

Statues, Memories of History and Their Impact in International Relations

JOSEPH RUIZ PATRICK¹

University of Azores

E-mail: ruiz230e@gmail.com

Orcid: 0000-0002-1955-3866

Abstract:

In Southeast Asia, Koreans see building of comfort women statues (euphemism for women enslaved by Japanese military) as a way to remember the atrocities committed by the Japanese imperial government during World War II. This has been very unpleasant to the Japanese government and caused diplomatic conflicts between the two countries. On the other side of the globe (in the West), statues that glorify slave trade owners, have long been on debate for removal - during the 2020 anti-racism protest by Black Lives Matter, statues were torn down by protesters. The contrast in this phenomenon is that, while in the West the victims want the statues removed, in the East the victims are the ones erecting the statues. Through qualitative research on electronic articles and books, this study seeks to understand why the reactions of both victims are contradicting. This study has found out that the contrast in this reaction to statues is explainable by the differences between these two terms "memorials" and "monuments." The paper affirms that the differences of these two terms impact the reactions to statues in the West and in the East which leads to international conflicts.

Keywords: Comfort women statues, slave trader statues, international conflict, memorials, monuments, memories of history, statue conflicts, statue destruction, images from history, statue protest, Statue diplomacy, social injustice

Resumo

No sudeste asiático, os coreanos estão empenhados em construir as estátuas das mulheres de conforto (eufemismo para as mulheres escravizadas pelo militar japonês) para lembrar as atrocidades cometidas pelo governo imperial japonês durante a Segunda Guerra Mundial. Isto tem sido muito desagradável para o governo japonês e tem causado conflitos diplomáticos entre os dois países. Do outro lado do globo (no Ocidente), estátuas que glorificam os donos do tráfico negreiro estão em debate para serem removidas, há muito tempo - durante o protesto anti-racismo de 2020 da Black Lives Matter, estátuas foram demolidas por manifestantes. O contraste neste fenómeno é que, enquanto no Ocidente as vítimas querem as estátuas removidas, no Oriente as vítimas são as que erigem as estátuas. Através de pesquisas qualitativas sobre artigos e livros electrónicos, este estudo procura compreender porque é que as reacções de ambas as vítimas são contraditórias. Este estudo descobriu que o contraste nesta reacção às estátuas é explicável pelas diferenças entre estes dois termos "memoriais" e "monumentos". Este trabalho afirma que as diferenças entre estes dois termos influenciam as reacções às estátuas no Ocidente e no Oriente, o que conduz a conflitos internacionais.

Palavras-chave: Estátuas de mulheres de conforto, estátuas de personagens ligados à escravidão, conflito internacional, monumentos, memoriais, memórias da história, conflitos de estátuas,

¹ JOSEPH Ruiz Patrick is a PhD student in Insular and Atlantic History XV-XX centuries at the University of the Azores. He obtained a Master degree in International Relations: Euro Atlantic Area at the same university, and a Bachelor degree in International Relations at Tokyo International University in Japan.

destruição de estátuas, imagens da história, protesto de estátuas, diplomacia de estátuas, injustiça social.

INTRODUCTION

Some famous statues around the world we hear of and see frequently are the Liberty statue in New York, US, Christ the Redeemer Statue in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, Christ the King statue in Lisbon, Portugal, Great Sphinx of Giza in Egypt, The Thinker in Paris, France, and Spring Temple Buddha, China. These statues are connected to one story or the other commemorating a passed event with significance. The Liberty Statue for example was a gift from France to the United States to commemorate the alliance and friendship of France and the US. The statue signifies freedom and democracy in the US. Christ the Redeemer Statue and Christ the King statues are religiously inspired statues, representing and commemorating Christ Jesus. Statues that represent a religious figure are closely connected to the religious faith and remind the worshippers of their faith. However, statues which represent a figure related to a social injustice or memories of war could inspire a division between two groups of people leading to a bone of contention.

Statues of Thomas Jefferson, George Washington, Ulysses S Grant, and Francis Scott Key were taken down in 2020 during the Black Lives Matter campaign across the US due to their connection with slavery or racism. During the violence, University of Portland took down the statue of York who was a slave of Lewis & Clark (Rambo, 2020). These statues must have been interpreted by the protesters as injustice - the statues bring them memories of the Atlantic Slave Trade era and its atrocities which they believe they minorities are still facing today due to their racial difference.

One of the primary aims of building these statues is to preserve the memories of history, however, the memories preserved are perceived by the victims as humiliation when they suffer an injustice - like in the case of George Floyd's death. One of the questions they ask is, why does this injustice still happen? And the first answer that comes to mind is connected to the fact that the victims are an ethnic minority. This phenomenon reminds them that they have been victimised for a long time in history. In summary, the anger and motivation to protest against the injustices which happen today and those in history leads to vandalising the memories in the statues that keep the injustice alive today.

I found the reactions of victims of social injustice to statue building in the West very opposite to that of the reactions of victims in southeast Asia. While I lived in Japan, the most common issue on the news was about Korean activists pushing for the building of more comfort women statues - an issue which irritates the Japanese government. Hence, it always led to diplomatic conflicts. For the victims in Southeast Asia they prefer commemorating injustice against them by building statues. Koreans have continued to demand apologies from the Japanese government and build comfort women statues to commemorate the atrocities the Japanese military committed during World War II. Some Korean activists constructed a comfort woman statue in front of the Japanese embassy in Seoul, South Korea.

Recently, comfort women statues are also being built in other countries in Asia, Europe, and in the US. The reactions of the Japanese government have been intolerant about the building of these statues, for example the Mayor of Osaka cut the 62-year-old "sister city" ties with San Francisco in the US after this city allowed the erecting of

comfort women statues (BBC News, 2018). The unveiling of a comfort woman statue in Berlin angered Japan and the government said it regrets this action since “it is not in line with Tokyo’s efforts to build improved future oriented ties with South Korea” (Ryall, 2020).

The impact of building a statue in one country could influence relations between two countries or stir protests in several countries as a result of the meaning and social crises connected to the statue erected. In the case of the statues related to racism, it could be understood that since the Atlantic slave trade involved several countries around the Atlantic, this is why a protest against racism in the US could motivate protesters in the UK and South Africa to tear down statues. These phenomena link statues to international relations, and the aim of this project is to analyse meanings and impact of statues in the international arena.

METHODOLOGY

The method in which this research will be carried out will be by consulting books, online articles, diaries, journals, magazines, and newspapers with information relating to the topic in question. The information will be specifically related to statues of the Atlantic slave traders and the comfort women statues which commemorate the victims of sex slave during world war II in Asia.

CONTEXTUALIZATION AND JUSTIFICATION OF TOPIC

The topic of the present research paper “Statues, Memories and their impact on international Relations” was inspired following the name of the semester course *Insular History and Memories* and the degree programme name *Insular and Atlantic History 15th-20th Century*. While in the course name, the connection between statues and memories is established, in the degree programme’s name the connection is noted in the type of statues which are addressed because they are statues related to slave owners who were involved in the Atlantic slave trade.

This research aims to address the issue of statues provoking international conflicts across several countries. While in the case of the statues of Atlantic slave traders, the statues are perceived by the victims of slave trade as symbols of oppression and persistent racial inequality. This idea has provoked the dismantling of these statues across nations of the Atlantic, the US, UK, South Africa among others. On the Other hand, in the east, statues of comfort women are being built by the victims who want the memories of history never to be forgotten. The statues built in South Korea, Philippines, China, provoke the Japanese government to call for the statues to be taken down, this is unlike in the West where it is the victims who want the statues taken down.

This topic will be good to study memories of history and their impact on conflicts in different countries and cultures. The fact that there is a sharp contrast between the intention of victims of social injustice to let statues remain as memories in the East as opposed to the West, stirs up the question of what meanings we attribute to statues and whether it depends on our cultural differences.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Dickenson 2021 highlights that statues are intended to perpetuate cultural memory into the future, however, at the same time he thinks it is hard to predict and even harder to control how successful the statues will be in achieving this objective - the meaning of statues often change overtime (Dickenson, 2021). Shaw *et al* 2018 highlight the meaning of the Korean comfort women statue as a symbol of resistance to Japanese denialist who continue to reject the fact that Japanese military forced Korean girls and women into militarized sex slavery during occupation of South Korea (Shaw *et al.* 2018). Although the Japanese government under Prime minister Abe apologised and offered the sum of 1 billion yen to compensate the victims, the erection of another comfort woman statue in Busan in 2017 led to Japan calling back its 2 top diplomatic missions from Korea. Dickenson 2021 addressed the meaning of the statues of slave traders who have been taken down, that the presence of the statue of Rhodes for example, a man whose economic exploitation had made him extremely wealthy at the expense of immense suffering of black African population - as a result of increasing frustration and incessant racial inequality the statue was seen as a symbol of oppression, on the other hand those who do not want the statues removed have accused those protesters for trying to erase history and of attacking symbols of national pride (Dickenson, 2021).

Thompson 2022 highlights that memorials point out things that should not or should never happen again while monument spotlights people whose lives and deeds viewers are supposed to emulate (Thompson, 2022). This highlight from Thompson draws my attention to how we could classify the different statues which are bone of contention in the cases of social injustice - whether they are viewed as statues of memorials or monuments. In other words, the distinction between monuments and memorials as mentioned by Thompson makes it interesting to approach comfort women statues as memorials and slave masters' statues as monuments. In this approach it may be understandable why the comfort women statue built by the victims against the intention of the accused is considered as memorial, while the slave trader statue built by the accused is considered as monument.

Research question

Why are the victims of injustice in the West tearing down statues that remind them of their past sufferings when the victims in the East are building them?

STATUES

In my understanding a statue is a piece of artwork created to depict the image of an entity or human by an artist. The artist aims to represent an animal or human in their real form as they appear with a message to pass, and it may be interpreted in several meanings depending on people's cultural differences. Dickenson 2021 highlights that scholars have rarely paused to consider the rich variety of meanings of setting up objects which we refer to as statues (Dickenson, 2021). In Western culture, due to the prohibition of worshipping idols in the bible, there is an uneasiness of seeing a human likeness created in the form of statues. Although Christ, the Virgin Mary and saints have been represented in sculptures and statues, it is seen as exceptional. The middle eastern culture Jewish and Islamic has yet even a stricter prohibition on these creations and view it to be idolatry. May 2012 maintains that in the first half of the

twentieth century a strict prohibition on creation of figures was ascribed to Islam and Judaism (May, 2012). On the contrary southeast and other eastern parts of Asia have no such prohibition and rather create statues to represent the figure of Buddha just as in the ancient Greek culture statues were built to honour the gods and worship them.

It could be seen that in many cases, statues have been so intertwined with religion despite some religions view them as idolatry and prohibit them. Moving away from the religious meaning associated with different statues, in the social and political arena it has come to be a way of representing a famous political figure as well as an ordinary figure who represents a type of social injustice serving as a memorial in history. In many cases these statues remind the people about a historical event or issue.

In the present research I shall be addressing statues from two different cultures and their meanings and impact on international relations. The two cultures I shall be looking at are Eastern and Western cultures. While in the Eastern culture I shall discuss the comfort women statues, in the Western culture I shall discuss the statues related to the Atlantic slavery.

EASTERN CULTURE

The culture of statues in Asia is very intertwined with religion. Southeast Asia is as well influenced by Buddhism just as southern south Asia Nepal where Buddhism originated. As Buddhism did spread to India, China, Korea, and Japan therefore the Buddhist culture also spread. The most common statues of Buddha could be seen built and worshipped in this part of the world. If we look at why the followers need to build a statue and how it has impacted their view about statues generally, we shall understand that statues bring to life what they represent, statues give us the likeness of being or subject which they stand for, keeping them in the minds of the people.

One of the famous artworks in China is known as Terracotta Army - this is a collection of sculptures which represent the armies of Qin Shi Huang, the first Emperor of China, the terracotta armies are believed to have been built where the emperor was buried in order to protect the emperor 210-209 BCE (Battersby, 2019). This explains what kind of respect the people showed towards him by honouring him with a protection of the armies even after life. The culture of building sculptures and statues in the East has a meaning of respect and honour towards the subject represented in the statue. In many cases the subject is being worshipped as a god as in the case of Buddhist culture and the building of different Buddhist statues.

COMFORT WOMEN STATUE

First of all, it is important to explain what the term comfort women means. This is a neutral term used to refer to the women who were used as sex slaves by the Japanese military during World War II. The Cambridge English dictionary defines a person under this situation as a sex slave, “a person who is forced to perform sexual acts and who is not free to leave the place where they are being kept or stop the work they are forced to do.” During World War II, the Japanese military was said to have enslaved girls and women from its colonies especially, Korea, China, the Philippines, Taiwan, Malaysia among others. 80% of the population of comfort women are from Korea (Boling, 1995). While these territories were under Japanese rule, the military were able to set up brothels near their stations and recruited girls and women against their will “forcefully” into prostitution. According to testimonies of victims, women were forced to

sex several hours a day - they were threatened to be killed, “if you fled you would be shot” (Digital Museum, 1996).

After the war, the issue did not come to light as some victims were unable to open up to tell the story until about after 4 decades. Nozaki 2005 highlights that in the 1990s feminist movements in East Asia began to give testimonies and unveil the truth about the Japanese military’s involvement in coercing Korean women and women from other Japanese colonies in to sex slavery, (Nozaki, 2005). For the first time, a memorial was set up in 2011, it was a statue of a young woman built in bronze and sitting beside an empty chair, the memorial was put in front of the Japanese embassy in Seoul, Korea (Hu, 2017). Similar statues were soon mounted in other Korean cities such as Busan as well as in other countries like Germany, Australia, in the US, San Francisco, California, and New Jersey. Since 2017, the statue is also sitting on Korean buses. The building of this statue is very controversial and upsets the Japanese government since the government still believes that it is never directly involved in the recruiting of comfort women.

WESTERN CULTURE

In the western culture, the culture of statues is also influenced by religion, however, in the West people influenced by the Christian faith may seem to be uneasy when they see statues due to biblical prohibitions of building of such images, this precisely is in Exodus 20:4-5 “you shall not make for yourself a graven image or any likeness of anything in heaven above or that is in the earth beneath: you shall not bow down to them and worship them” (English Standard Version Bible, 2001).

Dickerson 2021 points out that for at least 500 years, attitudes towards the building of realistic representations of people in Western culture have been branded by a tension: As religious belief led people to believe that portraits were instilled with source of life which devotion should be paid to being the focus for acts of devotion, this resulted in their disapproval by people who felt this as idol worshipping which was forbidden in the bible (Dickenson, 2021).

In the Catholic Church, representing the faithful departed in sculpted form also serves a meaning in the hearts of believers. Just as Christ Jesus, the virgin Mary and the saints are sculpted and represented in churches, the building of statues create a spiritual arena for the worshippers to be able to interact with the people that are represented despite the people being departed, in other words the figures being represented are being honoured. This is why the worshippers are not worshipping the statues of the saints or people represented, the worshippers are however honouring them by creating their statues to remember them and pay them respect. The worshippers pay them respect for their faith in God and hard work which serves as an inspiration and others should follow. People represented in statues are role models which everybody should learn from and want to be like them.

Therefore, having the statue of an individual means that the individual must have earned religious or national honour and achievements which deserve to be remembered. Just as Dickerson explains that it is in this significance of the statue as a substitute for the individual who inspires us that people can be so angry about a statue of Rhodes - a man whose economic exploitation had made him extremely wealthy at the expense of massive misery of the black African population (Dickenson,2021). This is why statues of Thomas Jefferson and George Washington who were slave owners were targeted to be taken down during the anti-racism protest, this was why Edward

Colston's statue on the other side of the Atlantic in the UK was also taken down - because he was a slave trader.

ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADE

Depending on the scope of this work I will not go into detail explanation of the Atlantic Slave Trade. I will only summarize what it was about and how it is connected to colonialism in order to get the reader aware of the background picture of why the slave trader statues are controversial.

The Atlantic slave trade also known as the Triangular slave trade was a form of trade which involved the people across the Atlantic in the three directions, Europe, Africa and the Americas or the new world. The demand was for labour force or man power to work on the farm, the Europeans; Portuguese, British, French started the journey from Europe to the coast of Africa where they got Africans and exchanged them for some items; brass, coris, gun powder etc, the Africans were forcefully taken to the Americas where they worked on the plantation and in exchange, the Europeans got raw materials which they took to their industries in Europe for manufacturing.

Due to the location of Cape Verde in the Atlantic Ocean and near the African continent the Island became a centre for the Transatlantic slave trade where about 12 million slaves were bought and shipped (Koigi, 2021). This led the island to having major population of slaves and freed slaves who were trafficked from Guinea coast even after the abolition of slave trade. Cape Verde and many other places where slaves were captured, bought or sold were colonies of European imperial powers who were involved in colonialism.

The similarity draws where Japan, by its imperial military power over its colonies, was able to subjugate the subjects in to comfort women - just as the european colonial powers subjugated people from the colonies into slavery.

In a country like the US where there is so much police brutality against people of African origin, there have been many cases of African Americans who were killed unjustly by the police. George Floyd's death was just one of the many unjust killings or police violence. However, it was a significant incident due to the large protest organised by the Black Lives Matter movement. The protest led to the tearing down of many statues related to former slave owners. These sad happenings are believed to be linked to the fact that African Americans are a minority.

It is important to highlight the connection between colonialism and its relation with subjugation and exploitation of the colonised people. In colonial rule, there are chances that subjects be oppressed and abused to the benefit of the colonisers. This oppression leads the people to slavery, that is why people may mistake slavery and colonialism as one same issue. In Cape Verde during the 2020 June Protest around the Atlantic, a Cape Verdean diaspora addressed a letter to the President of the Republic, the National Assembly and governor urging for the removal of monuments considered pro-slavery, he also proposed the change of names of streets from colonial era names just as was done in 1975 after independence (Nação, Jornal Independente, 2022). The statue of Diego Gomes who discovered the island was in debate for removal. Historians were asked to investigate in order to know if he involved in the trafficking of slaves, because if he did, then, it will make no sense to honour his statue since Cape Verde is a nation which suffered the consequences of the slave trade.

Removal of all statues related to the colonial era or changing the names because they remind the people of colonial era may in a way be eradication of history. We may

not be able to separate slavery from colonialism, however, we must treat these two terms separately and never confuse the two. The BLM movement pulled down statues related to racial discrimination, however, statues related to colonial era in several countries became a topic of discussion on whether to be also removed or not. I believe that the relation between slavery, racial injustice, discrimination, and colonial era were mixed up and motivated this misunderstanding and conflict. This is why some people felt that the BLM were trying to destroy monuments of national pride and history.

On one hand colonial era history can never be erased even if monuments were all destroyed- the language legacy left, culture and civilization left by imperial powers has become part of the daily lives of the population. This is why I believe that bringing up the argument about street names from colonial era to be changed does not solve the issue of racial discrimination.

COMPARING MEANINGS OF THE STATUES (MONUMENTS OR MEMORIALS?)

As I highlighted in the literature review earlier about Thompson's elucidation on the difference between memorial and monuments, "memorials point out things that should not or should never happen again while monuments spotlight people whose lives and deeds viewers are supposed to imitate." In this sense, we are able to understand if a slave trader statue was constructed as a memorial or a monument. And likewise, if a comfort women statue is built as a monument or memorial.

In order to understand why one victim of slavery in the West destroys a statue while another victim of slavery in the East builds the statue it becomes imperative to differentiate between the two terms monuments and memorial because in these two terms lie the interpretation and meanings of the statues. This meaning is not necessarily impacted by cultural differences in East Asia and the West. We have already seen how similar both cultures refer to a statue as an artwork that reminds them of some great personalities to be honoured and respected. However, the focal point of this distinction lies in what a statue means if it stands as a memorial or a monument. This is why we must be careful not to interchange the words.

One may argue that the two situations are different and should not be compared - "sex slavery" in the case of comfort women and "labour slavery" in the Atlantic slave trade. It is true that there are differences in the two situations of slavery I address. However, the similarity lies where the colonial masters took advantage of their power to coerce the local population to do what they would not have done voluntarily. Therefore, I find the two situations able to be used due to this similarity, particularly where they both have a relationship of the colonial master compelling the subjects to do what the colonial master wants. While in the sex slavery the victims were targeted for their gender differences, in the labour slavery the victims were targeted for their racial differences. This gives us two major topic areas of discussion in the 21st century. Racial and gender discrimination.

The victims of sex slavery are now inspired by feminist movements who are against gender inequality. It could be understood that building a comfort women statue is a way to show resistance against gender inequality. Yes, the main motive is that the statues serve as memorials to remember the atrocities women in East Asia suffered from Japanese imperial rule, however, the building of such memorials overseas, in Europe and US advocate particularly memorials against gender inequality. This is why a feminist movement outside East Asia may also see the importance of building this

statue in order to protest against gender inequality and violence against women. Hence, comfort women statues are more viewed as memorials - with the aim to point out injustice against women which should never happen again .

On the otherhand, the descendants of victims of the slave trade are inspired by movements who aim to fight racial injustice and racial inequality. As a result of continuous police violence leading to deaths of people from the African American population, it became necessary that movements raise awareness to put a stop to the injustices the racial minority are going through. This awareness was raised with protest and vandalising of statues they believe are monuments rather than memorials of history. The long-standing injustice against this racial minority has existed over several years and is still present in the society in several aspects of life. Unlike the sex slavery issue which was in the dark for several years, the Atlantic slave trade and racial injustice has been an evident issue for several centuries. Hence the statues of the slave traders or former slave owners are interpreted as monuments, “statues that spotlight people whose lives and deeds viewers are supposed to imitate”, great people who must be remembered and honoured.

The builders of the slave trader statues and the defenders may have a different interpretation of their motive about the statues standing, for example, the defenders of the statues believe that BLM who tear down the statues are vandalising national history. However, they must never forget that the victims have not interpreted these statues as national history which should be cherished, honoured, and respected. They are still suffering from the story which the monuments remind them of, and the result of their retaliation is to destroy the statues they believe are memories of injustice.

IMPACT ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Regarding the impact of statues on international relations, I highlight that Japan’s reactions towards the building of comfort women statues clearly shows that the statues are unacceptable and cities who want a good relationship with Japan may have to refrain from building them. If they do not refrain from building these statues they risk having a negative impact on their relationship with Japan. This is why the mayor of Osaka ended the sister-city relationship between San Francisco and Osaka. Ushiyama 2021 examined four cases in the world where the Japanese government responded to the building of comfort women statues by demanding the removal of the statues. 1. Glendale, California 2. San Francisco. 3. Manila and 4. Berlin. Ushiyama highlights that this global expansion of memorial statues is thanks to the East-Asian diasporas who played a vital role in the remembrance of Japanese colonialism. Japanese government has opposed the projects as being unfair and one-sided attacks that harm Japan’s international standing rather than condemnation of sexual violence (Ushiyama, 2021). In the cases of San Francisco and Glendale, lawsuits were filed by several Japanese Americans and the right-wing denialist organisation *Global alliance for Historical Truth* but the plaintiffs were lost, and the statues remain. In the case of the Philippines, the Japanese government put pressure on the Philippines Government and the statue was taken down after about four months of its installation. In Germany, it has been very controversial and still uncertain that the statue will remain.

Japan’s image just like Germany after world war II continued to gain criticism for their role of aggression towards their neighbours in the war until after several years of apologies from the government. The German government apologised to the Dutch, Jews and other victims of Hitlers aggressions. Although the Japanese government also

apologised to the Koreans, and other victims of Japanese aggression, it is believed that the Japanese apologies were not sincere since the government has continued to oppose the building of comfort women statues. The issue became an international issue also because of the feminist movements in other countries who want to fight gender inequality.

Japan's soft power is gaining the country more attention in the world as a world power in terms of economy and advanced technology, this good reputation is one of the goals of every nation and as such, associating the government with negative images of atrocities against women may not be good for Japan's name internationally.

In the case of Atlantic trade slave issue, it could be understood from the section on Atlantic slave trade what this commerce was about, we understand that it had to do with several countries across the Atlantic. This is why an issue related to the statue of a slave trade in one of the countries will stir up a similar crisis in another country. The conflict here is not between two nations but between two groups of people, the white supremacists, and the anti-racial movements in different countries of the Atlantic.

The issue of slave trade owner statues has not directly impacted relations between former colonies of European empires in Africa and Caribe, and the European powers, however, the slave trade issue itself has led some African countries and the Caribbeans to demand reparations from Britain, Portugal and the others. Since this project is focused on statues I will avoid straying away from the point on statues. It is important to highlight that these are not memorials but monuments honouring these slave traders and if it is believed that national history must be preserved, then slave victims memorials may be built just as Courtney Powel suggests (Shearing, 2018). Slave victims may replace the statues of the slave trader statues that are being removed.

However, this may not favour everyone, for example in Oregon the statue of Harvey Scott was removed in October 2020. The statue of York was quickly installed in its place but by July 2021 the statue of York was destroyed. Although no one has claimed responsibility for its destruction, it is suspected to be taken down by some white supremacist activist who believe that it if it was right to take statue of a white figure down why not of a black figure also, and that if this were wrong, the State should clarify the laws so that Portland could proceed with sanctioned vandalism (Sparling 2021).

We can see how the issue of installing statues creates a division between two groups of people. One major point is also that the group of people who install a statue matters. If the Japanese government built the statues of Japan's so-called heroes who fought in the imperial wars, then it will be time for Koreans and other victims to start calling for removal of statues. Why? Because installing these statues will mean honouring the heroes and hence the statues will be viewed as monuments. Koreans and other victims would not like the statues to remain if they were built by the Japanese government because the meaning of the statues will then become different.

CONCLUSION AND REMARKS

In the final part of this research, I would like to revisit the research question in order to assess how well the question was answered. The research question of this project was: Why do victims of injustice in the West tear down statues that remind them of their sufferings when victims in the East are more eager to build the statues to remember the injustice done against them? This question was particularly answered in the section that addressed the difference between a monument and memorial. This research

participated in making it clear to the readers that while comfort women statues are built by the victims, they build the statues as memorials rather than monuments. I highlighted that while monuments are images of people who are remembered and honoured, these people's lives are viewed as examples for others to follow. This is why people could be angered over the statue of a man who was involved in the sufferings and death of others - protesters believe that these individuals are immoral therefore they should not be represented as an example nor be honoured.

In the Western culture as well as Eastern culture there is not a specific difference between the way a monument is respected, although in the West people were generally reluctant about building statues, it was as a result of the biblical prohibition. Recently this idea has changed and there are more statues built in the West just as in the East. Cultural difference does not explain why the victims in the West want the statues down as opposed to the victims in the East who want them installed. What explains the contrast in reactions to statue building and statue conflicts in the West and in East Asia is the difference between the two terms, monument and memorial. Monuments highlight people whose lives and deeds viewers are supposed to follow, while memorials point out things that should never be repeated.

One other point this research has found is that the group of people who build a statue may matter in raising controversy. This means that if it were the other way round, as in Japan building statues, Japan will most likely build statues to honour their heroes rather than a comfort woman statue. It will be controversial to the Koreans if Japan did build statues of their war heroes because Koreans will perceive it as honouring people who caused them violence and trouble. Koreans will see those statues as monuments. Whoever builds a statue may incite a different meaning and the statue may be misinterpreted by another group of people in their own way.

It may be a good way to preserve our country's history through building memories in statues, however, I personally think we should not insist on statue building in public places when there are controversies about the issues which are being remembered. Statues could be built in the Museums if they must be built. I understand museums are also public places, however, the difference is that when people go to the museums they are mentally and psychologically prepared to see these historical items. This is very different from seeing these items on the streets where we have no choice but to see them every day. I believe that we should learn from history through these statues and memories. We should never let the memories lead us to anger and conflicts which will take us back to history and regret.

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