

# Japanese Expansionist Policy and the Question of Tokdo

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## I. Introduction

**A**round 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 Korea<sup>1</sup>) 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. Chosŏn, 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.

(1904-5) 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 Moshiri<sup>2</sup> 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 Ullŭngdo and Tokdo

### A. Korea's Ownership of Ullŭngdo and Tokdo

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

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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 Kazuaki, ed., Ainu Moshiri: ainu minzoku kara mita hokppo ryodo henkan koshō* (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 Shojin, "Kokumin kokka nihon no ainu moshiri shokuminka to Chosen shokuminka" (Japan's Colonization of the Ainu Moshiri and Korea), *Azia mondai kenkyu shohō* (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 Giichi 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<sup>3</sup> and Koryosa<sup>4</sup> (History of Koryo) of Korea, Ullŭngdo 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 Yōjin (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, Ullŭngdo and Tokdo are considered inseparable in Korea, and if Ullŭngdo comes within the territory of Korea, so does Tokdo: One cannot be separated from the other. To recognize Ullŭngdo 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. Ullŭngdo and Tokdo and Japanese Encroachment*

#### 1. Invasion of Ullŭngdo by Japanese Pirates

During the Koryo dynasty in 1379, Japanese pirates plundered Ullŭngdo, and in 1403, the Chosŏn dynasty enforced a "vacant island" policy and prohibited people from living on Ullŭngdo.<sup>5</sup> 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.<sup>6</sup> In 1407, the lord of Tsushima asked the Korean government to allow Japanese to settle down on Ullŭngdo, 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 Chijŭng.

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 Ullŭngdo and the Western Regions of the Japanese Sea), *Kobedaigaku shigaku nenppo* (Annual of Historical Studies of Kobe University), No. 8, 1993, p. 41.

refused.<sup>7</sup>

In 1618, the Tokugawa Shogunate issued a permit, through Shimane province, to Otani Jinkichi and Murakami Ichihei of Yonago to make passage to Ullŭngdo. 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 Ullŭngdo "Takeshima."<sup>8</sup>

In 1693, An Yong-bok from Tongnae and other fishermen clashed with the Japanese on Ullŭngdo. He and Pak Ŏ-dun were taken to Yonago as hostages. With this event as the turning point, the Shogunate recognized Korea's ownership of Ullŭngdo and banned Japanese voyages to the island in 1696.<sup>9</sup> But Japanese continued crossing to the island and poaching and secretly felling trees there.

## 2. Japanese Fishing off Ullŭngdo 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 Ullŭngdo.<sup>10</sup> As the name of Ullŭngdo (鬱陵島-literally an island of

7. *Chosŏn wanjo sillok* (Annals of the Dynasty of Chosŏn), the entry in March in the 7th Year of T'aejong (1407).

8. In *Inpaku kiyō* (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 Ullŭngdo by the Otanis and Murakamis was described as "occupation of Korea's Ullŭngdo" and was hailed as "a heroic feat." Naito seichu, "Utsuryoto to inpaku" (Ullŭngdo and Inpaku), *Hokuto azia bunka kenkyū* (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 shomubu 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 Ullŭngdo 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 Ullŭngdo, and in December 1882, the Korean government issued a decree to develop Ullŭngdo.

In March 1883, the Japanese government confirmed the Korean ownership of Ullŭngdo (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.<sup>11</sup> 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 Ullŭngdo. As a result, the Korean government expelled the Japanese from the island.

In 1898, Pae Kye-ju, administrator of Ullŭngdo, went over to Matsue in Japan to start a lawsuit there and was awarded 300 Japanese yen for illegal lumbering by Japanese on Ullŭngdo, but the money was stolen from him by Japanese.<sup>12</sup>

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

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Government-General in Korea), ed., *Chosen ni okeru naichijin* (Japanese in Korea), 1924, p. 24.

11. "Chosenkoku Utsuryoto nihojin toko kinshino ken" (Re. Ban on Japanese Passage to Korea's Ullŭngdo), *Nihon gaiko bunsho* (Japanese Diplomatic Documents), Japan Foreign Ministry Research Dept. ed., 1924, Vol. 14, pp. 387-374; Vol. 16, pp. 325-340.
12. "Utsuryoto batsuboku tokkyoni kansuruken" (Re. Special Permission for Lumbering on Ullŭngdo), *Japanese Diplomatic Documents*, Vol. 32; Pakŭn-sik (1859-1926), *Han'guk t'ongsa* (The Tragic History of Korea), 1915.

to Kyongsangdo in 1908).<sup>13</sup> The police from the Japanese consulate in Pusan were posted on Ullŭngdo from March 1902 on.<sup>14</sup> In 1903, there were Japanese dwelling in 62 houses on Ullŭngdo. This was the year when Nakai Yozaburo from Nishi Saigocho in Okinoshima began hunting sea lions off Tokdo.<sup>15</sup>

### 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 Ullŭngdo, 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.<sup>16</sup>

In addition on September 29, 1904, Nakai Yosaburo submitted an application for the incorporation of the Liangcourt Rocks (Tokdo)

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13. Korean Government gazette No. 1716, dated Oct. 27, 1900.

14. "Utsuryoto keisatsukan chuzaisho setchino ken" (On the Establishment of a Police Station in Ullŭngdo), *Gaimusho kiroku* (Japan, Foreign Ministry Records), No. 3532.

15. Nakai Yozaburo, "Liancoto ryodo hennyu narabi kashisage negai" (An Application for Territorial Incorporation of Liancourt Island and Its Lease), *Foreign Ministry Records* No. 1417.

16. Kawakami Kenzo, *Takeshima no rekishi chirigaku teki kenkyu* (Historical and Geographical Study of Takeshima) (Tokyo: Kokinshoten, 1966), pp. 222-223. Kawakami was a councillor at the Bureau of Treaty, Japanese Foreign Ministry when he wrote the book. During the Second World War, he worked for the Japanese General Staff Office and the Ministry of Greater East Asia. In the book he uses such derogatory terms for Korea and Koreans as "nissen" (Japan-Korea) in pages 2, 46, 143, 144, 165; "Senjin" (Koreans) in page 171; and Nissenjin (Japanese-Koreans) in page 146. These terms were used by Japanese during their occupation of Korea (1910-1945) and are thought discriminatory and derogatory. He also call the Hideyoshi invasion of Korea (1592-1598) "seikan no eki" (War for Conquest of Korea), p. 67. His view is considered to represent that of the Japanese government. He died in 1995 and this book was reprinted in 1996, 30 years after it appeared.

into Japanese territory and for its lease to the Ministries of Foreign Affairs, Home Affairs, and Agriculture Commerce-Industry.<sup>17</sup>

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 Ullŕngdo "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 Ullŕngdo 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 Ullŕngdo as territory of Korea.<sup>18</sup>

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 Hŕng-t'aek, chief of Ullŕngdo county, and informed him of the incorporation of the island into Japanese territory. Sim immediately reported this fact to the central government.<sup>19</sup> Four months before this, Korea was made Japan's

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17. *Ibid.*, pp. 209-217.

18. Hori Kázuo, "Sen kyuhyaku gonen nihon no takeshima ryodo heunyu" (Japan's Incorporation of Takeshima into Its Territory in 1905), *Chosenshi kenkyukai ronbun* (A Collection of Articles to the Research Association of Korean History), No. 24, 1987, pp. 116-118. The English version of this article appears in *Korea Observer*, Vol. XXVIII, No. 3, Autumn, 1997, pp. 477-525.

19. Song Pyong-gi, "Ilbonŕ Takeshima (Tokdo) yong't'o p'yonip: Ullŕngunsu Sim hŕng t'aek pogosŕ" (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.<sup>20</sup>

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 Ritsuen published in Osaka in December 1910, "Takeshima" is shown as Korea's island.

The demographic statistics of Ullŕngdo 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."<sup>21</sup>

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

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Report of Ullŕng County Chief Sim Hung-t'aek), Yun Pyong-sŕk kyosu hwagap kinyom han'guk kŕndaesa noch'ong (A Collection of Articles on Modern Korean History in Commemoration of Prof. Yun Pyong-sŕk'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 henshen" (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.

20. Soon after the Japanese began hunting on Tokdo, the sea lions were threatened with extinction. Nakai and company killed 2,750 head of sea lions in 1904. Of them 1,000 were young lions. For five years from 1905 to 1909, the Japanese caught an average of 1,000 sea lions annually, and the number decreased sharply to about 100 head a year in 1928 and 1929. During the period of Japanese occupation, the sea lions became completely extinct due to over-hunting. Kawakami, *op. cit.*, pp. 240-241.

21. Yoshida Keiichi, *Chosen suisan kaihatsu shi* (History of Korean Fishery Development), 1954, p. 470.



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.<sup>22</sup>

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.

### 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 Moshiri, 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 Moshiri, 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

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22. *Japanese in Korea, op. cit.*

government endeavored to Japanize 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 tennosei 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.<sup>23</sup>

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

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23. For the preparation of the question of the Ainu in this article, the following additional references are used:

Japan, Cabinet Secretariat, ed., *1890nen horei zensho* (A Compendium of Laws and Ordinances of 1890), (Tokyo: 1887), pp. 298-300; Shinya Gyo, *Ainu minzoku to tennosei kokka* (The Ainu People and the Emperor State), (Tokyo: Sanichi shoho, 1977); Shinya Gyo, *Kotan ni ikiru hitobito* (The People Living in the Kotan [villages]), (Tokyo: Sanichi shoho, 1979); Akizuki toshiyuki, *Nichiro kankeito saharin: bakumatsu meijishonen no ryodo mondai* (Russo-Japanese Relations and Sakhalin: Territorial Question at the End of the Shogunate and Early Meiji Era), (Tokyo: Tsukuma shoho, 1994); Karafuto ainu kenkyukai (Sakhalin Society for Study of the Ainu), ed., *Tsuishikari no hi: karafuto ainu kyosei ijuno rekishi* (The Tombstones in Tsuishikari: A History of the Forced Movement of the Ainu People), (Hokkaido shuppan kikaku senta: Hokkaido Publication Planning Center, 1992); Kosaka Yosuke, *Ryubo: nichironi owareta kita chishima ainu* (Wandering: The Ainu of North Chishima Deported by Japanese and Russians), (Hokkaido Press, 1992); Hokkaido prefecture, ed., *Hokkaido kyudojin hogo enkakushi* (A History of the Protection of Former Aborigines of Hokkaido), 1934.

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.<sup>24</sup>

## 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.

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24. Tanaka Ryo and D. Gendan, *Gendan: aru hokppo shosu minzoku no dorana* (Gendan: The Drama of a Certain Northern Minority Group), (Gendaishi shuppankai [Modern History Publishing Co.], 1978); Tanaka Ryo, *Saharin hokui gojudosen: zoku gendan* (The Fiftieth Degree of the North Latitude of Sakhalin: Gendan-the Second Series), (Kusanone Publishing Co., 1993); Tanaka Ryo, *Sensoto hokppo shosu minzoku: aru uiruta no shogai* (The War and Northern Minority Group: A Life of a Certain Uirutaman), (Kusanone Publishing Co., 1994).

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.<sup>25</sup>

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 U.S., 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.<sup>26</sup>

In 1914, Japan colonized Micronesia which had been a trust territory of Germany.<sup>27</sup> In 1923 and 1926, the Japanese warship

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25. Industrial Bureau, Civil Administration Dept., Taiwan Government-General, *Taiwan banseishi* (Annals of Administration of Aborigines in Taiwan) 1904; Fujisaki seinosuke, *Taiwan zenshi* (General Survey of Taiwan), (Chubunkan shoten, 1928); Matayoshi seikyo, *Nihon shokuminchika no Taiwan to Okinawa* (Taiwan and Okinawa under Japan's Colonial Rule), (Okinawa akishobo, 1990), pp. 313-330; Shinya Gyo, *Ainu Minzoku teikoshi* (History of the Resistance of the Ainu People), (Tokyo: Sanichi shobo, 1972); Arasato kimpuku, *Ryukyu ocho shi* (A History of the Ryukyu Dynasty), (Tokyo: Chobunsha, 1993), pp. 292-326.
26. "Nishi taiheiyō ni okeru ryokai ni kanshi nichisei ryokoku sengensho kokan 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 junen 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.<sup>28</sup>

### 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 appurtenance 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 present the western end of the Japanese territory is Yonakunijima in the Yaeyama Islands.

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27. Japan, Industrial Bureau, ed., *Nanyo senryochi jijogaiyo* (General Survey of the Conditions of the Regions in the South Pacific under Japan's Occupation), 1919.

28. Nakajima Yumiko, *Hawai: samayoeru rakuen: Minzoku to kokka no shototsu* (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 decision to incorporate into the Japanese Empire's territory Malaya, Sumatra, Java, Borneo and Celebes. The emperor and other imperialists attempted to turn these areas into Japanese territories and then into the "supply sources for essential natural resources."<sup>29</sup>

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-Yaeyama 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 protection 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 wherein the Ainu are called "former aborigines" is still in force. In April 1996, about 100 years after the act was promulgated, an informal committee of "learned people on possible measures for the Utari,"

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29. Japan, Foreign Ministry, ed., *Nihon gaiko nenpyo narabini juyo bunsho* (A Chronical Table of Japanese Foreign Relations and Important Documents), (Tokyo: Hara shobo, 1969), part II, pp. 553-4.

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.<sup>30</sup>

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.<sup>31</sup>

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.<sup>32</sup>

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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.

31. *Ibid.*

32. Sato shojin, "8.15 gojunengono posto koroniarizm" (Fifty years after August 15 and Post-Colonialism), *Journal of the Institute for Asian Studies*, Nov. 1996, p. 12.



## 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 borderlines and that of Japan's domination of Korea as its colony.<sup>33</sup>

33. Shin Yong-ha, "Chosŏn wanjo ūi Tokdo yŏn'gu wa ilbon chaegukchui ūi Tokdo ch'imiyak" (Ownership of Tokdo by the Dynasty of Chosŏn and Imperialist Japan's Invasion of Tokdo), *Han'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.<sup>34</sup> 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.

#### *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.<sup>35</sup> It can be said that the International Court of Justice is still under the influence of imperialist countries.

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Korean Independence Movement), Tongnip kinyŏmkwan (Independence Movement Museum), ed., No. 3, 1989; Yang T'ae-jin, *Han'guk kukkyongsa yŏn'gu* (Study of Korea's Borderlines), (Seoul: Popkyŏng Publishing House, 1992), pp. 61-129.

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.
35. Lee Han-key, *Han'guk ūi yŏngt'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), *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 Kōmundo, Ullūngdo, 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.<sup>36</sup>

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."<sup>37</sup>

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.

37. Kim Choŋg-mi, *Suihei undoshi kenkyu* (A Study of the History of the Social Equality Movement), (Tokyo: Gendai kikaku shitsu, 1994), pp. 263-301.

the place names reverted to the original ones in Taiwan, Korea and Northeast China.<sup>38</sup>

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, Uilta, 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.<sup>39</sup>

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-

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38. Kim Chong-mi, "Nihon kokumin kokkato nihonjin imin" (Japan and Japanese Immigration), *Sabetsu to kyoseino shakaigaka* (Sociology of Discrimination and Symbiosis), Iwanamikoza Series, *Modern Sociology*, Vol. 15 (Tokyo: Iwanamishoten, 1996), p. 129.

39. Kim Chong-mi, "Higashi aziani okeru inta nashonarizmu no rekishi" (History of Internationalism in East Asia), *Kokyono sekaishi-kaihono inta nashonarizumu* (A World History of Homeland-Toward Internationalization of Liberation), (Tokyo: Gendai kikakushitsu, 1994); Sato Shojin, "Nihon kokkato ainumoshiri shokuminkato Chosen no shokuminka" (Japan's Colonization of Ainu Moshiri and Korea), *Azia mondai kenkyu shoho* (Journal of the Institute for Asian Studies), No. 12, 1997.

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.