

REMEMBERING THE PRESENT: OREGON'S AFGHAN-IRAQI
FREEDOM MEMORIAL

by

MARISSA TAMAR ISAAK

A THESIS

Presented to the Department of Geography
and the Graduate School of the University of Oregon
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of
Master of Arts

June 2010

"Remembering The Present: Oregon's Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial," a thesis prepared by Marissa Tamar Isaak in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in the Department of Geography. This thesis has been approved and accepted by:

Lise Nelson, Chair of the Examining Committee

June 7, 2010
Date

Committee in Charge: Lise Nelson, Chair
Alexander Murphy

Accepted by:

Dean of the Graduate School

© 2010 Marissa Tamar Isaak

An Abstract of the Thesis of
Marissa Tamar Isaak for the degree of Master of Arts
in the Department of Geography to be taken June 2010
Title: REMEMBERING THE PRESENT: OREGON'S AFGHAN-IRAQI FREEDOM
MEMORIAL

Approved:


Lise Nelson

On Veterans Day 2006, Oregon's governor dedicated the newest addition to the capitol grounds, a memorial fountain commemorating the soldiers killed in the current wars in Afghanistan and Iraq: The Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial. The political contestations surrounding the memorial demonstrate how ideologies become inscribed onto landscapes. After conducting a qualitative analysis including interviewing participants and detractors of the monument, observing the site on multiple occasions, and examining its media coverage, I conclude that the memorial stakes a claim to the meaning of this controversial war long before the fighting is over, it reproduces geopolitical imaginaries promoted by the Bush Administration, and it reconfigures trends in the representation of soldiers. By taking a multi-scalar approach to this research, I am able to combine geopolitical, State-level, and embodied approaches to memorial

research. This project furthers the geography literature by exposing the multiple meanings contained in one local commemorative site.

CURRICULUM VITAE

NAME OF AUTHOR: Marissa Tamar Isaak

PLACE OF BIRTH: Englewood, NJ, USA

DATE OF BIRTH: May 14, 1980

GRADUATE AND UNDERGRADUATE SCHOOLS ATTENDED:

University of Oregon
Claremont McKenna College

DEGREES AWARDED:

Master of Arts, Geography, June 2010, University of Oregon
Bachelor of Arts, Economics & International Relations, May 2003, Claremont
McKenna College

AREAS OF SPECIAL INTEREST:

Imaginative Geographies, Memorial Landscapes
Middle East Economics and Politics

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE:

Graduate Teaching Fellow, Department of Geography, University of Oregon,
September 2007 – June 2010
Program Assistant, Koret Foundation, January 2006 – July 2006
Program Associate, Institute for the Study and Development of Legal Systems,
June 2005 – December 2005
Marketing Associate, Trexler Climate + Energy Services, Inc., June 2003 – April
2005

GRANTS, AWARDS AND HONORS:

Dorot Fellowship, Environmental Issues in Israel, Dorot Foundation, 2006 - 2007

PUBLICATIONS:

Hardwick, Susan, Alexandra Marcus, and Marissa Tamar Isaak. *forthcoming* Education and National Identity in a Comparative Context. *National Identities*

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to thank Professor of Geography, Alexander Murphy, and Professor of Landscape Architecture, Kenneth Helphand, for their good humor, encouragement, and wise words in the preparation of this manuscript. Special thanks are due to my primary adviser, Professor Lise Nelson, who patiently supported my research interests with kindness, ingenuity, and the push that I needed. I am also indebted to the University of Oregon, Department of Geography for GTF support and summer funding. The department is an extraordinary place that cultivates creativity and critical thought. To my cohort and the other students of UO Geography, I owe considerable gratitude for helping me think through the geographical issues at play in my research project. Any inconsistencies or errors, however, are solely my own.

I hope this thesis will serve as my condolence to Oregon's Gold Star families who have lost their loved ones in the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. It is my wish that someday we will remember wars as a ruthless practice of our ancestors. War memorials will be the only remaining relics.

Most importantly, I'd like to thank my family particularly my parents, Carol and Daniel Isaak, for teaching me to value education and peacemaking in all its forms. Finally, all my adoration goes to Daniel Wald, who I can never thank enough for all he does.

To my partner in life and ideas,

Daniel R. Wald

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Chapter	Page
I. INTRODUCTION	1
II. "TEXT" OF THE NATIONAL SCALE	29
III. "ARENA" AT THE STATE SCALE	61
IV. "PERFORMANCE" AT THE SCALE OF THE BODY	88
V. CONCLUSION.....	118
BIBLIOGRAPHY	124

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure	Page
1. Oregon's Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial	3
2. The naming plaque beside the Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial.....	4
3. Oregon's World War II Memorial.....	5
4. Oregon's Korean War Memorial	6
5. The soldier emerges from North America	55
6. This is the cover of a routine financial report, which uses the image of the AIFM plans	57
7. Note the use of "Afghan-Iraqi" in the title of the memorial	57
8. The Vietnam Veterans Memorial, Washington, DC.....	65
9. National World War II Memorial, Washington, DC	75
10. The soldier's position resembles classic sculpture	106
11. Michaelangelo's <i>The Creation of Adam</i>	106
12. Close up of the hands in Michelangelo's <i>The Creation of Adam</i>	107
13. AIFM Naming Plaque.....	111
14. Vietnam Women's Memorial, Washington, DC	113

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In February 2009, the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously decided the case of Pleasant Grove City, UT, et al. v. Summum, a landmark ruling which gave cities more power to regulate public landscapes. In this case, the Summum religious sect, a minority group in Pleasant Grove City, UT, attempted to install a monument in a public park bearing the words of their basic spiritual tenants. There already existed, after all, a small monument with the Ten Commandments engraved upon it in the same park. Pleasant Grove City objected to the placement of the Summum sculpture because they claimed that this change to the public landscape conflicted with the predominant Mormon beliefs of the town. The U.S. Supreme Court held in favor of Pleasant Grove, saying that permanent monuments on public land ultimately constituted a kind of "government speech" and therefore are eligible for the speech protections of the Free Speech Clause of the First Amendment to the Constitution (Pleasant Grove City, UT, et al. v. Summum 2009). The case holds that free speech protected by the U.S. Constitution applies not only to individuals trying to express political or religious opinions, but to governments that have the right to convey messages through the use of public property. This case carves out a new legal doctrine codifying ideas already largely accepted within Geography and Landscape Studies; the Supreme Court officially recognizes that public land is a forum on which a government communicates to the public, oftentimes legitimizing the activities of the state project (Bertagna 2009).

In Oregon, the State government is using its speech capacity on public land to commemorate those fallen soldiers who have died in the recent wars in Iraq and Afghanistan in a new memorial, the Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial. The symbolism of this memorial, dedicated on Veterans Day 2006, tells a particular, controversial narrative of the two wars. While not contested by religious groups like the court case cited above, the memorial has been opposed in Oregon's major newspapers and among the state's eminent architects. This thesis uncovers what messages the memorial conveys, how the memorial came to stand on Oregon's Capital Complex despite objections, and how it contests certain trends in memorialmaking in the U.S.

The Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial consists of a 10 foot x 20 foot oval fountain spraying water upwards 15 feet in the air. Plastered on the floor of the fountain is a convex map of the world with each continent outlined. Water sprays upward from the center of the map, in this case from north-central Africa, and then washes over the map, disappearing at its edges (Fig. 1). From the North American continent rises a 4-ft high pedestal on which a larger than life-sized American soldier crouches on one knee facing the rest of the globe. The soldier is dressed in at-rest fatigues with a floppy hat. His rifle is slung casually over his shoulder while he reaches out toward the rest of the world with one arm. The fountain is surrounded by a three-foot-wide walkway all the way around. Next to the fountain, a slab of black marble bears the names and rank of those soldiers

from Oregon who died in the recent military conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq. Blank space remains on the slab where future names may be inscribed (Fig. 2).



Fig 1: Oregon's Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial



Fig 2: The naming plaque beside the Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial

This new memorial was built on Oregon's Capital Complex in a garden dedicated to war memorials situated behind the Veterans' Affairs (VA) building. Oregon's iconic cylindrically-domed Capital building is the most prominent of a series of government offices that comprise the Capital Complex. Four blocks northeast from the seat of the Legislature, the VA offers services for the 10% of Oregonians who have served the U.S. Armed Forces and their families. The VA also collects memorabilia from war efforts and maintains the State's official war memorials in its surrounding garden. In addition to the

Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial, the garden contains six other prominent war memorials – to the Spanish-American War, to World War I, to World War II (Fig. 3), to the Korean War (Fig. 4), to Oregonians who have earned the Medal of Honor, along with the current wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. The first five monuments are each approximately the same scale. The largest of the five, the World War I memorial, shows a life sized doughboy coming up over the trench. Standing on a pedestal, he stands approximately twelve feet high, while the smallest, the Korean War memorial, resembles a three foot high tombstone. All of the first five are located back into the trees of the garden.



Fig 3: Oregon's World War II memorial.



Fig 4: Oregon's Korean War memorial.

The Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial is completely different than the first memorials built in this garden. It sits directly in the center of the garden occupying a central position and significantly more space than the other monuments. The walkway surrounds the fountain and the two plaques – one larger black slab bearing the names and rank of those fallen soldiers to whom the memorial is dedicated and a smaller plaque on the ground listing those responsible for building the fountain. It has become both the visual focal point and the dominant soundscape of the area.

When I stumbled upon this garden and the AIFM in early 2008, its presence dominated the entire garden. It was so overwhelming that I could not help but ask myself

where it had come from. Geographers have long been concerned with the meanings communicated intentionally and unintentionally by landscapes. For humanistic geographers, the landscape evokes an emotional connection (for a more complete explanation of "topophilia" see Tuan 1974). Many political geographers analyze landscapes in the context of their political histories (see Harvey 1979 for an example of the political manifestations of landscape analysis). Harvey and Tuan are just two of the early scholars using the concept of "landscape," yet since their early groundbreaking projects, many scholars have written about the meaning of the term.

Geography and the Study of the Memorial Landscape

As a subset of the literature on landscapes, war memorials have been studied extensively. This vast literature on memorials can be understood as trying to answer a central question: what different memorials "mean," what is communicated by their construction, what purpose they accomplish, and what historical factors contributed to their construction at a particular place and time. This literature often concentrates on the politically contested nature of war memorial construction (eg. Benton-Short 2006), identifying those interests which are furthered by the memorial and those which are omitted or silenced (eg. Burk 2003).

Historically, scholars viewed memorials as windows into an historical time in order to understand the event commemorated. Mayo's early work on American memorial landscapes, chronicled the progression of America's wars represented on the land,

explaining how each representation portrayed the war in a different way (Mayo 1988a). In this early time of memorial research, the literature focused almost exclusively on memorials from Europe and Anglo-America (eg. Fussell 1975, Young 1993).

According to the literature on war memorials, there are three thematic threads that scholars study: the *timing* of events leading to and following the building of a memorial, the *spatial dynamics* including surrounding environs of the placement of a memorial, and the *people* who are involved in the memorial-building process, together with those who criticize aspects of it. I will deal with each of these threads separately and explain how they create a partial narrative of war, of soldiers' sacrifice, and of the role of the nation in the world.

War Memorial Timing

Memorials are constructed in order to *remember* something, thereby bringing an aspect of the past into present everyday experience. In this act of remembering in a particular location, memorials present a perfect example of place and time colliding. The Kantian dichotomy between history and geography divides the two disciplines into separate spheres of research based on the perspective from which they each approach the world. According to Kant, historians use the lens of time to understand the world, whereas geographers understand phenomena through the perspective of space (Hartshorne 1939). While this dichotomy may *generally* hold, research on memorials presents a setting where time and space intersect. Because war memorials stand at the

junction of time and space, both disciplines take an active interest in the study of memorial landscapes. Due to this overlap of interests, geographers were relative latecomers to the study of memorial landscapes (Mitchell 2003).

The role of time in the memorial literature is addressed in a variety of ways by current scholars on war memorials. There is a general acknowledgement that when a memorial is built, the timing itself is a potentially controversial issue (Foote 1997). Foote explains that in some cases there is an effort to construct a memorial directly following a tragic event, whereas in other instances, a memorial may be delayed or never even erected.

Scholars examining these issues usually take for granted that there is an idealized process for making memorials. In theory, an event such as a war, takes place and as it concludes, a period begins called the "pre-memorial era" (Simpson and Corbridge 2006). During this time period, which often extends over many years, the meaning of the original event is clear in the minds of the participants. The participants may feel a range of emotions along the spectrum from sadness and regret to triumphant joy. What is important is that state officials who usually assume responsibility for official memorials abstain from taking any *permanent* actions to commemorate the event at this juncture.

This period of time between the event and its official landscape recognition is when "memory-work" can happen. Memory-work is the public discourse which emerges after the conclusion of an event, where the public debates the multiple meanings and

lessons of the event. Schlieffman (2001, p. 16) explains that memory-work articulates the "struggle for possession and interpretation of memory," which "is rooted among the conflict and interplay of social, political and cultural interests and values in the present." Also memory-work reveals underlying, "power relations that determine what is remembered (or forgotten), by whom, and for what end" (Schlieffman 2001, p. 17). In this period, various interpretations are aired in the media, between individuals, and through political schemes, but over time the public "settles" on something resembling a consensus interpretation of the event.

In this ideal model, once this consensus viewpoint emerges, then chief stakeholders come together to build a memorial. Once the memorial is built, interpretations of the event and the memorial become stable and do not change radically over time. By reading the landscape of the memorial after the fact, scholars and visitors can deduce what the event means to the community that built it.

The U.S. legal code operates under the assumption that this model is, at least in part, achievable. The process by which a memorial may be built on the Washington, DC Mall is a highly controlled one, where a "pre-memorial" period is codified into law. For example, in the case of a war, memorial advocates must wait at least ten years after the end of the war to propose a memorial to be built on the National Mall.¹ This waiting period was instated in an attempt to cool the passions animated by the building the

¹ Commemorative Works Act of 1986

Vietnam Veterans Memorial in the early 1980s, far before a consensus on the meaning of the war could be reached. The assumption was that if enough time *could* pass, then people would have had a chance to arrive at that consensus notion of the meaning of war and they would be less agitated by a memorial.

Despite the legal confirmation that this model makes sense, the model of memory-work in a pre-memorial period sketches out an ideal, which is rarely, if ever, accomplished. There are many ways that this ideal model for memorial building does not correspond to the actual process of communal memorialization. First, sometimes memorials are built right away, such as the case with World War I memorials and gardens constructed on the battlefields of Europe. Helphand (2006) recounts that combatants and civilians tended the natural landscape during wartime, creating gardens of memory, to make tangible their raw feelings during wartime. In some cases during the war, life felt so out of control that it was only through gardening and making memorials that individuals felt they could make order in a life of chaos. Likewise, geographers Simpson and Corbridge (2006), coin the term "prememorial era" to discuss the period following a devastating earthquake in India, which gave rise official memorial geographies. In this phase of memory, which should be dominated by reasoned public discourse over the meaning of the event, we often see a jockeying for position among the stakeholders to influence popular memory.

The second way that the assumed model may be subverted in real life occurs when the public fails to come to a consensus over the meaning of a war. This is common and demonstrated by the controversy around virtually every memorial. It was particularly evident during the building of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial on the Washington, DC, Mall. In 1979, just four years after the end of the Vietnam War, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund was established as a non-profit organization to create a memorial to veterans of the war (Scruggs and Swerdlow 1985). The U.S. war in Vietnam had been the source of a national identity crisis at home, being the most controversial war in American history. An entire era in American political history is marked by multi-vocal opposition to the war, so it was unsurprising that diverse voices had strong opinions about the proposed memorial. After the public competition which selected Maya Lin's design, opponents rallied against it calling it "a black gash of shame," and "a scar" on the Mall. Detractors of the design and its creator protested so vehemently that the original plans were changed many times. Since Lin submitted the original sketch builders added an American flag, other monuments ("The Three Soldiers" and "The Vietnam Women's Memorial") and finally in this last decade, Congress authorized the building of another plaque to commemorate those soldiers who died as a result of their injuries in the war. This whole process exemplifies the ways that memorials often emerge without a common understanding of what a war means, leading to bitter divisions over what a memorial should look like.

Finally, we see this ideal model is undermined when the meanings embedded in a resulting memorial fail to remain constant over time. Returning to the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial on the Washington Mall, Sturken (2007) has tried to explain the existence of millions of objects placed in memorium at the Vietnam Memorial. She concludes that these pieces of "donated kitsch" actually change the memorial to reflect the goals of the person who brings something to it. The meaning of the memorial is dynamic, made anew by each visitor. Another starker example is the changing significance assigned to the Buchenwald concentration camp in Germany (Azaryahu 2003b). During Soviet rule over the territory in which Buchenwald sits, the memorial inside was fashioned to commemorate the people who were persecuted by the Nazis, especially highlighting socialists who were killed. However, when the region changed hands to a united Germany, the memorial narrative was refashioned to incorporate the individuals who perished under Soviet rule alongside Nazi victims. In this case, Nazis, who were slaughtered under Soviet authority, are remembered today alongside those who they persecuted. Despite the ideal-type model of memorialmaking that envisions a stable, consensus-view memorial, these monuments are constantly changing, embodying new meanings over time. This changing meaning, discussed by scholars, is only remarkable because of the underlying assumptions implicit in the ideal model of memorialization.

The Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial presents another challenge to this assumed process. Since the AIFM was built long before the end of the wars in Afghanistan and

Iraq, the memorial itself confronts the assumption that only after a war is it appropriate to remember those killed in a public way.

The Space of War Memorials

A different strand of geographical research studies the spatial dynamics of war memorials including location and placement of memorials, questioning the role that setting can play in constructing a spatial narrative. It is within this line of investigation that geographers recognize that scale, meaning both relative physical size and the jurisdictional scale at which a memorial is built, relates to its meaning. Within this realm of spatial dynamics, there are two distinct lines of analysis: how the environmental setting and location of a particular war memorial contribute to its meaning, and how a spatial narrative is constructed in the context of memorials.

Highlighting location as a central problematic in the study of memorials, Kathryn Mitchell points out, "...geographers tend to pursue doggedly, and in far greater detail, the precise ways in which memory becomes embedded in the actual, physical landscape, through the daily habits and movements associated with specific buildings, walkways, monuments and vistas" (2003, 455). Mitchell's observation is confirmed in Alderman's (2000) study of the placement of streets bearing the name of Martin Luther King Jr. He explains how street names play a unique role in commemorating people and events of widespread significance. Citing a newspaper article Alderman affirms, "They [street names] touch all ages, all races, all economic levels, and the resident and the visitor

equally. They link people and places that otherwise would remain insular" (Alderman 2000, p. 675). Alderman concentrates on the connectivity between people and place in sites of commemoration.

Memorials do not always bind people together. In contrast to Alderman's analysis, McDowell (2007) shows how the placement of memorials in Ireland serves to continue long running political conflict. She states, "Memorialization has become a significant part of the Republican movement's peacetime struggle to undermine British control, a struggle which has had to redefine its parameters in a rapidly changing political landscape" (McDowell 2007, p. 726). In addition to memorialization as a continuation of conflict, she sees it as an explicitly spatial practice meant to capture "territory". Writing of the memorials constructed on borderlands she claims, "Spatial practices such as the construction of a memorial or wreath laying bolster and sustain the power of the dominant group and are essential components of that group's control over the hegemonic values that it represents or imposes" (McDowell 2007, p.727).

Dwyer and Alderman (2008a) translate their research on civil rights memorials into a series of questions for researchers emphasizing the relevance of location. In the final chapter of their book, they include a handbook to help memorial visitors gain a fuller experience while viewing a memorial. They include questions that can help spectators "read" memorials for their locational aspects. It is worth quoting at length:

How did you find your way to the site? Was the route marked in an official manner or did you know to know what you were looking for? Did you have the option of using public transportation to get here?... What kind of neighborhood

did you travel through to get here? What surrounds the memorial? Interstates and warehouses? Abandoned apartment blocks? A bustling business district? Gentrified lofts and condos? ... To what degree is this memorial connected to its environs? ... Does this memorial invite you to explore the immediate surroundings? Or it is walled off from its neighbors? (Dwyer and Alderman, 2008a p.100).

Additional questions posed by Dwyer and Alderman (2008a) touch on the economic setting of the memorial, the organizational logic of space, the scope of the memorial, and the "territory" it covers, demonstrating many of the different facets of location which can play a role in determining the spatial dynamics and ultimately the meaning of a memorial.

A location-centric analysis primarily looks beyond a memorial to examine the larger environmental setting in which the monument exists. Yet some geographers study the internal logic contained in iconography and symbolism, which construct a spatial narrative. Azaryahu and Foote (2008), for example, demonstrate how accounts of historical events are conveyed on the landscape in a variety of ways, which they categorize into three groups. Some historical markers convey information from a single point, others along a route or trail, and a third group include more complicated "spatial sequences" presented over a longer course of time (Azaryahu and Foote 2008). These categories help the viewer parse out the methods used to express meaning at a variety of sites. The authors show how small changes in the spatial orientation of a site contribute to an altered meaning.

Oregon's Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial must also be understood in the context of its chosen location. Only by analyzing its physical space and the detailed choices of its creators, can we understand the embedded narratives contained within it.

The Actors of War Memorials

Finally, the literature gives ample space to analyzing the various interested people who make up the politics of memorial creation. Who advocates for a memorial and who protests its existence? Who is charged with actually manufacturing the physical sculpture and how is that person selected? Are there some people whose voices are respected and others who are silenced? In this line of inquiry, the geographic literature exposes all those who participate in the underlying politics of memorial making. Virtually every scholarly work on memorials identifies who supported and who opposed the building of a particular commemorative site. More important than simply identifying who sat on which side of the battle over the memorial, is articulating how the ideologies and interests of those people translated or remained hidden when a memorial was ultimately constructed. Studies of these boosters and opponents reveal the political hierarchies that stay embedded in a memorial, even long after it is built. Hobsbawm and Ranger's (1983) now classic *The Invention of Tradition* explains that those who write history are those who control the present. In Foote's (2000) exploration into the discarded Soviet memorials of Budapest, he explores how the memorial landscape parallels the power structure of Hungary as it changes over time. As Hungary switched from Soviet to

independent governance, the memorials of Budapest paralleled that shifting power structure.

Another good example of how memorials represent some interests over others is Benton-Short's (2007) analysis of the securitization of the Washington Mall where she argues that in the interest of "security" many parts of the Mall have been cordoned off to public access. The shock of September 11 instigated this change after authorities identified the Mall as a potential terrorist target. However, the Mall serves a variety of different purposes to visitors, including: providing outdoor exercise area, convention demonstration space, and the most visible area for democratic protest in the country. This securitization process limits the open space on the Mall, which makes it more difficult to peaceably assemble protest crowds in the area. Benton-Short argues that by changing the environs surrounding the country's most recognizable war memorials, certain interested parties are served (those advocating increased security) and some are in-effect silenced (protesters losing their prominent location to assemble.)

The two examples cited above can be interpreted to show how those in power control memorial landscapes, however there also exist a minority number landscapes of memory that support historical interpretations allied with oppressed groups of people. Memorials may also be used as devices of resistance against hegemonic paradigms, such as memorials to the labor movement (Moore 2000) and memorials to abused women (Burk 2003). These memorials are noteworthy because they subvert hegemonic

understandings of who should be represented in public space. Burk (2003) explains, "The monuments considered in this paper are 'counter-hegemonic,' meaning that they are intentionally designed to unsettle social relations, rather than provide closure. The means for doing so include either (or both) the placement outside expected monumental spaces or the deliberate alteration of monumental 'norms'" (Burk 2003, footnote 2). Burk shows how a memorial building project went from having widespread popular support to losing its base because it challenged dominant ideas about the relationships between men and women. This area of scholarship about counter-hegemonic memorials shows that the mere fact of a monument existing on the landscape is not sufficient to assert the existence of overall support for it. Sometimes a memorial challenges widely-held beliefs. However, these counter-hegemonic monuments are the exception, rather than the rule. In these non-standard memorials as well as the ones cited above, a set of interpretations is privileged over others, giving voice to some ideologies at the expense of others. Similar to Burk's analysis, this study will expose the different actors who created the AIFM and whose voices were privileged at the expense of others.

Through this brief sampling of the geographic literature, I have established that there are three critical lines of inquiry in the scholarship of war memorials spanning the issues of timing, spatial dynamics, and actors. Each of these topics will be addressed in this thesis in the subsequent chapters. I turn now to detail my methodological approach to the research, showing that it presents a novel way of understanding war memorials.

Finally, I outline the three chapters, explaining how the organization of the thesis corresponds to the thematic and scalar categories.

Geographical Approach

Scholarship on modern landscapes, of which war memorial research is just one small subset, originates with the work of J.B. Jackson, the editor of *Landscape Magazine* for over 20 years. Jackson is considered by many to be the grandfather of current landscape analysis. By writing about landscapes with similes and parables, he brought humanistic writing to landscape analysis and to the social sciences more generally. His was preoccupied with the "vernacular" or useful, banal landscape rather than aesthetics alone (Jakle 1998). He also contributed to landscape studies a profound reflection on the nostalgia which people seek when they look at landscapes. Because of this desire for wistful reminiscing about the past, he noted a burgeoning "memory industry," which manifested in town-scale festivities to remember historical settings, such as the a city founding (Jackson 1980). That industry has grown in ways that Jackson never could have anticipated, leading to what Doss (2008) calls "memorial mania" in the early 21st century.

A close ally of Jackson's, Pierce Lewis (1998) gives students techniques to "read the landscape" as Jackson envisioned it, offering students analytical skills with which to ask questions about landscapes, imploring the geographical viewer to "trust your eyes" to help ask "unjudgmental" questions and to learn the vocabulary that enables the viewer to

categorize and describe that which is seen. This approach is very helpful in teaching students to use their eyes in ways that they may not have known previously, and inspired a huge number of scholars, including Donald Meinig and Wilbur Zelinsky.

However, this version of landscape studies came under critique in the 1980s and early 1990s by proponents of the "new cultural geography" whose advocates started to apply social and cultural theory to landscapes. These scholars such as Dennis Cosgrove (1988) and Duncan and Duncan (1988) started to understand landscape as a way of seeing, rather than an object to be seen. A number of the most important critiques of classic Jacksonian landscape studies emerged out of this new cultural turn.

Critics argued that Jacksonian principles privileges that which can be seen, over-emphasizing what researchers can gain by using their eyes only (MacPherson 2006). This process abstracts the viewer-scholar from the viewed-object without examining the ways the visible landscape is actually manipulated by the viewer. The Jacksonian approach denies the existence of power relationships between the viewer and viewed. Additionally, the approach assumes that there is such a thing as an "unjudgemental" question. The positionality of the viewer-scholar is masked by the Jacksonian landscape. This "ocularcentrism" inherent in their mode of thinking about landscape and argue that this stresses one sensory experience to the detriment of others (MacPherson 2006).

Cosgrove (1988, p.49) takes this critique further by arguing that Jacksonian landscapes constructs a dichotomy between viewer and viewed wherein, "visual space is

rendered property of the individual detached observer." This inherent Cartesian dualism leads to a kind of oppression, wherein the visual and therefore the superficial and apparent features of a situation are raised to the level of truth (O Tuathail 1996).

Cosgrove (1988) explains further that landscape studies suffered a crisis of subjectivity. In its early years landscape scholarship was set aside during the era of spatial science because of its subjectivity and because it was perceived as being "unscientific". Relying on the human eye to understand the world leads to multiple interpretations. However, humanists of the early 1970s, Jackson among them, revived landscape studies precisely because it allowed for subjective thinking. That subjectivity was elevated to a relevant, if partial, aspect of understanding a geographic landscape. Therefore, visually-based landscape analyses have their place, among all the other "subjective" methods.

Duncan and Duncan (1988) critiqued Jacksonian landscape scholarship on other grounds. They looked to post-structural modes of interpretation to landscapes, adopting techniques from the disciplines in the humanities, particularly Comparative Literature, in an effort to understand "landscapes-as-text." By using the language of Derrida's literary deconstruction, and including Foucauldian discourse analysis, researchers such as Duncan and Duncan (1988) lay out a framework wherein one "denatures" a landscape, taken as text, in order to garner the underlying stories and power relations implicit in the text. They make the case that landscapes are the transformation of ideologies into

material formations. In James Duncan's (1995) article summarizing the work on "landscape" to date, he deems "landscape-as-text" a "socio-semiotic" approach. By this he means that all cultures produce texts or "communicative codes and landscapes" and it is through these texts that "social order is communicated, reproduced and contested" (Duncan 1995, p. 415). Duncan admits that on the one hand, this approach to landscapes allows for an understanding of the multiple cultural and social processes that produce a landscape. On the other hand, he admits that this method of analysis is "immensely difficult" to understand (Duncan 1995, p. 415). Duncan's emphasis on text allows the researcher ample sources with which to compare. He encourages the analysis of literary and artistic works to understand the world. However, his approach downplays the importance of rigorous interviewing, a methodological choice that de-centers the scholar as the interpreter of meaning. Moreover, interviews can sometimes give voices to those disempowered to "write" the texts which Duncan advocates analyzing.

Since the cultural turn other scholars have commented on future directions in landscape analysis. Don Mitchell (2001) argues that the "local" has come to dominate landscape research, but in a way to prove the relationships across scales are inherently political and based in the pursuit of social justice. He says, the "'local' and even the 'idiosyncratic' (and archaic) are beginning to be directly tied to the 'global' and to processes of modernization – and they are being done so in a manner that is as resolutely political as older work tried to be apolitical" (Mitchell 2001, p.270). This call for

landscape studies to turn toward the "resolutely political" implications of landscapes is a 180 degree change from the 1970s Jacksonian approach. In earlier studies, landscapes were to be observed, commented upon, and as Mitchell quotes of Carl Sauer, "naively given" (Mitchell 2001, p.270). Today, by contrast, he notes that, "they [landscapes] are actively produced and struggled over, and it is the politics of production and struggle that ought to engage landscape studies" (Mitchell 2001, p. 271).

Taking Mitchell's directive seriously, I have devoted much of this study to understanding the politics of Oregon's Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial. However, I retain some of the post-structural techniques in order to achieve an intertextual reading of the landscape. I began my work following Duncan and Duncan (1988), observing the AIFM as a landscape-as-object/text, noting the messages communicated by symbolism and iconography. This approach helped me to understand why the AIFM was built with a soldier towering over the world, yet resting on one knee. However, I found this observation technique unsatisfactory for revealing some of the less obvious, political maneuverings that produced the memorial. Upon multiple visitations, approximately twenty visits at different times of day, week, and year, I met and conducted unstructured interviews with other observers at the memorial.

Then I collected, coded, and analyzed the media coverage of the AIFM including mainstream newspapers, locally-focused online website sites, private blogs, and government sponsored websites. With this new knowledge, I sought out many of the

individuals who participated in the construction of the memorial for in-depth semi-structured interviews. Additionally, I collected the entire government record for the passage of the memorial, including tapes of Veterans Affairs Committee hearings, the Legislative Record for the bills pertaining to the memorial, and the summaries of the session's legislative accomplishments. Also, I analyzed the literature distributed at the memorial site created by the Veterans' Affairs Department.

Most importantly, however, I interviewed the architect, Jane Honbeck, and officials at the Veterans' Affairs Department, eliciting feedback from many of the participants in the memorial's construction. I interviewed five families whose sons' names are inscribed on the memorial, including MJ and Clay Kesterson, the initiators of the memorial. Additionally, I interviewed three detractors of the memorial, who had been signatories to a disparaging architect's response to the memorial. Finally, I spoke with representatives of the government officials who had promoted the memorial: the offices of Representative Donna Nelson and Governor Kulongoski. In all, the 18 interviews revealed a more complete picture of how the memorial came to stand on the Oregon Capital Complex and of the motivating factors behind its support and criticism.

These interviews were critical to my understanding of the memorial because they revealed the emotional content of the memorial to those who experienced it. In order to take seriously the embodied experience of the memorial, I found it important to try to empathize with the different communities that contributed to the memorial's construction.

Finally, I made a point of observing the site at varied times of day and year. I participated in both Veterans Day and Memorial Day ceremonies at the memorial in 2008 and 2009. While attending those events, I noted both the way the space was used by the participants and the central role that this memorial has come to play in Oregon's political pageantry and identity.

Chapter Overview

This thesis, derived from these multiple subjectivities and considerable geographic scholarship, highlights interpretations of Oregon's Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial from three different perspectives. These three angles correspond to Dwyer's (2008b) metaphorical conceptual lenses and also implicate scalar differences. First, Dwyer notes that memorials may be understood through the metaphor of "text". In my second chapter, I analyze a key context for understanding the memorial: speeches made by President Bush from 2001-2005. In order to isolate these important texts I used each State of the Union during this time period in addition to those speeches deemed essential by Simons (2007) in his study of Bush Administration war rhetoric. In a close reading of the rhetoric of those speeches, I deduce fundamental geopolitical narratives vis-a-vis the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, described oftentimes as the "War on Terror." Then I turn to the Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial, tracing how those narratives are represented or distorted in the memorial's iconography. In this chapter I express the interconnectedness

of different scales, demonstrating how memorials reinforce and inscribe geopolitical and national scale narratives at the sub-national State scale.

Dwyer's (2008b) second metaphorical category is "arena." By this he means that memorials may become sites where social groups navigate and negotiate "the meaning of history and compete for control over the commemorative process as part of larger struggles over identity" (166). In my third chapter I chronicle the "story" of the passage of the memorial, which has its own political intrigue and displays the power of certain interests groups, such as veterans' communities, in Oregon political culture. This chapter points to Oregon's governor as a key figure in the passage of the legislation allowing the memorial to proceed despite sustained criticism from the State's architectural community. Very little scholarship views memorials as existing in any other scale besides the national. By concentrating on the State of Oregon as the "arena" of this memorial, I am able to reveal how local political struggle and particularities of Oregonian identity become embedded in the ultimate meaning of the Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial.

The final metaphorical category put forth by Dwyer (2008b) is "performance." The language of performativity is intimately bound up with the behavior and representation of the body, which is the focal point of this final chapter. This chapter takes seriously the embodied aspects of the memorial, which are often overlooked in war memorial literature. It humanizes the pain of parents who lost children in wartime while exploring the dual purpose of memorials, both to comfort the bereaved and to

communicate values to visitors. In this chapter I scrutinize the body of the represented hero-soldier, whose sculpture looms over the memorial fountain to determine how this gendered body reflects the "body-politic" of past memorials. Ultimately, I conclude that the AIFM demonstrates a shift in the trends of past memorials.

By using Dwyer's three lenses of memorial scholarship and locating each of them at a different scale, I show that the Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial is many different things to different people. It is at the same time both highly political and undeniably emotional. It represents, for some viewers, the hegemonic narratives imposed from elites on individuals at smaller scales. For other participants, this memorial creates space for an emotional release where grief emerges from private homes into the public sphere. Embedded within this memorial is both small-scale electoral politicking, wherein veterans' needs were elevated to high priority, and larger scale political strategy needed to convince a wary public about the need for a wartime effort.

By exposing how multiple narratives are embedded and embodied by Oregon's Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial, I show how the theoretical approach influences what a researcher will learn about any given landscape. It is only through this multiple viewpoint approach that I come close to understanding all the many meanings of the monument.

CHAPTER II

"TEXT" OF THE NATIONAL SCALE

The previous chapter introduced the reader to the Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial, the primary subject of this study and explained how it fits into a long line of geographic literature on memorials. I also explored my approach to understanding the AIFM. This chapter builds on the introduction by following the tradition of geographic writing concerned with how built landscapes refashion *national* mythologies, often to legitimate a state project or wartime behavior. Through the work of memorialmakers, these ideologies become embedded in the official landscape, bearing the imprimatur of the state. In order to analyze the Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial in this context, I investigate Derek Gregory's notion of the "geographical imagination," showing that memorials can contribute to geographical narratives. I then turn to key speeches by President Bush to deduce the ways that dominant narratives are portrayed in this memorial. Finally, I look at Oregon's new memorial to the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq in order to assess whether the memorial reproduces or breaks with those Bush Administration narratives.

Drawing on Edward Said's famous use of the term, Derek Gregory (1994) explains that the "geographical imagination" is the process by which "We routinely make sense of places, spaces, and landscapes in our everyday lives – in different ways and for different purposes – and these 'popular geographies' are as important to the conduct of

social life as are our understandings of (say) biography and history" (Gregory 1994, p. 11). The geographical imagination is more powerful than just an individual's perceptions of a place. This potent form of geographical understanding may lead to material changes in policy and behavior related to issues as serious and lethal as war. A geographical imaginary is more than a stereotype; it isn't merely subjective, it is "intersubjective," an attitude held by a critical mass of individuals, rather than just one person or a small number. Due to its widespread acceptance, geographical imaginaries and the narratives contained within them can lead a country into battle, can help a people engage in peaceful dialogue, or can mediate the wide spectrum between the two. Understanding how a particular set of geographical imaginings were created and reproduced is one of the essential practices of understanding war and conflict.

In tracing the geographical imaginations formed in relation to war, the national scale is crucial. Wars, especially those on foreign territories, are outcomes of national politics and often bring to light national ideologies regarding the use of force for particular outcomes. Critical geographers have written extensively on the use of language to construct national ideologies (O'Tuathail 1996). National memorials, particularly war memorials, materially embody these narratives and unsurprisingly are located oftentimes in national capital cities.

A number of examples demonstrate Geography's focus on national scale and capital city case studies revealing the intersections of landscape, memory, politics, and place. The studies cited below all draw on "constructivist" understandings of

nationalism, an approach that argues that nationalism is a relatively recent development in human history, since approximately the 17th century, and are built by states to legitimate their behavior (Anderson 1983; Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983). The landscape of the capital city is, in many cases, the best example of a built environment intended to further nationalist goals.

In Agnew's (1998) examination of Rome, Italy's monumental capital city, he explains how "monumentality" leads to national identification.

The architects of monumentality endeavor to impose on the spatial form of the city a singular set of meanings, a perceptible order and sense of hierarchy among sites and connecting routes, that both commemorates and celebrates the common history and evolving brilliance of the nation. The past is thus represented geographically as coeval, without any necessary historical sequence or chronology, within the capital city (Agnew 1998 p. 230).

However, "national" mythologies are products of interactions at a variety of scales. They are deliberately "sold" to individuals and communities to achieve political ends. Anytime the mythologies move between scales, the possibility exists for those narratives to be reconfigured, contested, and reproduced. Azaryahu (2003a) sees a similar dynamic embodied in one location, Mt. Herzl, Israel's national cemetery located on the outskirts of the capital, Jerusalem. He discusses how building the cemetery furthered the national Zionist mythology of that country. Mt. Herzl has become a reinterpreted national sacred space embodying the hope for the future of the nation. Bell (1999) shows how Tashkent has changed over time to serve a similar purpose for the people of Uzbekistan. In his study of the capital city, he demonstrates how as Uzbekistan attempted to foment a sense

of national identity after the fall of the Soviet Union in the early 1990s; it moved slowly but surely to reconfigure the capital city landscape to reflect the new ideology. This involved removing the statue of Lenin, which had stood in Tashkent's central square, and renaming of all major thoroughfares after famous figures in Uzbek history. Forest and Johnson (2002) analyze a similar change in Moscow during the same time period. After the fall of the Soviet Union, Moscow endured an identity crisis not unlike the capital cities of other satellite Soviet states. To deal with this crisis, some monuments were co-opted and/or glorified, some disavowed and/or destroyed, and others contested. Forest and Johnson (2002) draw on the work of Bourdieu to argue that contestations over these monumental structures, which they deem "symbolic capital," have traditionally and continue to play a particularly important role in defining Russian identity.

These articles cited above constitute a small sampling of Geography's contribution to understanding memorials at the national scale. The discipline has maintained somewhat of a national focus in this area of the literature. There are, however, examples of research at the sub-national scale, such as Dwyer and Alderman's (2008a) examination of civil rights memorials or Burk's (2003) study of monuments dedicated to violence perpetrated against women (both discussed at greater length in the first chapter), but these types of studies make up a small minority of the geographic literature.

We also learn from this sampling of geographic analysis of memorials at the national scale that considerable weight is given to the built environment as a mode to communicate national mythologies. This power is considered especially strong in places baring the imprimatur of state-sanctioned authenticity, such as the central axis of a capital city (eg. Benton-Short 2006). In my research below, I draw on the geographic literature of capital memorials to show that in Salem, Oregon, on State Capitol grounds, individuals are reproducing their interpretations of a national mythology of the current wars in Iraq and Afghanistan through a built landscape. These mythologies are explored below.

During the Bush Administration, the U.S. political elite sought to create a set of geographical imaginings that legitimized a proactive war stance toward Afghanistan and Iraq. Those values and perceptions of acceptable geopolitical posture were documented and publicized by the mainstream media, fueling public approval and widespread belief in their validity. When individuals sought to memorialize these wars and those lost to wartime violence, these national geopolitical frameworks became embedded, reconfigured, and reproduced in the memorial landscape.

All around the U.S. people seek to memorialize wars. As the violence in Iraq and Afghanistan persisted longer than any war in recent memory, the public expressed a particular enthusiasm for immediate memorialization - deemed "memorial mania" (forthcoming Doss 2010). Because of this widespread interest in memory-making, it was

unsurprising when Oregon's Gold Star² families began to organize around establishing some kind of memorial on Oregon's Capital grounds in 2005, long before the wars' end. By Veterans Day 2006, Oregon had installed the Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial, the first memorial in the U.S. to the current wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.

The following section examines key Bush Administration rhetoric, distilling Bush's major policy speeches into fundamental narrative threads. In Tulis' (1987) classic work on President Wilson's rhetoric he maintains that Wilson transformed the American presidential office into a "bully pulpit" in order to "govern via persuasion" (Maggio 2007, p.810). Since Tulis' groundbreaking work, virtually every speech of every president has been analyzed for its substance and framing, showing how the president's speech transforms public opinion (eg. Ellis 1998; Parry-Giles 2002; Peterson 2004; Gershkoff and Kurshner 2005; Medhurst 2006). While most scholars recognize the power of presidential language to influence the public, Zarefsky (2004) cautions that this might be an overly simplistic way of understanding the cause-and-effect of presidential speech. Even considering Zarefsky's critique of the literature, I accept that presidential language, at the very least, "closes hermeneutic doors" (Maggio 2007). Moreover, this powerful rhetoric emanating from the highest political office can shape the contours of the public geographical imagination, even if the rhetoric is not totally deterministic. This study

² "Gold Star Families" refers to those families who have lost a member to a wartime casualty.

builds off of this literature by connecting presidential rhetoric with more than just public opinion, but directly to landscapes of war memory.

Specifically, I analyze the most important speeches delivered by President Bush from 2001-2005 regarding the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. This timeframe represents the dominant presidential discourse after September 11, 2001 and before the AIFM project went into final design phase. I chose to look at speeches rather than declassified war memos because speeches were directed at the public in a more straightforward way than internal memos. I selected States of the Union during those years because they are the only Constitutionally-mandated addresses that the president must deliver and I included those speeches deemed "foundational" by Simons (2007) in his rhetorical analysis of the President's language.

Using those speeches, I coded the texts for underlying narratives, which I believe to be formative in the geographical imaginary in many Americans' minds. After analyzing those speeches, it became clear to me that the Bush Administration promoted three main "stories" about America and the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, which I call: American Exceptionalism, Iraqistan, and Never-ending War. In the following section I explain how those mythologies were constructed in the speeches and how they evolved over the examined timeframe. I then turn to the Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial to see how those narratives are conveyed in this memorial landscape. My analysis of the

Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial shows that State-scale monuments reproduce these themes at a more intimate scale.

Geopolitical Narratives

September 11, 2001 is hailed as a major turning point in American foreign policy (Bacevich 2008). The Bush Administration enjoyed widespread support among U.S. and international public opinion following the attacks (Gross et. al. 2009). When the President gave his first major address to the nation on September 20, 2001, following the attacks, he named members of Al Qaeda as the perpetrators of the attack and explained how they had attained safe haven in Afghanistan under the Taliban regime. The ensuing war in Afghanistan initially was supported by a very wide coalition, including NATO forces and nearly 50 separate national militaries.

The war in Iraq began quite differently. With limited success in Afghanistan by 2002, the Bush Administration turned attention to preparing for an expanded "War on Terrorism" in Iraq. Since the link between the Iraqi government and the perpetrators of September 11 was not evident, and public opinion was largely turned against "preventive war," and it was only through purposeful rhetoric that the Bush Administration achieved support for the war's expansion (Spielvogel 2005). By the March 2003 invasion of Iraq, the Administration had survived criticism of the war and major media outlets even supported the decision to invade Iraq. Both wars served as opportunities for President Bush to make statements about the special place of America in world history, the cozy

relationship between Afghanistan and Iraq, and the historical significance of the Global War on Terror (Gershkoff and Kushner 2005; Secunda and Moran 2007). The three following sections will explore each of the rhetorical mythologies of the Bush Administration and the language used to sell them to the American public. Then I will turn to the Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial to see how they have translated into a local commemorative landscape.

American Exceptionalism

The single most prominent narrative extracted from President Bush's speeches was American exceptionalism. The president distinguished America as different and special from the rest of the world because of its unique freedoms, extraordinary people, and singular commitment to safeguarding the rest of the world from evil. The rhetoric boasting American exceptionalism began subtly in President Bush's first address following September 11. He framed the attacks as an evil terrorist group assailing the very nature of American society. He said of Al Qaeda on September 20, 2001, "They hate what they see right here in this chamber: a democratically elected government...They hate our freedoms: our freedom of religion, our freedom of speech, our freedom to vote and assemble and disagree with each other." However, since America's war strategy included committed allies in the war in Afghanistan, the president sought to include them in the important global effort. Therefore, the rhetoric of American distinctiveness remained mild until those allies started to grow uncomfortable with the focus on Iraq, at

which point the sense of American exceptionalism increased. In Bush's 2002 State of the Union, he testified to the character of Americans, saying:

Our enemies believed America was weak and materialistic, that we would splinter in fear and selfishness. They were as wrong as they are evil. The American people have responded magnificently, with courage and compassion, strength and resolve. As I have met the heroes, hugged the families, and looked into the tired faces of rescuers, I have stood in awe of the American people (Bush 2002a).

This shows a ramping up of the rhetoric demonstrating America's strength.

Just one year later in Bush's 2003 State of the Union, his tone changed dramatically to engage the special role America plays in enforcing global order:

This threat is new; America's duty is familiar. Throughout the 20th century, small groups of men seized control of great nations... built armies and arsenals and set out to dominate the weak and intimidate the world. In each case, their ambitions of cruelty and murder had no limit. In each case, the ambitions of Hitlerism, militarism, and communism were defeated by the will of free peoples, by the strength of great alliances, *and by the might of the United States of America*. Now, in this century, the ideology of power and domination has appeared again, and seeks to gain the ultimate weapons of terror. *Once again, this Nation and our friends are all that stand between a world at peace, and a world of chaos and constant alarm. Once again, we are called to defend the safety of our people, and the hopes of all mankind. And we accept this responsibility* (Bush 2003a, emphasis mine).

In this speech, President Bush mentioned "allies" and "friends," but they are not identified by name, downplaying their significance. The United States of America – called by its entire official title – is shown to be the savior of the "world of chaos and constant alarm" and "the hopes of all mankind".

As political elites built the case for war in Iraq, the President's rhetoric became more vehement about the special status of the U.S. In October 2002 he stated:

We did not ask for this present challenge, but we accept it. Like other generations of Americans, we will meet the responsibility of defending human liberty against violence and aggression. By our resolve, we will give strength to others. By our courage, we will give hope to others. By our actions, we will secure the peace, and lead the world to a better day (Bush 2002b).

By using language which positions the U.S. as the primary actor on behalf of a better world, Bush emphasizes that singular role the U.S. plays in geopolitics.

President Bush's tone, and the strategic alignment of the U.S. military, had shifted dramatically from September 11, 2001, to March 13, 2003. In 2001, the country demonstrated a strong sense of collaboration, identifying allies, seeking and appreciating support around the world. However, when the target began to shift from Afghanistan to Iraq, President Bush found fewer friends at the international scale. His rhetoric relating to American exceptionalism began both to assert the presence of friends and allies and to simultaneously emphasize the singular role of the U.S. in the global order as the lone superpower. In his March 13, 2003 ultimatum address to Saddam Hussein, when he informed the Iraqi President of his intention to invade if certain demands were not met, Bush dismissed the role of the United Nations in policing Iraq, stating, "for the last four-and-a-half months, *the United States and our allies* have worked within the Security Council to enforce that Council's long-standing demands" (Bush 2003b). In Bush's declaration of war in Iraq he averred, "more than 35 countries are giving crucial support

from the use of naval and air bases to help with intelligence and logistics to deployment of combat units. Every nation in this coalition has chosen to bear the duty and share the honor of serving in our common defense," defending his "coalition" as decidedly widespread (Bush 2003c). Yet at the end of the declaration he maintains, "My fellow citizens, the dangers to our country and the world will be overcome. We will pass through this time of peril and carry on the work of peace. We will defend our freedom. We will bring freedom to others and we will prevail" (Bush 2003c). When President Bush says, "we," what he clearly means is Americans.

The political operatives behind the Administration understood the basic conundrum. On the one hand, the public was more comfortable going to war as a party to a broad coalition of forces. This brought legitimacy to any military action and potentially minimized losses on the U.S. side. On the other hand, in order to go it alone, the President would have to remind the U.S. public of the special role America plays in international affairs, pumping the public with the rhetoric of singular uniqueness.

By May 1, 2003, as the President announced the end to major combat operations in Iraq, he walked that line between international participation and exceptionalism carefully. He directed his comments to American armed forces saying, "You have shown the world the skill and the might of the American Armed Forces. This nation thanks all of the members of our coalition who joined in a noble cause. We thank the Armed Forces of the United Kingdom, Australia, and Poland, who shared in the hardships of war" (Bush

2003d). By articulating the very few nations still participating in the "coalition of the willing," he both stressed that the U.S. had not operated alone and shared how few allies remained. He referred to World War II maneuvers, harkening back to a moment in U.S. history, in the hope of evoking American exceptionalism. His perspective showed through when he made this statement, "American values, and American interests, lead in the same direction: We stand for human liberty" (Bush 2003d).

This dual message didn't convince everyone. Reflecting the public's discomfort with the rhetoric of go-it-alone America, in one of President Bush's few open press conferences on April 14, 2004, he was asked:

You mentioned that 17 of the 26 NATO members are providing some help on the ground in Iraq. But if you look at the numbers — 135,000 U.S. troops, 10,000 or 12,000 British troops. Then the next largest, perhaps even the second- largest contingent of guns on the ground are private contractors, literally hired guns. Your critics, including your Democratic opponents, say that's proof to them your coalition is window dressing. How would you answer those critics? And can you assure the American people that, post-sovereignty, when the handover takes place, that there will be more burden-sharing by allies in terms of security forces? (Press Conference 2004b).

The President deflected the substance of the question, by defending his dual position, which asserted the presence of collaborators in the war and simultaneously held steady to the special role of the U.S. President Bush said:

Yes, John, my response is I don't think people ought to demean the contributions of our friends into Iraq. People are sacrificing their lives in Iraq from different countries. We ought to honor that, and we ought to welcome that.... It also dawned on me then that when we get it right in Iraq, at some point in time an

American president will be sitting down with a duly elected Iraqi leader, talking about how to bring security to what has been a troubled part of the world (Press Conference 2004b, emphasis mine).

President Bush simultaneously asserted the role of collaborators while maintaining America's special role in geopolitics.

This notion of American exceptionalism is hardly new. It relates directly to concept of the "monomyth." Attributed to James Joyce in his work *Finnegan's Wake*, the term "monomyth" is often used in comparative literature to describe the heroic venture of a singular entity to accomplish a mythical, worthy, and important deed. Much hangs in the balance. Religious figures such as Moses and Buddha are often described in these terms.

Countries too create their own mythologies, which sustain their interests and bind their societies together. Anderson explains that nations can only maintain themselves through the active promotion of "imagined communities," in which individuals buy into a set of mythologies that bind people to their co-nationalists despite lacking specific knowledge of each of those individuals.

The American monomyth depicts the cultural tendency in America to hope for and rely on a monomythical character and to envision the U.S. as the monomythical character in global geopolitics (Jewett 1977). Bush's rhetoric can be understood clearly in relation to this tradition. This is quite different from other national mythologies, for example Canadian scholars often argue that Canada's national story depends on multi-

lateral action, multi-party behavior (Jefferess 2009). Throughout the 20th century, the U.S. developed an acute sense of its own monomythical or exceptional role in geopolitics through its wartime behavior, writing the story of the global savior in both World War I and II by taking on the self-ascribed bearer of democracy and freedom during the Cold War. When the Soviet Union fell and the U.S. assumed the role of the sole remaining superpower, and the public discourse shifted to acknowledge the coming multi-polar globalized world (Ivie and Giner 2009).

Andrew Bacevich, one of the most astute political commentators on military matters of the last decade and professor of international relations, described the era of the Bush Administration as a distinct period of "American triumphalism". Explaining further, he says:

Triumphalist thinking derived from two widely held perceptions. The first was that the unraveling of the Soviet empire had brought history to a definitive turning point. According to this view, the annus mirabilis of 1989 truly was a year of wonders, sweeping aside the old order and opening the door to vast new possibilities. The second conviction was that it was up to the United States to determine what was to come next. Basic arithmetic told the story: there had previously been two superpowers; now only one remained. Henceforth, the decisions that mattered would be Washington's to make (Bacevich 2009).

This triumphalist rhetoric was used in such a heavy-handed way because public opinion moved to support humanitarian interventions, but generally objected to unilateral military conflict (Farrell 2005). In Farrell's study of the culture of warfare, he shows how elites had to mobilize society for war in Iraq by painting it as a "war of necessity" (Farrell 2005, p. 180). In the case that military means were deemed necessary, Americans by and

large believed that the U.S. should not go it alone, but should be engaged with international coalitions to accomplish geopolitical goals. Despite scholars, such as Krauthammer, describing this time as "America's unipolar moment" (also in Gaan 2006), Americans remain skeptical of this kind of independent behavior in geopolitics (Farrell 2005).

In an analysis of op-ed pieces in major American newspapers, Rojecki (2008) exposed the way that American exceptionalism becomes coded into the framing of the war effort. He cites four widely seen tropes that stem from an exceptionalist American stance, "a) assertion of unique American moral virtue, b) condemnation of evil enemies, c) judgment of uncooperative allies as corrupt and morally bankrupt, and d) praised the exemplary nature of U.S. political and economic institutions" (Rojecki 2008, p. 73). All of these are found in media coverage and administration rhetoric leading up to the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. Rojecki's research confirms that Bush maintained an exceptionalist geopolitical stance.

Iraqistan

While American exceptionalism was, by far, the most fundamental narrative extracted from President Bush's public appearances, other narratives were also woven into his rhetoric. Another important strand involved the intentional conflation of Afghanistan and Iraq.

The neologism "Iraqistan" refers to the conflation of Iraq with Afghanistan, a rhetorical "trick" used to link the two places in the geographical imagination of the American public. This trick was accomplished in a few different ways. In some cases, presidential rhetoric referred to Iraq and Afghanistan as two different sites in the single war on terror. In other instances, Saddam Hussein, leader of Iraq, was implicated in the attacks of September 11. Finally, in some cases, one can detect a replacing of the issues in Afghanistan into Iraq, implying that by going to war in Iraq the problems of both places can be solved. Gershkoff and Kushner (2005) argue in a rhetorical analysis of Bush speeches that Iraq was intentionally framed as associated with the war on terror in order to convince the public to support the war when they would have otherwise opposed it.

Even though the President did not use the term "Iraqistan" directly, this linking of Afghanistan to Iraq began early in the Bush presidency. In Bob Woodward's (2004) exposé of Bush administration war policy, he claims that it was just months after September 11 that Bush administration officials began discussing the possibility of invading Iraq. Between that time and the March 2003 invasion, a concerted effort was made to convince the public that the terrorists who attacked the U.S. resided in both Afghanistan and Iraq - thereby conflating the two countries. By April 2003, 53% of Americans believed that Saddam Hussein had participated in the September 11

bombings.³ The term "Iraqistan" - a combined Iraq and Afghanistan - began circulating in the popular press. The Economist used it at least twice in 2003. "Iraqistan" developed into its own geographical imaginary, propagated by the Bush Administration to serve a wartime function.

We can see this conflation developing, beginning with the early speeches after September 11. In the immediate days following the September 11 attacks, President Bush did not make any significant policy addresses. In his first policy speech post-9/11 on September 20, 2001 his focus sat squarely on Al Qaeda and the threat emanating from Afghanistan. He said that Al Qaeda, a loose network of Muslims dedicated to "destroying freedom," were at the core of the attacks and mentioned Afghanistan and their ruling elite, the Taliban, twelve times during that speech. He noted that Al Qaeda operates in over 60 countries, but Afghanistan was the only one referred to by name. Importantly, he did not link terrorism to Iraq, and his only mention of Iraq was to say ominously that a war in Afghanistan would not be conducted like the previous war in Iraq a decade earlier, "with a decisive liberation of territory and a swift conclusion" (Bush 2001). Following this speech, the U.S. launched operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan to root out its Taliban regime, which gave safe haven to the Al Qaeda terrorist network. Iraq was not identified as a hotbed of terrorist activities, nor was it

³ <http://www.pollingreport.com/iraq.htm>

recognized as a target for American intervention. However, just four months later, during Bush's 2002 State of the Union, he began drawing the link between Afghanistan and Iraq. Amidst a focus on U.S. work in Afghanistan, he denounced Iraq as a member of the "axis of evil" alongside Iran and North Korea and affirmed Iraq's terrorist connections. He said:

Iraq continues to flaunt its hostility toward America and to support terror. The Iraqi regime has plotted to develop anthrax, and nerve gas, and nuclear weapons for over a decade. This is a regime that has already used poison gas to murder thousands of its own citizens -- leaving the bodies of mothers huddled over their dead children. This is a regime that agreed to international inspections -- then kicked out the inspectors. This is a regime that has something to hide from the civilized world (Bush 2002a).

The rhetorical conflation of Afghanistan and Iraq increased over the period of analysis (September 2001-2005) so much so that the 2003 State of the Union places Iraq as the focus of the U.S. global war on terror, rather than Afghanistan. This replacement of one country for another demonstrates the total syncretization of the two places in the geographic imaginary. The 2003 speech begins by addressing domestic issues. Then President Bush moves into a discussion of security and terrorism, emphasizing the constant threat of danger posed by the terrorists that find safe haven in Iraq. This speech mentions Afghanistan by name three times. By contrast, Iraq is mentioned 21 times, despite the fact that the U.S. was at war with the former. Much the same language that was used previously to paint Afghanistan as a villain is applied to Iraq, in an apparent

effort to make them into a singular unit in the geographical consciousness of average Americans.

After the 2003 State of the Union, the hostile language toward Iraq intensified further, to the point of an actual threat of war and an eventual declaration of military intervention. On March 13, 2003, President Bush declared war on Iraq for many reasons, among them because, "...it [Iraq] has aided, trained and harbored terrorists, including operatives of Al Qaeda." The narrative of a conflated Afghanistan and Iraq (Iraqistan) was complete by the speech given on May 1, 2003, as President Bush declared an end to major combat operations in Iraq. He proclaimed triumphantly:

The Battle of Iraq is one victory in a war on terror that began on September the 11th, 2001, and still goes on. That terrible morning, 19 evil men — the shock troops of a hateful ideology — gave America and the civilized world a glimpse of their ambitions. They imagined, in the words of one terrorist, that September the 11th would be the 'beginning of the end of America.' By seeking to turn our cities into killing fields, terrorists and their allies believed that they could destroy this nation's resolve, and force our retreat from the world. They have failed.

In the Battle of Afghanistan, we destroyed the Taliban, many terrorists, and the camps where they trained. We continue to help the Afghan people lay roads, restore hospitals, and educate all of their children. Yet we also have dangerous work to complete. As I speak, a special operations task force, led by the 82nd Airborne, is on the trail of the terrorists, and those who seek to undermine the free government of Afghanistan. America and our coalition will finish what we have begun (Bush 2003d).

This is an illustrative section. Bush uses a parallel structure to discuss the two wars, and deems them "battles," painting them as small, finite events rather than long, ongoing struggles. Additionally, Bush describes *Iraq* as the natural extension of the global war on

terror, begun by Al Qaeda on September 11. Afghanistan is portrayed as a place which has only benefitted from U.S. intervention.

Through 2004, the 'Iraqistan' narrative persisted as a predominant focus of the President's rhetorical attention. The 2004 State of the Union mentioned Afghanistan only five times, but Iraq received 24 mentions (Bush 2004a). The momentum of substituting Iraq for Afghanistan when mentioning terrorism only continued in the year following. In the 2005 State of the Union, Afghanistan was only mentioned three times — each in the context of highlighting democratic reforms that were occurring in the country. The President, by contrast, referred to Iraq 27 times in a myriad of ways, including: As a "newly-formed democratic state," as a "place where the U.S. is advancing freedom," as a "site of free elections," and as a "self-sustaining sovereignty aided by the Iraqi security forces" (Bush 2005). It is no surprise that a conflated "Iraqistan" pervaded the geographical imagination of the U.S. despite the fact that Afghanistan and Iraq are vastly different countries with widely differing cultural histories, different languages, and not even a single shared border. The Iraqistan imaginary served the wartime effort to garner support for an otherwise hard-to-sell invasion.

Never-ending War:

Another extant but more subtle narrative thread promoted a socially unacceptable premise: the idea of never-ending war. War, in the American consciousness, is

sometimes necessary or just, but it is always constructed as regrettable and the public demands that it remain limited to accomplish its stated goals. However, sometimes the stated goals of a war are sufficiently unclear so the public has no means to demand an end, because they will not know if the mission has been accomplished. The war in Iraq arguably sits at this juncture of plural meanings and goals, without adequate definition prior to the war. The reason that the goals were not well articulated stems from the fact that, at very high levels, officials disagreed about the nature of the Iraq incursion and sought different objectives. Rumsfeld and Wolfowitz sat at opposite ends of the spectrum: Rumsfeld, the Secretary of Defense, believed in using Iraq as a "demonstration model" for the rest of the Middle East, to show U.S. military might. He anticipated a "rapid victory and rapid departure" for American troops in Iraq (Danner 2006). Because of this rapid victory, there would be no need for a sophisticated exit strategy. Wolfowitz, the Deputy Secretary of Defense, envisioned a much deeper engagement. He considered Iraq a potential avenue for "democratic transition," stripping the Baathist elite of its privileged position and converting the country to a freely elected government. He envisioned a much deeper and long-term involvement of the U.S. in Iraq (Danner 2006). Given these diverging perspectives at such high levels, it is no surprise that there was no long term plan for the occupation or rebuilding of Iraq; that wasn't part of the supposed mission in the country.

President Bush mentioned a timeline for the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, but he failed to make any specific predictions, fueling speculation that he had unacceptably long time horizons in mind. As mentioned previously, during Bush's first speech following September 11 on September 20, 2001, he only referred to Iraq in terms of the differences between the coming invasion of Afghanistan and his father's previous war in Iraq saying,

Now, this war [in Afghanistan] will not be like the war against Iraq a decade ago, with a decisive liberation of territory and a swift conclusion. It will not look like the air war above Kosovo two years ago, where no ground troops were used and not a single American was lost in combat. Our response involves far more than instant retaliation and isolated strikes. *Americans should not expect one battle, but a lengthy campaign unlike any other we have ever seen.* It may include dramatic strikes visible on TV and covert operations secret even in success. (Sept 20, 2001) emphasis mine (Bush 2001).

With this first speech, President Bush set the tone for the Global War on Terror as distinct from other battles in which the U.S. had been engaged in the late 20th century. Most importantly, he said, "Our war on terror begins with Al Qaeda, but it does not end there. It will not end until every terrorist group of global reach has been found, stopped and defeated."

This framing of the war as having a global reach and a never-ending timeline permeated the narrative of the war effort from this speech forward. In the 2002 State of the Union, Bush stated,

What we have found in Afghanistan confirms that, far from ending there, our war against terror is only beginning... Thousands of dangerous killers, schooled in the

methods of murder, often supported by outlaw regimes, are now spread throughout the world like ticking time bombs, set to go off without warning.tens of thousands of trained terrorists are still at large. These enemies view the entire world as a battlefield, and we must pursue them wherever they are (Bush 2002a).

In the 2003 State of the Union, Bush hammered home the point that terrorist operations existed in every corner of the globe, naming places where the U.S. military had busted cells. Moreover, that speech, tacitly acknowledging the public's lack of enthusiasm for a long-term war commitment, emphasized the time frame needed to combat terrorism:

Our war against terror is a contest of will, in which *perseverance is power*. In the ruins of two towers, at the western wall of the Pentagon, on a field in Pennsylvania, this Nation made a pledge, and we renew that pledge tonight: *Whatever the duration of this struggle*, and whatever the difficulties, we will not permit the triumph of violence in the affairs of men...free people will set the course of history (Bush 2003, emphasis mine).

Additionally, by conjuring the religious symbolism embedded in the term "western wall," the President invoked the mythical and timeless connection between Jews and the Western Wall of the destroyed Temple in Jerusalem, possibly alluding to the timelessness of the U.S. war on terrorism and giving a religious undertone to the entire enterprise.

The President came under fire as he stood by his principles of long term war with a global reach, for example in his 2005 State of the Union. First, he set widely optimistic goals by saying, "America will stand with the allies of freedom to support democratic movements in the Middle East and beyond, with the ultimate goal of ending tyranny in

our world." Then, he refused to give a timeframe for troop removal, claiming that it would make the task of war more difficult:

We will not set an artificial timetable for leaving Iraq, because that would embolden the terrorists and make them believe they can wait us out. We are in Iraq to achieve a result: A country that is democratic, representative of all its people, at peace with its neighbors, and able to defend itself. And when that result is achieved, our men and women serving in Iraq will return home with the honor they have earned (Bush 2005).

In this section, Bush claims that the honor of the troops is at stake. Only through sustained warfare can the U.S. military achieve its goals and "return home with the honor they have earned."

These three geographical imaginaries of American exceptionalism, Iraqistan, and Never-ending War, were part of the effort by President Bush and his Administration to portray narratives that supported their policies – in this case a reactionary war in Afghanistan and preventive war effort in Iraq. Those narratives made an imprint on the memorial landscape, but only after being filtered through the Oregon state political apparatus (addressed in chapter three) and the individuals responsible for the memorial itself (addressed in chapter four).

Narratives of the Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial

Oregon's Capital Complex comprises the Capital building, other buildings for the State's administrative departments, alongside the art and statues meant to embody the values and beliefs of Oregonians. Behind the Veterans Affairs department building, the

State houses a memorial garden in which the State officially recognizes those wars in which Oregonians fought and died. The Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial reproduces the geopolitical narratives examined in the previous section. By analyzing the memorial, we can deduce how national scale mythologies became grafted onto a memorial landscape. All three geographical imaginings discussed (American exceptionalism, Iraqistan, and Never-ending war) can be seen in the Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial, but their interpretation, configuration, and reproduction remain uniquely local.

Just as the tone set by President Bush extolling the U.S. for its special role in geopolitical history was dominant, so too the Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial (AIFM) promotes that general theme. American exceptionalism stands as the defining aesthetic choice for the AIFM. The monument consists of a large fountain spraying water in the air and then washing over the globe. Emphasizing America as a monomythical character, a life-sized American soldier sits on top of a raised pedestal reaching out to the globe. There are no other soldiers or other persons depicted. There are no other raised sections of the memorial, but rather the geographic imaginary put forth implies that the human and the honorable emerge from America (Fig 5).



Fig 5: The soldier emerges from North America.

This memorial reconfigures the Bush Administration narrative, making it more extreme, by entirely casting aside Bush's acknowledgement that allies and friends participated in the "liberation" of Afghanistan and Iraq. In the years just prior to building the memorial (2004 and 2005), President Bush adamantly recognized U.S. supporters in the wars, but the rhetoric of American exceptionalism outweighed any contravening message.

The second rhetorical geographical imaginary promoted by President Bush that of a conflated Iraq and Afghanistan –'Iraqistan' – translated directly to the AIFM. First, the

title of the memorial features this narrative and transforms it into a new adjective – "Afghan-Iraqi" (Fig 6). The use of the hyphenated descriptor shows how strongly the two places are linked in the minds of the architect and the designers of the memorial. Early designs of the memorial included red blinking lights which would be placed on the fountain map at the sites of Afghanistan and Iraq, but they were not incorporated into the final product.⁴ I interpret this deliberate choice as an important part of the effect to maintain the geographical imaginary that Afghanistan and Iraq are linked. If the memorial contained those blinking lights, it would be apparent to all the visitors how distant the two locations actually are.

For the authorities at Oregon's Department of Veterans Affairs, the Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial has become the new icon. An image of the soldier from the memorial now sits on the cover of all official documents in all sub-departments throughout the office. The department has taken on the Afghan-Iraqi symbolism as its "brand," making its iconography all the more important (Fig 7). Moreover, the department public affairs officer referred to veterans who returned from tours of duty abroad as "Afghan-Iraqi" vets.⁵

⁴ Personal communication. Jane Honbeck, July 2008. Independence, OR

⁵ Personal communication. Tom McMann, August 2008. Salem, OR

All this work to rhetorically link Afghanistan and Iraq in the eyes of veterans, their families, and the policymakers who interact with them, has the effect of creating a new imaginative geography of this war. Rather than taking place in Afghanistan or Iraq, each place with a unique history, background, and set of issues, the Afghan-Iraqi vet fought a singular war, linked by the very terrorist threat that attacked the U.S. on September 11.

The final narrative theme, that the global war on terror constitutes an extended never-ending battle, is embedded in the memorial as well, but in much more subtle ways than the other two narratives. The Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial is the largest built structure in the memorial garden, completely dominating the small area. Critics argued that it was out of scale with the other statues, and by building it, the garden administrators have made it difficult to construct any future memorials.⁶ The only way to explain such an architectural choice is to understand this conflict in the context of eternal war, the last war, the "war to end all wars" - but for real this time. Following this logic, this is the last memorial that will ever need to be built in the garden.

The early timing of the AIFM also confirms the never-ending war narrative. The AIFM was first proposed in early 2004, but the legislative support materialized in 2005. The monument was actually built for a planned unveiling in November 2006. Compared

⁶ Personal Communication. 2008. Charles Walker, architect. Signatory to the American Institutes of Architecture Portland Chapter letter condemning the AIFM.

with other efforts to build memorials, this one was built quickly and early – long before the wars ended. As noted earlier, memorials built on the Mall in Washington, DC, must conform to rules stipulated in the Commemorative Works Act of 1989, which specifies that a war cannot be memorialized until ten years have passed since its conclusion.

However, if the public believes that a particular war will never end, then there is no reason to wait for some conclusion to erect a memorial. No rule such as the federal Commemorative Works Act exists in Oregon, and therefore this memorial was allowed to proceed without any close of conflict. Charles Walker, an architect from Portland, criticized the memorial for a number of reasons, including the timing, claiming it was inappropriate and even disrespectful to hurry such an important project. Walker called the whole project a "debacle" and was embarrassed that Oregon would be known for hosting such an "architectural mess."⁷

Walker's perspective demonstrates that in addition to his aesthetic criticism, he does not agree with the geographic imaginary which underpins its existence. The Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial stands as a testament to the never-ending war which may persist in Iraq and Afghanistan. This memorial reproduces a story echoing a Bush narrative.

⁷ Personal Communication. 2008. Charles Walker, architect. Signatory to the American Institutes of Architecture Portland Chapter letter condemning the AIFM..

The geopolitical framing propagated by President Bush in his major public addresses accomplished more than promoting his wartime stance. He sought to shape the geopolitical imagination of a large proportion of the public opinion, paving the way for a memorial to be built that incorporated a heavy dose of Bush Administration rhetoric in it. Many scholars accept that presidential language has the power to shape public opinion, at least frame the broad contours of it. This chapter traces the power of presidential rhetoric farther, past public opinion that may be fleeting, into the built landscape. In this way, when powerful elites attempt to convince the public to go to war or maintain a particular wartime stance, their work does not end after the war. Oftentimes, the geographical imaginaries, which they have conjured, persist in memorial landscapes.

CHAPTER III

"ARENA" AT THE STATE SCALE

In the previous chapter I interrogated the geopolitical narratives embedded in the design and symbology of the Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial. By exploring the ways in which the symbolic and material language of the memorial legitimized dominant narratives of the "war on terror," I concluded that Bush doctrine was largely embedded in the memorial but reconfigured to highlight certain narrative concepts. In this chapter, I explain *how* this memorial came to stand in its particular spot by examining the political processes at work at the Oregon State level and why a State-scale analysis deserves attention. Additionally, I explore Oregon's political culture, which drove a particular cadre of people to seek a memorial in the first place.

There are two related reasons that the Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial came to stand on the Oregon Capitol Complex. First, the Governor of Oregon, Ted Kulongoski, played an important role in its passage. He singularly pursued the construction of the memorial without regard to the customary legal path usually taken for these kind of landscape changes, ignoring the negative review of the memorial written by the Capitol Advisory Committee, pushing ahead with its construction. As a former marine, he carried favor with veterans' groups in Oregon and he was eager to satisfy those citizens who helped elect him in a very close election.

Secondly, those veteran constituents, whom the Governor sought to please, wielded considerable power in Oregon politics. As a block, they constitute a significant percentage of Oregon's voters. More importantly, as the status of veterans has changed in recent history, so too has the political discourse surrounding government-supported programs for veterans. Because of the newfound status of veterans' causes and the framing of this memorial as it was presented to the Oregon Legislature, it was politically impossible to oppose.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, State-scale, and sub-national scales in general are neglected often by scholars of the memorial landscape. This national bias is surprising, given Geography's long preoccupation with issues of scale, including inter-scalar dynamics and the social-construction of scale (Marston 2000). This fixation on national-scale processes may be attributable to the overall bias among memorial scholars toward understanding nationalist movements and wars of independence (Foote and Azaryahu 2007). As mentioned earlier, the national focus turns scholarly attention to capital cities, as sites of national ideology. However in a country such as the U.S., which is physically vast, many individuals never get the opportunity to visit the Washington, DC, and therefore do they see it as a site of intimate, personal meaning. Given this context, it is even more important to examine the State and sub-national locations where individuals work to create memorials and other landscapes of meaning. In Savage's (2009) *Monument Wars*, an exposé of the political processes leading to building many different memorials, he echoes the disciplinary emphasis on national-scale memorials.

However, he shows how the behavior of individuals, working singularly or collectively, shape the commemorative landscape. It is through this type of intimate analysis, that we learn about the embedded politics of war monuments.

Oregon's memorial has been called the first memorial to the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, but it is certainly not the last. Such memorials are becoming widespread. California, Texas, North Dakota and Idaho each maintain their own memorial of this kind, and there are at least six other projects in progress or in the idea phase in different States. Why do States act quickly to memorialize their war dead in the absence of a federal memorial? Based on conversations with five of Oregon's Gold Star families, I conclude that States are the initial testing grounds, where citizens start the process of forming a narrative of war. Creating a memorial presents the opportunity to stake ideological ground in the battle over the meaning of memory.

Each element of the built landscape contains a unique and oftentimes contentious history of its formation. In David Harvey's (1979) influential work on Paris' Sacre Coeur Basilica, he uses the story of that site to explain some of the political messages embedded in landscapes. He describes the site of the basilica, showing how it towers over the city of Paris "projecting an image of saintly grandeur, of perpetual remembrance," thereby provoking the obvious question, "remembrance of what?"(Harvey 1979, p.364). He goes on to explain that there existed a cult of the Sacred Heart which embraced an image of Christ as loving and forgiving and was promoted by such European leaders as King Louis XVI and Marie-Antoinette. In the early 1800s, as France began to encounter the stirrings

of capitalist industrialization, additional adherents flocked to the cult of the Sacred Heart who "felt threatened by the new materialist social order" (Harvey 1979, p.365). By 1880, the Sacre Coeur Basilica came to represent monarchists and the "intolerance and fanaticism of the right" (Harvey 1979, p. 379). However, that meaning attached to the old building did not remain static. Nearly 100 years later, in 1971, socialist demonstrators found refuge in the hallowed walls of the basilica as they fled the police.

By revealing the tortured history of the site on which the Sacre Coeur sits, Harvey explains how class struggles, which took place on that site, become ingrained in the landscape, condensing time and incorporating past into present. He concludes his study by noting that:

The building [Sacre Coeur] hides its secrets in sepulchral silence. Only the living, cognizant of this history, who understand the principles of those who struggled for and against the 'embellishment' of that spot, can truly disinter the mysteries that lie entombed there and thereby rescue that rich experience from the deathly silence of the tomb and transform it into the noisy beginnings of the cradle (Harvey 1979, p. 381).

David Harvey's study of the Sacre Coeur Basilica demonstrates how the contentious history of a place becomes embedded in its meaning at particular moments. Using Harvey's analysis as a model, I argue that all built landscapes are actually amalgamations of the political struggle, formal and informal, which brought about their existence. By analyzing the politics – the party struggles, larger power issues, and more intimate challenges surrounding a memorial - we see how the memorial materialized.

The Vietnam Veterans Memorial (VVM) on the National Mall in Washington, DC has received the most critical scholarly literature of any war memorial (Fig 8).



Fig 8: The Vietnam Veterans Memorial, Washington, DC. Image from: <http://www.mariaworks.com/UOP/3/DC/images/vietnam-memorial.jpg>

Since its establishment in 1982, that memorial has been the subject of studies of how it heralds in a new era in American political iconography (Griswold and Griswold 1986), how it commemorates a difficult past (Wagner-Pacifici 1991), how it reconfigures the modernist landscape (Abramson 1996), and how it reconstitutes the ways that people relate to memorial landscapes (Hass 1998). More recently, articles and books have looked at how it represents the American memorial/monument complex (Johnston 2001), and how it contributes to the American cult of the soldier (Grant 2005). This is a small sampling in a very long list of scholarly analyses of the VVM. The VVM is included in textbooks on American architecture (Eggner 2004) and has had at least three childrens' books written about it. In this wide literature, the foundational piece is the book "To Heal A Nation" by Scruggs and Swerdlow (1985) who, as two of the key figures in the founding of the memorial, sought to set the record straight about the process by which it came about because they knew that the history of the memorial is part of its symbolism and its power. In their rendition of the process of building the VVM, they attempted to satisfy all the competing interested parties, including veterans, anti-war protesters, military elites, architects, and government officials. In their eyes, the purpose of the memorial was well-articulated in the statement of purpose for the design competition, which read:

The purpose of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial is to recognize and honor those who served and died. It will provide a symbol of acknowledgement of the courage, sacrifice, and devotion to duty of those who are among the nation's finest youth.

The memorial will make no political statement regarding the war or its conduct. It will transcend those issues. The hope is that the creation of a memorial will begin a healing process (Scruggs and Swerdlow 1985).

From this call for designs and the title of their book, we can see that Scruggs and Swerdlow viewed building the VVM as a healing, cathartic activity. Unfortunately, not all the participants in the building process agreed that Scruggs and Swerdlow's choice of design accomplished those goals.

The VVM design elicited strong emotion. Tom Carhart, a Vietnam veteran and lawyer in the Pentagon called the wall "a black gash of shame" (quoted in Foss 1986). Prominent early supporters of the project withdrew their backing once they saw the design. The memorial was even initially denied a building permit because of the controversial reception of the memorial's design. Despite these protests, the wall was built in 1982, but designers have added an American flag, The Three Soldiers Memorial, The Vietnam Women's Memorial, and the In Memory Memorial Plaque - each addition trying to satisfy another set of stakeholders who felt ostracized by Maya Lin's initial drawings. Today the Washington Mall contains an entire Vietnam Memorial Complex.

Similar to the VVM, Oregon's Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial also contains within it meaningful political struggle. In order to analyze the Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial, I took a qualitative approach to understanding how the memorial came to be by attempting to interview all individuals who played a role in the construction or

criticism of the memorial. From this approach, I tried to uncover the stories and rationale that legitimized the memorial in the face of substantial criticism.

The story of the AIFM begins as many memorials do - with sorrow. In 2003, Erik Kesterson, helicopter pilot, was killed in a Black Hawk over Mosul, Iraq, just nine days after leaving Oregon for combat. He had enthusiastically re-enlisted for combat on September 12, 2001, immediately after hearing about the September 11 attacks. His parents, MJ and Clay Kesterson, were devastated by the loss. While in mourning, they discovered that no memorials yet existed in Oregon to commemorate the current wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and began the process of proposing one. They recruited the help of a cadre of supporters and a neighbor, Jane Honbeck, a local architect, to help with the design. In 2004, the group approached their local city council in the City of Independence, OR, requesting land to be dedicated to a memorial. Ms. Honbeck remembered that the city council rejected the proposal, however Ms. Kesterson remembered a slightly different story. She said, "Yea, they [the Independence City Council] gave us some land. It was a pitiful site, next to a dump or something. Really awful. We weren't going to remember our son and all our military boys there."

MJ and Clay Kesterson remained undeterred by the city's choice of land. They returned to their neighborhood in Independence and continued fundraising locally, hosting barbeques and other community events where they solicited donations. They sold cookies at community centers, held garage sales, and raised funds outside of their

local Walmart. Support remained slow but steady. With a reinvigorated campaign, the Kestersons approached then seated Rep. Donna Nelson (R-McMinnville), chair of Oregon Veterans Affairs Committee, who enthusiastically embraced the idea of creating a memorial to the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq. Nelson approached the legislation to allocate funding and land for the Oregon memorial with the enthusiasm of a woman "with a mission," as described by MJ Kesterson. She brought legislation forward in Oregon's Veterans' Affairs Committee to support such a memorial.

Oregon's Veterans' Affairs Committee meeting wherein Rep. Nelson presented the bills to support the memorial was unlike regular meetings of the committee. The Veterans' Affairs Committee (whose motto is "Where every day is veterans day") meetings are often convened without any spectators. However on April 12, 2005, the day that Rep. Nelson presented legislation regarding a new war memorial, the room was packed. In addition to the seven members of the committee present, at least 40 others watched and testified, including a number of decorated, wounded veterans of various conflicts.

Nelson brought forward a suite of three bills relating to the memorial (HB 2878, 2795, 2739). Under consideration were bills which would: "allow the State Parks and Recreation Commission to acquire property rights or interests necessary to develop memorials in honor of veterans and war memorials" (HB 2878); "adopt rules that make state funding assistance available to veterans organization to construct and restore

veterans and war memorials located on public property" (HB 2739) and "appropriate moneys from the General Fund to the Dir. of Veterans' Affairs for memorial building to Oregon military personnel killed in Afghanistan and Iraq wars (HB 2795).

The first bill received three pieces of written testimony in support and only one piece in opposition from the State Parks and Recreation Department. The Department spokesperson opposed on the grounds that there were other activities that should achieve higher priority. The second bill received four pieces of written and spoken testimony with no opposition. But it was the final bill that the crowd came to support because of the specificity with which it pertained to the proposed Afghan-Iraqi Memorial.

Representative Nelson began the consideration of the bill expressing her "wholehearted support" for it, saying that this is something "we need to do now."⁸ Additionally, 18 individuals testified in person supporting the bill - everyone from citizen veterans from Welches, Wilsonville, and Sweet Home, a student from Cascade High School, and representatives of various veterans' associations, many of whom often disagree on policy related to memorializing wars. In addition, 10 people who were not present submitted written testimony in support of the bill. No one objected. In this sea of affirmation, the bills passed unanimously out of committee. Neither the *Oregonian* nor the *Statesman-Journal*, Oregon's two largest papers covered this first step in memorial building.

⁸ All communication from this House Committee on Veterans Affairs meeting was recorded and kept by Oregon's archives. I retrieved the tapes from the committee meeting, analyzing them for content. April 12, 2005. 8:30AM.

The suite of bills were brought before the Oregon Legislature and approved unanimously without debate, making the memorial rules effective on September 2, 2005. Once the resolutions passed the Oregon Legislature, the project moved swiftly through design and engineering qualifications. The Director of Veterans Affairs deemed the memorial garden perfect for such a memorial and acted "as swiftly as he could to get it done."⁹ The director solicited in-kind donations from the local steel-workers union and several other building outfits. In fact, he explained that as a veteran, he approaches important endeavors like he would a mission in battle, which is to say that he moves "forward to complete the mission without looking back."¹⁰ This attitude is significant because it demonstrates how some of the customary processes could be subverted if they are considered mere diversions. This military approach to accomplishing the memorial pervaded other responsible divisions as well. Ed Wales, project manager for the memorial in the State's Department of Administrative Services, was quoted in the Associated Press as having remarked about the process of approving the memorial, "Sure, there are better ways to do it. But that's not what we're going to do."

After the resolution passed the Oregon Legislature in 2005, the Governor, an enthusiastic supporter of the memorial, acted to reconstitute a Capitol Complex Advisory Committee (CCAC), which had been disbanded in 2003 due to budget cuts. While

⁹ Personal communication. August 2008. Salem, OR

¹⁰ Personal communication. August 2008. Salem, OR

holding no official, statutory power, it had been customary to convene such a committee of architects, engineers, and citizens to review any major structural changes to the Capital Complex before any major change is made or ground is broken. In 2005, the CCAC met to review the designs for the memorial presented by architect, Jane Honbeck. For a variety of reasons, the committee rejected the designs, asking the Governor to re-review. Moreover, a group of architects from the American Institute of Architects - Oregon Chapter saw the design and drafted a strongly worded letter imploring the Governor to withdraw his support. Gov. Kulongoski, however, anxious to build the memorial, disregarded the advice of the committee and ordered the memorial project to move forward. On Veterans' Day 2006, the monument/fountain was unveiled.

The story leads to a number of questions: how and why did the governor decide to ignore his own advisory committee? If there was such widespread opposition to the memorial, why did it pass the Legislature in the first place?

It is unlikely that this blatant disregard for procedure would occur at larger scales. For example, the most esteemed *federal* memorials built on the National Mall, must comply with the Commemorative Works Act of 1986, which dictates strict parameters. The law rules out memorializing limited military engagements, only allowing a memorial to commemorate a war or similar *major* military conflict. Also, any memorial project promoters must consult with the National Capital Memorial Advisory Commission, must adhere to a seven-year construction time frame, and must conform to the construction

permit issued by the Secretary of the Interior or the Administrator of General Services. Finally, commemorative works to a war may not be built until at least 10 years after the officially designated end of such war or conflict.¹¹

The Act was originally devised after the complications which arose during the building of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, described earlier in this chapter. A Director of the National Parks Service described the conditions of its passing:

The Commemorative Works Act of 1986... was enacted during the Reagan Administration following what some characterized as 'monumental chaos' over the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, which was dedicated in 1982. At that time, Congress was frustrated by the lack of guidelines for the subject matter, siting, and design of memorials, and the lack of a public process. Congress and the Department worked together to study the process, delineate responsibilities and define procedures. Through passage of the Commemorative Works Act, Congress established the process that, today, ensures memorials in the Capital are erected on the most appropriate sites in the Federal City and are of a caliber in design that is worthy of their historically significant subjects.¹²

The reasons for such strict rules are obvious and manifold. Many different interest groups within the U.S. would appeal to have their particular event memorialized in the most sacred federal public space. The Commemorative Works Act codifies the process of instituting war memorials so as to limit the petitions for such monuments, but also to further hallow those spaces that have already been designated. Due to the strict rules, some of those memorials, which have passed the Congress in concept, have yet to

¹¹ Commemorative Works Act of 1986

¹² This testimony can be found at: <http://www.nps.gov/legal/testimony/107th/rmemdc3.htm>

be built because of their potentially contentious nature. Even with these rules, many memorials face opposition.¹³

Geographer Lisa Benton-Short (2006), writing about the most recent incarnation of a federal political battle surrounding new memorials on the Washington Mall, calling the development of the World War II Memorial "The Brawl on the Mall." This newest addition to the Mall, installed in 2004, is located centrally between the Lincoln Memorial and the Washington Memorial. The memorial comprises 56 granite pillars assembled in a semi-circle around a fountain with two grand archways symbolizing the two theaters of combat - the Pacific and Atlantic. Additionally the memorial contains a "freedom wall" which bears 4,048 gold stars. Each star represents 100 Americans who perished in the war (Fig. 9).

¹³ In 2003, the U.S. Congress placed a moratorium on building more memorials on the "reserve" of the National Mall, meaning that there will no longer be any more memorials built on the great axis of the mall (Title 40, Subtitle II, Part D, Chapter 89, Section 8902, and Section 8908c).



Fig 9: National World War II Memorial, Washington, DC. Image from: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/67/WwII_memorial_dec2005.jpg

The World War II Memorial was first approved by President Clinton in 1994 on the 50th anniversary of the end of WWII. Many people believed that because so much time had passed, there would be unanimous agreement on the symbolism of the memorial. After all, if memorials abide by the ideal process of making discussed in the introduction, then 50 years should be enough time for the public to arrive at a consensus view of the war. However, this memorial also created discord.

Congress and ultimately the President have the authority to proceed with or block the legislation for a new national memorial, they delegate many of the details, including location or issues of funding to the National Parks Service (NPS). (Congress no longer funds memorials on the Mall; the funds must be raised privately.) Therefore, the NPS exercises quite a bit of power over such important sites of national identity.

The NPS set up the design competition for the World War II Memorial, which was ultimately won by Friedrich St. Florian, a well-respected practicing architect. The NPS then requested many revisions to the design because it was "too overwhelming" and "too destructive of the Mall." After the design satisfied the NPS authorities, the design was released to the public for comment, however at this point only an act of Congress could change the design or site. Public comments ranged from "too grandiose and out of place" to "a granite atrocity" and a "massive mausoleum" to "among the very worst proposals ever made." Benton-Short (2006) notes that, "Some argued the design contained inappropriate symbols ... the triumphal arches because they represent the iconography of imperial authority, noting that in this instance, the neoclassical elements inappropriately resembled the work of the Nazi architect Albert Speer". Finally Benton-Short quotes George Mosse when he says, a good memorial should also contain a warning against war, which this one does not.

The design was not the only point of contention. Many argued that a World War II memorial is the right thing to do, just not in the place proposed, in the middle of the

National Mall. Criticism of the location came from mainstream papers such as the Wall St. Journal, the New York Times, and the LA Times. However, despite the criticism in the popular press and the work of a dedicated civic action group, "Save the Mall," the World War II Memorial was built and dedicated on May 29, 2004, by President Bush.

Benton-Short (2006) explains that there are overt and covert politics to the geography of memory. The overt politics include the public record of the planning process, while the covert politics consist of the ideas which take on a dominant and even hegemonic character in order to be acceptable to the power brokers who eventually must consent to the building process. She explains, "The addition of each new memorial on the Mall reflects the power of a particular group of people at a specific time to determine which interpretation of the person/event will be unveiled and to place that memorial in a space that resonates with its interpretation" (Benton-Short 2006, p. 301).

Benton-Short's work on the National World War II Memorial demonstrates that even with a legal protocol for how to institute new memorials, such as the Commemorative Works Act, the act of writing history on a landscape can nevertheless be contentious. Not only does that contest over ideas become embedded in the final memorial, but the act of making a memorial becomes a struggle over the meaning of an historical identity and a current-day identity. She concludes:

The design and location of the memorial ... interprets the war as an absolute triumph of good over evil. It is also a vision that interprets World War II as the most defining event in the 20th century as evidenced by the decision to locate the

memorial on the Mall in a highly symbolic and prominent area between the Lincoln Memorial (considered the defining symbolic event of the 19th century) and the Washington Monument (standing for the defining ideologies of the 18th century). ... The location of the memorial was not accidental, but intended to re-write the axis of the Mall, thereby reinforcing a particular interpretation of the meaning of the war and its contribution to national identity.

Most importantly, the question over location, symbology, and timing of a memorial attest to the relative power dynamics of those stakeholders who participate in the discussion. In the case of the World War II Memorial in Washington, DC, since so many veterans of the conflict had already died, there was an overwhelming sense that it was essential to construct this memorial quickly before all the individuals were gone. Also, the Bush Administration enthusiastically supported the memorial to demonstrate its commitment to international intervention abroad in the name of human rights. By reinforcing the narrative of a glorious and just World War II, the Administration hinted at a legitimization of both the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan.¹⁴

States and local governments, by contrast, often do not have a codified procedure to construct monuments, and are more likely to experience the contest over space in more "covert" ways. In Oregon, no law dictates the content, timing, or placement of war

¹⁴ Noon (2004) draws this connection more explicitly in his rhetorical analysis of Bush Administration discourse. He sees the former president using World War II analogies to explain War on Terror activities as a means to legitimate them. He explains, "As Pearl Harbor stands to the Second World War, so the Twin Towers and the Pentagon presumably stand to the war on terror. By casting September 11, 2001, not merely as a national trauma but also as a moment in which the character of the World War II generation was transmitted to its successors, Bush has emphasized those aspects of wartime memory that emphasize historical continuity and national unity" (Noon 2004, p. 357).

memorials, despite the customary use of an advisory committee that traditionally has informed the Governor on issues relating to changes to the Capital Complex.

Oregon's Capitol Complex, including the capitol building in Salem with its adjacent gardens and the surrounding government offices and their grounds, are subject to the architectural critique of the Capitol Complex Advisory Committee. However, in the case of the Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial, the Advisory Committee objected to a number of different features. First, they argued that the timing of the memorial was inappropriate. In 2005-2006, neither war in Afghanistan or Iraq had ended and therefore they claimed a memorial at that time would be offensive and tasteless. Second, the committee objected to the physical scale of the new memorial, which they argued would "completely overtake" the garden behind the Veterans' Affairs building. There were at least five other memorials in the garden "from larger wars" that would be minimized by this new monument. Third, the committee noted that an historic oak tree stood directly over the spot designated for a new memorial fountain, making maintenance of the memorial costly and inefficient. Finally, they found the work aesthetically "not first rate."¹⁵

Privately, some of the architects noted that the protocol for approving monuments had been breached in several instances. The Chair of the Oregon Arts Commission had not been consulted; the Oregon Legislature had not been presented with mock-ups of the

¹⁵ Letter from CCAC to Governor, 2005

design before approving the memorial. There had not been a public bid for the memorial design, but rather a neighbor of a grieving family had been selected. Andrew Wheeler, member of the Advisory Committee, privately expressed stronger language about the design, noting that the fountain, "looked like a spaceship," "was just a bad piece of sculpture," and may have been the product of a "conspiracy." He also mentioned, "The project had legs long before we looked at it."¹⁶ Another architect who signed the letter from the Institute of Architects protesting the memorial, George Crandall, was quoted in the Oregon's major newspaper, *The Oregonian*, as having said that the Governor and the Legislature did "what was politically expedient." He continued, "What they did is not process. It's accounting. When it comes to an issue of this sensitivity, a vote in the Legislature isn't enough. Memorials need to be done carefully."¹⁷

Similar to the situation experienced during the building of the World War II Memorial, Oregon's Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial was, on balance, not well received by Oregon's press. The most scathing review came from Randy Gragg, *The Oregonian's* architecture and urban design critic.¹⁸ Gragg's main article, published just one day before the memorial's dedication, claimed that some key Gold Star families, members of Oregon's Legislature, and architectural observers objected to the memorial. Gragg called

¹⁶ Personal Communication. 2008. Architectural critic who asked to remain anonymous.

¹⁷ Quoted in Associated Press State and Local Wire. Aug 12, 2006. "Critics Say War Monument Planned for Salem is Flawed.

¹⁸ *The Oregonian*, Still Contentious, Mall Memorial Ready, A01, Local News, Nov 10, 2006

it "larger and more flamboyant than any of the other memorials on the mall," and highlighted the fact that it was the only memorial to require ongoing maintenance. He describes nothing short of a plot perpetrated by the Kestersons to exclude those Gold Star Families from the planning process who opposed the war. Further implicating the Kestersons, Cragg maintains that when MJ and Clay failed to submit certain design documents and when deadlines passed, the Department of Administrative Services took over the project; meanwhile the Kestersons had already commissioned the fabrication of major pieces of the memorial. In my discussion with the Kesterson's in 2009, they dismissed Cragg's article as the "liberal media" obstructing the military, "again."¹⁹

The Oregonian was not the only media outlet which covered the story of the Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial. The Associated Press reported in August 2006 that critics were "asking the state to reopen the process." Substantive critiques included: that it would disrespect the memory of those soldiers who lost their lives because of the lack of redeeming value which "conspires to upstage the other monuments on the Mall to Oregonians who have given their lives to past conflicts;" that process was ignored by the State apparatus because traditionally-consulted authorities were circumvented; and finally that the meanings apparent in this symbolism were inappropriate. Andrew Wheeler, an architect on the review committee is quoted, "I respect the family's sentiments and grieve

¹⁹ Personal Communication. September 2009. MJ and Clay Kesterson, Boise, ID.

the loss of our soldiers. But this is a politically charged thing. They're turning a memorial into a justification for war. It puts our G.I. presiding over the world."²⁰

Papers as far away as the *L.A. Times* covered the memorial without a strong critical approach.²¹ Salem, Oregon's local paper, the *Statesman-Journal* took a more sympathetic look at the memorial, emphasizing the local residents who participated in its production. The only venue which openly supported the memorial is the online newspaper, *Salem-News.Com*. *Salem-News*, which dedicated ample space to pictures of the memorial and its dedication ceremony, emphasized how Oregon was "Leading America in Recognition of War Heroes" (SalemNews November 12, 2006). This source stressed how the project was completed "on time and on budget." Not a hint of criticism was voiced. Governor Kulongoski received a fair amount of credit for his participation in the project.

The Governor allowed the project to proceed without concern for process or intent, and with more attention focused on creating this memorial to satisfy his veterans

²⁰ The Associated Press State and Local Wire, Aug 12, 2006 9:30 GMT. "Critics Say War Monument Planned for Salem is Flawed"

²¹ A Los Angeles Times article ran on September 10, 2006 titled "Oregon Memorial to Recent War Dead Runs Into Flak". The article was reproduced on a website called *Families United for our Troops and Their Missions* (www.familiesunitedmission.com).

constituents, who helped him get elected.²² Kulongoski, who frequently highlighted his military service as a marine during the Vietnam War during his campaign, was elected in a close race, beating Republican Kevin Mannix in 2002 by three percentage points. Many believed that it was his marine background which helped him garner the support he needed to win the Governorship. Kulongoski also received national attention because of his commitment to attend every funeral of every Oregonian casualty.²³

As a decorated Vietnam-era veteran and a receiver of funds from the G.I. Bill, Kulongoski was able to benefit politically from some of the dramatic changes to the perception of veterans in recent history. In the middle of the 20th century, veterans returned home from World War II as victors and heroes from their duties abroad. They were noted figures in what Tom Brokaw dubbed, "The Greatest Generation." As recipients of the G.I. Bill, they benefitted greatly from public funding, went to college in higher percentages than generations before, and contributed to the spectacular rise in home ownership during this time period (Gambone 2005). By the time of the Vietnam war, the public perception of veterans had changed. In the period following the war, veterans were perceived as psychologically traumatized, lacking self-motivation, and a drug-addicted group that could not readjust to society. Despite the large numbers of

²² A UPI publication on Aug 12, 2006 titled "Memorial Plan Survives Opposition" reported that a spokesman for Governor Kulongoski claimed that "Kulongoski has said the memorial will be undeterred by such complaints [architects opposing the AIFM]."

²³ Kulongoski often talks about his commitment to Oregon's veterans and his record of attending every veteran funeral. Some Gold Star families privately disputed this.

soldiers who served as a result of the draft, the public seemed to blame those who fought for the way the war was carried out (Scott 1993). The reputation of veterans did not recover for nearly 25 years.

Today, the stature of veterans in America has risen again. While no one can say precisely how the conflicts in Afghanistan and Iraq will influence the public perception of veterans in the long-term, the Bush administration placed a heavy emphasis on acknowledging veterans' sacrifice. The Director of Oregon's Department of Veterans' Affairs explained it this way, "It's like the people got it right this time. During Vietnam, the veteran *was* the war, so if you didn't like the war, then you didn't respect those who served. The whole thing is strange because so many people were drafted. But this time, without a draft, people understand that the soldier deserves respect even if you don't believe in the war."²⁴

As the status of veterans has improved, policy has reacted accordingly. At the federal and state levels, legislation has been framed as pro- or anti- soldier or veteran.²⁵ Despite the fact that in both 2004 and 2008, the presidential candidate with military experience actually lost the election (John Kerry in 2004 and John McCain in 2008),

²⁴ Personal communication, August 2008. Salem, OR

²⁵ This phenomenon is particular evident in the discussion over the "New GI Bill". See coverage in Newsweek 2007 and Wright 2008.

much of the electoral discourse surrounded their respective service and their opponents' lack thereof.

In Oregon, Department of Veterans' Affairs estimates show that veterans comprise nearly 10% of the entire population of the state.²⁶ This number is high considering Oregon has no major military bases. However, Oregon boasts the highest per capita number of National Guard reservists in the country. For many years, enlisting in the Guard meant committing to a life of fighting fires in Oregon's forests each summer. Considering the historic significance of Oregon's timber industry, it is obvious why individuals might perform this public service. Many timber families have a rich tradition of enlisting in the reserves. However, during the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, Oregon's Guard has been deployed overseas. In 2004, Oregon held the astonishing record for most serviceman per capita killed while on duty.

Given this high number of servicemen and women and the overall positive status of military personnel accorded during this conflict, policy framed as helping veterans finds many supporters in the Oregon Legislature. Spirited affirmation followed the introduction of three bills aimed at easing the financial burden of returning veterans when they were introduced in Committee, but no debate occurred when the bill reached the Legislature. For the bill supporting the Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial, which required

²⁶ http://www.statemaster.com/graph/peo_per_of_civ_pop_who_are_vet-percent-civilian-population-who-veterans. Corroborated by personal communication with officials at Oregon Department of Veterans Affairs. 2009.

the outlay of land but limited financial expenditure, the Legislature overwhelmingly supported it. The bill allowed each legislator to claim a policy "win" for veterans without affecting the budget.

The role of the Governor and the changing status of veterans are the two most apparent reasons that the Afghan-Iraqi memorial was built. But I posit another, more subtle, force was at play in the development of this memorial. As Oregon's political culture has changed in the last 10 years, the state has gone from an evenly split Democrat/Republican state to one dominated by its urban Democratic majority. In the 2008 general election, Obama received 53.5% of Oregon's popular vote, as compared to John McCain's 40%, and the state failed to reelect its Republican incumbent senator. As this demographic changes, politically right-wing groups may feel threatened and look to concrete ways to inscribe the landscape with a particular perspective. Memorials and monuments offer an opportunity to mark territory and literally shape land to conform to political narratives.

In my discussion with MJ and Clay Kesterson, the initiators of the AIFM, they hinted at some of these demographic changes motivating their work. MJ said, "It's just, you know, Portland, and those people up there. They don't understand how we really fight this war... what it's all about for the rest of us."²⁷ First, this quote shows that in the minds of some Oregonians there is a deep-seeded division between Portland residents and

²⁷ Personal Communication. September 2009. Boise, ID.

the rest of the State. Moreover, "Portland" is more than just a location, but implies a liberal political position. Secondly, this quote insinuates that the role of the memorial was to clarify to "those people" what the war was *really* about. It was an opening made to fix the meaning of the war in Oregon, a politically-dynamic region.

This chapter examined the covert political maneuverings, which eventually lead to the creation of the Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial on Oregon's Capitol Complex. From this study, it is clear that Oregon's Governor Kulongoski played a pivotal role in fast-tracking the project amid significant protest by the architectural community. His behavior can be understood as a political play in order to garner support from the military veteran community, of which he is a member, and constitute a significant voting community.

More generally, we can see from this chapter that studies of State-level monuments lend insight into how spaces of memory are created at more intimate scales. These micro-scale analyses elucidate certain important differences between local and national memory-making processes. Due to legal restrictions at the national scale, and the high level of visibility of memorials built in on the national capital, it is unlikely that the same type of political maneuvering would take place. Because of these differences in scale, we will see very different landscapes of memory.

CHAPTER IV

"PERFORMANCE" AT THE SCALE OF THE BODY

In chapters two and three, I explored ways that narratives became *embedded* in a memorial landscape on Oregon's Capital Complex by exploring the circumstances of its creation on both large and smaller scales. In chapter two, I looked at how national scale rhetorical narratives produced geographical imaginings that were reproduced in the Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial. In chapter three, I uncovered how the political struggle over the memorial at the State scale manifested in Oregon, demonstrating how a politically untouchable group succeeded in writing the script of the memorial. However, this fourth chapter asks fundamental questions about the *embodiment* of memory and the purpose of memorials: Why do we build memorials to those soldiers lost in war? Why do we treat the bodies of soldiers as we do, by erecting monuments and fountains in their honor and how does this treatment affect popular understandings of the body relative to wartime? How does this memorial fit into past trends and prefigure future tendencies in memorial-making?

This chapter differs slightly from the preceding two because the emphasis is on the body, a scale unlike "the national" or "the State." This scale of analysis takes seriously the actual human bodies that participate in memorial making, their physical and psychological needs in the face of great trauma, their impulses to grieve privately and communally. This scale allows for careful scrutiny of the material body portrayed by the

memorial and the gendered dynamics therein. The chapter begins by connecting both of these types of bodies with the larger notion of the "body-politic," a metaphor for the political nation.

In John Agnew's book on sovereignty and territoriality, he discusses some of the historical precedents to the concept of the body-politic. He reports, "Jean Gottman saw the original invocation of the body-politic metaphor in the late medieval period as an assertion of the aristocratic privilege against the burgeoning power of self-governing communities" (2009: 52, 53). The notion of the body-as-nation came to full realization in the sovereign monarch, a flesh and blood *embodiment* of government. Liberal political philosophers declared at that time that "the state parallels the body; artifice mirrors nature." Implicated in this version of the metaphor is a dangerous "phallogentrism," where the *human* body is actually the *male sexed* body (Grosz 1998, 46).

While some theorists today use the term "body-politic" to connote blandly those in power, or even simply those with voting rights, its use often reveals something about privilege and authority. The body metaphor is used intentionally to imagine organization amidst crisis. Agnew furthers this argument, asserting that the use of the body, "has always been a metaphor that favors order at any cost. It has always been about disciplining real, individual bodies in the interests of the fabulated one" (Agnew 2009, 53), so it has persisted through many different kinds of governmental configurations.

In more recent scholarly literature, the term "body-politic" or body *politics* has been adopted by scholars of queer and gender studies to connect embodied issues with political ones (eg. Schlosser 2007). In Nast and Pile's (1998) compilation of essays on place and the body, they stress, "the ways in which we live out body/place relationships are political" (1998, 2). Grosz explains how politics is sited on the body, "... the body itself may be regarded as the locus and the site of inscription for specific modes of subjectivity" (Grosz 1998, p. 42). Grosz challenges the reader to understand the body as "stripped of corporeality," excised from its usual messy humanity, and understood as the setting for socio-cultural processes. Grosz is looking at the scale of the city represented by the body, but the body is the site at which national identity too may be socially constructed, conditioned, and enacted through the routine and extraordinary behaviors of everyday people (Butler 2006).

The present analysis devoted to study of the constructed body in the Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial allows unique questions to surface about the embodied soldier represented in the memorial, those orbiting bodies who visit the site, and those individuals responsible for its production. In order to explicate the circumstances of these bodies, I turn to how historians have explained the role of soldiers in constructing war mythology.

George Mosse (1990) provides a link between the theory of the body-politic and how soldiers' bodies are used during and after wartime. In his influential work *Fallen*

Soldiers, he lays out the components of what he calls "The Myth of the War Experience" (1990), which includes "the Cult of the Fallen Soldier". The myth:

looked back upon war as a meaningful and even sacred event...The Myth of War Experience was designed to mask war and to legitimize the war experience; it was meant to displace the reality of war. The reality of war was refashioned into a sacred experience which provided the nation with a new depth of religious feeling, putting at its disposal ever-present saints and martyrs, places of worship and a heritage to emulate (Mosse 1990, p. 7).

The "Myth of the War Experience" sanitized war for the public, making it valorous and heroic.

Mosse contends that this myth and its subsequent underpinnings refashion the way that societies today view war, because all they have is a mythologized war experience, a narrative that legitimates the event, creating heroes through the glorification and sanctification of those who served. Societies have no other reality with which to understand war. Baudrillard takes Mosse's concept of mythologized war to the extreme when he declared in the title of his book, "The Gulf War Did Take Place" (1995). He turned Mosse's contention on its head; not only are there only simulated ephemeral images of war, but those representations are so hyperreal that they may as well be total fabrications. The wartime experience for those far from the battlefield is filtered through interpretations of the direct participants, the media, elite, and non-elite portrayals (Baudrillard 1995).

The focal point of Mosse's myth is the "cult of the fallen soldier," who literally and figuratively embodies the civic "religion of nationalism" following wartime (1990). This cult, or societal rallying cry, arose when the general public, aided by the stories of veterans, sought to explain their experience during World War I. As he describes, "They [veterans] were often torn between their memory of the horror of war and its glory: it had been a time when their lives had taken on new meaning as they performed the sacred task of defending the nation" (Mosse 1990 p. 6). Nations publically hold up the vision of those soldiers who sacrificed everything as having embodied the meaning of nationhood. Grant (2005) supports this viewpoint with her study of war cemeteries as she claims that it is only those who died during wartime who can embody the meaning of the nation. Moreover, war dead carry the weight of the success of the nation. As President Lincoln said at Gettysburg, "We come to dedicate a portion of it [Gettysburg cemetery], as a final resting place for those who died here, that the nation might live" (*The Gettysburg Address*, quoted in Wills 1992).

Understanding the body and body politics leads us to incorporate Mosse's (1990) "cult of the fallen soldier" into a full understanding of bodies at war. But Mosse's approach is only one way to look view soldiers' bodies. Mosse's approach to studying war memorials can be defined broadly as fitting the "functionalist school" of memorial research. This school see memorials as communicating relatively simplistic stories that obliterate the ambiguities and complexities of war and legitimate the national project.

However, scholars disagree about the meanings of memorials and their purpose in society. Some academics, by contrast, subscribe to the "grief school," a theoretical approach wherein the researcher sees memorials as serving the cathartic purpose of making public the private grief experienced by families who have lost members in wartime (Goebel 2007).

This chapter will examine two analytical threads, the first is an exploration of the Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial in the context of the functional and grief interpretations. The second thread will take a close reading of the actual body portrayed in the Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial. The male gendered soldier, armed and yet crouching, demonstrates how this memorial breaks with the general trends of memorialmaking in the U.S. and possibly prefigures the future of war memorials in America. In this second section, I argue that the AIFM accomplishes three tasks: (a) subtly introduces Christian iconography in a secular State space; (b) combines tropes of anonymity with particularism by simultaneously naming casualties and anonymizing the imagery of the war; and (c) challenges hegemonic masculinized images in the context of a changing military.

Before I can examine the issues laid out above, it is important to see how the Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial fits into larger trends in memorial making. Ancient civilizations in Rome and Greece built war memorials which proclaimed victory and expressed religious doctrine. The Acropolis, the Parthenon and the famed *Winged*

Victory are examples of some of the earliest memorials (Mayo 1988a). As traditions passed from the Classical to the Medieval Age, monuments to war became part of normal cityscapes and more commonplace. During the Renaissance, war memorials reemerged as a component of rising nationalism in Europe (Mayo 1988a).

Memorials in the U.S. borrowed many stylistic cues from Europe, but the first monuments in the early Americas were modest. Over the course of the 19th century, monuments became much cheaper to produce. With the commercialization of the monument business, what began as "small-scale artisan activity" turned into "products of the shop" (Savage 2009, p. 2). As finances allowed for more elaborate monuments, memorials proliferated and gained significance on the American landscape at a variety of scales. At the opening of the 20th century, in response to the City Beautiful Movement, memorials became significant features of city centers especially in Washington, DC, Detroit, and Chicago. The movement began as a call for urban planning in response to the crowding caused by immigration, high birth rates, and high numbers of rural residents moving to central cities (Wilson 1989). The movement gained steam because of its simple proscription to solve intractable problems. As Witt argues:

a key selling point made by CBM [City Beautiful Movement] boosters was that big-city problems did not require a change in cultural institutions or social class arrangements; rather, in keeping with the Darwin-influenced environmental determinism of the age, the roots of urban problems were believed to derive from inadequacies in the built environment. Such optimism (albeit Panglossian) mollified an American elite that was increasingly conflicted over how to accommodate surging European immigration (Witt 2005, 523).

Drawing from Beaux-Arts stylistic trends in Europe, the City Beautiful Movement promoted straight lines, and open gardens interspersed with pools. The underlying ideology of the movement assumed that social behavior reflected the built environment and therefore behavior could be manipulated by changes in architecture and landscape. Civic virtue could be encouraged by monumental architecture (Wilson 1989).

Following this thinking, to commemorate Washington, DC's centennial, Congress commissioned a redesign for the core of Washington to reflect the grandeur of European capitals and inspire a sense of respect for government at a time of perceived social unrest in the U.S., putting memorials at the center of urban design. To this end, Congress adopted the McMillan Plan in 1901 which instituted Washington's Mall, expanded green spaces, and concluded with the construction of the Lincoln Memorial in 1922. L'Enfant, who designed Washington, DC, had envisioned a similar central axis region for the capital city, but it was only through the McMillan Plan that L'Enfant's original ideas came to fruition. In Farrar's (2008) book on the embedded power structures of the Washington Mall, she explains how the structure of the entire capital city is meant to construct citizens. Calling Washington, DC a "citizen machine" she demonstrates how the built components of the city "define the field of civic life, help forge ties between disparate groups, and make material the vision of a shared political identity" (Farrar 2008, p.15). She makes the leap between citizenship as a political ideal and the embodied citizen when she writes:

the makers of Washington built the body politic to reflect a certain kind of body. They consciously (and unconsciously) struggled with the reality of the imperfect, unpredictable, fleshy, faulty, material bodies in their corporeal topography...a body politic that is built around an idealized (white, male, bourgeois) citizen (Farrar 2008, p. 40).

It is clear that the production of Washington, DC was intended to remake Americans into ideal citizens as envisioned by the elites responsible for the city.

The city beautiful movement, which prompted the redesign of Washington, DC, inspired cities across the country to renovate central urban cores to magnify the glory of government and remember events, especially wars. The movement made waves internationally as well. Geographers Gordon and Osborne (2004) chronicle the changes made to Ottawa's city center in order to include a national war memorial. In that case, the memorial was built even before the completion of the redesign of the city. The CBM, in effect, brought war memorials to the city center, flanking the central, most sacred of civil functions with images of wartime sacrifice and the accompanying sense of civic duty. Many of America's cities maintain this design emphasis on monuments with war memorials as a key the focal point.

After the period of the CBM and furious monument building which accompanied it, memorial building stagnated. World War I and II proved important for building memorials in Europe, but less so in the U.S. It wasn't until the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial (VVM) was proposed for the Washington Mall, that another trend in memorialmaking began. Maya Lin, then a Yale undergraduate architectural student,

submitted her design in the open competition to design the VVM. Her design, a simple black granite wall emerging from the Mall landscape, contains only the names of those who perished in Vietnam. One side of the memorial points toward the Washington Monument and the other side points toward the Lincoln Memorial, forming an angle. But it was the simplicity of Lin's design which initially attracted criticism, but ultimately most people celebrated. The memorial abstains from making overt statements about the war; rather it draws the visitor toward it by the reflective stone, inviting the visitor to see him or herself in the story of the conflict (Griswold 1986). It asks a question, rather than making a statement. Johnston (2001) reads the VVM as more politically-charged than Griswold. Johnston notes that in the call for designs the VVM was supposed to harmonize with the already-existing monuments on the Mall; so while "the VVM was to be made safe for civic space by integrating it self-consciously into its surroundings. In this way, questions about the war are allowed while questions about America itself are discouraged or at least diffused" (Johnston 2001). In trying to discourage politics, the VVM actually plays a political role.

Whether one views the VVM as a politically-charged monument or not, the black granite with names etched on it became the dominant trope for memorials after the VVM was built in 1983. The ambiguity and openness for multiple readings were considered beneficial components to future memorials. The AIFM challenges some of these trends and marks an unclear path toward future memorials.

The Functionalist Versus Grief Schools

The historical trends of war memorials do not take a position on whether they serve functionalist or grief goals. The historian, Goebel (2007), depicts a dichotomy between memorials that serve to comfort the bereaved, constituting a place of mourning, and those with more overt nationalistic tones which function as sites of war legitimation. He divides the two camps into the "functionalist school" and the "grief school". Those scholars subscribing to the functionalist school (eg. Mosse, Mayo, Harvey), which dominates geographic scholarship on memorials, see the instrumentalist objectives of memorials, which may not be readily clear at first glance. Their analyses read the landscape as supporting or subverting a dominant paradigm, often a nationalistic discourse or war narrative. As described earlier, Mosse regards war memorials as built environment attempts to glorify the wartime experience and give meaning to the conflict in which individuals perished. This school of thought argues that memorials often reify the state and legitimize state power. Scholars operating with the benefit of hindsight interpreted many German war memorials built in the interwar years as precursors to World War II because they were intended to marshal German nationalist sentiment in preparation for second period of war.

In slightly more subtle, but still functionalist leanings, Mayo (1988b), writing about the U.S., identifies the purpose of war memorials as promoting "identity, service, honor and humanism" leaving out the more politicized purpose: legitimation of the

wartime conflict. He does, however, address patriotism and how it is manifest in war memorials when he says, "Patriotism becomes authentic by its physical manifestation in sacred memorials and by the intimate experience of these memorials. Loyalty becomes more than word or feeling; it has local place" (Mayo 1988b, p.70). Despite Mayo's omission of the legitimation of the state enterprise, he sits squarely in the functionalist school of thought by focusing on the public impact of a war memorial.

By contrast, those of the grief school recognize that there is an inherent human need to find solace in a public forum after catastrophic events such as wartime loss, and therefore they read war memorials as serving this need (eg. Winter 2004). They often cite British war memorials as examples of how memorials may comfort those who suffered personal loss in war. The process of creating war memorials is a cathartic practice affording the participants real psychological benefits. In Winter's (2004) study of European cultural history, he challenges the dominant wave of thinking about memorials, explaining how war memorials created a place of grief for families and communities during and after World War I, making permanent their sorrow on the landscape. Also, the initiators of the Vietnam Veterans' Memorial, Scruggs and Swerdlow, espouse this view of memorials. By titling their 1985 work *To Heal A Nation*, they show that they too see memorials as serving a soothing purpose.

There is a growing work on the psychological impacts of memorials on people, which implies that the "grief school" has a growing number of disciples. Edkins' (2003)

work on trauma, memory, and politics shows how memorials bring trauma into the cityscape. She draws on Agamben's notion of "bare life" to expose how traumatic effects are represented in the built landscape. Watkins et. al. (2010) argues that memorials are part of the process by which place mediates loss. According to Ochsner (1997) the Vietnam Veterans Memorial is a "space of loss" for veterans visiting it.

The two schools identified above -- typified by Mosse and Mayo on the one hand and Winter on the other -- diverge over their emphasis on the personal or the political. Mayo's work is indicative of the general discomfort many Americans feel when ascribing political motives to war memorials. In America, and in the Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial specifically, there is a deliberate attempt to shroud the memorial in non-political language, as if to exempt it from being understood by functionalists as serving any political purpose. However, oftentimes in the same breath those responsible for the memorial re-affirm certain political aims. The AIFM is a good example of a memorial serving both schools, despite the intentions of the "authors" to write it with only "grief school" leanings. In the U.S., the discourse of the grief school is considered legitimate, even sacred, and is therefore promoted, but that does not diminish the possibility of the memorial serving functionalist ends too.²⁸

²⁸ From my interviews, I discovered that most promoters of the memorial used language of the "grief school" to promote the need for memorials. Even after prodding, many advocates for the memorial failed to acknowledge the functional aspects of the memorial.

In the building of the AIFM, many of the participants cited "comfort" as their main reason for desiring the memorial, upholding the grief school. Tom McMann, Public Affairs Specialist to the Department of Veterans Affairs of Oregon said, "You know, it's important that the boys returning have somewhere to go. The mothers can come and say prayers and remember their sons. They need this kind of place."²⁹ Honbeck, the architect of the memorial, echoed that sentiment when she described the purpose of the original design. "The purpose is to create a place for parents and grandparents to take their kids. Let them play in the water. Just sit back and relax. If we can make a place for them like this, we should."³⁰ These individuals who helped build the memorial saw it in "grief school" terms. And for many of the interviewees, they did not feel as though there were adequate places to accommodate their need to grieve. Their children had, after all, served the nation and given the ultimate sacrifice.

Goebels (2007) makes a distinction between "political" and "politicized" war memorials explaining that political can "affirm or reassemble community, to aver its legitimacy and morality". Politicized memorials, by contrast, promote one side of contentious issues that divide partisan politics, such as hot button matters on Republican or Democrat platforms. On numerous occasions I asked my subjects whether they thought the AIFM was "political". Many of my subjects said that it was not, repeating to

²⁹ Personal Communication. 2008. Unstructured interviews with anonymous passing visitors at the AIFM.

³⁰ Personal Communication. July 2008. Jane Honbeck. Independence, OR

me, "This is not about politics" or "the war memorial has nothing to do with whether you support or are against the war." "This is about the veterans, plain and simple. Nothing else."³¹ However, their answers may have demonstrated that they believe that the memorial does not take a stance on *politicized* issues of the day. Oftentimes within the same conversation they would say something that exposed some part of the *political* nature of the memorial. For example, Clay Kesterson, the chief advocate for the memorial, first denied the political nature of the memorial and then said, "Well, we wanted to build something to show up the military. You know? Show how powerful the military is, how just and brave the boys are. We wanted to demonstrate what a force of good they do. They do good things in the world."³² More pointedly, MJ Kesterson was quoted by the Associated Press as having said, "History will judge. This monument will talk of a soldier who responded and brought peace to a part of the world that otherwise would have never had any hope of freedom at all."³³ These quotes acknowledge that the memorial represents more than just a place of solace. It also symbolizes the role of the military and its positive influence on the world, situating its meaning as both in the grief and functionalist schools.

³¹ Personal Communications with anonymous individuals visiting the AIFM between June 2008-August 2008

³² Personal Communication

³³ AP Aug 13, 2006

Another potent example comes from the 2009 Veterans Day event staged around the memorial three years after its establishment. Senator Wyden (D-Oregon) delivered the keynote address. Importantly, Veterans Day 2009 fell just one week after election day. It was not a presidential election year but electoral politics were still ripe in the news. Wyden understood that he might not be a popular figure among those who attended the memorial ceremony and therefore began his speech by asserting:

Today, is not about politics. Today we are here to remember the sacrifice of those who gave everything for our great nation. Today we remember who they were and what they stand for. We remember what this great country means to those who lost everything. Today is not about politics, but about remembering and celebrating those who are gone.

On the one hand, the senator denied the political nature of the commemoration, constructing the space as one of comfort. On the other hand, he reinforced the basic tenants of patriotism at a time of an unpopular war. His speech and the responses from my interviews demonstrate that the term "politics" can be interpreted in a number of different ways, so as to obscure the political nature hidden within the memorial.

New Trends in Memorialmaking

Since the people who helped build the memorial see it as a place to grieve and find solace, it is important to examine which tropes from memorials of the past were adopted and how the chosen imagery conveys ideas about the embodied soldier. The

next three subsections will examine the role of religion, anonymity, and gender represented in the body of the soldier of the Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial.

Christianity in the Memorial

George Mosse's "cult of the soldier" does more than legitimate the wartime experience. The cult paints the soldier in a religious framework, sanctifying what he or she went through. The soldier is described as "martyr," "savior" and likened at times to the "passion and resurrection of Christ" (1990, p. 75). Christian imagery has been used to help soldiers overcome the fear of death, so needed during dangerous combat missions. The language of sacrifice in the Christian context further sanctifies wartime actions. Mosse chronicles the overt Christian symbolism used after World War I to show how those tropes came to dominate European civic religion. In America, Christian symbolism on war memorials has always been less overt, given America's secular history, however it remains a feature of war memory.

Mayo and Hoeflich (2010) address religion in America's memorials by surveying the conflictual legal history of religious symbolism embedded in American war memorials. Similar to Mosse, Mayo and Hoeflich acknowledge that war memorials are part of America's "sacred" sites where the values of "god" and "country" are often viewed as "synonymous" or at least intimately linked. In their study, they argue that religious references have always existed as part of the American memorial, but were most

overt during World War I. In America, religious texts and imagery embedded in war memorials has come under legal fire for violating the Establishment Clause of the First Amendment. Their legal analysis concludes that the constitutionality of a memorial may be dependent on the "account of history underlying the creation and placement of the memorial and the effect of the religious symbolism and imagery of the memorial upon the public" (Mayo and Hoeflich 2010, 314).

Given the ambiguous "test" of the constitutionality of religion in war memorials, it is not surprising that the Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial does not contain any explicit Christian references. The plaques make no mention of the Divine, no references to Jesus, none of the unambiguous allusions discussed in Mosse's book. However, due to the pervasiveness of the Christian trope in other memorials, a close analysis reveals more subtle Christian insinuations in the imagery of the fountain, in the sculpture of the soldier and in the language used on the associated plaques.

The Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial consists of a 20-foot fountain with a map of the world plastered on its convex floor. From North America rises a 4-foot high pedestal where a life-sized American soldier crouches. But he doesn't stand over the globe like the nearby World War II memorial. He isn't engaged in battle, coming up over the trench like the World War I doughboy. Instead, he is bending on one knee over the globe with an outstretched arm, reaching toward the center of the map (Fig. 10). His position

conjures *The Creation of Adam* by Michelangelo, a fresco on the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel (Fig 11).



Fig. 10: The soldier's position resembles classic sculpture.

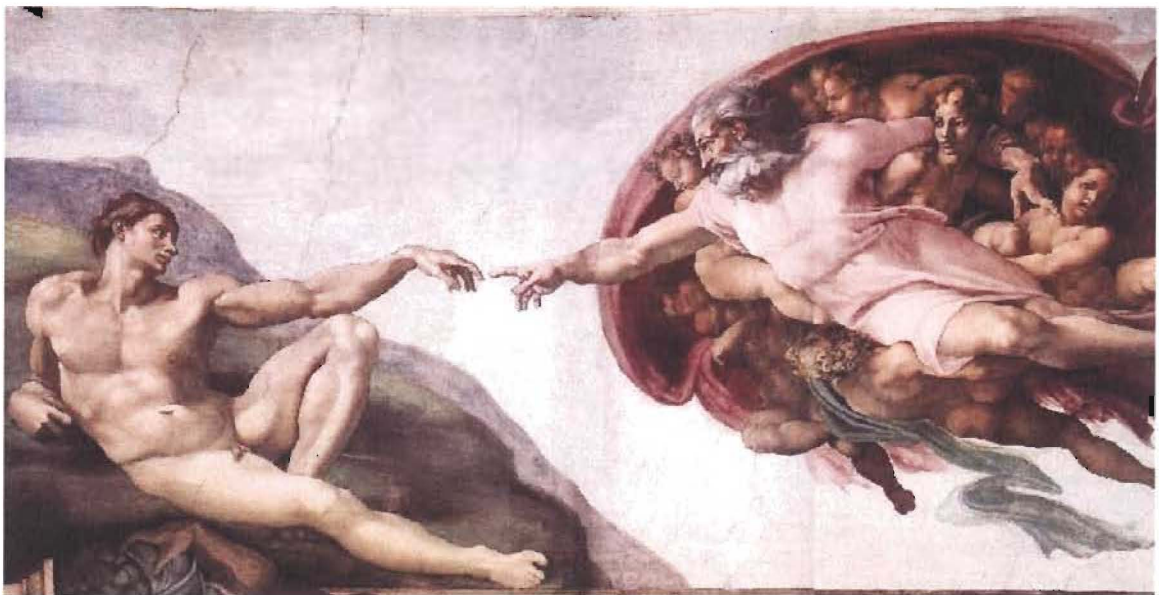


Fig 11: Michelangelo's *The Creation of Adam*. Image from:
http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/7/73/God2-Sistine_Chapel.png

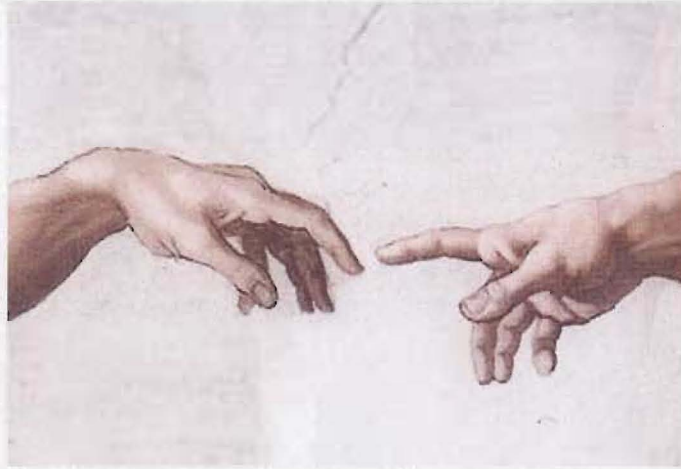


Fig 12: Close up of the hands in Michelangelo's *The Creation of Adam*

The *Creation of Adam* depicts a heavenly God, surrounded by angels, reaching out to breathe life into the first man, Adam. The piece has been interpreted in the context of the Biblical quotation in Genesis 1:26, where Adam is created in the image of God. It displays the classic up/down dichotomy, which was so ubiquitous in sacred/earthly binaries (Fig 12).

When asked about the origins of the design of the Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial, Honbeck, the memorial's architect, showed images that she had seen on the internet of American soldiers bending forward to help Afghan and Iraqi children. Those images were forefront on her consciousness when she drew the original plans for the memorial. However, I contend that *The Creation of Adam* is so universal, so part of the Western imaginary that the reference to it may not have been intentional, but is no less

relevant. Michelangelo's work may have even informed the photographers who inspired Ms. Honbeck. Works of art, especially those that are ubiquitous and very famous, can pervade iconography so much that the reference is lost. By tracing the intertextual reference, we elucidate the meanings that may not otherwise be readily available.

This is not, however, the only aspect of Christianity embodied by the AIFM. The sculptor of the soldier, Judy Phipps, illuminated a more direct connection when she explained how Clay Kesterson sat as the model for the anonymous soldier in the memorial. "I wanted the memorial to look like Erik, [Clay's son who had died] so I used Clay." Embedded in this decision was her recognition that the son died as a sacrifice for the family, for the nation. She said, "It was very... I don't know... right, seemed right, that father should be in place of son... something primal... maybe Christian about it."³⁴ The Christian relationship between the godly father and earthly son who sacrifices for the benefit of all people, is reproduced in a subtle way in this memorial. Erik Kesterson, son of MJ and Clay, re-enlisted in the military after September 11, 2001, in order to fight the terrorists who had attacked the U.S. He died in a black hawk incident over Mosul, Iraq. His parents held him up as an icon of service and sacrifice. MJ said between tears, "He was so good. He wanted to give back to the country. Be there when he was needed."³⁵ It

³⁴ Personal Communication. 2008. Judy Phipps, Independence, OR.

³⁵ Personal Communication. September 2009. Boise, ID

was only fitting that the representation of the son should be the father, whose military footsteps Erik had followed back into combat.

Anonymity and Naming Tropes

The depicted figure in the AIFM subtly embodies certain Christian overtones, maintaining the Christian tropes that Mosse discusses as part of the cult of the fallen soldier, but refashioning them for modern times. The memorial's figural portrayal also adapts another dominant trope for modern times - that of the anonymous soldier. Anderson, whose work *Imagined Communities* (1983) is often regarded as a central tome for studies of nationalism, began the chapter on the cultural roots of nations with a discussion of the unknown soldier. He writes, "No more arresting emblems of modern culture of nationalism exist than cenotaphs and tombs of Unknown Soldiers ... they are saturated with ghostly national imaginings" (Anderson 1983, p. 9). Historian Susan-Mary Grant adds to Anderson, explaining how a nation's "war dead are central to a nation's territorial claims and the sense of a unique identity that unifies its people" (Grant 2005 p. 509). This phenomenon of a grave containing a body of unknown origin dates back to a World War I effort to commemorate all those lost, despite the lack of bodies to bury. The trend of commemorating all soldiers became so widespread that today most memorials bearing a figural body of a soldier is presented as an anonymous man. In the AIFM, we see this desire for anonymity reflected in the everyman soldier crouched over

the fountain. He symbolizes all those who participate in the war effort drawing visitors into the process of war making.

A contradictory and yet common stylistic choice in war memorials today is a list of the names of the war dead. Grant (2005) argues that this practice dates to the American Civil War and the 1861 order to the Quartermaster General's Department, which put a heavy emphasis on accounting for and recording the names of the dead. The most famous contemporary listing of names is probably the Vietnam Veterans Memorial on the Washington Mall. The point of such a list is to make the argument that a country consists of more than its leaders. Listing ordinary soldiers democratizes the memory process to include all citizens. War dead listings are changing over time. The U.S. National Korean War Memorial incorporates the idea, but lists the names on a computer accessible to the public. Similarly, Oregon's Governor maintains a list of all those who have died in the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq on his website.³⁶

The Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial borrows both the tropes of anonymity and personalization by listing names, creating a quasi-anonymous space. On the north side of the AIFM fountain stands a memorial plaque on which are carved the names of those Oregonians who have died in Afghanistan and Iraq (Fig 13). More names are added to

³⁶ To access Oregon's list: http://www.oregon.gov/Gov/soldier/soldier_oregons_most_honorable.shtml

the plaque every Memorial Day and Veterans Day in a solemn ceremony. It is unclear whether there will be enough space for all the names by the time the war is over.

The listing of names makes the memorial space very personal. For some families who never received remains of their loved ones, this is the only dedicated place to grieve.



Fig 13: AIFM Naming Plaque. To date, many more names have been added.

However, this memorial garden serves more than just the families of those etched on the plaque. It has become the official setting for Veterans and Memorial Day commemorations for all Oregonians who wish to pay their tribute to soldiers. The

anonymous soldier sitting on the fountain allows visitors to envision themselves in the role of soldier, creating a more inclusive memorial.

The Gendered Soldier

The memorial presents an inclusive story to visitors when they see the lone fighter crouching, however a growing group of fighters are not represented by the memorial: women. ABC News reported on Oct 25, 2009, that there were at that time 10,000 women serving in Iraq, and more than 4,000 in Afghanistan (Raddatz and Gorman 2009). Due to changes in rules regarding women in combat roles in the 1990s, women today serve in the line of fire far more than ever before. According to a CBS News report in 2008, 97 American women have died in Operation Iraqi Freedom. An indeterminate number have died in Afghanistan (Mooney 2008).

It is not new to consider the role of women in constructing war memorials. When the Vietnam Veterans Memorial was installed on the Mall in 1982, it was criticized for failing to recognize explicitly those women who died fighting or caring for soldiers - many of the female casualties associated with Vietnam served as nurses. Over the next ten years, a consensus emerged that the Vietnam Veterans Memorial was incomplete, and in 1993 a corresponding monument was dedicated to women. The Vietnam Women's Memorial depicts a woman with a dying man in her lap (Fig 14). Many female veterans

and nurses relate to the memorial with a "better late than never" attitude (Schwebke 2009).

Vietnam Women's Memorial however, contributes to the marginalization of women, rather than equalizing the memory of women with men, by representing women in a spatially distinct landscape from men who receive the original commemoration on the Memorial Wall of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. By separating the monuments, the narrative of the memorial says that women's work in the war was valiant, but occurred outside the main war theater.



Fig 14: Vietnam Women's Memorial, Washington, DC

The Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial neglects women despite the new surge of women fighting in the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan. Yet the male soldier depicted does not embody completely traditional gender norms. War memorials play a part in the discursive construction of national identity, so paying attention to the way that a soldier is portrayed influences and reflects current notions of gender and nationalism. In the case of the Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial, we see an interesting transition from previous memorials. In Oregon's memorial garden, where the AIFM is located, we see two other figural depictions of a masculine soldier who is either actively engaging in dynamic battle (such as the doughboy coming over the trench) or standing at attention over a globe, as in the World War II monument. The AIFM soldier does not wear fatigues and carries his firearm slung low over his shoulder, not ready to fight. In fact, he's not even wearing a protective helmet, but a soft hat. His facial expression is gentle and his outstretched arm connotes compassion. He is looking down from his pedestal, but he crouches in order to get closer to the world on which he stands.

The male soldier-figure crouching over the globe arguably represents a subtle shift in the constructed image of the aggressive hero. We see that this anonymous male soldier's body is posed to embody some feminine-coded behaviors. Abandoning the postures of previous figural representation, we see that the AIFM presents a more complicated notion of masculinity, a restructuring of what it means to be a war hero, bending gender roles slightly to incorporate more conventionally-defined feminine postures. In my interview with the architect of the memorial, Jane Honbeck, I asked her

whether her work contained any hints of a female hand. At first she demurred, but then reconsidered, "Yea, I mean, I don't know exactly. But there is something sort of softer about this design. But ... but anyone could've made this. Maybe it's true. Something feminine about the whole idea. Yea, could be."

This whole reconception of what it means to be a soldier-hero challenges much of the accepted wisdom about the intersection of masculinity and war. Sasson-Levy (2008) explains how much of the literature shows how the manipulation of masculinity is the primary way that states enlist soldiers. Terms like "honor, cowardice, bravery, heroism, duty, and adventure are hard to distinguish as either nationalistic or masculine" so that "becoming a man" is still an important part of why people choose to join the military (Sasson-Levy 2008, p. 297). Instead of incorporating a female body into the memorial, the AIFM has created another feminized soldier-hero, which subtly acknowledges the changing image of a heroic military soldier who conducts war. This figural representation offers a icon of a softer, caring, emotional man returning from wartime experience.

In this analysis of the Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial at the most intimate political scale, that of the human body, we see that this memorial follows previous trends in memorialmaking such as incorporating Christian tropes, and in some cases refashioning them for current times, such as in the feminized soldier-hero depicted. This memorial straddles the divide between serving public and private needs - both creating a place of bereavement and subtly promoting a functionalist narrative. The fountain and

sculpture literally embody, through sculptural representation, elements of Christian doctrine by drawing on references pervasive in Christian art. It brings together trends of anonymity and naming to democratize and create personalized space. Finally, the memorial embodies masculinized and feminized postures, bending traditionally understood gender roles.

So what do these observations tell us about the bodies of soldiers and the use of bodies to make political statements? In the history of making memorials, we have seen a turn first from non-figural representations, such as the Parthenon, toward recognizing wartime leadership, such as the Lincoln Memorial. Then, following the U.S. Civil War and then World War I, we saw another trend take hold, that of representing the figural anonymous soldier, democratizing war memory. And finally among the most contemporary memorials, figural representation has been abandoned, as in the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. Oregon's Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial, however, is "retro" in its use of the male body to convey the image of the everyman soldier. But it is unlike the memorials of the past because it tells a new narrative about the soldier, reflecting new norms of war.

This analysis of Oregon's Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial at the scale of the body makes visible bodies that are often rendered invisible. The grieving family, the memorial visitor, and the hero-soldier often are overlooked in analyses of memorials. Instead, scholars look to the functionalism that a memorial can play in society, its ability

to contest norms or affirm hegemonies. Both grief and functionalist approaches tell us about the embodied experience of war memorials. Moreover, the American male soldier as he is often depicted to embody the nation, the body-politic, bears the stories which legitimize political behavior such as war. Our memorials are reflections of how we see ourselves. In them, we learn about who we are.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

In this study, a critical multi-scalar review of Oregon's Afghan-Iraqi Freedom Memorial, I show how the initiative of a grieving family and its resulting memorial landscape brings together presidential rhetoric with local political maneuvering to create a place that functions to further an embodied war identity. By using Dwyer's (2008b) three categories of memorial metaphors: "text," "arena," and "performance," and pairing them with the three scales at which they each take place: the national, the State, and the body, I was able to extract many of the aspects of wartime meaning, which the memorial makers embedded in the landscape.

In the second chapter I explored the scale of national mythology-making. I maintain that the AIFM reflects three dominant geographical imaginaries extant in President Bush's rhetoric. First, the memorial reproduces an ideology of American exceptionalism by showing an American soldier towering over the rest of the globe, reaching out to help alleviate global chaos. Second, the AIFM demonstrates a conflation of Afghanistan and Iraq. In addition to the title, we see that narrative of "Iraqistan" has come to dominate the language that Oregon's Department of Veterans Affairs uses to describe soldier returning from the theater of war. Called "Afghan-Iraqi vets," the specific location of their wartime fighting has become irrelevant. Third, the AIFM contains within it a subtle message about never-ending war. By building a very large monument fountain in Oregon's official memorial garden that eclipses the other

memorials in the area, the designers made an important statement about the prospect of future warfare. If this is the "war to end all wars" but for real this time, then there will be no need for additional memorials in the garden. More than just showing the connection between presidential rhetoric and its reproduction on a local landscape, this chapter demonstrates how discourse circulates, originating as presidential speeches and then replicated and reformulated on the landscape with an intended permanence. Echoing many other scholarly works on memorials, I show that landscapes of memory are part of the material representation of geopolitical imaginaries.

Turning to an analysis of Oregon State-level politics regarding the AIFM in chapter three, I investigated the circumstances around which this memorial was built and a particular design approved. Here I tell multiple stories: the striving of a family hoping to commemorate the deeds of their son, a governor skirting rules hoping to garner support among the veteran community, and the special role that meso-scale politics can play in shaping landscapes of memory. Most importantly, this chapter poses a question about the future place of veterans in American society, given their varied portrayal in the public discourse over the last 60 years. By focusing on political maneuverings at the level of the State of Oregon, I demonstrated how a Governor, a Representative, and a few concerned citizens become actors whose work has ramifications at the national scale. These people further geopolitical ends by "writing" the text of this memorial. Without analyses like this one, our understanding of the geopolitical scale remains incomplete.

The fourth chapter of analysis looked at the body-politic and body politics functioning in the AIFM. I asked what different bodies mean and feel, in their living and representational forms. This chapter attempted to take seriously the pain of families who lost children to war and also problematize their self-described apolitical stance. By critically examining the soldier cast in bronze on the AIFM fountain, I recognized hints of religious symbolism that was confirmed by the artist, contradictory notions of anonymity and named tropes, and a new type of war hero who is male but softened and feminized. This analysis signals a possible change in the way memorials are made, challenging the previous conventions of the masculinized fighting war hero and the trend to rely on less figural representations. Particular given the plethora of state-scale memorials currently under construction, only time will tell how this war is remembered around the country. More and diverse war narratives will emerge through this memorial process.

This study accomplishes more than just a march through various scales of analysis implicating each one in memorial meaning. *Remembering the Present* is a reminder to all those who care about the representation of war and about how war memories serve to legitimate wartime projects in the future. This study is a cautionary tale about how certain interested parties can maintain a grip on particular political channels in order to shape the landscapes of war memory.

As discussed in the introduction chapter, many scholars and interested people accept implicitly that there is one model in which an event should be memorialized. After an event happens, all official memorialization channels should wait until the public has conducted its required "memory-work" and come to a consensus of the meaning of the event. Only at that time should a memorial be built reflecting that consensus. However, this study shows that, at sub-national scales, there are no policies regulating the timing of memorials. Stakeholders will seize the memorialization process in an attempt to stake a claim to the ideological territory of memory, trying to literally plant their interpretation of an event into the ground. The memory process does not progress in the ideal orderly manner. Memorialization occurs at all times, in messy, political processes when no consensus exists or perhaps ever will. That's why it is so important to proceed with caution when altering a landscape in order to remember.

The fever for memorialization, "memorial mania," cannot last forever. In 2003, the U.S. Congress declared a moratorium on building more memorials on the central axis of the Washington Mall, declaring the area a "substantially completed work of civic art" (quoted in Savage 2009). While a number of unfinished projects will remain in progress, this pronouncement hints at a potential slowdown of memorial fervor. Memorials, however, likely will shift shape, rather than disappear. People across the country have already begun building more ephemeral memorials, temporary and dynamic reminders of

war. This trend surely will change the nature of memorials because they will not be constructed to last and yet perhaps they will "speak" more forcefully in today's culture.

Whatever the shape war memorials take in the future, public landscapes are likely to become more political and politicized, rather than less so in the coming years. With the U.S. Supreme Court ruling of *City of Pleasant Grove vs. Summum* referenced in the introduction chapter, local governments are empowered to "speak" through their public space and their speech will be protected like any citizen's. In Chief Justice Alito's justification for that holding, he cited Mayo's (1988b) groundbreaking work on war memorials and their political implications for landscapes. This relationship between the legal community and memorial scholarship shows a high likelihood that there will be more disputes over the murky territory of memorial landscapes.

The process of deciding what a war means begins when members of the political elite decide to go to war and pursue public acceptance. But it does not end when the state finally commits to a war strategy or even when troops deploy overseas. That practice of legitimizing a war does not cease when soldiers return from the battlefield. The struggle plays out in the landscapes of private and public lands which actively "write" the history of these wars. By reading the landscape of this first war memorial to the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, we begin to see this third writing and how it has begun here in America, in local places, in State Legislatures, and private meeting rooms.

Wars are more than a series of battles involving killers and their killing technology. Wars are also ideological battles for the history books. It is a battle for self-definition, national identity, and the future of a place. This memory writing on the landscape is desperately important because it informs future policymaking. The lessons that Americans learn from wartime experience plays a role in the way that they perform war in the future. This battle over the memory of Afghanistan and Iraq is just beginning. Even as these wars wind down, the ideological battle is just ramping up to see who will write the lessons learned from them.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Abramson, Daniel. 1996. Maya Lin and the 1960s: Monuments, time lines and minimalism. *Critical Inquiry* 22, no. 4 (Summer): 679-709.
- Agnew, John. A. 1998. The impossible capital: Monumental Rome under liberal and fascist regimes, 1870-1943. *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 80, no. 4: 229.
- . 2009. *Globalization and sovereignty*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Alderman, Derek H. 2000. A street fit for a king: Naming places and commemoration in the American south. *The Professional Geographer* 52, no. 4: 672-684.
- Anderson, Benedict R. 1983. *Imagined communities: Reflections on the origin and spread of nationalism*. New York: Verso.
- Azaryahu, Maoz. 2003a. Mount Herzl: The creation of Israel's national cemetery. *Israel Studies* 1, no. 2: 46-74.
- . 2003b. RePlacing memory: The reorientation of Buchenwald. *Cultural Geographies* 10: 1-20.
- Azaryahu, Maoz, and Kenneth E. Foote. 2008. Historical space as narrative medium: On the configuration of spatial narratives of time at historical sites. *GeoJournal* 73: 179-194.
- Bacevich, Andrew J. 2008. *The limits of power: The end of American exceptionalism*. New York: Metropolitan Books.
- . 2009. American Triumphalism. *Commonweal*, January 30.
- Baudrillard, Jean. 1995. *The Gulf War did not take place*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Bell, J. 1999. Redefining national identity in Uzbekistan: Symbolic tensions in Tashkent's official public landscape. *Ecumene* 6, no. 2 (April): 183-213.
- Benton-Short, Lisa. 2006. Politics, public space, and memorials: The brawl on the mall. *Urban Geography* 27, no. 4: 297-329.

- . 2007. Bollards, bunkers and barriers: Securing the national mall in Washington, DC. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 25, no. 3: 424-446.
- Bertagna, B.R. 2009. The government's Ten Commandments: Pleasant Grove City v. Sumnum and the government speech doctrine. *Drake Law Review*. 58, no. 1: 1-66.
- Burk, A. L. 2003. Private griefs, public places. *Political Geography* 22, no. 3 (March): 317-333.
- Bush, George W. 2001. Delivered to Joint Session of Congress. September 20, 2001. Available at: <http://archives.cnn.com/2001/US/09/20/gen.bush.transcript/>. Accessed: Nov. 1, 2009.
- . 2002a. State of the Union. January 29, 2002. Available at: <http://archives.cnn.com/2002/ALLPOLITICS/01/29/bush.speech.txt/>. Accessed: Nov. 1, 2009.
- . 2002b. Delivered in Ohio. October 7, 2002. Available at: <http://www.cbsnews.com/stories/2002/10/07/national/main524627.shtml/>. Accessed: Nov. 1, 2009.
- . 2003a. State of the Union. January 28, 2003. Available at: <http://www.cnn.com/2003/ALLPOLITICS/01/28/sotu.transcript/>. Accessed: Nov. 1, 2009.
- . 2003b. Ultimatum Speech to Saddam Hussein. Delivered from the Cross Hall of the White House. March 18, 2003. Available at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2003/mar/18/usa.iraq>. Accessed: Nov. 1, 2009.
- . 2003c. Declaration of War in Iraq. Delivered from the Oval Office. March 19, 2003. Available at: <http://www.cnn.com/2003/US/03/19/sprj.irq.int.bush.transcript/>. Accessed: Nov. 1, 2009.
- . 2003d. "Mission Accomplished" Speech delivered aboard flight deck of USS Lincoln. May 1, 2003. Available at: <http://www.cnn.com/2003/US/05/01/bush.transcript/index.html>. Accessed: Nov. 1, 2009.

- . 2004a. State of the Union. January 21, 2004. Available at: <http://www.cnn.com/2004/ALLPOLITICS/01/20/sotu.transcript.1/>. Accessed: Nov. 1, 2009.
- . 2004b. Presidential Press Conference. April 13, 2004. Available at: http://articles.sfgate.com/2004-04-13/news/17419576_1_al-sadr-iraqi-people-coalition-forces. Accessed: Nov. 1, 2009.
- . 2005. State of the Union. February 2, 2005. Available at: <http://www.cnn.com/2005/ALLPOLITICS/02/02/sotu.transcript/>. Accessed: Nov. 1, 2009.
- Butler, Judith. 2006. *Gender trouble: Feminism and the subversion of identity*. New York: Routledge.
- Commemorative Works Act of 1986. U.S. Code Vol. 40. Sections 1001-1010.
- Cosgrove, Denis E., and Stephen. Daniels. 1988. *The Iconography of landscape: Essays on the symbolic representation, design, and use of past environments*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Danner, Mark. 2006. Iraq: The War of the Imagination. *New York Review of Books*, December 21.
- Doss, Erika. 2008. Memorial Mania. *Museum*, April.
- Doss, Erika. 2010. *Memorial Mania: Public feeling in America*. Chicago, Illinois: University of Chicago Press.
- Duncan, J. 1995. Landscape geography, 1993-94. *Progress in Human Geography*. 19, no. 3: 414-422.
- Duncan, J., and N. Duncan. 1988. (Re)reading the landscape. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 6, no. 2: 117-126.
- Dwyer, Owen J., and Derek H. Alderman. 2008a. *Civil rights memorials and the geography of memory*. Chicago: University of Georgia Press.
- . 2008b. Memorial landscapes: analytic questions and metaphors. *GeoJournal* 73 (September 26): 165-178.

- Edkins, Jenny. 2003. *Trauma and the memory of politics*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Eggener, Keith. 2004. *American architectural history: A contemporary reader*. London; New York, NY: Routledge.
- Ellis, Richard. 1998. *Speaking to the people: The rhetorical presidency in historical perspective*. Political development of the American nation. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Farrar, Margaret E. 2008. *Building the body politic: Power and urban space in Washington, D.C.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Farrell, Theo. 2005. *The norms of war: Cultural beliefs and modern conflict*. Boulder, CO: L. Rienner Publishers.
- Foote, Kenneth E. 1997. *Shadowed Ground: America's Landscapes of Violence and Tragedy*. Austin, TX: University of Texas Press
- . 2000. Hungary after 1989: Inscribing a new past on place. *The Geographical Review* 90, no. 3 (July): 301.
- Foote, Kenneth E., and Maoz Azaryahu. 2007. Toward a geography of memory: Geographical dimensions of public memory and commemoration. *Journal of Political & Military Sociology* 35, no. 1 (Summer): 125-144.
- Forest, Benjamin, and Juliet Johnson. 2002. Unraveling the threads of history: Soviet-era monuments and post-soviet national identity in Moscow. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 92, no. 3.
- Foss, Sonja K. 1986. Ambiguity as persuasion: The Vietnam Veterans memorial. *Communication Quarterly* 34, no. 3: 326 - 340.
- Gaan, Narottam. 2006. United States, Globalization and the International System. *International Studies* 43, no. 3: 305-316.
- Gambone, Michael D. 2005. *The greatest generation comes home: the veteran in American society*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press.
- Gershkoff, Amy, and Shana Kushner. 2005. Shaping public opinion: The 9/11-Iraq connection in the Bush Administration's rhetoric. *Perspectives on Politics* 3, no. 3: 525-537.

- Goebel, Stefan. 2007. *The Great War and medieval memory: War, remembrance and medievalism in Britain and Germany, 1914-1940*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Gordon, D. L., and B. S. Osborne. 2004. Constructing national identity in Canada's capital, 1900-2000: Confederation Square and the National War Memorial. *Journal of Historical Geography* 30, no. 4: 618-642.
- Grant, Susan-Mary. 2005. Raising the dead: War, memory, and American national identity. *Nations and Nationalism* 11, no. 4: 509-529.
- Gregory, Derek. 1994. *Geographical Imaginations*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers.
- Griswold, Charles L., and Stephen S. Griswold. 1986. The Vietnam Veterans Memorial and the Washington mall: Philosophical thoughts on political iconography. *Critical Inquiry* 12, no. 4: 688-719.
- Gross, Kimberly, Paul Brewer, and Sean Aday. 2009. Confidence in government and emotional responses to terrorism after September 11, 2001. *American Politics Research* 37, no. 1: 107-128.
- Grosz, Elizabeth. 1998. Bodies-cities. In *Places through the body*, ed. Nast and Pile. London; New York: Routledge.
- Hartshorne, Richard. 1939. *The nature of geography; a critical survey of current thought in the light of the past*, Lancaster, Pa.: The Association.
- Harvey, David. 1979. Monument and myth. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 69, no. 3: 362-381.
- Hass, Kristin Ann. 1998. *Carried to the wall: American memory and the Vietnam Veterans Memorial*. Berkeley, CA.: University Presses of California, Columbia and Princeton.
- Helphand, Kenneth I. 2006. *Defiant gardens: Making gardens in wartime*. San Antonio, Tex.: Trinity University Press.
- Hobsbawm, E. J., and T. O. Ranger. 1983. *The Invention of tradition*. Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Ivie, Robert, and Oscar Giner. 2009. American exceptionalism in a democratic idiom: Transacting the mythos of change in the 2008 presidential campaign. *Communication Studies* 60, no. 4: 359-375.
- Jackson, John Brinckerhoff. 1980. *The Necessity for ruins and other topics*. Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press.
- Jakle, John A. 1998. Review of *Landscape in Sight: Looking at America*. by John Brinckerhoff Jackson, ed. Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 88, no. 3.
- Jefferess, David. 2009. Responsibility, nostalgia, and the mythology of Canada as a peacekeeper. *University of Toronto Quarterly* 78, no. 2: 709-727.
- Jewett, Robert., and John Shelton Lawrence. 1977. *The American monomyth*. Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press.
- Johnston, Steven. 2001. Political not patriotic: Democracy, civic space, and the American memorial/monument complex. *Theory and Event* 5, no. 2.
- Lewis, Pierce. 1998. The Monument and the Bungalow. *Geographical Review* 88, no. 4 (October): 507-527.
- MacPherson, Hannah. 2006. Landscape's ocular-centrism: and beyond. In *From landscape research to landscape planning: aspects of integration, education and application*, ed. Tress, Bärbel. 95-104. Dordrecht: Springer.
- Maggio, J. 2007. The presidential rhetoric of terror: The (re)creation of reality immediately after 9/11. *Politics & Policy* 35, no. 4: 810-835.
- Marston, S. A. 2000. The social construction of scale. *Progress in Human Geography*. 24: 219-242.
- Mayo J.M., and Hoefflich M.H. 2010. Commemorating god and country in American war memorials: Symbolic evolution and legality. *Environment and Behavior* 42, no. 3: 303-317.
- Mayo, James M. 1988a. *War memorials as political landscape*. New York, NY: Praeger Publishers.
- . 1988b. War memorials as political memory. *Geographical Review* 78, no. 1 (January): 62-75.

- McDonald M., and Merefield M. 2010. How was Howard's war possible? Winning the war of position over Iraq. *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 64, no. 2: 186-204.
- McDowell, Sara. 2007. Armalite, the ballot box and memorialization: Sinn Féin and the state in post-conflict Northern Ireland. *The Round Table* 96, no. 393: 725-738.
- Medhurst, Martin J. 2006. *The rhetorical presidency of George H.W. Bush*. College Station: Texas A&M University Press.
- Mitchell, Don. 2001. The lure of the local: Landscape studies at the end of a troubled century. *Progress in Human Geography* 25, no. 2: 269-281.
- "Military: Time for a New GI Bill?" 2007. *Newsweek*: 40.
- Mitchell, Katharyne. 2003. Monuments, memorials, and the politics of memory. *Urban Geography* 24, no. 5: 442-459.
- Mooney, Kevin. 2008. Female U.S. Casualties More Common in Iraq War. *cbsnews.com*, July 2. <http://www.cbsnews.com/news/article/24132>.
- Moore, Toby. 2000. Emerging memorial landscapes of labor conflict in the cotton textile south. *The Professional Geographer* 52, no. 4: 684-696.
- Mosse, George L. 1990. *Fallen soldiers: Reshaping the memory of the world wars*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Nast, Heidi J., and Steve Pile, eds. 1998. *Places through the body*. London; New York: Routledge.
- Noon, David Hoogland. 2004. Operation enduring analogy: World War II, the War on Terror, and the uses of historical memory. *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 7, no. 3: 339-364.
- Ó Tuathail, Gearóid. 1996. *Critical geopolitics: The politics of writing global space*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Ochsner, Jeffrey Karl. 1997. A space of loss: The Vietnam Veterans Memorial. *Journal of architectural education: JAE*. 50, no. 3: 156.

- Parry-Giles, Shawn J. 2002. *The rhetorical presidency, propaganda, and the Cold War, 1945-1955*. Praeger series in presidential studies. Westport, Conn.: Praeger.
- Peterson, Tarla Rai. 2004. *Green talk in the White House: The rhetorical Presidency encounters ecology*. Presidential rhetoric series, no. 11. College Station: Texas A&M University Press.
- Pleasant Grove City v. Summum, 129 S.Ct. 1125 (2009).
- Raddatz, Martha, and Elizabeth Gorman. 2009 Female Warriors Engage in Combat in Iraq, Afghanistan: Vague Language in Policies Puts in Question Legality of Roles for Women in Combat. *Abcnews.com* Oct. 25.
<http://abcnews.go.com/WN/Politics/roles-question-females-warfare/story?id=8879944>.
- Rojecki, Andrew. 2008. Rhetorical alchemy: American exceptionalism and the war on terror. *Political Communication* 25, no. 1: 67 - 88.
- Sasson-Levy, Orna. 2008. Individual bodies, collective state interests. *Men and Masculinities* 10, no. 3: 296-321.
- Savage, Kirk. 2009. *Monument wars: Washington, D.C., the National Mall, and the transformation of the memorial landscape*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Schlosser, Kolson. 2007. The bio-politics of bodies politic: nature and intertextuality in classic US geopolitical discourse. *GeoJournal* 69, no. 3: 199-210.
- Schleifman, Nurit. 2001. Moscow's victory park: A monumental change. *History and Memory* 13, no. 2 (Fall): 5-36.
- Schwebke, Kay E. 2009. The Vietnam Women's Memorial: Better late it than never - To the women who served, the statue is more than a tribute. *The American journal of nursing*: 34.
- Scott, Wilbur J. 1993. *The politics of readjustment: Vietnam veterans since the war*. Social Problems and Social Issues. New York: Aldine De Gruyter.
- Scruggs, Jan C., and Joel L. Swerdlow. 1985. *To heal a nation: The Vietnam Veterans Memorial*. New York: Harper & Row.

- Secunda, Eugene., and Terence P. Moran. 2007. *Selling war to America: from the Spanish American War to the global war on terror*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger Security International.
- Simons, Herbert W. 2007. From post-9/11 melodrama to quagmire in Iraq: A rhetorical history. *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 10, no. 2 (Summer): 183-193.
- Simpson, Edward, and Stuart Corbridge. 2006. The geography of things that may become memories: The 2001 earthquake in Kachchh-Gujarat and the politics of rehabilitation in the prememorial era. *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 96, no. 3: 566-585.
- Spielvogel, Christian. 2005. "You know where I stand": Moral framing of the war on terrorism and the Iraq war in the 2004 presidential campaign. *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 8, no. 4: 549-569.
- Sturken, Marita. 2007. *Tourists of history: Memory, kitsch, and consumerism from Oklahoma City to Ground Zero*. Durham: Duke University Press.
- Tuan, Yi-fu. 1974. *Topophilia: A study of environmental perception, attitudes, and values*. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- Tulis, Jeffrey. 1987. *The rhetorical presidency*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- Wagner-Pacifici, Robin, and Barry Schwartz. 1991. The Vietnam Veterans Memorial: Commemorating a difficult past. *American Journal of Sociology* 97, no. 2.
- Watkins, Nicholas, Frances Cole, and Sue Weidemann. 2010. The War Memorial as Healing Environment: The Psychological Effect of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial on Vietnam War Combat Veterans' Posttraumatic Stress Disorder Symptoms. *Environment and Behavior* 42, no. 3: 351-375.
- Wills, Garry. 1992. *Lincoln at Gettysburg: The words that remade America*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Wilson, William H. 1989. *The City Beautiful Movement*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Winter, Jay. 2004. *Sites of memory, sites of mourning: the Great War in European cultural history*. Canto. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press.

- Witt, Matthew T. 2005. America's palimpsest: Ground-zero democracy and the capitol mall. *Public Administration Review* 65, no. 5: 517-533.
- Wright, James. 2008. The new GI bill: It's a win-win proposition. *Chronicle of Higher Education* 54, no. 36: A34.
- Woodward, Bob. 2004. *Plan of attack*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Zarefsky, David. 2004. Presidential rhetoric and the power of definition. *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 34, no. 3: 607-619.