

2010

Conflicting identities and ideologies: A rhetorical analysis of the National Japanese American Memorial to Patriotism During World War II

Kaori Yamada
University of Northern Iowa

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CONFLICTING IDENTITIES AND IDEOLOGIES:
A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE NATIONAL JAPANESE AMERICAN
MEMORIAL TO PATRIOTISM DURING WORLD WAR II

A Thesis
Submitted
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

Kaori Yamada
University of Northern Iowa
May 2010

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Entitled: CONFLICTING IDENTITIES AND IDEOLOGIES: A
RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE NATIONAL JAPANESE
AMERICAN MEMORIAL TO PATRIOTISM DURING WORLD
WAR II

has been approved as meeting the thesis requirement for the Degree of Master of Arts

Date Dr. Catherine Helen Palczewski, Chair, Thesis Committee

Date Dr. Victoria Pruin DeFrancisco, Thesis Committee Member

Date Dr. Bettina Fabos, Thesis Committee Member

Date Dr. Sue A. Joseph, Interim Dean, Graduate College

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First of all, I would like to express my cordial gratitude to Cate Palczewski, my academic advisor and thesis chair. She is the best mentor I have ever met both in Japan and the United States. We talked a lot. I have learned more than I expected through taking her classes and writing papers with her support. Now I am proud of completing this work with her advice. I also would like to give my appreciation to Victoria DeFrancisco and Bettina Fabos, my thesis committee members. They are really supportive and gave me interesting insights. I really like the professors I have met at UNI, but both of them are my most favorite professors.

I also would like to express my gratitude to my family, friends, senpai, and kohai in Japan and the United States. I am the first person in my family who has gone to graduate school and who lives in a foreign country. I know they worry about their daughter/granddaughter because we were far apart. I had many fun times with the friends I made at UNI. My friends and kohai in Japan always cheered me up. Writing this thesis was not an easy process, but spending time with them made me relaxed. I would like to express my special thanks for two of my senpai in Detroit. Without them, I could not have survived in the United States.

Lastly, I would like to say thank you for my dearest partner, Maro. I could not have completed my entire life in Cedar Falls without his support.

Kaori

March 2010

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CONFLICTING IDENTITIES AND IDEOLOGIES:
A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF THE NATIONAL JAPANESE AMERICAN
MEMORIAL TO PATRIOTISM DURING WORLD WAR II

An Abstract of a Thesis
Submitted
in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

Kaori Yamada
University of Northern Iowa

May 2010

ABSTRACT

This thesis is a rhetorical criticism of the National Japanese American Memorial to Patriotism During World War II, located in Washington, D.C.. It was erected on November 9, 2000, to memorialize Japanese Americans who were forced to move to the relocation camps and Japanese American soldiers who died as members of the U.S. armed forces during WWII. Examining the intended meaning of the Memorial by its creators is not a central focus of this study. Rather, I investigate how interactions among the rhetoric of the Memorial, social contexts, and audiences create multiple meanings.

The first analytic focus is the symbolic rhetoric of the Memorial. The Memorial's motif for its central sculpture is the crane, a very Japanese symbol denoting happiness and long life as well as a wish for eternal peace. However, this does not mean the Memorial only represents Japanese post-war values or a pacifist wish for the termination of all wars. Analysis of the messages from Japanese American veterans on the stone panels reveals that the Memorial insists Japanese Americans are patriotic Americans who seek to protect, through force if necessary, U.S. democracy, freedom, and equality. Reading the controversy over the design of the Memorial also reveals Japanese Americans are not a homogenous group of people. Though not its intent, the Memorial enacts Japanese Americans' conflicting identities.

The second analytic focus is the material rhetoric of the Memorial, especially focusing on the location of the Japanese American Memorial and its relationship to the other three national war memorials located on the Mall. The Japanese American Memorial is located outside of the National Mall, although the other memorials occupy

central spaces on the Mall. Other than the design, its location also determines the meaning of the Memorial. I follow Blair's call for analyzing material rhetoric to study memorial artifacts. Especially in Washington, D.C., which holds a number of national memorials and museums representing national history and identity, one is required to understand the meaning of physical spaces.

The third analytic focus is the ideology conflict within the Memorial. This Memorial seems to embrace both Japanese pacifism and U.S. patriotism, although the two ideologies conflict with each other. This study analyzes the layout of the Memorial and discusses how the west part of the Memorial represents pacifism with victimization and how the east part represents patriotism with militarism. The Memorial embraces conflicting ideologies in a single space.

Lastly, this study concludes the Japanese American Memorial is a quasi-postmodern memorial, but it also has features of didactic memorials. The Memorial allows visitors multiple interpretations of Japanese Americans' identity and value; at the same time it also hides a particular interpretation of the internment and directs visitors' attention to what it selects to remember. The Memorial is located within power politics.

CHAPTER 1

JAPANESE AMERICANS, THEIR STORY AND THE MEMORIAL

From Union Station in Washington, D.C., I walk straight on Louisiana Avenue for five minutes. At the intersection of New Jersey Avenue, Louisiana Avenue, and D Street, I find a bronze sculpture of two cranes, each bound by barbed wire. Ten stone walls, on which are inscribed the names of the ten World War II Japanese American relocation camps, surround the cranes sculpture. A reflecting pond with roughly carved stones inside of it is located next to the sculpture. The three stone walls with the names of Japanese American soldiers who were killed in WWII face the pond. The other stone walls containing quotations from Japanese American Senators and veterans stand next to the walls with the names. This is the National Japanese American Memorial to Patriotism During World War II, erected on November 9, 2000, which memorializes Japanese Americans who were forced to move to the relocation camps and Japanese American soldiers who died as members of the U.S. armed forces. The National Japanese American Memorial Foundation (NJAMF) provides a visual tour of the Memorial on their website. Visit <<http://njamf.com/index.php/what-to-do.html>> to view images of the Memorial.

The most eye-catching feature of the Memorial is the cranes sculpture by Nina A. Akamu. According to the NJAMF, “the identical position of the bronze cranes represents the duality of the universe” as “their bodies are nestled side-by-side with their free wings pressed against each other, symbolizing both individual effort and communal support, emphasizing interdependency” (NJAMF “Japanese”). Cranes are a traditional Japanese symbol used for representing happiness and longevity. In this Memorial, the cranes

draped with barbed wire are intended to symbolize memories of Japanese Americans in the relocation camps, but they also should work as “a symbol for all people” (NJAMF “Japanese”). Therefore, the Memorial casts the Japanese American experience not as a unique, racially specific history, but as “an example of triumph over adversity and reminder of dark days which must never be repeated” (NJAMF “Japanese”).

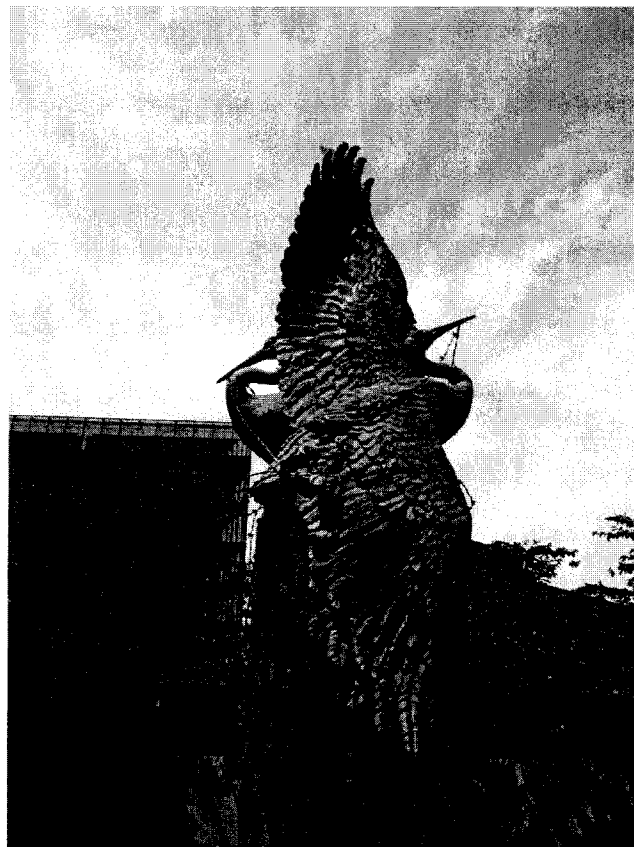


Figure 1. Japanese Crane Monument, the National Japanese American Memorial to Patriotism During World War II. Photographed by Kaori Yamada

My first analytic focus in this thesis is the Memorial's adaptation of the cranes as its symbol and its presentation of the meaning attached to the cranes. Cranes, a very Japanese symbol, are the motif of the Japanese American Memorial's central sculpture. Cranes traditionally represent happiness and longevity, and paper cranes especially represent a wish for eternal peace in Japanese culture. However, this does not mean the Memorial only represents Japanese values. Rather, the Memorial insists Japanese Americans are U.S. citizens who seek to protect U.S. democracy, freedom, and equality. My second analytic focus is the location of the Japanese American Memorial and its relationship to the other three national war memorials, which are located on the National Mall. Other than the design, its location also determines the meanings of the Memorial. Especially in Washington, D.C., which holds a number of national memorials and museums, one is required to understand the meaning of physical spaces. My third analytic focus is the identity and ideological conflicts within the Memorial. This Memorial seems to embrace both Japanese pacifism and American patriotism. I investigate how such a contradiction affects the meanings of the Memorial.

An analysis of the Memorial's cranes sculpture, the Memorial's location, and the conflicting patriotism and pacifism within the Memorial reveals the multiple messages the Memorial conveys even while the Memorial directs a certain way of memorializing. The Memorial presents Japanese Americans as U.S. citizens, but at the same time, it also crystallizes Japanese culture and values. The next section overviews a history of Japanese Americans, especially focusing on the World War II period. It also discusses the transformation of Japanese Americans' national identity among the first, second, and

third generations of immigrants. To understand how the Memorial functions now, it is important to discern Japanese Americans' history in the United States.

Japanese Americans as Outsiders in the United States

During the late nineteenth century, the population of immigrants drastically increased in the United States. The West Coast received immigrants from Asia, mainly China and Japan. The first generation of Japanese immigrants, those who are referred to as Issei, were the pioneer generation of Japanese Americans (Ng 2).

The physical and cultural characteristics of Asian immigrants set them apart from the largely European American majority, and they tended to be targets of prejudice and discrimination (Ng 1). Anti-Japanese movements began in the late nineteenth century as a part of a larger anti-Asian movement. The Japanese were viewed as “outsiders and strangers, their ‘assimilability’ was questioned, and their success in agriculture was viewed as threatening the economic livelihood of the U.S. born, non-Japanese farmers” (Ng 8). Discriminatory discourses targeted Japanese Americans before World War II.

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in December 1941 became a catalyst for a radical increase in anti-Japanese sentiment. Resident Japanese Americans were designated “enemy aliens,” although such labels were never applied to resident Germans or Italians (Thiesmeyer 321). The U.S. government decided to evacuate and remove Japanese living on the West Coast under the name of “military necessity,” claiming enemy aliens were potential threats to national security during war time (Ng 13).

With the increasing sentiment against Japan, President Franklin Delano Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066 on February 19, 1942. This Order did not directly mention

Japanese Americans, but designated certain areas of the West Coast as areas which any and all persons may be excluded as deemed necessary or desirable (Ng 18). It gave the military the authority to remove Japanese Americans.

The evacuation program initially started as a voluntary resettlement, and approximately 5,000 Japanese moved outside of the Western Defense Command zone (Ng 21). However, the government terminated this voluntary move and took full control of the evacuation and relocation program. On February 25, 1942, all Japanese aliens were told to leave in forty-eight hours. This order required Japanese Americans to forfeit land, property, and businesses. Even though such harsh treatment completely ignored civil and human rights, no record of physical resistance exists, partly because of Japanese Americans' culture of submission. Tashima notes the culture of the Japanese American community, instilled by the first generation, was obedience and submission: "This culture of conformity was reinforced by the J[apanese] A[merican] C[itizens] L[eague]'s policy of cooperation with the government in carrying out the evacuation and interment" (2013). The culture of accepting an authoritative order made Japanese Americans follow the removal policy. As a result of the evacuation program, approximately 120,000 people moved to relocation camps in the United States (Ng 38).

The loyalty of Japanese Americans to the United States was in question because the U.S. government viewed them as lacking cultural assimilation. A solicitor of the War Relocation Authority, a civilian agency the Roosevelt administration had created to oversee the relocation of Japanese Americans, defined the concept of loyalty: "The essential core of its meaning... 'disloyal' and 'loyal' evacuees ... is the security factor---

these persons are ‘safe’ or ‘unsafe’” (qtd. in Muller 29). The solicitor explained that an internee who showed “love for or belief in this country’s institution” and American “cultural assimilation” was entitled to “an inference of lack of potential danger” (qtd. in Muller 29). Conversely, an internee who showed “love for or belief in Japan’s way of life” or “sympathy with her war aims, or strong disaffection toward the United States” was a potential danger (qtd. in Muller 29). In order to be judged as loyal, and therefore safe, Japanese Americans needed to show how they internalized American culture and patriotism.

The government engaged in loyalty screening for internees in relocation camps. The purpose of the diagnosis was “making recommendations about who was loyal enough to leave a relocation center, and determining who was loyal enough to work in a plant or industry doing sensitive war work” (Muller 139). However, the answers of adult respondents also were used to determine their eligibility for enlisting in the military (Ng 56). Japanese Americans had to be judged as loyal enough to participate in the military of their country. This was confusing especially for the Nisei, the second generation U.S. born Japanese Americans, who were young enough to join the military at that time. They were raised as U.S. citizens, never feeling any allegiance to the emperor of Japan; Japan was a foreign country for them (de Nevers 201).

Although young Japanese Americans faced a national identity conflict, more than 33,000 of them served in the U.S. military during World War II. Most of them were in one of three military units: the 100th Battalion, which organized in Hawaii; the 442nd Regimental Combat Team, comprised of volunteers and draftees from the ten mainland

internment camps; and the Military Intelligence Service, consisting of Japanese American workers in the Pacific Theater (Ng 55). The three units' members were all Japanese Americans. Despite their passing of the loyalty test, the U.S. military did not allow the Nisei to fight with other U.S. soldiers as a team. The Japanese American soldiers fought for the United States, which discriminated against them based on their parents' and grandparents' origin. The Nisei served in the military not only because of their sense of patriotism and the desire to show their loyalty to the United States, but also because of a Japanese code of honor and sense of duty to one's country, called on in the Japanese language (Ng 73). Japanese American soldiers contributed to the U.S. victory. The 100th Battalion served in North Africa and Italy, earning the designation of "Purple Heart Battalion" because of its heavy losses (de Nevers 224). The 442nd Regimental Combat Team joined the Italian campaign at Naples and received several presidential Distinguished Unit Citations (de Nevers 224).

On December 17, 1944, the Roosevelt administration issued Public Proclamation 21, which announced the release of all persons of Japanese ancestry after a military authority carefully examined their records (Ng 97). Although this meant the end of the relocation program, people who were considered potential loyalty risks could not be immediately released. By 1945, mostly only the very young and the very old Japanese Americans, who did not have enough skills for resettlement, were left in the camps (Ng 98). Japan surrendered on August 15, 1945. The relocation program was over when the war ended.

After the end of World War II and the relocation program, Issei and Nisei attempted to move on with their lives and forget the past (Ng 110). However, Sansei, the third generation, were more interested in memorializing the relocation, which they had not experienced. Many Sansei Japanese Americans tried to force the U.S. government to acknowledge that “the evacuation and incarceration had been unjust” and argued it needed to provide “some form of financial compensation” (de Nevers 275). Perhaps because their sense of on was not as strong having been raised in the United States, Sansei sought recognition of the abuse of authority experienced by their elders.

Because of Sanseis’ efforts, President Reagan signed the Civil Liberties Act of 1988, which provided 1.25 billion dollars for individual payments of 20,000 dollars to each surviving internee (de Nevers 292). Today, the Japanese American community continues to remember what happened to their ancestors during World War II. For example, Day of Remembrance events are organized every February; the Japanese American National Museum preserves historical valuables and photographs; and memorials and monuments were built in the former relocation camps. The National Japanese American Memorial to Patriotism During World War II in Washington, D.C., is also a form of remembrance the younger generation of Japanese Americans constructed. The next section describes the process of the construction of the Memorial and the controversies about it.

Controversies over the National Japanese American Memorial

Plans for the Japanese American Memorial began to take shape under President Reagan, when in 1988 he signed a bill extending a formal apology to the internees and

granting them monetary compensation (Elvin 35). Since then, the Memorial took more than twenty years in the making (“Memorial Honors”). The Go For Broke National Veterans Association, later renamed The National Japanese American Memorial Foundation, organized the effort to secure a national memorial on federal land starting in 1988. The Foundation is a nonprofit organization dedicated to education and public awareness about the internment (NJAMF “The Memorial”). In 1992, the National Capital Commission disapproved of the original plan for the Memorial, which honored the military contributions of Japanese Americans during the war, because “the wording tended to authorize the establishment of a military memorial for a specific ethnic group” (United States, “Authorizing”).

The Commission approved the Memorial when the Foundation altered the disputed passage description to “a memorial to honor Japanese American patriotism in World War II” (United States, “Authorizing”). The Chicago Tribune reports the Memorial “originally was intended simply as a war *memorial* to the *Japanese Americans* who fought for their country during the conflict, but the scope was broadened at the insistence of Congress to include the camp internees among those honored” (“Memorial Honors” emphasis in the original).

Congress finally authorized the Go For Broke National Veterans Association to establish the Memorial in the District of Columbia in 1992, but it did not mention the specific location (United States, “Authorizing”). In 1995, Congress authorized the Foundation to construct the Memorial on the two parcels of land at the intersection of New Jersey Avenue, Louisiana Avenue, and D Street, which are government property in

Washington, D.C. (United States, “Transfer”). The space is neither a place that experienced relocation camps, nor a sacred place for Japanese Americans, but it is part of the nation’s Capital. Finally, in November 2000, the Memorial opened for public viewing (NJAMF, “Our Story”). The ownership of the Memorial was transferred to the United States Government in 2002. The National Park Service now has the responsibility to maintain the Memorial (NJAMF, “The Memorial”).

Although the Memorial is named the National Japanese American Memorial to Patriotism During World War II, the people memorialized are not only veterans but also internees of the relocation camps. The Memorial honors Japanese American soldiers who fought with “conspicuous bravery and the names of those who made the ultimate sacrifice” (NJAMF, “Japanese”). In addition, the Memorial also honors those who experienced dislocation and were held in the relocation camps during the period from 1942 to 1945 (NJAMF, “Japanese”). The Memorial embraces these two memories under the name of patriotism. This thesis will examine what the term patriotism means, and how this monument participates in those meanings, in later chapters.

Media coverage of the Memorial varies. News reports about the opening ceremony, which was held on November 9, 2000, described the Memorial positively. In its article about the dedication, The Washington Times included a letter from the Foundation. The letter said “we are proud and loyal Americans” (qtd. in Elvin 35). National Public Radio reported the opening of the Memorial and invited four Japanese Americans who experienced relocation to appear on its news show. One of the speakers stated “I was no enemy alien. I was an American” (“Profile”). The Chicago Tribune also

reported the opening of the Memorial and introduced a comment from a former internee of a relocation camp. The former internee noted: “German Americans were not interned during the war” (“Memorial Honors”). Media coverage included comments from Japanese Americans who favored the Memorial.

On the other hand, media also reported negative comments. Against the Memorial, Stephen Ambrose, an American historian who is best known for his histories of World War II (The Missouri Writers’ Page “Stephen E. Ambrose”), argues it is “a terrible idea” for three reasons in the National Review. First “none of them [Japanese Americans who were relocated by the U.S. government] were killed by deliberate acts of the government” (30). Second, monuments should be built to “honor those who have put their lives on the line for us [citizens in the U.S.]” (30). Third, if the government memorializes Japanese Americans in the nation’s capital, it should also include “African-Americans, Chinese-Americans, Spanish-speaking Americans, Native Americans, and many others” (31). It is possible to refute Ambrose’s arguments because the government infringed on Japanese Americans’ human rights and this infringement is crucial enough to be remembered; Japanese American soldiers fought on the front lines for the United States; and the relocation program targeted only Japanese Americans. However, the publication of such harsh criticism itself indicates the Memorial is controversial. The New York Times critiqued the Memorial because it “reflects a growing tendency to memorialize individual groups” and “raises questions about whether and how they should be remembered,” and it also reported “some critics say the carving of the nation into ever-thinner slices of hyphenated Americans divides rather than unites the country” (Sciolino A24). The

Washington Post introduced the Memorial in 2008 as “one of the city’s least known but most moving memorials” (O’Sullivan).

The meaning of the Memorial is thus not straightforward. Media coverage describes it both positively and negatively, and one report labeled it one of the least known memorials. Analyzing this memorial provides possible explanations of these complicated meanings. The next section introduces the method with which I choose to analyze the Memorial.

Rhetorical Criticism as a Perspective

Rhetorical criticism is an appropriate approach to analyze the National Japanese American Memorial for Patriotism during WWII. Gallagher identifies two basic approaches rhetorical critics can use to analyze cultural memory, memorials, and monuments. One “explores the processes and rituals that perpetuate the possibility of shared memory and values, within a culture” (“Remembering” 109). The second analyzes “the symbolic, architectural, and/or textual aspects of artifacts to determine the ways in which they impact both the people who come into contact with them and the larger society of which those people are members” (“Remembering” 109). Gallagher also points out that both approaches link to “the power relations in society” (“Remembering” 110). I take the second approach Gallagher identifies because analyzing the textual aspects of the Memorial may uncover the conflicting meanings of the monument, which is my focus in this thesis. Analyzing the symbolic and architectural aspects of the cranes sculpture can reveal the way it attempts to navigate Japanese pacifistic memorializing and American militaristic patriotism. Examining how the Memorial adopted both Japanese and

American ways of memorializing reveals why the Memorial embraces the two contradicting values.

The cranes sculpture and the wall are in my scope of analysis because, as Blair, Jeppeson, and Pucci rightly point out, to treat discrete parts of a memorial space as separable is to neglect a memorial's "character as culturally constituted" (272). Their text, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, contains the flagpole and Hart's statue as well as Lin's wall. Their caution not to overlook the relationship among the components of the memorial also applies to the Japanese American Memorial. The quotations, descriptions of the relocation camps, and the names of the dead on the stone walls in relation to the cranes sculpture especially help to know the multiple meanings of the Memorial.

In addition to the cranes sculpture and the stone panels, I also examine how the location of the Memorial contributes to its meaning. My purpose in this analysis is to understand how the location influences its existence as a memorial. Gallagher claims issues of location and context are central to rhetorical analyses of memorials and monuments. The location, which is the "physical and symbolic space that is both created and occupied by an artifact," becomes "a context out of which the artifact emerges and becomes meaningful and to which the artifact gives meaning" ("Remembering" 113). The placement of memorials can be read as political. For example, Blair, Jeppeson, and Pucci reveal the wall of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial points directly to the Washington Monument and the Lincoln Memorial, and it is invisible from the direction of the White House (275). Also, it does not dominate the landscape, and is not raised on a

base (274). Analyzing the location of the Japanese American Memorial is imperative to understand its rhetorical and political function.

Following these perspectives, I focus on examining what the location of the Memorial means in relationship to other war memorials, such as the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, the Korean War Veterans Memorial, and the WWII Memorial, which seem more popular than the Japanese American Memorial. I include these popular memorials in my analysis because rhetoricians need to pay attention to the ways in which evocative museums, or I can add public memorials, privilege “certain narratives and artifacts over others,” implicitly communicating “who/what is central and who/what is peripheral” (Armada 236). Comparative analysis of these memorials is effective to illustrate the features of them. For example, Gallagher analyzes two different memorials: one is the Stone Mountain Park and the other is the Martin Luther King Jr. Memorial and Center for Nonviolent Social Change, both located in Atlanta, Georgia (“Displaying” 177). She successfully describes racial identity in the King memorial contrasting with the Stone Mountain Park, which is a leisure spot for all people. Such comparative analysis can depict features of a memorial in contrast with other memorials.

The Japanese American Memorial embodies Japanese Americans’ national identity conflicts, and an examination of this conflict requires recognizing power issues. A rhetorical approach helps me understand what the meanings of the Memorial are, how these meanings are constructed through rhetorical features of the Memorial, and what kind of power relations exist behind the Memorial.

Preview of the Thesis Chapters

This study consists of six chapters. Chapter 1 has described the history of the monument. This chapter has also discussed stories of relocation camps and memories of Japanese American soldiers during WWII, which the memorial aims to celebrate. Chapter 2 reviews previous research about the rhetoric of public memorials. Through this process, I justify the use of rhetorical analysis as an appropriate method to study the Japanese American Memorial. I also develop “heuristic vocabularies” (Palczewski 388) which best describe the memorial and provide an interesting perspective for memory studies and rhetorical criticism. Chapter 3 examines the symbolic features of the Japanese American Memorial, especially focusing on the cranes sculpture and the stone walls. Analyzing the cranes sculpture and the walls reveals identity and ideology conflicts within the Memorial. Chapter 4 analyzes the materiality of the Memorial, especially focusing on its placement. Paying attention to the location sheds light on the relationship among war memorials in Washington, D.C. These two chapters lead to my other questions: can this memorial be called Japanese, American, both, or none? Chapter 5 addresses this point, analyzing Japanese pacifist values, which can be found in the Memorial, and American militaristic patriotism, which also can be found in the Memorial. This contradiction embraced by the Memorial can provide an interesting example for the rhetorical study of public memorials. Chapter 6 summarizes the thesis and discusses what this study means for the rhetorical studies of monuments, communication scholars, and U.S. society.

CHAPTER 2

PUBLIC MEMORIALS AS RHETORICAL ARTIFACTS

This chapter explains the method I selected for analyzing the Japanese American Memorial: rhetorical criticism, which seeks to understand “rhetorical processes or social trends as enacted in particular situations and by particular groups or individuals” (Berkowitz 360). Unlike other methods used in communication studies, such as quantitative or qualitative methods, rhetorical criticism does not have a set of straightforward steps for research. Berkowitz insists “the lack of rigidity in method and form” is one of the enticing aspects of rhetorical criticism (360). This thesis investigates how the rhetoric of the Memorial functions and how it creates visitors’ experiences and perceptions.

Although I use the term method, rhetorical methods are not “guarantors of objectivity” (Nothstine, Blair, and Copeland, “Professionalization” 39), but offer conceptual heuristics or vocabularies that “may invite a critic to interesting ways of reading a text” (Nothstine, Blair, and Copeland, “Professionalization” 40). Therefore, what directs my reading of the Memorial is not a systematic procedure of how to analyze the text, but a heuristic vocabulary. This chapter provides the vocabulary that directs my analysis of the Memorial in later chapters, and this development of vocabulary is a starting point of my rhetorical criticism.

The goal of rhetorical criticism is not to find objective facts or Truth, assuming there is a universal rule that can explain all human communication. Rather, rhetorical criticism seeks to understand how a text creates meaning(s) through its symbolic action,

focusing on interpretation of a text rather than finding general rules. Rhetorical criticism is appropriate when one needs to investigate questions of how, for example how a text creates a certain meaning, how it persuades audiences, how it responds to audiences or larger conversations, etc.

Rhetorical criticism is the best approach for my research because I would like to investigate are how a text, the Japanese American Memorial, remembers Japanese Americans' experiences and how its rhetoric of remembrance shapes audiences' understandings and experiences of the Memorial. My goal is neither providing facts about the Memorial nor collecting actual responses from visitors. My focus is on symbolic and material meanings of the Memorial, and in order to answer my research questions, rhetorical criticism is the most appropriate approach.

Specifically, Gallagher's detailed analysis of what a rhetorical perspective does for the study of cultural display helps explain why rhetorical criticism is a suitable way to analyze memorials. First, rhetorical analysis examines "the cultural projections of different groups that compete for public attention and approval" ("Displaying" 179). Analyzing the Japanese American Memorial with a rhetorical perspective requires focus on the group of Japanese Americans, which has been a minority population in the United States. Second, a rhetorical perspective on cultural display involves examining "both the substance of the images themselves and the formal, structural resources that audiences use to make meaning" ("Displaying" 179). I analyze cranes as a symbol for Japanese Americans and also illustrate how the sculpture itself rhetorically conveys its messages to spectators. I also analyze the stone panels and the inscribed messages, which are also

resources for visitors to understand the meanings of the Memorial. Combining these analyses may provide a better understanding of the Memorial and memory of Japanese Americans. Third, a rhetorical study of display attempts to understand “the specific means through which cultural projections come to influence specific audiences, as well as the culture at large” (“Displaying” 179). I include an analysis of how the Memorial interacts with different types of audiences, in addition to an analysis of how the Memorial interacts with U.S. national identity. Gallagher’s three points of analysis are useful for critics to find what they should look at in their criticism.

This chapter explains why memorials can be rhetorical and how the rhetoric of memorials functions in a society. My first section reviews what rhetoric is, why memorials are rhetorical, and how memorials induce people’s attitudes. My second section identifies the rhetorical functions of memorials, especially focusing on the identification with audiences, the construction of public memory, and the construction of racial identity. Through this chapter, I develop a heuristic vocabulary which will lead my analysis of the Japanese American Memorial in later chapters.

Public Memorials are Rhetorical

This section investigates why and how public memorials function as rhetoric. First, I explain what rhetoric is and why visual and material artifacts can be rhetorical. Second, I explain why public memorials are rhetorical. Third, I move to explain how memorials function as rhetoric, introducing didactic and postmodern memorials. Fourth, I identify in what ways memorials induce audiences’ attitude, distinguishing symbolic and

material rhetoric. Lastly, I emphasize the importance of examining social contexts when a critic analyzes texts, including public memorials.

Visual Images as Rhetoric

My theoretical approach to rhetoric is informed by Kenneth Burke. I analyze the Japanese American Memorial as a rhetorical artifact that directs “the attention to one field rather than to another” (Burke, On Symbols 116). Burke insists the nature of rhetoric as “addressed to audiences” and rhetoric is “the art of persuasion or a study of the means of persuasion available for any given situation,” the point at which Aristotle begins his treatise on rhetoric (On Symbols 191). Rhetoric directs people’s attention to a particular point through symbolic acts.

Although persuasion historically was limited to verbal persuasion, such as speech and debate, visual materials also function as rhetoric. Birdsell and Groarke suggest visual images can be persuasion or argumentation. They insist visuals can express meanings, and contexts are important to understand the visual meanings (5). Anthony Blair points out visual arguments are not distinct in essence from verbal arguments (38). The study of rhetoric includes the study of argument, and the concept of visual argument is an extension of rhetoric’s paradigm into a new domain (A. Blair 37). In such academic conversations, visual rhetoric has been one of the important topics for communication researchers.

Most recently, Lester Olson reviewed a history of visual rhetoric scholarship since 1950. He introduces notable scholarly works that have developed visual rhetoric studies, and the study of public memorials as rhetorical artifacts is a part of that history. In his

article, Olson introduces Burke as a person who raised several possibilities for visual rhetoric scholarship. In his Language as Symbolic Action, Burke encourages scholars to study all symbolic forms such as “mathematics, music, sculpture, painting, dance, architectural styles” (Language 28). Although he does not specifically mention visual rhetoric, studying visual artifacts is a part of studying rhetoric. Examining the cranes sculpture as a rhetorical artifact is therefore within the scope of rhetorical criticism.

Visual images provide a means to remember the past in a certain way. Zelizer suggests images are vehicles that “constitute a cogent means of tackling the past and making it work for the present” (“The Voice” 158). Therefore, critics need to investigate how visual images rhetorically function to interpret past events. Visual works always entail rhetoric, because they strategically freeze the sequencing of events at their potentially strongest moment of meaningful representation (Zelizer, “The Voice” 158). The Japanese American Memorial freezes the strongest moments: Japanese Americans’ internment camps and military contribution during World War II, and its rhetoric provides certain kinds of interpretations I explain in later chapters.

Public Memorials as Rhetoric

Memorializing is selective and interpretive, and therefore rhetorical. As Browne argues, “when remembrance is organized into acts of ritual commemoration, it becomes identifiably rhetorical, thus a means to recreate symbolically a history otherwise distant and mute” (169). Public monuments are rhetorical because they select what and who to memorialize and direct viewers’ attention to a certain way of remembering. Blair, Jeppeson, and Pucci also argue public commemorative monuments are rhetorical

products because “they select from history those events, individuals, places, and ideas that will be sacralized by a culture or polity” (263). Moreover, commemorative monuments “instruct their visitors about what is to be valued in the future as well as in the past” (Blair, Jeppeson, and Pucci 263). Therefore, public memorials, in general, are rhetorical.

Public memorials interact with not only their visitors but also with history, society, and culture. By their nature as interpretive and symbolic acts, a public commemoration is a “significant site of struggle over the nature of the past and its meaning for the present” (Mandziuk 272). Mandziuk also points out memorials “provide indexes to social values and ideologies” (273). The rhetoric of public memorials internalizes interpretations of past and present social values and ideologies. It is not just persuasion for visitors but for society. Therefore, the processes of public memory can be understood as an ideological system (Bodnar 14). Hasian adds “traditional memorials and museums were often considered to be essentially conservative forms of cultural expression” because “their primary purpose involved the preservation of widely shared memories and values” (69). Public memorials also internalize widely shared culture and values. Therefore, critics need to include analysis of cultural factors in addition to social and ideological analysis. Public memorials preserve shared memories, and their selection of what to remember and how to remember should be examined with an analysis of the society, ideologies, and culture surrounding them.

The Japanese American Memorial complicates public commemoration. It is my contention that the Japanese American Memorial preserves certain experiences with its

contradictory call for both unity and separation with the United States. Public memorials are likely to constitute unity in a community. Mandziuk argues how inquiry into public memorializing “must take into account how the strategic interplay of conflicts and identities can function to erase differences in the desire for unity and transcendence” (274). The Memorial calls for unity with Japanese Americans and other U.S. citizens through insisting Japanese Americans were/are U.S. citizens. At the same time, the Memorial also distinguishes Japanese Americans from other U.S. citizens through providing Japanese Americans’ unique experiences. Although the Memorial picked what and who are to be remembered, the selected memories were not shared among the majority of American citizens. This way of remembrance is different from typical ways of remembrance that public memorials tend to take. This does not call for unity for the United States; rather, it emphasizes differences between Japanese Americans and other U.S. citizens. The desires for both unity (by presenting identity as U.S. citizens) and separation (by presenting a unique ethnic identity) coexist within the Memorial. Chapter 3 details this analysis of conflicting identity within the Memorial.

Memorial Rhetoric, Didactic and Postmodern

Public memorials are rhetorical, but how they convey their messages is not universal. Memorials can persuade visitors through didactic rhetoric, which refers to explicit ways of presenting messages in order to educate people. Counter-monuments, on the other hand, do not employ didactic rhetoric, but seek to be critical of their own existence and the experiences they memorialize. Another type of memorial is postmodern,

which does not provide explicit messages but presents multiple, often conflicting, messages in order to invite visitors to thoughtful readings.

Traditional public memorials are didactic. National monuments traditionally employ patriotic stories, such as “the story of ennobling events, of triumphs over barbarism” which recall “the martyrdom of those who gave their lives in the struggle for national existence” (Young 270). Such monuments tend to “naturalize the values, ideals, and laws of the land itself” (Young 270). Messages such traditional monuments convey are didactic. For example, the Lincoln memorial in Washington, D.C., is “the classical pattern of a hero” and conveys the message Lincoln was “the savior” (Griswold 79). The message of the statue, which identifies Lincoln as the savior of the nation, directly reaches its visitors. The huge white statue of Lincoln sitting on the hill represents his greatness. As such, traditional public monuments encourage patriotism, and convey its messages through didactic rhetoric.

In contrast to such traditional national memorials, Young introduces the concept of the “counter-monument” in Germany. Its “self-destruction” suggests the monument itself is “a skeptical antidote to the illusion that the seeming permanence of stone somehow guarantees the permanence of a memorial idea attached it” (295). Counter-monuments do not present their messages as traditional patriotic monuments do. They deny the idea that their messages are permanent or universal values through their self-destroying process. Their focus is not on remembering the historical event accurately or calling for national unity, but on their “own physical impermanence” and “the contingency of all meaning and memory” (Young 295).

Contemporary Japanese war monuments seek a different direction from either traditional or counter-monuments. Kato analyzes the Cornerstone of Peace in Okinawa as it represents “an Okinawan sense of peace as a substantial value to the superpowers” (34). The fan-shape wall implies the sun, which “plays a powerful symbolic role” (Kato 27) in Japanese culture. The names of all the dead are inscribed on the stone walls regardless of their nationality or status. The walls and the Flame of Peace together appreciate “the peace in which we live today” and pray for “everlasting peace” (Kato 28). This memorial neither embraces patriotic stories like traditional national monuments, nor forms a self-destructive shape like German counter-monuments. However, it can be called a counter-monument because it rejects a traditional patriotic role of public monuments. It represents the Japanese post-war pacific stance, which laments all the dead and prays for eternal peace for the world.

Memorial rhetoric can also be postmodern. Blair, Jeppeson, and Pucci suggest two conditions for a postmodern monumentality based on their analysis of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. First, postmodern monuments tell “multiple stories” rather than “*the* story,” and the stories “conflict, refusing easy containment within a single account” (emphasis in the original 279). Second, they “differentiate” themselves “substantially from modernist attempts at memorializing” (279). They do not represent “a great engineering achievement, nor is its construction its message” (280). Postmodern memorials embrace contradicting stories and refuse didactic ways of memorializing.

Postmodernists suggest conflicting or contradicting interpretations themselves can represent the meaning of a memorial (Blair, Jeppeson, and Pucci 269). Therefore one

does not need to offer a single interpretation, but figures out multiple meanings.

Moreover, investigating how multiple meanings of a memorial relate to each other and what such relationships mean is necessary for further understanding of a memorial's rhetoric.

The National Japanese American Memorial to Patriotism During WWII is a national monument that embraces the features of traditional patriotic memorials and the value of Japanese post-war pacifism. It internalizes cultural, racial, social, and political power relations, which Japanese Americans have experienced. Examining the multiple meanings of the memorial, the relationship between the meanings, and the consequence of the relationships provides understanding of the Japanese American Memorial as postmodern, although it also includes didactic rhetoric. Chapter 3 provides a detailed analysis of the relationship between didactic and postmodern elements within the Memorial.

Symbolic and Material Rhetoric

In order to understand the rhetoric of the Japanese American Memorial, I examine both representations/symbolism, which focus on “what does a text mean/what are the persuader's goal” and enactments/materiality, which focus on “what does a text or artifact do/what are the consequences beyond that of the persuader's goal” (Zagacki and Gallagher 172). This section explains what symbolic and material rhetoric are, and why studying both is important.

For rhetoricians, especially those who study memorials, Carole Blair explains her insight into the materiality of rhetoric. Materiality in her argument refers to a broader

range than visual rhetoric. It includes visual elements and requires further attention to a text's physical features, such as its material, texture, and placement. Symbolic rhetoric, on the other hand, refers to use of symbols for representation. Gusfield identifies two usages of the term symbol, one is for units of language and another is for representation (40), and I employ the second one for examining public memorials, because their rhetoric is not limited to language. An example of a symbol is a flag, which represents national sentiment (Gusfield 40).

Studying materiality is important for rhetorical criticism. Blair argues previous rhetorical studies see rhetoric solely as symbolic acts. However, "to treat rhetoric as if it were exclusively or essentially symbolic or meaning-ful" is problematic because rhetoric's symbolism "cannot account for its consequence" (C. Blair 18-19). According to her, identifying the materiality of rhetoric is important because "the material aspect of rhetoric does significant work to shape the character of rhetorical experience" (C. Blair 46). Although Blair does not oppose seeing rhetoric as including symbolic actions, she cautions against regarding it as a definitive essence. In her analysis of the Civil Rights Memorial in Montgomery, Alabama, she proposes critics who take materiality into consideration can read a much different message from the memorial than critics who only focus on the symbolism of it (Blair and Michel 46). In her words; "studying symbolism alone and in the absence of materiality is inadequate to an understanding or critique of any rhetoric, it certainly is so in the case of public art" (Blair and Michel 46). I agree with the importance of materiality for studying public art, and include the analysis of materiality in addition to symbolic analysis in my study.

Blair's insight is useful when analyzing the Japanese American Memorial because it sheds light on the consequences of the Memorial's rhetoric. Understanding the meanings the Foundation and the sculptor intended to create through the Memorial is not the final goal for critics. As Blair points out, "rhetoric has material force beyond the goals, intentions, and motivations of its producers" (C. Blair 22). Therefore, it is our responsibility as rhetorical critics not just to acknowledge the materiality of rhetoric, but to try to understand it (C. Blair 22). Criticism of material rhetoric needs to examine consequences of the rhetoric. It requires critics seeing not only a text itself, but its relationships with its audiences and social discourses in its material existence. Monuments have a physical existence and that affects their symbolic meaning.

Memorials as Fragments of Contexts

Studying public memorials as rhetorical artifacts requires analyzing not only a memorial itself but also the social contexts surrounding the memorial. McGee insists "the text" as a place to begin analysis has disappeared and only "discursive fragments of context" remain (76). This suggests critics should see a rhetorical artifact not as a stand-alone text independent from social contexts, but as a fragment of social discourses interwoven into power politics, ideologies, and culture.

Following McGee's insight, I read the Japanese American Memorial as a text that is never "finished" (McGee 70) and also as a fragment of power relations in the United States. The Memorial cannot escape from politics, racism, nationalism, or any other social discourses especially because it is a national memorial located in the Capital city.

My later chapters analyze how social contexts influence the Memorial's rhetoric and meanings.

Rhetorical Functions of Memorials

Previous sections explain why and how public memorials function as rhetoric. This section moves to investigate what public memorials actually do. In other words, I explain consequences of public memorials' rhetoric. First, I discuss Burke's definition of rhetoric as identification. The design and materiality of public memorials interact with audiences, and identification is an important concept to understand such interaction. Second, I clarify what public memory means. Public memorials are constructed in order to make publics remember a particular event or events, so the concept of public memory is crucial to understand what a public memorial does for its audiences. Third, I explain why studying racial minorities is important, especially in the United States. National identity for the majority U.S. citizens always entails exclusions of others. Examining what Japanese Americans remember through the Memorial contributes to an understanding of what national identity is for the United States as a whole.

Identification

The two main aspects of rhetoric Burke mentions are "its use of *identification*" and "its nature as addressed" (On Symbols emphasis in the original 190). He explains the relationship between persuasion and identification using an example of a relationship between a speaker and an audience:

a speaker persuades an audience by the use of stylistic identifications; his [sic] act of persuasion may be for the purpose of causing the audience to identify itself with the speaker's interest; and the speaker draws on identification of interests to establish rapport between himself [sic] and his [sic] audience. (On Symbols 191)

Since such identification implies the existence of a speaker and an audience, an inherent element of rhetoric is to address an audience. Rhetorical criticism therefore needs to examine how rhetoric persuades an audience by using identification.

Although public memorials are not human speakers, they persuade audiences through their symbolic and material rhetoric. Audiences are persuaded when they find identification between themselves and a memorial. Therefore, examining how a public memorial creates identification with audiences is important in understanding the functions of memorial rhetoric.

In order to understand identification processes, it is necessary to analyze who would compose audiences. Audiences who visit a memorial are not homogenous. Especially in Washington, D.C., which is one of the most popular sightseeing spots in the United States, a variety of people come from not only the United States but also from around the world and may encounter the Japanese American Memorial. Different types of people may experience identification with the Memorial in different ways, and such multiple identifications create multiple meanings of the Memorial. My later chapters include analysis of how different audiences interact with the Memorial differently.

Public Memory

Memorials for a historical event and/or people are one means of constituting public memory. Phillips distinguishes history and memory as opposing ways of recalling the past. According to him, history is viewed as “implying a singular and authentic account of the past” (2). Memory, on the other hand, is conceived “in terms of multiple, diverse, mutable, and competing accounts of past events” (2). This section investigates

how public memorials construct public memory, which is interpretive depending on social and cultural contexts.

Collective memory, which is “intermittently used with the terms social memory, popular memory, public memory, and cultural memory” (Zelizer, “Reading” 214) refers to “recollections that are instantiated beyond the individual by and for the collective” (Zelizer, “Reading” 214). In collective memory, remembering “becomes implicated in a range of other activities having as much to do with identity formation, power and authority, cultural norms, and social interaction as with the simple act of recall” (Zelizer, “Reading” 214). Therefore, critics need to discern collective memory as “social, cultural, and political action” (Zelizer, “Reading” 214).

Collective memory has textures and exists in the world rather than in a person’s head (Zelizer, “Reading” 232). Irwin-Zarecka defines collective memory as “a set of ideas, images, feelings about the past” which is “best located not in the minds of individuals, but in the resources they share” (4). Memorials are a shared resource. In order to understand memory materials or events, critics need to understand they are results of power relations. As Zelizer notes, “‘national memories’ were far from national but were instead the fruits of labors on the part of the aristocracy, monarchy, clergy, intelligentsia and upper-middle classes” (“Reading” 231). Although rhetorical criticism tends to study objects, recognizing cultural, social, and political power woven in the objects is imperative, because a memorial is a fragment of social contexts, as McGee suggests.

Although Zelizer uses the terms social memory, public memory, and collective memory interchangeably, Casey distinguishes public memory from the others. Social memory is “the memory held in common by those who are affiliated either by kinship ties, by geographical proximity in neighborhoods, cities, and other regions, or by engagement in a common project” (Casey 21). Collective memory is “the circumstance in which different persons, not necessarily known to each other at all, nevertheless recall the same event,” therefore it has no basis like shared history, place, or project but is “*distributed* over a given population or set of places” (Casey, emphasis in the original 23). Public memory, on the other hand, is “attached to a past” and “acts to ensure a future of further remembering of that same event” (Casey 17). Also, it is “constituted from within a particular historical circumstance, usually a crisis of some sort” (Casey 26). Casey explains individual and social memory as “the two inner circles” of public memory, and collective memory is “its outer perimeter” (25). I prefer to use the term public memory to refer to the memory the Japanese American Memorial constructs. Memory of Japanese Americans’ internment camps and military contributions are shared within people who visit the Memorial. The memorialized events are historical crises, and memorializing these experiences ensures a future remembering of the events.

Casey identifies five requirements for public memory. First, public memory requires public space. Public memory occurs “only when people meet and interact in a single scene of interaction” (Casey 32). Second, public memory requires public presence. In a space “human bodies can come into proximity” (Casey 33), public memory is constructed as in memorial locations. Third, public memory requires public discussion. A

place for public memory “encourages direct communication between those who have come together” (Casey 33) as when people deliberate about what to include in a memorial. Fourth, public memory needs to be a common topic among people who gather in a given place (Casey 35) as in the memorial to World War II, of which I provide a detailed explanation in Chapter 5. Fifth, public memory needs to engage in commemoration, which is remembered together among people who gather (Casey 35) as when memorials are commemorative acts. All of the five apply to the Japanese American Memorial, which provides a public space for gathering and communication. It also provides common topics, the internment and military contribution of Japanese Americans, and commemorates these experiences.

Remembering a Minority Group in the United States

Focusing on racial issues is especially important when critics analyze U.S. culture and identity. Public monuments are devices to construct racial identity, more to say, racial ideology (Graves 220-221). It is only in the last decade that there has been an increase in scholarly attention devoted to identifying and analyzing the “symbols and patterns that characterize attitudes toward race and difference in American culture” (Graves 215-217). Blair also argues “rhetoric enables some actions and prohibits or at least discourages others; it promotes particular modes of identity and not others” (C. Blair 23). Examining what type(s) of identity the Japanese American Memorial encourages is therefore necessary for understanding the functions of the Memorial’s rhetoric.

Japanese Americans, who constitute a part of American culture, have played a unique role in the construction of a national identity for citizens of the United States.

West's insight into racial issues in the United States is helpful to understand why a racial minority's identity impacts the entire national identity, although he only discusses

African Americans:

To engage in a serious discussion of race in America, we must begin not with the problem of black people but the flaws of American society---flaws rooted in historic inequalities and longstanding cultural stereotypes. How we set up the term for discussing racial issues shapes our perception and response to these issues. (3)

Discussing race in the United States entails historic inequalities and cultural stereotypes, and these are issues not only for racial minorities but for the entire U.S. society.

Minorities become minorities only when majorities exist, and this relationship between racial minorities and the U.S. society applies to Japanese Americans' situation.

As the history of internment suggests, the U.S. government regarded Japanese Americans as potential enemies, or Others who are not citizens of the country even though most of them were legally U.S. citizens. This complicates the issue of what U.S. national identity means as a nation of immigrants. For the U.S. government at that time, national or racial origin was far more important than legal nationality to determine who should be considered as U.S. citizens. Therefore, analyzing Japanese Americans' cultural artifacts can deepen not only understanding of their identity construction, but also understanding of the entire U.S. national identity construction. Identifying what was required for Japanese Americans to be regarded as citizens of the United States can help to reveal what elements constitute the U.S. national identity.

Implications for Analysis Chapters

This chapter reviewed previous research on rhetoric and public memorials. Through reviewing the research, I developed vocabularies which will help configure the Japanese American Memorial and its rhetoric. Public memorials are rhetorical in general, but forms of rhetoric vary. I introduced didactic memorials, counter-monuments, and postmodern memorials. Later chapters provide a detailed analysis of the Japanese American Memorial as a postmodern but didactic memorial. Public memorials create rhetorical experiences of visitors through symbolic and material rhetoric. Chapter 3 investigates symbolic representations, focusing on the cranes sculpture and the inscribed messages. Chapter 4 analyzes materiality, focusing on the placement of the Memorial. All analysis chapters assume the Memorial is a fragment of social contexts and includes analysis of power politics behind the Memorial.

Regarding public memorials as a form of rhetoric, I include identification between the Memorial and different types of visitors. My analysis chapters reveal visitors to the Memorial are not homogenous, and even within the Japanese American community people's impressions for the Memorial may not be universal. My analysis presupposes audiences of the Memorial visit the physical space in Washington, D.C.. Therefore, public memory is an appropriate term to explain how this public space engages visitors to share a particular memory. Recognizing Japanese Americans as racial minorities in the United States helps to explain why memorializing this small group of citizens is important for U.S. national identity. Chapter 5 analyzes the national ideology conflict within the Memorial, identifying Japanese Americans' social position in the United States.

CHAPTER 3

CONFLICTING NATIONAL IDENTITIES WITHIN THE MEMORIAL

This chapter examines the symbolic representations of the Japanese American Memorial. Analyzing symbolic representations is important because a visitor's experiences of the Memorial are often constructed through "visual imagery or other nondiscursive symbols" (Foss, "Theory" 143). In order to understand and articulate such experiences, one needs to pay attention to symbols (Foss "Theory" 143).

This chapter focuses on the cranes sculpture as a symbol. Cranes are a symbol commonly used in Japanese culture, and the cranes sculpture contains multiple meanings, including the intended meaning and alternative meanings. The intended meaning refers to a meaning the creators of the Memorial intended to attach on the Memorial. In contrast, the alternative meaning refers to a meaning that is beyond the creators' intent, yet can still materially affect audiences. This alternative meaning does not necessarily counter or exclude the intended meaning; both of them can coexist within the Memorial. The Memorial consists not only of the cranes sculpture, but also of the stone walls on which messages are inscribed, the reflecting pool, and the bell. This chapter also examines how the combination of Japanese symbols and other artifacts create the intended and the alternative meanings of the Memorial.

First, I focus on the main artifact, the cranes sculpture. Cranes are a traditionally popular symbol of happiness for Japanese people. I reveal how this symbol represents Japanese Americans' identity as of Japanese descent. Second, I examine the stone walls and the messages inscribed on them. My analysis suggests the Memorial represents

Japanese Americans' identity as U.S. citizens. Third, I move to the memory of the internment camps the Memorial intends to memorialize. The act of remembering the internment camps suggests Japanese Americans were/are U.S. citizens, but their citizenship was denied by the U.S. government. Such complicated meanings of the Memorial suggest the Japanese American Memorial is both didactic in intent and postmodern in effect.

The Cranes as a Japanese Symbol

When a visitor enters the Japanese American Memorial from the west entrance, the first thing he or she faces is the cranes sculpture. On the top of a 10-foot tall stone pillar, two bronze cranes are sitting with their wings open. The cranes are about 4 feet tall. Their wings are precisely engraved, so viewers can see details of each feather. Barbed wire, which seems to represent Japanese Americans' internment experiences, is tightening up the cranes. One of the cranes is looking up to the east, holding an end of the barbed wire in its beak. The other is looking down to the west, also holding another end of the barbed wire in its beak. The cranes sculpture stands in the center of the stone panels on which are inscribed the ten names of the relocation camps and the numbers of the internees in each camp.

The intended meanings of the cranes sculpture are freedom for all people, happiness, longevity, and patriotism of Japanese American community. The Foundation explains their intended symbolic meaning of the cranes sculpture on their website for the Japanese American Memorial. The height of 14 feet, which is visible above the confines of the Memorial wall, symbolizes "rising beyond limitations" (NJAMF "Japanese"). The

mirror image position of the two bronze cranes represents “the duality of the universe” (NJAMF “Japanese”). Their bodies are nestled side-by-side, and they symbolize “both individual effort and communal support, emphasizing interdependency” (NJAMF “Japanese”). The cranes each grasp a strand of barbed wire in their beaks, and this represents “an attempt to break free” of the barbed wire that circled the camps (NJAMF “Japanese”). As a whole, the monument is meant to present “the Japanese American experience as a symbol for all peoples” (NJAMF “Japanese”). Although the Foundation precisely describes what they intended the meaning of the Memorial to be, the Foundation does not mention why it selected cranes as a motif for their main sculpture.

Although the Foundation does not provide reasons why they selected cranes as the Memorial’s central motif, the sculptor offers several reasons why the cranes were selected. Nina A. Akamu, who is a third-generation Japanese American sculptor who lost a grandfather to the camps, explains on her website: “the Japanese crane has been widely depicted in Asian art and literature, representing happiness and longevity” (Akamu, “The National”). In the Chinese tradition, the crane is a common symbol of longevity. As the Chinese culture gradually came to influence Japan, the Japanese people accepted the idea and modified it to be an emblem of joy (Johnsgard 73). Since the ninth century, cranes have been regarded as a symbol of happiness and used in marriage ceremonies (Johnsgard 73). As a result, the cranes in Japanese culture signify happiness and long-life.

The sculptor Akamu uses the cranes based on this tradition; thus, the intended meaning of the sculpture is happiness and longevity. However, she also takes a different perspective. Patton introduces an interview with Akamu, saying the cranes sculpture

stands as “a symbol of unity, strength, vigilance, and hope---a symbolic treatment to the spirit and patriotism of the Japanese-American community” (14). The link between the idea of happiness and longevity and the memory of internment camps and military service is hard to see. Rather, they seem to contradict each other. The memory of exclusion is the opposite of happiness. However, this contradiction is the sculptor’s intention. National Public Radio introduces her comment on the sculpture by explaining how she “reversed the traditional meaning of cranes in Japanese culture---they signify happiness and long life---to evoke the suffering and confinement of her people in the war” (“Profile”). Therefore, the intended meaning of the sculpture is “happiness and auspiciousness” (“Profile”) embracing patriotism and the bitter memory of the war and internment camps. The cranes as happiness are constrained by the barbed wire of the camps.

Although cranes are a traditional Japanese art symbol and the sculpture refers to the particular community’s experience, Akamu insists that the cranes sculpture strains for freedom for all kinds of people. Its “symbolic impact frees it from the confines of a specifically ethnic-bound life experience,” and it encourages “the inclusion of each individual, society, and humanity as a whole” (Akamu, “The National”). Therefore, the intended meaning of the cranes sculpture, which symbolizes Japanese American’s experiences during the war, is hope for freedom of all people.

Understanding cranes as a symbol for happiness, long-life, patriotism, and freedom for all is the intended meaning, one interpretation of the sculpture. However, an analysis of the monument is not complete with only understanding the creators’ intended

meaning. Although the intended meaning is a possible interpretation of the sculpture, alternative meanings also are possible depending on visitors, and these alternative interpretations are equally crucial for understanding the meanings of the Memorial. Foss clarifies the actual art object is not merely the end result of an initial purpose and creators' intention ("Ambiguity" 329). Meanings of an art object result "only from a viewer's creation of an interpretation of the visual object" (Foss, "Ambiguity" 330). Media studies also recognize agency of audiences as critical decoders of texts. Hall argues although viewers can accept and reproduce a "preferred reading," a reading of a text based on the dominant cultural code, they do not automatically adopt it. How to read a text relies not only on its creator but on readers' social situations. Condit proposes a more critical way of reading, insisting that audiences' responses are "polyvalent." Polyvalence occurs when "audience members share understanding of the denotations of a text but disagree about the valuation of those denotations to such a degree that they produce notably different interpretation" (Condit 497). Therefore, analyzing how the Memorial might interact with different types of viewers beyond the creators' intention and examining possible alternative meanings are crucial for understanding the rhetorical functions of the Memorial.

Although cranes are a symbol of happiness and long life in Japanese culture, Japanese people also use cranes as a symbol in the tradition of folding paper cranes for good luck. In wartime, friends and relatives of soldiers departing for the front used to make one thousand paper cranes as a good luck wish (Savige 67). This tradition of one thousand paper cranes also is used as a wish for prosperity or good health. Cranes are

given at weddings and to the gravely ill (Marcum). Most people who have grown up in Japan know how to fold paper cranes. The cranes are a symbol with which Japanese people are familiar in their daily lives.

Although paper cranes are a symbol for eternal peace in Japanese culture, the Foundation and the sculptor do not mention such representation. Interpreting the cranes sculpture as a symbol for eternal peace is not their intended meaning. However, the interpretation of the sculpture as a symbol of peace is also possible. I argue the cranes sculpture represents a Japanese way of remembering the war, and this interpretation can be an alternative meaning beyond the creators' intent.

I would like to remind readers of my thesis that my analysis of the Japanese American Memorial itself is rhetorical. My own identity and social position influence my analysis. As Nothstine, Blair, and Copeland argue, "to act as a critic is to act from a particular stance that is constructed socially" ("Invention" 4). My perspective is embedded in my identity as a graduate student studying communication in the United States and a Japanese citizen who was born more than forty years after the end of World War II. My interpretation of the cranes sculpture as a symbol of a wish for an eternal peace deeply connects with my own primary education in Japanese schools. Through stories in textbooks for Japanese language, history classes, assigned books, and fieldtrips, my understanding of World War II and Japan as a civilian victim rather than an aggressive invader had been shaped, and paper cranes were often used in a context of memorializing the war. The connection between the cranes and peace is familiar to me,

but may not be to non-Japanese visitors. My analysis is not the single, most desirable interpretation of the Memorial, but provides an alternative meaning of the Memorial.

More than just a simple wish for personal happiness and longevity, paper cranes symbolize a wish for eternal peace in Japan, peace being a condition for happiness and longevity. This is especially true when cranes are used in contexts of remembering World War II. When the memorial building was raised in 1955 in Nagasaki at the central location of the atomic bomb blast that devastated that city, children in Japan folded vast numbers of paper cranes, and these cranes occupy most of one room in the building (Savige 67-68). In such a way, since World War II, paper cranes have actually been used as a symbol of peace in Japan. Cranes in the context of the war function as a medium of constructing public memory, which remember the war as devastating and not to be repeated from civilian victims' perspective. This link between cranes and peace was solidified with the story of Sadako.

The most famous monument embedding paper cranes into war memory is the Children's Peace Memorial in Hiroshima, the city where the first atomic bomb brought the most devastating suffering to non-combatants. This memorial was dedicated in 1958 to Sadako, who was two years old at the time of the bombing and died when she was a twenty-year-old girl in 1955 of leukemia, an after-effect of the bomb's radiation. Believing the Japanese tale that she could make a wish come true if she folded more than a thousand paper cranes, she continued to fold cranes to the day she died (Yurita and Dornan 230). The sculpture of Sadako as a little girl is put at the center of the memorial. This Sadako sculpture lifts up a large paper crane with both of her arms. A number of

paper cranes sent from schools around Japan are displayed around the sculpture.

Although the memorial features Sadako's story, it is named for all the children who died in the war (Yurita and Dornan 231).

The combination of paper cranes and the Sadako sculpture in this memorial constructs public memory, which recognizes the bomb as inhumane when it took the life of an innocent child. The innocence of Sadako induces identification between her and audiences. They might internalize her pain and her wish because she was innocent and did not deserve to be killed, same as visitors to the memorial. The Children's Peace Memorial and Sadako's story are well known among Japanese people. Picture books about Sadako have been published repeatedly, and Hiroshima is one of the most popular sites for school trips.

Becoming the world's first victims of atomic bombs used as weapons in wartime constitutes part of Japanese people's national identity. Although the Japanese military actively invaded other Asian countries during World War II, discourses surrounding the nation's war memory tend to emphasize Japanese experiences as innocent civilian victims, and atomic bombs are the most shocking event in that memory. Discourses surrounding the use of nuclear weapons around the world also reflect a Japanese way of memorializing. The Japanese government insists that the world should pursue a nuclear weapons free world, and since World War II, the government has maintained its commitment to being nuclear weapons free by committing itself to nonpossession, nonproduction, and nonintroduction of nuclear weapons. This commitment to non-nuclear status is deeply influenced by the experience of having had atomic bombs

dropped on two of its cities and the national identity as the first wartime victims of the devastating power of nuclear weapons.

Given how paper cranes symbolically function in Japanese post-World War II society, it is my contention that the cranes sculpture at the Japanese American Memorial not only symbolizes the intended meaning of happiness, long life, patriotism, and freedom, but also the alternative meaning of the wish for eternal peace. As the tradition of folding paper cranes makes clear, generally the cranes are a familiar motif for good luck among Japanese people, but the cranes in the contexts of war memory specifically signify a wish for peace. Although cranes are used for artifacts in other cultures or other contexts, the cranes sculpture for a Japanese World War II memory correlates with the Japanese way of memorializing the war using a motif of cranes.

As Sadako's story represents, memorializing the war in Japanese society always calls for recognition of the perspective of innocent victims and a wish for peace not only for Japanese but for people around the world. Visitors, especially those who have background knowledge about Japanese history and the paper cranes tradition, can understand the cranes sculpture as a part of a Japanese way of memorializing the war. The wish is not just for happiness and freedom, but for peace.

The Stone Walls and Identity as U.S. Citizens

The messages on the stone walls forming the perimeter of the Japanese American Memorial intend to emphasize the importance of democracy, freedom, and justice, which all present Japanese Americans' identity as U.S. citizens. Each panel of the Memorial has its own role. On the west side of the Memorial, the ten stone panels form a circled space,

and the cranes sculpture stands at the center of the circle. Each stone panel surrounding the cranes sculpture is about 7 feet tall, which is half as tall as the sculpture. The ten stone panels each name the place of the camps and the number of internees at each camp. The south part of the circled space opens for an entrance. Other than the ten names of camps, three stone panels complete the circled space. Three stone panels give background on the internment camps, the 442nd regimental combat team, and the 1988 U.S. government apology for the exclusion policy during the war.

On the east side of the Memorial, the reflecting pool is located on the east side of the sculpture. North of the reflecting pool, the stone wall with ten panels, three for the names of the war dead and seven for the messages, stands facing the reflecting pool. The seven panels convey messages from Japanese American veterans and Senators. At the center of these messages, three panels are inscribed with the names of the Japanese Americans who died during their military service in the war. The messages from veterans on the stone panels especially signify Japanese Americans' identity as U.S. citizens. I examine all seven messages in order and identify general themes behind them.

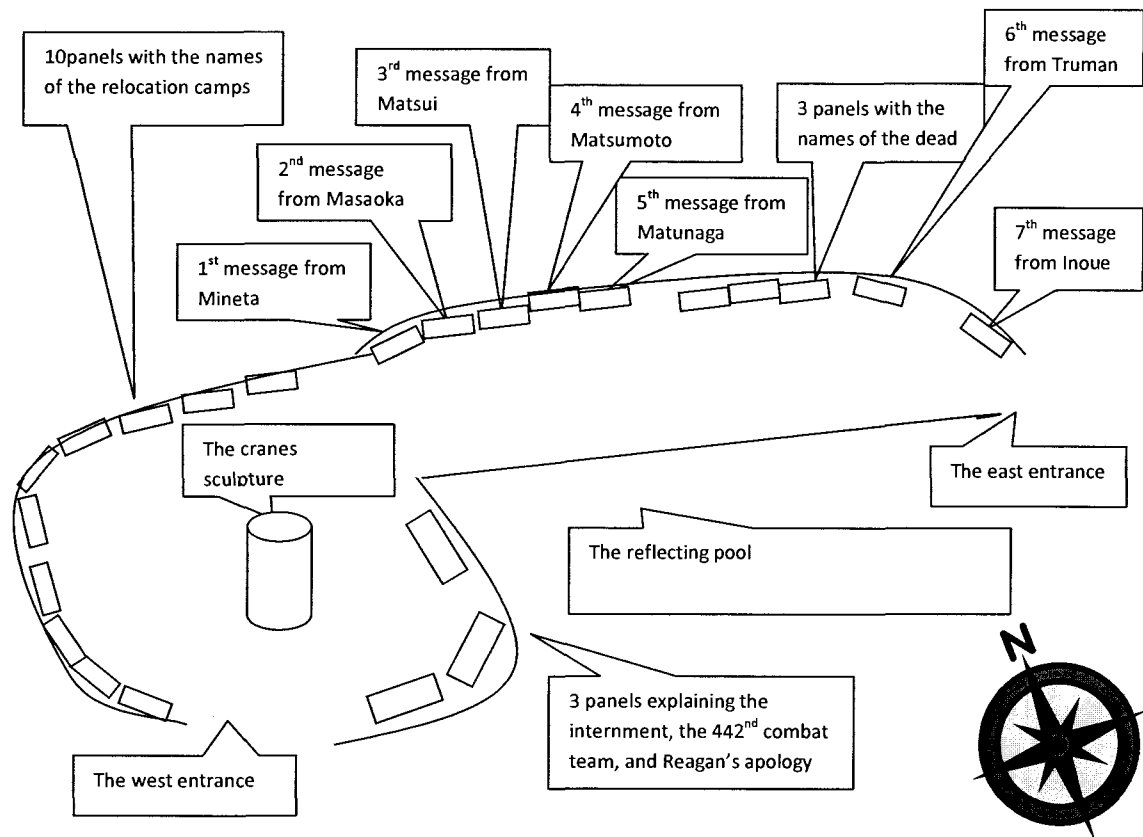


Figure 2. Diagram of the National Japanese American Memorial for Patriotism During World War II.
 Drawn by Kaori Yamada

The message inscribed on the first message panel is by Norman Y. Mineta, who was a U.S. Congressperson. It reads: “May this Memorial be a tribute to the indomitable spirit of a citizenry in World War II who remained steadfast in their faith in our democratic system.” Mineta, a second generation Japanese American who experienced the internment, describes democracy as “our” system. Audiences can easily decode his

intent to identify himself as a U.S. citizen. The message celebrates Japanese Americans' loyalty for the U.S. democracy during the war. It also intends to imply that even though democracy faltered momentarily with the camps, Japanese Americans knew the system would correct itself and restore their full democratic citizenship.

The message on the second panel is from Mike Masaoka, a staff sergeant of the 442nd regimental combat team. It says: "I am proud that I am an American of Japanese ancestry." This sentence shows that he understands himself first as an American. The message continues: "I believe in this nation's institutions, ideals and traditions. I glory in her heritage. I boast of her history. I trust in her future." As a U.S. citizen, he honors American ideals and traditions. This message intends to position him as more American than Japanese.

The message on the third panel is from Robert Matsui, a former internee in Tule Lake camp, and it says: "Our actions in passing the civil liberties act of 1988 are essential for giving credibility to our constitutional system and reinforcing our tradition of justice." The use of the word "our" reveals that he is a part of the United States. The civil liberties act in which the U.S. government officially apologized for the internment camps as a wrong policy was "our action." This message intends to reinforce Japanese Americans' identity as U.S. citizens and proves Mineta's statement. Japanese Americans' faith in the system was justified.

The message on the fourth panel is from Akemi Matsumoto Ehrlich. It reads: "Japanese by blood. Hearts and minds American. With honor unbowed. Bore the sting of injustice. For future generations." This message clearly illustrates Japanese Americans'

national identity the Memorial intends to mean. Although they are Japanese by blood, they have American spirits. It also emphasizes honor and justice as their/American values. The intended message is Japanese Americans' honor for the country.

The message on the fifth panel insists democracy and equality are American values. A message from Spark Matsunaga, a former captain of the 100th infantry battalion, reads: "We believed a threat to this nation's democracy was a threat to the American dream and to all free peoples of the world." The word "a threat" here can read both as a threat of German and Japanese imperialism during the war and a threat of the internment at that time. Either way, democracy is a crucial U.S. value. German and Japanese military attacks against the United States were a threat to U.S. values. The exclusion of Japanese Americans was a threat because it violates the U.S. way of democracy and equality. This message intends to center the U.S. ideals.

The message on the sixth panel is different from the others, because it is not from a Japanese American but from President Harry Truman. It says: "You fought not only the enemy but you fought prejudice---and you won. Keep up that fight and we will continue to win to make this great republic stand for what the Constitution says it stands for the welfare of all of the people all of the time." This message intends to celebrate Japanese Americans' fight against discrimination in their own country. It includes Japanese Americans into the United States saying "we" will continue to win. This "we" seems to refer to U.S. citizens including the President, Japanese Americans, and other U.S. citizens considering the relation with the former sentence.

The message on the seventh panel is from Daniel Inoue, a former captain of the 442nd regimental combat team who has been a U.S. Senator since 1963. It reads: “The lessons learned must remain as a grave reminder of what we must not allow to happen again to any group.” This message reminds visitors of one of the intended meanings of the cranes sculpture. The Memorial remembers Japanese Americans’ experience and represents hope for freedom of all people.

These messages describe Japanese Americans’ national identity as U.S. citizens. The concept of democracy, which appears in the first and fifth inscribed messages, is definitive of U.S. identity. The democracy the messages celebrate is an American ideal. Justice and freedom for all also is part of U.S. identity, which appear on the third, fourth, fifth, and sixth messages. Calabrese describes American democratic ideals as “the mythology of American individual freedom” (62). Moreover, Beasley argues based on Lipset that the American Creed can be described as “liberty, egalitarianism, individualism, populism, and laissez-faire” and they are ideographs which are culturally biased abstract words (173). Kemmelmeier and Winter also point out “liberty and freedom constitute dominant themes in American national identity, where American history is often viewed as a struggle to attain and defend freedom, or where the American military is viewed as guarantor of this freedom” (861). Freedom is one ideal that constitutes U.S. national identity, and the messages in the Memorial intend to celebrate it as Japanese Americans’ value.

Although this reading of the messages on the wall reveals how the Japanese American Memorial intends to emphasize Japanese Americans’ identity as U.S. citizens,

the relationship between national identity and citizenship for Japanese Americans is far more complicated than that of U.S. citizens of European descent (Germans and Italians, for example, did not face universal internment as Japanese Americans did during the war). Even though young Japanese Americans at the time of the war willingly contributed to military service as U.S. citizens, they were not allowed to join the same combat teams with other U.S. soldiers. They belonged to segregated, all Japanese units. They fought for the nation and they identified themselves as U.S. citizens, but the government regarded them as outsiders or potential enemies living in the United States. As the messages on the panels make clear, Japanese Americans at the time of the war understood themselves as U.S. citizens. However, the U.S. government denied their citizenship through the relocation policy, although it eventually admitted its failure. Japanese Americans were U.S. citizens, but they were excluded from the U.S. mainstream at that time. These experiences complicate Japanese Americans' national identity. From their perspective, they were U.S. citizens; however, from the government's perspective, they were outsiders.

Such complexity of Japanese Americans' identity can explain why the names of the dead are put in the middle of the seven messages, which present Japanese Americans' identity as U.S. citizens and celebrate U.S. ideal values such as democracy and liberty. This centered position of the dead may intend to suggest the Memorial honors them as a representation of Japanese Americans' identity and their citizenship. They sacrificed their lives in order to protect the nation's ideals, democracy and freedom, even though the U.S. government restricted their own freedom. The sixth message from Truman is put next to the names of the dead, and it may intend to mean their patriotic contributions, which were

not well recognized during the wartime, are finally recognized by the President of the nation. The inscribed names honor the dead as U.S. citizens, rather than as of Japanese descent.

The messages on the stone panels seem to intend to celebrate democracy and freedom, but it is the nation's democracy and freedom, not a people's. The panels describe internment as an injustice and a threat not because that policy was morally wrong, but because it was against U.S. basic values. The panels describe the internment as a violation of the nation's most basic values, as a violation of itself, rather than as a violation of Japanese Americans' rights. Removal of Japanese Americans obviously violated the American ideal of individual freedom. However, the messages did not describe how Japanese Americans suffered through their internment or military service. Instead, the panels focus on the relocation as a violation of American principles, not of the Japanese Americans basic human rights. The damage to the country's ideals is focused on more, is more important, than the damage to the individual citizens of Japanese descent. The damage to the nation as a whole, not just to one ethnic subgroup, is the emphasized theme.

Identity Conflicts within the Memorial

The Japanese American Memorial is a rhetorical artifact that internalizes Japanese Americans' identity conflicts. The cranes sculpture represents their identity as of Japanese origin by using cranes, a very Japanese cultural symbol, as its motif. The messages on the stone walls represent their identity as U.S. citizens, enacted through their participation in martial activities. At the same time, their experiences of the internment

camps and segregated combat teams reveal how Japanese Americans were regarded as outsiders living in the United States. All of these interpretations of the monument are possible, and it would be unproductive to try and determine which of these interpretations is most prominent. The reality is that Japanese Americans' identity during World War II was complicated and fraught. Thus, I propose an alternative meaning of the Memorial considering such complexity. Even if not the intended meaning, the identity conflicts enacted within the Memorial signify the complexity of Japanese Americans' national identities. During World War II, they were legally U.S. citizens and they were proud of being U.S. citizens, even though the government denied their civil rights because of their ethnic origin, but they were also proud of the Japanese culture their ancestors brought into the U.S.

My analysis of the inscribed messages reveals the intended meanings of the Memorial; the Memorial presents Japanese Americans' identity and U.S. values as ideal. However, this is not enough for rhetorical criticism of this memorial, because although such an interpretation sees what the Memorial presents and intends to mean, it does not see what the Memorial does not represent. Examining what is not there is also crucial for analysis because absence of some perspectives directs viewers' attention to a perspective that is highlighted as the only perspective. As I explained in Chapter 2, public memorials are rhetorical. They select what to remember and what not to remember. Therefore, analyzing what does not exist in the Memorial reveals what is not to be remembered and provides alternative meanings of the Memorial's rhetoric.

Although the Japanese American Memorial makes present Japanese Americans' experiences during the war to visitors, not all members of the Japanese American community agree with the design of the Memorial. The website of the Japanese American Voice proposes the Memorial reflects only a certain point of view of the community, and especially opposes the content of the inscribed messages. They argue the Memorial does not include "the resisters, the objectors, the 'no-no's,' the strikers, and those who fought against the camps in the courts" even though they are also part of Japanese Americans' legacy (Japanese American Voice "A Japanese"). Such exclusion of Japanese American resisters is one part of the Memorial's rhetoric. This contributes to the reproduction of the Japanese Americans' image as accepting authoritative orders. Absence of resistance also helps visitors see the internees as passive victims of the relocation.

Such stereotypical images of Japanese Americans as passive victims reproduces the government's policy during the war, regarding Japanese Americans as outsiders, or Others, who are different from the majority of U.S. citizens. As history of Civil Rights movements and the woman suffrage movements clarify, resistance against discriminatory policies is one of the U.S. values. Some Japanese Americans took action against the discriminatory removal just as other U.S. citizens had done, but their resistance was absent from the Memorial. Although the Memorial honors Japanese Americans as U.S. citizens, the absence of resistance puts them into the realm of people of Japanese descent who are different from other U.S. citizens.

In addition to the exclusion of resisters, the Japanese American Voice also opposes the inclusion of "a modified 'quotation' taken from Mike Masaoka's 'Japanese

American Creed,” because he was a national secretary [of the Japanese American Citizens League] who supported the internment saying Japanese Americans “would go willingly when called upon to make this ‘sacrifice’” (Japanese America Voice “Introduction”). This inclusion of Masaoka’s message also suggests the Memorial enforces the image of Japanese Americans as passive followers.

Although the Japanese American Voice insisted on the inclusion of resisters and the exclusion of Masaoka’s message, they claim both the National Japanese American Memorial Foundation and National Park Service did not listen to them. That means the Memorial is a result of power politics between the Foundation and part of the Japanese American community. As McGee suggests, the Memorial is a fragment of social contexts.

Although the Memorial is dedicated to the memory of Japanese Americans, they are not a united racial group. As this case of opposition from a Japanese American group suggests, not all members of the community agree with this memorial. For Japanese Americans who agree with criticism of the Memorial, the interpretations and meanings of the Memorial must be different from those who agree with the Memorial’s design. The Memorial might be a site they feel frustrated by because of the biased representation of their community’s experiences.

Differences in degrees of assimilation into U.S. culture between the generations also complicate Japanese Americans’ national identity as symbolized by the Memorial. The Memorial may reflect the intent of Sansei, the third generation, most because they were eager to the Memorial’s construction and realized it. Most Issei, the first generation, had finished their life at the time of the Memorial dedication. For Nisei, the second

generation (born in the United States to immigrant parents) who experienced wartime, the Memorial might be a site which reminds them of bitter experiences. For Sansei, the third generation who did not experience internment and military service during the war, the Memorial might be a site capable of reminding them of their origins and helping constitute their identity as Japanese Americans. They were born in the U.S. and live as U.S. citizens; therefore memorializing their community's unique experiences might be an important opportunity for rethinking their origin. For Yonsei, the fourth generation, and future generations of Japanese Americans, the Memorial might be a site to learn of their ancestor's experience and rethink their identity as Japanese Americans.

As my above analysis clarifies, Japanese Americans are not a monolithic racial group. Each Japanese American visitor can attach multiple meanings, both intended and alternative, to the Memorial. Public memorials are places to construct public memory, and the Japanese American Memorial provides memory of the internment and military service of Japanese Americans during World War II as the experiences that should be shared with visitors. That means the Memorial succeeds in presenting these experiences as the public memory that should be shared with all visitors.

Like other public monuments, the Japanese American Memorial selects what should be remembered and what is not, and this selection is a result of power politics and discourse surrounding the Memorial. The criticism of the Memorial's design by a group of Japanese Americans suggests memorializing something or someone cannot escape from forgetting others. Even in the Japanese American community, which is regarded as a model minority group in the United States, voices from people in power (in this case,

the Foundation) tend to be reflected more than voices from people who are not in authoritative positions. The oppositional voice was silenced.

Interpretations of the Memorial might also differ among visitors who are not Japanese Americans. People in the United States might see it as a reminder of their nation's misguided policy. Post 9/11 U.S. society tends to see people with Arabic or Muslim appearance as outsiders or potential terrorists. In such a circumstance, remembering Japanese Americans' experiences can be a useful lesson for them and other U.S. citizens. On the other hand, it might be possible for U.S. citizens to insist Arab Americans can prove their loyalty by fighting in a war against Muslims and Arabs, just as Japanese Americans fought against the Japanese allies. For Arab Americans, remembering the internment helps predict potential discriminatory policies the U.S. government might take. For other U.S. citizens, the internment is a lesson that their government can violate its fundamental principles: freedom for all people. They should be aware of their discriminatory attitudes. During World War II, the U.S. government regarded Japanese Americans as potential threats regardless of their loyalty. The same thing can happen to Arab Americans, but it should be avoided. Remembering Japanese Americans' experience can discourage racially discriminatory policies.

Visitors from Japan might see the Memorial as an educational site to know Japanese Americans' experiences, which are rarely told in Japanese history education. How history textbooks describe Japan's imperialism and militarism in war time always becomes a controversy in Japan and the countries Japan invaded, but stories of Japanese immigrants around the world do not become an issue and do not appear in history

textbooks. The Memorial located in Washington, D.C., one of the popular sightseeing places, can provide an opportunity for Japanese tourists to learn about Japanese emigrants.

Visitors from other countries might see the Memorial as a part of U.S. history and culture. The internment is not a famous part of U.S. history. The Memorial can be an introduction to a darker side of U.S. history which most of them may not have known. All of these arguments, however, assume people actually visit the Memorial; but the location of the Memorial makes it less likely. My next chapter discusses how the placement of the Memorial creates, or does not create, visitors' experiences.

As discussed above, audiences play an important role in understanding meanings of the Japanese American Memorial. The Foundation or the sculptor cannot absolutely direct interpretations of the Memorial in a certain way. Interpretations of the symbolic representations rely on audiences. They can create alternative meanings from multiple perspectives. All interpretations, both intended and alternative, are equally important to explore.

Although the Memorial embraces several conflicting meanings, as Brummett identifies, the problem is “not to resolve these contradictions by reference to one objective standard” (161). No such standard exists because “truths are contradictory precisely because they are relative and relative because human-made” (Brummett 161). Therefore, I do not draw a conclusion to explain what the most rational interpretation of the Memorial is. Rather, the dynamics of conflicting identities and interpretations represent the complexity of the Memorial and the complexity of Japanese American identity, including parts of their identity that are suppressed.

The multiple meanings the Memorial embraces suggest the Memorial is a quasi-postmodern monument, not completely like traditional war memorials preserving patriotic ideologies, but not completely like postmodern monuments juxtaposing contradicting values. It has both features and is a juncture of an intentionally didactic memorial and an unintentional postmodern memorial.

The Memorial is didactic in terms of its intentional honoring of military contributions and patriotic values with the stone panels, which last for a long time. The intentional exclusion of Japanese American resisters also suggests the Memorial is didactic, because it avoids oppositional images of Japanese Americans as obedient and resistant. The nameless numbers of the internees inscribed on the stone panels reduces Japanese Americans to passive victims, unless they were loyal military personnel, whose names are inscribed.

However, the Memorial is also postmodern in terms of its unintentional enactment of contradicting identities and interpretations. A postmodern approach encourages critics “not to locate the message but the multiple, frequently conflicting, messages” in a text (Blair, Jeppeson, and Pucci 269). Different types of visitors could interpret the cranes sculpture differently. It can represent multiple messages, such as long-life, freedom for all, and hope for an eternal peace. The inscribed messages also offer multiple interpretations. One can argue these messages represent Japanese Americans’ national identity as U.S. citizens, and that they do not reflect the diversity within the Japanese American community. The conflicting national identity between Japanese and American,

where the cranes represent Japanese identity and the inscribed messages represent American spirit, makes the Japanese American Memorial a postmodern memorial.

My analysis of the Japanese American Memorial reveals its complexity. It seems to be a postmodern memorial because it internalizes contradicting identities of Japanese Americans and opens multiple interpretations depending on its audiences. However, it also directs visitors' attention to a particular image of Japanese Americans as obedient and different from other U.S. citizens when it excludes the memory of resistance. Given this, I do not insist the Memorial is a postmodern memorial. It is a quasi-postmodern memorial, which allows multiple interpretations but at the same time excludes and silences at least one particular interpretation.

CHAPTER 4

THE PLACEMENT OF THE MEMORIAL AS MATERIAL RHETORIC

In this chapter, my analytic focus moves from symbolic rhetoric to material rhetoric. Analyzing the material rhetoric of a public monument requires examining how its material existence shapes the rhetorical experience. Materiality refers to a text's physical features, such as its texture and placement. Analysis of material rhetoric answers "what does a text or artifact do/what are the consequences beyond that of the persuader's goal" (Zagacki and Gallagher 172). Accordingly, authorial and architectural intent are not central to interpretations in this chapter. As Blair and Michel insist, "studying symbolism alone in the absence of materiality is inadequate" (46) for understanding the rhetoric of public monuments.

The placement of public memorials functions rhetorically. In her analysis of the discourse in the campaigns to remember Sojourner Truth, Mandziuk discerns the rhetorical force of physical space in the process of public memory. She insists "where the commemoration is located indeed speaks as loudly as its visual appearance and the discourse that contextualizes it" (287). Therefore analyzing the material rhetoric of physical space, in addition to symbolic representations, is imperative for understanding public memorials.

The physical sites of memorials communicate with audiences, and an analysis of the placement is crucial to understand the rhetorical functions of public memorials. By visiting "the site of the universal suffering and death inherent in war," places like Arlington National Cemetery, audiences can both "imbue the site with its symbolic

importance through the visit as well as take away the lived experience of the monument as a substitute for or displaced memory of the war itself” (Grinder 270). Visiting a physical space influences people’s impressions of a public memorial. Such impressions also influence their interpretations of the events and the people the memorial honors. The material existence of a memorial is rhetorical.

Following those scholars who argue for the importance of analyzing material rhetoric along with symbolism, this chapter examines the placement of the National Japanese American Memorial, especially focusing on the relationship between it and other national war memorials located in Washington, D.C.. All the other national war memorials, including the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, the Korean War Veterans Memorial, and the World War II Memorial, are located on the National Mall, the center of Washington, D.C.. The Japanese American Memorial is located near Union Station, where it is not a part of the Mall. This chapter analyzes how the physical space of the Japanese American Memorial constructs its meaning(s) and consequence(s).

This chapter first reviews how the National Mall has functioned as an important memorial site in the United States. This section also examines three national war memorials located on the Mall. The second section explores the rhetorical meanings of the placement of the Japanese American Memorial, especially focusing on the relationship between the placement of the Memorial and Japanese Americans’ citizenship in the United States.

The Mall as a Memorial Site

Public memorials on the National Mall especially require an analysis of the rhetorical impact of the placements. The Mall is “one of America’s most symbolically charged venues, a public space that embodies the national discourse of democracy, freedom, and the ideology of equal access” (Benton-Short 297). The Mall represents American values “in what it portrays and in what it omits to portray, about how Americans wish to think of themselves” (Griswold 74-75). The Mall is also a place to call for national unity. It is “a sort of political mandala expressing our [U.S. citizens’] communal aspirations toward wholeness” (Griswold 75). Therefore, a public monument on the Mall significantly contributes to national identity. The Mall is the most popular space for construction of memorials because of “the Mall’s centrality to national identity and national memory” (Benton-Short 298). Groups hoping to build a memorial turn to the Mall “as a way to legitimize the importance or contribution of an event/person in national history” (Benton-Short 298). The National Mall is a political place that materially represents U.S. national identity, public memory, and history.

Patriotic space is sacred space in the United States (Johnston par. 7). The Mall, which is the center of the nation’s Capital, is not only a site to represent U.S. history and public memory, but also a patriotic space. It is a space for recognizing, remembering, and revivifying the nation’s much-vaunted ideals, accomplishments, and sacrifices (Johnston par. 7). The Mall also represents the nation’s dominant moral and political values, which “serve to confirm and solidify truth already known, believed, and felt” because of the classical memorials and monuments (Johnston par. 15). The Mall is a place to present

national memory, history, and values and let visitors, especially U.S. citizens, confirm these values as their own.

This section now moves to descriptions of the three national war memorials on the Mall: the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, the Korean War Veterans Memorial, and the World War II Memorial. The National Park Service webpage provides eight “icons” of the Mall, the National Mall, the Washington Monument, the Thomas Jefferson Memorial, the Abraham Lincoln Memorial, the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial, the World War II Memorial, the Korean War Veterans Memorial, and the Vietnam Veterans Memorial (National Park Service “National Mall”). I focus on the three war memorials in order to see features of the Japanese American Memorial compared to them. These four are the national war memorials located in Washington, D.C., Capital of the United States. The following map demonstrates the placement of each memorial in Washington, D.C..

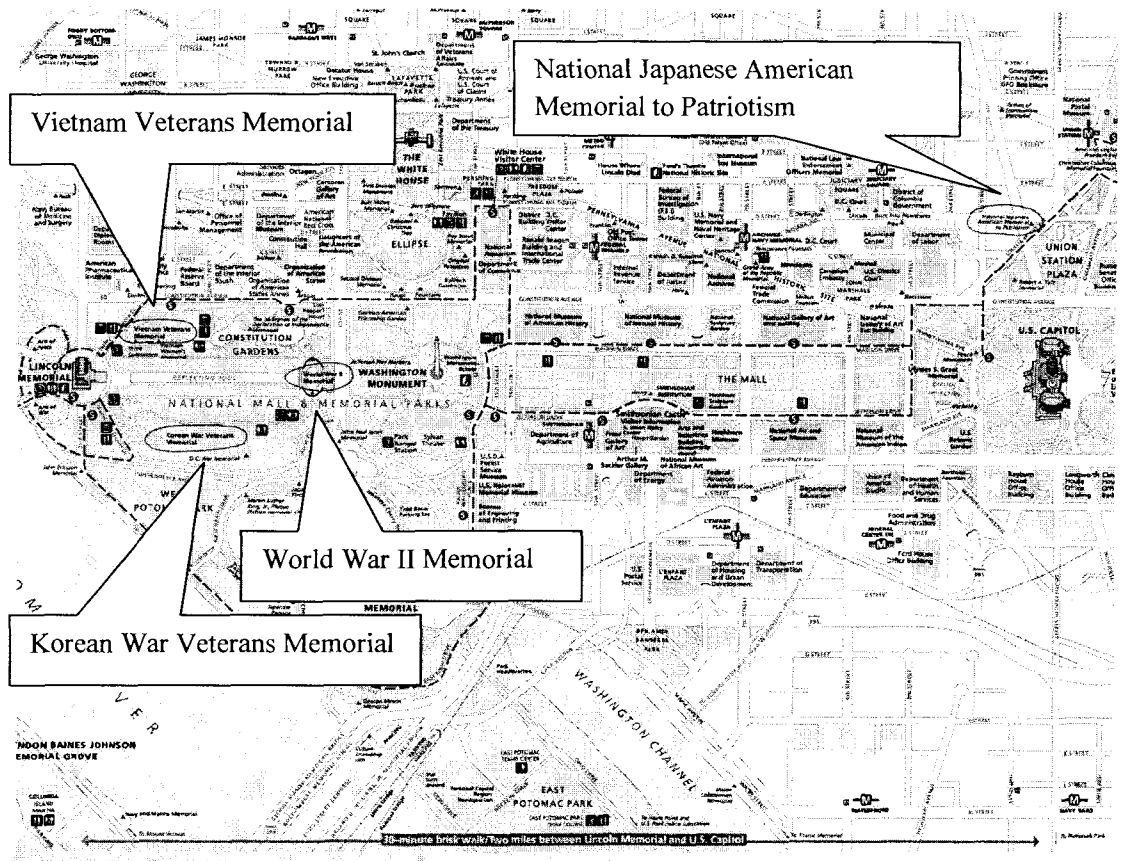


Figure 3. A Map of Washington, D.C., downloaded from the National Park Service webpage.
 <<http://www.nps.gov/PWR/state/DC/upload/NPS-Map-Washington-DC.pdf>>.

The Vietnam Veterans Memorial is the oldest of the three war memorials on the Mall. It was dedicated in 1982. It is located on the west part of the Mall, northeast from the Lincoln monument and northwest from the Washington monument. The memorial space consists of Maya Lin's V-shaped wall formed by two black granite walls with

inscribed names of dead and missing service members, the U.S. flag and Hart Statue, and Glenna Goodacre's women's monument.

The Vietnam Veteran Memorial provoked controversy because it is different from a traditional war memorial. Foss concludes it "prompts reflection for many of its visitors about war itself and the waste and loss that war generates," and it functions as "an effective anti-war symbol" ("Ambiguity" 337). Visitors' impressions and social discourse over the justification of the U.S. participation in the Vietnam War let visitors interpret the ambiguity of the memorial as anti-war. On the other hand, Griswold argues the memorial functions like traditional gravestones. It maintains U.S. patriotism because "veterans can reconcile their doubts about the conduct and even the purpose of the war with their belief that their service was honorable, and nonveterans can retain the same doubts but also affirm the veterans' sacrifices" (Griswold 92-93). Visitors to the Memorial can interpret the U.S. service members' sacrifices for the war as honorable. Hart's three soldiers statue and the flag also complicate this memorial. The statue, which represents all Vietnam veterans, contrasts with the ambiguous narrative of death on Lin's wall (Blair, Jepperson, and Pucci 276).

The Vietnam Memorial is located at the west end of the National Mall. It is accessible to visitors, but does not dominate the landscape (Blair, Jepperson, and Pucci 274). The placement of this memorial is political. For example, it is invisible from the north side, the direction of the White House (Blair, Jepperson, and Pucci 275). Overall, Blair, Jepperson, and Pucci conclude the Vietnam Veterans Memorial is postmodern architecture. Its multiplicity of meaning allows visitors "numerous readings, but it

demands no agreement among them” (281). The complexity of the memorial allows its visitors to interpret it as either anti-war or patriotic.

The Korean War Veterans Memorial, which is located to the south of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, was dedicated in 1995. The most eye-catching sculptures are of the larger than life-sized troops, men who display masculinity and heroism (Johnston note 25). Johnston argues these men’s statues embody the truth: freedom is not free (note 25). It was erected in order to present honor for all who contributed to the Korean War.

The construction of the memorial was motivated by “resentment over the Vietnam War being commemorated before the Korean War even though it was fought later and less effectively” (Schwartz and Bayma 952). In contrast to the Vietnam Memorial, which expresses the cost of political error, the Korean Memorial expresses sacrifice for a noble cause (Schwartz and Bayma 957). It is a traditional war memorial with its celebration of heroic sacrifices. The Korean Memorial deserved its space based on its relation with the Vietnam Memorial. It was approved to occupy one of the twin spaces with the Vietnam Memorial on the National Mall. This suggests the government still seeks to create patriotic war memorials at the center of its national space. Schwartz and Bayma argue the monuments to the Korean and Vietnam wars are both “materializing not only two wars [the Vietnam War and the Korean War] but also two ways of seeing war, two ways of knowing life, two cultures” (962). The Vietnam memorial presents the complexity of the war through the wall and Hart’s statue. The Korean memorial, on the other hand, remembers the war in a traditional way, honoring militaristic and masculine sacrifices for freedom.

The most recently constructed war memorial on the Mall is the World War II Memorial, dedicated in 2004. This memorial honors the 16 million who served in the armed forces of the U.S. during World War II. The website of the memorial explains it stands as “an important symbol of American national unity, a timeless reminder of the moral strength and awesome power that can flow when a free people are at once united and bonded together in a common and just cause” (National World War II Memorial “Facts”). It represents national unity and constructs national identity.

This memorial is one example of traditional national monuments. Biesecker argues that “recent popular cultural representations of the ‘Good War,’” including the WWII Memorial, constitute “a renewed sense of national belonging” and answers for U.S. audiences “what does it mean to be an American” (“Remembering” 394). Moreover, the WWII Memorial functions as a rhetorical artifact that infuses U.S. citizens with American militaristic patriotism as a mainstream value by arguing the World War II generation saved the world (Johnston par. 17).

The placement of the WWII Memorial has been a source of controversy, because “it will detract from the simple and elegant composition of the capital’s two most famous monuments,” the Lincoln Memorial and Washington Monument (Patton 14). Even some WWII veterans opposed the building of the Memorial on the Mall, and this suggests the aesthetic of the Mall is a complicated issue (Johnston par. 4). Tom Hanks, an actor who serves as a spokesperson for the memorial, insists “it’s appropriate and timely that our nation honors those ordinary Americans who preserved our freedom and literally helped save the world from tyranny... To deny them their site on the Mall’s central axis is to

deny the historical significance of their sacrifice and achievement” (qtd. in Patton 14). He tries to integrate American values, such as freedom and liberty, with the Memorial.

The physical existence of the World War II Memorial at the center of the Mall has a significant meaning. Biesecker identifies a rhetorical function of the placement of the WWII Memorial:

the historic decision to place the World War II Memorial at the very center of the Capital--thereby flanked on one side by the memorial to the veterans of the traumatic Vietnam War and on the other by the memorial to the ‘forgotten’ or Korean War--signals the emergence of World War II as a new national nodal point that promises to secure the national future against the vicissitudes of the multicultural present. (“Renovating” 216)

The placement of the memorial is important because the physical dominance of the center of the Mall has an impact on the nation’s recognition of its history. Benton-Short concludes: “the location of the World War II Memorial has rewritten the Mall’s text to support the interpretation that World War II was the single most important and defining event in the 20th century” (323). By putting the large memorial at the center of the Mall, the government can make real to visitors the significance of World War II to U.S. history.

Constructing a public monument on the National Mall attaches a significant meaning to the monument. It can be regarded as a part of U.S. national, authorized memory because it is located on the Mall. The three national war memorials discussed above suggest the U.S. sacrifices in wars deserve places at the center of the Capital as the events that should be remembered in the United States. The placement of public monuments is material rhetoric because where a monument is located conveys meanings. The next section examines how the placement of the Japanese American Memorial creates its meanings.

The Placement of the Japanese American Memorial

The location of the Japanese American Memorial in the nation's Capital rhetorically situates Japanese Americans' social position in the United States. As Zagacki and Gallagher point out following Carole Blair, in order to consider the significance of a particular artifact's material existence, one needs to examine "what does it do with or against other artifacts" and "how does it act on persons" (172). This section analyzes what the placement of the Japanese American Memorial in relation to the other three war memorials does, and how such a relationship could influence visitors' interpretation of the Japanese American Memorial. First, I overview the process of how the Memorial was approved as a national memorial built in Washington, D.C.. Second, I examine the placement of the Memorial as a marginalized space. Third, I argue what the marginalized placement of the Memorial means for U.S. national identity.

Approval Process

As I describe in Chapter 1, the process by which the Japanese American Memorial was approved as a national memorial, deserving a place in the nation's Capital, was a result of power politics between Congress and the Foundation. The original plan by the Foundation intended to memorialize only dead Japanese American veterans; however, Congress required adding the memory of the internment. The Memorial could not be a national memorial if it only honored dead veterans. Memorializing the internment in addition to Japanese Americans' sacrifices in military service was the government's intent.

The Congressional debate over the merits of President Reagan's apology for the internment raises a possible reason why the U.S. government was eager to include the internment experience in the Japanese American Memorial. In 1988, President Reagan signed the Civil Liberties Act, which provided payment of 20,000 dollars to each surviving internee. Senate debate over reparations for Japanese American internment demonstrates the social struggle over collective memory of the past (Parker 277). The narrative of advocacy characterized Japanese Americans as "innocent victims of racism and injustice;" on the other hand, the narrative of opposition portrayed them as "privileged and protected" from anti-Japanese movements by the internment (Parker 280). The internment was for their own good.

The construction of the Japanese American Memorial follows the narrative of advocacy, arguing the internment was wrong. The advocates idealized the United States as "being bound by the Constitution, as well as being a proud nation that prizes patriotism and loyalty" (Parker 281). By signing the Act apologizing for the internment, the United States can reaffirm its commitment for the constitutional rights of all citizens. Yet, internment was wrong not because it violated Japanese American rights, but because it violated U.S. values.

The existence of the Japanese American Memorial, which describes the internment as a violation of U.S. values, can justify Reagan's controversial apology. Inclusion of the internment memory can direct people's interpretation of the apology. Visitors to the Memorial without background knowledge can hardly imagine Reagan's apology was a wrong policy, because none of the narrative of opposition exists there. The

cranes sculpture represents freedom for all (and an eternal peace); the inscribed messages depict the separation as un-American (rather than anti-Japanese). The Memorial intends to celebrate Japanese Americans as they fought against external enemies and internal prejudice. Visitors have no clues for interpreting the internment as a reasonable policy at that time (especially with the editing of Masaoka's quotation). The internment was wrong, and the apology was right. This is the intended message the government presents through this national memorial.

Placement of the Japanese American Memorial

Although Congress approved the Japanese American Memorial as a national memorial, the location of it is not in the center of Washington, D.C.. The Memorial is located on the northwest side of the U.S. Capital, where few tourists visit compared to the National Mall. When I visited the Memorial, an elderly African-American woman was smoking while sitting at the corner of the reflecting pond. A Caucasian woman, maybe a businessperson, was talking on the phone as she sat on the bench in front of the walls with names of the dead. A young Caucasian couple was quarreling about something while sitting on the bench next to the businessperson. Unlike the area surrounding the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, this was not sacred space reserved for quiet reflection. Visitors treated the space as mundane. Additionally, I found three different bus tours around Washington, D.C., but none of them made a stop at this memorial.

The other three war memorials, the World War II Memorial, the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, and the Korean War Veterans Memorial, attract thousands of tourists. The National Park Service reports 3,865,430 people visited the World War II Memorial,

3,629,739 the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, and 3,248,757 the Korean War Veterans Memorial (National Park Service 26). No national data was available for the Japanese American Memorial. When I visited these popular monuments, a large number of sightseeing buses stopped near them, and a variety of people from around the world visited the memorials and took photos. All three bus tours I found stopped for these memorials.

Such marginalized placement of the Japanese American Memorial makes it less visible and less central in the Capital. The Memorial is difficult to find if people have not planned to visit it. It is hardly visible from the U.S. Capitol, one of the most popular sightseeing spots in Washington, D.C., although it is located just two blocks north. It also cannot be seen from the National Mall, where most visitors to the city walk around. There are no other popular sites around the Memorial, so chances visitors notice the Memorial is lower compared to the other national war memorials on the Mall. As the map depicts, the three war memorial on the Mall are located close each other.

This marginalized and limited visibility of the Japanese American Memorial can form visitors' experience of it. By walking around Washington, D.C., visitors to the Memorial can know the site is not the center of the Capital. When people visit the National Mall, they can experience national museums and memorials recognized as nationally important and worth visiting. The Mall represents the nation's history and identity. However, the Japanese American Memorial is not a part of the Mall although it is a national memorial. Visitors to the Memorial may feel it is less important than other memorials in the Mall because of the placement.

Although other national sites for ethnic minorities in the U.S., such as the National Museum of the American Indian and the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, are also located in Washington, D.C., their placements are visible to visitors to the Mall. The American Indian museum is located next to the National Air and Space Museum, which is one of the most popular sites on the Mall. The Holocaust museum is located on a place visible from the main street of the Mall. Visitors may find it on the way from the Capitol to the Washington Monument. Compared with such museums, the Japanese American Memorial is located in less visible space and there are no popular sites around it.

Because of such marginalized placement, even if visitors can find the Memorial, they do not see a number of other visitors like at the other war memorials. As a visitor, I perceived the Memorial to be unpopular because I could not find other visitors who eagerly looked at the artifacts other than me. Although the number of visitors changes day to day, fewer visitors come to see the Japanese American Memorial than visit the other three war memorials. The small number of visitors creates an impression of the Memorial. It is good for a visitor who has planned to visit the Memorial or a visitor who is eager to see the Memorial. The quiet space provides them time to see, read, touch, and think. However, the small number of visitors can imply the Memorial is not a site central to national identity. The material placement of the Japanese American Memorial shapes the rhetorical experiences of visitors.

Interpreting the Placement

The Japanese American Memorial is located in a marginalized space off the National Mall. Although I could find no clues to know the intention of the Foundation

and Congress when they selected the location, examining American identity construction in the United States provides a possible interpretation of this placement. Dark aspects of U.S. history are “virtually never viewed as relevant to the essence of what it means to be American---an identity that is inherently good” (Kimmelmeier and Winter 862).

Internment of Japanese Americans was one of the dark aspects of U.S. history, for which the government officially apologized. The Memorial reminds people of an uncomfortable history of the United States. Memorializing the Japanese American combat teams also reveals the history that the government segregated them from military service with other U.S. citizens. Even though these experiences are part of U.S. history, the Memorial cannot stand at the center of the nation’s Capital. The Japanese American Memorial is a national memorial, but it cannot be a major piece of U.S. history. The National Mall represents national history and identity, and they need to be inherently good. The Japanese American Memorial presents the unjust acts by the nation, the internment and segregation of its citizens, and therefore it cannot occupy a space in the Mall. The internment is an aberration or a blip, not an inherent part of U.S. identity.

Although the three national war memorials on the Mall also present dark aspects of U.S. history, especially the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, they can stand at the center of the Capital because they are dedicated to U.S. citizens who fought in wars outside the United States. Although each war has invited debates over justification of U.S. participation, the enemies which caused the wars were foreign regimes. The U.S. fought against Germany, Italy, and Japan during World War II, and against the Soviet Union and communism during the Vietnam War and the Korean War. The principle of the United

States as a protector of world order and freedom, even though its means cannot be always justified, is celebrated in all three war memorials. Freedom for all is one of the U.S. national identities; therefore, the memorials that preserve this identity can stand on the Mall.

On the other hand, honoring the experience of the internment camps for Japanese Americans requires seeing the United States nation as an abridger of freedom. The camps were a violation of the nation's basic principles: liberty and egalitarianism. As long as the Mall is a place representing national identity, the Japanese American Memorial, which denies the fundamental assumption that the United States has always acted for freedom, cannot stand on the Mall. The messages the Memorial conveys cannot get along with other war memorials built on the Mall. The nation's history of threatening its own citizens' freedom cannot be a part of U.S. national identity.

One might wonder why the U.S. government did not erase memory of the internment completely if the memory is a dark part of its history. However, as my analysis suggests, the inclusion of the internment and Reagan's apology into the Memorial was necessary for Congress to provide the understanding that the apology was right. Then, one might argue the Japanese American Memorial is desirable for the U.S. government because the apology for the internment can prove the United States really is good, accepting its fault and progressing with critical self-reflection. This argument might be true, but it cannot explain why the Memorial is located in the marginalized space. If the Memorial is desirable, it should stand in a central space in Washington, D.C..

Taking all arguments into consideration, I conclude the Memorial is located in the middle of the tension between approval and disapproval of the memory of the internment and segregation. Japanese Americans' experiences should be remembered because the government already apologized for them, and this apology can prove the United States is an honest country accepting its failure and now achieving freedom for all. That is a reason the Memorial can occupy a space in Washington, D.C., as a national memorial. On the other hand, Japanese Americans' experiences should not be remembered because although the government apologized for them, it is an ineradicable violation of U.S. principles. That is a reason the Memorial is located in the marginalized space in Washington, D.C.. Such tension between should and should-not-be remembered can explain the placement of the Memorial.

As Benton-Short points out, the location of any memorial would be "intentional" (304). War memorials in Washington, D.C., the Capital of the nation, cannot escape from national politics. The physical space of the Japanese American Memorial is rhetorical. The inclusion of the internment experience within the Memorial was the government's intent, and it excludes the Japanese American Memorial from the National Mall. Presenting the internment as an injustice done by the U.S. government cannot be a central part of national identity. However, the Memorial was not eliminated because it also can justify Reagan's apology and the U.S. as an honest country. The marginalized position of the Memorial in relation to the other war memorials forms visitors' experiences of the Memorial. Visitors who go through the Memorial see Japanese Americans' experiences as worth remembering, but not as central to the nation. This is one of "consequences"

Carole Blair suggest critics investigate when attempting to theorize rhetoric materially (46).

CHAPTER 5

CONFLICTING IDEOLOGIES WITHIN THE MEMORIAL

In Chapters 3 and 4, I examined the symbolic and material rhetoric of the Japanese American Memorial. An analysis of the symbolic representations and the placement of the Memorial reveals that the Memorial is quasi-postmodern architecture which embraces the identity conflicts of Japanese Americans in the United States but directs visitors' attention to particular interpretations of the internment experience. My analytic focus now moves from national identities to ideologies in this chapter. The cranes sculpture represents not only the intended meaning of happiness and freedom for all people, but also the alternative meaning of Japanese post-war pacifist ideology. At the same time, the Memorial's original intent was the celebration of U.S. patriotism through the inscribed messages and the names on the stone panels. Pacifism and patriotism co-exist within the Memorial.

This chapter investigates the meanings of both pacifism and patriotism and how their meanings have shifted across time in the United States and Japan. The New York Times describes the Memorial as "unusual" because it "weaves together two strands of the group's experience in World War II: military heroism and victimization" (Sciolino A24). It is possible to assume patriotism in the Memorial can imply military heroism and the pacific way of memorializing contains victimization. I examine the range of the meanings of the two ideologies, pacifism and patriotism, and use that understanding to provide a more detailed analysis of the Memorial. In order to reveal conflicting ideologies within the Memorial, this chapter integrates symbolic and material analysis.

This chapter first examines what pacifism means, especially in the Japanese post-war context. An analysis of Japanese remembrances of World War II reveals that pacifism in Japan is based on its people's war experience as civilian victims. I also explain how the Memorial presents a Japanese form of pacifism beyond the creators' intent. My argument here is the cranes sculpture and memory of the internment present Japan's pacifism. Second, this chapter examines what patriotism means, especially in the United States. Examining scholars' analysis of patriotism reveals patriotism refers to love for a country and entails the celebration of military sacrifices. I also analyze how the Memorial presents a U.S. form of patriotism intentionally. My analysis explores how the inscribed messages on the stone panels, the names of the dead, and the memory of military sacrifices present U.S. patriotism. Lastly, I investigate the relationship between pacifism and patriotism within the Memorial. Analyzing the diagram of the Memorial suggests the west space presents the internment and Japanese pacifism and the east space presents military sacrifices and U.S. patriotism. The two ideologies contradict each other, and this multiplicity and contradiction contribute to making the Memorial a quasi-postmodern memorial. Patriotism and pacifism may not have been intended to be placed in tension in the Memorial, but political pressures rewrote the Memorial's text, demanding the inclusion of both. This demonstrates Blair, Jepperson, and Pucci's argument that in a postmodern age, "no single individual 'creates' that text" but many factors exist "apart from the intervention of an 'author' or architect" (270).

Pacifism as a Japanese Ideology

The new Japanese Constitution after World War II codifies pacifism in Japan. Japan surrendered on August 15, 1945, and the United States began its occupation of the country. The General Headquarters planned to remove any militaristic ambitions from Japan in order to avoid the imperialism and militarism that led the country to its devastating invasions and wars. For that purpose, the General Headquarters drafted the new Constitution of Japan, and article 9 defines post-war Japan's attitude toward the use of force. Article 9 expresses "the basic points of Japan's pacifism" (Maki 73). It reads:

Aspiring sincerely to an international peace based on justice and order, the Japanese people forever renounce war as a sovereign right of the nation and the threat or use of force as means of settling international disputes. In order to accomplish the aim of the preceding paragraph, land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained. The right of belligerency of the state will not be recognized. (The Constitution of Japan, Article 9)

This is unique in terms of renouncing war and strongly restricting the use of force.

Although debate over the reforms of Article 9 has persisted due to several changes in the international situation including the Cold War, Gulf War, and Iraq War, the content of Article 9 has not been amended since its enactment. Pacifism, which was proposed under the supervision of the allied nations, especially the United States, has become one of post-war Japan's fundamental values through narratives of war memory and education.

The defeat in the war affected the national identity construction of Japanese citizens. During the war, the militarist regime forced them to believe Japan's active involvement in the war would enrich their lives. However, what the war left for them was burnt ruins and poverty. Japan initially embraced the pacifism codified Article 9 because of its regret and fear of its militarism and nationalism.

However, by the 1960s, peace movements in Japan came to rely increasingly on “images of the Japanese people as war victims” (Orr 3). Such memory of war as “the suffering of civilian Japanese” has invited “sympathy for civilian casualties” and has substantiated “Japan’s constant postwar assertions that it would never wage war again” (Fujiwara 53). Pacifism in war contexts directs people’s perception of Japan not as being an aggressive invader but as being a victim.

In such victimization, Japan’s experience of two atomic bombs, especially in Hiroshima, has been “the key interpretation of war memory in Japan” (Fujiwara 53). In her analysis of the Hiroshima Peace Museum/Park, Giamo argues the place continues to inform “a transcendent vision that aims to abolish nuclear weapons and promote world peace” while “forgetting the causes and conditions of total war”: Japan’s imperialism and invasion (705). The experience of being bombed becomes the defining moment for Japan in its war memory, and the use of bombs to kill innocent civilians is regarded as an unacceptable act. Any rationale for using atomic bombs, such as avoiding an attack on Japan’s mainland, is not justified in this pacifistic memorializing. This vision “constructs a postwar Japanese narrative of nationalism that views a pacifist people emerging from the very act of atomic victimage” (Giamo 705). Therefore, Japan’s pacifism is a denial of weapon use and a wish for eternal peace for all, based on its war time experience as a civilian victim.

When a visitor experiences the Japanese American Memorial, he or she can find this Japanese pacifism (and not just a wish for peace) in the cranes sculpture and ten stone panels around the sculpture. As I describe in Chapter 3, the cranes are a symbol of

the wish for eternal peace in Japanese war memory. The sculpture also represents freedom for all as its creator intends. Around this symbolic sculpture, ten stone panels inscribed with the names of the relocation camps and the number of the internees forms a half circle. The names and numbers silently depict Japanese Americans' experience from a victim's perspective. There are no descriptions of individual internees, although some of them resisted the internment, some agreed with the removal, and some just accepted the situation. The panels reduce a variety of internees to the numbers and the name of the camps, and present them as innocent civilian victims. Also, narratives that justify the internment are completely eliminated in this space. A visitor who stands in front of the cranes sculpture surrounded by the ten stone panels may experience this site as a representation of freedom and eternal peace for all based on Japanese Americans' experience as innocent victims.

The wish for an eternal peace and freedom for all and the representation of internees as innocent victims in the Memorial correspond to the features of Japan's pacifism. As Japan remembers the dropping of the two atomic bombs as unjustifiable acts, and emphasizes its war experience as a civilian victim, the Japanese American Memorial depicts the internment as a wrong policy and presents internees' experiences as if they were a monolithic group of victims. The cranes sculpture symbolizing peace and freedom stands in the center the stone panels, the victimized experiences. This use of physical space visualizing the wish for peace and freedom is based on innocent Japanese Americans' experience of internment in the ten camps. This part of the Memorial enacts pacifism, in addition to symbolizing the intended meaning of freedom for all.

Patriotism as a U.S. Ideology

As its official name indicates, the National Japanese American Memorial for Patriotism During World War II is meant to celebrate patriotism. A distinction between patriotism and nationalism clarifies what patriotism means. Patriotism refers to love and pride for country. Nationalism also refers to love and pride for country, but it entails superiority to other countries. Li and Brewer draw the distinction defining patriotism as “connecting pride and love for country” and nationalism as “referring to chauvinistic arrogance and desire for dominance in international relations” (728). They also differentiate how “patriotism is compatible with internationalism values and cooperation, but nationalism is negatively correlated with internationalism” (728). Kimmelmier and Winter argue patriotism refers to “the noncompetitive love of and commitment to one’s country” and nationalism “has been associated with higher levels of chauvinism, prejudice, militarism, hawkish attitudes, social dominance orientation, and lower levels of internationalism” (863). Huddy and Khatib introduce the meaning of patriotism as “a deeply felt affective attachment to the nation” or “the degree of love for and pride in one’s nation” as a broad agreement, whereas nationalism has “a sense of superiority and need for foreign dominance” (63). Within all these definitions, patriotism values love and pride for a nation but does not include ethnocentric or chauvinistic superiority over other countries.

Patriotism means love and pride for a nation, and it is deeply rooted in national identity and values. People love and are proud of a nation, and this nation is not just a physical territory. When people love a nation, they love its ideals or ideologies, culture,

social system, etc. In the context of memorializing past national events in the United States, patriotism especially signifies love and pride in the military defense of national values such as freedom and equality. Liberty and freedom have been dominant themes in U.S. national identity where “American history is often viewed as a struggle to attain and defend freedom, or where the American military is viewed as guarantor of this freedom” (Kimmelmeier and Winter 861). Therefore, remembering a war fought for freedom with militaristic sacrifice especially entails patriotism, love and pride for a nation that protected freedom.

The Japanese American Memorial embraces U.S. patriotism, which is the Foundation’s original intent. As I analyze in chapter 3, the messages of service members inscribed on the stone panels represent Japanese Americans’ identity as U.S. citizens who protected democracy, freedom, and equality. Japanese Americans who participated in military service during the war were remembered as patriotic. They loved the country in which they had been born and for which they fought as citizens. They were protectors of freedom. Remembering Japanese Americans as U.S. citizens emphasizes their love and pride for U.S. values, and this makes the Memorial a patriotic space.

The three stone panels listing the names of the war dead standing in the middle of the seven stone message panels also make the Memorial patriotic. The names of the dead who served in the military during the war are inscribed on the three panels. In contrast, the ten panels around the cranes sculpture list the camps’ names and the numbers of internees, but do not list individuals’ names. Blair, Jepperson and Pucci argue based on their analysis of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, that the wall with names of the dead

“preserves references to the veterans as individuals and as a group” (278). Visitors can read the listed names as a group because “the structural integrity of the wall unifies as a collective those who died” (Blair, Jepperson and Pucci 278). However, at the same time, the names on the wall in the Japanese American Memorial depict the military dead not as monolithic victims but as honorable individual defenders of freedom. The Memorial qualifies each of them to occupy a certain space on the stone panels. Visitors can read and touch the inscribed names of the military dead, and this experience lets them imagine the individuals’ courage and sacrifice for the country. On the other hand, it is difficult to imagine the individual experiences of the internees only through the numbers.

Remembering sacrifices in military service raises patriotism. The dead soldiers defended the nation and its ideals at the cost of their own lives, and their sacrifices must be meaningful. In order to make the sacrifices meaningful, the nation and ideals they protected should be meaningful. Through remembering the dead, people come to feel they love and are proud of their nation and ideals. The inscribed names provide such a patriotic space.

Conflicting Ideologies

The Japanese American Memorial seems to embrace both Japanese pacifism and U.S. patriotism, although its intended meaning is patriotism. The concept of pacifism and patriotism conflict with each other. Japan’s pacifism based on the victims’ perspective seeks an eternal peace for all, rejecting the use of force for any reason. On the other hand, U.S. patriotism honors militaristic sacrifices for protection of freedom and justifies the

use of force in the defense of freedom. This section considers how the Memorial deals with this conflict.

In the United States, pacifists and patriots have been regarded as mutually exclusive. Post WWI, U.S. government officials labeled peace workers “un-American radicals” and appropriated the terms *patriotism* and *loyalty* for “those who stood against pacifists” (Snider 70). Government officials, military officers, and neopatriotic societies raised suspicions that “pacifism and internationalism were un-American” (Snider 72). To be patriotic requires being anti-pacifist, and vice versa. The two ideologies were positioned as conflicting with each other.

In Japan, honoring patriotism has been avoided after World War II because it reminds people of wartime nationalism and militarism. Although patriotism and nationalism are different concepts, and patriotism does not entail superiority over other countries, it sounds right-wing and people are careful to avoid it in Japan. Patriotism means love for a nation, and it connotes adoration of the Emperor.

Patriotism cannot collaborate with pacifism in post-war Japan. During the war, Japanese soldiers were forced to fight and die for the nation and the Emperor. Therefore, narratives of patriotism during the war entail the honoring of military sacrifices for the country, so patriotism can justify the use of force. Pacifism, which rejects use of force and wishes for everyone’s peace, cannot include patriotism because patriotism can justify the use of force under the name of protection of a nation.

A victim’s perspective centers Japan’s pacifism and it also makes it impossible to integrate pacifism and patriotism. Patriotism implies active commitments in military

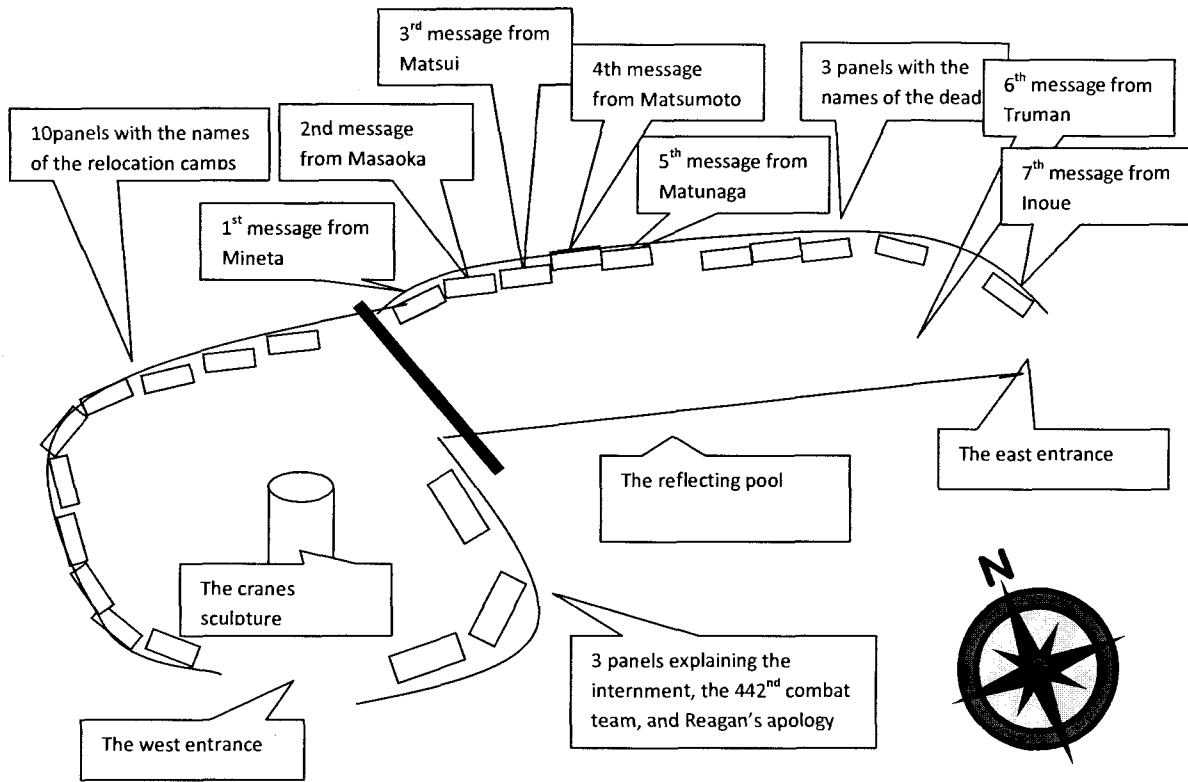
service for a nation, so it remembers wars from an active attacker's perspective rather than a passive victim's. Celebrating the active use of force for settling a dispute cannot coexist with pacifism, which sees force as unacceptable because victims are innocent and do not have means to defend themselves.

Japan's pacifist war memorials do not include patriotic rhetoric. For example, the Cornerstone of Peace in Okinawa lists "the names of all the dead" regardless of their nationalities and military or civilian status (Kato 26). The Okinawa Memorial unites "all the war dead equally as victims of the war," and this generalization of victims emphasizes "the importance of the unification to maintain the peace toward the future" (Kato 28-29). Therefore, the Okinawa Memorial represents Japan's pacifism, wishing peace for all from a victim's perspective. This memorial navigates power politics among Okinawa, mainland Japan, and the United States. Okinawa, tiny islands occupying less than one percent of Japan's land, has been home for more than fifty percent of U.S. bases in Japan. The Okinawa Memorial justifies the United States as "a savior from the evil Japanese military" (Kato 29). That means the Okinawa Memorial does not honor Japan's patriotism, but rather regards it as an evil. Pacifism and patriotism are mutually exclusive in this memorial.

The Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park and Museum also present Japan's pacifism and avoid patriotism. The Museum/Park recalls nuclear horror and honors the dead as innocent victims most worthy of memorializing (Giamo 704), and Hiroshima has become "a facile trope for atomic victimization and pacifism" (Giamo 710). Giamo criticizes the Museum/Park for describing the war as "without enemies, historic causes and conditions,

motives” (714). This suggests the Museum/Park does not present Japan’s wartime militarism, imperialism, nationalism, and patriotism. It describes Japan only as a victim and avoids remembering Japan as an aggressive invader. Pacifism and patriotism do not co-exist on this place.

It is my alternative reading that the Japanese American Memorial embraces both pacifism and patriotism even though they conflict with each other. The diagram of the Memorial helps to describe how the Memorial presents the two ideologies in a single space.



**Japanese pacifism/victimization
with memory of the internment**

**U.S. patriotism/militarism
with memory of the military sacrifices**

Figure 4. Diagram of the National Japanese American Memorial for Patriotism During World War II (ideologies)
Drawn by Kaori Yamada

The cranes sculpture and the ten stone panels around the sculpture represent Japan's pacifism. The circled space (the west side of the Memorial) remembers the internment focusing on Japanese Americans' collective experience as victims. The cranes

standing at the center of the circle symbolize Japanese Americans' wish for freedom and peace for all, implying a Japanese use of cranes as a pacifistic representation.

The names of the war dead and the seven messages inscribed on the stone panels embody U.S. patriotism. The line created by the stone panels in front of the reflecting pool (the east side of the Memorial) remembers and honors Japanese Americans' military sacrifices and contributions, both individual and collective, during the war. The honoring of the dead as defenders of the nation and its freedom is a feature of U.S. patriotism.

The physical design of the Memorial directs visitors' experiences in several ways. As Carole Blair proposes, pathways of memorials influence a visitor's reception significantly (47). From where a visitor sees the artifacts of a memorial, such as walking direction and in what order he/she looks at each artifact, creates the rhetorical experience. The physical design of a memorial directs a visitor's experience in a certain way, and therefore it is rhetorical.

The Japanese American Memorial has two entrances. A visitor can enter the Memorial from the west or the east side. When one enters from the west, the first thing he/she sees is the cranes sculpture. The visitor then looks around the sculpture and finds the stone panels inscribed with the names of the camps and the numbers of the internees. The first impression of the Memorial the visitor gets might be Japanese Americans' identity as of Japanese descent, their pacifism, and their wish for freedom and peace as innocent victims.

In contrast, when a visitor enters the Memorial from the east side, the first things he/she sees are the names and the messages inscribed on the stone walls on the right and

the reflecting pool. The visitor can find the two stone benches between the panels and the reflecting pool, so he/she can sit on one of the benches and take time to read the messages and the names of the dead. Through such an experience, the first impression of the Memorial for the visitor might be Japanese Americans' identity as U.S. citizens, their patriotism, and their wish for the United States, their country, to become a nation which ensures the freedom of all people.

It is my contention that the material rhetoric of the Japanese American Memorial presents two ideologies, Japan's pacifism and U.S. patriotism, together. Pacifism and patriotism exist in tension with each other, but the Memorial embraces both at the same time, even if not intended and only as a result of the postmodern reality of multiple authorship. This multiplicity is possible when one understands the west part of the Memorial as a space for Japan's pacifism and the east part as a space for U.S. patriotism. Although the combination of the two spaces has a single name, the National Japanese American Memorial for Patriotism During World War II, the Memorial actually honors the two different experiences (the internment and military service), national identities (as Japanese descendants and U.S. citizens), and ideologies (Japan's pacifism and U.S. patriotism) in two separated spaces.

This multiplicity derives from power politics between Congress and the Foundation. The original plan of the Memorial only honored the militaristic sacrifices of Japanese Americans during the war. As the name of the Memorial indicates, the Foundation intended to build the National Japanese American Memorial to Patriotism During World War II. However, Congress rejected the plan and requested the Foundation

include memory of the internment camps. The east side of the Memorial represents the Memorial's primary purpose: memorializing Japanese Americans' patriotic contributions as U.S. citizens. The west side of the Memorial represents what Congress wanted to make clear, remembering Japanese Americans as Japanese descendents and justifying President Reagan's apology for the internment. The conflict between the two ideologies within the Memorial is a result of such power relations.

The Japanese American Memorial embraces the two contradicting ideologies, pacifism and patriotism, and such contradiction is a feature of memorials in a postmodern age. Although pacifism and patriotism are mutually exclusive, the Memorial presents both of them. Its west side represents Japan's pacifism, and its east side represents U.S. patriotism. Such a combination of two ideologies is not intentionally designed. It is a consequence of power politics over the Memorial. The Foundation originally planned to dedicate the Memorial for Japanese Americans' patriotism, but it adopted the internment memory following Congress's request. As McGee suggests, the Memorial is a fragment of contexts.

Lastly, I provide an analysis of the consequences of the Memorial's rhetoric, focusing on how the combination of pacifism and patriotism interacts with visitors. The Memorial achieves its original purpose, honoring U.S. patriotism, but Japanese pacifism diminishes its impact. From visitors' perspective, the Memorial might be confusing because although the names of the dead and the messages describe Japanese Americans as loyal U.S. citizens and reify U.S. patriotism, the cranes sculpture and the names of the camps and the numbers of the internees reduce Japanese Americans to passive victims

and reify Japan's pacifism. The Memorial succeeds in presenting contradicting ideologies. However, it fails to persuade visitors' to understand it as a patriotic memorial, its original intention. Instead, visitors may experience the Memorial as precarious, going back and forth between pacifism and patriotism.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

My rhetorical analysis of the Japanese American Memorial reveals identity and ideology conflicts within the Memorial. The Memorial symbolically represents Japanese Americans' identity as both of Japanese descent and U.S. citizens. Its placement shapes visitors' experiences and impressions of the Memorial. Although the Memorial is a national memorial, it stands in a marginalized space of the nation's Capital. The Memorial also represents two conflicting ideologies: Japan's pacifism and U.S. patriotism.

The Foundation seems to attempt to make the Memorial a didactic memorial, presenting Japanese Americans' identity as obedient by excluding resisters. The Memorial also intends to honor patriotism through celebrating military contributions by Japanese Americans. However, the multiple meanings of the Japanese American Memorial make the Memorial postmodern, which directs visitors not to a single interpretation of the events, but presents multiple perspectives. The Japanese American Memorial embraces contradictory statements. It is a self-contradicting monument, different from traditional didactic monuments. The messages it conveys are not straightforward. The Memorial is a site where a visitor encounters conflicting identities and ideologies. It also is different from German counter-monuments. It intends to maintain its shape for a long time using stone and bronze. It is not self-destructive, but keeps occupying a certain space for memorializing.

The Japanese American Memorial is like a postmodern monument, presenting contradicting messages. Although the symbolism chosen by the foundation may seek to direct interpretations, the material reality of the Memorial does not direct visitors to a single message, but juxtaposes conflicting identities and ideologies and lets visitors think for themselves. However, at the same time, it is also like a didactic monument, selecting what to remember and excluding Japanese American dissenters who hinder the unity of Japanese American identity.

The Memorial was intended to be didactic, but power politics complicated the messages the Memorial conveys. Power relations between Congress and the Foundation altered the original plan, and the Foundation added memory of the internment to patriotic memorializing of Japanese Americans' military sacrifices. The Memorial became a national memorial by accepting an authoritative request by Congress and changing its shape.

Although the Foundation seems to stand in a socially weaker position than Congress, it has an authority in the Japanese American community. The Foundation did not listen to critical opinions from a Japanese American group, which argued for inclusion of those who resisted the internment and removal of the message from Masaoka. The Memorial internalizes all of these power politics through remembering the internment and military sacrifices and not remembering resistances.

Through the analysis of the complexity of the Japanese American Memorial, I argue that the Memorial is a quasi-postmodern memorial but fails to be completely postmodern because of the absence of dissenters. If the Memorial included Japanese

Americans' resistance against the authoritative order and identified the multiplicity of Japanese Americans, it would become more intentionally postmodern. However, it rejects such multiplicity and presents Japanese Americans internees as obedient victims. I also argue that the Memorial fails to be a didactic because of identity and ideology conflicts within it. Although the Foundation and the sculptor intended to attach certain meanings to the Memorial, the interaction between the Memorial and visitors creates multiple interpretations beyond their intent. The analysis of symbolic and material rhetoric reveals how the combination of memorializing the internment and military sacrifices also complicates interpretations of the Memorial. These complexities invite visitors to experience multiple perspectives, and make the Memorial postmodern rather than didactic. Therefore, the Memorial is neither postmodern nor didactic, but is in the middle of the tension between the two.

The power relations within the Memorial suggest the Memorial is not a stand-alone text but a fragment of larger conversations as McGee insists. Without considering discourse beyond an artifact, analysis of the artifact would be limited. Therefore, critics should analyze controversies over and discourse about a text they study, and this research is an example of how examining contexts is imperative for understanding the meanings of a text.

The idea of the Japanese American Memorial as a fragment of larger conversations reveals how authorial (or architect) intent cannot completely control meanings of the Memorial. Actually, the Foundation followed a request from Congress to include the internment experience in the Memorial, meaning the authors of the Memorial

include the Foundation, the architect, and Congress. It might have been possible to construct a memorial that only honors the military contributions of Japanese Americans, but such a memorial would not be approved as a national memorial qualifying to occupy a space in the Capital. The Foundation chose to build a national memorial even though it required a fundamental alteration in the original plan. The authorship had been interwoven within power relations between Congress and the Foundation.

Moreover, analyzing multiple types of audiences also reveals an author does not take complete control over meanings and interpretations of its product. For example, my analysis of the cranes sculpture as a representation of Japan's pacifism is not the sculptor's intention, but it is also a possible interpretation given the history of cranes as a symbol of peace in post-war Japan. As an audience, I attached a meaning that the author did not intend to the Memorial. Moreover, different types of audiences see the Memorial differently. Even within Japanese Americans, perspectives vary depending on their generations, their opinions about the internment and/or the Memorial, and more. Visitors to the Memorial from the United States and visitors from other countries may understand the Memorial differently. Visitors in minority groups in the United States may see the Memorial differently from majority U.S. citizens. Although the Memorial represents some messages the authors intended, it is audiences who interpret, ignore, or recreate these messages.

Although authorship does not determine meanings of the Memorial, this does not mean everything depends on audiences and the Memorial cannot direct their attention in a certain way. Public memorials are rhetorical because they select what is to be

remembered and what is not. The Japanese Memorial selects the internment and military sacrifices of Japanese Americans during World War II as the events that should be remembered. Such selection of the events directs visitors to understand both events as worth remembering.

Although audiences interpret the Memorial and determine what it means for them, the symbolic representations and material existence of the Memorial influence visitors' impressions of the Memorial and direct their perceptions. The inscribed messages and explanation of President Reagan's apology on the stone panels describe the internment as an injustice and Reagan's apology as right. Visitors cannot have access to the narratives of the opposition arguing the internment was a good policy to protect the nation and Japanese Americans and the monetary apology was wrong. Such selected representations direct visitors' understanding of the internment as a violation of U.S. principles. The placement of the Memorial also directs visitors' interpretations. The placement outside the National Mall creates an impression of the Memorial and the events it memorializes as not as equally important as other national war memorials and the events they remember. Visitors rarely think the Japanese American Memorial is as important as other memorials on the Mall because of the location. As such, public memorials function rhetorically, directing people's perception through symbolic representations and material existence.

The multiple interpretations of the Japanese American Memorial have consequences. The Memorial provides visitors opportunities to experience multiple identities and ideologies of Japanese Americans. However, it does not provide clues to

see the internment as just or the Reagan apology as wrong. Its impact on visitors' active engagement in the controversy over these issues is limited because of its didactic rhetoric. Unlike the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, which invites "doubt and critical differentiation of issues" and "engaged and thoughtful reading" (Blair, Jeppeson, and Pucci 278), the Japanese American Memorial does not provide visitors opportunities for engaging in critical discussions. It erases the existence of Japanese American dissenters, narratives justifying the internment, and opposition to the apology. Although conflicting identities and ideologies within the Memorial allow visitors multiple understandings of the Memorial and the events it memorializes, the Memorial fails to invite visitors to hear and see the controversies over the Memorial, the internment, and the apology.

In addition to arguing for a detailed reading of the Japanese American Memorial, I also highlight concern for the material rhetoric of public monuments, especially focusing on placement. As Zagacki and Gallagher clarify following Blair, considering the significance of a particular artifact's material existence requires analyzing "what does it do with or against other artifacts?" (172). Although they recognize the importance of examining an artifact's relationships with other artifacts and provide a detailed analysis of artistic works in the museum park in North Carolina, they do not mention how the placement of the museum park as a whole interacts with other places in that town. My comparative analysis of the placement of the Japanese American Memorial and other national war memorials in Washington, D.C., explores what an artifact does in relation to other artifacts. The material existence of the three national war memorials on the Mall suggests these national memorials can be qualified to occupy the center of the Capital,

but the Japanese American Memorial could not. One can recognize the Memorial's marginalized placement only through examining other memorials' placements. This analysis leads critics to consider not only an artifact and its placement, but also its relationship with other artifacts and their placements.

Rhetorical criticism of the Japanese American Memorial is a concrete example of how the symbolic and material rhetoric of public monuments, especially postmodern monuments, select what to remember and interact with audiences. The Memorial internalizes conflicting identities, ideologies, and power relations. Considering Japanese Americans' history, their social position in the United States, and controversies over the internment and the Memorial are imperative for understanding the Memorial. Such analysis of social contexts is an answer to McGee's call to see a text as a fragment of contexts. This study clarifies how the Memorial does not stand alone, but within interactions of larger conversations. The symbolic and material rhetoric of the Memorial interacts with visitors and creates their experience. The Memorial presents multiple messages and audiences interpret them differently. It is a site for education, remembrance, identity construction, honor, regret, and more.

For Further Research

Investigating the material rhetoric of the Japanese American Memorial is one of the main concerns of my study. My analysis deals with the actual existence of the Memorial, assuming audiences would visit the physical site and experience the Memorial. However, experiencing the Memorial is not limited to an actual site visit. For example, people can browse a website of the memorial and experience it through a virtual tour on

the Internet. In the age of information technology, critics need to consider how new media interact with audiences and how such interaction alters, or does not alter, the rhetoric of public monuments, especially the material rhetoric. The Japanese American Memorial Foundation opened a website for the Memorial, providing Japanese Americans' history, a visual tour of the Memorial, updated events, etc. A detailed examination of the website would enable a deeper understanding of the Memorial's rhetoric without the material experience. Virtually experiencing of the Memorial through the website would be different from visiting the physical place.

Although this study focuses on the National Japanese American Memorial in Washington, D.C., it is not the only site that presents Japanese Americans' experiences. For example, the Japanese American National Museum in Los Angeles, California, provides Japanese Americans' arts, history, narratives, and more through its exhibitions. The Japanese American Internment Memorial is located in San Jose, California, remembering the internment through a bronze sculpture and a bronze wall. Another memorial for the internment stands in Manzanar, California, where one of the camps was located. Analysis of the National Japanese American Memorial in Washington, D.C., is an attempt to consider how Japanese Americans' identities and experiences are presented in the nation's Capital, a site which represents the national history and identity of the United States. However, Washington, D.C., is not a place where an internment camp was located. Analyzing other memorials located in the sacred spaces, the actual relocation sites, would deepen understanding of how remembering the internment has constructed Japanese Americans' identity. Investigating Japanese American museums would also

reveal identity construction of Japanese Americans and how their national identity has affected national identity of the United States as a whole.

Although my study focuses on the internment of Japanese Americans, removal of immigrants and their family as enemy aliens was not an experience unique to Japanese Americans during World War II. Although the number of internees is smaller than Japanese Americans, some German Americans and Italian Americans were also forced to move to the relocation camps. Research on why a larger number of Japanese Americans experienced forced removals and how German Americans and Italian Americans remember their internment experiences would provide a better understanding of ethnic identity and racism in the United States.

This study is a focused analysis of the National Japanese American Memorial. Combining study of other memorials and memory of other minority groups would develop an understanding of public monuments and identity construction in the United States. The Japanese American Memorial is a fragment of controversies over the internment and Japanese Americans' identity construction. These controversies are also fragments of larger conversations, such as identity construction of minority groups in the United States. Seeing the Japanese American Memorial as an intersection of such larger conversations would develop further perspectives on Japanese Americans' position in the United States in relation to other minority groups.

I hope this research will help readers' understanding of the rhetoric of public monuments in general and rhetoric of the Japanese American Memorial in particular, and open discussions of how public memorials construct national identity and how

identifying minority groups in the United States impacts the nation's identity as a whole. This thesis is based on a number of scholarly conversations about rhetoric, public monuments, and Japanese Americans' history. I join these conversations with this thesis. The conversations keep going, and I hope this thesis can provide an interesting insight, directing the conversations in a certain way.

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