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Features of the "Monumental" Policy of the United States in Relation to the Conflicts of the Cold War (on the Example of Monuments in Washington, D.C.)*

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Особенности «монументальной» политики США в отношении конфликтов «холодной войны» (на примере памятников в Вашингтоне)

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In this article, the authors analyze the unique features of the United States' "monumental" policy in relation to the conflicts of the Cold War and the associated memorial and commemorative spaces within the metropolitan region. Specifically, the authors focus on the two Cold War conflicts that are commemorated on the National Mall in Washington, D.C. — the Korean War (1950–1953) and the Vietnam War (1964–1975). The Vietnam Veterans Memorial (1982) and the Korean War Veterans Memorial (1995) are among the monumental objects that commemorate these conflicts, along with the Three Soldiers Monument (1984) and the Vietnam Women's Memorial (1993), which were later added to the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. To examine the evolution and specific characteristics of the American "monumental" policy regarding the history of the Cold War, the authors employed various sources, including artifacts of "monumental" policy such as monuments, memorial complexes, and architectural structures; official documents on monumental projects; official websites of memorials and their funds; materials on planning, construction, and preservation of memorials; memoirs and interviews of architects; articles in the media; opinion polls; reviews from visitors to monumental objects. By tracing the history of the creation of these monumental objects, the authors aim to evaluate the degree of influence of civil society on official memory politics and to understand how assessments of Cold War conflicts have evolved in the United States.

Keywords: memory politics, "monumental" policy, interpretations of history, Cold War, USA, Washington D.C., Vietnam Veterans Memorial, Korean War Veterans Memorial.

Авторы рассматривают характерные черты «монументальной» политики США в отношении конфликтов «холодной войны», а также особенности мемориального и коммеморативного пространства данных конфликтов в столичном регионе. Отмечено, что на Национальной аллее в Вашингтоне увековечена память только о двух конфликтах «холодной войны» — Корейской войне (1950–1953 гг.) и Вьетнамской войне (1964–1975 гг.). Речь идет о таких монументальных объектах, как Мемориал ветеранов Вьетнамской войны 1982 г. и Мемориал ветеранов Корейской войны 1995 г., а также о монументе Три солдата 1984 г. и Мемориале вьетнамских женщин 1993 г., которыми был дополнен Мемориал ветеранов Вьетнама. На примере данных объектов исследуются эволюция и специфика американской «монументальной» политики в отношении истории «холодной войны». При построении выводов были использованы различные виды источников: артефакты «монументальной» политики (памятники, монументы, мемориальные комплексы и архитектурные сооружения); официальные документы по монументальным проектам; официальные сайты мемориальных объектов и их фондов; материалы по планированию, сооружению и сохранению мемориальных объектов; мемуары и интервью архитекторов; статьи в СМИ; опросы общественного мнения; отзывы посетителей монументальных объектов. Рассмотренная история создания данных монументальных объектов помогает оценить степень влияния гражданского общества на официальную политику памяти, а также произошедшую в США эволюцию оценок конфликтов «холодной войны».

Ключевые слова: политика памяти, «монументальная» политика, интерпретации истории, «холодная война», США, Вашингтон, Мемориал ветеранов Вьетнама, Мемориал ветеранов Корейской войны.

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Large-scale military conflicts almost always leave such "notches" in the memory of peoples, to which subsequent generations turn to learn the lessons of history for themselves. Society remembers the liberation war, which ended in victory, as a rule, with pride, and uses the memory of it to educate young people to "repeat the exploits of their fathers and grandfathers." The attitude to such military conflicts is more complicated, the position of the commanders in which is controversial, and the result of which was by no means victorious. In this case, bitterness from unnecessary losses and criticism of the adventurous actions of the rulers prevail in the assessments. Sometimes it is possible to meet judgments that some nations are ashamed of their unjust wars, and others — only those wars that were lost. In reality, everything is much more complicated, since different social groups may have different assessments in each country, and the only question is how well the traditions of dialogue between civil society and the authorities are developed there, how much alternative points of view are taken into account there. This is especially evident in the national variants of the "monumental" policy, which includes the installation or dismantling of monuments, the renaming of streets and squares, the adoption of architectural decisions that introduce new semantic logic into already established spaces [1, p. 285–312]. Such actions significantly change the cultural infrastructure of collective memory, since they have relatively long-term consequences. This policy is particularly evident, as a rule, in the capitals of states where the most important national symbols are concentrated. In this regard, for example, the capital of the United States, Washington, D.C., has quite a lot of similarities with other capitals, but the results of the "monumental" policy here have some peculiarities. This article examines the characteristic features of the "monumental" policy of the United States in relation to the conflicts of the Cold War, as well as the features of the memorial and commemorative space of these conflicts in the metropolitan region. Using the example of concrete monumental objects in Washington, D.C., the authors consider the evolution and specifics of the American "monumental" policy aimed at perpetuating, updating, rethinking and representing the image of the United States during the Cold War. The monumental objects considered in this article help to assess the degree of historical and memorial significance of a particular Cold War conflict for the United States, as well as the degree of influence of public sentiment on the nature of the "monumental" policy.

In the context of the memory politics and symbolic politics, "monumental" politics is considered in the works of many domestic and foreign researchers, such as I.I. Kurilla, O.N. Maklyuk, A.O. Mamedova, A.A. Mixajlov, D.G. Smirnov, D. Bell, P. Nora, J. Vinter [2–9], etc. The following researchers in their works use the examples of individual countries to consider

cases of the implementation of a "monumental" policy in relation to certain historical events: V.A. Achka-sov, V.N. Efremova, M.V. Kirchanov, O.B. Leonteva, O.Yu. Malinova, A. Assman, B. Forest, T. Clack, I. Moore [10–17], etc.

It should be noted that there is insufficient knowledge of both "monumental" politics in its theoretical and practical dimensions and the significance of the monumental and memorial legacy of the Cold War as a separate plot. In foreign and domestic historiography, there are many studies on the problems of the correlation of history and memory [9], the memory politics [18, p. 186–189] and culture wars [19]. The latter aspect of the review is characteristic of American historiography, since conflicts over the past are most often classified in the United States as "culture wars" [2]. Speaking about the practical aspect of the topic, it should be noted that research mainly examines the causes and origins of the Cold War, as well as its place in the collective memory of American society. In most of the works in which researchers analyze the memorial space in monumental objects of the USA, they often consider other significant events of American history, for example, the Civil War [20, 21]. The topic of the "monumental" policy of the United States in relation to the conflicts of the Cold War is insufficiently studied both in domestic and foreign historiography.

The source base of this study consists of several types. These are artifacts of "monumental" politics (monuments, memorial complexes, architectural structures); official documents on monumental projects; official websites of memorials and their funds; materials on the planning, construction and preservation of memorials; memoirs and interviews of architects; articles in the media; opinion polls; reviews of visitors to monumental sites. In general, this list of sources provides a sufficient basis for obtaining verified conclusions.

Turning directly to the consideration of the monumental space of Washington, D.C., it is necessary to briefly consider the history and nature of the architectural tradition of the US capital. Washington, D.C. was chosen by President George Washington as the capital of the new nation in 1791. French architects participated in the development of the new city plan [22]. This fact explains the predominance of the European architectural and monumental tradition in the US capital. The city is best known for its neoclassical government buildings, monuments, memorials. These structures have large pediments, columns, domes, statues, reliefs, often made of stone or marble [22].

The modern American "monumental" policy and culture of building memorials was also influenced by the European tradition, which was introduced, in particular, in the genre of portrait bust. Thus, the French sculptor Jean-Antoine Houdon created a marble statue for the monument to George Washington

in Richmond designed by the French architect Charles-Louis Clerisso in 1976 [23, pp. 168-172].

The First World War largely gave impetus to the more intensive construction of monuments and memorials in the United States. The United States was one of the first countries in the world to have the Grave of the Unknown Soldier, it is located at the Arlington Cemetery in the suburbs of Washington, D.C. In 1921, the first burial of an unknown soldier who died in the First World War took place. Later, the remains of unknown soldiers who died in World War II, the Korean and Vietnam Wars were buried there [24, p. 3-18].

It should be said that the memory of only two Cold War conflicts was immortalized on the National Mall in Washington, D.C. — the Korean War (1950-1953) and the Vietnam War (1964-1975). This is due to the fact that the US participation in these conflicts had a high strategic and ideological significance during the Cold War, and the US suffered considerable human losses in these conflicts.

The monumental objects installed in Washington, D.C. perpetuate the memory of famous people who have made a great contribution to American history: scientists, military leaders, politicians, presidents. And this trend is observed in most countries when monuments to outstanding historical figures are located in the capital. Monuments to deceased soldiers are also being erected in the capitals, which have characteristic features of the organization of the memorial space. In Washington, D.C., when perpetuating the memory of deceased soldiers, not individual monuments are often erected, but entire memorial complexes. If we talk about the organization of memorial space complexes, it should be noted that they often represent entire parks. These complexes are also distinguished by their monumentality and scale. Since they are located in the capital, they are designed to fit into the capital's architectural ensemble [25, p. 40]. This type of memorials includes Washington monumental objects considered in this article belong: Vietnam Veterans Memorial (1982) and Korean War Veterans Memorial (1995). The article also discusses the monument Three Soldiers (1984) and the Vietnam Women's Memorial (1993), which was supplemented by the Vietnam Veterans Memorial.

It is worth noting that antiwar protests condemning the US participation in the Vietnam War took place throughout the conflict. All the 1960s and 1970s were filled with various protest actions with the participation of students, veterans, religious organizations and celebrities, which gave the antiwar movement a large scale. During this period, characterized by a large number of human losses and increasing popular discontent, there was no question of erecting monuments to perpetuate this war. In the early 1980s, documentaries and feature films began to deal more realistically with the problems of Vietnam War veterans. Congress declared Vietnam

Veterans Week in honor of those who returned home. It should be said that during this period, the Vietnam War began to become an object of both the memory politics and the "monumental" policy of the United States. The very first initiatives to perpetuate this conflict through a "monumental" policy came from civil society institutions, which later nevertheless received the support of the government. The war is beginning to be actualized in the public consciousness no longer as a shameful milestone in American

history, but as an experience that society needs to accept in order to remember the feat of veterans and honor the memory of the dead. During this period, one of the most famous monuments dedicated to the Vietnam War was opened — Vietnam Veterans Memorial in Washington, D.C.

The Vietnam Veterans Memorial consists of two black granite walls that are connected to each other in a V-shape. The names of the dead soldiers are engraved on the wall surface [26]. When it was opened in 1982, 57939 names were engraved on the memorial. As of September 2020, there are 58279 names. The added names are those servicemen who were wounded in Vietnam, but died of their wounds later [26]. Architect Maya Ying Lin describes the concept of the memorial as follows: "When you walk through the park, the memorial looks like a crack in the ground. The names engraved on the wall convey a sense of the infinity of the list of the dead, combining them into a single whole. The memorial was created as a moving composition. The names of the dead soldiers seem to sink into the ground at the end of the wall" [27].

The initiative to build the memorial and its design have caused a lot of controversy. Some believed that money for the construction of the memorial should be better spent on providing services to veterans. Others criticized the black walls and the idea of placing the future memorial wall below ground level. Also, Maya Lin's project did not contain traditional symbols honoring service, courage and sacrifice. After disputes and debates, a compromise was finally found with the prospect of adding other monuments next to the granite wall in the future. Later, the statue Three Soldiers was added to the memorial [28] in 1984 and the Vietnam Women's Memorial [29] in 1993.

The Three Soldiers is located near the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Wall. The monument Three Soldiers is designed to demonstrate the diverse composition of the US armed forces during the Vietnam War. American sculptor Frederick Hart created three figures of soldiers with the features of a European, an African-American and a Latin American. The soldiers seem to be looking at the wall as if looking for the names of their deceased comrades. The statue was placed at some distance from the memorial wall to minimize the impact on its design. The figure of an African-American in the monument Three Soldiers became the first memorial object depicting an African-American on the National Mall

in Washington. The models for the figures of the three soldiers were real people who served in the US Marine Corps at the time of the monument's creation.

American sculptor F. Hart received an order to add a sculpture to the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, which, according to critics of Maya Lin's design, would "dilute" the gloomy message of the wall. The New York Times published an article by Pentagon lawyer and Vietnam War veteran Tom Carhart in which he criticized the lack of heroic symbols in the memorial and the emphasis on "shame and grief" [30]. Tom Carhart describes his attitude to the memorial project as follows: "I believe that the memorial project chosen at an open competition clearly offends the sacrifices made for their country by all Vietnam veterans. We will remember this: a black abyss of shame and sadness embedded in the national image" [30]. Due to disagreements and negative reactions, a compromise had to be found. A flagpole and a plaque with the inscription were installed on top of two walls [31].

In 1993, the Vietnam Women's Memorial was added to the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. It perpetuates the memory of American women who voluntarily went to the combat area of the Vietnam War. Thousands of female nurses risked their lives to take care of wounded and dying American soldiers. Little was known about this until one former nurse, Diane Carlson Evans, began to push for the women's service to be recognized throughout the country. After ten years of efforts to carry out this idea at the legislative level, the decision to create the Vietnam Women's Memorial was signed by the president. The bronze monument depicts three women helping a wounded soldier, which reflects the unity needed during the conflict [32].

The attitude of American society towards the Vietnam War and its veterans at this stage, as well as the place of this conflict in the American historical narrative, can be analyzed based not only on official data and memorial projects, but also on the results

of independent opinion polls. On the website of the international official survey service Quora there is still an active survey on the topic: "What do American veterans of the Vietnam War think about Vietnam today?" [33]. Within the framework of this survey, not only American veterans and their relatives express their opinion about the war and the status of Vietnam veterans, but also everyone. Many veterans in this survey speak of shame before the Vietnamese people for the destruction inflicted on the country by the United States. Those veterans (and there are many of them) who visited Vietnam many years later wrote about the friendliness of the Vietnamese people and their rich culture. Many records reflect a negative attitude towards the actions of the government during the Vietnam events and to senseless losses among the American military [33].

Active participation of the United States in the Korean War (1950–1953) on the side of South Korea did not

cause such a public outcry in American society as similar steps by the government a few years later in the Vietnam War. This is due to the fact that North Korea and its regime were negatively perceived by American citizens already in the initial stages of the war. The Gallup Institute in 1950 conducted a survey on the topic: "Do you think the United States made a mistake in going into the war in Korea or not?" 78% of Americans approved of Harry Truman's decision, 15% disapproved [34]. During the war, American public opinion fluctuated in response to the successes and failures of the United States. At the final stage of the Korean War in 1953, more than 50% of Americans did not consider it a mistake for the United States to enter the conflict [34].

The Korean War took place during the active phase of ideological confrontation, and the American "monumental" policy toward this conflict was not activated at the federal level at that time. However, in American states, by the efforts of civil society institutions, few memorials of local significance were erected in memory of the deceased countrymen. It was only in 1986 that the US Congress confirmed that the American Battle Monuments Commission (ABMC) was allowed to build the Korean War Veterans Memorial [35]. On the 42nd anniversary of the armistice that ended the war, US President Bill Clinton and South Korean President Kim Yong Sam on 27 July 1995, opened a memorial to men and women who participated in the Korean War [35]. The memorial was designed and funded by private donations and erected under the auspices of the Korean War Veterans Memorial Advisory Board. This monumental object perpetuates the memory of 5.8 million Americans who served in the US armed forces during the three-year period of the Korean War [35].

The memorial complex has the shape of an intersecting triangle and circle. It includes the following objects: 19 statues, the Mural Wall, the Pool of Remembrance, the UN Wall and the Wall of Remembrance. The 19 stainless steel statues were designed by Frank Gaylord. They represent the "ethnic section" of America. The statues stand in juniper bushes and are separated by polished granite strips that symbolize the rice fields of Korea.

The Mural Wall was designed by Louis Nelson. The muralist created a two-dimensional work of art. The wall consists of 41 panels. More than 2,400 photographs of the Korean War period have been obtained from the National Archives. Their quality has been improved with the help of modern technologies to ensure a uniform light effect and the desired size. The wall depicts members of the Navy, Marine Corps, Air Force and Coast Guard. The texture of the black granite from which the wall is made creates the appearance of the mountain ranges of Korea from afar [36].

The memorial complex includes the Pool of Remembrance, which is located near the wall and an alcove with the inscription "Freedom isn't free", which is an idiom and is widely used in the United States to express gratitude to the military for protecting personal freedoms [37].

This monumental object has a very impressive size and is popular with both locals and tourists. All the objects of this memorial complex complement each other and are a worthy example of complex symbolism, which is often used in the "monumental" policy of the United States in perpetuating significant events in American history. On 27 July 2022, the Wall of Remembrance with the names of more than 36000 Americans and 7100 Koreans who died during the Korean War was opened on the territory of the Korean War Veterans Memorial [35]. Currently, several memorial ceremonies have already been announced on the official website of the Korean War Veterans Memorial Foundation fund in the summer of 2023 in honor of the 70th anniversary of the end of the Korean War [38].

At the present stage, memorials are no longer limited to physical monuments. Both the Vietnam Veterans Memorial and the Korean War Veterans Memorial are updated in the digital space through official websites, where virtual excursions and charity events are held, as well as various memorial projects are implemented. The partial transition of memorial and commemorative events to the digital space expands the possibilities of actualization and representation of significant events in American history. It can be noted that the memorial projects discussed in this article were originally the result of private initiatives. The government supported and approved the initiatives to erect the considered memorials in the US capital precisely in response to the request of the American society to perpetuate the memory of the Vietnam and Korean Wars. Public assessments of wars still influence the monumental and commemorative spaces of memorials to this day. The addition of new monuments to them is the result of public discussions and different assessments

of the conflicts of the Cold War. For example, the Three Soldiers was opened during the period of intensification of the struggle for equal rights in the United States. The former nurse initiated the idea that the valiant service of women during the Vietnam events would be recognized by the whole country, as a result of which the Vietnam Women's Memorial was opened. During the escalation of relations between the United States and North Korea, the Wall of Remembrance was added to the Korean War Veterans Memorial with a list of names of South Korean soldiers killed in the conflict as a tribute to American-Korean cooperation during the war and at the present stage. Despite the fact that the commemorative space of the Vietnam War was more controversial in the initial stages of perpetuating the memory of the conflict, at the moment there are no specific differences between the memorial and monumental space of the two conflicts considered at the federal level of "monumental" policy. The following main commemorative messages can be noted: the scale of American losses; the diverse composition of the armed forces; gratitude and eternal memory to veterans. However, due to the resonant nature of the Vietnam War, the symbolic space of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial was subjected to more modifications than the Korean War Veterans Memorial. In general, the noticeable influence of civil society in the United States was manifested in the initiation and a kind of adjustment of the memorial policy that was carried out by official bodies. It would probably be a simplification to say that it is "always good". For example, the recent wave of demolition of monuments to the Confederates in the United States clearly bore the features of excessive emotionality and impulsiveness of its initiators. By itself, "rewriting history" is a normal process that can lead to a more complete disclosure of the meaning of the events that occurred. However, it should not be confused with attempts to "erase history", to put into oblivion those events that seem at some point annoying and inconvenient. Knowledge of these events is also necessary for society in order not to repeat its own mistakes of the past, if possible.

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