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The Art of War: Painted Photographs and Australia's "War on Terror"

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Article abstract

De novembre 2008 à décembre 2010, l'exposition *Framing Conflict : Iraq and Afghanistan* est présentée dans un grand nombre d'institutions culturelles et militaires à travers l'Australie. Organisée par le Australian War Memorial et sous l'égide du commissaire Warwick Heywood, elle est principalement composée d'huiles sur toile de lin réalisées par le duo d'artistes australiens Lyndell Brown et Charles Green. Leurs oeuvres s'appuient sur une série de photographies prises en 2007 pendant leur « embarquement » (« *embed* ») en tant qu'artistes officiels du War Art Scheme, au sein de la Australian Defense Force basée en Afghanistan et au Moyen-Orient. J'examine ces peintures réalisées sur commande par Brown et Green dans le but d'explorer la façon dont ces artistes complexifient les attentes par rapport à l'art commandité par l'État et les récits officiels de l'histoire militaire australienne. Pour ce faire, j'effectue un rapprochement entre une analyse de ce que les tableaux dépeignent et la manière dont les artistes ont négocié leur rôle en tant qu'héritiers d'une mémoire de l'art militaire, et ce, en lien avec leur propre pratique esthétique, leurs croyances politiques, et le contexte plus large du rôle de l'Australie dans « la guerre au terrorisme » internationale.

The Art of War: Painted Photographs and Australia's "War on Terror"

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Résumé

De novembre 2008 à décembre 2010, l'exposition *Framing Conflict : Iraq and Afghanistan* est présentée dans un grand nombre d'institutions culturelles et militaires à travers l'Australie. Organisée par le Australian War Memorial et sous l'égide du commissaire Warwick Heywood, elle est principalement composée d'huiles sur toile de lin réalisées par le duo d'artistes australiens Lyndell Brown et Charles Green. Leurs œuvres s'appuient sur une série de photographies prises en 2007 pendant leur « embarquement » (« *embed* ») en tant qu'artistes officiels du War Art Scheme, au sein de la Australian Defense Force basée en Afghanistan et au Moyen-Orient. J'examine ces peintures réalisées sur commande par Brown et Green dans le but d'explorer la façon dont ces artistes complexifient les attentes par rapport à l'art commandité par l'État et les récits officiels de l'histoire militaire australienne. Pour ce faire, j'effectue un rapprochement entre une analyse de ce que les tableaux dépeignent et la manière dont les artistes ont négocié leur rôle en tant qu'héritiers d'une mémoire de l'art militaire, et ce, en lien avec leur propre pratique esthétique, leurs croyances politiques, et le contexte plus large du rôle de l'Australie dans « la guerre au terrorisme » internationale.

> The question for war photography thus concerns not only what it shows, but also how it shows what it shows.
>
> Judith Butler[1]

From November 2008 to December 2010, the exhibition *Framing Conflict: Iraq and Afghanistan* toured a variety of cultural and military institutions in cities across Australia. Organized by the Australian War Memorial and curated by Warwick Heywood, it was comprised mainly of oil on linen paintings by Australian artist-duo Lyndell Brown and Charles Green. The artworks were based on a series of photographs taken in 2007 during their time as official war artists embedded at Australian Defense Force (ADF) bases, which were often connected to larger US compounds in Afghanistan and the Middle East. In the artist statement accompanying the commissioned works, Brown and Green declare, "Our paintings exist in relation to photography: they consciously exhibit and flaunt their nature as transcripts."[2] In this short and seemingly simple sentence, the artists summarize the tension at which their artworks operate, that between object type—painted artworks—and representation—photo-realism. They use the interplay between form and content to blur the boundaries between media and to disrupt creative expectations. Additionally, their conscious re-working of representative tropes functions to contemporize and broaden Australian traditions of documenting military history through state-sponsored art.

The institutions of war art in Australia were formalized during World War I. Organized jointly by government officials, military officers, and war historians, they developed into two main branches that still exist today: the Official War Art Scheme (OWAS), which commissions art and photography illustrating military engagement, and the Australian War Memorial (AWM), which houses and exhibits war-related artefacts and artworks. Since their inception, these institutions have been defined by their authority as official creators and interpreters of Australian war history, a relationship between art, war, and nation that continues today. Contemporary artists commissioned by the OWAS and subsequently exhibited through the AWM must negotiate their work in relation to this legacy, by balancing traditional and innovative approaches, and by articulating their artistic vision within institutional structures.

Recognizing this type of negotiation is central to understanding the contemporary works produced and exhibited through state-sponsored war art schemes. The work of OWAS-funded artists does not always echo official narratives: Brown and Green's visuals, for example, operate at a complex juncture involving the AWM and OWAS, the circumstances of the conflict, and the interests of the artists themselves. This confluence cannot be avoided in the study of their artworks. Philosopher Judith Butler, quoted in the epigraph to this essay, argues that it is necessary to look beyond *what* war images depict and to explore *how* they create meaning, as well as the structural elements that underlie *how* they are produced. While Butler is referring specifically to war photography, her argument remains valid with regards to Brown and Green's works, not only because their paintings draw upon the aesthetics of photography, but also because they are interpreted through their relationship with an official commission, where production is defined by institutional support and enabled by insider access to military life. I draw upon Butler to articulate the main question that guides my analysis of the paintings displayed in *Framing Conflict*: how do these images show what they show?

In this article, I examine Brown and Green's OWAS commission to question how these artists created works that complicate expectations of state-sponsored art and official accounts of Australian military history.[3] To do this, I bring together analyses of both *what* the paintings depict and *how* the artists negotiated their role as heirs to the war art legacy in terms of their own aesthetic practice, their political beliefs, and the larger context of Australia's role in the international "War on Terror." I organize this study according to three distinct, but interrelated perspectives—historical context, artistic legacy, and socio-political circumstances. These provide multiple angles of vision, each

Figure 1. Lyndell Brown and Charles Green, *View from Chinook, Helmand Province, Afghanistan*, 2007. Oil on linen, 31 x 31 cm. Fleet Air Arm Museum, Nowra, Australia. Collection of Lyndell Brown and Charles Green. Courtesy of the artists and the Australian War Memorial (Photo: author).

focusing on different factors that contributed to the ways in which Brown and Green chose to represent Australia's military efforts. As we shall see, while the images they produced are always respectful of the military personnel they encountered, the two artists break with tradition by showing the activities of war as mundane rather than monumental. Furthermore, they problematize official conflict narratives by connecting military intervention to globalization impulses and uneven capitalist development. In this way, the paintings record Australia's participation in current war events, while simultaneously disrupting the expected national/ist history.[4]

The display of Brown and Green's work in *Framing Conflict*

Lyndell Brown and Charles Green have been collaborating since 1989. Their practice combines painting, photography, and digital reproductions. They have exhibited nationally and internationally, and their work is held in a number of collections around the world. According to the Heiser Gallery, which represents the duo in Australia, their art invokes "illusory worlds that disrupt the boundaries between past and present, fact and fiction."[5] Both Brown and Green hold PhDs and, in addition to their art practice, they work at the University of Melbourne where Brown is a fellow in the School of Culture and Communication and Green is the head of the Department of Art History.

According to Green, the artists did not apply to the OWAS themselves; rather, they were approached by the AWM.[6] Initially, they felt the offer to travel to Afghanistan and Iraq sounded horrible: "the worst travel agent deals you can imagine. And, of course, we immediately said 'no.'"[7] However, in previous years, they had experienced some legal difficulties regarding copyright issues when they had used contemporary images drawn from newspapers in their work.[8] They therefore realized the OWAS presented them with a unique opportunity "to gather our own images of contemporary history."[9] As a result, the artists eventually agreed to the commission; they felt it would further their art practice and might serve to contemporize conceptions of Australian war history.

The paintings Brown and Green produced for *Framing Conflict* focus mainly on the daily actions and lives of the Australian troops. None of the works included in the exhibition represent fighting, destruction, or heroic actions—motifs that would straightforwardly define war and conflict; rather, the images foreground the people behind the military campaign. To do this, the compositions of many of the works centralize the bodies and viewpoints of the troops and thus provide exhibition-goers with the soldiers' perspectives on events and activities in a war zone. In *View from Chinook, Helmand Province, Afghanistan* (fig. 1) the barren Afghan terrain, seen at a distance, is framed by the front windshield of a Chinook helicopter, a vantage point that belongs to the Australian soldier steering the vehicle. The angle of vision is made explicit by the rear-view mirror reflection of the pilot's own helmet. In this composition, the museum audience's point of view becomes one with that of the soldier. Many of the works exhibited in *Framing Conflict* encourage this type of identification; they not only represent Australian military actions in Afghanistan, but also attempt to provide exhibition-goers with a vicarious experience of the war zone.

I visited the exhibition in October 2009 at the Fleet Air Arm Museum in Nowra, a small town on the south coast of Australia, about 150 km outside of Sydney. A large facility located on the HMAS Albatross naval base, the museum was founded by the Royal Australian Navy to preserve and showcase the history of naval aviation.[10] Its building was designed as an airplane hangar, with a large central space filled with aircrafts, helicopters, and other aviation-related materials. *Framing Conflict* was mounted in a small, light-coloured square room adjacent to the main space, in an area called the Federation Wing.[11] There, a series of thirty-one paintings and three photographs hung in a more or less straight line around the entire perimeter

Figure 2. Installation photograph of *Framing Conflict*, Fleet Air Arm Museum, Nowra, 2009 (Photo: author).

(fig. 2).[12] A sign reading "Art Gallery" was taped to the door leading to the exhibition, temporarily demarcating the materials in the room as distinct from those found elsewhere in the museum. The need to separate the works produced by Brown and Green from the war artefacts preserved by the institution echoed, in part, the desire to situate their pieces as "art."

An introductory panel near the exhibition's entrance outlined the purposes and aims of the artworks:

> Brown and Green's works of art record the activities and experiences of the Australian troops. They are contemplative works that reveal new and strange configurations of landscape, culture, and technology. The artists consider these works contemporary extensions of the historical and artistic traditions of travel to, and conflict within, exotic lands.

In addition to introducing the commissioned pieces as visual records of "the activities and experiences of the Australian troops," the panel also framed them as "contemporary extensions," or heirs to "historical and artistic traditions" that intersect with the histories of the AWM and OWAS. In this way, the institutional legacy of state-sponsored war art became an integral element that contextualized the production and exhibition of Brown and Green's works.

The historical context of state-sponsored war art in Australia

The emergence of museums in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries provided new sites for war trophies, which, like the institutions themselves, could embody national/ist agendas.[13] The

development of museums exclusively dedicated to the display of war-related artefacts occurred later, during and immediately after World War I. This world conflict, in particular, spurred the memorializing of people and events of war because it was promoted as a moment when the nation's "sacrifices"—measured in casualty numbers, rationing, and financial cost—were especially high. As art historian Elizabeth Rankin argued in her study of war museums in the British Dominions, "war museums and collections of battle trophies were a way to affirm that the war had been of value."[14] During this time period, Australia developed a powerful founding myth that tied national character to military activities and provoked interest in establishing institutions such as the AWM and OWAS.

The 25 April 1915 landing at Gallipoli, for instance, became a national/ist event so monumental that the moment was perceived as having forged a decidedly Australian sense of self. This new identity was labelled ANZAC, which stands for Australian and New Zealand Army Corps. War journalist and official Australian historian Charles Bean described the Gallipoli landing in his definitive history of Australia's role in the Great War, *The Story of Anzac* (1924):

> Anzac now belongs to the past, and during the war all energy was concentrated on the future; but the influence of the Gallipoli Campaign upon the national life of Australia and New Zealand had been far too deep to fade. Though the expeditionary forces of the two Dominions were only in their infancy, and afterwards fought with success in greater and more costly battles, no campaign is so identified with them as this. In no unreal sense, it was on the 25th of April, 1915, that the consciousness of Australian nationhood was born.[15]

Bean acknowledged the position that Australia occupied as a dominion within the larger Empire, highlighting the importance of being recognized within the imperial organization. Yet, he explained, the pride that resulted from having successfully waged the Gallipoli campaign was perceived to provide Australia with a particular "consciousness" of national identity.[16] After Gallipoli, the term ANZAC was used to refer to a specifically Australian strength of spirit that paralleled the heroic deeds performed during the 1915 landing. ANZAC still describes, in popular idiom, the valiant actions of Australian military personnel.

While in London in 1916, Charles Bean, then official Australian war correspondent, learned that the Canadians had asked for custody of their own forces' artefacts, rather than letting them go to the British War Office. Bean urged several senior Australian Imperial Force (AIF) officers to make a similar request on behalf of Australian relics.[17] As he wrote in the October 1917 edition of the *ANZAC Bulletin*, the official newspaper of the AIF,

> The Australian record of the war ought to be as interesting as any one of those in Europe or America. At least, the organisation which has been established to collect and preserve it is, as far as is known, the most complete of those which have been gradually established by any British state during the war. Canada gave us great help in starting it, but we have gone beyond her.[18]

Thereafter, military records of the AIF were transferred into the care of Major John L. Treloar, who began organizing the Australian War Records Section of the AIF in a London office in July 1917.[19] In 1920, Treloar was appointed director of the Australian War Museum, which opened in 1922 in the Eastern Annex of the Royal Exhibition Building in Melbourne and was moved in 1925 to Sydney, where it remained for a decade.[20] Under the watchful eye of Bean, its strongest proponent, the Australian War Memorial was officially opened in Canberra, the nation's capital, on Armistice Day 1941.

The materials originally collected to represent the nation's war history were a mix of military artefacts and art. They were arranged according to a heroic narrative of a new nation within a powerful empire. In order to develop the collection, the Australian War Records Section put calls out to Australian servicemen for donations of military souvenirs and memorabilia, and Treloar in particular was keen to collect the monthly war diaries kept by each military unit.[21] The official exhibitions of military objects sought to "mobilise a discourse of authenticity to persuade visitors that encountering 'real' objects of war such as bullet casings, shrapnel and exploded bombshells" was better than simply seeing them depicted in newspapers or on television.[22] In addition to military relics, the Australian memorial holdings include art created by war artists commissioned by the OWAS, which the Australian government established during the war, modelling it on British and Canadian war art programs.[23] Prior to the OWAS, the Australian High Commission, advised by Charles Bean, had selected serving officers to act as official war correspondents; he also contracted five artists to document battle through the Australian War Records Section.

In his original proposal to establish the AWM, Bean requested that an entire room be dedicated to the works of Will Dyson, an Australian cartoonist and journalist working in London at the outbreak of the war. Bean, who had appointed Dyson as the first official Australian war artist, disliked the staged quality of most British photographs. He felt that Dyson's graphic work produced the most truthful depictions of war.[24] Bean also encouraged and supported artist George Lambert during WWI. Originally from Russia, Lambert was approached in 1917 by both the Canadian and Australian governments to develop artworks related to each nation's role in the Great War.[25]

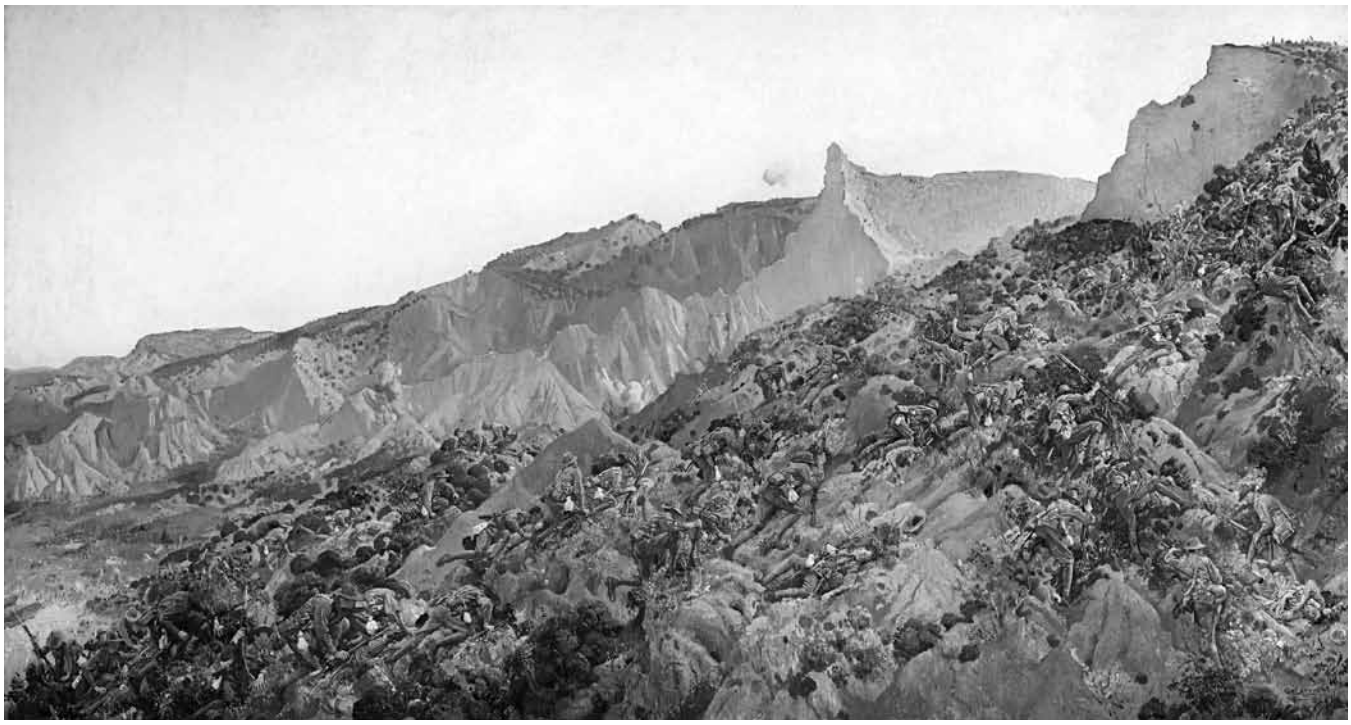

Figure 3. George W. Lambert, *ANZAC, the Landing of 1915*, 1920–22. Oil on canvas, 200 × 370 cm. Australian War Memorial, Canberra, Australia. Collection of Australian War Memorial, ID number ART02873.

Choosing to work with Australia, he travelled to Turkey, where he familiarized himself with the landscape he painted in his celebratory work *ANZAC, the Landing of 1915* (1922), which portrays the legendary battle of Gallipoli (fig. 3). This work has been on continual display at the AWM since it opened in 1922, and is considered "one of the most important paintings in the Memorial's art collection."[26] In another painting, *A Sergeant of the Light Horse* (1920), Lambert depicts not an idealized event, but a heroic type, a "digger" (Australian slang for soldier) in the Australian Light Horse, a WWI military cavalry regiment (fig. 4).[27] It is described in a 2007 Lambert retrospective as "a tribute to a type of Australian, generally a product of a rural background, who became part of the national mythology during the First World War: the Light Horseman."[28] These works exemplify the kinds of cultural products that Bean encouraged, anchoring the history of the Australian war art tradition.[29]

The OWAS has continued to commission artists throughout the twentieth and into the twenty-first centuries. Organized through the AWM, it funded them to document Australian war efforts during WWII, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War. In 1999, it once again sent artists into the field to depict Australian peacekeeping operations in East Timor. In 2001, Australian artists were active in Afghanistan, and in 2003, in the Middle East. This century-long history of state-sponsored war art clearly demonstrates that art is perceived as an important means to record and visualize Australian military actions by a number of groups—government, military, and the public. As *Framing Conflict* curator Heywood explains, the Australian government and military encourage war art programs because "they want to give a perspective of what's going on rather than people making assumptions through the media or whatever else."[30] The production of art through the OWAS, however, involves not only the institutional structures of the AWM and OWAS, but also the socio-politics of conflict and the interests of the artists themselves. To be sure, while the government and military encourage war art to show "what's going on," they cannot control the representations. For Brown and Green, the production of artworks during their OWAS commission in Afghanistan and the Middle East in 2007 was inextricably linked to how they negotiated their role as heirs to the history of state-sponsored war art in relation to their own politics and to the larger context of Australia's participation in the international "War on Terror."

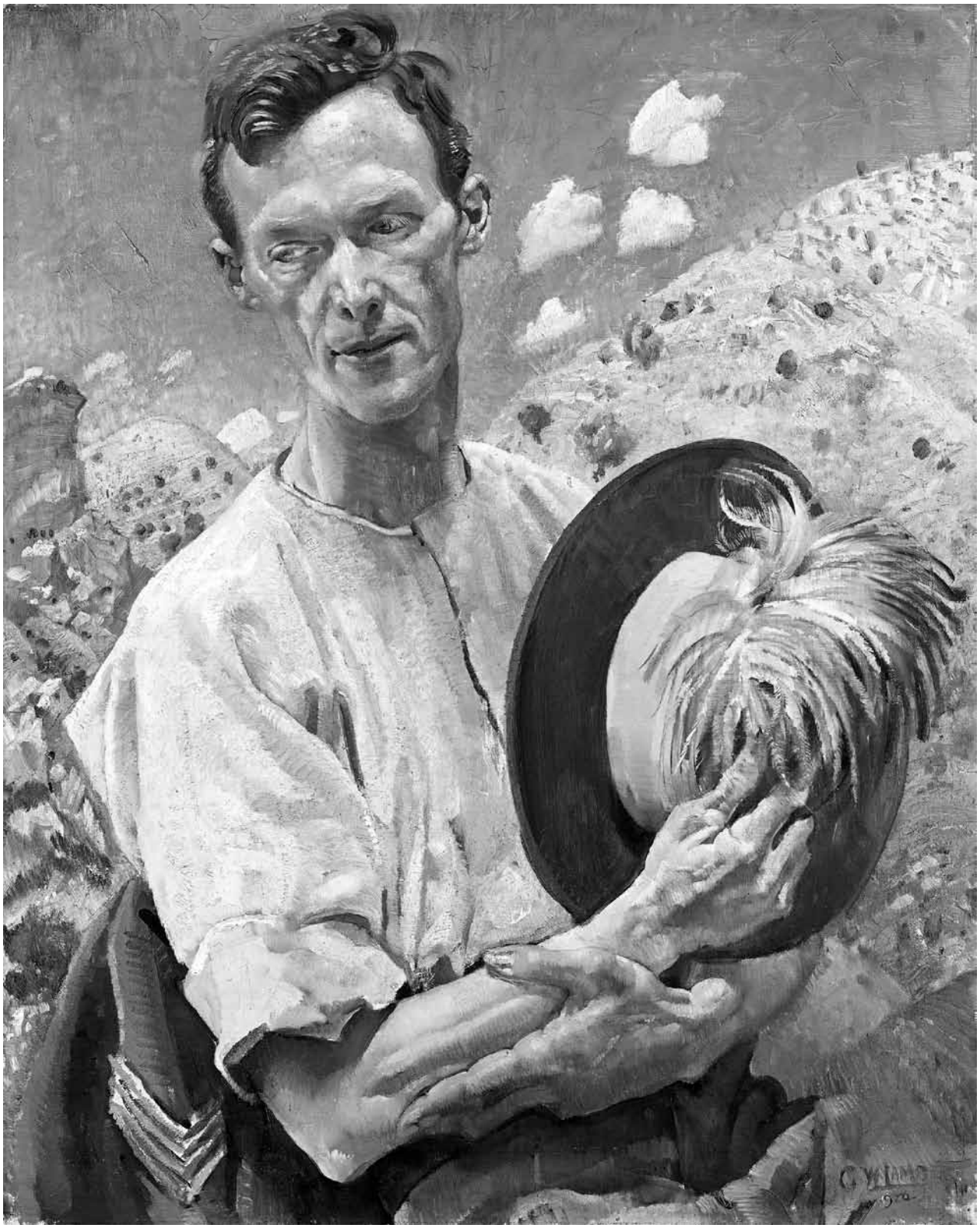

Figure 4. George W. Lambert, *A Sergeant of the Light Horse*, 1920. Oil on canvas, 77 x 62 cm. National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Australia. Collection of the National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne, Felton Bequest, 1921.

The artistic legacy of visualizing war history

The paintings Brown and Green produced for *Framing Conflict* both nod to the history of war art in Australia and provide a contemporary lens on this distinct tradition. In particular, the legacy of the soldier as a central figure in official narratives of Australian military campaigns is still very present. However, it functions differently in today's social, political, and historical context. As I have argued earlier, the paintings emphasize the bodies of military personnel and often represent activities and events in the war zone through the perspective, or eyes, of Australian troops. For example, *Market Camp Holland, Tarin Kowt, Uruzgan Province, Afghanistan* (fig. 5) portrays an interaction between Australian personnel and Afghan locals in a market.[31] Despite the presence of firearms, the scene appears peaceful. The composition resembles a personal photograph or a casual tourist snapshot, with the action slightly off-centre and the head and shoulders of a soldier cropped at the top left-hand corner of the frame. The Australians and Afghans are hunched together in a tight circle in the middle ground, with onlookers observing the group from the foreground, separated from them by a band of grey gravel. All their faces are outside the edge of the picture, placed in the shadow, or turned away from the audience. It is a picture of quiet conversation from which viewers are excluded. Yet, the composition that structures this painting enables them to mirror and embody the position and outlook of the headless Australian soldier watching the conversation from the left background.

In addition to representations of the everyday, Brown and Green completed works that depict Australian military personnel as ordinary people in casual poses. A case in point is their portrait of Dr. Jeff Brock, a surgeon in the Australian Defense Force, whom they picture in an unassuming, relaxed position (fig. 6). Brock is shown seated in the door of a Blackhawk helicopter, its interior visible behind him, with his gaze cast into the distance. Dressed in a military uniform with what appears to be medical equipment strapped to his right upper leg in the same manner one might carry a weapon, Brock is identified as an Aeromedical Evacuation (AME) surgeon by both the patch visible on his left arm and the title of the painting.[32] The portrait is not sensational in any way; it does not reveal the intensities of battle. Rather, it suggests the personal involvement demanded by warfare. It offers a quiet, almost serene quality and conveys approachability, familiarity, and safety.

Many of Brown and Green's OWAS paintings build upon, yet adapt, the aesthetic conventions of Australian war art. By focusing on the outlook and bodies of soldiers, they nod to the established heritage of art commissioned through the OWAS. Their works capture a distinctly Australian perspective of a war event or personify Australian nationhood, as Lambert had done decades earlier in *ANZAC, the Landing of 1915* (1922) and in *A Sergeant of the Light Horse* (1920). The artists are conscious that this legacy is inextricably linked to what Green identifies as "the ANZAC ethos." In his description of the time they spent interacting with the Australian military forces, for example, Green refers explicitly to his predecessors:

> We came away with incredible respect for the men and women we met, a deep admiration for the low-key laconicism and sense of service which is the Anzac ethos. The people we saw were the direct descendants of Lambert's lighthorseman.[33]

In aligning their representations with Lambert's celebratory work, Green asserts their interest in putting forward the character of the soldier—the figure of the digger that has played such a prominent role in the history of Australian war art—and visualizing Australian military activities through (primarily) his eyes.

In a newspaper interview, Green explains that the military personnel he and Brown depict are not "battle-hungry people playing crazy war games," but "admirable, low-key, balanced people putting their lives on the line."[34] The artists themselves feel a certain obligation to the people they represent and the institutions that fund their work, which influenced the types of images they produced. As Brown puts it, "Now, also, in the context of that commission there are certain issues, you know, that you take on because you feel that there is respect due to the troops and to the situation and so on."[35] Although in many ways the OWAS emphasizes the artist's freedom, the very mandate of the AWM (where the commissions are housed) is to commemorate war on behalf of soldiers and their families. "In terms of our choices," Brown explains, "that probably affected what we did, but it wasn't really a constraint. It was more to do with calibrating."[36]

While their artworks assert certain continuities with historical images, they also disrupt traditions, enacting a critique through compositions and styles that challenge, or at the very least expand, expectations of war art, as well as art historical categories. For example, in the exhibition, three large-scale works included the term "history painting" in their titles. This genre has conventionally been regarded by Western national institutions as the most important, and has often served as a staple in war art. In fact, one of the exhibition's didactic panels reminded visitors of this hierarchy:

> The titles for the three largest paintings directly refer to history painting—a traditional genre that focused on mythological, biblical, historical, and military subjects.… By making reference to this heritage, Green and Brown locate the scenes they represent within broad histories of conflict, global travel, and cultural interaction that have been pictured throughout the history of art.[37]

Figure 5. Lyndell Brown and Charles Green, *Market Camp Holland, Tarin Kowt, Uruzgan Province, Afghanistan*, 2007. Oil on linen, 31 x 31 cm. Fleet Air Arm Museum, Nowra, Australia. Collection of Lyndell Brown and Charles Green. Courtesy of the artists and the Australian War Memorial (Photo: author).

By including "history painting" in the titles, the artists acknowledge their role within the tradition that has, more often than not, served to legitimate power, whether it be political, economic, or religious. At first glance, then, it would seem that Brown and Green are uncritically participating in the monumentalization of Australian military involvement.[38]

However, the term "history painting" is here juxtaposed with images that depart from the official narrative. In this way, Brown and Green use their works to question this very category and its associations. For example, *History Painting: Market, Torin Kowt, Uruzgan Province, Afghanistan* (fig. 7) is a large-scale work (121 x 121 cm) that refers broadly to the conventions of the genre; it displays a complex multi-figure arrangement, a narrative theme, and a historical subject.[39] Here, these elements are employed to represent an interaction between Australian troops and Afghan civilians in a makeshift market. A standing Afghan man dressed in white stares out at the viewer from the middle ground; his face—the only one clearly visible in the painting—is located at the intersection point of the horizontal and vertical axes. And, while the scene contains activity, all the figures except one stand at rest, their bodies creating a series of vertical accents that reinforce the stability of the basic composition. The only one whose stance differs is that of a soldier exiting the image on the left-hand side of the frame. "History" in this instance is pictured as something other than the significant, the singular, or the dramatic; even in the context of what might be seen by Australian exhibition-goers as an exotic locale, it speaks instead of the typical, the uneventful, and the everyday. Interpreted this way, their *History Painting* shifts the expectations of the genre; it represents Australian war history as more mundane than monumental.

Figure 6. Lyndell Brown and Charles Green, *Portrait, Dr. Jeff Brock, AME surgeon, Kandahar*, 2007. Oil on linen, each panel 31 x 31 cm. Fleet Air Arm Museum, Nowra, Australia. Collection of Lyndell Brown and Charles Green. Courtesy of the artists and the Australian War Memorial (Photo: author).

Brown and Green are very aware of the art historical category to which they are referring. In fact, their unconventional interpretation of the genre is indicative of their proficiency with its characteristic vocabulary. Brown is quoted to this effect on the didactic panel that accompanied the work: "we were thinking particularly of nineteenth-century Orientalist paintings, French paintings, in 'the exotic East,'" she explains. "We're sort of channelling the history of art." While their "channelling" is evident through their allusions to history painting and certain elements of the piece, their re-interpretation of the genre provides a different angle of vision and a new understanding of the people and events depicted. In history paintings, for example, the figure that is visually most prominent is usually the story's protagonist, portrayed as a hero.[40] Brown and Green's placement of an Afghan civilian as the central character, an unheroic individual looking out at the audience from the middle ground, is unusual in this respect. Positioned in this way, this figure works in relation to another, an Australian soldier located in the left foreground with his back to viewers, creating rapid recession into depth and, with it, a strong perspectival line.

Linked to the centred Afghan man in these perspectival terms, the soldier in the left foreground works on a number of levels to establish the scopic relationship of viewers to the painting. Not only does his connection to the man in the middle ground signal the intercultural contact zones characteristic of both military conflict and global travel, but unlike the central figure, he is not recognizable. His face is turned away as he quietly watches the scene unfold. Stripped of individuality yet identifiable as an Australian soldier by his uniform, he becomes the character in the painting with whom the museum audience is most likely to connect. While he is not made heroic or visually prominent, he nevertheless becomes the frame of reference through which the market is seen, providing an example of the Australian experience of Afghanistan.

Figure 7. Lyndell Brown and Charles Green, *History Painting: Market, Torin Kowt, Uruzgan Province, Afghanistan*, 2008. Oil on linen. 121cm x 121cm. Collection of Lyndell Brown and Charles Green. Courtesy of the artists and the Australian War Memorial (Photo: author).

Another element in *History Painting: Market, Torin Kowt, Uruzgan Province, Afghanistan* that leads to an unconventional interpretation of the genre is the soldier walking out of the picture. Anomalous to the scene, he focuses on events seemingly "outside the frame." Quite literally, he has his back to the action. Uncommon in history painting, this stance is actually characteristic of photojournalism, where the immediacy of a moment (and presumably, its production) is often signalled by the framing of the scene as a fragment of a more complex whole. In this context, the formal association to photojournalism—a modern, even ubiquitous, form of war representation—brings a contemporary edge to history painting.

Brown and Green's stylistic gesture toward photojournalism is not unintentional. Within the AWM and OWAS, artworks and photo-documentation have always coexisted, although they tend to serve different roles and different publics. OWAS-sponsored photographs are not intended for display to domestic audiences, but are archived as historical documents.[41] The artworks produced through the war art program, in contrast, are commissioned specifically to be displayed publicly and are promoted as works of art. As Brown recalls, the mandate they were given was clear: "they commissioned us to do the paintings, they didn't commission us to do the photographs."[42] For AWM curator Warwick Heywood, art is significantly better than documentary photography at communicating the singularity of the Australian military participation. With regards to Brown and Green's commissioned paintings, he explains they "sort of convey an aesthetic and sensory experience of war that isn't captured in other modes of journalism or representation."[43]

Basing their paintings on photographs they took while they were embedded with the Australian military, the two artists overtly play with the complexities of art and photojournalism. As they explain in the statement they produced for *Framing Conflict*, "Our paintings exist in relation to photography: they consciously exhibit and flaunt their nature as transcripts."[44] In a way that recalls their re-interpretation of history painting, the artists use a photo-realistic style to blur the boundaries between art and photo-documentation, emphasizing that such a distinction is one that is rooted in ideology rather than aesthetics.[45] This strategy resonates with what curator Alfredo Cramerotti labels "aesthetic journalism" to refer to the ways in which the style and form of journalism and photo-documentation—as well as art practices that employ such aesthetics—have often been tied to objectivity.[46]

Photo-realism allows the artists to question the ideological distinctions that are often made between art and photo-documentation. It also provides them with a way in which to explore how the content of images is interpreted through the expectations of the medium. Additionally, in this specific instance, it functions to question the display of art, rather than OWAS photojournalism, to Australian publics not only for what it depicts—a nation's military effort—but also for the visual strategies it deploys as a fine art form. Taken together, the term "history painting" used in several titles and the photo-realistic style of the works shift the expectations of state-sponsored art by demonstrating that the boundaries between different traditions of war imagery are fluid. In other words, Brown and Green adapt histories of war representation to new ends in order to create contemporary, critical artworks that both acknowledge the tradition and depart from it.

The politics of Australian involvement in contemporary warfare

While Brown and Green reference and negotiate the artistic and historical legacy of official war art commissions with a certain ease, they are more ambivalent with regards to how they address the contemporary circumstances of Australia's involvement in the "War on Terror." Although they respectfully acknowledge the efforts of Australian military personnel, the artists are not supportive of the larger politics of war. In fact, they have spoken openly about their opposition to Australia's post-2001 involvement in Afghanistan and the Middle East. In a newspaper interview chronicling their time spent as OWAS artists, they state that they "oppos[e] the Iraq 'misadventure'" and are "implacably anti-war."[47] Considered through the lens of their personal politics, the images they produce slip away from traditions of war art and engage directly with current socio-political debates about Australia's role in an infinitely expanding war against "terror."[48] For instance, in Brown and Green's paintings, the soldier is no longer the idealized "digger" of Australian nation building during WWI. Rather, their soldier is the individual who carries out the actual labour of Australia's military policy and whose occupation is normalized as necessary within the logic of the "War on Terror." In the representations of the bodies of the soldiers and the landscapes of war visualized through their eyes, the artists critique Australia's post-9/11 official narrative and military involvement as part of the larger international effort to use war as a development strategy.

In 2007–08, when *Framing Conflict* was produced, Australia's official policy on war was one of global peacekeeping.[49] At this time, the country participated in military operations in Afghanistan through the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), a North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) unit. The ISAF promotes the efforts of its troops as "engaged more in peacekeeping and reconstruction than in fighting."[50] The United Nations (UN) regulates the activities of the ISAF and defines its workers as those who were

> called upon not only to maintain peace and security, but also to facilitate the political process, protect civilians, assist in the disarmament, demobilization and reintegration of former combatants; support the organization of elections, protect and promote human rights and assist in restoring the rule of law.[51]

While maintaining the importance of cooperation with the ISAF, official national conflict narratives also insist that Australian contributions are understood as central to such international reconstruction and security operations. According to Australia's Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, "Peace operations are a vital element in Australia's contribution to international peace and security. Australia therefore plays an active role in international discussions to reform and improve the UN peacekeeping system."[52] In this way, official Australian foreign policy locates its military actions at the centre of an international strategy by asserting Australia's "active role" as a "vital element" in the "War on Terror." I label Australia's conflict strategy during this period as "humane peacekeeping," because of its supposed focus on low human casualty numbers, humanitarian efforts, human rights, and peace-rather-than-war actions, and its emphasis on the troops, or bodies, through which such actions are carried out.[53]

However, while Australia's official accounts of its role in international post-2001 conflict efforts assert a general, if not vague, will "to do good," many individuals, groups, and organizations have criticized the discrepancies between the rhetoric of peacekeeping and the actions undertaken in its name. Particularly with regards to post-2001 military strategies, "peacekeeping" has been reproved for its contribution to a public relations campaign that attempts to soften the sharp edges of US imperial aggression and to maintain support for the continued, yet amorphous "War on Terror."[54] Because of their public anti-war stance and their critique of Australia's involvement in peacekeeping missions, Brown and Green do not seem to be an obvious choice for a commission through the OWAS. Whether the AWM and OWAS knew of the artists' specific anti-war politics before the commission was awarded is unclear. However, Green confirms that the institutions were well aware of his and Brown's brand of critical art practice.[55]

In spite of the potential for political judgement, Brown and Green's commission provides an opportunity for the AWM and OWAS to sponsor and collect contemporary art that documents Australia's efforts in the "War on Terror." It also allows the institutions to reaffirm their support for the freedom of OWAS artists—even those who may be critical—to "make a rich contribution to Australian art."[56] For the OWAS and AWM, the rhetoric of creative freedom is crucial, since it ensures that the resulting images can be publicly disconnected

Figure 8: Lyndell Brown and Charles Green, *History Painting: Outpost, Helmand Province, Afghanistan*, 2008. Oil on linen. 121cm x 121cm. Collection of Lyndell Brown and Charles Green. Courtesy of the artists and the Australian War Memorial (Photo: author).

from military interest or political negotiations if need be. Furthermore, their relative independence from the institutions guards the artworks themselves from potential accusations of serving the aims of propagating national/ist discourse. As *Framing Conflict* curator Heywood explains, "[the OWAS] doesn't have any sort of propaganda element to it…. I've always seen it as being sort of open and freeing."[57] Green supports Heywood's statement:

> Basically, [the institutions] gave us carte blanche. The real understanding from the very start was they knew what our work is like and they wished us to do whatever we wanted. There was no desire from them to control what we did or how, nor even any desire to orient us toward documenting what Australians were doing, although they hoped we would. They didn't know what we would do; they hoped in some way [we would represent] the presence of Australia in these war zones…but they didn't insist on that at all.[58]

Although neither the OWAS nor the military explicitly impinged upon Brown and Green's artistic freedom, they nevertheless set certain parameters. These were said to be dictated by the need for personal safety and military security. For the artists,

these restrictions meant limited access to the spaces of conflict in Afghanistan and Iraq, and confinement to the military bases. As Green explains, "The fact is that you're basically seeing what you can see and where you can go, given that there is no free movement in a real, genuine war zone, especially a war zone post-9/11."[59] These security parameters may not be the same as institutional dictates, but they nevertheless clearly define and narrow the types of images that can be produced. As Judith Butler explains,

> Although restricting how or what we see is not exactly the same as dictating a storyline, it is a way of interpreting in advance what will and will not be included in the field of perception. The very action of the war, its practices and its effects, are meant to be established by the perspective that the Department of Defense orchestrates and permits, thereby illustrating the orchestrative power of the state to ratify what will be called reality: the extent of what is perceived to exist.[60]

Despite constraints on their movements and access, Brown and Green sought out scenes and moments that would inspire works that both represent Australian war efforts and challenge the necessity of such efforts. In this way, they created works that negotiate the visual field of national/ist military participation in relation to their own political beliefs, opening the representations to a critique of the "War on Terror."

In the artist statement for *Framing Conflict*, the duo describes military intervention as the "hard edge of globalisation."[61] Furthermore, they explain that during their OWAS commission, "we were looking for landscapes of globalisation and entropy. We thought this is what [war] must be like, and it was."[62] In this way, their "anti-war" position manifests itself in their paintings by presenting the war effort in relation to global capitalism and uneven development. The concept of entropy, or "the inexorable decay of the built environment," is central here.[63] Indeed, many of the artists' paintings represent the sprawl of a built military environment within what would appear to Australian audiences to be a harsh and barren landscape. *History Painting, Outpost, Helmand Province*, for example, depicts the point of view of the soldier flying the helicopter (fig. 8) in a way that recalls *View from Chinook, Helmand Province, Afghanistan*. This composition aligns the vantage point of the Australian soldier operating the vehicle, his hand visible in the lower left-hand corner of the image, with that of the viewers, who are cast as passengers in the chopper. The scene from the window opens onto a monochromatic and barren environment, seemingly void of life beyond the military base. The zone occupied by Australian personnel contrasts with the surrounding desert, with its barracks towards the left and colourful containers at the centre-right.

If Brown and Green's portrayal of Australian soldiers is often sympathetic, their representations of the landscapes of war are far more harsh and critical. They clearly outline bleak and desolate spaces, where any measure of success or winning in the "War on Terror" is ambiguous and complex. They explain how, from their perspective, these environments speak to larger critiques of global capitalism and the development work undertaken in its name:

> — Brown: We realized what we were witnessing was…
>
> — Green: Tragic.
>
> — Brown: The tragedy of globalisation, but also the decline of the American Empire, in a sense. When you saw the vastness… it's quite hard to convey, the vastness of the forces that have been deployed, the incredible waste, the sense of fragility and decay, the sense that those bases are just bits of razor wire and shipping containers and dust and gravel and they could actually just all disappear in this implacable environment. That was palpable and that was really what we were interested in.[64]

The artists' understanding of the international efforts waged in the name of the "War on Terror" as the tragic failure of global capitalism is embodied by broad expanses of lifeless landscapes, marked with symbols of "the vastness of forces," "the incredible waste," and "the sense of fragility and decay." Coupled with their interpretation of military actions as mundane rather than monumental, they use their representations of Australia's current military participation to complicate national/ist narratives of peacekeeping and reconstruction. In their depictions of the militarized terrain of Australian involvement, Brown and Green manage both to record Australian war activities as part of their role as OWAS artists and to interject a critique of such activities through the lens of bleak, entropic spaces that mark the failure of war-as-globalized development. The multiple meanings produced in such representations demonstrate how they negotiate their role as heirs to the artistic and historical traditions of state-sponsored art production, in relation to the larger social and political systems framing Australia's involvement in the "War on Terror."

Brown and Green's paintings in *Framing Conflict* offer complex and multivalent entry-points into the ways in which narratives of Australian military participation are visualized and circulated among domestic audiences. With this commission, the artists worked within the parameters of the Official War Art Scheme and the Australian War Memorial. As such, Brown and Green acknowledge the artistic legacy of official war art, as well as the institutions' mandate as the interpretive authorities for Australian war history. They pay tribute to a particular heritage of

representing military experiences, locating their work within the national/ist rhetoric of the ANZAC ethos, with its emphasis on the bodies and perspectives of military personnel (the "digger"). In this way, they utilize an established visual language in their contemporary depictions of war to pay respect to the people, institutions, and systems most invested in the state-sponsored war art program.

Yet, this visual language undergoes a type of translation, as Brown and Green also disrupt these art traditions and critique Australia's participation in the "War on Terror." The practice defined by Butler of reading the *what* of war images in relation to the *how* of their production, then, becomes a complicated one. When located within the historical, artistic, and socio-political contexts of their production, their paintings cannot be simply classified as legitimating or resisting the past and present history of war and its representations. Rather, in *how* the artists negotiate their role in the artistic legacies of state-sponsored war art and the politics of contemporary warfare, *what* they depict points to the ways in which multiple narratives of war (even within state-sponsored institutions) operate in a constantly shifting dialogic relationship to one another.

As official representations of the nation at war, artworks such as these become central to the current and future conceptions of national/ist history and its relation to the memorialization of warfare. As the "War on Terror" proceeds under a variety of different names into its thirteenth year, and as nations reassess their military involvement, it is such objects and images that give civilians (and voters) a viewpoint of war from a distance and a chance to challenge and question what they see.

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Notes

1 Judith Butler, *Frames of War* (New York and London: Verso, 2009), 71.

2 Lyndell Brown and Charles Green, "Extracts from Artist Statement, 2007," *Australian War Memorial*, 2007. Updated 2009, http://www.awm.gov.au/exhibitions/framing/statement.asp.

3 This article focuses on their series of OWAS paintings displayed in *Framing Conflict*, which amounts to thirty-one pieces at the *Fleet Air Arm Museum* in Nowra. However, the AWM collection holds thirty-seven paintings by Brown and Green, as well as other objects related to the commission (eleven photographs and seventeen items such as patches, name tags, and clothing).

4 I use "national/ist" as a critical term to highlight the way the term "national" is often deployed unproblematically to describe nation-based narratives and cultural objects.

5 Heiser Gallery, "Lyndell Brown and Charles Green." Updated 2013, www.heisergallery.com.au/artists/brown_green/index.html.

6 Charles Green, Interview with Lyndell Brown and Charles Green by author, November 2009, Melbourne, Australia.

7 Green, Interview with author.

8 Green, Interview with author.

9 Green, Interview with author.

10 Royal Australian Navy, *Fleet Air Arm Museum* (Nowra: Fleet Air Arm Museum, n.d.), n.p.

11 According to a panel mounted next to the entrance, the Federation Wing opened in late 2000 to mark the centenary of the Australian Federation.

12 The photographs included in the Nowra display of *Framing Conflict* were large (87.5 x 87.5 cm) and had a particular painterly quality that, like Brown and Green's paintings, blurs many of the boundaries between art and photography. In this paper, however, I focus exclusively on the paintings, because they carry a particular weight in relation to the conventional category of art and the traditions of state-sponsored war art in Australia. As the exhibition travelled to different cultural and military institutions in cities across Australia, the materials it included were reorganized slightly to adapt to each space. Some of the spaces that hosted *Framing Conflict* include the Art Gallery of Ballarat (Ballarat, Victoria), Gippsland Art Gallery (Gippsland, Victoria), Flinders University Art Gallery (Adelaide, South Australia), and Academy Gallery (Launceston, Tasmania). For a full listing of locations and dates, see the exhibition's information on the AWM website at https://www.awm.gov.au/exhibitions/framing/.

13 Elizabeth Rankin, "War Museums in the British Dominions: Conceptualising Imperial Allegiance and Colonial Autonomy," *New Zealand Sociology* XXI, 1 (2006), 49.

14 Rankin, "War Museums," 50. Australia was attempting to establish spaces for national/ist conflict narratives at the same moment that Britain was arranging an exhibition space for its own conflict history with the Imperial War Museum. Australia's desire to hold and organize its own war history illuminates its attempt to assert itself as a distinct and distinguished entity during WWI.

15 Charles Bean, *The Story of Anzac*, II (1st ed., Sydney: Angus & Robertson, 1924), 910. The power and legacy of Charles Bean in Australian history and its representation is indicated by the 2010

docudrama, *Charles Bean's Great War*, which bears the tagline "the greatest war correspondent in WW1 reporting to you from the frontline."

16 The term ANZAC references both the Australian and New Zealand army corps, but it is clear in Australian historian Bean's discussions that ANZAC as a military unit and moment of national consciousness was more fully associated with Australian than New Zealand identity.

17 Ken Inglis, "A Sacred Place: The Making of the Australian War Memorial," *War & Society* III (September 1985), 99.

18 Charles Bean, "Australia's Records: Preserved as Sacred Things—Pictures Relics and Writings," *The Anzac Bulletin* XL (October 1917), www.awm.gov.au/blog/category/exhibitions/to-flanders-fields-1917/page/3/.

19 Charles Bean, *The Story of Anzac*, I (2nd ed., Sydney: Angus & Robertson, [1921] 1933), xxv.

20 Bean, *Story of Anzac*, I, xxv; and Australian War Museum, *The Relics and Records of Australia's Effort in the Defence of the Empire, 1914–1918* (Melbourne: Australian War Museum, 1922); Inglis, "Sacred Place," 103.

21 Anne-Marie Conde, "Imagining a Collection: Creating Australia's Records of War," *Recollecting: The Journal of the National Museum of Australia* II, 1 (March 2007), http://recollections.nma.gov.au/issues/vol_2_no_1/papers/imagining_a_collection/.

22 Debbie Lisle, "Sublime Lessons: Education and Ambivalence in War Exhibitions," *Millennium—Journal of International Studies* XXXIV, 3 (2006), 844.

23 Australian War Memorial, "Australian Official War Artists, Introduction," 2010, www.awm.gov.au/encyclopedia/war_artists/artists.asp.

24 Will Dyson still occupies a strong place in the Australian imaginary of military conflict. His works are mounted throughout the AWM.

25 Australian War Memorial, "Artist profile: George Lambert, 1873–1930," http://www.awm.gov.au/people/artist_profiles/lambert/.

26 Australian War Memorial, "George Lambert."

27 Lambert's *A Sergeant of the Light Horse* has played such a prominent role in visualizations of military history, and by extension the history of the nation, that it appeared on a 1974 Australian stamp.

28 National Gallery of Australia, "Heroes & Icons: George W. Lambert Retrospective," 2007, http://nga.gov.au/Exhibition/Lambert/Detail.cfm?IRN=162564.

29 During World War II, Bean continued to appoint official war artists through the OWAS, while the military contracted their own artists through the Australian Military History Section. Other smaller subsets of the military appointed artists during the Second World War, including the Royal Australian Air Force, the Royal Australian Navy Historical Records Section, and the Allied Works Council. The works produced through these schemes were later donated to the collection of the AWM. For more information, see Australian War Memorial, "Australian Official War Artists."

30 Warwick Heywood, Interview with author, 24 November 2009, Canberra, Australia.

31 These interactions between Australian soldiers and Afghan civilians were choreographed for security reasons. Only particular Afghan civilians were allowed within the perimeter of the base, and all interactions were carefully monitored.

32 AME is a specialized medical transportation unit with which the Australian military work in Afghanistan.

33 Charles Green, quoted in Stephen Matchett, "The Art of War," *The Australian*, 25 April 2009, www.theaustralian.news.com.au.story/0,25197,25365423-22242,00.html.

34 Green, quoted in Matchett, "The Art of War."

35 Lyndell Brown, Interview with Lyndell Brown and Charles Green by author, November 2009, Melbourne, Australia.

36 Brown, Interview with author.

37 Warwick Heywood, exhibition didactic from *Framing Conflict*, Nowra: Fleet Air Arm Museum, 2009 (viewed November 2009).

38 Conventionally, when depictions of military activities in artworks tied to history painting are exhibited to the public, national military efforts are presented as both a reflection of activity and an acknowledgement that such activity is worthy of being documented in the culturally elite form of fine art. It is a form of representation that connects the perceived wealth and character of the nation to the art of war. See Donald Preziosi, "Introduction," in *The Art of Art History: A Critical Anthology*, ed. Preziosi (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1998), 13. Artworks are naturalized as historical documents that are believed to directly represent specific historical or national characteristics. These works bolster the nation-state not only on the basis of what they depict—a nation's strong military effort—but also through the form in which this effort is depicted—that of fine art. According to Elizabeth Mansfield, "art history enters into the service of nationalism" by confirming the value of artworks that contribute to "the robust health of a nation, for artworks by their very nature are marks of cultural abundance." Mansfield, "Introduction: Making Art History a Profession," in *Making Art History: A Changing Discipline and Its Institutions*, ed. Mansfield (New York and London: Routledge, 2007), 3.

39 David Green and Peter Seddon, eds., *History Painting Reassessed: The Representation of History in Contemporary Art* (New York: Manchester University Press, 2000).

40 An example of this type of painting is Antoine Jean-Gros's *General Bonaparte Visiting the Pesthouse at Jaffa* (1804). This work portrays a uniformed Napoleon in the origin, or central, point of the Cartesian axis, flanked by Middle Eastern men in various stages of dress. Aside from Napoleon and several of his aides, the faces of the other figures in the painting are hidden and therefore these figures remain depersonalized.

41 While this is the case in terms of the OWAS, the works of war photographers clearly cross the line into art practice in other venues. For example, °*SOUTH: WAR*, an exhibition held at the Australian Centre for Photography in Melbourne in 2009, featured works by a group of Australian war photographers who had been embedded with the military in a number of conflicts in different parts of the world. Many of these photographers had been officially commissioned through the AWM.

42 Brown, Interview with author.

43 Heywood, Interview with author.

44 Brown and Green, Artist Statement.

45 My use of photo-realism here refers to a style of representation involving graphic media that replicates the aesthetics of photography or film. For more information on this style as well as the 1960s art movement of the same name, see, for example, James Elkins, "Art History and Images That Are Not Art," *Art Bulletin* 77, 4 (1995): 553–71; Louis Meisel, *Photorealism in the Digital Age* (New York: Abrams Inc., 2013); Louis Meisel and Linda Chase, *Photorealism at the Millennium* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2002).

46 Alfredo Cramerotti, *Aesthetic Journalism: How to Inform Without Informing* (Chicago: Intellect, 2009), 21–22.

47 Quoted in Matchett, "The Art of War."

48 The nation-state's role in international conflict is part of a much larger and ongoing conversation that questions the normalization of "terror," and therefore the international fight against it, as potentially occurring anywhere and everywhere. Philosopher Giorgio Agamben, expanding on the writing of Carl Schmitt, describes a scenario whereby military actions of the state are normalized, extend indefinitely, and diminish the rights of citizens. Agamben, *State of Exception*, trans. Kevin Attell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005). This normalization of global military conflict as inherent to the perceived natural order in relation to national and global development is inextricably linked to the principles of neoliberal globalization and the extension of the military-industrial complex. Neoliberalism, in particular, is the prerequisite politico-economic logic for the transnational expansion of war; as Agamben writes, "measures of security can only function within a context of freedom of traffic, trade, and individual initiative." Agamben, "Security and Terror," trans. Caroline Emcke, *Theory and Event* 5, 4 (2002), n.p. Neoliberal policies of conflict connect extraterritorial military activities to the militarization of national spaces to ensure the security of the internal and external order. See David Harvey, *The New Imperialism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). As art theorist Gerald Raunig writes, "A tendency to the permanent state of war, no longer between sovereign nation-states, but in the global context and permeating the nation-states, replaces the procedure of the declaration of war with transnational police measures." Raunig, *Art and Revolution* (Los Angeles: Semiotext(e), 2007), 243. The nation-state, then, must define itself in relation to policies of transnational conflict. Geographer Merje Kuus defines this desire of the nation-state to identify itself in relation to larger international structures as cosmopolitan militarism, which highlights "the normalization of military institutions through narratives of global cooperation." Kuus, "Cosmopolitan Militarism? Spaces of NATO Expansion," *Environment and Planning* 41 (2009): 545.

49 Australia has participated in global strategies of peacekeeping since 1947 when the United Nations' Security Council authorized the deployment of military observers to monitor the struggle for independence in Indonesia. For more information see Jennifer Borda, *War and Peacekeeping* (Oakville: Rubicon, 2002); Peter Londey, *Other People's Wars: A History of Australian Peacekeeping* (Crows Nest, NSW: Allen & Unwin, 2004); and United Nations, "History of Peacekeeping," *United Nations Peacekeeping* (2011), www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/history.shtml.

50 BBC, "Q&A: ISAF Troops in Afghanistan," 2009, news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/7228649.stm.

51 United Nations, "What is Peacekeeping?" *United Nations Peacekeeping*, (2011), www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/operations/peacekeeping.shtml.

52 Australian Government, Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, "Current Australian Policy on Peace Operations," August 2008, reprinted in *International Peacekeeper Magazine*, 11 April 2011, http://www.intlpeacekeeper.com.au/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=25&Itemid=28.

53 The focus on the soldier as a key element in the rhetoric of post-2001 conflict can be a way of framing the war effort as an issue about support for the troops, if not the war, a branding of international military activities that is most evident in the ubiquitous pro-war slogan "Support Our Troops" in Australia, as well as in the US, UK, and Canada.

54 For some recent scholarly works addressing the politics of peacekeeping, see, for example, Philip Cunliffe, "Still the Spectre of the Feast: Comparisons between Peacekeeping and Imperialism in Peacekeeping Studies Today," *International Peacekeeping* 19, 4 (2012): 426–42; J. Michael Greig and Paul Diehl, "The Peacekeeping-Peacemaking Dilemma," *International Studies Quarterly* 49, 4 (2005): 624–46; Lucia Kowaluk and Steve Staples, eds., *Afghanistan and Canada* (Montreal, New York, and London: Black Rose Books, 2009); Michael Lipson, "Peacekeeping: Organized Hypocrisy," *European Journal of International Relations* 13, 1 (2007): 5–34; Ian McKay and Jamie Swift, *Warrior Nation* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2012); Robert Rubenstien, *Peacekeeping Under Fire: Culture and Intervention* (London: Paradigm Publishers, 2008); and Thierry Tardy, "A Critique of Robust Peacekeeping in Contemporary Peacekeeping Operations," *International Peacekeeping* 18, 2 (2011): 152–67.

55 Green, Interview with author.

56 Australian official war artists, Australian War Memorial official website, http://www.awm.gov.au/encyclopedia/war_artists/artists/.

57 Heywood, Interview with author.
58 Green, Interview with author.
59 Green, Interview with author.
60 Butler, *Frames of War*, 66.
61 Brown and Green, Artist Statement.
62 Brown and Green, Artist Statement.
63 Warwick Heywood, *Framing Conflict: Iraq and Afghanistan*, Exhibition catalogue (Canberra: Australian War Memorial, 2008), 14.
64 Brown and Green, Interview with author.