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Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution
: Selection of Memories and the Inscription Process of
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Index

Introduction.....	1
Research questions	2
Theoretical Framework / Preceding Research	2
Methodology	5
Heritage Making in Japan.....	6
Industrial Heritage in Japan	6
Inscription History of the Sites of Japan’s Meiji Industrial Revolution	7
Nomination File and Justification	8
Contextualized Memories	12
Counteraction of the Republic of Korea	15
Missing Memories of Koreans	15
Efforts of the Korean Government and Korean NGOs	21
The 39th Session of World Heritage Committee.....	24
The Recommendation of ICOMOS	24
Controversy over the site.....	26
Final Decision of WHC	28
Analysis	30
Selection of Memories and Contextualization	30
Heritage Interpretation.....	32
Politicization of Decision-Making Process.....	33
Conclusion	34
Bibliography	36

Introduction

In 2015, the World Heritage Committee (WHC) decided to inscribe '*Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution: Iron and Steel, Shipbuilding and Coal Mining*' that reminds Japanese people of the glorious period of the Meiji industrial Revolution, but at the same time, recalls the distressing history of the colonized era for Koreans. The Korean government tried to point out the sacrifice of all Koreans who were forced to provide labor under inhuman treatment while the Japanese government intended to conceal and ignore this matter because it can be an obstacle for the inscription. During the 39th session of the WHC (July 2015, Bonn), there was an acute tension between the Korean and the Japanese delegation because of their incompatible perspective toward the site. Due to the confrontation of the two countries, the final decision on the inscription of the Sites was postponed several times during the session.

At last, the Japanese delegation announced that the site would not only be promoted in a way to romanticize their industrialization but also to mention the memories of Korean forced laborers embedded in the place. Then, the WHC decided to inscribe the site even though some of the memories relevant to this site were not mentioned in the nomination document at that time. Nevertheless, the promise has not been fulfilled at all, and the site is described as a great achievement.

This case shows how a historical site is chosen by nations in the heritage-making process to contextualize and commemorate the historical events and how the value to justify their history is imposed on the heritage. According to the 'Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention,' the sites must be of outstanding universal value and meet at least one out of ten selection criteria.¹ States should prepare the nomination file based on the criteria listed in the operational guideline. Therefore, the Japanese government elaborated on the statements to satisfy criteria of outstanding universal value (OUV), integrity, and authenticity. However, as these industrial heritage sites are closely related to the modern history of Japan, most of the Sites have been engaged in the incidents which can sometimes be recognized as an unpleasant memory for neighboring countries and the international community. This specific case demonstrates the loophole and paradox of UNESCO World Heritage inscription system in the heritage-making process and how the nations take advantage of it for their political and economic needs.

¹ UNESCO World Heritage Committee, "Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention," (2017), 41.

Research questions

The main research question examined throughout the thesis is the following: Why was the site of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage?

My argument is that nations use the inscription process of UNESCO World Heritage and the criteria of the operational guidelines to select particular memory under the name of heritage making and to legitimize or contextualize the history both in domestic and international ways.

To achieve my aims, I also set a series of sub-questions to be answered chapter by chapter:

- Why was the site selected by the Japanese government in the beginning? What did the Japanese government do to inscribe the site on the UNESCO World Heritage list? What values did Japan attempt to stress on the sites through the inscription of UNESCO World Heritage?
- Why was the Korean government opposed the inscription of the site? What was missing in the nomination file? What did the Korean government do to block the inscription?
- What was the decision and recommendation of the ICOMOS on the site? What was discussed related to the site during the 39th session of the World Heritage Committee? How was the decision made by the committee?

Theoretical Framework / Preceding Research

About this specific case, the Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution, since it was listed in 2015, other research that is done on this site is not abundant. What has been done until now is mostly related to the perspective of either Japan or Korea. Therefore, it is challenging to grasp the whole aspect of the conflict over the inscription of the site during the 39th session of the WHC.

My research is based on the idea of critical heritage studies on the heritage-making process and the selection of memories. Discourses of heritage have highlighted that the heritage-making process is what can be made by the present-day authority through the process of selecting a specific type of memory among others and impose a value and meaning into it. D. Lowenthal asserted that heritage is not about casting inquiries to the past but instead having faith in a past adjusted to present-day purposes.² L. Smith regarded the practices and uses of heritage as are a process of meaning-making, undertaken either through the inscription on the World Heritage List at international level or the preservation, exhibition, and promotion process at national level.³ R. Harrison mentioned in his writing that heritage-making process is a 'recreation of the past in the

² David Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History* (Cambridge University Press, 1998).

³ Laurajane Smith, *Uses of Heritage* (Routledge, 2006).

image of the present' and usually keep the distance from what might be categorized as bad history.⁴ B. Graham, G. Ashworth, and J. Tunbridge assumed heritage as 'the contemporary use of the past,' and its meanings are imposed from the standpoint of the present.⁵ According to M. Rowlands, heritage-making is 'a discursive practice, as a way that a group slowly constructs a collective memory for itself by telling stories about itself.'⁶ S. Hall pointed out that heritage is a selective process involved with power.⁷ He claimed that a choice is made among numerous relics of the past and memories, whereas other histories are left out, destined to ignorance, disappearance, and silence.⁸ Therefore, like J.C. Scott wrote heritage is always related with 'a play of conflict and contention,' since an intrinsic attribute of heritage-making is ignoring the voice of certain groups and sometimes suggesting a different interpretation on it.⁹ The inscription history of the sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution will be analyzed based on the works of literature about the selection of memories in the process of heritage-making.

While heritage seemingly won a positive and elevated position with its cultural value regarding the natural feature of heritage-making, not all individuals, groups, or nations share the same perspective on the heritage. L. Meskell adopted a term 'negative heritage,' meaning that 'a conflictual site that becomes the repository of negative memory in the collective imaginary.'¹⁰ She asserted that negative heritage 'could be mobilized for positive didactic purposes' or 'be erased if such places cannot be culturally rehabilitated and thus resist incorporation to the national imaginary.'¹¹ This concept has been developed in the framework UNESCO World Heritage for decades. In 1978, WHC decided to inscribe Auschwitz Birkenau German Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camp as UNESCO World Heritage, since 'the site is a key place of memory for the

⁴ Rodney Harrison, *Understanding the Politics of Heritage*, vol. 5 (Manchester University Press Manchester, 2010).

⁵ Brian Graham, Greg Ashworth, and John Tunbridge, *A Geography of Heritage: Power, Culture, and Economy* (Routledge, 2016).

⁶ Michael Rowlands, "Heritage and Cultural Property," *The Material Culture Reader* (2002).

⁷ Stuart Hall, "Whose Heritage? Un-Settling 'the Heritage', Re-Imagining the Post-Nation," in *The Politics of Heritage* (Routledge, 2004).

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ James C Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (Yale University Press, 1998).

¹⁰ Lynn Meskell, "Negative Heritage and Past Mastering in Archaeology," *Anthropological quarterly* 75, no. 3 (2002).

¹¹ Ibid.

whole of humankind for the Holocaust, racist policies, and barbarism, and of our collective memory of this dark chapter in the history of humanity, of transmission to younger generations and a sign of warning of the many threats and tragic consequences of extreme ideologies and denial of human dignity.¹² Apart from the glorious achievements of the industrial revolution, the Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution possesses the memories of mobilized workers from its colonies. Chapter 2 will focus on the faded history of those workers that provoked an issue of negative heritage.

The politicization of the heritage inscription process under the UNESCO World Heritage system discolors the ideal of neutrality in the decision making and enhances the impact of political, economic, and diplomatic power in the WHC meetings. As M. Askew stated, under the UNESCO system, the State Parties, signatories to the Convention, are the most influential decision-makers in World Heritage.¹³ The annual WHC sessions are scheduled with full of the meetings, events, and receptions where diplomacy, lobbying, and political negotiation is prevalent. SH. Cassel and A. Pashkevich noted that collective decision-making and the heavy responsibility had been replaced by excessive backstage negotiations.¹⁴ With the dominance of strategic political alliances, L. Meskell indicated that the WHC had challenged the technical approaches and decision-making capability of advisory bodies over the decades.¹⁵ She claimed that politicization of WHC became the threats to its credibility and procedure of World Heritage inscription, and as the desire for recognition and inscription has increased, more nations lobby for listing their sites.¹⁶ In Chapter 3, the politicization of WHC decision-making will be a crucial concept to explain the inscription process of the 'Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution.'

Regarding that, the 'Site of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution' is the relics of industrialization, the concept of industrial heritage is also adopted in showing the inscription of the site. In the late 20th century, as industrialization being accelerated, 'industrial archeology' emerged as a new field and the interest in this field broaden the boundary of industrial heritage before and after the Industrial Revolution.¹⁷ According to 'the Nizhny Tagil Charter for the Industrial Heritage

¹² UNESCO, "Auschwitz Birkenau: German Nazi Concentration and Extermination Camp (1940-1945)," <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/31>.

¹³ Marc Askew, "The Magic List of Global Status," *Heritage and Globalisation* (2010).

¹⁴ Susanna Heldt Cassel and Albina Pashkevich, "World Heritage and Tourism Innovation: Institutional Frameworks and Local Adaptation," *European Planning Studies* 22, no. 8 (2014).

¹⁵ Lynn Meskell et al., "Multilateralism and Unesco World Heritage: Decision-Making, States Parties and Political Processes," *International journal of heritage studies* 21, no. 5 (2015): 424.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ 박재민 and 성종상, "산업유산 개념의 변천과 그 함의에 관한 연구," [A Study on the Definition

(July 2003)', originated by TICCIH, ratified by ICOMOS, and approval by UNESCO, industrial heritage is 'the remains of industrial culture which are of historical, technological, social, architectural or scientific value.'¹⁸ K. Dongjin pointed out that the criteria for the inscription of industrial heritage are somewhat unclear since it has not been discussed much in UNESCO as an independent category.¹⁹ Development of the concept of 'industrial heritage' and its impact on the inscription of 'Site of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution' will also be stated in Chapter 1.

Methodology

This research will focus on the case study of the *Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution*. In the first part of the paper, I will examine the inscription history and nomination file of the site that gives an idea of which the Japanese intended to emphasize on the site and to fulfill the criteria of the operational guidelines. The official website of the site will also be used together with news articles released by the Japanese and Korean press to draw an outline of the preparation process and the purpose of their endeavor.

The second part will mainly demonstrate the memory of the Korean workers referring to the interviews of workers in those industrialized facilities recorded in the TV shows, government reports, and NGO publications. Official data, such as the number of Korean workers, and news reports on the Korean government's attempt to block inscription will also be used as a reference.

The third part will present the reports and recordings of the 39th session of the World Heritage Committee and the recommendation of ICOMOS on the nomination file. These documents will show the language of the Japanese and Korean governments used in a highly strategic context about the site. At the same time, the politics of decision making for the inscription process in the World Heritage Committee will be revealed.

The last part will provide an analysis of this case study based on the information provided in Chapter 1, 2, and 3, and the theoretical framework listed above.

Changing of

Industrial Heritage.] *건축역사연구* 21, no. 1 (2012).

¹⁸ P TICCIH, "The Nizhny Tagil Charter for the Industrial Heritage" (paper presented at the TICCIH XII International Congress, 2003).

¹⁹ 강동진 and 남지현, "일본 큐슈-야마구치 일원 근대화 산업유산군의 세계문화유산 등재에 대한 비판적 고찰," [An Critical Analysis about Inscription of World Cultural Heritage for the Modern Industrial Heritages in Kyushu and Yamaguchi, Japan.] *국토계획* 49, no. 2 (2014).

Heritage Making in Japan

Industrial Heritage in Japan

In the mid-1900s, 'industrial archeology' emerged as a new field. Accordingly, interest in various types of industrial heritage that have appeared before and after the Industrial Revolution was increased. In 1973, an international organization the International Committee for the Conservation of the Industrial Heritage (TICCIH) was established to deal with industrial heritage and to act a special adviser to the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) on industrial heritage. 'The Nizhny Tagil Charter for the Industrial Heritage (July 2003)', originated by TICCIH, ratified by ICOMOS, and approval by UNESCO, stipulates industrial heritage as 'the remains of industrial culture which are of historical, technological, social, architectural or scientific value.'

Until 1996, in Japan, most UNESCO World heritage sites were castles and traditional temples. In 1996 the Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome), remains of the Hiroshima Prefectural Industrial Promotional Hall 'Hiroshima-ken Sangyo Shoreikan' after the 1945 nuclear bomb blast, was listed in the cultural heritage site.²⁰ However, as the Japan Industrial Archaeology Society was established in 1977 and the preservation of industrial landscapes began to grow among people, the terms 'modernization heritage' and 'industrial heritage' began to be used in Japan. At the government level, a conceptual approach to the 'modernization heritage' started by the Agency for Cultural Affairs (ACA) in 1990. According to ACA, modernization heritage is a monument that was built from the end of the Tokugawa shogunate to World War II and contributed to the modernization of Japan. Since then, 'modernization heritage' has been used as an official word that has a similar meaning to 'industrial heritage.' In April 2007, the Japanese Ministry of Economy, Trade, and Industry organized a special Committee to categorized 'Heritage Sites of Industrial Modernization.' Committee members published the list of 33 Industrial Modernization sites including each of relevant stories. From the perspectives of industrial and regional history, the list explained the process of industrial modernization, contextualized historical value, and included the entire heritage which contributes to the local revitalization. As a way to utilize tourism resources and to revitalize the declining local community, the enlisting of Japan's industrial modernization heritage on the World Heritage List began to be promoted all through the country. The first example is the Iwami Ginzan Silver Mine and its Cultural Landscape which was listed in 2007.

The site was one of the representative silver mines of the Tokugawa Shogunate period

²⁰ UNESCO, "Hiroshima Peace Memorial (Genbaku Dome)," World Heritage Center, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/list/775>.

and once acted as a hub of Japanese silver production. In 1923, silver mine was abandoned, and soon after, neighboring villages were devastated. With an intention to revitalize the village, Shimane Prefecture set a goal to inscribe the silver mine on the UNESCO World Heritage list.²¹ As a response to the Japanese nomination of the site, UNESCO recommended Japanese government to postpone the application of the silver mine because ICOMOS judged that Iwami met none of the criteria of UNESCO World Heritage. Even though ICOMOS recommended the World Heritage Committee to defer Japanese application, but Japan pressed forward original plan with strong support from its allies, especially from Africa.²² As a result, the Japanese government succeeded in the inscription of the Iwami Ginzan Silver Mine as a World Heritage Site in 2007.

Being stimulated by the inscription of Iwami Ginzan on the World Heritage List, the Japanese government has accelerated the heritagization of industrial modernization facilities. The next target of the Japanese government was to make 'Tomioka Silk Mill and Related Sites' as UNESCO World Heritage. Founded by the Meiji government in 1872, the Tomioka Silk Mill was introduced as a symbol of the modern Japanese sericulture.²³ From August 2003, the Gunma Prefecture, in consultation with local researchers and related organizations, promoted registration of the site as a World Heritage.²⁴ In 2006, the Gunma Prefecture recommended the ten components of Silk Mill and related sites to the ACA, and the government selected the core assets that show the value of industrial heritage.²⁵ In April 2014, the site was added to the World Cultural Heritage list.

Inscription History of the Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution

An application history of the 'Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution' traces back to 2000 when Koko Kato officially introduced Takashima Coal Mine in the International Mining History Congress. In June 2006, Kyushu Prefectural Governors Conference adopted a policy regarding the preservation and practical use of the 'Modern Industrial Heritage Sites in Kyushu.' In 2008, the ACA approved the inscription of the 'Modern Industrial Heritage in Kyushu and Yamaguchi' to the World Cultural Heritage by listing the site on the World Heritage Tentative List. In 2009, as the site was officially

²¹ 백우진, "유네스코 유산 인플레이션," *아시아경제* December 19, 2013.

²² Norimitsu Onishi, "From Ghost Town to Boom Town," *The New York Times* September 4, 2008.

²³ UNESCO, "Tomioka Silk Mill and Related Sites," World Heritage Center, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1449>.

²⁴ 長屋護, "富岡製糸場、世界遺産へ 絹産業を革新「日本近代化の鍵」 「登録」を勧告," *朝日新聞 (夕刊)* April 26, 2014.

²⁵ 황선익, "일본의 유네스코 세계유산등재와 동북아 역사갈등," [Inscription of Japan's UNESCO World Heritage and Conflict of Northeast Asian History.] *일본공간* 19 (2016): 202.

listed on the UNESCO Tentative List, the Cabinet Secretariat of Japan knuckled down to prepare for the inscription of the site.

In the heritagization process, the Japanese government crossed out many obstacles to designate the site as UNESCO World Heritage. They changed the domestic Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties that prohibits an inscription of facilities in operation to be registered as national heritage because to submit nomination file to UNESCO, that site should be at least regarded as a national treasure. If a facility that is currently in operation is registered as heritage based on the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties, it is impossible to promptly move or replace a part even though it should be fixed. Under this condition, permission of the owner of the facility which is required to the inscription is difficult to get. Therefore, the Cabinet Secretariat of Japan made a regulatory reform policy that allows an industrial facility in use to be endorsed if there is any protection plan other than the Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties.²⁶ The Cabinet also took a decision on tax reform that reduces property tax of Structures of Landscape including the working industrial heritage owned by the private sector in case they were inscribed to the World Heritage List.

Furthermore, the inscription of the Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution was led by the Prime Minister and the Cabinet Secretariat, different from other UNESCO World Heritage that was generally managed by the ACA and the head of local governments. Ever since embarking on the inscription process, the Cabinet decided not only regulatory and tax reform but also organizing an expert group. The Cabinet Secretariat even determined to nominate the Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution in 2015 beating out an expected candidate, 'Churches and Christian Sites in Nagasaki.' The Cabinet Secretariat and the ACA competed for the final decision within the government, and finally, the Chief Cabinet Secretary adopted the exceptional selection process that triggered distrust that cast a shadow on future Japanese heritage strategies.²⁷

The Cabinet Secretariat submitted the nomination document to UNESCO and ICOMOS recommended the Sites to be inscribed to UNESCO World Heritage list. With the support of the Japanese government, at the 39th World Heritage Committee in Bonn, Germany, the Sites were decided to list on the World Heritage List.

Nomination File and Justification

Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention regulates the precise criteria for the inscription of properties on the World Heritage List. According to the

²⁶ 藤井裕介, "産業革命遺産, 推薦の経緯は?," *夕刊be* October 12, 2013.

²⁷ なかむらしゅんすけ, "世界文化遺産 官房長官「裁定」に違和感," *朝日新聞(朝刊)* October 4, 2013.

document, the World Cultural Heritage should have one or more of the criteria assessing 'Outstanding Universal Value (OUV),' and meet the conditions of 'Integrity' and 'Authenticity' (Annex 1). Japanese government asserted that the 'Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution' meets the criterion (ii), (iii), and (iv), and satisfies conditions of Integrity and authenticity.

- Outstanding Universal Value (OUV)

To become World Heritage, the candidate site should be evaluated as having OUV that can be shared and recognized by everyone around the world. Criterion (ii) requires a site to 'exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design.'²⁸ Japan claimed in the nomination file that a series of heritage sites illustrate the process of technology transfer from Western Europe and North America from the mid-nineteenth century by feudal Japan.²⁹ Feudal clans and the Shogunate of Edo period initiated industrial experiments using translated foreign texts and copying technology as examples. The Meiji Government that chose industrialization as a strategy to keep independence from the West, and imported foreign expertise under the strict control of the government. Then Japanese engineers and companies adapted Western technology to best suit Japanese raw materials, economic needs, and social traditions. In short, the site is a typical example that represents 'the nature of the transfer of industrial technology and technological ideas from the West to the East, and the adaptation of industrial technology in the non-Western cultural and economic context.'³⁰

Table 1. Inscription Criteria of UNESCO Cultural Heritage

Outstanding Universal Value (OUV)	(i)	represent a masterpiece of human creative genius
	(ii)	exhibit an important interchange of human values, over a span of time or within a cultural area of the world, on developments in architecture or technology, monumental arts, town-planning or landscape design
	(iii)	bear a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared
	(iv)	be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history

²⁸ UNESCO World Heritage Committee, "Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention," 25.

²⁹ The Government of Japan, "World Heritage Nomination - Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution: Kyushu Yamaguchi and Related Areas," ed. Cabinet Secretariat (2015), 304.

³⁰ Ibid., 248.

	(v)	be an outstanding example of a traditional human settlement, land-use, or sea-use which is representative of a culture (or cultures), or human interaction with the environment especially when it has become vulnerable under the impact of irreversible change
	(vi)	be directly or tangibly associated with events or living traditions, with ideas, or with beliefs, with artistic and literary works of outstanding universal significance. (The Committee considers that this criterion should preferably be used in conjunction with other criteria)
	(vii)	contain superlative natural phenomena or areas of exceptional natural beauty and aesthetic importance
	(viii)	be outstanding examples representing major stages of earth's history, including the record of life, significant on-going geological processes in the development of landforms, or significant geomorphic or physiographic features
	(ix)	be outstanding examples representing significant on-going ecological and biological processes in the evolution and development of terrestrial, fresh water, coastal and marine ecosystems and communities of plants and animals
	(x)	contain the most important and significant natural habitats for in-situ conservation of biological diversity, including those containing threatened species of Outstanding Universal Value from the point of view of science or conservation
Authenticity		Depending on the type of cultural heritage, and its cultural context, properties may be understood to meet the conditions of authenticity if their cultural values (as recognized in the nomination criteria proposed) are truthfully and credibly expressed through a variety of attributes including: form and design; materials and substance; use and function; traditions, techniques and management systems; location and setting; language, and other forms of intangible heritage; spirit and feeling; and other internal and external factors.
Integrity		Integrity is a measure of the wholeness and intactness of the natural and/or cultural heritage and its attributes. Examining the conditions of integrity, therefore, requires assessing the extent to which the property: includes all elements necessary to express its Outstanding Universal Value; is of adequate size to ensure the complete representation of the features and processes which convey the property's significance; suffers from adverse effects of development and/or neglect.

Criterion (iii) assess if a site has 'a unique or at least exceptional testimony to a cultural tradition or to a civilization which is living or which has disappeared.'³¹ Japanese government

³¹ UNESCO World Heritage Committee, "Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention," 26.

insisted that the sites are evidence of the strength and durability of the Japanese cultural after industrialization and modernization that can be regarded as a human experience of one of the major phases in world history.³² The traditional philosophy of Samurai society and adopted a philosophy of Government and company conglomerates, as well as the inherited knowledge such as craft and technological skills are alleged to be included in this criterion.³³

Based on the last criterion, (iv), the site should be an outstanding example of a type of building, architectural or technological ensemble or landscape which illustrates (a) significant stage(s) in human history.³⁴ The sites are explained as 'an outstanding ensemble of technological developments which illustrate a significant stage in human history, that of the spread of industrialization,' and consists of three elements of industrialization; proto-industrial attempts to emulate Western technology, the beginning and developing ensembles of industrialization, and the Western-style industrial complexes.³⁵

- Integrity

UNESCO World Heritage should also meet the conditions of integrity that measures 'the wholeness and intactness of the natural and/or cultural heritage and its attributes.'³⁶ In examining integrity, the property should include all elements necessary to express its OUV, be of adequate size to represent the features and processes which convey its significance and suffer from adverse effects of development and/or neglect.

According to the nomination file, the 23 component parts are the examples of the key attributes that represent shipbuilding, the iron and steel, and coal mining industries necessary to express OUV, and each part includes the essential features that reveal its OUV.³⁷ Component parts

³² Japan, "World Heritage Nomination - Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution: Kyushu Yamaguchi and Related Areas," 249.

³³ However, this claim was not accepted by ICOMOS and was excluded from the final decision of the World Heritage Committee. Therefore, only criterion (ii) and (iv) are now specified on World Heritage Center website. (<http://whc.unesco.org/en/list/1484>)

³⁴ UNESCO World Heritage Committee, "Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention," 26.

³⁵ Japan, "World Heritage Nomination - Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution: Kyushu Yamaguchi and Related Areas," 250.

³⁶ UNESCO World Heritage Committee, "Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention," 27-28.

³⁷ Japan, "World Heritage Nomination - Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution: Kyushu Yamaguchi and

are in good condition and have mechanisms to be protected from deterioration and the adverse effects of development even though they have been variously affected by continued use, re-use or long periods of abandonment.

- Authenticity

Even though authenticity depends on the type of heritage, and its cultural context, authenticity is assessed by cultural values of properties if these were expressed adequately through various 'attributes including form and design; materials and substance; use and function; traditions, techniques and management systems; location and setting; language, and other forms of intangible heritage; spirit and feeling; and other internal and external factors.'³⁸

The 'Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution' is a group of industrial remains that 'represent, and demonstrate, the first, and rapid, transfer of industrialization from the West to a non-Western nation.'³⁹ Japan described that some component parts possess its original forms and materials necessary to represent the transfer of heavy industry from the West, some fragmentary or archaeological sites contain relics of important industrial components, and the rest are thoroughly survived concerning their form, design, materials, and continuous use and function.⁴⁰

Contextualized Memories

The process of industrialization of Japan was pushed forward by Feudal clans which later became private companies accelerated by the Meiji government as it was stated in the nomination file of the 'Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution.' However, the story of people who contributed their life in the process of industrialization is missing both in the inscription history and nomination file. While Japanese government was preparing for the narrative to justify the nomination of the sites, local government and individuals attempted to contextualize and preserve the memories of the people, especially workers who worked in the industrial facilities, faded and ignored in the heritization process.

The Japanese government has been enthusiastic in the inscription of properties on the UNESCO World Heritage list for decades regarding that Japan's first UNESCO World Heritage was

Related Areas," 305.

³⁸ UNESCO World Heritage Committee, "Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention," 28.

³⁹ Japan, "World Heritage Nomination - Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution: Kyushu Yamaguchi and Related Areas," 305.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

registered in 1993.⁴¹ Meanwhile, Japan did not pay attention to Memory of the World (MOW) programme that UNESCO established in 1992, initiated from a growing awareness of the needs of preservation of, and access to, documentary heritage of the world. Regarding that the world's documentary heritage belongs to all, the significant collections worldwide suffered from various incidents such as looting, illegal trading, and destruction should be protected for all.

The first MOW of Japan is 'Sakubei Yamamoto Collection' that was inscribed in 2011 is not what Japanese government carried forward. It was led by local government, Tagawa City, and Fukuoka prefecture. Even though MOW programme allows that the nominations for the Register of MOW can be submitted by individual or organization, including governments and NGOs, it is unusual that Japanese government was not aware of their attempt until it Tagawa City's application was known by newspaper reports.⁴² Regarding that Japanese government had been working on the inscription of the 'Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution' from 2008, the ignorance about the nomination of 'Sakubei Yamamoto Collection' is questionable because it is highly relevant to the history of the sites during its most active industrial period.

The 'Sakubei Yamamoto Collection' is a documentary heritage of annotated paintings and diaries of Sakubei Yamamoto. It is a personal testimony to the developments during the late Meiji period when the industrial revolution was still vibrant in the industry of coal mining.⁴³ The collection is a combination of art and text, in the form of diaries written and painted by a man who lived through the events and worked literally at the coal mine. The Collection presents the memories of the living and working conditions of male and female coal miners including foreigners so that it depicts the harsh and dangerous conditions to which miners were exposed depicted from a miner's perspective. It includes the labor disputes and retribution, the different attitudes of management and labor, and foreign labor issues in the coal mining industry. The 'Sakubei Yamamoto Collection' is, therefore, a valuable testimony that shows Japan's industrial revolution in the later twentieth century from the viewpoint of a worker.

Even after the 'Sakubei Yamamoto Collection' was inscribed as MOW, the life of people in the 'Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution' was not seriously taken into account of investigated by the Japanese government. There is no sign of consideration on the memory of workers embedded in the 23 component parts of the sites in the nomination file of the 'Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial

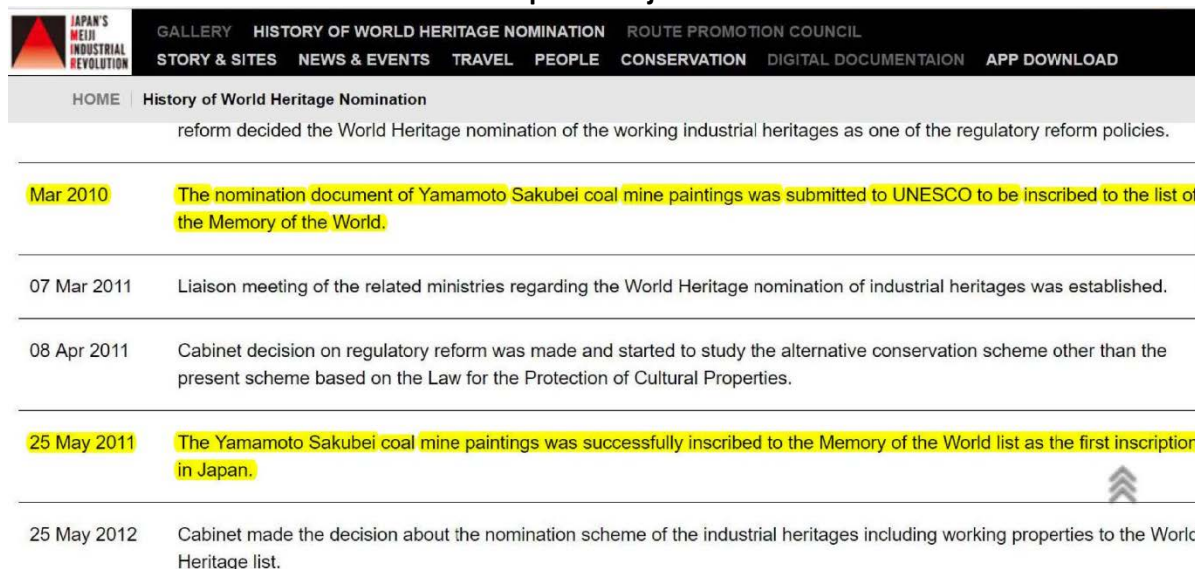
⁴¹ In 1993, Japan inscribed four sites on the UNESCO World Heritage List at the same time.

⁴² 赤田康和, "ユネスコ記憶遺産に福岡・田川の炭鉱記録画 蚊帳の外、文科省に波紋," *朝日新聞(夕刊)* May 26, 2011.

⁴³ Tagawa City (Japan), "Memory of the World Register - the Sakubei Yamamoto Collection," (2010), 5-6.

Revolution.' Instead, Japanese government inserted the nomination and inscription collection to the history of the sites by stating it in the official website of the 'Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution,' under the History of World Heritage Nomination section.⁴⁴

Picture 1. The official website of 'Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution.'



The Japanese government showed a selective process in heritage-making that a choice is made among numerous relics of the past and memories, whereas other histories are left out, ignored, disappeared.⁴⁵ The voice of people who worked in the sites was nowhere in the heritage-making process of the 'Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution' until the inscription of 'Sakubei Yamamoto Collection' was utilized as the past adjusted to present-day purposes to register the Sites to the UNESCO World Heritage List. In the process of constructing a collective memory for itself to impose meanings from the standpoint of the present, the workers' memories in a coal mine are the past without contemporary us.

The memories and stories of coal miners on the sites have been instead commemorated by local people in a way to create a museum on its history of industrialization. In 2003, an NPO 'A party to make Battleship Island a world heritage' was organized in Takashima. Hashima Island, so-called Battleship Island, has a coal mine that is one of the 23 component parts of the 'Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution.' The NPO founded Gunkanjima Museum at Nagasaki city in cooperation with Nomozaki youth commercial association. The museum showed the life of people who lived in Hashima Island and worked in the coal mines, mostly centered on telling how important the Island was in achieving economic success of Japan how diligent and dedicated the workers were, and how

⁴⁴ "Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution - History of World Heritage Nomination," <http://www.japansmeijiindustrialrevolution.com/en/history>.

⁴⁵ Hall, "Whose Heritage? Un-Settling 'the Heritage', Re-Imagining the Post-Nation."

abundant and harmonious their lives were.⁴⁶ Meanwhile, the life of foreign workers in the Island is not included in the museum, except for the short video containing a short subtitle that foreigners did labor in a coal mine to secure labor force. The collections of this museum exhibit the romantic and idealistic parts that Japanese wants to see while concealing the unpleasant parts. Even the heritage-making process of private sector defines the criteria for social inclusion and exclusion and gives insider the right to exist and have a future together in a way to be remembered.

Counteraction of the Republic of Korea

Missing Memories of Koreans

The 'Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution' were listed on the World Heritage Tentative List of UNESCO in 2009. Even though the Japanese local government promoted the sites to be inscribed as UNESCO World Heritage from the beginning of 21st century, it took time for the Cabinet Secretariat of Japan to finally set to work on the sites to be inscribed to the World Heritage list. At the point that the sites were registered on the UNESCO Tentative List, an intention of the Japanese government to make the site as 'World Cultural Heritage' was open to the public. However, the Korean government and Koreans did not pay attention to the Sites until 2012, when the Japanese government officially decided to nominate the sites for UNESCO World Heritage status. When the Japanese attempt was known in Korea, it soon became a contested issue. The problem is that eight out of the 23 component parts of the Sites have a history of forced labor not only by Koreans (Table 1) but also Chinese and other prisoners of war around the end the Pacific War.⁴⁷ The following memories of Korean forced laborers during the Japanese colonial era in the 'Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution' are mostly based on the interviews and documents that have been collected and invested by a Commission set up under the Prime Minister's Office of Korea and NGOs dealing with historical truth and justice relevant to the period of Japanese colonial rule.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ 박수경 and 조관연, "나가사키 하시마 (군함섬) 를 둘러싼 로컬 기억의 생산과 정치," [The Construction and Politics of Local Memories of Hashima in Nagasaki.] *일본어문학* 61 (2013).

⁴⁷ 김수혜, "어두운 과거 숨긴채 산업혁명 과시하려다 제동 걸려," *조선일보* May 23, 2015.

⁴⁸ The NGOs here both refers to the organization in Japan and Korea. For instance, an NGO called 'A party to protect the human rights of Korean Japanese in Nagasaki' collected data of Korean workers from 1980s in Japan, and it became a basis for the Commission to do research. 'A Network for Fact Finding on Wartime Mobilization and Forced Labor' is an NGO supporting the Commission to investigate on victims' remains.

Table 2. 23 Component parts of the ‘Sites of Japan’s Meiji Industrial Revolution’⁴⁹
 (* refers to a site involving Korean forced labor)

Area	Site	ID	Component
A1 Hagi	1 Hagi Proto-industrial Heritage	1-1	Hagi Reverberatory Furnace
		1-2	Ebisugahana Shipyard
		1-3	Ohitayama Tataro Iron Works
		1-4	Hagi Castle Town
		1-5	Shokasonjuku Academy
A2 Kagoshima	2 Shuseikan	2-1	Shuseikan
		2-2	Terayama Charcoal Kiln
		2-3	Sekiyoshi Sluice Gate of Yoshino Leat
A3 Nirayama	3 Nirayama Reverberatory Furnaces	3-1	Nirayama Reverberatory Furnaces
A4 Kamaishi	4 Hashino Iron Mining and Smelting Site	4-1	Hashino Iron Mining and Smelting Site *
A5 Saga	5 Mietsu Naval Dock	5-1	Mietsu Naval Dock
A6 Nagasaki	6 Nagasaki Shipyard	6-1	Kosuge Slip Dock
		6-2	Mitsubishi No.3 Dry Dock *
		6-3	Mitsubishi Giant Cantilever Crane *
		6-4	Mitsubishi Former Pattern Shop *
		6-5	Mitsubishi Senshokaku Guest House
	7 Takashima Coal Mine	6-6	Takashima Coal Mine *
		6-7	Hashima Coal Mine *
	8 Glover House and Office	6-8	Glover House and Office
A7 Miike	9 Miike Coal Mine and Miike Port	7-1	Miike Coal Mine and Miike Port *
	10 Misumi West Port	7-2	Misumi West Port

⁴⁹ 김수혜, "어두운 과거 숨긴채 산업혁명 과시하려다 제동 걸려."

A8 Yawata	11 The Imperial Steel Works, Japan	8-1	The Imperial Steel Works, Japan *
		8-2	Onga River Pumping Station

As Japan started a series of aggressive wars in the 1930s, Japan initiated 'labor mobilization plans' covering areas including Korea to make a legal basis for the mobilization of manpower and materials.⁵⁰ In colonial Korea, Japan pushed forward the policy of 'making subjects of the emperor' to assimilate Koreans into Japanese, in parallel with promoting the system for mobilizing human and material resources.⁵¹ Over 800,000 workers Korean had been taken to forced labor in Japan.⁵²

The labor mobilization started in 1939 had been designed and carried out systematically by the Japanese government and entrepreneurs to secure labor force suffered from a shortage of workers.⁵³ Korean people, who were forcibly drafted to work in coal mines, construction sites, munitions factories, and harbors, were subjected to strict surveillance with a minimal quality of life. They worked under harsh and poor conditions and suffered from malnutrition and starvation. In the facilities included in the 'Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution,' approximately 33,400 Koreans were subjected to the forced labor (Table 2).⁵⁴

Table 3. The estimates of Koreans, Chinese, and Allied Forces prisoners of war mobilized for forced labor in the 'Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution'⁵⁵

	Korean forced laborers	Chinese forced laborers	Allied POWs
Yawata Steel Works	4,000	201	1,353
Yawata Harbor	4,000		
Nittesu Futase Coal Mine	4,000	805	601
Nagasaki Shipyard	6,000		500
Takeshima Coal Mine (Takeshima & Hashima)	4,000	409	

⁵⁰ 민족문제연구소 and 강제동원진상규명네트워크, *한일 시민이 함께 만든 세계유산 가이드북 - 일본의 메이지산업혁명 유산과 강제노동* [Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution and Forced Labor: Korea-Japan NGO Guidebook] (민족문제연구소, 강제동원진상규명네트워크, 2017), 20.

⁵¹ 윤지현, "사망 기록을 통해 본 하시마(端島)탄광 강제동원 조선인 사망자 피해실태 기초조사," (대일항쟁기강제동원피해조사및국외강제동원희생자등지원위원회, 2012), 17.

⁵² 민족문제연구소 and 강제동원진상규명네트워크, *한일 시민이 함께 만든 세계유산 가이드북 - 일본의 메이지산업혁명 유산과 강제노동* 20.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 22.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

Miike Coal Mine	9,264	2,481	1,875
Kamaishi Iron Works	1,000	288	410
Kamaishi Coal Mine	1,263		401
Total	33,400	4,184	5,140

Korean laborers who were sent to the industrial facilities included in the ‘Sites of Japan’s Meiji Industrial Revolution’ were to be conscripted and assigned to forced labor. Moo-Soon Lee, for example, who worked In Hashino Iron Works in 1943, stated that one day the head of a village forced his older brother to be drafted, so he joined instead of his brother who had to do the farm work.⁵⁶ Yeong-Bin Song is another Korean laborer who worked at Hashino Iron Mining being forcibly conscripted.⁵⁷ Won-Jae Lim, who forced to work in Nagasaki Shipyard, recalled that he received a document of mobilization from the head of a district which indicated when and where to gather.⁵⁸ Sun-Gil Kim is also one of the Korean forced laborers who was brought to Nagasaki in 1945 after being caught by Japanese police.⁵⁹ A personnel management staff at the Miike Coal Mine verified the forceful mobilization of Koreans, stating that “we say that we brought along the workers, but in reality, we captured and brought them. Everywhere we went, we got cooperation with money and presented of the head of a *myeon* (township), the Japanese Military Police and other powerful people. If we went to the villages during the daytime, all males would have already run away and been absent. So we went at night. Sometimes we caught Koreans who passed the way and loaded them into our truck.”⁶⁰ When questioned whether it was true that Korean workers volunteered to work in Japan to earn money as the Japanese government has claimed for decades, one of the workers who sent to Hashima Coal Mine threw the question back at the interviewer, ‘Are you asking me if I volunteered to go there? To Hashima?’ and became speechless afterward.⁶¹ Jang-Seob Choi, A worker of Hashima Coal Mine, mentioned that he was mobilized at the age of 14 because ‘the

⁵⁶ 일제강점하강제동원피해진상규명위원회, *당꼬라고요? [A Coal Mine?]*, vol. 1, 강제동원구술기록집 (서울: 일제강점하강제동원피해진상규명위원회, 2005), 324.

⁵⁷ *가긴 어딜가? 헌병이 총 들고 지키는데 [Where Can You Go Under the Surveillance of Military Police?]*, vol. 4, 강제동원구술기록집 (서울: 일제강점하강제동원피해진상규명위원회, 2006), 178-79.

⁵⁸ *똑딱선 타고 오다가 바다 귀신 될 뻔 했네 [I might have become a sea ghost]*, vol. 3, 강제동원구술기록집 (서울: 일제강점하강제동원피해진상규명위원회, 2006), 52.

⁵⁹ 민족문제연구소 and 강제동원진상규명네트워크, *한일 시민이 함께 만든 세계유산 가이드북 - 일본의 메이지산업혁명 유산과 강제노동* 46.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 67.

⁶¹ "무한도전-배달의 무도 네 번째 이야기," (MBC, 2015).

younger, the better to work there.⁶² Some of the Korean laborers could not evade conscription because they worried about an ordeal that their family might have endured if they did not comply with the mobilization order. A worker of Yawata Imperial Steel Works Suk-Bong Ju stated that if he did not go, food rations would be stopped and their family would be starved to death.⁶³ The interviews of Korean workers consistently indicate that they did not choose to move to Japan to make money, but that they were mobilized to the industrial facilities against their will.

Korean workers endured inhumane working and living conditions such as excessive working hours, no free time or proper medical treatment, unsafe facilities, and punishment. Workers of Hashino Iron Mining and Iron Works remembered that they should work 12 hours a day but was paid almost nothing.⁶⁴ Though many workers worked in two shifts a day deprived of break and private liberties, there was no explanation from the company on their wage.⁶⁵ Though those who were conscripted into Nagasaki Shipyard were supposed to receive monthly wages and extra allowances for family, non-absence work, and over-time work after three months of labor, they could scarcely receive any cash because on various pretexts such as contributions for retirement reserve fund and national savings.⁶⁶ The excuse for the deduction could also be saving, and hometown remittance but whatever the pretext was workers could not get paid after all.⁶⁷ Hyung-Suk Kim testified that he should endure harsh labor without a cent of remuneration at Hashima Coal Mine.⁶⁸ Even those of who received their wages claimed that the salary was too low so that it was not enough for their allowance.⁶⁹

Korean workers were not provided with enough food though they had to do intense labor. The rations were so insufficient that they were always hungry.⁷⁰ Workers who labored in Hashima Coal Mine have never seen rice but were instead provided soybean cake which was not enough for

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ 우철희, "[사람속으로] 강제 노역의 설움 응어리진 땅, '日 문화유산,'" (YTN, July 12, 2015).

⁶⁴ 일제강점하강제동원피해진상규명위원회, *당꼬라고요?* 1, 185, 89.

⁶⁵ *손해배상(기)* 2009다68620 판결 (2012).

⁶⁶ 민족문제연구소 and 강제동원진상규명네트워크, *한일 시민이 함께 만든 세계유산 가이드북 - 일본의 메이지산업혁명 유산과 강제노동* 46.

⁶⁷ 前田 憲二, *百萬人の身世打鈴* [Tragic Stories One million People] (1999).

⁶⁸ "무한도전-배달의 무도 네 번째 이야기."

⁶⁹ 윤지현, "사망 기록을 통해 본 하시마(端島)탄광 강제동원 조선인 사망자 피해실태 기초조사," 92-100.

⁷⁰ 일제강점하강제동원피해진상규명위원회, *똑딱선 타고 오다가 바다 귀신 될 뻔 했네*, 3.

one meal though combining rations of breakfast and lunch.⁷¹ While working in the Coal Mine, they could hear the voices from the beneath of concrete retaining wall, howling in hunger that even caused them to spend wakeful nights.⁷² Jong-Pil Lee, who worked in the underground tunnel of the Miike Coal Mine, commented that if a worker has a day off, they received a meal cut in one-third of the usual amount.⁷³

Dangerous facilities of the working places raised a possibility of accidents that killed and wounded workers, but they could not get proper treatment by employers. Lack of safety facilities caused injuries of workers every two days.⁷⁴ An interview of a Korean worker, who installed supporting posts in the narrow and humid coal mine, testified that many workers died because of the explosion and collapse of the tunnel.⁷⁵ At Miike Coal Mine, supervisors beat workers if they could not fill their quota of 20 working days no matter how sick they were.⁷⁶

The workers at the Miike Coal Mine suffered poor working and living conditions but never dared to ask for improvement. Some of them planned an escape that resulted in harsh punishment. They were isolated from the outside world and under harsh surveillance of the Military Police.⁷⁷ Jong-Pil Lee, who worked in the underground tunnel of the Miike Coal Mine, assigned 15 loads of mine wagon per day that could be achieved by at least 10 to 12 hours of work and should be at work more than 20 days a month not to be beaten by Japanese labor commissioners.⁷⁸ Physical abuse occasionally caused the death of workers.⁷⁹ The companies forced the workers to save 30-40% of their wages and to wear clothes with a letter 'drafted' on it in order to prevent workers from escaping.⁸⁰ Kyu-Su Kim, who sent to the Yawata Steel Works at the age of 17, tried to escape with

⁷¹ "무한도전-배달의 무도 네 번째 이야기."

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ 林えいだい, *清算されない昭和 朝鮮人強制連行の記録* [Record of Korean Forced Laborers] (1990).

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ 민족문제연구소 and 강제동원진상규명네트워크, *한일 시민이 함께 만든 세계유산 가이드북 - 일본의 메이지산업혁명 유산과 강제노동* 68.

⁷⁶ 林えいだい, *清算されない昭和 朝鮮人強制連行の記録*.

⁷⁷ 민족문제연구소 and 강제동원진상규명네트워크, *한일 시민이 함께 만든 세계유산 가이드북 - 일본의 메이지산업혁명 유산과 강제노동* 46.

⁷⁸ 林えいだい, *清算されない昭和 朝鮮人強制連行の記録*.

⁷⁹ 윤지현, "사망 기록을 통해 본 하시마(端島)탄광 강제동원 조선인 사망자 피해실태 기초조사."

⁸⁰ 林えいだい, *清算されない昭和 朝鮮人強制連行の記録*, 민족문제연구소 and 강제동원진상규명네트워크, *한일 시민이 함께 만든 세계유산 가이드북 - 일본의 메이지산업혁명 유산과 강제노동* 36.

his friend but was caught and tortured for several days.⁸¹

The Japanese treated Japanese, Korean, Chinese, and American (or British) all different from the working place to the living. Yeong-Bin Song explained about the discrimination of workers at Hashino Iron Mining and Iron Works, saying that the meal place for Koreans was not the same as the one for Japanese.⁸² He added that Chinese were treated “like a dog” and housed in a pigsty-like camp, while Americans and British POW lived in the modest three-storied building.⁸³ Korean workers at the Yawata Imperial Steel Works stated that Koreans were not assigned to the place where they could acquire skills and considered them as inferior people.⁸⁴ Regarding that, the Japanese workers in the facilities were provided with proper equipment, modern restaurants, and a fair amount of salary, the life of Korean workers were not treated properly.⁸⁵

Efforts of the Korean Government and Korean NGOs

Thirty-five years of Japanese colonial rule left Korean people with permanent injuries and scars that could only be alleviated by a collaborative effort of both Korea and Japan. In 1965, the ‘Treaty on Basic Relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea’ was signed by the two countries to normalize the diplomatic relations, including the ‘Agreement between Japan and the Republic of Korea Concerning the Settlement of Problems regarding Property and Claims and Economic Cooperation.’ Based on this agreement, the Korean government consented to receive 800 million dollars in grants and loans, which later became a legal basis for the Japanese government to claim that compensation for the damage of draftees during the Japanese colonial rule was irrevocably settled. Since then, these grants and loans became an obstacle for the draftees to ask for compensation to the Japanese government. However, even in Korea, the process of preparing and concluding the Treaty had never focused on knowing the full extent of the damage occurred to workers that should be compensated for. After the agreement, the Korean government paid an indemnity to some of the forced laborers, but it could not adequately cover the damage of the all the victims, so that left behind those who could not afford to claim their right to the compensation

⁸¹ 일제강점하강제동원피해진상규명위원회, *똑딱선 타고 오다가 바다 귀신 될 뻔 했네*, 3.

⁸² *가진 어딜가? 헌병이 총 들고 지키는데*, 4, 183.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, 187.

⁸⁴ 민족문제연구소 and 강제동원진상규명네트워크, *한일 시민이 함께 만든 세계유산 가이드북 - 일본의 메이지산업혁명 유산과 강제노동* 36.

⁸⁵ A sightseeing guide of Hashima Island proudly explained that the Japanese enjoyed modern facilities thanks to the rapid industrialization.

"무한도전-배달의 무도 네 번째 이야기."

at that time.

After decades of ignorance on the issue, the Korean government finally set to work on clarifying the history by identifying the damages caused by forced mobilization under Japanese rule. Based on the ‘Special Act to Find the Truth of Compulsory Mobilization Damage under the Colonial Rule of Japanese Imperialism’ legislated in 2004, the Truth Commission on Forced Mobilization under the Japanese Imperialism was established under the Prime Minister’s Office.⁸⁶ In 2007, the Korean government enacted an ‘Act on Assistance to Victims of Forced Overseas Mobilization at the Time of the Pacific War’ to provide compensation considering the lack of support from the state and set up a commission to carry it out.⁸⁷ The Commission on Verification and Support for the Victims of Forced Mobilization under Japanese Colonialism substituted the two commissions based on the relevant act to clarify the historical truth and pay compensation from 2010 to 2015 when its business was transferred to the Ministry of Government Administration and Home Affairs. The former commission replaces the latter, and the members of those commissions investigated on damage caused by forced mobilization and collected and analyzed compulsory relevant records. Their research covered a wide range of forced mobilization, including the data related to the ‘Sites of Japan’s Meiji Industrial Revolution’ in Kyushu and Yamaguchi.

As the Japanese government officially exposed its intention to inscribe the Site on the UNESCO World Heritage List, the history of those sites drew attention in Korea, and there were demands for the information on the issue. One of the components of the Sites, Hashima Island, was already investigated individually and some of the memories of Koreans were published and broadcasted even before the Japanese government decided to inscribe the site. However, the Korean government did not have comprehensive information on Korean forced labor on the sites which could play a key role to reveal the truth that has been implicitly and explicitly unexposed to the public. In order to bring up a problem on the inscription of the sites, the Korean government should first have detailed information about it. As an organization taking the responsibility to investigate the Korean workers under Japanese colonial rule, the commission set to work on an ‘Investigation on the Damage of the Victims of Forced Mobilization of the Hashima Coal Mine Based on the Death Record’ in 2012. The commission organized an international seminar as well, inviting both Korean and Japanese experts who tried to reveal the life history of the workers related to the Sites.

Except for the struggle for the Commission to grasp the damage of Korean laborers, the

⁸⁶ 일제강점하강제동원피해진상규명등에관한특별법, 법률 제7174호.

⁸⁷ 태평양전쟁 전후 국외 강제동원희생자 등 지원에 관한 법률, 법률 제8669호.

Korean government seems to have been indifferent to the attempt of the Japanese government. Even though the government was aware of it from the registration of the site on the Tentative List in 2009, the Site did not get much attention from the relevant Ministry. As Japan established an Expert Committee of Industrial Heritage in July 2012, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs urged Japan to reconsider the registration of the facilities. Since September 2014, when the ICOMOS commenced an evaluation on the Sites, the Korean government has delivered a series of documents containing an opinion on the inscription of the Sites. The Korean government also tried to spread the awareness of the problem concerning the nominated facilities through the ICOMOS secretariat meeting.

Nevertheless, ICOMOS recommended the Sites to be inscribed on to the UNESCO World Heritage list on May 4, 2015, and the Korean government confronted harsh condemnation from the public for its lax attitude and foot-dragging approach.⁸⁸ Together with the National Assembly that adopted a resolution on May 4 criticizing the Japanese nomination of the facilities related to the forced labor, many politicians denounced incompetence of diplomatic power that rarely led to the intended result.⁸⁹ From then on, the counteraction of the Korean government became hectic. In May 22 and June 9, the delegations of Korea and Japan sat down at a negotiating table to reach an agreement on this issue and the delegate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs such as the Minister, Vice-Minister, and Assistant Minister met the members of the World Heritage Committee to explain the concerns and to persuade them to be supportive when the Korean government to pressure the Japanese government in clarifying the history of the Sites.

While the Korean government was focusing on a flurry of diplomatic activity aimed at informing the public about the historical fact that has not been explicitly stated, an NGO called the 'Center for Historical Truth and Justice' was asked to speak out against the inscription of the Sites by Korean National Commission for UNESCO (KNCU).⁹⁰ KNCU asserted that the only way to block the inscription was to build public opinion and persuade the members of World Heritage Committee with the voice of an NGO and argued that not only Korea and Japan but also the whole world should be informed about the seriousness of the problem.⁹¹ In May 2015, the delegation of the Center

⁸⁸ One of the Korean diplomats who observed what the Ministry did in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs admitted that the one who was in charge of checking and report it to superiors might have missed that issue at the time when the Ministry should prepare for the counteract.

⁸⁹ 김지혜, "日, 강제징용 시설 세계유산 등재...늑장대응 논란," *시사포커스* May 6, 2015.

⁹⁰ 김민철 and 김승은, *군함도 끝나지 않은 전쟁* [Battlehip Island, an Endless War] (서울: 생각정원, 2017).

⁹¹ *Ibid.*

visited Germany to meet the then chairperson of the World Heritage Committee, bringing a statement of the NGOs in both Korean and Japan and a testimony video of Korean forced laborer.⁹² The NGO sent a letter to the members of the World Heritage Commission saying, 'Please remember Laborers' Blood, sweat, and tears!' written in the name of 18 forced workers to appeal sympathy.⁹³ They also organized an exhibition on 'World Heritage Sites of Conscience and their Value for the Future' in Bonn, Germany where the 39th session of World Heritage Committee was held.⁹⁴

The memory of Korean forced laborers created in some of the facilities included in the UNESCO World Heritage of the 'Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution' has long been neglected by the Korean government until the beginning of 21st century. Even when the special commission was established under the Prime Minister's Office, it was given the status of a temporary organization that should only be extended a term of its continuous activities by the revision of the related law. The investigation and research that commission and the NGOs did were meaningful regarding the interviews and data that they collected, but still, in the urgent counteract of the Korean government that was mainly focused on diplomatic gestures; the good consideration on the victims of forced mobilization was not what the public could observe. Though one of the government officials mentioned that they had responded step by step following the process progresses,⁹⁵ however, up until now, three years after the inscription of the Sites, collection more statistical data, and interviews of survivors has not been progressed much. Instead, the commission under the Prime Minister's Office was abolished in 2015, leaving a pile of work to be finished and the Korean government is keeping pursuing the Japanese government to prepare for the interpretation strategy that reveals the history of the Sites. Who will be in charge of paying attention to the unheard testimony of the few witnesses who do not have long to live?

The 39th Session of World Heritage Committee

The Recommendation of ICOMOS

⁹² 김은경, "독일서 日 강제징용·야스쿠니참배 규탄 집회 열린다," *연합뉴스* April 19, 2015.

⁹³ 김민철 and 김승은, *군함도 끝나지 않은 전쟁*.

⁹⁴ Peter Bille Larsen Kristal Buckley, "The World Heritage Committee and Human Rights," *World Heritage and Human Rights: Lessons from the Asia-Pacific and global arena* (2017): 39.

⁹⁵ 김동기, interview by 최영일, May 7, 2015.

According to the 'Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention', a nomination file that was submitted on time is evaluated 'whether or not properties nominated by the States Parties have Outstanding Universal Value, meet the conditions of integrity and authenticity and meet the requirements of protection and management' by the Advisory Body.⁹⁶ In the case of cultural heritage nominations, the evaluation is carried out by the International Council on Monuments and Sites (ICOMOS) following the procedure that is regulated by the Operational Guidelines.⁹⁷ After two Panel meeting, the finalized text of evaluations is sent to the World Heritage Centre and to be distributed to States Parties.⁹⁸

In June 2014, the Cabinet Secretariat of Japan submitted the official nomination document of "Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution: Kyushu-Yamaguchi and Related Areas" to UNESCO World Heritage Center. From September to October, ICOMOS evaluated 23 component parts of the Sites and in May 2015, recommended the Sites to be inscribed to UNESCO World Heritage list on the basis of the criteria (ii) and (iv) and its authenticity and integrity.⁹⁹

ICOMOS commented that the current series of nomination file did not fully explain 'the impact on, and contribution from ordinary people, and the transformation of landscapes.'¹⁰⁰ In the nomination file, negative aspects, as well as positive points of the Industrial Revolution, should be included, but the application only focused on the technological progress of Japanese Industrialization era. ICOMOS also mentioned that due to the lack of information on 'the wider transformation to society brought about by that technology' and the complex, sweeping social and political changes that were the pre-requisites for industrial progress,' the nomination file failed to reflect 'the full scope of the Industrial Revolution.'¹⁰¹ Here, the Advisory Body gave a guideline that the nomination of Industrial heritages should include not only technical progress, but also historical, geographical, and social changes that give full information on the remains of Industrialization.¹⁰²

ICOMOS also recommended to 'Prepare *an interpretive strategy* for the presentation of the

⁹⁶ UNESCO World Heritage Committee, "Operational Guidelines for the Implementation of the World Heritage Convention," 39.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Criteria (iii) has not been justified. ICOMOS, "Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution," in *Advisory Body Evaluation* (World Heritage Center, 2015), 101.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² In the evaluation text, ICOMOS asked the Japanese government to change the name of the site because this nomination only covers certain technical aspects of the industrial revolution, not as a whole.

nominated property, which gives particular emphasis to the way each of the sites contributes to OUV and reflects one or more of the phases of industrialization; and also *allows an understanding of the full history of each site.*¹⁰³ The Japanese government proposed end date for the Sites' relevance in the nomination file on the 'Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution.' This end-off day was not very common in the heritage inscription process of UNESCO, and therefore, it became controversial. It is because in general, a nomination file focusing on the most extrinsically developed period or period of prominent activity,¹⁰⁴ however, at the same time, none of the State Parties explicitly define a boundary regarding the period of the history on the Sites and to exclude the rest. Regarding that the Meiji era is from 1868 to 1912, an opinion of the Japanese government that the nominated Sites are only dealt with up until 1910 seems irrational. Also, some of the industrial facilities of the Sites have operated actively even after the Meiji Era. Therefore, as ICOMOS pinpointed, the nomination file did not fully reflect the history of the Sites which is also required to grasp the whole aspect of the Sites, not only when the Sites are evaluated by the Advisory body, but also when the public is provided information on the Sites.

Controversy over the site

As the Advisory Body (ICOMOS) recommended the 'Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution' to be inscribed to UNESCO World Heritage list,¹⁰⁵ even though it also pointed out that the nomination file did not fully reflect the overall aspect of the Sites. The tension between Korea and Japan dramatically mounted. While the Japanese government tried to consolidate the inscription backed by the positive evaluation of ICOMOS, the Korean government struggled to either block the inscription or make the Japanese government record both positive and negative history by including the memory of Korean forced laborers in the Sites.¹⁰⁵ Therefore, the Korean government accelerated diplomatic action to put pressures on Japan until the 39th Session of the World Heritage Committee that the decision on the inscription of the Sites planned to be made.

On May 4, 2015, when the recommendation of ICOMOS was made, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Korea, Byung-Se Yun, delivered an official statement, "I object to the registration of the Sites to UNESCO World Heritage glorifying the industrial revolution facilities, while neglecting the

¹⁰³ ICOMOS, "Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution," 103.

¹⁰⁴ 강동진 and 남지현, "일본 큐슈-야마구치 일원 근대화 산업유산군의 세계문화유산 등재에 대한 비판적 고찰," 124.

¹⁰⁵ One of Korean diplomat admitted that the Korean government aimed the latter rather than the former concerning the realistic possibilities.

historical facts of forced labor."¹⁰⁶ In response to this remark, Fumio Kishida, the then foreign minister of Japan refuted that the targeted period of the facilities in nominating as World Heritage was from 1850 to 1910 and the claim of Korean government that the Koreans were forced to work in the Sites was far from its time and historical meanings.¹⁰⁷ The Chief Cabinet Secretary of Japan, Yoshihide Suga announced at a regular press conference that "It is not something that should be connected with political controversy, as Korea has asserted because professional organizations have already approved and recommended that the Sites be NIL appropriate to be inscribed as UNESCO World Cultural Heritage. The Japanese government nominated the Sites on the basis of Outstanding Universal Value as remains of our industrial revolution between 1850 and 1910, and UNESCO advisory body ICOMOS offered advice on this issue."¹⁰⁸

Regarding the conflict between Korea and Japan, the Committee members of WHC advised both State Parties that, pending a UNESCO decision, it is the most desirable option to find a solution through dialogue and negotiation between the two countries. Following the advice, Korea and Japan arranged two rounds of the consultative meeting to seek a bilateral solution. The first round held on May 21 mainly focused on expressing the basic position of both sides, and the second round on June 9 was aimed to make an agreement on editing the text that the Korean government proposed. During the continuous negotiation, the two countries agreed upon cooperation for the inscription of heritage nominated by each State Party, but could not reach a final agreement on the text of the 'Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution' until the 39th Session of WHC started.

Korea and Japan also started the tug of war over the international opinion to get a consensus in the international community that their position on the Sites was reasonable. Both of the countries had a series of meeting with the UNESCO Committee members to get them on their side in the decision-making process. Even though the Committee members commented on this issue that they agreed upon the claims of each side, their real concern was the division in the Committee and the embarrassing situation to have to choose their side between the two countries in the 39th WHC Session.¹⁰⁹ At the same time, Korea and Japan had press interviews, sent explanations on their stance to experts and media, so that promoted them to write supportive articles from each of their

¹⁰⁶ 박석원, "'강제징용' 日 산업시설 세계유산 등록 유력," *한국일보* May 5, 2015.

¹⁰⁷ 김유진, "한국의 징용시설 세계유산 등재 반대에 일본 "정치적 주장," [Japanese Government Commented "Political Claim" on the Korean Government's Opposition to the Inscription of the Industrial Heritage Sites on the UNESCO World Heritage] *아시아투데이* (May 8, 2015).

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ 조태열, interview by 최영일, June 18, 2015.

perspectives. As foreign newspapers issued related articles on the conflict between the two State Parties, the Korean government seemed to expect the international society to be alarmed by the unknown story.¹¹⁰

Final Decision of WHC

The 39th Session of World Heritage Commission started with the opening session on 28 June 2015 in Bonn, Germany. The examination of nominations of natural, mixed and cultural properties to the world heritage list began on July 3, but Korean and Japan had not concluded agreements by then. Even though the two State Parties agreed in effect to specify in a footnote to the decision on the inscription of the Sites that the forced labor of Koreans was carried out at the facilities, the Japanese delegation was hostile to the expression 'forced labor,' and a final agreement broke down. The statement of the opinion after the decision would have been taken another issue of Japan because the value of the World Heritage would diminish if Korea expressed its problems.¹¹¹ During a lunch break of the session on July 3, delegations from all the WHC Committee members held a separate meeting excluding the two countries concerned, to avoid taking a vote on the decision.¹¹²

The examination of the 'Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution' was scheduled on July 4 at 3 p.m. when the WHC Chairperson Maria Böhmer could attend the session regarding the importance of the issue over the Sites. However, the examination of the Sites was delayed because some of the Committee members asked for the suspension to avoid voting, as an agreement between Korea and Japan was not concluded. It is known that the WHC chairperson was actively involved in the endless discussions of Korea and Japan behind the curtain, strongly urging that the decision on the inscription of the Sites could be postponed to the following year if the two State Parties cannot find the understanding.¹¹³

On July 5, the initially suspended examination session examined the 'Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution,' as Japan and Korea had reached a final agreement. Without any vote or debate on the nomination, the Committee directly proceeded with the decision that adopted one change adding a footnote to point 4(g), one of the recommendations to which the Japanese government should give consideration. It was the compromise plan made by Korea and Japan,

¹¹⁰ Renowned press such as Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung, Die Welt, and Le Monde introduced this issue.

¹¹¹ 임민혁, "독일서 세계문화유산 막판 외교전," *조선일보* July 4, 2015.

¹¹² 김민철 and 김승은, *군함도 끝나지 않은 전쟁*.

¹¹³ 임민혁, "'강제노역' 표기 끝까지 거부하던 日, '등재 연기' 국제사회 압박에 굴복," *조선일보* July 6, 2015.

mentioned Koreans who forcibly worked on the Sites, and did not ruin the OUV of the Sites either by maintaining the main text of the Decision.

The added footnote referred to a statement made by Japanese delegation, on which both Korea and Japan have agreed.

“The World Heritage Committee takes note of the statement made by Japan, as regards the interpretive strategy that allows an understanding of the full history of each site as referred to in paragraph 4.g), which is contained in the Summary Record of the session (document WHC-15/39.COM/INF.19).”¹¹⁴

While agreeing to develop the “interpretive strategy” that allows “an understanding of the full history of each site,” the Japanese delegation delivered a statement as follows.

“Japan is prepared to take measures that allow an understanding that there were a large number of Koreans and others who were brought against their will and forced to work under harsh conditions in the 1940s at some of the sites, and that, during World War II, the Government of Japan also implemented its policy of requisition. Japan is prepared to incorporate appropriate measures into the interpretive strategy to remember the victims such as the establishment of the information center.”¹¹⁵

Japan agreed that the “full history” includes the historical fact that some of the component parts contain the dark memory of Korean forced laborers and was willing to share the related information to the public.¹¹⁶

In response to the statement of Japan, the Korean delegation made a remark that could be a pressure on the Japanese government to implement what was stated in the session. At the same time, the Korean delegation asked the Committee and ICOMOS to monitor Japan whether it indeed followed up with measures before the submission of the progress report on the implementation, as a way to urge the Japanese government to be responsible for their promises.

¹¹⁴ UNESCO, "Decisions Adopted by the World Heritage Committee at Its 39th Session," in *WHC-15/39.COM/19*, ed. UNESCO (Bonn, Germany.2015).

¹¹⁵ "Summary Records of the World Heritage Committee at Its 39th Session," in *WHC-15/39.COM.INF.19*, ed. UNESCO (Bonn, Germany.2015), 222.

¹¹⁶ Unfortunately, after the WHC, the Japanese government asserted in the press briefing that “forced to work” can never be the same with “forced labor” that is regarded as illegal and in contravention of international law based on the UN ‘Convention on Forced Labor.’

“The Government of the Republic of Korea would like to draw the Committee’s attention to Paragraph 6 of the decision which recommends Japan “to consider inviting ICOMOS to offer advice on the implementation of [its] recommendations.” We also believe that this Committee will continue to follow up on the Japanese government’s full implementation of its measures and the recommendations until its 42nd session in 2018 when the Committee is scheduled to examine a progress report which Japan is requested to submit to the World Heritage Centre by December 1, 2017.”¹¹⁷

After an expression of gratitude to the committee by Japan, the Korean delegation proclaimed the decision to be a meaningful step to remember the pain and suffering of the victims, to treat the wounds of history, and to promulgate that the historical truth should be fully reflected whether positive or negative.¹¹⁸ The WHC Chairperson stressed that this whole inscription process was a successful case to demonstrate the “importance of trust” in the inscription process and an “outstanding victory for diplomacy.”¹¹⁹ The controversy over the inscription of the ‘Sites of Japan’s Meiji Industrial Revolution’ was terminated in the 39th WHC Session and a new chapter of follow-up measures and monitoring has opened.

Analysis

Selection of Memories and Contextualization

The ‘Sites of Japan’s Meiji Industrial Revolution’ with some component parts have long been out of Japan’s local and central governments’ attention and marginalized concerning not the only heritage-making process but also contextualization. Nevertheless, the Sites have been of the interest to domestic and international visitors ever since it was inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage list, initiated by the local authorities and promoted by the central government. This whole inscription procedure is what demonstrates an aspect of heritage-making that past is assessed by present needs and it involves with value judgment what is worth preserve and what is not.¹²⁰ Hashima Island is one of those places abandoned since its economic and industrial use was of no use. Hashima coal mine

¹¹⁷ UNESCO, "Summary Records of the World Heritage Committee at Its 39th Session," 223.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., 223-24.

¹²⁰ Lowenthal, *The Heritage Crusade and the Spoils of History*, 10; Harrison, *Understanding the Politics of Heritage*, 5, 11.

was closed in 1974, and the whole island has been in complete decay since then.¹²¹ As the new concept of industrial heritage was adopted in Japan and started to develop, the local government worked on Hashima Island to designate it as industrial heritage and popularize it as a tourist spot.¹²² It is not the only case that the Japanese government reevaluated and paid attention to the forgotten historical site, regarding the case of the Iwami Ginzan Silver Mine inscribed as World Heritage in 2007, and the Sado complex of heritage mines, primarily gold mines nominated to UNESCO Tentative List.¹²³ An intention of the Japanese government transformed ruined remains to the key contributing factor to Japan's industrial revolution and contextualized the Sites to the Japanese history.

In this process, some historical events, periods, figures, places, and memories are tend to be selected and spotlighted among numerous relevant factors.¹²⁴ The other parts of the history are neglected, left out, or sometimes deleted.¹²⁵ Through this process, some of the relics are remembered and contextualized while others that might be categorized as bad history are distanced. In the case of the 'Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution,' the Japanese government decisively drew a line to the period that can be included in the history of the Sites so that some of the memories are chosen and have been introduced to the public. Not only the memories of Korean forced laborers but also those of all the other workers who contributed to the Meiji industrialization are missing in the whole heritage-making process. Although ICOMOS recommended Japan to prepare for the interpretation strategy to enable an understanding of the full history of each site, it might also have been ignored or not even discussed until WHC make the decision to inscribe the site if the conflict between Japan and Korea was not noisy enough to get any attention from the international community.

Even similar or relevant memories are contextualized in a different way from the perspective of heritage-making authorities. Regarding 'Sakubei Yamamoto Collection,' even though it was not nominated by the Japanese government, it was recognized as valuable records being inscribed to MOW. The contents of the Collection are, ultimately, the written memories of a coal miner who suffered from harsh work condition and tough daily life. As it the Collection was listed on

¹²¹ 키무라 시세이 and 송숙정, "'진정성' 구축과 복수성: 동아시아 군함도(軍艦島) 사례에서," [Construction of "Authenticities" and Plurality : A Case Study of Gunkanjima in East Asia.] *Asia Review* 6, no. 1 (2016): 320.

¹²² Ibid., 321.

¹²³ UNESCO, "The Sado Complex of Heritage Mines, Primarily Gold Mines," World Heritage Center, <https://whc.unesco.org/en/tentativelists/5572>.

¹²⁴ Smith, *Uses of Heritage*.

¹²⁵ Hall, "Whose Heritage? Un-Settling 'the Heritage', Re-Imagining the Post-Nation."

the MOW list, its value was appreciated and heightened. In contrast, the memories of workers in the 'Sites of Meiji Industrial Revolution,' including those of Japanese, Koreans, Chinese, and allied POWs, were neglected as it might degrade or leave a scratch on its achievements in the perspective of heritage-making and justification. ICOMOS commented that the nomination file did not fully give information on 'the impact on, and contribution from ordinary people' of Meiji Industrial Revolution. It can also be seen in the collections of museums that were founded by either the Japanese government or local authorities commemorating Meiji Industrial Revolution. In line with the narrative of the nomination file of the Sites, the collections mainly focus on introducing the positive impact of Industrial Revolution to the economic development of Japan and glamorizing the life of laborers in the Industrial facilities however hard the work was. It is hard to be offered well-rounded information about Meiji Industrial Revolution in any of the official documents and presentation that were drafted by the Japanese government.

UNESCO World Heritage 'Zollverein Coal Mine Industrial Complex in Essen' inscribed by Germany is another example of industrial heritage that consists of the infrastructures of a historical coal-mining site. The site is also related to the forced labor of Jewish and POWs mobilized by Nazi but has never caught up in controversy before and after its inscription process. It was because "there were memorial walls and exhibition halls for victims of forced labor in Germany, and the process of reviewing and clearing the past was actively carried out."¹²⁶ The German government tried to reveal its history with a balanced perspective, rather than emphasize only on its industrial development. In contrast, an attempt by Japan that "only talked about one part of its modernization and swept the other under the carpet" triggered the strong opposition from victimized nations during Meiji Industrial Era.¹²⁷

Heritage Interpretation

The 'Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution' provoked an issue of heritage interpretation that is increasing in importance. Most heritage holds intangible (or associated) values 'derived from peoples' feelings about, understanding of, and relationship to a place, its history, and the uses to which it has been traditionally put.'¹²⁸ Each individual or community may not give the same value to the same place. There is even a possibility that diverse values clash with each other during the heritage-making

¹²⁶ 한경진, "獨'세계유산'은 강제징용 역사를 고해성사하고 있었다," *조선일보* May 30, 2015.

¹²⁷ Siemons Mark, "Insel Des Grauens," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Sonntagszeitung* May 17, 2015.

¹²⁸ International Coalition of Sites of Conscience, "Interpretation of Sites of Memory," (International Coalition of Sites of Conscience, January 31, 2018), 8.

process. The 'Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution' are where different memories conflict with each other concerning heritage interpretation and it rose to the surface right before the 39th WHC session. This case shows that heritage interpretation does not always arrive at the single conclusion, and is often related to several nations, not just one.

Ename Charter indicated heritage interpretation should consider 'its multi-faceted historical, political, spiritual, and artistic contexts.'¹²⁹ The Charter also stipulates that 'successive phases and influences in its evolution' and 'all groups that have contributed to the historical and cultural significance' should also be respected.¹³⁰ Therefore, interpretation of the heritage with associated values should be provided a chance to have a conversation with individuals and groups concerned, so that all the significant voices can be included.¹³¹ Based on the current UNESCO World Heritage inscription system that only State Parties are in charge of nominating their properties, heritage with shared historical event or memories are 'strongly influenced by nationalism or other particularisms' of the nation that heritage belongs to, rather than providing well-balanced and full information on the heritage.¹³²

Politicization of Decision-Making Process

The final decision on the inscription of UNESCO World Heritage is made at the annual WHC session that has been politicized for decades. WHC is consisted of 19 members out of all the State Parties and represented by the delegation at WHC sessions. Since the right to decide is given to the WHC members, it is now recognized as a diplomatic issue that enables State Parties to exert influence over voting with more explicit strategies of influence, international pressure, and soft power diplomacy.¹³³

The 'Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution also shows an attempt of the Japanese and Korean government to persuade 17 WHC members to be on its side in the decision-making process, so that it can be a pressure for the adversary to make an agreement before the WHC session. Even though the two nations did not want to take a vote on the final decision, they prepared for the worst scenario that the member countries are asked to express their opinion. From then on, the decision is

¹²⁹ ICOMOS, "The Icomos Charter for the Interpretation and Presentation of Cultural Heritage Sites," (ICOMOS, October 4, 2008), 9.

¹³⁰ Ibid.

¹³¹ International Coalition of Sites of Conscience, "Interpretation of Sites of Memory," 27.

¹³² UNESCO, "Report of the Rapporteur on the Third Session of the World Heritage Committee," in *CC-79/CONF.003/13*, ed. UNESCO (Cairo and Luxor 1979), 9.

¹³³ C Luke and MM Kersel, "Soft Power, Hard Heritage: Us Cultural Diplomacy and Archaeology," (London: Routledge, 2012).

not just about the criteria that the Operational Guideline regulates or the opinions of experts (ICOMOS), but diplomatic power has a rather direct influence on the decision of inscription. Nowadays, delegations of WHC are mostly comprised of political appointments, not heritage experts, and the substance of heritage and its protection are losing its importance in the decision-making process of WHC.¹³⁴ As L. Meskell pointed out, decisions on the inscription of World Heritage reflect 'the very lowest level of ambition,' instead of pursuing 'the highest principles of conservation or community involvement.'¹³⁵ The credibility and procedure of World Heritage inscription are continuously challenged due to the politicization of the WHC.

Conclusion

This thesis has focused upon the heritage-making process of the 'Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution' that contains significant issues of heritage studies: selection of memories, heritage interpretation, and the politicization of decision-making process. The overall description and analysis on the inscription process show how the Sites inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage regardless of the information deficiency in the nomination file and sharp conflict over the statement of 'forced labor' in the final decision. It reveals the problem of UNESCO World Heritage inscription system and the WHC session that goes against to the spirit of the 1972 Convention.

An attempt of the Japanese government to register the 'Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution' to UNESCO World Heritage list was based on the creation of the concept of industrial heritage and its implant in the UNESCO World Heritage. After several times of success in nominating its industrial heritage to UNESCO, the Japanese accelerated an inscription of the 'Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution.' The Prime Minister and the Cabinet Secretariat of Japan were working on heritization of the Sites, prepared for not only the nomination file but also domestic legal bases. Through the nomination file, the main source of justifying the inscription, the Japanese government claimed that the Sites fulfilled the three criteria of OUV, and also met the conditions of authenticity and integrity. However, the people who contributed to the industrialization of Japan were missing in the heritage-making process, and some of the local museums in the Sites depicted the life of workers only on the bright side. The memories of the others were faded in the history of Japan's Meiji

¹³⁴ Meskell et al., "Multilateralism and Unesco World Heritage: Decision-Making, States Parties, and Political Processes."; Lynn Meskell, "States of Conservation: Protection, Politics, and Pacting within Unesco's World Heritage Committee," *Anthropological Quarterly* (2014).

¹³⁵ "States of Conservation: Protection, Politics, and Pacting within Unesco's World Heritage Committee."

Industrial Revolution.

Among many people who were ignored in the heritage-making process of the 'Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution, Korean forced laborers made up a large number of the victims. Koreans who were brought against their will were assigned to all sorts of different workplaces including some of the facilities on the Sites. Survivors testified that they worked and lived in inhumane condition, and they live a weary life. Since Korea, inactive in search of their memories, was not prepared enough to react systematically to the Japanese government, the Korean government even asked for the support to the NGOs and mostly relied on diplomatic strategy. Even though this process, the most important people, Korean forced laborers did not get a chance to speak out and express their opinions on this issue.

After the evaluation on the 'Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution,' ICOMOS recommended the Sites to be inscribed on the UNESCO World Heritage although the nomination file was pointed out of its lack of information on the overall elements of its history. The conflict between Korea and Japan was intensified from the time when the recommendation of ICOMOS was reported and lasted until the final decision was made by the WHC. The WHC avoided the worst scenario of taking a vote on the decision due to the diplomatic negotiation between Korea and Japan in a way to mention about the forced labor in the text of the decision.

The whole process of inscribing the 'Sites of Japan's Meiji Industrial Revolution' to the UNESCO World Heritage is a series of the interaction of State Parties of WHC and ICOMOS before and during the 39th session of WHC. This case implicitly shows several issues that appear during the heritage-making process of a nation, especially relevant to the selection of memories for justification, interpretation of heritage, and politicization of decision-making mechanism during WHC session.

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