

Working Toward the Enhancement of Mutual Trust

This pamphlet has been created based on the recognition that it is necessary to inform the public of the basic facts and Japan's position on the Northern Territories issue. We hope that this pamphlet will contribute to the conclusion of a peace treaty through the resolution of the issue of the attribution of the Four Northern Islands, and the establishment of the appropriate partnership in the Asia-Pacific region between Japan and Russia by enhancing mutual trust.

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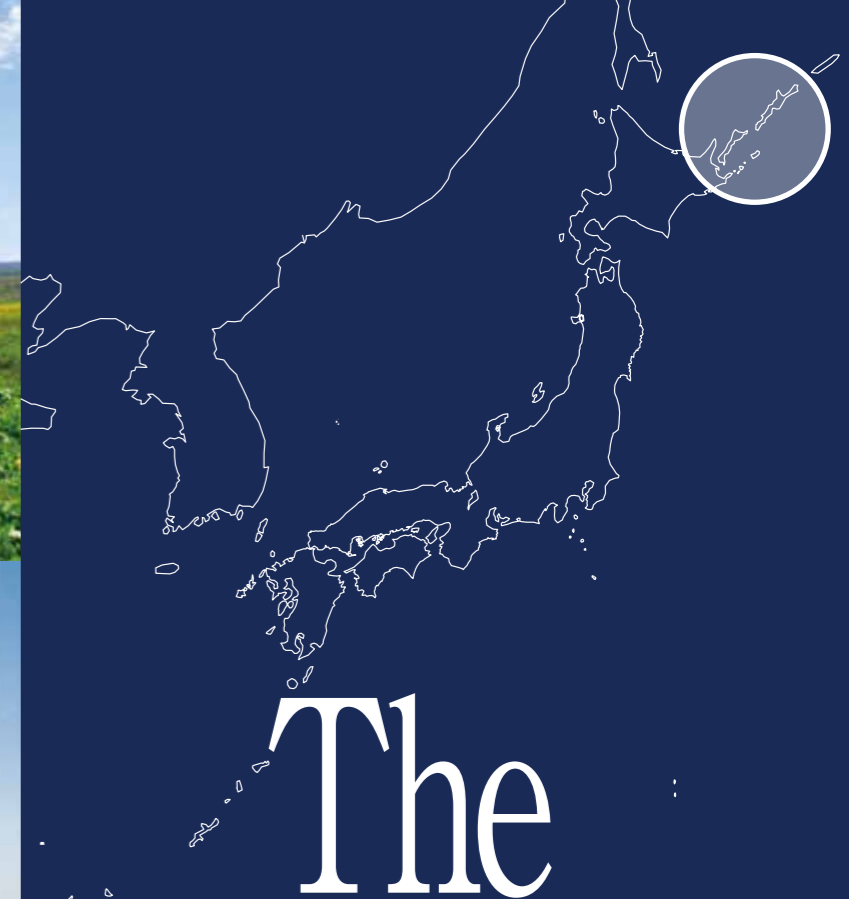
Cover photos (from the top)
Mt. Chirip, a volcano on Etorofu Island

The candle rock, strangely shaped rock of Kunashiri Island

Matakotan Bay, Shikotan Island

The Otamoi coast on Akiyuri Island, one of the Habomai Islands

(Photo: The Association of Residents of Chishima and Habomai Islands)



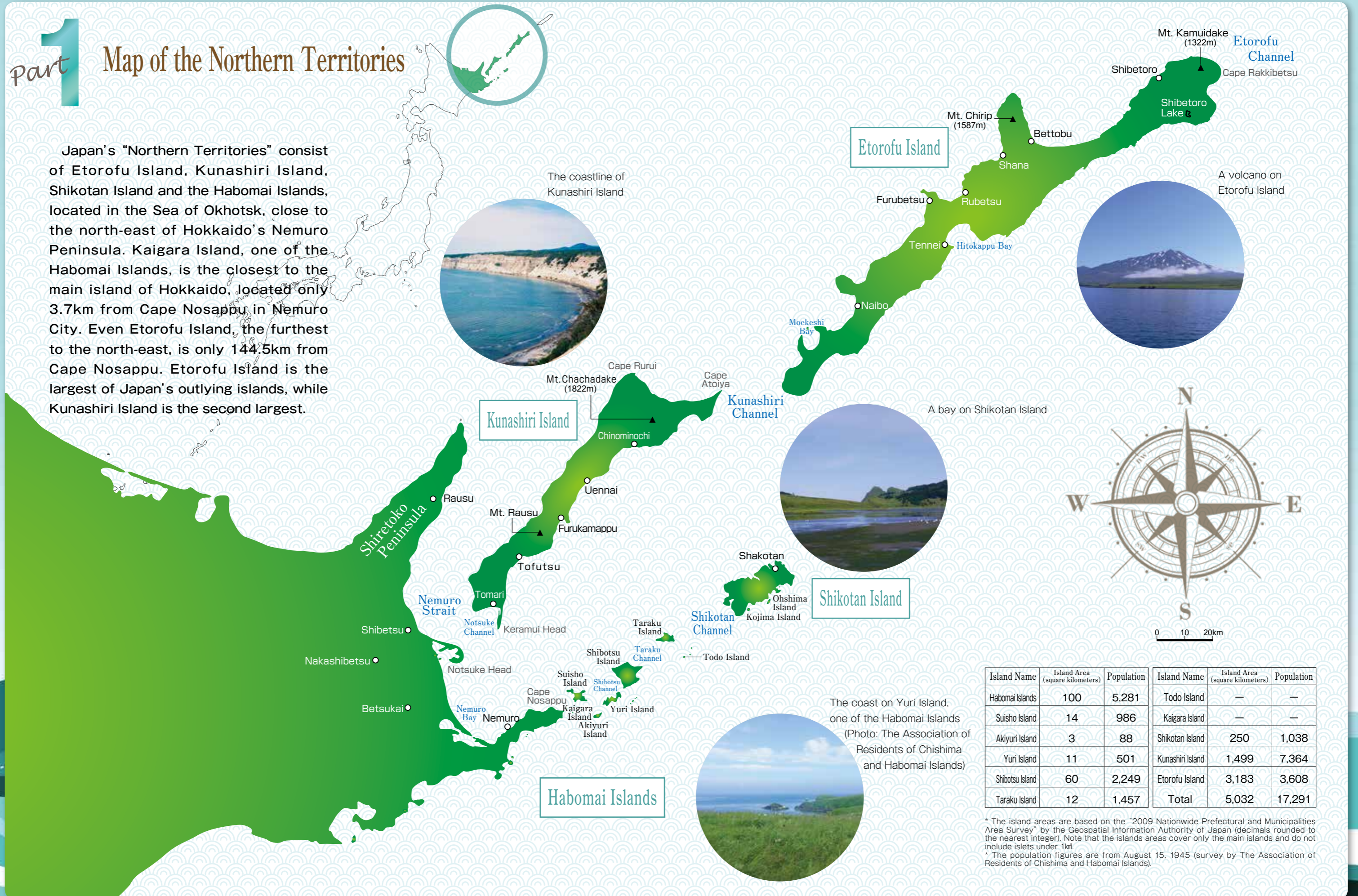
The Northern Territories

Working Toward the Conclusion
of a Peace Treaty

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan

part 1 Map of the Northern Territories

Japan's "Northern Territories" consist of Etorofu Island, Kunashiri Island, Shikotan Island and the Habomai Islands, located in the Sea of Okhotsk, close to the north-east of Hokkaido's Nemuro Peninsula. Kaigara Island, one of the Habomai Islands, is the closest to the main island of Hokkaido, located only 3.7km from Cape Nosappu in Nemuro City. Even Etorofu Island, the furthest to the north-east, is only 144.5km from Cape Nosappu. Etorofu Island is the largest of Japan's outlying islands, while Kunashiri Island is the second largest.



Island Name	Island Area (square kilometers)	Population	Island Name	Island Area (square kilometers)	Population
Habomai Islands	100	5,281	Todo Island	—	—
Suisho Island	14	986	Kaigara Island	—	—
Akiyuri Island	3	88	Shikotan Island	250	1,038
Yuri Island	11	501	Kunashiri Island	1,499	7,364
Shibotsu Island	60	2,249	Etorofu Island	3,183	3,608
Taraku Island	12	1,457	Total	5,032	17,291

* The island areas are based on the "2009 Nationwide Prefectural and Municipalities Area Survey" by the Geospatial Information Authority of Japan (decimals rounded to the nearest integer). Note that the islands areas cover only the main islands and do not include islets under 1km.
 * The population figures are from August 15, 1945 (survey by The Association of Residents of Chishima and Habomai Islands).

part 2 Overview of the Issue of the Northern Territories

Based on the history of the region, the Japanese government considers the issue as follows.



The "Map of Japan from the Shoho Period" (The National Museum of Japanese History)



The marker that states "Etorofu, Japan" (Etorofu Island Kamuiwakka) (Photo: The Association of Residents of Chishima and Habomai Islands)



Sports day at the Sakuyoshi elementary school (Kunashiri Island) (Photo: The Association of Residents of Chishima and Habomai Islands)



An excursion along the Arimoe coastline (Etorofu Island) (Photo: The Association of Residents of Chishima and Habomai Islands)

The Northern Territories are indisputably an inherent part of the territory of Japan in light of historical facts.

Japan discovered the Four Northern Islands during the Edo period, and in 1644 the government at that time, compiled "the Map of Japan from the Shoho Period," which included the names of islands such as "Kunashiri" and "Etorofo (Etorofu)." A number of Japanese also sailed to the region. The principality of Matsumae had defined the Four Northern Islands part of their domain from the early 17th century, and had gradually established control over them.

Thus, Japan already had a close association with the Four Northern Islands long before Russia explored the Kurile Islands in the early 18th century. The government ruled over these islands and placed watching post on Etorofu Island and other islands to the south in order to defend them from foreign invasion. As a result, no islands further south than Uruppu Island had ever been under Russian control. In 1798 the government erected a marker stating that the island was "Etorofu, Japan," another indicator that this region was part of the territory of Japan.

In this manner, the boundary between the islands of Etorofu and Uruppu was established, and on February 2, 1855, more than 150 years ago, the Treaty of Commerce, Navigation and Delimitation between Japan and Russia legally confirmed the border between two countries. The Four Northern Islands had never been the territory of any other countries since that time.

On August 9 1945, however, the Soviet Union, in violation of the Neutrality Pact that was still in force between Japan and the Soviet Union, opened the war with Japan. Even after Japan accepted the Potsdam Declaration and made clear its intention to surrender, Soviet forces continued its offensive against Japan and occupied the Four Northern Islands.

At the end of the war 3,124 households comprising 17,291 Japanese citizens lived on the Four Northern Islands. Around half of them were immediately forced to flee their homes, and all were forcibly deported by 1948.

The Four Northern Islands have remained occupied by the Soviet Union and Russia up until the present day, without any legal grounds. Due to the issue still not being resolved, even though it is now almost 70 years since the end of the World War II, Japan and Russia have not concluded a peace treaty yet.

The Government of Japan will energetically continue negotiations with Russia based on basic policy of concluding a peace treaty with Russia through the resolution of the issue of the attribution of the Four Northern Islands.

part 3 Background of border demarcation between Japan and the Soviet Union / Russia

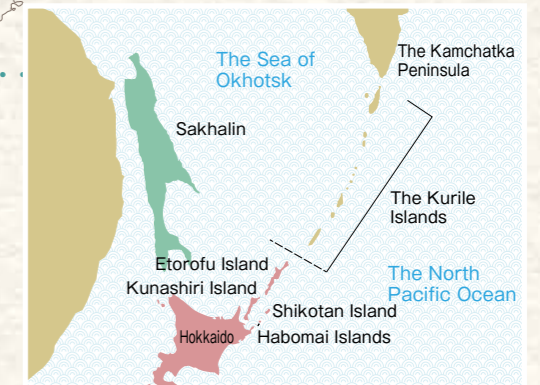
Japan discovered and surveyed the Four Northern Islands before the Russians arrived there. By the early 19th century Japan had established effective control over the Four Northern Islands. By the middle of the 19th century, the border between Japan and Russia was established between the islands of Etorofu and Uruppu.



The Treaty of Commerce, Navigation and Delimitation between Japan and Russia

1855 The Treaty of Commerce, Navigation and Delimitation between Japan and Russia

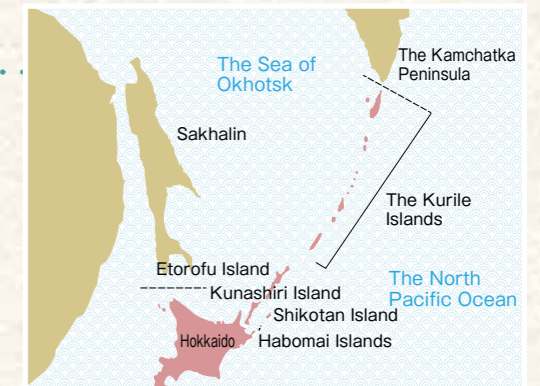
The Treaty of Commerce, Navigation and Delimitation between Japan and Russia peacefully determined the border between the two countries to pass between Etorofu Island and Uruppu Island. This also legally confirmed the border as lying between the Four Northern Islands and the Kurile Islands.



The border based on the Treaty of Commerce, Navigation and Delimitation between Japan and Russia

1875 The Treaty for the Exchange of Sakhalin for the Kurile Islands

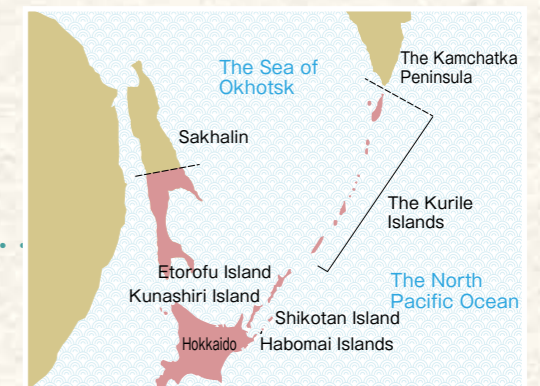
In accordance with the Treaty for the Exchange of Sakhalin for the Kurile Islands, Japan received all the rights to the Kurile Islands from Russia, in exchange for the cession of the rights on the island of Karafuto (Sakhalin). In this treaty, the Kurile Islands were taken to be a string of 18 islands, Shumushu Island being farthest north and Uruppu Island being the farthest to the south. The names of the Four Northern Islands (Etorofu Island, Kunashiri Island, Shikotan Island, Habomai Islands) were not included. This fact indicates that the Four Northern Islands clearly differentiated from the Kurile Islands, are indisputably an inherent part of the territory of Japan that have never been the territory of any other countries.



The border based on the Treaty for the Exchange of Sakhalin for the Kurile Islands

1905 The Portsmouth Peace Treaty

The Portsmouth Peace Treaty was concluded after the end of the war between Japan and Russia and ceded to Japan from Russia the part of the Karafuto (Sakhalin) Island that lies south of the 50th degree of north latitude.



The border based on the Portsmouth Peace Treaty

4 Occurrence of the Territorial Dispute

part

August 1941 The Atlantic Charter

The leaders of Britain and the United States signed the Atlantic Charter to state the common principles of the Allies, among which was the policy to seek no aggrandizement, territorial or other. The Soviet Union also joined the Atlantic Charter on 24 September 1941.

November 1943 The Cairo Declaration

The Allies took note of the objectives and principles of the Atlantic Charter, and in the Cairo Declaration, stated their intent to expel Japan from all other territories which she has taken by violence and greed. However, it is clear in the light of historical facts that the Four Northern Islands were never taken by Japan. The Cairo Declaration also affirmed that Allies have no thought of territorial expansion, and the Soviet Union joined the declaration on August 8 1945.

February 1945 The Yalta Agreement

The leaders of the Soviet Union, the United States of America and Great Britain signed the Yalta Agreement, which included handing over of the Kurile Islands to the Soviet Union, along with the return of the southern part of Sakhalin. However, the Yalta Agreement was merely an indication of the policy intended at the time to be adopted by the leaders of the Allies once the war actually ended, and was not definitive in determining the final handling of territories between the related Allies. Furthermore, Japan was not even involved, and is in no way bound by this agreement.



The Cairo Conference (Photo: Yomiuri Shimbun)



The Yalta Conference (Photo: Kyodo News)

Voice of a Former Resident

Memories of life on a verdant, peaceful island

Sakiko Suzuki
(born 1938 / from Etorofu Island, Shibetoro Village)

My home of Shibetoro Village on Etorofu Island was rich in nature, surrounded by the beautiful sea, mountains and rivers. When the salmon came upstream the entire river would turn black due to their numbers, and the splash from their tails as they swam made it look like the water was boiling. The people who lived there would always help each other out, and got on well together. I was 10 when the Soviet Union invaded. Our access to the necessities of life was taken from us, and I felt poverty for the first time.

We spent 3 years sharing our house with a Soviet family. When we were finally sent to the mainland, it was a long and harsh journey via Sakhalin, with many of the island's residents losing their life along the way.

43 years passed before I finally stood on my homeland again. When I saw "Kawaranadeshiko," the large pink flowers, blossoming in the same place they did when I was a child, I felt like I'd met an old friend, and couldn't stop crying.



July 1945 The Potsdam Declaration

The Potsdam Declaration of July 1945 indicated that the terms of the Cairo Declaration shall be carried out, and that Japanese sovereignty shall be limited to the islands of Honshu, Hokkaido, Kyushu and Shikoku and such minor islands as Allies determine. This declaration did not make the final determination in regard to territory. The Soviet Union joined the Potsdam Declaration on August 8 1945. Japan accepted the Potsdam Declaration on August 15 the same year.

August 1945 Invasion by Soviet Union Forces

On August 9 1945, the Soviet Union, in violation of the Neutrality Pact that was still in force between Japan and the Soviet Union, opened the war with Japan. Even after Japan accepted the Potsdam Declaration on August 15 of the same year, making clear its intent to surrender, the Soviet Union continued its offensive against Japan and occupied the Four Northern Islands from 28 August 1945 to 5 September 1945. (The Japanese army did not put any resistance to the occupation, and it was carried out without violence.)

September 1951 San Francisco Peace Treaty

Under the San Francisco Peace Treaty, Japan renounced all right, title and claim to the Kurile Islands and the south part of Sakhalin over which Japan acquired sovereignty as a consequence of the treaty of Portsmouth. However, as made clear by the Treaty of Commerce, Navigation and Delimitation between Japan and Russia and the Treaty for the Exchange of Sakhalin for the Kurile Islands, "the Kurile Islands" indicates Uruppu Island and the islands to the north, and does not include the Four Northern Islands. In an Aide-Memoire from the Department of State of the US, dated 7 September 1956, it was stated "The United States has reached the conclusion after careful examination of the historical facts that the islands of Etorofu and Kunashiri (along with the Habomai Islands and Shikotan which are a part of Hokkaido) have always been part of Japan proper and should in justice be acknowledged as under Japanese sovereignty" making clear their understanding of the matter. Furthermore, the Soviet Union, not being a signatory to the San Francisco Peace Treaty, is not in a position to interpret the treaty.

Voice of a Former Resident

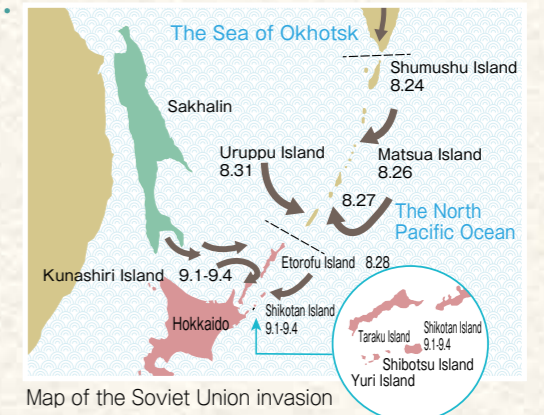
Protect our "beautiful island," and pass it on into the future

Isamu Nakata
(born 1928 / from Aimisakikekkyo Bay, Shikotan Island)

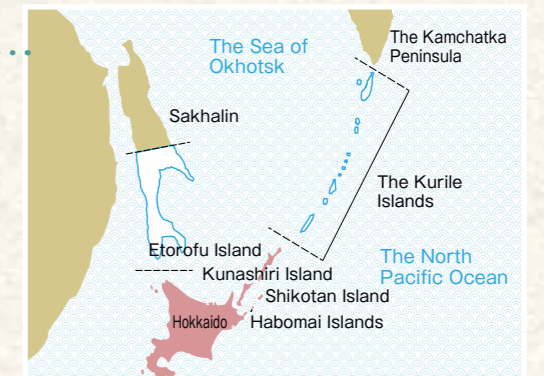
Shikotan Island, which means "beautiful island" in the Ainu language, has many fine natural harbors. My family lived in Kekkyo Bay and were fishermen, a wealthy family and owners of a fishing boat and horses. However, all of these possessions were taken from us when the war broke out and the Soviets came. We made it to the mainland with nothing but the clothes on our backs, and things were hardly any better for us there. Today, the fishing bays on Shikotan have fallen into ruin, the sea has dried up and fish

The Neutrality Pact between Japan and the Soviet Union (April 1941)

The pact placed responsibility upon Japan and the Soviet Union to mutually respect the territorial integrity and inviolability of the other. The pact was to remain in force for a period of five years. If denounced by either Contracting Party a year before the expiration of that period, it shall be considered to be automatic ally extended for the next period of five years. The Soviet Union declared that they wished to denounce the pact in April 1945, but it remained in effect until April 1946.



Map of the Soviet Union invasion



The border based on the San Francisco Peace Treaty



5 Agreement of Leaders

part

October 1956 The Japan-Soviet Joint Declaration

After the end of World War II, negotiations were held to conclude a peace treaty between Japan and the Soviet Union. However, in regard to the Four Northern Islands, an inherent part of the territory of Japan, no agreement could be reached regarding the issue of the attribution of Etorofu Island and Kunashiri Island. Then they signed the Japan-Soviet Joint Declaration and restored diplomatic relations. In Article 9 of the Declaration, it is clearly said that the two countries "agreed to continue negotiation for the conclusion of a peace treaty." The Soviet Union agreed to hand over to Japan the Habomai Islands and the Island of Shikotan. However, the actual handing over these islands to Japan shall take place after the conclusion of a peace treaty.



Prime Minister Ichiro Hatoyama and Premier Nikolai Bulganin sign the Japan-Soviet Joint Declaration (Photo: Northern Territories Issue Association)

April 1991 President Gorbachev's Visit to Japan

President Gorbachev was the first Soviet leader to visit Japan. After a total of six in-depth negotiations with Prime Minister Toshiki Kaifu of Japan, the two leaders agreed to sign a Japanese-Soviet Joint Communiqué. This Joint Communiqué confirmed that talks relating to a peace treaty between the two countries, "including the issue of territorial demarcation, taking into consideration the positions of both sides on the attribution of the islands of Habomai, Shikotan, Kunashiri, and Etorofu" had been held, and that "the peace treaty should be the document marking the final resolution of war-related issues including the resolution of the territorial issues." This was the first time that it had been made clear in writing that, alongside the Habomai Islands and Shikotan Island, Kunashiri and Etorofu Island were also the focus of the territorial dispute that formed the basis of the war-related issues between Japan and the Soviet Union.



Prime Minister Kaifu and President Gorbachev, the signatories of the joint communiqué. (Photo: Cabinet Secretariat, Cabinet Public Relations Office)

October 1993 President Yeltsin's Visit to Japan

The result of talks between the leaders, Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa and President Yeltsin was the signing of the "Tokyo Declaration on Japan-Russia Relations." This document confirmed that both leaders have undertaken serious negotiations on the issue of the attribution of the islands of Etorofu, Kunashiri, Shikotan and Habomai. It also noted that both sides agree that negotiations towards an early conclusion of a peace treaty through the solution of this issue on the basis of historical and legal facts and based on the documents produced with the two countries' agreement as well as on the principles of law and justice should continue, and that the relations between the two countries should thus be fully normalized.



Prime Minister Morihiro Hosokawa signs the "Tokyo Declaration" with President Yeltsin (Photo: Cabinet Secretariat, Cabinet Public Relations Office)

April 1998 The Summit Meeting in Kawana

In Kawana in Shizuoka Prefecture, President Yeltsin, visiting Japan, and Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto held summit meeting. In this meeting, the relationship between Japan and Russia has been progressed even further across all fields, having made steady progress since the Krasnoyarsk Summit Meeting held in Russia the previous year. In particular, with the regard to the peace treaty, both leaders agreed that "the peace treaty should contain a resolution to the issue of the attribution of the Four Islands on the basis of paragraph 2 of the Tokyo Declaration, and also incorporate the principles governing Japan-Russia friendship and cooperation as we move into the 21st century." Furthermore, Prime Minister Hashimoto made the so-called "Kawana Proposal," which related to the resolution of the issue of attribution of the Four Northern Islands.



Prime Minister Hashimoto in talks with President Yeltsin (Photo: Cabinet Secretariat, Cabinet Public Relations Office)

November 1998 The Summit Meeting in Moscow

Prime Minister Keizo Obuchi made an official visit to Russia as the first Japanese prime minister to do so in 25 years. Both leaders signed "the Moscow Declaration on Establishing a Creative Partnership between Japan and the Russian Federation." The two leaders instructed both governments to accelerate negotiations on a peace treaty based on the Tokyo Declaration as well as on the Agreements of Krasnoyarsk and Kawana. In regard to the issue of a peace treaty, Russia replied to the "Kawana Proposal" with the "Moscow Proposal," but after that the stances of the two countries failed to align, and they were unable to conclude a peace treaty by the year 2000 as set out in the Krasnoyarsk Agreement.



Prime Minister Obuchi in talks with President Yeltsin in Moscow (Photo: Cabinet Secretariat, Cabinet Public Relations Office)

March 2001 The Irkutsk Summit Meeting

Prime Minister Yoshiro Mori visited Russia and held talk with President Vladimir Putin. The two leaders signed the "Irkutsk Statement," summarizing the results of their utmost efforts to conclude a peace treaty based on the 1997 "The Krasnoyarsk Agreement" between Japan and Russia, and creating a new foundation of future negotiations regarding the conclusion of a peace treaty. This statement confirmed that the 1956 "Japan-Soviet Joint Declaration" is a basic legal document that established the starting point in the negotiation process, and it was reaffirmed to conclude a peace treaty through the resolution of issues of the attribution of the Four Northern Islands on the basis of the Tokyo Declaration on Japan-Russia Relations.



Prime Minister Mori and President Vladimir Putin, the signatories of the "Irkutsk Statement" (Photo: Cabinet Secretariat, Cabinet Public Relations Office)



5 part Agreement of Leaders

January 2003 Prime Minister Koizumi's Visit to Russia

Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi and President Vladimir Putin adopted the "Japan-Russia Action Plan." In regard to the section of "peace treaty negotiations," both sides, based on the recognition that the "Joint Declaration of Japan and the USSR" in 1956, the "Tokyo Declaration on Japan-Russia Relations" in 1993, the Irkutsk Statement in 2001, and other agreements are the basis for negotiations to accomplish complete normalization of Japan-Russia relations, will accelerate negotiations to resolve the remaining issues at an early date. Furthermore, in regard to future actions, both sides confirmed to continue efforts to explain to the peoples of both countries and to make efforts to continue to develop the four-island visits.



Prime Minister Koizumi and President Vladimir Putin, signatories of the joint statement (Photo: Cabinet Secretariat, Cabinet Public Relations Office)

Results Text

"Joint Statement by Prime Minister of Japan and President of the Russian Federation Concerning the Adoption of a Japan-Russia Action Plan"

Aspiring to open up a new horizon for broad Japan-Russia partnership, by ultimately overcoming difficult legacies from the past between the two countries, and affirming their determination to conclude a peace treaty as soon as possible through the solution of the issue of where the islands of Etorofu, Kunashiri, Shikotan and Habomai belong and therefore accomplish complete normalization of Japan-Russia relations through vigorous negotiations based on the agreements that have been achieved to date.

"Japan-Russia Action Plan"

An agreement to develop relations between Japan and Russia over a wide range of fields, based around six central pillars that included "Deepening of Political Dialogue," "Peace Treaty Negotiations" and "Cooperation in the International Arena."



Prime Minister Shinzo Abe and President Vladimir Putin shake hands at the summit talks in Moscow (Photo: Cabinet Secretariat, Cabinet Public Relations Office)

Results Text

"Joint Statement on the Development of Japan-Russia Partnership"

Both sides shared recognition that the absence of a peace treaty between Japan and Russia 67 years after the end of World War II is an unnatural state of affairs. In order to commit for the discussions between the both leaders, both leaders agreed to jointly give instruction to each country's Ministries of Foreign Affairs to accelerate the negotiation toward finding mutually acceptable solutions of the peace treaty issue.

6 part The Japanese Government's Position and Basic Policy on the Northern Territories Issue

In view of dynamic changes of the world today, Japan and Russia share great responsibilities for the stability and prosperity of the Asia-Pacific region. The absence of a peace treaty between Japan and Russia 67 years after the end of World War II is an unnatural state of affairs and there is a definite requirement to resolve the Northern Territories issue and conclude a peace treaty.

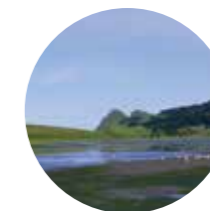
The Northern Territories, which consist of Etorofu Island, Kunashiri Island, Shikotan Island and the Habomai Islands, have been handed down from generation to generation by Japanese people, and are an inherent part of the territory of Japan that have never been the territory of any other countries.

Japan and Russia share considerable responsibilities for the stability and prosperity of the Asia-Pacific region. The Government of Japan will energetically continue negotiations with Russia based on basic policy of concluding a peace treaty with Russia through the resolution of the issue of the attribution of the Four Northern Islands.

Japan's position is that if the attribution of the Northern Territories to Japan is confirmed, Japan is prepared to

respond flexibly to the timing and manner of their actual return. In addition, since Japanese citizens who once lived in the Northern Territories were forcibly displaced, Japan intends to respect the rights, interests and wishes of the current Russian residents on the islands, after the return of the islands to Japan.

The Japanese Government intends to continue negotiations with Russia tenaciously, in order to conclude a peace treaty through the resolution of the issue of the attribution of Etorofu Island, Kunashiri Island, Shikotan Island and the Habomai Islands, based on documents compiled with the agreement of the two countries and on the principles of law and justice.



Entering the Northern Territories

The Japanese government has requested Japanese people, according to the approval of the cabinet, not to enter the Northern Territories without using the visit frameworks (The four-islands exchange program, Free visits and Visits to graves) until the territorial issue is resolved. In this regard, Japan recognizes that any activities which could be regarded as submitting to Russian "jurisdiction" such

as visiting the Northern Territories, including economic activities by Japanese citizens or citizens from a third country would not align with Japanese government's stance over the Northern Territories. When concrete concerns have been raised, the government has been responding with an appropriate action.