

Other Spaces: Exploring Kyushu as ‘Heterotopia for Humanity’ in Japan’s Korean War

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Abstract—In commemoration of the 70th year since the Korean War (1950-1953)’s outbreak, this research explores the values and connotations of Kyushu as heterotopia, meaning “other spaces” in Japan’s Korean War. In analyzing the theoretical principles of heterotopia elaborated by Michel Foucault, this paper presents a case study of the American Registration Graves Service (AGRS) in Kokura. Previously located in Kitakyushu, Central Identification Unit (CIU) in the AGRS served as a hub for identifying the United Nations (UN) fallen soldiers of the War. Examining the identification process taken at the CIU, I investigate the possibility of interpreting Kyushu as a heterotopia based on Foucault’s theory. The study implemented qualitative research methods in three countries: (1) a careful literature review by the physical anthropologists of the University of Tokyo in Japan, (2) the interview with the former staff of the United Nations Memorial Cemetery in Korea (UNMCK), and (3) the archival research at United Nations Archives and Records Management Section (United Nations Archives) in the US. The paper demonstrates that the identification process was a massive humanitarian project which has been undisclosed for almost 70 years. Based on the first and foremost findings, the research highlights that Kyushu can be conceptualized as a unique heterotopia, regulating access with a system of opening and closing through identifying the War dead. This research thus provides a theoretical and practical contribution to the interdisciplinary forum of social science and humanities, expanding horizons of illuminating multilayered values of Kyushu as “Heterotopia for Humanity.”

Index Terms—American Registration Graves Service (AGRS), Central Identification Unit (CIU), National Archives and Records Administration (NARA), United Nations Memorial Cemetery in Korea (UNMCK).

I. INTRODUCTION

This year marks the 70th anniversary since the Korean War (1950-1953) broke out on June 25, 1950 [1]. Although there are numerous studies on the War, scholars have paid little attention to the humanitarian support case in Japan [2], which played a crucial role during the conflict. In this regard, it is necessary to shed light on Kyushu as a palimpsest through the ‘biographical lens’ as a means of close-grained analysis to understand the fluidity and dynamism of places [3], [4].

The main objective of this paper is to explore the values and connotations of Kyushu as heterotopia, meaning “other spaces” in the Korean War on Japanese soil. In analyzing the theoretical principles of heterotopia and heterotopology elaborated by philosopher Michel Foucault, this paper presents a case study of the American Registration Graves

Service (AGRS) in the Kokura camp. Previously located in the Kitakyushu region, Central Identification Unit (CIU) in the AGRS served as a significant stage for identifying the fallen UN combatants (mostly American soldiers) from 1951 to 1956 [1], [5]. By examining the characteristics of the identification process taken at the CIU, I have attempted to illuminate the possibility of comprehending Kyushu as a heterotopia in the framework of Foucault’s theory.

I applied qualitative research methods in three countries as follows: 1) a careful literature review by the physical anthropologists of the University of Tokyo in Japan [6], [7], 2) the interview with the former staff of the UNMCK, and 3) both the on-site archival research at the United Nations Archives and Records Management Section (United Nations Archives) in the US [8]¹ and the online analysis of National Archives and Records Administration (NARA) documents [5], [9]-[11].

The paper proves that the identification process was a sublime humane project, which has been undisclosed for almost 70 years. Based on the original findings, I am eager to stress that Kyushu can fruitfully be conceptualized as a unique heterotopia, controlling access with a system of opening and closing through the identification of the deceased. Furthermore, I would like to propose policy recommendations for Kyushu from the perspectives of 3Ps, which are policymakers, professionals, and the public.

In commemoration of the milestone of the Korean War and the opening of 2020 the 9th International Conference on Social Science and Humanity (ICSSH 2020), this Foucauldian approach offers timely insights into the multi-vocal interpretation of Kyushu in the local, national, and global contexts. This research is thus expected to provide a theoretical and practical contribution to the interdisciplinary forum of social science and humanities, expanding horizons of illuminating multilayered connotations of Kyushu as “Heterotopia for Humanity.”

II. THE CONCEPT OF HETEROTOPIA

The approach of heterotopia dates back to its first appearance in the preface of *The Order of Things: An Archaeology of the Human Sciences* (Foucault 1970 [1966]) [12]. In the following year, Foucault elaborated on the characteristics in the lecture titled ‘Of Other Spaces,’ demonstrating that heterotopia as sites that are simultaneously represented, contested, and inverted [13]. The core concept is that heterotopias are spaces that disrupt the continuity of ordinary places. Unlike the inherently unreal utopia, heterotopias are other real spaces in our everyday

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¹ The on-site archival research at the United Nations Archives is based on my previous studies ([1], [4], [26]).

lives inverting or breaking down the boundaries of areas.

The six principles of 'heterotopology' can be summarized as follows. The first suggestion starts from the premise that every culture creates heterotopias globally, even though they can vary in forms. Foucault laid out this foundation by suggesting two categories: (a) crisis and (b) deviant. (a) Crisis heterotopias refer to individuals at a particular stage of crisis in society, e.g., rites of passage for adolescents, the aged, or pregnant women. (b) Deviant heterotopias relate to the required mean or norm, e.g., psychiatric hospitals or prisons [13]. However, scholars have occasionally criticized Foucault's conceptualizations in which those are incomplete, 'inconsistent,' and sometimes 'incoherent' [14]. There is also a limitation that the two categories mentioned above are not followed explicitly in the following principles [15].

The second proposition defines that "heterotopia has a precise and determined function within a society and the same heterotopia can, according to the synchrony of the culture in which it occurs, have one function or another" [13]. According to this concept, other spaces are likely to be embedded in a variable topology in a socio-cultural milieu, since our societies incessantly adapt, abolish, or amend the existing norms. For instance, Foucault notes that a "cemetery is certainly a place unlike ordinary cultural spaces" [13]. As the cemeteries were once centrally located next to the church, the perception of death as a source of illness pushed the graveyards out of the city and relocated them near suburbs. In this context, as other spaces are subject to acquire new meanings shared by stakeholders in a changing culture, the idea of heterotopias are a social construct.

The third notion implies the defining characteristic of the heterotopia in that it juxtaposes several spaces or sites which are incompatible in a single real place [13]. Heterotopias merge specific areas such as between private space and public space, family space and social space, cultural space and useful space, the space of leisure and that of work into the other spaces [13]. This proposition is noteworthy that it enunciates the sense of differences, the "hetero" at the heart of the idea [16]. A major critique with Foucault's explanation thus inevitably raises the question of the extent of the 'difference' and how such difference can be measured [15]. Is a private space always incapable of harmonious coexistence with the public space? How can we decide the boundary of leisure between work, and who draws the line? Most importantly, what are the fundamental meanings for an individual or a society to have such heterotopias? Albeit ambiguously, the third characteristic likewise broadens human understandings toward the reasons for the existence, or *raison d'être*, of those spaces in our lives.

The fourth presumption states that "heterotopias are most often linked to slices in time" [13]. Those are temporal [chroniques], not oriented toward the eternal [13]. Although we can construe festivals to exist only infinite time, the celebrations as events are highly complicated layers of temporalities that require scrutiny of its origins and social contexts [16]. Similarly, "ephemera [...] is all of those things that remain after a performance, a kind of evidence of what has transpired" [17]. For Foucault, the traditional archive of documents such as museums and libraries accumulate time, and cemeteries disregard it [18].

Regarding the fifth trait, Foucault writes, "heterotopias

always presuppose a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable" [13]. In contrast to the unlimited accessible place, people are allowed to enter certain heterotopias via particular compulsory acts, including but not limited to payment, registration, identification, purification, or worship. For Foucault, "everyone can enter into these heterotopic sites, but in fact that is only an illusion: we think we enter where we are, by the very fact that we enter, excluded" [13]. Based on this theory, highly structured restrictions such as closed memberships or rites are decisive factors for the inclusion of heterotopias.

Lastly, the sixth idea is that heterotopias have a function related to all the space that remains [13]. Foucault elaborates, "either their role is to create a space of illusion that exposes every real space, all the sites inside of which human life is partitioned, as still more illusory [...]. Or else, on the contrary, their role is to create a space that is other, another real space, as perfect, as meticulous [...]" [13]. These two extreme types of 'illusory' and 'perfect' characterize heterotopias as spaces of creating tensions.

To sum up, we can take heterotopias that appear in every culture (first) as the incompatible (third) other space with a temporal (fourth) system of opening and closing (fifth), which has a determined function (second) adding the illusion or compensation (sixth). As mentioned above, these six traits have not always been considered reasonable in their theoretical frame. For instance, there have been attempts to narrow down the six principles into three, (1) crisis, (2) deviant, and (3) illusion to clarify the confusing conceptions [19]. Heterotopology, however, may not be simplified as such; since the theory was not complete from the beginning, there are still rooms for discovering its multilayered aspects and the exceptions.

Whereas researchers have often argued that the concept is ambiguous, its biography has brought significant theoretical development and a 'postmodern turn' within human geography [20]. It has laid an essential foundation for the critical analysis of heterotopian studies in the disciplines of art, language, architecture, literature, and so on.

Given this extensive body of research, however, no research has ever been conducted to apply this heterotopology into Kyushu as the other space during Japan's supporting type of involvement in the Korean War. This study would accordingly be the first original scholarly attempt to investigate the connotations in the related field, filling the research gaps. In the next part, I will demonstrate how we can interpret the AGRS, temporarily located in Kyushu, as the other space, formulated on Foucault's heterotopic analysis.

III. CASE STUDY OF THE AGRS IN THE KOKURA CAMP

A. *Establishment of the AGRS in Kokura*

The Korean War was an international conflict between communism and capitalism, which amplified its magnitude to a global scale. The commitment of UN military forces to defend the Republic of Korea from the aggression of North Korean troops on June 25, 1950, led to the dispatch of the UN soldiers to Korea [21]. The 16 UN allied combat nations were Australia, Belgium, Canada, Columbia, Ethiopia, France,

Greece, Luxemburg, Netherlands, New Zealand, Philippines, Union of South Africa, Thailand, the US, Turkey, and the United Kingdom. Among these UN combatants, the US troops, on occupation duty in Japan, formed the nucleus of the UN forces in Korea [1], [22].

Military engagement in Korea went through chaotic situations [23]. As the combat fronts ranged along the Korean Peninsula, so were the UN gravesites scattered [1], [23]. Since the first official UN cemetery was established in Taejeon by the 24th Infantry Division on July 9, 1950 [22], other burial sites were set up in Inchon, Taejon, Taegu, Masan, and Miryang [1], [22], [24], [25]. The separate combat divisions managed to bury their colleagues at temporary graves in a hasty manner; however, they could not retrieve the dead bodies due to the fraught conditions [22], [23].

The UN command decided to establish a new United Nations military cemetery in Tanggok (Danggok), the southern area of Pusan (Busan), to unify the dispersed the UN cemeteries in the Korean Peninsula [1], [2], [21]- [24]. Pusan was the wartime capital of the Republic of Korea for about 1,023 days [4], [21], [26]. From January 19 to April 1, 1951, hundreds of Koreans took part in constructing the seventy-two acres of the burial site [21]-[23].

While the construction of the UN cemetery was in progress, AGRS in Camp Kokura, Kyushu, performed as a stage where the UN command transited most of the American fallen soldiers from Pusan, Korea, stored, identified, embalmed, casketed, and sent them to the next-of-kin in the US [1], [5], [22], [23], [24], [25]. In mid-December 1950, officers with previous Graves Registration experience discussed preliminary plans called for the location of such an installation in Korea [1], [5], [24]. However, surveillance failed to reveal any complexes which were considered suitable during combat Korea [1], [5], [24]. Hurried observation discovered that adequate facilities could be developed immediately available at Camp Kokura on northern Kyushu, Japan [1], [5], [24]. Such an installation, under the direct control of the Quartermaster, Far East, was established in Japan on December 28, 1950, and designated as Zone Headquarters, American Graves Registration Service Group (8204th Army Unit), Camp Kokura. [1], [5], [22].

Fig. 1 illustrates the UN military cemetery in Tanggok, Korea, as of April 9, 1951. A young Korean girl is placing a wreath at one of the graves as two US army honor guards stand at attention. I was able to find the data from the online archival study of the Record Group (RG) 306 Records of the United States Information Agency, NARA [9].



Fig. 1. The UN military cemetery (April 9, 1951) [9].

On January 2, 1951, Zone Headquarters was activated- the same day that a shipment of 864 remains disinterred from the Inchon cemetery arrived for processing [1], [22], [24], [27].

The fallen soldiers arrived aboard Landing Ship Tanks (LST) [25]. During the next couple of days, servicemen unloaded the bodies with 'dignity and respect' and transported to where the processing took place by trucks [25]. After the Central Identification Unit arrived from Fort Lee, the US [23], the actual handling of bodies for identification commenced on 29 January 1951 [1], [24].

The following statements reveal the massive distinctiveness of the operation: never in the history of the United States, or any other nation, has there been a mass evacuation of the remains of men killed in action while hostilities were still in force [1], [2], [22], [25]. The long-established practice of leaving the bodies in battlefield cemeteries or isolated locations until after the cessation of hostilities necessitated the organization capable of carrying out the manifold operations of receiving, processing, identifying, embalming, casketing, and shipping [2], [22], [25].

MG K. L. Hastings, who later became the Quartermaster General, had made a decision, approved by the Department of Defense, to return all American casualties to the US [1], [5], [24], [25]. Because the proper facility to undertake the task could not be developed in the Korean Peninsula during wartime, paradoxically, Camp Kokura in Kyushu activated as the other space in terms of heterotopology. In this respect, I draw attention to the fact that Kyushu was a heterotopia in the extended Korean War on Japanese soil in the next part.

B. Humanitarian Work of Identifying the Bodies: 'Reading the Bones'

Since the launch of the AGRS facility in January 1951, the professionals from various fields engaged in the task represented a heterogeneous group [2], [24]. The military workforce included a large number of licensed embalmers, who were screened from the service personnel throughout the Far East Command and the continental US [24]. Anthropologists included two Americans, one European, who had extensive experience in the Second World War program [1], [2], [23], [24]. Several local Japanese workers were also employed to carry out tasks like cleaning and scrubbing the facilities to maintain the high standards of sanitation essential to the success of the project [2], [24]. Experienced identification investigators from the Memorial Division, Office of the Quartermaster General (OQMG), and numerous clerical personnel were used in headquarters operations [24]. There were various races of humankind among this small group of experts involving in the anthropological project in a highly desirable but extremely unusual situation [2], [24], making an ideal milieu for heterotopia.

Among the personnel hired for this work was Hanihara Kazuro, who had just graduated from Tokyo University majoring in anthropology and was about to enter the postgraduate course in 1951 [1], [2], [6]. He and his colleagues, Furue Tadao and Kohara Yukinari, were recruited upon the request of the US military, who needed the professional anthropologists in Japan [1], [6]. Their primary mission was to reassemble and identify the remains of UN soldiers. Based on the working contract between the US military and Tokyo University, they were sent to Kokura in 1951 [2], [6]. From that moment, their extraordinary journey

to the AGRS began. It was thus only via this official contract that gave the young Japanese anthropologists permission to enter the heterotopia.

Later on, Hanihara published a book entitled *Reading the Bones (Honewo yomu)* based on his experience in Kokura [2], [6]. In his essay, Hanihara vividly expresses the places such as Camp Kokura, where the anthropologists identified remains, and the Keihin district, where relatively clean bodies could be kept [6]. On the other hand, there is a description of the remnants of the fallen soldiers, who were "burned black," and the Jono Area, where the War dead were buried [6].²

Fig. 2 illustrates the spatial chart of Jono Area drawn in 1956. The drawing is also my finding from the archival investigation of NARA, the Graves Registration thru Brig. Gen. Hastings Folder (1) [10]. Taking into account that Fig.2 reflects the situations as of January 1956, a couple of months before the de-activation of the AGRS, we can assume the possibility of change in the installations from the initial status of the Jono Area in 1951. As seen from Fig.2, facilities such as mausoleums, laboratories, open and covered storages conjure up a complete environment as other space. Civilians could not enter the complexes of the AGRS without an authorization. AGRS was thus a perfect heterotopia with the system of opening and closing, isolated from the everyday lives of Kokura, Jono, and Moji. A few annexed facilities juxtaposed spaces that are incompatible in a single place of Kyushu.

The core arena of the heterotopia, CIU, was responsible for processing remains, recording physical details, and making comparisons with information in various records [27]. The first step was personal identification [25]. CIU examined the bodies for physical traits such as fingerprints, teeth, hair color, skin pigmentation, height, tattoos, scars, shoe size, and bones to ensure absolute identification [1], [24], [25], [27]. Reference [24] and [25] demonstrate that this process was frequently dangerous: on many occasions, the workforce found the live grenades and small arms ammunitions (sic) when they removed the clothing from the dead bodies. In some cases, the firing-pin releases were severely rusted and in momentary danger of breaking and activating the grenades [24], [25].

CIU employed highly scientific methods for personal identification. The crew did not initiate the second phase of the procedure, embalming, and shipment until the professional team determined the identity of the deceased without a doubt [25]. Among the anthropologists were Hanihara, who scrutinized the bodies with eager and scientific eyes. During the eighty days of the contract, Hanihara consistently measured the bones and categorized the physical characteristics [6]. He recalls his fate to identify whether the dead body was of a soldier or a civilian, north or south, man or woman, white or black, or 'mixed blood' [2], [6]³.

It is not easy to fathom what kind of pressure he might have felt when he was left alone, struggling with the silent bones. While 'reading the bones,' Hanihara could gradually grasp the different features of the bones by races [2], [6].

Notably, he came to tell the remains of a white man's body from a black man's bones even from a two-meter distance, just by looking at a lower jaw bone after repeating thorough inspections [2], [6]⁴. From the beginning until the dead body could retrieve its name of the real-life, the bones were mute [2].

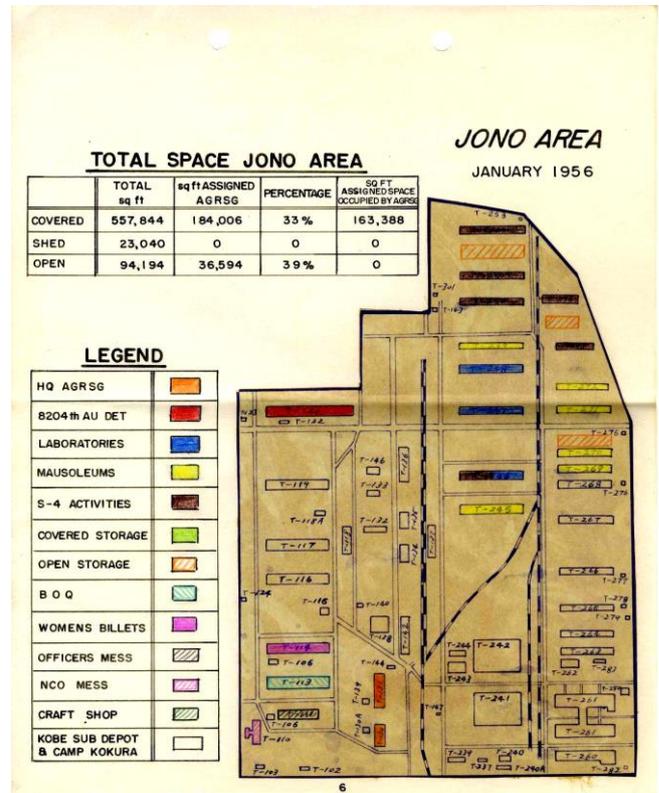


Fig. 2. Spatial chart of the Jono area [10].

Based on the experience in CIU at Kokura, Hanihara and his two colleagues, Furue and Kohara, co-published a thesis entitled "Identification of the Dead" amid their task [1], [7]. Reference [7] demonstrates the identification of the deceased is crucial for the related field, which requires extensive use of the techniques of physical anthropology. While addressing the difficulties of lacking adequate identification facilities in Japan, they expressed hope that more intensive studies will make contributions to forensic medicine and physical anthropology [7].

In 1954, AGRS retained Dr. T. Dale Stewart, an eminent professor from the Smithsonian, to help identify the deceased men [27]. Working in a warehouse for four months, Stewart played a role in producing one of the most reliable methods for estimating the age at the time of death [27]. The following statement illustrates how the workforce in the AGRS verified the identity of the bodies: the CIU processes the remains, completing documents such as Report of Interment, Inventory of Effects, QMC Form 1044, Dental Chart, QMC Form 1044b, Skeletal Chart, Fingerprint Cards, Furnishing X-Ray pictures, fluoroscope reports, to name a few [27].

² Translated from Japanese into English by the author ([6], p.40)

³ Translated from Japanese into English by the author ([6], pp.87-95)

⁴ Translated from Japanese into English by the author ([6], p.83)

19. BLACK OUT PARTS OF BODY NOT RECEIVED

ALLIED

UNKNOWN FOREIGN NATIONAL PLAT 1 ROW 1 GRAVE 11

20. MASS BURIAL CERTIFICATE (IF APPLICABLE)
(Wherein segregation in whole or part is impossible)

I Certify that the Group Remains consist of Parts of _____ Decedents Based on the Presence of One or More of the Following Anatomical Parts:

21. REMARKS AND ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Missing parts stated as followed:
Frontal, maxilla, temporal, parietal, occipital, mandible, sternum, cervical, vertebrae, left clavicle, right ulna, right radius and right and left carpal bones, metacarpals, phalanges, tibia, tarsal bones, metatarsals, phalanges.

I Certify that I have Personally Viewed the Remains of Deceased and that All Resulting Information Has Been Recorded to the Best of My Knowledge

TYPED NAME, GRADE, ARMY OR SERVICE, AND ORGANIZATION SIGNATURE

SGT, Tae Hong, GRS Specialist, UNMCK

QMC FORM 1044b

Fig. 3. Skeletal chart of the unknown soldier [8].

Fig. 3 is an actual description of QMC Form 1044b of the unknown UN soldier. Anthropologists such as Hanihara and his assistant checked every part of the skeleton and completed the chart [2], [6]. The explanation on the upper left of Fig.3 reads, “19. blackout parts of (the) body not received” [2], [8]. The bones colored in black thus meant the parts were missing.

Moreover, Fig. 3 shows an unknown combatant who has been reentered in the UN military cemetery (Fig.1), as of August 14, 1964. On the Report of Internment says, “(previously reported) approved as an Unknown Foreign National by Identification board of review, Zone Hqs, AGRSG, 8204th AU APO 3, on 18 May 54” [8]. As for remarks, “Unk (i.e., unknown) X-8 was evacuated to Kokura, Japan on an Unk date, remains were returned to UNMCK Tanggok, Korea on 27 May 54 as an Unk. Foreign National” [8]. It is the outcome of the intensive archival analysis after examining more than 1,000 pieces of the unrevealed data from the folder entitled ‘Cemetery, The - Reports of Internment,’ which I conducted in the United Nations Archives from July 1 to 5, 2019 [1], [4], [8], [26].

At my interview with Chung Tae Hong, who worked as a GRS specialist at that time in the UNMCK (signature on the lower left of Fig. 3), Mr. Chung mentioned: “Although I faced with many obstacles, I assure it (taking care of the deceased) was the time when I worked so hard without any shame.”⁵ Mr. Chung, who is currently 90 years old, stressed that he engaged in his job with dignity and respect in taking care of the fallen soldiers and establishing the UN cemetery. Likewise, the young Japanese anthropologists who ‘read’ the countless bones at the CIU in Kokura took pride in their

arduous task.

For Hanihara, Furue, and Kohara, “the work executed by the CIU may not exceed the boundary of the academic, personal identification which the anthropologists have been carrying out in the laboratory, but as a mass procedure, it constitutes *a noble and humanitarian, cultural project* (highlighted in Italics by the author) performed with careful and meticulous consideration” [1], [7]⁶. Reference [7], in this regard, ends with the following sentence: “we conclude this paper with all our hearts to the death of so many young men, regardless of nationality or race, in the aftermath of the War.”⁷

C. Application of the AGRS to Foucault’s Heterotology

Examining the identification process taken at the CIU, I elucidate Kyushu as a heterotopia based on Foucault’s theory. The core concept is that we can comprehend the CIU of AGRS as ‘the other space’ that disrupts the continuity of everyday lives. Kyushu is inextricably interwoven with the six characteristics of heterotology as follows.

1) The first principle

The first proposition was that every culture creates heterotopias despite the variety in its forms. CIU, AGRS, Camp Kokura were the outcome of such a premise. In terms of the two categories of (a) crisis and (b) deviant, we can assume that these facilities are subject to (b) deviant heterotopias as they required high standards or norms to process the remains of the deceased servicemen. Moreover, considering that young Japanese anthropologists such as Hanihara, Furue, and Kohara struggled to identify the dead bodies within a limited time, I point out that their working days at Kokura can be (a) crisis heterotopias at the individual level. Since all of them went on to be the renowned physical anthropologists in Japan [2], it can be construed that they overcame their particular stage of crisis at Kokura.

2) The second principle

The second premise defines that according to the synchrony of the culture, heterotopia may have a precise and determined function within a society, and the same heterotopia can have one purpose or another. In this respect, AGRS in Kokura was situated in a different topology in Japanese culture since its role was to process the remains of the UN military servicemen in the Korean War. For example, embalming was an idiosyncratic task for Japanese anthropologists; Hanihara recalls it was accepted as a different practice between cultures [6]. Given this context, heterotopias are subject to the socially constructed milieu.

3) The third principle

Based on the third idea, CIU, AGRS, Camp Kokura, and Moji Port all tend to juxtapose several spaces that are incompatible in a single real place of Kitakyushu. Taking the example of Hanihara, he described his experiences at the CIU as an extraordinary opportunity to develop his research skills. He recalled, ‘I was certain that I would rarely have a chance to examine the bones of so many white, black, or any other

⁵ Based on the interview with Mr. Chung at Gijang, near Busan, Korea on November 13, 2019. (Translated from Korean into English by the author)

⁶ Translated from Japanese into English by the author ([7], p.205)

⁷ Ibid.

people with mixed races in the future' [6].⁸ Considering that he benefitted from the working environment reading various bones and experiencing the leading mortuary culture of the US, I came to conclude that AGRS was a heterotopia juxtaposing private and public, research and work, cultural and useful to some extent.

4) The fourth principle

Military complexes of Kokura was a perfect milieu linked to slices in time, or temporal. The 8204th Unit of the AGRS activated for only a certain period: from 1951 to 1956 [1], [5]. Even if the AGRS in Kokura itself lasted for approximately five years, the tradition of the organization goes back to the World War. In this respect, I argue that we need to examine the temporalities of the AGRS related to the Korean War in consideration of the inter-conflict contexts.

5) The fifth principle

8204th Unit in Kokura was complete a heterotopia equipped with a system of opening and closing that both isolates them and makes them penetrable. Mausoleums, in particular, was an extremely excluded space for unauthorized people. As I stated regarding the Jono Area, only the allowed individuals could gain access via compulsory acts such as identification or employment contract. In this sense, 8204th Unit complexes were highly regulated heterotopias between the realm of the dead and the living.

6) The sixth principle

Revoking that the last principle was regarding the function of heterotopia concerning all the remaining space, it is presumable that the AGRS fulfilled the philanthropic efforts to identify the bodies and send them to the next-of-kin or the UNMCK. As the purpose of the heterotopia is to create a space of 'illusory' and 'perfect,' the AGRS carried out its functions at the borderline of such attributes.

Honoring the exemplary work, the Meritorious Unit Commendation was awarded to the AGRS in Kokura for the achievements in 1955. The extract reads:

"The AGRS, 8204th Army Unit, is cited for the exceptionally meritorious conduct in the performance of outstanding services in support of combat operations in Korea...The professional competence, unity of effort, and meticulous attention to detail exhibited by each member of the AGRS, 8204th Army Unit, contributed significantly to the success of their difficult and vital mission in support of the United Nations' first armed bid for world peace and reflects great credit on themselves and the military service of the United States" [25].

The explanation mentioned above thus documents the sixth notion of heterotopology, "another real space, as perfect, as meticulous" [13]. Fig. 4 is the photo of the Camp Kokura receiving the "Best Mess" Award in 1955 [11]. It is one of my findings through the online archival analysis of NARA.

As a stage of identifying, embalming, and shipping the bodies of fallen soldiers during the Korean War, Camp Kokura, Jono Area, and Moji Port all broke down the boundary of the dead and the living. In this sense, Kyushu can be conceptualized as a unique heterotopia, regulating access with a system of opening and closing.



Fig. 4. Camp Kokura receiving the "best mess" award in 1955 [11].

IV. POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS: EXPLORING KYUSHU AS A 'HETEROTOPIA FOR HUMANITY'

Based on the biographical approach of the AGRS in Kokura, I would like to propose policy recommendations for Kyushu from the perspectives of the main stakeholders of 3Ps: policymakers, professionals, and the public.

A. Policymakers: Envision, Entrust and Enact

Places can be politicized, culturally relative, historically specific, and various constructions [28]. Keeping it in mind, the policymakers of Kyushu may consider *envisioning* the city as a 'Heterotopia for Humanity,' exploring the values from the hidden story of the Korean War on Japanese soil. Although the history itself may not have been the city's initiative, a humane project of Kyushu in the conflict can constitute a memorable trace as a palimpsest of the region. Notably, the concept of honoring and caring for the remains of the courageous men who gave their all in defense of the principles to which it is dedicated has always been a vital function of the society, not only limited to the armed forces [22].

From this perspective, I advise the Kyushu metropolitan government and policymakers to *entrust* various stakeholders to discover the multivocal dimensions of place. Consequently, they can *enact* governance policies to promote their region where the global workforce undertook the philanthropic endeavors during the War. The conflict was never forgotten, nor did the contributions of young Japanese anthropologists such as Hanihara, Furue, and Kohara. Especially, given the fact that Hanihara was born and lived in Kitakyushu city, Fukuoka prefecture [29], the municipality may consider memorializing his humanistic achievements in his hometown. Overall, *enacting* governance given Foucault's heterotopology would provide a unique topology to the Kyushu city compared to other metropolises.

B. Professionals: Connect, Cooperate and Collaborate

In terms of the professionals in academia, I suggest that they take the heterotopic approach to the multi-vocal interpretation of Kyushu in the local, national, and global contexts. For instance, all relevant actors, including researchers, museum curators, archivists, can *connect* and *cooperate* in scrutinizing the hidden history of Kokura and

⁸ Translated from Japanese into English by the author ([6], p.10)

Kyushu. They can also *collaborate* for the archival analysis in the United Nations Archives or NARA, as I conducted in the case study.

I would also like to propose local universities in Kyushu to hold seminars on the history and values of humanitarian efforts made in the region through ‘Kyushugaku’ (*Kyushugaku*). ‘*Kyushugaku*,’ referring to the Kyushu area studies, is an academic forum where professionals give lectures on the aspects and attractions of Kyushu. Until recently, institutions of Kyushu have implemented the series under the themes of “Outgoing from the frontier (*henkyokarano hasshin*)” and “Lightening Kyushu (*kyushuwo hakkosuru*)” [30].⁹

Taking into account that many academic institutions, including Nishinippon Institute of Technology, have implemented this ‘*Kyushugaku*,’ I am eager to advise educational professionals to open the series of ‘*Kyushugaku*’ to shed light on philanthropic efforts in the AGRS. Exemplary conduct as the Meritorious Unit Commendation given to the 8204th Army Unit can be a salient example to disseminate the humane virtues in the region. Researchers can afterward expand the learning forums to the national and global contexts to depict Kyushu as ‘Heterotopia for Humanity.’

C. Public: Observe, Operate and Optimize

The word ‘public’ is not only confined to the residents of Kyushu but also the Japanese and the global citizens in the national and international contexts. I suggest that the public should thus *observe* the performance of the policymakers and professionals. People may then *operate* their various engagements such as volunteer programs or community-building (*machizukuri*), with NGO or NPO activities, and explore the unknown history of their other place themselves. Even though they may not have been able to raise their voice in the past, the public can share the numerous narratives in Kyushu. Their management will lead the multiple stakeholders to *optimize* the overall plans to rediscover the philanthropic involvement of other space, Kyushu.

V. CONCLUSION

This research was meant to explore the meanings of the hidden history of AGRS in Kokura and investigate the philanthropic endeavors to identify the fallen soldiers of the Korean War. By tracking the historical path of the temporal AGRS facilities through the biographical lens of place, I applied Foucault’s theory of heterotopology to the interpretation of Kyushu as a heterotopia for humanity in Japan’s Korean War. The study employed qualitative research methods based on three languages in three parts: (1) a detailed literature review by the physical anthropologists of the University of Tokyo, (2) the interview with the former staff and supervisor of the UNMCK, and (3) both the on-site archival analysis at United Nations Archives in the US and online research of NARA data.

In the framework of heterotopology, I conceptualized the AGRS in Kokura as a deviant heterotopia with a temporal

system of opening and closing through the highly restricted process of registration, identification, and contracts. It was a stage where the 8204th Army Unit and physical anthropologists undertook the altruistic accomplishments under the determined missions.

In remembrance of the 70th year of the Korean War and the opening of the 9th ICSSH 2020, I expect that this heterotopic approach will be fitting to add new dimensions toward the understanding of Kyushu in the local, national, and global contexts. I am convinced that this paper would be a pioneering step to delve into the related field of the hidden historical values of the AGRS in Kokura built on Foucault’s concepts. Eventually, this research would make a theoretical and practical contribution to the interdisciplinary forum of social science and humanities, expanding connotations of Kyushu as “Heterotopia for Humanity.”

CONFLICT OF INTEREST

The author declares no conflict of interest.

AUTHOR CONTRIBUTIONS

I, Chungsun Lee, is fully responsible for this research paper. There is no collaborative work from other authors.

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