made the decision to add Dokdo to Japan.

"Documents clearly attest to a man known as Nakai Yosaburō having emigrated to these islands and pursued the occupation of fishing, proof according to international law of occupation and hence evidence of Japanese jurisdiction. Therefore, our cabinet have filed the decision to make these islands subordinate to the Oki



The Japanese Cabinet's Written *Decision to Incorporate Dokdo* (1905)

Islands Branch Office of Shimane Prefecture."

- The Japanese Cabinet's Written *Decision to Incorporate Dokdo*,  
January 28, 1905

The Japanese government, approving the application of Nakai, a fisherman, moved to seize Dokdo by force at lightning speed. On February 22, 1905, the prefectural governor of Shimane announced "Shimane Prefectural Notice No. 40," which placed Dokdo under the jurisdiction of the Oki Islands Branch Office of Shimane Prefecture. This proclamation is the most important one backing current Japanese claims to Dokdo.



The Demise of the Russian Baltic Fleet during the Russo-Japanese War (1905)

Since the Russian Baltic Fleet had already taken seven months to finally reach the Korea Strait on May 27, 1905, the condition of the fleet was at its worst. The sailors of the Baltic Fleet were worn out beyond exhaustion, and right after they encountered the Japanese combined fleet - which had been prepared in every regard - their ships were sunk one after the other. Admiral Zinovi Petrovich Rozhdestvenski, supreme commander of the wounded Baltic Fleet, was captured as a prisoner of war in the seas near Ulleungdo. Rear Admiral Nikolai Ivanovich Nebogatov replaced the admiral as supreme commander and fled the Japanese fleet all night long, but was captured as a prisoner of war on the morning of May 28 in the seas near Dokdo. This was the moment in



The view of Dokdo from Ulleungdo

only grew more keenly aware of the strategic value of these islands. Russia still retained extraordinary military power, and since Japan did not know when she might have to war with Russia again, Japanese forces installed an additional watchtower on the northern part of Ulleungdo as well as another one on Dokdo, which had a view of Ulleungdo. The Japanese Navy deployed the *Hashidate-maru* in June to conduct another survey of Dokdo. They began construction on the observation tower on July 25 and finished on August 19.

Although Japan had thought the war would last much longer,

which the Russian Baltic Fleet was completely destroyed by the Japanese combined fleet.

The Japanese forces, which had decimated the Russian Baltic Fleet in the seas near Ulleungdo and Dokdo,



Remains of the Japanese watchtower at Seokpo Village in Ulleungdo

## Portsmouth Treaty

In the naval port town of Portsmouth, New Hampshire, United States President Theodore Roosevelt provided his kind offices to end the Russo-Japanese War through peace talks. Through the treaty produced via these talks, Japan's desire to lead, protect, and supervise Joseon was recognized. In addition, Japan was given leasing rights to Lushun and Dalian from China, the right to lay railroad tracks south of Changchun, ownership of Russian Sakhalin south of 50 degrees north latitude, and fishing rights off the coasts of Russia in the East Sea, the Sea of Okhotsk, and the Bering Sea.

the Portsmouth Treaty was concluded on September 5, much earlier than expected. The watchtower on Dokdo had lost its reason for being and was demolished on October 24.

The Japanese forces installed a submarine cable between Ulleungdo and Dokdo on October 8, and another between Dokdo and Matsue in Japan on November 9. Although the war was over, the Japanese forces did not hide their

ambition to proceed from the installation of facilities on Dokdo to the annexation of Korea.

Immediately after the end of the Russo-Japanese War, the Japanese press took large photos of Dokdo and introduced it as the famous place where the Japanese fleet had won a complete victory over the Russian fleet. To the Japanese, Dokdo was a place to memorize their complete victory in the war to invade the Korean Peninsula.

Immediately after the war with Russia, Japan forced the signing



Japanese newspaper with a photo of Dokdo, described as a memorial place of the Russo-Japanese War (1906)

of the Korea-Japan Protocol Agreement in February, 1904, the Korea-Japan Agreement in August, 1904, the Treaty of 1905 (also known as Protectorate Treaty), The Korea-Japan New Agreement in July 1907, and the Treaty of Annexation in August 1910, concluding Japan's plans to absorb the Korean Peninsula.

In the final analysis, the first target of Japanese imperialism in its plan to annex Korea was the seizure of Dokdo.



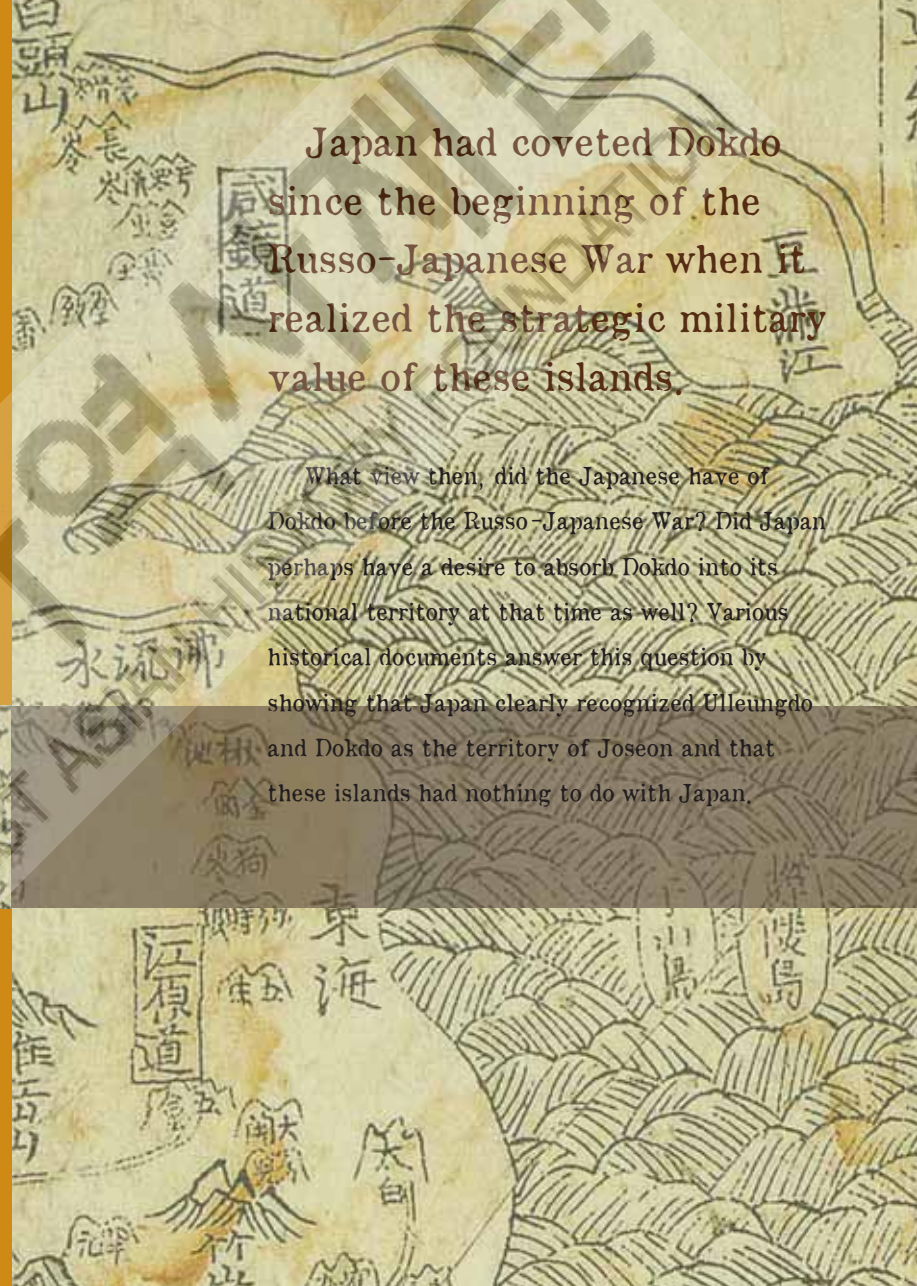
Two

# 獨島

Joseon Territory  
Nothing to do with Japan

Japan had coveted Dokdo since the beginning of the Russo-Japanese War when it realized the strategic military value of these islands.

What view then, did the Japanese have of Dokdo before the Russo-Japanese War? Did Japan perhaps have a desire to absorb Dokdo into its national territory at that time as well? Various historical documents answer this question by showing that Japan clearly recognized Ulleungdo and Dokdo as the territory of Joseon and that these islands had nothing to do with Japan.



## Two The Japanese Meiji government Recognized that 'Dokdo is Joseon Territory'

Although the Meiji government incorporated Dokdo into Japanese territory in 1905, previously it had recognized the island as belonging to Joseon.

Immediately after the Tokugawa Bakufu had been toppled, the new Meiji government sought to quell domestic troubles through overseas expansion. In 1869, under the direction of the Dajōkan (The Great Council of State), Japan's most powerful government organ, the Foreign Ministry secretly sent Foreign Ministry officials including Sada Hakubo to Busan.

Their mission was to secretly investigate the possibilities for a reopening of diplomatic relations with Joseon. One thing that stands out from the directives

### Meiji government

During the reign of the Meiji Emperor, this modern, reformist government shattered the Bakufu and restored monarchical rule to Japan. Under the banner of "Rich Country, Strong Military," the Meiji government took modern countries in Europe and America as models to foster capitalism and strengthen the military. Internationally, Japan had become an imperialist country, and although it submitted meekly to Europe and America, it prosecuted a policy of compulsion and invasion against various nations of Asia.



"A Confidential Inquiry into the Particulars of Foreign Relations of Korea" (1870) shows that Ulleungdo and Dokdo belong to Joseon.

given to the investigators is the order to perform a "Full Accounting of Ulleungdo and Dokdo, Islands which are part of Joseon Territory."

In 1870, the party led by Sada Hakubo returned from its secret investigation of Joseon and submitted a report entitled "A Confidential Inquiry into the Particulars of Foreign Relations of Korea" (*Chōsen-koku kōsai shimatsu naitansho*). Although Sada advocated annexation, he reported that "Dokdo is a part of Ulleungdo and there are no records of Dokdo." In the end, his report recognized Ulleungdo and Dokdo as the territory of Joseon, reaffirming the view of the Foreign Ministry and the Dajō

kan at that time.

In 1877, the Meiji government made it even clearer that Ulleungdo and Dokdo were Joseon territory. Within the societal maelstrom known as the Meiji Restoration, the Meiji government began compiling land registers.

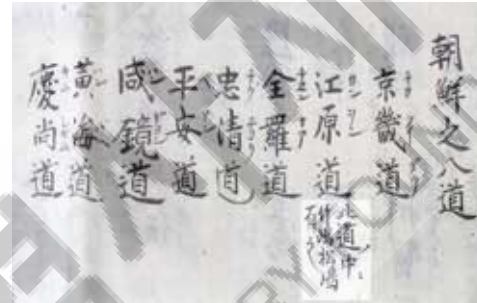
Here is what preceded.

On October 16, 1876, the Japanese Home Ministry received an official message from Shimane Prefecture asking whether Ulleungdo and Dokdo should be included within its territory. After months of serious deliberation, the Japanese reached the conclusion that since 1696 Ulleungdo and Dokdo had been the territory of Joseon and “had nothing to do with Japan.”

The year 1696 refers to the Ahn Yong-bok Incident, a case in which the Tokugawa Bakufu verified territorial limits. In 1693 Ahn Yong-bok and other Joseon fishermen came into conflict with Japanese fishermen illegally plying their trade on Ulleungdo, beginning a dispute between Joseon and Japan regarding possession of this island. In January 1696, when the



The draft of a plan by the Home Ministry, and a written order showing that the Dajōkan had ruled that Ulleungdo and Dokdo had nothing to do with Japan (1877)



This document, owned by the Murakami family, conveying the fact that Dokdo and Ulleungdo were part of Gangwon Province in Joseon, was recorded in the map brought by Ahn Yong-bok when he visited Japan (1696)

new lord of Tsushima went to greet the Shogun of the Tokugawa Bakufu, the Shogun verified that Ulleungdo was Joseon territory and ordered Japanese fishermen not to cross over to Ulleungdo and engage in fishing. This ruling by the Tokugawa Bakufu brought an end to the lord of Tsushima’s desire to take possession of Ulleungdo, which was what had started the debate over which country the islands belonged to. At that time as well, Dokdo was considered part of Ulleungdo.

However, the Home Ministry of the Meiji government believed that “deciding whether territory belongs to us or not is an important decision” and asked for a final ruling from the Dajōkan on March 17, 1877.

On March 20 of the same year the Dajōkan drafted the written order saying that “The view circulating among us shows that the



The "Map of Joseon's East Coast" (1876) and "Joseon Coast Pilot" (1899), published by the Japanese Ministry of the Navy, both show Dokdo as belonging to Joseon

other island besides Ulleungdo has nothing to do with Japan." On March 29, this order was officially sent to the Home Ministry. On April 9, the Home Ministry forwarded this written order to Shimane Prefecture and ordered it not to incorporate Ulleungdo and Dokdo.

The Meiji government's recognition of these islands as Joseon territory was again confirmed by the Ministry of the Navy. The Hydrographic Office, attached to the Ministry of the Navy, indicated Dokdo as belonging to Joseon when it published the "Map of Joseon's East Coast" (*Chōsen tōkaiganzu*) in 1876 and 1887, and "Joseon Coast Pilot" (*Chōsen suirōshi*) in 1899.

If Japan had wanted to recognize Dokdo as Japanese territory, it would have obviously labeled the islands as such in the "Map of the Northwest Coast" (*Seihokuganzu*) or the "Japan Coast Pilot" (*Nihon suirōshi*). But it did not do so. At this time an

employee of the Ministry of the Navy submitted "A Proposal to Develop Matsushima" (*Matsushima kaitakunogi*) to the Foreign Ministry in 1876. What he referred to as "Matsushima" was actually Ulleungdo, and records show that he had performed a survey around the island. But if Japan had already laid claim to Ulleungdo at that time, would not survey records for this area already have existed?

Not only the Meiji government but also Japanese citizens were certain that Dokdo belonged to Korea at this time.

The far-right Japanese organization The Black Dragon Society (*Kokuryūkai*) published the "Guide to Fishing in the Korean Sea" (*Kankai tsūryō shishin*) in January 1903, in which it labeled Dokdo as an island under the jurisdiction of Gangwon Province of the Korean Empire while explaining that "on a clear day, Dokdo can be seen from the lofty peaks of Ulleungdo."

#### Proposal to Develop Matsushima

In 1876 a Japanese man named Mutō Heigaku discovered an island rich in natural resources while traveling to and from Vladivostok. He petitioned for development of the island. When the Japanese Ministry of the Navy deployed a warship to survey the island on September 1880, they learned that Matsushima was none other than Ulleungdo.



"The Guide to Fishing in the Korean Sea" clearly indicating that Dokdo was subordinate to Ulleungdo, under the jurisdiction of Gangwon Province (1903)

### Japan's approach to Ulleungdo

Even before the Japanese seized Dokdo in 1905, they had already tried to seize Ulleungdo. In the seventeenth century, Japan took advantage of Joseon's weakened state, resulting from the Hideyoshi Invasions of 1592 to 1598 and the Manchu Invasion of Joseon in 1636, to travel to the island as they pleased. The Japanese hoped to use their constant comings and goings to attach Ulleungdo to their national territory. However, thanks to the efforts of Ahn Yong-bok and the Joseon government's resolute measures, the Japanese efforts to seize Ulleungdo failed.

The situation quieted down after that, but Japanese, taking advantage of the Treaty of Friendship of 1876 (also known as the Treaty of Ganghwa) once again started traveling to the island unannounced in increasing numbers, bringing a resurgence of criticism against Japanese actions.

Even Nakai Yosaburō, who had ultimately provided the opportunity for Japan to seize Dokdo, wrote in 1904 that he along with other Japanese fishermen recognized "Dokdo as an island subordinate to Ulleungdo, which is part of the territory of Joseon." This is recorded in the *Summary of Business in Dokdo (Jigyōkeiei gaiyou)* which he penned himself in 1906. This shows that Dokdo was unmistakably Korean territory, and until the Japanese carried out their plan to seize it, no countries had fought with Joseon over this island nor had Koreans ever given up claim to it.

As Japanese efforts to seize Ulleungdo became more flagrant, the Joseon government passed the "Order to Develop Ulleungdo" in 1882 and began initiating an active policy of migrating citizens to

the island. Furthermore, in October 1900, the government promulgated "The Imperial Ordinance No.41" (*Chingnyeong Je-sashibil-ho*), which placed the entire area of Ulleungdo, including Dokdo, under the jurisdiction of the Ulleungdo Magistracy. Joseon had made Ulleungdo a modern administrative area.

Even though Japan unilaterally incorporated Dokdo into its national territory on January 28, 1905, it did not announce that it had done so for some time. Only after more than one year had passed on March 28, 1906, when officials from Shimane Prefecture visited Ulleungdo, did they notify others of the incorporation.

Shimane Prefectural official Kanda Yoshitarō and some other Japanese nationals crossed over to Dokdo via Ulleungdo and told



"Imperial Ordinance No.41" which placed Dokdo under the jurisdiction of the Ulleungdo Magistracy (1900)

### Order to Develop Ulleungdo

As illegal visits to Ulleungdo began occurring more frequently, the Joseon government conducted a detailed investigation into the situation of the island and announced the "Order to Develop Ulleungdo" (*Ulleungdo gaecheokryeong*), which encouraged immigration to the island. The government began offering incentives to immigrants by waiving their taxes for five years and allowing the construction on the island of transports destined for the Yeongnam and Honam regions.



Japanese officials from Shimane Prefecture visiting Ulleungdo and telling Joseon officials that Dokdo had been incorporated by Japan (1906)

Ulleungdo Magistrate Shim Heung-taek that Dokdo had been incorporated into Japanese territory.

Shim was surprised to hear such news, and immediately reported this the next day to Yi Myeong-nae, the Governor of Gangwon Province. Yi also recognized the importance of the situation and relayed the report verbatim to a minister in the Uijeongbu, or the State Council, which was the highest government organ.

On May 20, 1906, State Council Minister Bak Je-sun announced



A document by Yi Myeong-nae, the Governor of Gangwon Province, conveying the Ulleungdo Magistrate's report on Japan's incorporation of Dokdo (1906)

through "Directive Number Three" (*Jiryong Je-sam-ho*) that "Rumors that Japan has incorporated Dokdo have absolutely no substance, and an investigation and report will be undertaken on the current situation and what actions the Japanese are taking." With this, the Joseon government once again made it clear that Dokdo was its territory.

However, Magistrate Shim Heung-taek, who had issued the original report, soon retired from his post. Even if Shim had stayed on, it would have been very unlikely that he received Bak's order, due to the Korea-Japan Agreement for the Commissioning of Communications Facilities (April 1905), which put the control of Joseon's post,



Ito Hirobumi and other Japanese officials celebrating the conclusion of the Protectorate Treaty in this commemorative photograph (Treaty of 1905)

telegraph, and telephone system into Japanese hands.

According to the Protectorate Treaty (Treaty of 1905) concluded in November 1905, Joseon's Foreign Office was to be dismantled in January 1906. In February 1906, the Japanese Residency-General began operations and took full control of foreign affairs. In such a situation, even if the Joseon government sought to protest the seizure of Dokdo, it had no way of making its voice heard.

### ● Korea - Japan Protectorate Treaty (Treaty of 1905)

Japan forced this treaty upon Joseon to deprive it of the right to conduct its own foreign affairs and to turn it into a colony. After the conclusion of this treaty, the Japanese established the Residency-General of Korea, supervised the administration of the country, gained the power to affect any policy, and obtained the authority to assemble the country's military forces.

However, at that time Japan justified its incorporation of Dokdo by arguing that the Korean Empire did not strongly object to this action.



Three

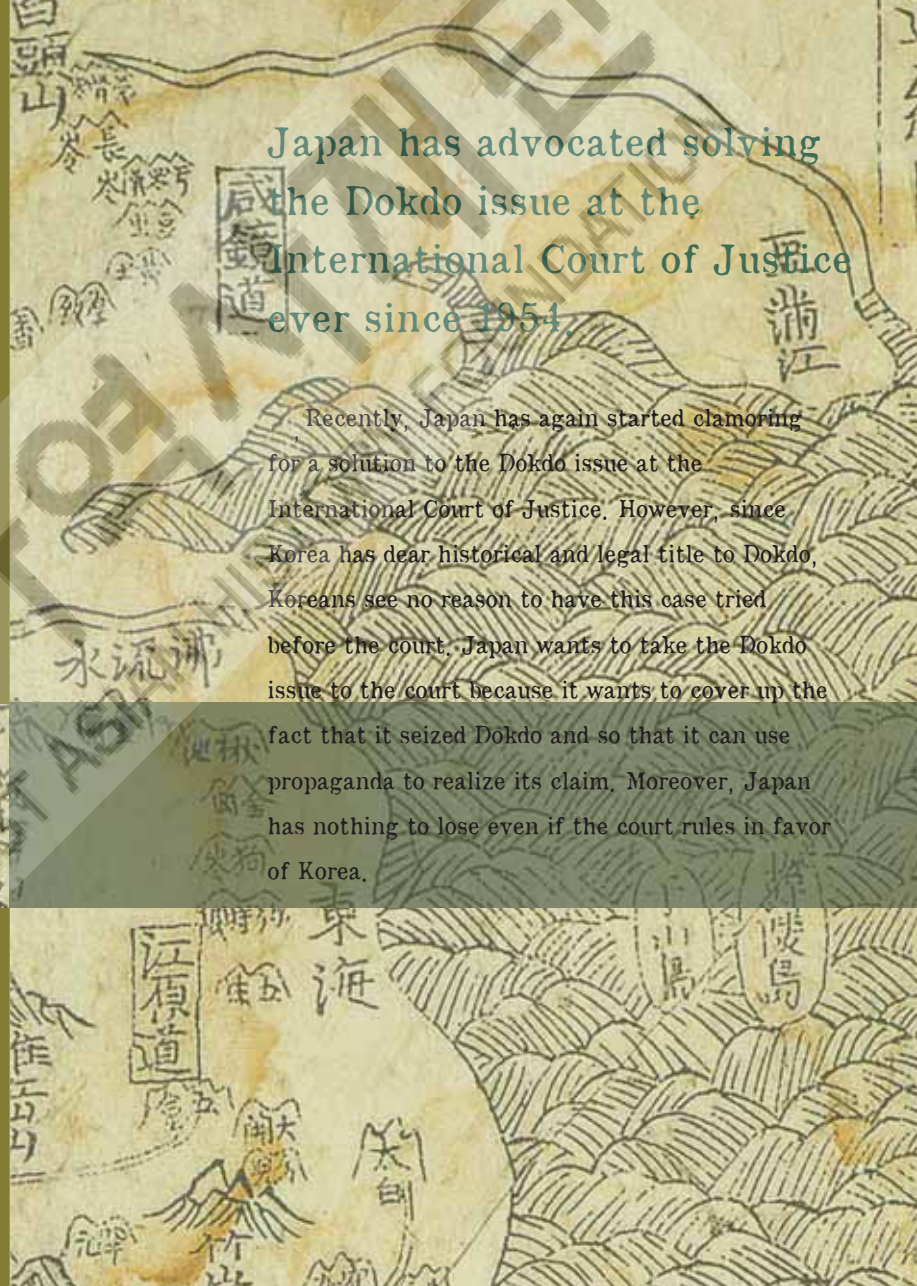
Forced

# 獨島

Logie

Japan has advocated solving the Dokdo issue at the International Court of Justice ever since 1954.

Recently, Japan has again started clamoring for a solution to the Dokdo issue at the International Court of Justice. However, since Korea has dear historical and legal title to Dokdo, Koreans see no reason to have this case tried before the court. Japan wants to take the Dokdo issue to the court because it wants to cover up the fact that it seized Dokdo and so that it can use propaganda to realize its claim. Moreover, Japan has nothing to lose even if the court rules in favor of Korea.



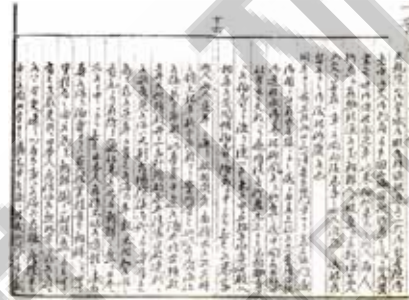
### Three Why does Japan want to take the Dokdo Issue to the International Court of Justice?

While disregarding its own history of having seized Dokdo from Korea, Japan has been trying to refer the Dokdo issue to the International Court of Justice. The court uses the principle of “effective control” as an important standard in adjudicating problems of ownership, and Japan uses the following two types of evidence as proof that it has practiced such rule.

The first is that while in the process of conducting business on Ulleungdo during the seventeenth century, Japan discovered Dokdo and used it as a port of call. The Japanese place special emphasis on the fact that in the mid-seventeenth century, the Ōya and Murakawa

#### The International Court of Justice

This court was established at the same time as the United Nations in 1945, and is one of the main organs of the UN. It goes by the abbreviation of ICJ, and is located in The Hague, the Netherlands. Its mission is to solve disputes between countries according to international law. It does not have compulsory jurisdiction, and except in special cases does not begin a trial based on only the request of one party.



A Tokugawa Bakufu document recognizing Ulleungdo as Joseon's territory (1696)

families received licenses from the government to sail the seas around Dokdo and engaged in fishing on the island. The Japanese also argue that when the Tokugawa Bakufu recognized Ulleungdo as Joseon's territory in 1696, it excluded Dokdo.

But this logic is forced. Since Joseon had instituted a policy of leaving Ulleungdo vacant, Japan's supposed “effective control of Ulleungdo” was no different from a thief running a business on property which was not his.

The policy was introduced to deal with the marauding Japanese pirates which had been a constant problem since the end of the Goryeo Dynasty. If Koreans had been living on Ulleungdo, Japanese pirates would most likely have pillaged their settlements, and then nearby Gangwon Province would most likely have fallen to their depredations as well. Therefore, the Joseon government kept the island vacant to protect Koreans living on its frontier.



The "Swaehwan-jeongchaek" policy as recorded in the Annals of King Taejong, "Taejong sillok"

If an argument were to be made for "effective control," the Joseon government's enforcement of the Policy of Leaving Ulleungdo Vacant would be one good example. This policy also included the regular dispatch of officials to patrol the islands and make sure they were kept safe, clear proof of rule by the Joseon government.

**Policy of Leaving Ulleungdo Vacant (Swaehwan-jeongchaek)**

This is the name of the policy whereby the Joseon government protected Koreans living on the frontier by moving them to other safe areas. The government instituted this policy in the islands such as Ulleungdo and Geojedo to protect both its subjects and to guard against foreign invasion.

However, the Japanese interpret the enactment of this policy as abandonment of territory and a discontinuity of effective control.

Although islands which people cannot live on can be called "uninhabitable," enacting a policy like that does not nullify the status of islands like Ulleungdo as the territory of Joseon. The fact remains

that in the seventeenth century Joseon demanded and received a promise from Japan that Japanese citizens would not be allowed to sail to Ulleungdo because of the problems they had caused while fishing and felling wood on the island. In addition, the Joseon government instituted a system known as the "Suto Jedo," whereby a government investigator was sent every three years to Ulleungdo to make certain the Japanese were keeping their promise.



The enactment of the "Suto Jedo" as recorded in the Annals of King Sukjong, "Sukjong Sillok"

The Japanese choose to view the policy as an abandonment of territory by Joseon because they want to justify their baseless assertion that Dokdo is Japanese territory.

Japan also says that it issued licenses known as *Tokai menkyo* allowing Japanese to sail to Dokdo, and in this manner continued to manage the island's affairs. However, these licenses were only issued by Japan to sailors traveling across national boundaries, and were not needed for those wanting to travel to islands within

Japanese territorial limits. Rather, the issuance of these licenses by the Japanese government is clear evidence that Japan did not recognize Ulleungdo and Dokdo as its own territory. In addition, in an age when all land belonged to feudal lords in Japan, the Tokugawa Bakufu would never have given parts of Dokdo to commoner families such as the Ōya and Murakawa. Most importantly, we have discovered that no travel permits to Dokdo exist at all, and that at most only single-use permits were issued for those traveling to Ulleungdo. Japan thinks it can argue for ownership of these islands based on such flimsy evidence.

The second piece of evidence which Japan cites as proof of effective control is its administration of Dokdo after the Russo-Japanese War of 1904-1905 and during the period which it had ruled Korea as a colony.

For example, it cites the proclamation of "Shimane Prefectural Notice No. 40" in 1905, which placed Dokdo under the jurisdiction of the Governor of the Oki Islands, the entry of Dokdo into the register of government-owned land, visits to Dokdo by the governor of Shimane Prefecture and other Japanese officials, the issuance of a permit to Nakai Yosaburō to trap sea lions on Dokdo and the deposit of fees collected from Nakai for his use of the island into the national treasury every year, the Japanese government's revision of



In 1902, the Japanese arbitrarily built a police station on Ulleungdo (1905)

rules dealing with fishing, and the ban instituted by the Japanese government against catching anything other than sea lions in the areas around Dokdo.

However, all these took place after Japan had defeated Russia in 1905. During the time Japan invaded all areas of Joseon in an organized manner, with Dokdo being no exception. Even so, Japan maintains that its "administration" of Dokdo was proof of effective control.

That Japan only wants to refer the Dokdo issue to the International Court of Justice as part of a political offensive is

evident from Japan's attitude in handling other territorial disputes. Japan believes that it would lose if it brought a case to the court regarding the dispute of the Southern Kuriles, and that the situation regarding the dispute over the Senkaku Islands would not be much improved even if it did win the case. Hence, Japan has refused to refer these two disputes to the court. Japan has only Korea to refer Dokdo to the court because it wishes to cover up its history of seizing the island, wants to spread propaganda about its own views, and because even if Japan loses due to evidence that Korea practiced effective control of Dokdo, the situation would still not get much worse for Japan.

The Dokdo issue is not a case that the International Court of Justice can legally rule upon or solve. Only when Japan atones for its history of invasion and recognizes true history will this matter be solved in and of itself.

<p>● Diaoyu Islands (known as the "Senkaku Islands" in Japanese)</p>	<p>● The Southern Kuriles (known as "Hoppō Ryōdo" in Japanese)</p>
<p>These islands are located 420km east of China, 200km northeast of Taiwan, and 300km southwest of Okinawa. The five uninhabited islands of Diaoyu are composed partially of coral reef and measure a total of 6.3 square kilometers. China and Japan dispute possession of these islands, but Japan currently occupies them.</p>	<p>These are composed of the lower Kurile islands northeast of Hokkaidō, and include Etorofu, Kunashiri, Habomai, and Shikotan. The four islands measure a total of 5,000 square kilometers. Japan and Russia dispute possession of these islands, but Russia currently occupies them.</p>



Four

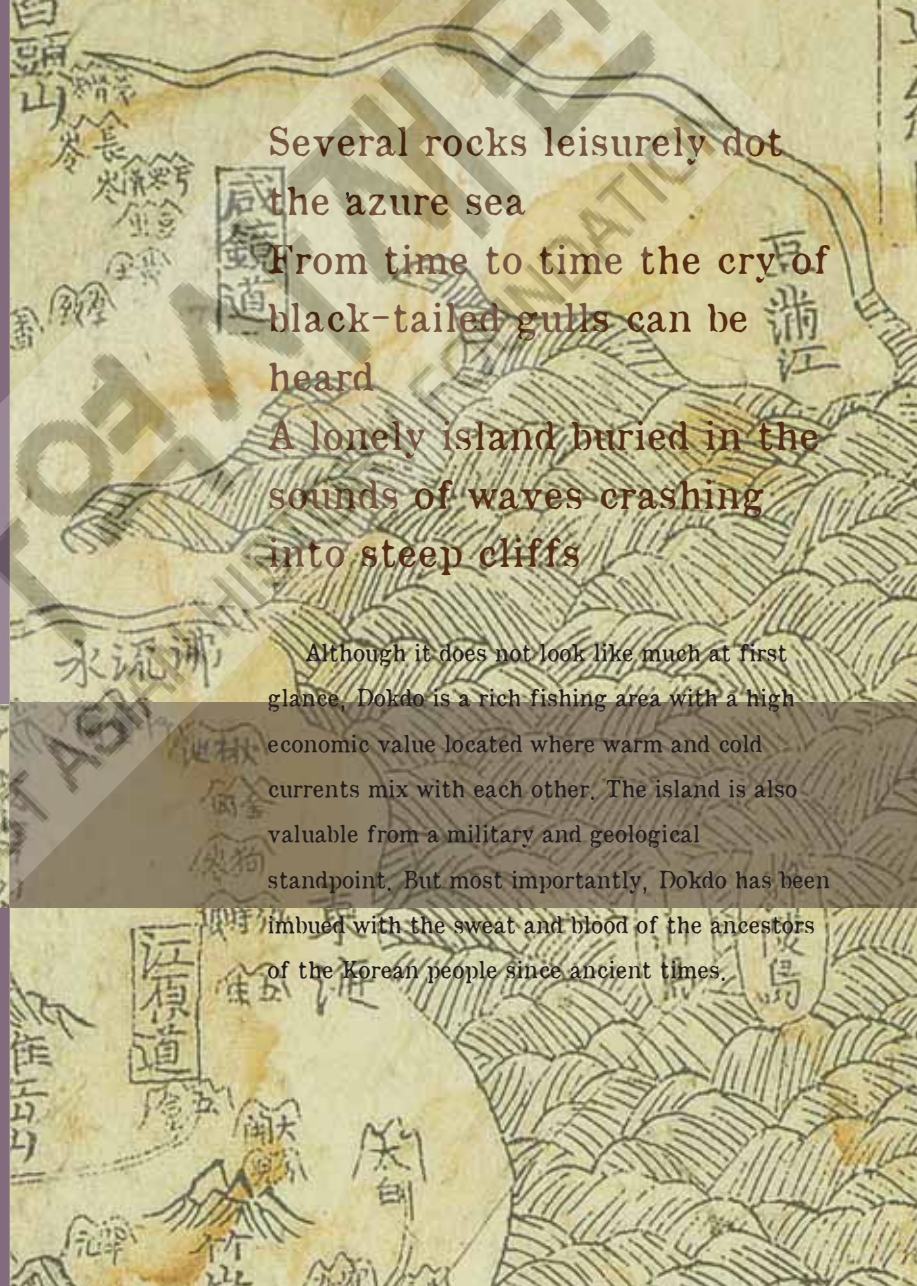
# The Land of Our People

## 獨島

Several rocks leisurely dot  
the azure sea  
From time to time the cry of  
black-tailed gulls can be  
heard

A lonely island buried in the  
sounds of waves crashing  
into steep cliffs

Although it does not look like much at first  
glance, Dokdo is a rich fishing area with a high  
economic value located where warm and cold  
currents mix with each other. The island is also  
valuable from a military and geological  
standpoint. But most importantly, Dokdo has been  
imbued with the sweat and blood of the ancestors  
of the Korean people since ancient times.



## Four “Dokdo,” an Island Redolent of Korean Culture



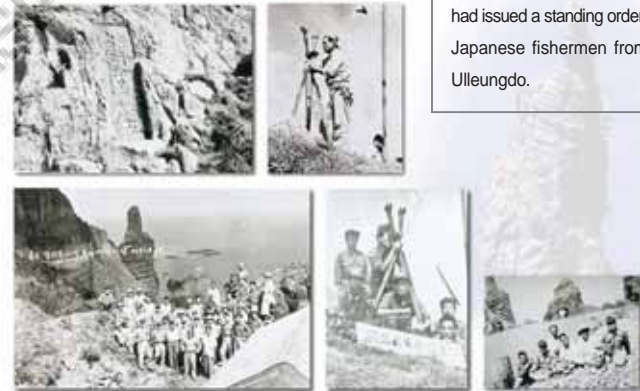
Dokdo-ri 1~96, Ulleung-eup, Ulleung-gun, Gyeongsangbuk-do (North Gyeongsang Province), Republic of Korea. This is Dokdo's address. Dokdo occupies the easternmost location in Korea's national territory, and is located

216.8km east of Uljin County in and 87.4km from Ulleungdo. Dokdo consists of 89 small rocky islets as well as Dongdo (East Island) and Seodo (West Island) facing each other over the marine plateau 10 meters deep. The total area comes to 187,564 square meters, not even the size of Yeouido Park in Seoul. Sitting in the center of the 2,000 meters deep East Sea, what does this island-which has seagulls for companions-mean to the Korean people?

Dokdo is imbued with the memories and traces of our ancestors since ancient times. As a subordinate island of Ulleungdo, it has long shared the same joys and sorrows of Korea at the country's easternmost end. The ancestors of the Korean

people have braved death to protect Dokdo. Ahn Yong-Bok risked his life during the period of the Joseon Dynasty, and so did the Dokdo Volunteer Garrison during the time of chaos at the end of the Korean War. They did so precisely because Dokdo is an island with the blood and sweat left by the ancestors of the Korean people, and cannot be taken from them.

This island is imbued with a



Members of the Dokdo Volunteer Garrison risking their lives to protect Dokdo

### Ahn Yong-bok

Ahn Yong-bok lived during the reign of King Sukjong of the Joseon Dynasty, and crossed over to Japan and received a promise from the Japanese government that it would recognize Ulleungdo and Dokdo as the territory of Joseon. He did so after he and more than forty other fishermen spotted a Japanese fishing boat working in Ulleungdo. Japan took this opportunity to officially recognize the two islands as belonging to Joseon and sent a document to the Joseon government stating that the Japanese government had issued a standing order forbidding Japanese fishermen from entering Ulleungdo.

### ● The Dokdo Volunteer Garrison

This was a purely civilian organization which protected Dokdo and confronted Japanese fishing and patrol boats which invaded the island's waters from April 20, 1953 to December 30, 1956. Led by Commander Hong Sun-chil, the thirty-three youths of the Dokdo Volunteer Garrison (Dokdo Uiyong Subidae) were mostly combatants who had participated in the Korean War. Equipped with inferior weaponry, they protected Dokdo by launching attacks against Japanese patrol boats and aircraft that threatened the island.

special history and is especially loved by Koreans. Dokdo was the first target of Imperial Japan in its invasion of the Korean peninsula, but on Liberation Day, August 15, 1945, it was returned to Korea.

However, Japan maintains that its colonial rule of Korea was legal, and that

Korea is currently illegally occupying Dokdo. For Japan to make this territorial claim to this island is no different from denying the complete restoration of sovereignty to Korea. This can only be seen as a unilateral action on Japan's part which is tainted by neo-imperialistic thinking, and which refuses to atone for that country's shameful past. Korea will not compromise even a little with a Japan that denies the former's autonomy and the true history which transpired between the two countries.

"Japan's present claim to Dokdo is tantamount to maintaining a right to what it had once occupied during an imperialist war of

aggression and, what is worse, to reasserting colonial territorial rights of bygone years. This is an act of negating the complete liberation and independence of Korea."

"We will continue to muster every measure of our national strength and diplomatic resources until the day when the Japanese Government remedies these wrongdoings."

- Special message by South Korean President Roh Moo-hyun on Korea - Japan Relations, April 25, 2006

For the Japanese government to insist upon ownership of Dokdo revives painful memories of the past among the citizens of a nation which are closest to it in terms of both history and geography. For Japan to revive memories of how it, as an imperialist nation, only thought of satisfying its own greed cannot be good for Japan either. As long as the Japanese government continues to make claims to Dokdo, the people of Korea and East Asia will not be able to heal from the scars inflicted on them by Imperial Japan.

The Korean people hope to cooperate with Japan to set right their recognition of history and bring about an era of peace and prosperity for Northeast Asia in the 21 century. For this to happen, Japan must stop making baseless demands that Dokdo is its territory.

## Timeline of *Japan's* Invasion of Dokdo

### The Russo-Japanese War: Pretext to Invade the Korean Peninsula

- June 23, 1903: Japan negotiates with Russia over Russian recognition of Japanese interests in Korea in exchange for Japanese recognition of Russian interests in Manchuria through the “Exchange of Manchuria for Korea” (*Mankan kōkanron*).
  - July 23, 1903: Japan demands that Russia recognize its dominant position in Joseon and equality of opportunity in Qing China. When Russia refuses, Japan sends its last diplomatic note to Russia on February 6, 1904.
  - February 10, 1904: Japan declares war on Russia. Two days before, on February 8, Japan launches surprise attacks on two Russian warships and one cruiser in Port Arthur. On February 9, Japan sinks the Russian fleet moored at Incheon Harbor and then deploys one army brigade (which is later increased by one division) to illegally land in Incheon. Joseon, in stages, is turned into a Japanese military base.
- After Japan forces Joseon to sign the Korea-Japan Protocol (1904), Japan begins using Joseon as a military supply base through the following actions: issuing military orders, expanding its authority to station and move troops, initiating military government, appropriating land for military use, and commandeering equipment and forcing Koreans to labor on behalf of the Japanese war effort.

**The forced signing of the Korea-Japan Protocol:** After Japan appeased or threatened high Korean government officials, it deployed the Twelfth

Army Division led by Inoue Hikaru into Seoul. After the Japanese forces had surrounded the royal palace, Japan and Korea signed the Korea-Japan Protocol on February 23.

**Issuing Military Orders and Threats against Koreans:** Inoue announced the “Military Order Regarding Prisoners of War and Spies” on February 28, which stipulated that anyone who caused the Japanese forces great harm was to be executed and that the legal apparatus for this was to be established. On March 17, Itō Hirobumi threatened Minister of Royal Palace Affairs Min Byeong-seok, saying, “If you don't do as I tell you, I'll compel you do so with military force.”

**Expansion of authority to station and move troops:** After Japan adopted measures allowing it to freely station troops and use Korean buildings as barracks to help prosecute the Russo-Japanese War, it deployed soldiers to all parts of the peninsula.

\* In October 1905, Japan mobilized two army divisions, established command centers in Hamheung and Pyeongyang, and placed the forces in the east (Hamgyeong Province), the north (Hwanghae and Pyeongan provinces) and the south (Seoul and south of Gyeonggi)

**Promulgation of Martial Law:** To prepare for the war, the Japanese arbitrarily declared martial law in Hamheung and other places.

**Appropriation of land for military use:** Japan tried to force Joseon into handing over a total of 9,750,000 pyeong of land in Yongsan, Pyeongyang, and Uiju for military use.

**Commandeering Equipment and Forced Labor:** In order to prepare for the war, Japan mobilized more than 100,000 Koreans to distribute matériel, which resulted in 49 casualties (based on data from June to October 1905).

## The Russo-Japanese War and the Seizure of Dokdo

● May 18, 1904: Japan abrogates all Korean - Russian treaties, Russian lumber rights in the Duman (Tumen) and Amnok (Yalu) River areas, and takes over part of Ulleungdo for use as a military base.

● June 15, 1904: The Russian Vladivostok Fleet appears in the Korea Strait and sinks the Japanese transports *Mutsu* and *Izumi*.

● From June 27 to July 22, 1904: The Japanese constructs watchtowers equipped with wireless telegraphs in strategic locations such as Jukbyeon in Uljin County.

\* Including Hongdo in the South Sea, Jeolyeongdo in Busan (August 1904), and Ulleungdo (September 1904), twenty watchtowers to help prosecute the war against Russia were constructed nationwide.

● August 22, 1904: After Japan and Joseon sign the First Korea-Japan Agreement, Japan hires foreign advisors to supervise Joseon's foreign and financial affairs, beginning the era of “government by advisors.”

- An American, Durham W. Stevens, is hired as the foreign-relations advisor, and Megata Tanetarō as the financial advisor. In effect, Joseon had been deprived of its power to conduct foreign relations and financial affairs.

● September 24, 1904: After the Japanese warship *Nitaka-maru* conducts a survey on Dokdo, it reports to the Japanese government that it is possible to build watchtowers on the island.

\* According to the *Nitaka-maru's* log, “Koreans call the Liancourt Rocks as ‘Dokdo (獨島)’; whereas Japanese fishermen call them ‘Ryankoto’.

This was the first time that 'Dokdo', the name for the island, appeared in print.

- September 29, 1904: Japanese fisherman Nakai Yosaburō submits a petition to incorporate and lease Dokdo.
- November 20, 1904: Commander Yamanaka Shibakichi of the *Tsushima-maru* and Surgeon General Imai Kebitarō disembark at Dokdo and survey the island for three hours.
  - \* The commander scouted for areas capable of supporting watchtowers while the surgeon general scouted for potable well water. After both carried out their surveys, they reported that three locations were capable of supporting watchtowers and that Seodo had fresh water.
- January 10, 1905: Home Minister Yoshikawa Akimasa sends a secret message to Prime Minister Katsura Tarō about "The Case Regarding the Uninhabited Island," and requests the holding of a cabinet meeting to consider the incorporation of Dokdo.
- January 28, 1905: During the cabinet meeting, Nakai's "Request for the Incorporation of the Liancourt Islands into Japan's National Territory and for its Lease" is approved and the decision is made to incorporate the island.
- February 22, 1905: Shimane Prefecture is notified by the Home Ministry of the cabinet's decision, and announces the incorporation of Dokdo with "Shimane Prefectural Notice No. 40."
  - \* The Korean Empire promulgates "Imperial Ordinance No. 41" on October 25, 1900, which expands Ulleung County's jurisdiction from Ulleungdo to Jukdo and Dokdo as well.

## The Japanese Military Use of Dokdo after Forced Incorporation

- June 12, 1905: The Japanese Ministry of the Navy issues a secret directive for the warship *Hashidate-maru* to survey Dokdo and judge whether it is feasible to construct a watchtower there.
- June 13, 1905: After inspecting Dokdo, the *Hashidate-maru* reports that construction of a watchtower is possible on the island's peak.
- June 24, 1905: The Japanese Ministry of the Navy orders the construction of a wireless telegraph watchtower on the northern side of Ulleungdo, and an additional watchtower on Dokdo.
- July 14, 1905: Construction commences on the watchtower for Northern Ulleungdo.
- July 25, 1905: Construction commences on the watchtower for Dokdo.
- October 19, 1905: Watchtower is dismantled on Ulleungdo  
October 24, 1905: Watchtower is dismantled on Dokdo
  - \* The Japanese government judged that watchtowers on the two islands were no longer needed after the conclusion of the Portsmouth Treaty on September 5, 1905 and the end of the Russo-Japanese War.
- November 9, 1905: Japan lays a submarine cable between Dokdo and Matsue in Japan.
  - \* A submarine sea cable linking Korea's East coast, Ulleungdo, Dokdo, and Matsue is completed.