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
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 kokuji yonjügō), February 22 is the commemorative day 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 which must be unearthed are hidden within this year. In such a light, based on a history cobbled together from a few factual fragments, we might be able to understand Japan’s recent actions, from the inauguration 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.

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Two hundred leagues 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.
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. The Russo-Japanese War provided Japan with an opportunity to seize Dokdo, which Japan had been greedily eyeing for strategic military purposes.

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 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.

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.

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 knew that if it did not expel Russia from Joseon, it would not be able to achieve its objective of using the peninsula as a military base. Therefore, Japan spared no efforts in ridding Joseon of Russian influence. Japan, concerned with expanding pro-Russian influence 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, Gunsan, 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 Joseon into a military base, which it had failed to do ten years earlier during the Sino-Japanese War.
In April 1904, Japan set up the command post for the imperial soldiers stationed in the Great Han 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 *gendarmerie* 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 war effort. Anyone who damaged these military facilities or hindered the war effort was to be 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 Japan. Since the early stages of the Russo-Japanese War, the Japanese Army had become well versed in the strategic value of these islands. Ulleungdo and Dokdo formed the strategic axis.
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 Yosaburo was a commercial fisherman who plied his trade along foreign coastlines in a submersible suit, and had been scheming to secure a monopoly over the numerous sea lions which 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, Kimotsuke Kaneyuki, Director of Hydrographic office in the Ministry of the Navy, incited Nakai to submit a petition to the Japanese government on September 29 to incorporate Dokdo into the national territory.

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 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.

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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.
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), Secretary 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 Joseon.”

- 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 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” (Muninto 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, we the cabinet have filed the decision to make these islands subordinate to the Oki Islands Branch Office of Shimane Prefecture.”

The Japanese government, approving the application of Nakai, a single 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 Russian Baltic Fleet had taken a long seven months to return from the equator, and when they finally reached the Korea Strait on May 27, 1905, the condition of the fleet was at its worst. The sailors of the Baltic Fleet were exhausted beyond exhaustion, and right after they encountered the Japanese combined fleet - which had been prepared in every single 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 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, 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 and began surveillance.
Immediately after defeating Russia, Japan forced the signing of 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 objective of Japanese imperialism in its plan to annex Joseon was the seizure of Dokdo.

Although Japan had thought the war would last much longer, 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 Joseon.

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 memorialize their complete victory in the war to invade the Korean Peninsula.

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 were 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.

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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.
The Japanese Meiji government Recognized that ‘Dokdo is Joseon Territory’

Although the Meiji government incorporated Dokdo into Japanese territory in 1905, initially even it recognized the island as belongings 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 Dajôkan (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 and the annexation of Joseon. One thing that stands out from the directives 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” (Chôsen-koku kô sai 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 Dajôkan 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.

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 as of 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 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 upon 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 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 “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.

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 suirōshī) 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 suirōshī). 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 Joseon 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.”

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 (Jigyō keiei gaiyou) which he penned himself in 1906. This shows that Dokdo was unmistakably Joseon 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.

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.
According to the section on “Military Administration” in the Mangi yoram of 1808, “Ulleungdo and Dokdo are all 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.)

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. 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-sashibilho), 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.
On May 20, 1906, State Council Minister Bak Je-sun announced through “Directive Number Three” (Jiryeong Je-samho) 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 Hung-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.

Shimane Prefectural official Kanda Yoshitarō and some other Japanese nationals crossed over to Dokdo via Ulleungdo and told Ulleungdo Magistrate Shim Hung-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 seriousness of the situation and relayed the report verbatim to a royally-appointed minister in the Uijeongbu, or the State Council, which was the highest government organ.

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

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.

Facilities (April 1905) which put the control of Joseon’s post, telegraph, and telephone into Japanese hands.
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 clear claim to Dokdo both historically and legally, 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.
While disregarding its own history of having seized Dokdo from Joseon, 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 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 the constant problem since the end of 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.
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 investigator was sent every three years to Ulleungdo to make certain the Japanese were keeping their promise.

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

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. However, the Japanese interpret the enactment of this policy as abandonment of territory and a severance 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
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 and colonized Joseon. At that 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.

The Dokdo issue is not a case which 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
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Diaoyu Islands (known as the “Senkaku Islands” in Japanese)</th>
<th>The Southern Kuriles (known as “Hoppô Ryôdo” in Japanese)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>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.</td>
<td>These are composed of the lower Kurile islands northeast of Hokkaido, 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.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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.
Dokdo, an Island Redolent of Korean Culture

Dokdori 1~96, Ulleung-eup, Ulleung-gun, Gyeongsangbuk-do, 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 North Gyeongsang Province and 87.4km from Ulleungdo. Dokdo consists of 89 small rocky islets as well as Dongdo and Seodo facing each other over the marine plateau 10 meter deep. The total area comes to 187,554 square meters, not even the size of Yeoido Park in Seoul. This is the island which belongs to the Korean people. Sitting in the center of the 2,000 meter deep East Sea, what does this island - which has seagulls for companions - mean to the Korean people?

Dokdo has preserved intact the redolence of the lifestyle 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 Joseon Dynasty, and so did the Dokdo Volunteer Garrison during the chaos at the end of the Korean War. They did so precisely because Dokdo is an island redolent of the blood and sweat left by the ancestors of the Korean people, and cannot be taken from them.

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.

Members of the Dokdo Volunteer Garrison risking their lives to protect Dokdo
For the Korean people, Dokdo is territory which cannot be decided upon by a legal court. This island is imbued with a 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 once again 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 which 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 given to 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.
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
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 Jukbyun in Uljin County.

August 22, 1904: After Japan and Joseon signs 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 Tanetaro 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 of the inhabitants of Ulleungdo, it reports to the Japanese government that it is possible to build watchtowers on the island.

* According to the Nitaka-maru’s log, “Koreans use the name of the...
Liancourt Rocks as ‘Dokdo (獨島)’, whereas Japanese fishermen use as the ‘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.