



STATUE OF PEACE Berlin, Germany

52.53288, 13.33933



Image by OTFW via Wikimedia Commons: CC BY-SA 3.0

Executive Summary

The 'Statue of Peace' in Berlin-Moabit commemorates 'comfort women', a euphemism for women who were sexually enslaved by the Imperial Japanese Army during World War II. The memorial urges historical justice and reconciliation. After its unveiling in September 2020, the installation drew criticism from Japanese officials. Although the Berlin-Mitte district government initially decided to remove the statue, the temporary monument now has the prospect of becoming permanent. Protests from civil society associations led to the reversal of the decision.

Introduction

A temporary memorial installation in Berlin commemorating women forced into prostitution by Japan's army during World War II encountered resistance in 2020. The issue of 'comfort women' poses a long-standing controversy in which conflicting historical narratives clash. As memorials were erected around the world, the debate about the controversial history shifted to the public space. In this case, the Japanese Foreign Ministry asked the district government of Berlin-Mitte to remove the 'Statue of Peace'. They reasoned that Germany was unsuitable as a memorial site and that the issue of 'comfort women' was an already settled Korean-Japanese matter.

The memorial was erected on September 27th 2020, by the *Korea Verband* (Korea Association), a Berlin-based civic group with South Korean ties, and is similar to the 'Statue of Peace' in Seoul.¹ During the contestation, the Korean community successfully mobilised protests against the city's decision to dismantle the monument. Pressured, the Berlin district government decided that the temporary installation commemorating 'comfort women' remains until September 2021 and could become a permanent monument in Berlin's public space.

Background

by the Japanese military. The history of 'comfort women' is not only contested but also complex as well as traumatic. The very name 'comfort women' demonstrates these facets of the subject matter. Although it is the established term, it is inaccurate as it is based on a sanitised Japanese euphemism. At least in 1950s Japanese culture, the terms 'comfort women' and sex workers were used interchangeably.² Even though by now the history of 'comfort women' has been addressed and researched, it is not clear how many women were forced into sexual slavery. Plausible estimates from historians range from 100,000 to 300,000 women, primarily from Korea but also from China, the Philippines, Malaysia, Taiwan, Indonesia, East Timor, the Netherlands, and other countries, were taken from their homes through kidnapping, coercion, and deception to work as enslaved sex workers in Japanese military facilities during World War II.³ Moreover, it is almost impossible to determine when women were first forced into sexual slavery by the Japanese military. Officially, the first 'comfort stations' opened in 1931. In this way, one of the largest historically known and systematically established networks of sexual enslavement developed in the areas occupied by Japan during World War II.

Since the beginning of the 20th century, the Japanese military regulated brothels in areas where

¹ Korea Verband, "Für den Frieden! Gegen sexualisierte Gewalt! Die Friedensstatue in Berlin," *Kunst und Kultur*, September 28, 2020.

² Taijiro Tamura, *Shunpu-den (Stories of Prostitution)* (Tokyo: Ginza Shuppanasha, 1947)

³ Christine M. Chinkin, "Women's International Tribunal on Japanese Military Sexual Slavery," *American Journal of International Law* 95, no. 2 (2001): 336.

soldiers were deployed.⁴ The Japanese leadership hoped that controlled and easy access to sex workers would improve the morale of soldiers and thus make the army more efficient. Furthermore, it was also intended to curb the spread of venereal diseases among soldiers. Lastly, organised prostitution was likewise intended to prevent rape by soldiers. Until the 1930s, the Imperial Japanese Army recruited volunteer sex workers, mostly Japanese.⁵ As Japan continued its military expansion, the leadership began to recruit women in the Japanese colonies as well. Especially in Korea, many women were recruited, as there was already a register of licensed sex workers.⁶ However, recruitment was often not voluntary, and women were forced into sexual slavery under false pretences.⁷ Some followed the call to work in factories or as nurses without knowing that they were being enslaved.

Kim Hak-soon, the first victim to speak out,⁸ stated: 'I was abducted by the Japanese military and forced to become a 'comfort woman'.⁹ In 2007, Yoshiaki Yoshimi and Hirofumi Hayashi found reports from the Tokyo Trials, conducted by the victorious powers against political and military leaders of the Japanese Empire for war crimes, proving that the Imperial Japanese Army forced the daughters of men who had attacked the Japanese Army Military Police to work in brothels.¹⁰ Another source mentions that members of the naval military police picked up women off the street, forced them to undergo medical examinations, and then took them to brothels.¹¹ These are just a few examples of how the system was established, and 'comfort women' were subsequently subjected to extreme physical and sexual violence in 'comfort stations', resulting in long-term physical and psychological damage, and in many cases, death. On their return to Korea after the war, many felt rejected by society and carried a profound sense of guilt, helplessness, and shame.¹²

Even though evidence of these war crimes was available immediately after the end of World War II, the practice was long hushed up. After the first books on the topic of 'comfort women' were published in the late 1970s, the debate about the history of 'comfort women' increasingly moved into the public and political focus in the 1980s, encouraged by the democratisation of Korea.¹³ Nevertheless, it required testimonies from victims who spoke out since 1991 to politicise the debate on this issue and give the topic contemporary significance.¹⁴ Subsequently, the non-governmental Korean Council for Justice and Remembrance for the Issues of Military Sexual

⁴ Sheldon Garon, "The World's Oldest Debate? Prostitution and the State in Imperial Japan, 1900-1945," *American Historical Review* 98, no. 3 (June 1993): 714.

⁵ Jonathan Gottschall, "Explaining Wartime Rape," *Journal of Sex Research* 41, no. 2 (May 2004): 132.

⁶ Richard H. Mitchell, "The Comfort Women: Japan's Brutal Regime of Enforced Prostitution in the Second World War by George Hicks," *American Historical Review* 102, no. 2 (April 1997): 503.

⁷ Christine Wawrynek, "World War II Comfort Women: Japan's Sex Slaves or Hired Prostitutes?" *NYLS Journal of Human Rights* 19, no. 3 (2003): 913.

⁸ Korea Verband, "My Little Statue of Peace," Brochure, 2016.

⁹ Maki Kimura, *Listening to Voices: Testimonies of 'Comfort Women' of the Second World War* (London: London School of Economics, 2003): 8.

¹⁰ Reiji Yoshida, "Evidence documenting sex-slave coercion revealed," *Japan Times*, April 18, 2007.

¹¹ *Ibid.*

¹² Jeewon Lee, Young-Sook Kwak, Yoon-Jung Kim, Eun-Ji Kim, E. Jin Park, Yunmi Shin, Bun-Hee Lee et al., "'Psychiatric Sequelae of Former 'Comfort Women', Survivors of the Japanese Military Sexual Slavery during World War II,'" *Psychiatry Investigation* 15, no. 4 (2018): 341.

¹³ Chunghee Sarah Soh, "The Korean 'Comfort Women': Movement for Redress," *Asian Survey* 36, no. 12 (December 1996): 1238.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 1232.

Slavery by Japan was formed in November 1990.¹⁵ This NGO also gifted the Berlin 'comfort women' statue to the Korea Association. Despite evidence documenting that the Japanese military sexually enslaved women, as well as reports from victims, the historical narrative remained at odds. On one side of this conflict is the Japanese perception and representation, on the other the Korean. The Japanese government long denied its complicity in the 'comfort women' system, arguing that private contractors rather than state-sanctioned military officers were responsible for the practice.¹⁶ As the memory war is ongoing, the issue strains Korean-Japanese bilateral relations. Different steps have been taken to try to promote historical justice and reconciliation. However, these steps have been neither sustainable nor satisfactory for the victims and their communities.

The most important steps towards the recognition of the victims were, on the one hand, a first apology by the Japanese Prime Minister Tomiichi Murayama and the associated prospect of compensation payments.¹⁷ In response to mounting pressure and research documenting the 'comfort women' system that indisputably implicated the Japanese military, the Japanese government acknowledged in the Kono Statement of 1993 the participation of administrative personnel in the systematic coercion of women to work at 'comfort stations'.¹⁸ This was the first time Japan officially acknowledged the existence of 'comfort stations'. Moreover, in 1996, the UN's Commission on Human Rights drafted a report on violence against women addressing the issue. Special Rapporteur Radhika Coomaraswamy wanted to clarify 'at the outset of this report that she considers the case of women forced to render sexual services in wartime by and/or for the use of armed forces a practice of military sexual slavery'.¹⁹ In 2000, the International War Crimes Tribunal condemned former Japanese decision-makers for enslaving women. The Japanese government was ordered to pay adequate compensation to the victims in a timely manner.²⁰

Since 1992, victims' groups have protested every week in front of the Japanese embassy in Seoul.²¹ The first 'Statue of Peace' was erected on 14 December 2011 in front of the Japanese Embassy in Seoul to mark the 1,000th week of protests. Many other memorials around the world, including the Berlin statue, have been modelled on it. Each of the bronze statues was designed by the Korean couple Kim Seo-kyung and Kim Eun-sung.²² In 2015, Korea and Japan reached an agreement in which private payments, as opposed to the sought after reparations from the Japanese government, were offered.²³ However, the longstanding protesting victims' groups did not support this, and after pressure was exerted on Korean politicians, the agreement was

¹⁵ Korean Council for Justice and Remembrance for the Issues of Military Sexual Slavery by Japan, "About Us," 2020.

¹⁶ Chunghee Sarah Soh, "The Korean 'Comfort Women': Movement for Redress," *Asian Survey* 36, no. 12 (December 1996): 1232.

¹⁷ Christine Wawrynek, "World War II Comfort Women: Japan's Sex Slaves or Hired Prostitutes?" *NYLS Journal of Human Rights* 19, no. 3 (2003): 916.

¹⁸ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, "Statement by the Chief Cabinet Secretary Yohei Kono on the result of the study on the issue of 'comfort women,'" August 4, 1993.

¹⁹ United Nations, "Report on the Mission to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Republic of Korea and Japan on the Issue of Military Sexual Slavery in Wartime," Radhika Coomaraswamy, Economic and Social Council, Commission on Human Rights, 52nd Session, January 4, 1996.

²⁰ Renate Müller-Wollermann, "Weder Trost noch Gerechtigkeit für 'Trostfrauen,'" *Amnesty International Journal*, June, 2002.

²¹ Mikyoung Kim, "Memorializing Comfort Women: Memory and Human Rights in Korea-Japan Relations," *Asian Politics & Policy* 6, no. 1 (2014): 87.

²² Mary Park, *Generating Tension. Memorial of Sexual Slavery* (New York: Rhode Island School of Design, 2020), 23.

²³ Ankit Panda, "The 'Final and Irreversible' 2015 Japan-South Korea Comfort Women Deal Unravels," *Diplomat*, January 9, 2017.

rescinded by Korean politicians²⁴ Since then, however, Japanese politicians have invoked this statement as a way of settling the memory war over the issue of 'comfort women' once and for all. Shinzo Abe, former Prime Minister of Japan (2012-2020), has also repeatedly stated publicly that there is insufficient evidence to prove that the Japanese enslaved women in a state-organised manner during the Second World War.²⁵ He also stressed that it would be unfair to let 'children, grandchildren, and even future generations to come, who have nothing to do with that war, be predestined to apologize.'²⁶

The memory of 'comfort women' is in a process of transnational memorialization, which is due to the efforts of the victims' communities. Their protest has proven effective even if the issue is still contested. Today, there are more than 133 memorials to sexually enslaved women during the Pacific War in at least nine countries, and all of the memorials are located near Korean diasporas or associations.²⁷ 'Comfort women' statues become the subject of conflict as opposing cultures of remembrance and representations of history clash. The Berlin 'Statue of Peace' was not only erected on the initiative of the Korean Association but is also located near their office. Remembrance in Germany coincides with the fact that Germany is home to the 12th largest Korean diaspora and the largest in the European Union.²⁸ Since 2017, specially erected statues in Germany have commemorated 'comfort women'.²⁹ The new statue standing prominently in the public space of the most populous capital of the European Union elevates the significance of remembrance in Germany. In this context, decision-makers find themselves caught between demands from Japan to dismantle the memorial and protests from victim communities defending the statue.

The life-size bronze statue depicts a girl sitting with her hands on her lap, wearing a full-length *hanbok*, a traditional Korean dress. The girl has roughly chopped hair, in stark contrast to the traditional long, braided style that most girls wore at that time, evoking the experience of those who had their hair forcibly cut by the Japanese military.³⁰ A small bird on the girl's shoulder represents the women's quest for freedom and peace.³¹ The girl is barefoot, with her heels hovering slightly above the ground. This represents 'the life stories of those women who couldn't have their presence properly recognised on this land and who couldn't live an ordinary and comfortable life with nothing to depend on.'³² An empty chair, also in bronze, commemorates the 'comfort women' who had already passed away and invites passers-by literally to sit in a 'comfort woman's' place.³³ Further information can be found on the plaque, whose English inscription is shown below. Next to these two chairs are two plaques - one English inscription (Figure 1) provides information about 'comfort women'. The statue is an exact copy of the 'Statue of Peace' in

²⁴ Joyce Lee and Hyonhee Shin, "South Korea says 'comfort women' deal flawed, but Japan warns against change," *Reuters*, December 28, 2017.

²⁵ Norimitsu Onishi, "Abe Rejects Japan's Files on War Sex," *New York Times*, March 2, 2007.

²⁶ Shinzo Abe, "Statement by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe of Japan," *New York Times*, August 14, 2015.

²⁷ Mary Park, *Generating Tension. Memorial of Sexual Slavery* (New York: Rhode Island School of Design, 2020), 24.

²⁸ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of South Korea, "다수 거주국가 2019," *Korean Diaspora*, 2020.

²⁹ Rainer Werning, "Das Leid der 'Trostfrauen' In Bayern erstes europäisches Mahnmal für Opfer sexueller Gewalt im Zweiten Weltkrieg enthüllt," *Junge Welt*, March 17, 2017.

³⁰ Woo-young Lee, "Comfort Women' Statues Resonate with Koreans," *Korea Herald*, March 6, 2016.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Korea Verband, "My Little Statue of Peace," Brochure, 2016.

Seoul designed by Kim Seo-kyung and Kim Eun-sung.³⁴

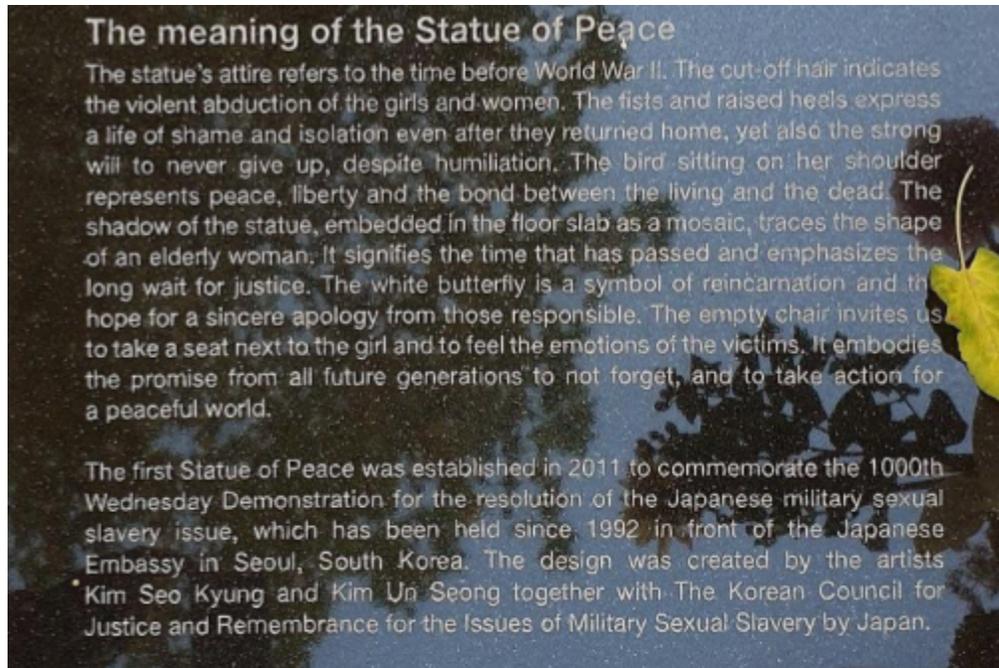


Figure 1: "The Plaque" Image by OTFW via Wikimedia Commons: CC BY-SA 2.5

History of the Contestation

The dispute over this memorial emerged with the unveiling of the 'Statue of Peace' as a temporary installation. Just one day after the statue's unveiling, Cabinet Secretary and government spokesperson Katsonobu Kato announced that Tokyo would work to have the statue removed.³⁵ The 'Statue of Peace' in Berlin is located at the corner of Birkenstraße and Bremerstraße in Berlin Moabit, which is administered by the district office of Berlin-Mitte. The office of the association that initiated this statue, the 'Korea Verband', is located in the vicinity. Even though the injustice done to sexually enslaved women happened 76 years ago, the memory of 'comfort women' is still a heritage and a history in the making. From the perspective of the victims' associations, 'comfort women' have not been granted historical justice and reconciliation, and Japan actively fights their memory.

As contested objects, 'Statues of Peace' have become an international symbol against war crimes against girls and women and a form of protest. The statues are of central importance for memory making and suggest the symbolic power of monuments, as well as their emotive potential to galvanise activism and draw media attention.³⁶ Statues are a replicable reminder of Japanese

³⁴ Woo-young Lee, "Comfort Women' Statues Resonate with Koreans," *Korea Herald*, March 6, 2016.

³⁵ Sven Hansen, "Umgang mit sexualisierter Kriegsgewalt," *Taz*, October 7, 2020.

³⁶ Sol Han and James Griffiths, "Why this Statue of a Young Girl Caused a Diplomatic Incident," *CNN*, February 10, 2017.

atrocities that left few visible traces on its victims.

In October 2020, the Japanese Foreign Ministry complained to the German Foreign Minister Heiko Maas when the two held bilateral talks in Berlin.³⁷ They demanded that the Berlin-Mitte district office under district mayor Stephan von Dassel of the Green Party remove the statue. Chief Cabinet Secretary Katsunobu Kato justified criticism with Tokyo's desire to build future-oriented ties with Seoul.³⁸ This sounds like a reiteration of previous criticism reasoning that the issue had already been resolved in 2015 in accordance with the Korean-Japanese Deal on 'comfort women'.

The district government complied with Japan's criticism and, on October 7th, ordered the removal of the statue. This decision was followed by protests led by the Korean community. The Korea Association also filed a petition to suspend the order as well as an application for preliminary legal protection of the statue at the administrative court.³⁹ The Berlin protest (Figure 2) was accompanied by demonstrations in the South Korean port city of Busan.⁴⁰ Gradually, support for the protest grew, and even the governing Green Party joined the protest against the decision to take down the sculpture.⁴¹ All of the above pressured the district government, and on December 1st, 24 of 29 members of the Mitte district council passed a resolution to maintain the statue.⁴² The temporary installation was granted the right to stay even longer than initially allowed (July 2021) until at least September 2021, with the possibility of finding a solution for its permanent exhibition.⁴³



Figure 2: "Protest in Support of the Statue of Peace" Image by C. Suthorn via Wikimedia Commons: CC BY-SA 4.0

³⁷ Sven Hansen, "Umgang mit sexualisierter Kriegsgewalt," *Taz*, October 7, 2020.

³⁸ Kyodo News, "Japan Regrets New Korean 'Comfort Women' Statue Set Up in Berlin," *Kyodo News*, September 29, 2020.

³⁹ Bezirksamt Mitte, "Umstrittene 'Friedensstatue' darf vorerst stehen bleiben," Berlin, Bezirksamt Mitte, Pressemitteilung, October 13, 2020.

⁴⁰ Kim Yeong-dong, "Wednesday demonstration held in Busan to protest Japan's attempts to remove comfort woman statue in Berlin," *Hankyoreh*, October 29, 2020.

⁴¹ Grüne Mitte, "Pressemitteilung: BVV-Fraktion Bündnis 90 / Die Grünen in Mitte fordert Erhalt der 'Friedensstatue,'" *Die Grünen*, October 13, 2020.

⁴² Ji-Young Lee and Mintaro Oba, "Japan-Korea Relations: A New Leader in Japan and Uncertain Future Scenarios," *Comparative Connections* 21, no. 3 (2021): 135.

⁴³ Sarah Kim, "Berlin district adopts resolution seeking to permanently install 'Statue of Peace,'" *Korea JoongAng Daily*, December 2, 2020.

Decision-Making Processes

The decision-maker, in this case, is the district office of Berlin-Mitte and its mayor Stephan von Dassel. The civil society association 'Korea Verband' previously obtained permission to erect the 'Statue of Peace' for one year until the end of August 2021. The 'Statue of Peace' had been discussed in the Art in Urban Space Commission prior to its approval and had been evaluated as a statement against sexualised violence against women in warlike conflicts.⁴⁴ Since the Japanese Foreign Minister Toshimitsu Motegi complained to the German Foreign Minister about the statue and demanded that the district office dismantle the statue, the Green District Government took another look at the permission that had been granted. District Mayor Stephan von Dassel is quoted in the 8th of October press release of the district office:

With the 'Statue of Peace' and its text panel, a politically and historically charged and complex conflict between two states is taken up, which is not suitable for dealing with in Germany. The Mitte district is home to people from far more than 100 nations who interact with each other in a tolerant, open, peaceful and respectful manner. In order not to endanger this togetherness, the district office, in its role as a licensing authority, must fundamentally refrain from taking sides in interstate and especially historical conflicts.⁴⁵

Thus, in November, the distinct government revoked the memorials' permission and demanded its dismantlement as early as the 14th of October.⁴⁶ As already mentioned, a broad protest mobilised against this decision and Berlin citizens put pressure on the district mayor.⁴⁷ Official steps, specifically a petition and complaint to the administrative court, increased the pressure on the decision-makers to reconsider their decision and delayed the dismantling.⁴⁸ In the district government's press release from October 13, Stephan von Dassel is quoted as saying:

We will use the time to thoroughly re-evaluate our own arguments as well as those of all the actors involved in this complex dispute. We would like to see a compromise proposal that can satisfy the interests of the Korea Association as well as the interests of the Japanese side. It would be welcome to design the memorial in a way that all parties can live with.⁴⁹

Additionally, the Mitte district office stated that it condemns all forms of sexualised violence against women, including and especially in warlike conflicts, regardless of time, place and perpetrators.⁵⁰ After two months of contestation, district mayor Stephan von Dassel decided that the statue could remain in place.

Contradicting demands characterised the aforementioned politicisation and resulted in the district office's decision to keep the statue erected at the Unionsplatz. Therefore, the outcome does not reflect a compromise or relativisation but an unequivocal commitment to the mnemonic narrative of the community of victims of sexual slavery by the Japanese army during the Pacific War. During the

⁴⁴ Bezirksamt Mitte, "Bezirksamt Mitte hebt Genehmigung für „Friedensstatue“ auf," Berlin, Bezirksamt Mitte, Pressemitteilung, October 8, 2020.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Süddeutsche Zeitung, "Friedensstatue in Moabit darf vorerst bleiben," *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, October 13, 2020.

⁴⁸ Ji-Young Lee and Mintaro Oba, "Japan-Korea Relations: A New Leader in Japan and Uncertain Future Scenarios," 138.

⁴⁹ Bezirksamt Mitte, "Umstrittene 'Friedensstatue' darf vorerst stehen bleiben," Berlin, Bezirksamt Mitte, Pressemitteilung, October 13, 2020.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

contestation, the German decision-makers quickly responded to criticism and revised earlier decisions. The contradicting mnemonic narratives seem irreconcilable, and the Japanese outrage, although seemingly successful at first, has led to a decision that is even less satisfactory from a Japanese point of view. Japanese politicians have again expressed their profound discomfort following the decision to allow the statue to remain permanently erect.⁵¹ Korean politicians expressed that the 'government stepping in to force its removal does not help resolve the problem at all. It also goes against the spirit of the sense of responsibility and self-reflection and apology that Japan has revealed itself.'⁵² The Berlin statue adds another arena in which the Korean-Japanese representation battles are played out, and its issue is not ultimately resolved.

The installation, as in previous cases of 'comfort women' statues, became part of the memory war between primarily Korea and Japan and thus a specific part of the still-unfolding culture of remembrance. The decision-making process in this case also demonstrates the crucial role of the legal system in memory laws. Largely due to the lobbying of Korean communities, the memorial was preserved. Again, it should be mentioned that initial Japanese criticism produced a severe backlash. Without the political dimension surrounding this sculpture, the 'Statue of Peace' would have remained a temporary statue. Now it has become a politicised memorial to the memory of violence against women in Berlin and may even become a permanent part of the public space. Therefore, this case study also demonstrates the potential and limitations for a country to control its historical narrative outside its territorial borders.

Summary and Conclusions

The overarching contested issue of 'comfort women' as well as surrounding contradicting historical narratives have not been resolved, and the memorial remains contested. However, this case study of the 'Statue of Peace' in Berlin documents the emotive power of public monuments to convey historical injustices. German decision-makers and the legal system have ruled that the statue may remain at least till September 2021. The Korea Association is still working to educate people in Germany about the issue, and their statue was an effective way of achieving this.

The contestation following the unveiling of the statue showed once again that the memory war between Korea - as well as their diasporas - and Japan continues and that a compromise seems impossible. The action against the memorial suggests that Japan's apologies for its injustice to 'comfort women' are not sincere but merely tactical. Japanese criticism initially prompted the district government to revoke the permit for the sculpture of a Korean 'comfort woman'. In the long run, however, the Japanese efforts provoked protests in Germany as well as South Korea, made the case prominent, and led the district government to permit the statue to remain. Japanese criticism seems to have had a counter-intended effect.

Research contributed by Bennet Groen

⁵¹ Benks Hunter, "Japan bedauert Duldung der 'Trostfrauen'-Friedensstatue in Berlin," *Sumikai*, December 3, 2020.

⁵² Yonhap, "S. Korea voices criticism over Japan's call for removal of comfort woman statue in Berlin," *Korea Herald*, October 8, 2020.

Last updated May 2021

References

- Abe, Shinzo. "Statement by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe of Japan." *New York Times*, August 14, 2015.
<https://www-nytimes-com.eur.idm.oclc.org/2015/08/15/world/asia/full-text-shinzo-abe-statement-japan-ww2-anniversary.html>.
- Bezirksamt Mitte. "Bezirksamt Mitte hebt Genehmigung für 'Friedensstatue' auf." Berlin, Bezirksamt Mitte. Pressemitteilung. October 8, 2020.
<https://www.berlin.de/ba-mitte/aktuelles/pressemitteilungen/2020/pressemitteilung.1001656.php>.
- Bezirksamt Mitte. "Umstrittene 'Friedensstatue' darf vorerst stehen bleiben." Berlin, Bezirksamt Mitte. Pressemitteilung. October 13, 2020.
<https://www.berlin.de/ba-mitte/aktuelles/pressemitteilungen/2020/pressemitteilung.1003738.php>.
- Chinkin, Christine M. "'Women's International Tribunal on Japanese Military Sexual Slavery.'" *American Journal of International Law* 95, no. 2 (2001): 335-341.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/2661399>.
- Garon, Sheldon. "The World's Oldest Debate? Prostitution and the State in Imperial Japan, 1900-1945." *American Historical Review* 98, no. 3 (1993): 710-732.
<https://doi.org/10.2307/2167547>.
- Gottschall, Jonathan. "Explaining Wartime Rape." *Journal of Sex Research* 41, no. 2 (2004): 129-136. <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3813647>.
- Grüne Mitte. "Pressemitteilung: BVV-Fraktion Bündnis 90 / Die Grünen in Mitte fordert Erhalt der Friedensstatue." *Die Grünen*, October 13, 2020.
<https://gruene-mitte.de/2020/10/13/pressemitteilung-bvv-fraktion-buendnis-90-die-gruenen-in-mitte-fordert-erhalt-der-friedensstatue/>.
- Han, Sol and Griffiths, James. "Why this Statue of a Young Girl Caused a Diplomatic Incident." *CNN*, February 10, 2017.
<https://edition.cnn.com/2017/02/05/asia/south-korea-comfort-women-statue/index.html>.
- Hansen, Sven. "Umgang mit sexualisierter Kriegsgewalt." *Taz*, October 7, 2020.
<https://taz.de/Umgang-mit-sexualisierter-Kriegsgewalt/!5716087/>.
- Hunter, Benks. "Japan bedauert Duldung der 'Trostfrauen'-Friedensstatue in Berlin." *Sumikai*, December 3, 2020.
<https://sumikai.com/nachrichten-aus-japan/politik/japan-bedauert-duldung-der-trostfrauen-friedensstatue-in-berlin-284745/>.
- Kim, Mikyoung. "Memorializing Comfort Women: Memory and Human Rights in Korea-Japan Relations." *Asian Politics & Policy* 6, no. 1 (2014): 83-96.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/aspp.12089>.
- Kim, Sarah. "Berlin district adopts resolution seeking to permanently install Statue of Peace." *Korea JoongAng Daily*, December 2, 2020.

- <https://koreajoongangdaily.joins.com/2020/12/02/national/socialAffairs/comfort-women-statue-wartime-sexual-slavery-Berlin/20201202175700533.html>.
- Kimura, Maki. *Listening to Voices: Testimonies of 'Comfort Women' of the Second World War*. London: London School of Economics, 2003.
<https://www.lse.ac.uk/gender/assets/documents/research/working-papers/LISTENING-TO-VOICES.pdf>.
- Korean Council for Justice and Remembrance for the Issues of Military Sexual Slavery by Japan. "About Us." 2020. <https://womenandwar.net/kr/about-us/>.
- Korea Verband. "Für den Frieden! Gegen sexualisierte Gewalt! Die Friedensstatue in Berlin." *Kunst und Kultur*, September 28, 2020.
<https://www.koreaverband.de/blog/2020/09/28/friedensstatue-berlin/>.
- Korea Verband. "My Little Statue of Peace." Brochure. 2016.
https://www.koreaverband.de/downloads/Friedensstatue_English.pdf.
- Kyodo News. "Japan Regrets New Korean 'Comfort Women' Statue Set Up in Berlin." *Kyodo News*, September 29, 2020.
<https://english.kyodonews.net/news/2020/09/637018e329bf-japan-regrets-new-korean-comfort-women-statue-set-up-in-berlin.html>.
- Lee, Jeewon and Young-Sook Kwak, et al. "Psychiatric Sequelae of Former 'Comfort Women', Survivors of the Japanese Military Sexual Slavery during World War II." *Psychiatry Investigation* 15, no. 4 (2018): 336-343. <https://doi.org/10.30773/pi.2017.11.08.2>.
- Lee, Ji-Young and Oba, Mintaro. "Japan-Korea Relations: A New Leader in Japan and Uncertain Future Scenarios." *Comparative Connections* 21, no. 3 (2021): 131-140.
<https://cc.pacforum.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/01/11-22-3-Japan-Korea-Relations.pdf>
- Lee, Joyce and Shin, Hyonhee. "South Korea says 'comfort women' deal flawed, but Japan warns against change." *Reuters*, December 28, 2017.
<https://www.reuters.com/article/us-southkorea-japan-comfortwomen-idUSKBN1EM056>.
- Lee, Woo-young. "'Comfort Women' Statues Resonate with Koreans." *Korea Herald*, March 6, 2016. <http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20160303000844>.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan. "Statement by the Chief Cabinet Secretary Yohei Kono on the result of the study on the issue of comfort women." August 4, 1993.
<https://www.legal-tools.org/doc/cb4732/pdf/>.
- Ministry of Foreign Affairs of South Korea. "다수 거주 국가 2019." *Korean Diaspora*, 2020.
https://www.mofa.go.kr/www/wpge/m_21509/contents.do.
- Mitchell, Richard H. "The Comfort Women: Japan's Brutal Regime of Enforced Prostitution in the Second World War by George Hicks." *The American Historical Review* 102, no. 2 (1997): 503. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2170934>.
- Müller-Wollermann, Renate. "Weder Trost noch Gerechtigkeit für 'Trostrfrauen,'" *Amnesty International Journal*, June, 2002.
<https://web.archive.org/web/20130609061412/http://www.amnesty.de/umleitung/2002/deu05/070?lang=de%26mimetype%3Dtext/html>.
- Onishi, Norimitsu. "Abe Rejects Japan's Files on War Sex." *New York Times*, March 2, 2007.
<https://www.nytimes.com/2007/03/02/world/asia/02japan.html>.

- Panda, Ankit. "The 'Final and Irreversible' 2015 Japan-South Korea Comfort Women Deal Unravels." *Diplomat*, January 9, 2017.
<https://thediplomat.com/2017/01/the-final-and-irreversible-2015-japan-south-korea-comfort-women-deal-unravels/>.
- Park, Mary. *Generating Tension. Memorial of Sexual Slavery*. New York: Rhode Island School of Design, 2020.
<https://digitalcommons.risd.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1543&context=masterstheses>.
- Soh, Chunghee Sarah. "The Korean 'Comfort Women': Movement for Redress." *Asian Survey* 36, no. 12 (1996): 1226-1240. <https://doi-org.eur.idm.oclc.org/10.2307/2645577>.
- Süddeutsche Zeitung. "Friedensstatue in Moabit darf vorerst bleiben." *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, October 13, 2020.
<https://www.sueddeutsche.de/politik/demonstrationen-berlin-friedensstatue-in-moabit-darf-vorerst-bleiben-dpa.urn-newsml-dpa-com-20090101-201013-99-927771>.
- United Nations. "Report on the Mission to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Republic of Korea and Japan on the Issue of Military Sexual Slavery in Wartime." Radhika Coomaraswamy, Economic and Social Council, Commission on Human Rights, 53rd Session. January 4, 1996. <http://hrlibrary.umn.edu/commission/country52/53-add1.htm>.
- Wawrynek, Christine. "World War II Comfort Women: Japan's Sex Slaves or Hired Prostitutes?" *NYLS Journal of Human Rights* 19, no. 3 (2003): 913-922.
https://digitalcommons.nyls.edu/journal_of_human_rights/vol19/iss3/13.
- Werning, Rainer. "Das Leid der 'Trostfrauen'. In Bayern erstes europäisches Mahnmal für Opfer sexueller Gewalt im Zweiten Weltkrieg enthüllt." *Junge Welt*, March 17, 2017.
<https://www.jungewelt.de/loginFailed.php?ref=/artikel/307351.das-leid-der-trostfrauen.html>.
- Yeong-dong, Kim. "Wednesday demonstration held in Busan to protest Japan's attempts to remove comfort woman statue in Berlin." *Hankyoreh*, October 29, 2020,
http://english.hani.co.kr/arti/english_edition/e_national/967792.html.
- Yonhap. "S. Korea voices criticism over Japan's call for removal of comfort woman statue in Berlin." *Korea Herald*, October 8, 2020.
<http://www.koreaherald.com/view.php?ud=20201008001036>.
- Yoshida, Reiji. "Evidence documenting sex-slave coercion revealed." *Japan Times*, April 18, 2007.
http://cwjc.nrc-us.org/News/041807_Evidence-documenting-sex-slave-coercion-revealed.pdf.

Figures

- OTFW. "File:Statue_Birkenstr_Bremer_Str_(Moabit)_Friedensstatue.jpg." Wikimedia Commons, October 22, 2020,
[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Statue_Birkenstr_Bremer_Str_\(Moabit\)_Friedensstatue.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Statue_Birkenstr_Bremer_Str_(Moabit)_Friedensstatue.jpg). (Cover Image)
- OTWF. "File:Gedenkstein_Birkenstr_Bremer_Str_(Moabit)_Friedensstatue2.jpg." Wikimedia Commons, October 22, 2020,

[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gedenkstein_Birkenstr_Bremer_Str_\(Moabit\)_Friedensstatue2.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Gedenkstein_Birkenstr_Bremer_Str_(Moabit)_Friedensstatue2.jpg). (Figure 1)

C. Suthorn. "File:Berlin, sei mutig! Die Friedensstatue muss bleiben! 13.jpg." Wikimedia Commons, October 13, 2020,

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Berlin,_sei_mutig!_Die_Friedensstatue_muss_bleiben!_13.jpg. (Figure 2)

About Contested Histories

In recent years, there have been many contestations over memorials, street names, and other physical representations of historical legacies in public spaces. These contestations often reflect deeper societal tensions whether triggered by political transitions, demographic shifts, inter-ethnic strife, or a growing awareness of unaddressed historical injustices.

The Contested Histories project is a multi-year initiative designed to identify principles, processes, and best practices for addressing these contestations at the community or municipal level and in the classroom. Conflicts about history, heritage, and memory are a global phenomenon, and, although each case is different, comparative cases can indicate lessons learned and reflect best practices.

About IHJR at EuroClio

The Institute for Historical Justice and Reconciliation (IHJR) is a research centre at EuroClio - European Association for History Educators in The Hague, The Netherlands. The IHJR works with educational and public policy institutions to organise and sponsor historical discourse in pursuit of acknowledgement and the resolution of historical disputes in divided communities and societies.

Contact information

Marie-Louise Jansen
Program Director
+33 66828327
contestedhistories@euroclio.eu
www.contestedhistories.org

EuroClio Secretariat
Riouwstraat 139
2585HP The Hague The
Netherlands
secretariat@euroclio.eu
www.euroclio.eu

Published by IHJR-EuroClio in February 2021
This document is copyright © The Contested Histories Initiative 2021

Some right reserved [CC BY 4.0](#)

To cite this publication:
The Contested Histories Initiative, "Statue of Peace in Berlin", *Contested Histories Case Study #224* (May 2021), retrieved from [link].

The Contested Histories Initiative receives support from the Europe for Citizens Programme of the European Union. The European Commission's support for the production of this publication does not constitute an endorsement of the contents, which reflect the views only of the authors, and the Commission cannot be held responsible for any use which may be made of the information contained therein.