Japanese Expansionist Policy and the Question of Tokdo

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I. Introduction

Around the end of January 1905, the Japanese cabinet decided to incorporate Tokdo (Japanese: Takeshima) into its territory. This came to the knowledge of the Korean government, (Empire of Korea1) at the end of March 1906. Four months prior to this, in November 1905, Japan made Korea its protectorate, barring the latter from taking any counteraction against the actions the former took.

In August 1945, when Korea was freed from Japanese occupation, Japan was placed under U.S. occupation and abandoned Tokdo. But in September 1951, when its sovereignty was restored by the conclusion of the San Francisco Peace Treaty with the U.S. and the Allied Powers Japan began laying claim to Tokdo.

The annexation of Tokdo during the Russo-Japanese War

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1. Chosön, which the Yi dynasty had ruled from 1392, was renamed Taehan cheguk (Empire of Korea or literally Great Han Empire) in October 1897, but was annexed by Japan in 1910.

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should be examined in the vein of Japan’s pursuit of an expansionist policy and analysed in the overall process of the demarcation of territories by Korea (South and North), China, Russia, the Philippines and the U.S.

Japan’s post-war move to claim Tokdo as its territory is linked to its colonization of Ainu Moshiri² and Okinawa and this move, along with its demand for the reversion of the northern islands, may be viewed as Japan’s return to its imperialist expansionist policy of the past.

II. History of Ullungdo and Tokdo

A. Korea’s Ownership of Ullungdo and Tokdo

According to the Samguk Sagi (History of the Three King-

2. “Ainu Moshiri” means “the Earth Where the Ainu [Human beings] Live” in the Ainu language. The Ainu people are an ethnic minority group in Japan, numbering several tens of thousands and mostly living in Hokkaido. They claim to have come to live in the Ainu Moshiri comprising Hokkaido, the Kuriles and Sakhalin during the Jomon age in Japan, 3,000 to 4,000 years ago. They have their own language, religion and culture, and maintain that they have been discriminated against, particularly since Japan’s colonization of Hokkaido during the Meiji era, and that a new Ainu legislation should be enacted replacing the “Hokkaido Former Aborigines [Ainu] Protection Act,” allowing them “a higher degree of autonomy” for self-determination. Yamamoto Kazuo, ed., Ainu Moshiri: ainu minzoku kara mita kokpo ryado henkan koshio (Ainu Moshiri: Negotiations on the Reversion of the Northern Islands as viewed by the Ainu People) (Tokyo: Ochanomizu shobo, 1992), pp. i-iii, 335-6; Sato Shojo, “Kokumin kokka nihon no ainu moshiri shokuminka to Chosen shokuminka” (Japan’s Colonization of the Ainu Moshiri and Korea), Azia mondai kenkyu shoho (Journal of the Institute for Asian Studies), Dec. 1997, pp. 1-16; also see the statements submitted by the Ainu Association of Hokkaido to the working Group on Indigenous Populations in Geneva, Switzerland in Aug. 1987, Aug. 1988, and July 1993; the inauguration speech by Nomura Gichi representing the Ainu Association of Hokkaido at the opening ceremony of the International Year of the World’s Indigenous Peoples at the UN General Assembly on Dec. 10, 1992.
doms$^3$ and Koryosa$^4$ (History of Koryo) of Korea, Ullungdo once formed a tribal state called Usan’guk, but was subjugated by Silla in the 6th century, came under the control of Koryo after the fall of Silla, and was finally destroyed by the Yŏjin (Jurchen) tribe early in the 11th century.

The Korean publications in the 15th century record the existence of Tokdo and the Korean government has included it in its territory since the 15th century. Historically and geographically, Ullungdo and Tokdo are considered inseparable in Korea, and if Ullungdo comes within the territory of Korea, so does Tokdo: One cannot be separated from the other. To recognize Ullungdo as Korea’s possession and negate its ownership of Tokdo is like admitting Korea’s title to Chejudo but denying it to Marado, its adjoining island.

**B. Ullungdo and Tokdo and Japanese Encroachment**

1. Invasion of Ullungdo by Japanese Pirates

During the Koryo dynasty in 1379, Japanese pirates plundered Ullungdo, and in 1403, the Chosŏn dynasty enforced a “vacant island” policy and prohibited people from living on Ullungdo.$^5$ This continued until the latter part of the Chosŏn dynasty, but the policy was not enforced strictly and people went to the island on and off.$^6$ In 1407, the lord of Tsushima asked the Korean government to allow Japanese to settle down on Ullungdo, but was

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3. Samguk sagi (History of the Three Kingdoms), Vol. IV (Silla pon’gi: Annals of the Kings of Silla), entry on King Chijung.

4. Koryosa (History of Korea), Vol. IV (Saega: aristocracy), entry on King Hyŏnjong, July in the 13th year (1022).

5. Ibid., “History of Traitors,” entry on July in the 5th year of Sinu [1379].

6. Fujita Akiyoshi, “Jugoseiki no utsuryoto to nihon seiiki no koryu” (Intercourse between Ullungdo and the Western Regions of the Japanese Sea), Kobedaigaku shigaku nenpō (Annual of Historical Studies of Kobe University), No. 8, 1993, p. 41.
refused.\(^7\)

In 1618, the Tokugawa Shogunate issued a permit, through Shimane province, to Otani Jinkichi and Murakami Ichiihei of Yonago to make passage to Ullungdo. For 78 years thereafter, these two families trespassed on the island.

In 1667, Saito Hosen, a retainer of Izumo-han (Izumo province) inspected Onshu (Oki Island) on orders of his lord and compiled *Onshu shicho goki* (Records of Observations on Onshu) in 1667. In Vol. I of the book, Tokdo was referred to as “Matsushima” and Ullungdo “Takeshima.”\(^8\)

In 1693, An Yong-bok from Tongnae and other fishermen clashed with the Japanese on Ullungdo. He and Pak O-dun were taken to Yonago as hostages. With this event as the turning point, the Shogunate recognized Korea’s ownership of Ullungdo and banned Japanese voyages to the island in 1696.\(^9\) But Japanese continued crossing to the island and poaching and secretly felling trees there.

2. Japanese Fishing off Ullungdo and Tokdo

In February 1876, an unequal treaty was signed between Korea and Japan: it was the Treaty of Friendship, also known as the Treaty of Kanghwa, which marked the encroachment of Japanese on Korea and their indulgence in fishing and logging on Ullungdo.\(^10\) As the name of Ullungdo (鬱陵島—literally an island of

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7. *Chosôn wanjo sillok* (Annals of the Dynasty of Chosôn), the entry in March in the 7th Year of T’aejong (1407).
8. *In Impaku kiyo* (A Bulletin of Inaba and Hoki: Tottori prefecture today) published by Tottori prefecture in 1907, two years after the incorporation of Tokdo into Japan’s territory, this invasion of Ullungdo by the Otanis and Murakamis was described as “occupation of Korea’s Ullungdo” and was hailed as “a heroic feat.” Naito seichu, “Utsuryoto to impaku” (Ullungdo and Impaku), *Hokuto azia bunka kenyu* (Study of Northeast Asian Cultures), No. 2, Oct. 1995, p. 18.
9. *Sukchong sillok* (Annals of King Sukchong), entry on Sept. in the 22nd year (1696).
10. *Chosen sotokufu shonubu chosaka* (Research Section, General Affairs Dept., Japan
luxuriant trees), suggests, the island was densely forested at that time.

On March 29, 1877, the Japanese Council of State (Dajokan) published a document saying that Ullüngdo and Tokdo were not Japanese territories. This decision was transmitted to Shimane prefecture on April 9th of that year. In 1880, the Japanese warship Amagi conducted a survey of Ullüngdo, and in December 1882, the Korean government issued a decree to develop Ullüngdo.

In March 1883, the Japanese government confirmed the Korean ownership of Ullüngdo (Matsushima) and placed a ban on Japanese passage to the island and evacuated a total of 254 Japanese engaged in poaching and illegal logging from the island in October of that year. But Japanese intrusion onto the island continued.

In August 1896, Foreign Minister Yi Wan-yong and Agriculture-Commerce-Industry Minister Cho Pyong-jik, representing the Korean government, and a Russian civilian, Jules Bryner, signed in Seoul an agreement on lumbering and reforestation on Ullüngdo. As a result, the Korean government expelled the Japanese from the island.

In 1898, Pae Kye-ju, administrator of Ullüngdo, went over to Matsue in Japan to start a lawsuit there and was awarded 300 Japanese yen for illegal lumbering by Japanese on Ullüngdo, but the money was stolen from him by Japanese.

In October 1900, the Korean government created a new kun (county) of Ullüngdo under Kangwŏndo province (later transferred

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12. “Utsuryoto batushoku tokkyoni kansuruken” (Re. Special Permission for Lumbering on Ullüngdo), Japanese Diplomatic Documents, Vol. 32; Pakūn-sik (1859-1926), Han’guk t’ongsa (The Tragic History of Korea), 1915.
to Kyongsangdo in 1908). The police from the Japanese consulate in Pusan were posted on Ullungdo from March 1902 on. In 1903, there were Japanese dwelling in 62 houses on Ullungdo. This was the year when Nakai Yozaburo from Nishi Saigocho in Okinoshima began hunting sea lions off Tokdo.

3. Japanese Incorporation of Tokdo

In the 1880’s, Japanese began to seize the farmland and fishing grounds in Korea and in this process Japan took Tokdo into its possession. In 1904, Japan set up a post office on Ullungdo, and ferry service opened between the island and Hamada in Shimane prefecture in the same year.

Two months after a large-scale sea battle between the Japanese and Russian fleets fought on May 28, 1904, the Japanese Navy built a watchtower on Tokdo.

In addition on September 29, 1904, Nakai Yosaburo submitted an application for the incorporation of the Liangcourt Rocks (Tokdo).
into Japanese territory and for its lease to the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Home Affairs, and Agriculture Commerce-Industry.  

The Japanese cabinet decided on January 28, 1905, to incorporate Tokdo into its territory, to name it “Takeshima,” and to place the island under the control of Okinoshima in Shimane prefecture. Up to that time, Japanese had called Ullüngdo “Takeshima” or “Isonotakeshima,” and Tokdo “Matsushima,” and never called Tokdo “Takeshima.” In the midst of the Russo-Japanese War, the Japanese government attempted to take possession of a Korean island while it was even unsure of its accurate appellation in the Japanese language.

Until 1905 when Japan seized Tokdo, the Japanese Foreign Ministry had never separated Tokdo from Ullüngdo as Korean territory. In other words, it had recognized the Korean ownership of both islands. Also, around the close of the 19th century, the Hydrographic Bureau of the Japanese Navy admitted Tokdo and Ullüngdo as territory of Korea.  

On February 22, 1905, Shimane prefecture published Public Notice No. 40 wherein it announced that Takeshima (Tokdo) had come under its jurisdiction and entered the island in the land register. Korea became aware of this fact only at the end of March 1906, when a group of Shimane prefecture officials, during their inspection trip to Tokdo, visited Sim Hŭng-t’aek, chief of Ullüngdo county, and informed him of the incorporation of the island into Japanese territory. Sim immediately reported this fact to the central government. Four months before this, Korea was made Japan’s...

17. Ibid., pp. 209-217.
19. Song Pyong-gi, “Ilbonûi Takeshima (Tokdo) yong’t’o p’yŏnip: Ullüngunsu Sim hŭng t’aek pogosŏ” (Japan’s Incorporation of Takeshima/Tokdo into its Territory: The
protectorate, and Ito Hirobumi was posted in Seoul as Resident-General in March 1906, and conducted all diplomatic functions in lieu of the Korean government. It was in July of the same year that the governor of Shimane prefecture leased Tokdo to Takeshima Fishing and Hunting Co., Ltd., headed by Nakai Yozaburo.20

As the incorporation of Tokdo was not published in the official gazette of the Japanese government, the fact was not widely and accurately known even among the Japanese people. In the Chosen shin chirishi (New Gazetteer of Korea) by Adachi Ritsuuen published in Osaka in December 1910, “Takeshima” is shown as Korea’s island.

The demographic statistics of Ullungdo by the end of 1910 were as follows: “The Japanese migrants total 224 households; the majority of them from Okinoshima, making the island a sort of dependency; in terms of the ratio between Japanese and Koreans, it ranks first in favor of the Japanese migrants in Korea.”21

According to the statistics by the Japanese Government-General in Korea, the Japanese on Ullungdo numbered 656 [186 house-

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20. Report of Ullung County Chief Sim Hung-t'aeok), Yun Pyong-sok kyosu hwagap kinyom han'guk kundaes a noch'ong (A Collection of Articles on Modern Korean History in Commemoration of Prof. Yun Pyong-sok’s Sixtieth Birthday), (Seoul: 1990), pp. 60-61. Serita Kentaro, a Japanese international law scholar says, “After the Meiji Restoration, Takeshima was placed under the jurisdiction of Shimane prefecture and the fact was publicly announced. But none objected to it.” He is trying to justify Japan’s action on the grounds that Korea did not lodge a protest. Serita Kentaro, “Nihon ryodono hensen” (Changes in Japan's Territory). Ryodo (Territories) by Kokusaiho jirei kenkyukai (Society for Research on Cases in International Law), Keio tsushin (Keio Correspondence Course). 1990, p. 11.

holds] and their original domiciles were Hiroshimaken, Yamaguchiken, Oitaken, and Hokkaido as of the end of 1922; the households reached 400 in 1917; a fisheries cooperative was organized in February 1914, and its membership stood at 245 Koreans and 130 Japanese at the end of 1922.\footnote{Japanese in Korea, op. cit.}

On April 24 1939, Tokdo was incorporated into Gokamura in Okinoshima. It was designated for naval use and placed under the control of Maizuru Naval Station. The Japanese government made Tokdo a national property under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance.

\section*{III. Japanese Expansion in Four Directions}

In September 1869, the year following the Meiji Restoration, Japan colonized a northern island that the Japanese had called Ezonoshima or "the island of Ezo (Ainu)" and named it Hokkaido. Japan settled the northern borders with Russia and sought to expand and demarcate its territory southward, eastward, and westward.

Having thus annexed the northern island of Hokkaido, a part of Ainu Moshiro, Japan went on to invade the Ryukyu Kingdom, Taiwan, Korea, China, Mongolia, Micronesia, and Southeast Asian countries. In the process of this aggression, Japan developed a nation-state, and while creating this nation-state, Japan expanded its colonies and its area of occupation. The loyal subjects of Japan invaded the areas and countries in Asia and the Pacific as soldiers, police, landlords, civil servants, farmer-and fisherman-migrants, tradesmen, and agents of aggressive business enterprises.

In Ainu Moshiro, i.e. Hokkaido, Sakhalin and the Kuriles, the Japanese became the overwhelming majority. This is true also of Micronesia. In these areas, the Japanese assimilated the indigenous peoples and forced the Japanese language upon them. The Japanese
government endeavored to Japaneseize all the areas it colonized.

Up to 1946, all Japanese had been the loyal subjects of the emperor and the government had attempted to force this emperor system upon all of its colonies. The Japanese still maintain this ten-no-sei or emperor system.

A. Pre-War Period

1. Northward

No treaty exists whereby Ainu Moshiri was incorporated into Japanese territory but Japan has, since 1869, continued to exercise its sovereignty over Hokkaido. 23

On May 7, 1875, the Japanese government signed the Kuriles-Sakhalin Exchange Pact with the Russian government. Under the treaty, it was agreed that Russia would accept Japan’s colonization of Hokkaido as a fait accompli and that Japan would colonize all of the Kuriles from Habomai to Simushi, part of the Ainu Moshiri, in exchange for Russia’s colonization of all of Sakhalin, another part of the Ainu Moshiri. Both governments completely ignored the

23. For the preparation of the question of the Ainu in this article, the following additional references are used:
aborigines in these areas and arbitrarily partitioned the Ainu Moshiri.

The Japanese imperialists turned the Ainu land into Japanese territory, robbed them of their trading rights, locked them up in Japan, forced them to use the Japanese language, all in an attempt to assimilate them. The Japanese “emigrants” who invaded the Ainu Moshiri destroyed the natural environment of the Ainu and ravaged their land to live and work on it. Many “Kotan” (villages) of the Ainu have become extinct.

Following the Russo-Japanese War, Japan added the southern half of Sakhalin, part of the Ainu Moshiri, to its territory, and the Japanese came en masse to the new land. In 1926 and 1927, the aborigines of southern Sakhalin were forcibly moved to a narrow strip of reservation called “Otasu no mori” or the wood of Otasu.24

2. Southward

In May 1874, the Japanese government sent three thousand and several hundred naval and army soldiers to Taiwan. The native Taiwanese, the Paiwan, rose to action and fought the Japanese who invaded their land. This battle was the modern version of the war fought by the Koreans during the Hideyoshi invasion of Korea around the end of the 16th century and the uprising of the Ainu in Kunashiri-Menashi in 1789.

In March 1876, the Japanese government placed the Bonin Islands under the control of the Ministry of Home Affairs and turned them into a Japanese territory. By 1882 all the people of the islands had acquired Japanese nationality.

Three years later in 1879, the Japanese government dispatched troops and police to the Ryukyu Kingdom and brought it into the Japanese Empire. The emperor system was enforced and the King was made a Japanese peer. In September 1891, the Iojima came under Japanese control.

After the Sino-Japanese War, China (Ch’ing) ceded Taiwan, the Pescadores, and the Liatung Peninsula to Japan in accordance with the peace treaty signed in April 1895. At this time, Japan took possession of the Miyako-Yaeyama area (Miyako, Ishigaki, Iriomote and others) and placed them under the supervision of Okinawa prefecture.\(^{25}\)

Then, in August 1895, Japan signed a treaty with Spain, making the boundary of the two countries at the latitude crossing the middle of the strait between Taiwan and the Philippines. Having been defeated in the war with the US., Spain sold the Philippines to the U.S. for 20,000,000 U.S. dollars and the demarcation line automatically became the boundary between Japan and the U.S.\(^ {26} \)

In 1914, Japan colonized Micronesia which had been a trust territory of Germany.\(^ {27} \) In 1923 and 1926, the Japanese warship


\(^{26}\) “Nishi taiheiyo ni okeru ryokai ni kanshi nichisei ryokoku sengensho kokon no ken” (On the Exchange of Japanese-Spanish Declaration on the Territorial Waters in the Pacific), *Nihon gaiko bunsho* (Japanese Diplomatic Documents), Vol. 28, ‘No.‘1, pp. 292-300; Ino Kanori, Ryodai junan shi (History of Ten-year Administration of Taiwan), (Nitakado, 1905), pp. 93-94. In 1867, the U.S. Purchased from Russia Alaska where the indigenous people had lived for $720,000. The purchase of territories was done even in the midst of World War I. In 1917, Denmark sold the West Virgin Islands to the U.S. for $250,000. The islands are a U.S. territory today, while the East Virgin Islands are owned by Great Britain. Alaska and Hawaii became the 49th and 50th states of the U.S. in 1959.
Manshu conducted a survey of Okinotorishima, and the Japanese
government, by means of a Ministry of Home Affairs public
notice, placed the island under the jurisdiction of the administrator
of the Bonins, two months prior to the Japanese invasion of north-
east China. (September 18th Incident)

Following World War II, Japan was forced to relinquish Micronesia to the U.S. which conducted hydrogen bomb tests
there. In 1987, Japan hardened the perimeter of Okinotorishima
with reinforced concrete. Okinotorishima, the reefs only 70cm.
high at a full tide, became the southern boundary of Japan.

3. Eastward

In July 1871, Japan renamed what European people had called
Marcus Island (Weeks Island) “Minami torishima” and made it
another Japanese territory by a Tokyo prefecture public notice.
This marks the eastern boundary of Japan.28

4. Westward

In February 1905, while the Russo-Japanese War was being
fought, Japan took hold of Tokdo. In September of that year, in the
wake of the Russo-Japanese War, Japan colonized “Kuantungshu,”
the southern part of the Liaotung Peninsula, and the land appurte-
nance to the South Manchuria Railway.

Korea (Empire of Korea) was annexed in August 1910, and
the Sino-Korean boundary became that of Sino-Japanese. At pre-
sent the western end of the Japanese territory is Yonakunijima in
the Yaeyama Islands.

27. Japan, Industrial Bureau, ed., Namyo senryochi jijogaiyo (General Survey of the
Conditions of the Regions in the South Pacific under Japan’s Occupation), 1919.
28. Nakajima, Yumiko, Hawai: samayaeru rakuen: Minzoku to kokka no shotoitsu
(Hawaii: A Wandering Paradise: the People and the State in Conflict), (Tokyo:
Tokyo shoseki, 1993).
5. Northeast China, Southeast Mongolia, South China, Hong Kong, and Hainan

In 1931, after the September 18th Incident, Japan colonized Northeast China and Southeast Mongolia and founded Manchukuo, later renamed the Manchurian Empire; set up a puppet government in North China; and occupied Hong Kong and Hainan Island, expanding the Japanese empire’s domain. In Japan, Taiwan, Korea, and Northeast China, the Japanese imperialists propagandized the slogans: “Japan and Taiwan are one body,” “Japan and Korea are one body,” “Manchukuo and Korea are like one,” and “Five Races in Harmony.”

6. Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere

The Japanese government issued an outline of Japanese state policy for “the construction of a new order for Greater East Asia” in July 1940, and in September the Imperial Headquarters-Government Liaison Committee defined Japan’s Lebensraum for “the construction of a new order for Greater East Asia.” It included, in addition to Japan, Manchuria and China, the islands over which Germany had formerly had the mandate, Indochina and the islands in the Pacific in the possession of France, Thailand, Malaya, Borneo under British control, the Dutch East Indies, Burma, Australia and New Zealand.

In February 1941, the Liaison Committee classified the whole world into the four spheres of Greater East Asia, Europe, the U.S. and Russia, and declared that “Japan would assume the political leadership for the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere and shoulder the responsibility of maintaining order.” Imperial Japan attempted to divide the world with imperialist countries and Soviet Russia and carve out a Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere for itself.

* In May 1943, “General Rules for Political Leadership for Greater East Asia” were decided on at the joint conference of
Emperor Hirohito, the Japanese government and the leaders of the
armed forces including Tojo Hideki. The conference made a deci-
sion to incorporate into the Japanese Empire's territory Malaya,
Sumatra, Java, Borneo and Celebes. The emperor and other imperi-
alists attempted to turn these areas into Japanese territories and
then into the "supply sources for essential natural resources." 29

They sent Japanese troops to many parts of the Greater East
Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere in the Pacific under the slogan of the
"whole world under one roof," and brought great calamities to the
native people.

B. Post-World War II

1. Decrease in Japan's Territory

The U.S. had occupied the Amami (Oshima) Islands up to
December 1953, the Bonins to June 1968, and the Uchina-Yaey-
ma area up to May 1972. South Sakhalin and the Kuriles did not
revert to the indigenous people and are held by the Russians.

The Kuriles, Taiwan, South Sakhalin, Korea, Micronesia,
Northeast China, Southeast Mongolia were evacuated by the
Japanese, but Hokkaido, part of the Ainu Moshiri, still remains a
Japanese colony.

In 1899, the Japanese government enacted an act for the pro-
tection of the aborigines. Under the act, a small wasteland from the
territory Japan had taken was "awarded" as a reservation for the
Ainu to cultivate, and under the pretext of protection, the Japanese
government sought to assimilate them completely. This act where-
in the Ainu are called "former aborigines" is still in force. In April
1996, about 100 years after the act was promulgated, an informal
committe of "learned people on possible measures for the Utari,"

29. Japan, Foreign Ministry, ed., *Nihon gaiho nenpyyo narabini juyo bunsho* (A Chroni-
cal Table of Japanese Foreign Relations and Important Documents), (Tokyo: Hara
an unofficial advisory council of the Chief Cabinet Secretary of the government, was organized. It published a report which reads in part:

In the history, at least from the latter part of the medieval ages, it cannot be denied that the northern periphery of the Japan archipelago, particularly Hokkaido that is an inherent part of the Japanese territory, was inhabited by the aborigines.\textsuperscript{30}

The “learned people” claimed the homeland of northern peoples as an inherent part of the Japanese territory. It is worth remembering at this point that Japan named the part of the Ainu Moshiri Hokkaido only in 1869. This speaks for itself that Hokkaido is not an inherent part of the Japanese territory, but a colony of Japan. As Korea was freed from Japan’s occupation, the Ainu Moshiri should be liberated from the control of Japan.

The report also states:

Since the Meiji Restoration, our country has started as a modern state, and in the process of the development of Hokkaido... the Ainu have suffered decisive damage socially and culturally... many Ainu have been discriminated against and reduced to poverty.\textsuperscript{31}

The physical environment of the Ainu has become dilapidated; the places for life and livelihood of the Ainu have been laid waste; kotan “villages” have degenerated, while Japanese have tried to assimilate them. Racial discrimination has continued, and they have been deprived of their language. These have been done by the Japanese, while the Ainu have been kept from hunting and fishing salmon. In the possession of the Ainu Moshiri, Japan has not desisted from invading other areas and other countries.\textsuperscript{32}

\textsuperscript{30} Report by Utari taisaku arikatani kansuru yushisha kondankai (Informal Committee of Learned People on Possible Measures for the Utari[ Ainu]), Apr. 1996, p. 4.

\textsuperscript{31} Ibid.

2. Re-occupation Attempted

While the Korean War was being fought, Japan and the U.S. and 48 other countries signed a Treaty of Peace in San Francisco in September 1951. The Japanese economy was revived by the mass production of materials for the U.S. troops in Korea. At the sacrifice of the Korean people, Japanese imperialism revived, and Japan is now laying claim to Tokdo, the northern islands, and Chogyoto (Chogyodai). Today, Tokdo is defended by Korean police and is kept from Japan’s seizure, but Japan has occupied Chogyoto since Okinawa was returned to Japan by the U.S. on May 15, 1972. It was on January 14, 1895, that the Japanese government decided to take possession of the island during the Sino-Japanese War.

Japan refers to the four northern islands as northern territories and is demanding Russia return them. The Russian government should turn the islands not to Japan, but to their original inhabitants; Japan and Russia must return them to the original owners, the Ainu Moshiri (Sakhalin, the Kuriles, Hokkaido and the Maritime Province of Siberia.)

C. Boundary of Korea

After the Tonghak Peasant Army was routed in their revolutionary uprising in 1894, the Korean people could not check the onslaught of the Japanese. In the process of the Japanese colonization of Korea at the turn of the century, the Tumen River became the Sino-Korean boundary and Kando (Chinese: Chientao) in Manchuria became a Chinese (Ch’ing) territory.

The history of Tokdo can not be studied properly without taking into account the process of the settlement of Korea’s boundaries and that of Japan’s domination of Korea as its colony.33

33. Shin Yong-ha, “Chosön wanjo ői Tokdo yŏn’gu wa ilbon chaegukch’ui ŏi Tokdo ch’imyak” (Ownership of Tokdo by the Dynasty of Chosŏn and Imperialist Japan’s Invasion of Tokdo), Hani’guk tongnip undongsa yŏn’gu (Study of the History of
It may be maintained that Korea had developed as a nation-state with the Tonghak Peasant Uprising as a momentum and during the March 1 Independence Movement of 1919, but this nation-state became divided after its liberation.\textsuperscript{34} Tokdo marks the eastern extremity of the Korean territory and its stationing of a police force there is meant to defend it against any attempt of Japan to reoccupy it.

\textit{D. International Law and the Territorial Question}

In September 1954, the Japanese government proposed that the Korean government bring the question of Tokdo before the International Court of Justice, but this suggestion was rejected by Korea.

Korea’s rejection was considered just. According to Prof. Lee Han-key, international law is for imperialist countries even today, and it is impossible to depend on international law for clear-cut criteria for definition and demarcation of national boundaries.\textsuperscript{35} It can be said that the International Court of Justice is still under the influence of imperialist countries.


\textsuperscript{34} Tonghak Peasant Revolt around the end of the 19th century was a decisive turning point for the establishment of a nation-state in Korea, but the Chosŏn government and the Japanese troops crushed the peasant army in 1895. Chosŏn changed its name to the “Empire of Korea” in 1897 but could not resist the inroads of Japan. Nine years after the annexation of Korea by Japan, the Korean people rose in a nation-wide March First Independence Movement against Japan in 1919. It may be said that the Korean people at that time did not want to restore the Empire of Korea, but tried to establish the Republic of Korea.

\textsuperscript{35} Lee Han-key, \textit{Han’guk ǔi yŏng’o} (Korea’s Territory), (Seoul: Seoul National University Press, 1969), pp. 301-2; Kajimura Hideki, “Takeshima/Tokdo mondai to Nihon” (The Question of Takeshima/Tokdo and Japan), \textit{Chosen kenkyu} (Study of Korea), Sept. 1978.
IV. Conclusion

The Japanese occupation of Tokdo was the initial step toward the invasion of Korea. The Japanese fishermen had encroached on the Korean waters and islands such as Kŏmundo, Ullŭngdo, and Narodo; sometimes they built settlements of Japanese “emigrants” and infringed on the Korean fishing grounds.

At the beginning of 1910, Foreign Minister Komura Jutaro spoke before the Budget Committee of the House of Representatives of the Diet:

...To concentrate emigrants in Manchuria and Korea is to concentrate the Yamato (Japanese) people. Prior to the Russo-Japanese War, Japan had been an insular country, but as the result of the war, it has become a sort of continental state.36

The Japanese government dispatched Japanese to Korea and Northeast China not only as combatants but also as emigrants to settle down there, turn the areas into Japanese territories, multiply the Yamato people, and to convert the island country of Japan into a continental state.

Had Japan not suffered defeat in the Asia and Pacific war, the multitude of Japanese would have settled down permanently in Northeast China, Korea, Taiwan, Saipan, and Palau, forced the emperor system and the Japanese language upon the natives, and dominated them under the slogans of “Five Races in Harmony” or “Korea and Manchuria are like one body.”37

Those Japanese “emigrants” who had invaded many parts of Asia and the Pacific compelled the local peoples to use the Japanese language, built shinto shrines, and renamed places in the Japanese-style. As the war ended, these shrines were destroyed and

36. The Proceedings of the First Sub-Committee of the Budget Committee, the House of Representatives, the 26th Imperial Diet, pp. 5, 17.
the place names reverted to the original ones in Taiwan, Korea and Northeast China.38

As has already been observed, Sakhalin and Hokkaido were the lands of the aborigines who had first settled down there. The Japanese move to reoccupy Tokdo and re-claim the northern islands is but a link in the chain of its overall imperialistic design against other lands and peoples today to expand its territories including the economic water zone. The history of Japan’s aggression still continues today. The Ainu Moshiri that includes the islands of Kunashiri, Etorofu, Habomai and Shikotan (these are Ainu words) and that is termed “northern territories” by the Japanese government is the homeland of the Ainu, Ulita, Nivkh and other northern peoples. To free the Ainu Moshiri from the colonial control of Japan is a prerequisite to the task of checking Japan’s reoccupation of Tokdo.39

In the midst of the imperialistic war between Japan and Russia, both trying to colonize Korea, the former took possession of Tokdo and proceeded to annex all of Korea. It was 36 years before its occupation of Tokdo that Japan named Ainu Moshiri Hokkaido and incorporated it into its territory.

Historically, Tokdo has been within the domain of Korea, and it will become a part of the territory of a unified Korea in the future. It is the territory of South Korea now.

If the Japanese scholars of the modern and contemporary his-


tory of Asia wish to forestall Japan’s designs of aggression on other lands and countries, they are advised to cope squarely with the Japanese move to reoccupy Tokdo and re-claim the title of the northern islands. This research activity involves an ideological implication to concur with or negate aggression. It bears on the basic perception of history of the researcher.

If a researcher wishes to check Japan’s attempt at the reoccupation of Tokdo ① he or she should clarify the fact and the historical meaning of the occupation of Tokdo in the course of Japan’s aggression against Korea, and ② examine critically the history of Japanese emigration, i.e. the history of Japan’s colonization of foreign lands and peoples.