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## The “Olympiad of Photography”: FIAP and the Global Photo-Club Culture, 1950–1965

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THE “OLYMPIAD OF PHOTOGRAPHY”:  
FIAP AND THE GLOBAL PHOTO-CLUB CULTURE, 1950–1965

by

ALISE TIFENTALE

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in Art History in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The City University of New York

2020

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This manuscript has been read and accepted for the Graduate Faculty in  
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Date

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## ABSTRACT

The “Olympiad of Photography:” FIAP and the Global Photo-Club Culture, 1950–1965

by

Alise Tifentale

Advisor: Siona Wilson

This dissertation examines the global photo-club culture of the 1950s through the work of the International Federation of Photographic Art (Fédération internationale de l'art photographique, FIAP), founded in 1950. By 1965 FIAP united national associations of photo clubs in fifty-five countries across Western and Eastern Europe, Asia, Latin America, and Africa. The regular exhibitions and publications of FIAP provided a unique platform where photographers living in the “second” and “third worlds” were welcome to present their work on equal grounds with their peers from the “first world.” FIAP, I posit, created a nonprofit, egalitarian, and open system of image production and circulation among photo clubs that aspired to align with the idealism of the UN Declaration of Human Rights. Moreover, I contend that the photo-club culture of the 1950s overlapped remarkably with the field of professional magazine photography and photojournalism. Thus FIAP, I argue, succeeded in mobilizing a transnational and heterogeneous community of photographers by appealing to a shared idealism that transcended geopolitical and professional boundaries at a time of deep political and socioeconomic crisis. The work of these photographers, documented in seven FIAP yearbooks published between 1950 and 1965, offers a cross-section of postwar photography consisting of multiple regional perspectives and idiosyncratic visual styles that resist applying one unified periodization or single stylistic hierarchy. My analysis of this cross-section, with a focus on examples from Argentina, Brazil,

East and West Germany, India, and Taiwan, aims to disrupt the established narrative of the Eurocentric art history of photography. Instead, I propose a global and decentralized history comprising several coexisting narratives, each of them relevant within their local and regional context independently of whether they fit into the storyline of Western art history or not. Relying on the sociology of art and postcolonial theories, I emphasize the cultural diversity and local specificity of the multiple photographic practices that coexisted in photo-club culture. The systemic power imbalance in the field of photography during the 1950s, I posit, was one of the reasons why the efforts of FIAP and most photo clubs had been forgotten as we look back on that decade from our vantage point. Among the dominant forces in the field were the influence of *Life* magazine, the monopolization of photojournalistic production by Magnum cooperative, and the worldwide circulation of the exhibition and photobook *The Family of Man*. Operating in this context, FIAP and photo clubs offered “second” and “third world” photographers an alternative and more accessible avenue toward advancing their social standing and elevating the cultural role of photography within their societies.

The dissertation opens with a panoramic view on the profound influence the UN had on FIAP. It proceeds with a sequence of gradually closer middle shots, first focusing on magazine photographers as a professional group and then identifying humanist photography, which also had a notable presence in FIAP yearbooks, as the leading visual style of the time. The next close-up is the international photography trade fair in Cologne, *Photokina 1956*, which gave an unprecedented public platform for photo-club exhibition design, strategies, and politics. The narrative concludes with macro-level close-ups of two outstanding advocates of photo-club culture and FIAP: Lang Jingshan, a Chinese refugee photographer working in Taiwan, and the São Paulo-based photo club Foto Cine Clube Bandeirante.

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## Chapter Six

Figure 6.1. The first cover of *Boletim Foto Cine* 12, no. 138 (July–August 1963) with a reproduction of *In the Spring* (undated) by Lang Jingshan.

Figure 6.2. FCCB president Eduardo Salvatore presents Lang Jingshan honorary membership in FCCB and the Brazilian Federation of Photography at the opening of Lang’s exhibition at the FCCB in July 1963. Photo: Tufy Kanji. J. E. L. S., “Encontro com Chin-San Long,” *Boletim Foto Cine* 12, no. 138 (July–August 1963): 17.

Figure 6.3. Reception at the FCCB on the occasion of the opening of solo exhibition by Lang Jingshan in July 1963. Lang Jingshan with Eduardo Salvatore and the consul of the Republic of China (Taiwan) in São Paulo, president of the Chinese Social Center of São Paulo, and members of the Brazilian Academy of Fine Arts. Photo: Tufy Kanji. J. E. L. S., “Encontro com Chin-San Long.” *Boletim Foto Cine* 12, no. 138 (July–August 1963): 16.

Figure 6.4. “Reception of the President of FIAP in Santos, Brazil, by the authorities and club in 1960. The banner was mounted in front of the City Hall.” The text on banner: “Santos welcomes the president of Fédération Internationale de l’art Photographique Maurice Van de Wyer.” FIAP, “Kurzbericht über die am Kongreß in Opatija gefaßten wichtigsten Beschlüsse 19.–22. September 1960,” *Camera*, no. 1 (1961): 48.

Figure 6.5. “Meeting of the Management Committee of the Brazilian Federation of Photographic Art in São Paulo, Brazil, chaired by Dr. M. Van de Wyer, President of FIAP.” (a) Maurice Van de Wyer; (b) Eduardo Salvatore; (c) P. Mendes, FIAP, “Kurzbericht über die am Kongreß in Opatija gefaßten wichtigsten Beschlüsse 19.–22. September 1960,” *Camera*, no. 1 (1961): 48. Lettering on the photo in original.

- Figure 6.6. The first cover of *Boletim Foto Cine* 5, no. 59 (March 1951) with a reproduction of *Artist's Hands* (undated) by Annemarie Heinrich.
- Figure 6.7. Annemarie Heinrich with FCCB members José Oiticica Filho, José Yalenti, and Aldo Augusto de Souza Lima. Photo: German Lorca. *Boletim Foto Cine* 5, no. 59 (March 1951), 12.
- Figure 6.8. The last visitor of the eleventh São Paulo International Salon of Photography at the Prestes Maia Gallery briefly before closing. Photo: unattributed. *Boletim Foto Cine* 7, no. 78 (1952): 23.
- Figure 6.9. The jury of the eighth São Paulo International Salon of Photography at work. Photo: unattributed. *Boletim Foto Cine* 4, no. 48 (April 1950): 7.
- Figure 6.10. Cover and sample spreads from one of the most luxurious salon catalogues, *Pictures of International Photographic Salon of Japan* (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbun, 1958).
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- Figure 6.14. José Oiticica Filho, "The FIAP Official List by Country." *1958 FIAP Yearbook*, 170.
- Figure 6.15. José Oiticica Filho, "FIAP List of the Most Prolific Exhibitors for 1956 Having Forty or More Acceptances" (detail). *1958 FIAP Yearbook*, 165.
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- Figure 6.17. José Oiticica Filho, *Abstraction*, undated. *1960 FIAP Yearbook*, 30.
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- Figure 6.19. Viktor Rasmussen, *Vira 19*, undated. *1956 FIAP Yearbook*, 62.
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- Figure 6.21. Walter Rømer, *Plant Ornament*, undated (photogram). *1964 FIAP Yearbook*, 55.
- Figure 6.22. Eduardo Salvatore, *Lines*, undated. *1954 FIAP Yearbook*, 67.
- Figure 6.23. Eduardo Salvatore, *Composition with a Horse*, undated. *1962 FIAP Yearbook*, 30.
- Figure 6.24. Hugh Doran, *Sunday*, undated. *1956 FIAP Yearbook*, 81.
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## Epilogue

- Figure E.1. M. Sinclair, *Dance*, undated. *1958 FIAP Yearbook*, dust jacket.

## INTRODUCTION

An image of a worker standing on a wooden ladder and painting a sunlit wall, captured at an angle from below, was by no means a groundbreaking photograph in the middle of the 1950s when it was made. But it acquired a complex and symbolic meaning when it was reproduced on the dust jacket of a photobook published by the International Federation of Photographic Art (Fédération internationale de l'art photographique, FIAP) in 1956 (fig. I.1). The cover image is a detail of *Play of Lights* by Eduardo Alves de Moura Machado (life dates unknown), a photographer from Luanda, Angola, which was then a Portuguese colony. The choice of the cover image is highly problematic on several levels, which I shall address in the following pages. Yet at the time, it was the most appropriate cover image for a photobook which FIAP described as “a diversified, yet tempered picture book containing surprises on every page, a mirror to pulsating life, a rich fragment of cosmopolitan art. . . . One should rather call this collection of photographs an ‘olympiad [*sic*] of photography’.”<sup>1</sup> The ways in which FIAP choreographed the “Olympiad of photography” were just as contradictory, perplexing, and at times confused as the decade in which the photobook was produced. Nevertheless, putting on the cover an image made by a photographer based in southwestern Africa signaled the grandiose ambition of FIAP to form a multiethnic group of photographers with significant participation from outside Europe. Such a “cosmopolitan” group neither had been possible nor had existed before.

Founded in Switzerland in 1950, FIAP aimed to represent the global photo-club culture by uniting other newly established organizations—national federations of photo clubs. FIAP was

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<sup>1</sup> FIAP, “Year-book 1956,” *Camera*, no. 3 (1956): 126.

the first organization that emerged after the Second World War with the goal of providing photographers with an institutional framework that existed outside commercial photojournalism, resisted the logic of the publishing industries, and transcended political, geographic, and ethnic borders. Over the following fifteen years, FIAP mobilized photographers in fifty-five countries in Europe, Latin America, Asia, and Africa. At the time, FIAP was the only organization that equally welcomed photographers from the Global South and the Global North or, in the terminology of the 1950s, from the “first,” “second,” and “third worlds.”<sup>2</sup> FIAP members included capitalist countries, such as West Germany, Brazil, and Taiwan, communist countries, such as East Germany, Romania, and Hungary, and those that formed the Non-Aligned Movement in 1961, such as India and Yugoslavia. This dissertation focuses only on the work of FIAP between 1950 and 1965 because during this time, the organization published seven photobooks—FIAP yearbooks—which document the diverse output of photographers working in radically different socioeconomic and cultural contexts (fig. I.2).

At the time of the Melbourne Olympic Games in 1956, the “Olympiad of photography” was a metaphor that hinted at some of the ideals that had inspired the establishment of FIAP six years earlier. Belgian photographer Maurice Van de Wyer (1896–1994), the founder and president of FIAP, believed that the world’s photographers could benefit from adapting the ethos

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<sup>2</sup> For a succinct history of the terms *first*, *second* and *third world*, see B. R. Tomlinson, “What Was the Third World?” *Journal of Contemporary History* 38, no. 2 (2003): 307–21. See also Vijay Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World* (New York: New Press, 2007), 1–15. I also use the terms *Global North* and *Global South* which, however, are no less imprecise and unfair, as is any attempt to split the world into seemingly monolithic blocs based on a few socioeconomic, political, cultural, or geographic criteria. For a further discussion, see Anne Ring Petersen, “Global Art History: A View from the North.” *Journal of Aesthetics & Culture* 7, no. 1 (2015): 1–12.

of international sports events.<sup>3</sup> Professionally, he was a doctor and a sports physician.<sup>4</sup> His work as the official doctor of the Belgian soccer team took him to many countries where the team played, and he used these opportunities to meet with local photographers. Van de Wyer noticed certain similarities in the organization of the international sports events and salons of photography, then the main forums of regular exchange among the world's photo club members. The Olympic Games, the most prominent international sports event, are based on the idea of a fair competition among athletes representing their nations with an underlying message of peace and equality.<sup>5</sup> Similarly, FIAP envisioned the photo-club culture as an egalitarian and open environment free of political, economic, and cultural conflicts. FIAP insisted that "All considerations of a political, ideological or religious order are absolutely banned from the activities of FIAP."<sup>6</sup> The organization's consciously apolitical position and its openness embodied the humanistic idealism and historical pathos of the 1950s that also permeated the

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<sup>3</sup> Maurice Van de Wyer served as the president of FIAP from 1950 to 1976. Two other co-founders of FIAP in 1950 were Swiss photographer Ernest Boesiger (1897–1969) and Roland Bourigeaud (1900–1995), the president of the National Federation of Photographic Societies of France (Fédération Nationale des Sociétés Photographiques de France).

<sup>4</sup> Emile Wanderscheid, "Historical Account of FIAP," in *Fédération Internationale de l'Art Photographique. Patrimoine artistique. Notice historique. 50 années* (Barcelona: FIAP, 1999), 281.

<sup>5</sup> In the 1950s the Olympic Games obtained a symbolic meaning because, especially for newly established independent countries, it was a significant achievement to see their flags and to hear their anthems presented as equal to the former colonizers' and oppressors' insignia. The modern Olympic Games "accepted any political creed that a particular country might cherish, whether democracy, military dictatorships, just as long as they would underwrite the notion that sport and politics were separate and that they would not try to force their beliefs on any of the other members." Jim Riordan, *The International Politics of Sport in the Twentieth Century* (London: Taylor and Francis, 1999), 13. For a critical history of international sports, see Joseph Maguire, ed., *Power and Global Sport: Zones of Prestige, Emulation and Resistance* (London and New York: Routledge, 2005); Joseph Maguire, *Global Sport: Identities, Societies, Civilizations* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1999); and Lincoln Allison, "Sport and Civil Society," *Political Studies* 46 (1998): 709–26.

<sup>6</sup> Wanderscheid, "Historical Account of FIAP," 282.

Olympic Games of 1956.<sup>7</sup>

The significance of FIAP in postwar culture stands out most sharply against the backdrop of two other projects that, in their scope and impact, were equivalents to the Olympic Games in the field of photography. One was *Photokina 1956*, the world's leading commercial arena for the international photography industry, the other, *The Family of Man* (1955), the most notable exaltation of the North American and Western European photojournalism. In between the two, FIAP offered a possible third way, a proposal for an idealistic and nonhierarchical use of photography outside the commercial sphere as well as magazine and newspaper publishing.

*Photokina* is an international, annual photography trade fair and exhibition complex in Cologne, West Germany, established in 1950—the same year as FIAP.<sup>8</sup> Its fifth iteration, *Photokina 1956*, took place from September 29 to October 7, 1956 (fig. I.3). *Photokina 1956* is especially significant because it was the only iteration of the trade fair where one of the central exhibitions at was organized by FIAP—the fourth FIAP biennial.<sup>9</sup> *Photokina 1956*, then the world's leading photography trade fair, was driven by the photography industry, whose products at the time had the most visible and prestigious application on the pages of popular illustrated

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<sup>7</sup> For an introduction to the cultural and political significance of the 1956 Olympic Games, see Barbara Keys, “The 1956 Melbourne Olympic Games and the Postwar International Order,” in *1956: European and Global Perspectives*, ed. Carole Fink, Frank Hadler, and Tomasz Schramm (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2006), 283–307. See also Matthew P. Llewellyn and John Gleaves, “The Global Games and the Intransigent Dictator,” in *The Rise and Fall of Olympic Amateurism* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2016), 121–41.

<sup>8</sup> *Photokina* continues to take place on a regular basis in Cologne, Germany, to the present day.

<sup>9</sup> Regular FIAP exhibitions, called the FIAP biennials, were established in 1950 and were conceived as a world survey of contemporary photographic art, displaying an equal number of works from each participating country. The first eight FIAP biennials took place in different European cities: Bern, Switzerland (1950), Salzburg, Austria (1952), Barcelona, Spain (1954), Cologne, West Germany (1956), Antwerp, Belgium (1958), Opatija, Yugoslavia (1960), Athens, Greece (1962), and Basel, Switzerland (1964).



magazines.<sup>10</sup> FIAP and photo-club culture, on the contrary, represented photography as a nonprofit and self-commissioned creative activity whose sole purpose was voluntary, informal cultural exchange. The idealism of FIAP was in many ways antithetical to *Photokina 1956* which was a celebration of photography as a trailblazer of postwar “peace industry,” a symbol of consumer culture and international trade.<sup>11</sup>

*Photokina 1956* consisted of two distinct sections: a commercial trade fair dedicated to all technical aspects of the industry and a cultural part containing exhibitions of applied, creative, and historical photography. In the trade section of *Photokina*, local and international companies presented cutting-edge technology: the newest cameras, lenses, other equipment and accessories, film, paper, chemicals and other supplies for the various needs of professional and hobby photographers (fig. I.4).<sup>12</sup> The commercial displays were paired with the cultural section featuring exhibitions of the most well-known photographers of the time, most of whom were Western European and US photojournalists. For example, *Photokina 1956* included an exhibition organized by the photographers’ cooperative Magnum, featuring work by Henri Cartier-Bresson (1908–2004), Robert Capa (1913–1954), Ernst Haas (1921–1986), Werner Bischof (1916–1954),

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<sup>10</sup> *Photokina 1956* welcomed around two hundred thousand attendees from Europe, Asia, and the Americas. While the majority of the visitors were from West Germany, 14 percent were from seventy-six other countries from all continents—Europe (twenty-nine countries), the Americas (twenty-three), Asia (twelve), Africa (ten), and Australia and New Zealand. L. Fritz Gruber, *Photokina: Its Origin and Achievements* (Cologne: Messe- und Ausstellungs-Ges., 1958), n.p.

<sup>11</sup> For a discussion of photography as a global trade and peace industry, see Patricia A. Nelson, “Competition and the Politics of War: The Global Photography Industry, c. 1910–60,” *Journal of War & Culture Studies* 9, no. 2 (2016): 115–32.

<sup>12</sup> The trade section of *Photokina 1956* featured 432 exhibitors, of which 121 were foreign businesses. On the top of the list of foreign countries participating in the trade fair was France (forty-seven companies) followed by the US (sixteen), Japan (fifteen), the U.K. (thirteen), Austria (eight), and Switzerland (eight). A small number of companies from Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Netherlands, and Sweden also participated. L. Fritz Gruber, *Photokina: Its Origin and Achievements* (Cologne: Messe- und Ausstellungs-Ges., 1958).

George Rodger (1908–1995), and W. Eugene Smith (1918–1978); group exhibitions organized by the US photography magazines *Modern Photography* and *Popular Photography*; a solo show by US landscape and nature photographer Ansel Adams (1902–1984); and a retrospective on German photojournalist Erich Solomon (1886–1944) (fig. I.5). Most of these shows relied on the magazine-style exhibition design comprising spatial arrangements of oversized enlargements on panels that extended into the viewer’s space, a design style I shall discuss further in chapter 4. The underlying aim of the cultural part of *Photokina* was to associate the success and fame of internationally acknowledged photojournalists and artists with the equipment and supplies that were on display at the commercial section. *Photokina* suggested that any photographer could make images as good as the celebrated photojournalists did if they followed the trends in technology development and purchased the latest inventions (fig. I.6).

In the only published photograph documenting the FIAP biennial in *Photokina 1956*, most of the frame is filled with a wall in an exhibition hall, captured from a slightly oblique angle (fig. I.7).<sup>13</sup> Twenty-two black-and-white photographs are arranged in a gridlike pattern on the upper section of the wall. A man is standing in front of the wall, scrutinizing from a very close distance a print that appears to be a woman’s portrait in a light tonality. I discuss the biennial’s design in detail in chapter 4, but here it suffices to note that it embodied some of the ideals of the photo-club culture that FIAP represented, such as equal opportunity to all participants and openness to diverse visual styles. Yet the critics and audience overlooked the intentions behind the biennial’s design because the crowded presentation of relatively small prints of uneven quality lacked charisma in comparison with the magazine-style design in other

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<sup>13</sup> The unattributed photograph is reproduced in Ulrich Pohlmann, *Kultur, Technik und Kommerz: Die Photokina-Bilderschauen 1950–1980* (Cologne: Historisches Archiv der Stadt, 1990), 23.

*Photokina 1956* exhibitions.

The viewer in the photograph, who we see from the back, is wearing a light-colored suit and hat. He is holding an overcoat with a shiny satin lining in his left hand while his right hand casually rests in his trouser pocket. His pose suggests a typical exhibitiongoer's demeanor: walking slowly but steadily along the walls where art is displayed and stepping closer to the wall from time to time to inspect briefly from a closer distance something that has caught his attention. The anonymous figure captured in the image serves as a metaphor of a photography lover, or more specifically a Western European middle-class photography lover. That the photography lover is a man points to the distinct gender inequality in the profession.<sup>14</sup> Very few women photographers saw their work included in the FIAP biennials and yearbooks.<sup>15</sup> Moreover, such a photography lover had enough leisure time to visit a photography trade fair, suggesting a certain degree of affluence. It is likely that he owned a camera and even a home darkroom, that he was a photography enthusiast or even a professional photographer. He had wandered into the FIAP section of *Photokina 1956* and casually browsed the offerings of the world's photographers who had been working in all kinds of economic circumstances, most of them likely not as affluent as his.

The images in FIAP biennials and photobooks were always grouped by the photographer's country of residence, and the countries were arranged alphabetically in order to

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<sup>14</sup> "In a climate that valued women above all as housekeepers and mothers, few paid much attention to Simone de Beauvoir," notes historian Tyler Stovall about postwar France, and his observation can be extended more broadly. Tyler Stovall, *Transnational France: The Modern History of a Universal Nation* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2015), 417.

<sup>15</sup> Out of 738 photographers whose work is included in the seven FIAP yearbooks published between 1950 and 1965, thirty-eight or 5 percent are women, sixty-one or 8 percent are unidentifiable (e.g., credited only with the last name and initial), and two authors or 0.2 percent are couples.

signal the nonhierarchical and egalitarian nature of the photo-club culture. The viewer in this photograph is captured strolling along the Portuguese-Angolan section of the FIAP biennial. Its title, *Portugal—Angola*, in capital letters in a narrow, sans serif font, appears on the upper-left corner of the wall. The title evokes the tensions of collapsing European colonialism in the 1950s. Most Western Europeans at that time, however, did not experience these tensions in a more tangible or pressing way than while flipping magazine pages or leisurely perusing photographs at an exhibition. The title of the exhibition section, *Portugal—Angola*, combined the names of the metropolis and its colony and thus created a false impression of equality or cooperation between the two. Not only did the metropolis systematically and violently drain resources from Angola but it, as it seems, would have preferred to omit the name of the colony altogether. At the time of *Photokina 1956*, the organization representing Portugal in FIAP (Crêmio Português de fotografia) objected to the acceptance of Angola in FIAP as a member, equal to sovereign countries.<sup>16</sup> Internationally acknowledged political sovereignty, however, was not required to become a member of FIAP—countries such as Singapore and Sarawak, for example, were accepted as full members at a time when politically they still were British colonies.<sup>17</sup> What was necessary to join FIAP was the existence of an organization claiming to represent photographers of the territory, like the Culture Society of Angola (Sociedade Cultural de Angola) that

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<sup>16</sup> The discussion about Angola's status was raised during the meeting of the FIAP congress on September 26, 1956, in Cologne. The congress approached Portugal's complaint in a diplomatic manner and, while avoiding any confrontation with the representatives of Portugal, managed to recognize the rights of the photographers of Angola to be represented independently. Ernest Boesiger, "Offizieller Bericht über den 4. Kongreß in Köln," *Camera*, no. 3 (1958): 144. Angola did not gain its independence from Portugal until 1975.

<sup>17</sup> "Es werden Vorbehalte gemacht wegen Singapur und Sarawak als englische Kolonien. Anlässlich deren Kandidatur wurden keine Einwendungen erhoben, so daß die Mitgliedschaft zu Recht besteht. (Gemäß Statuten hat sich die FIAP aller politischen Ansichten streng zu enthalten.)" FIAP, "Offizieller Bericht über den Kongreß in Antwerpen vom 22. bis 25. Sept. 1958," *Camera*, no. 2 (1960): 53. All translations are mine except where noted otherwise.

represented Angola in FIAP.

Based on humanistic idealism, FIAP embraced all interested participants regardless of the de jure status of their home country, their professional affiliation, or education level. FIAP displayed, side by side, the work of all photographers, privileged and unprivileged, upper-middle-class and marginalized minorities, modernists and anti-modernists, and communists and political refugees from communism, among others. FIAP had great potential to address urgent political issues. For example, the inclusion of an Angola-based organization in FIAP was itself a progressive and forward-looking gesture at the time because it offered a colony an equal place among numerous sovereign countries. In that respect, FIAP provided an open and inclusive platform.

More than one hundred thousand visitors from around the world saw the FIAP biennial in *Photokina 1956*.<sup>18</sup> FIAP, however, largely missed the opportunity to make a lasting impact on the audience. The organization's passivity, masked as neutrality, undermined its idealistic ambitions and limited the extent of its potential influence: FIAP did not communicate its goals effectively and did not address the political tensions, cultural diversity, or economic inequality that shaped the lives and careers of photographers whose work it displayed. Partly for that reason, the aspirations of FIAP remain forgotten, and the organization's significance in the 1950s can be revealed only indirectly.

Thus, for example, comparison with *The Family of Man* illuminates the urgency with which FIAP attempted to promote the work of a more inclusive, transnational group of photographers at a time when commercial photojournalism claimed an exclusive authority in the field. *The Family of Man*, organized by American photographer Edward Steichen (1879–1973),

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<sup>18</sup> Boesiger, "Offizieller Bericht über den 4. Kongreß in Köln," 143.

is the definitive example of postwar humanist photography.<sup>19</sup> Initially installed at New York's Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) from January 24 to May 8, 1955, *The Family of Man* solidified its significance in the history of twentieth-century photography on an international scale when the US Information Agency exhibited ten different versions of the show in ninety-one cities in thirty-eight countries between 1955 and 1962, during which time an estimated nine million people saw it.<sup>20</sup> The photobook accompanying the show became the most popular photobook of the decade and is still in press.<sup>21</sup>

The critical reception of *The Family of Man* so far has focused on it as an *exhibition* project, and little or no attention has been given to the individual images and their provenance nor to the careers and professional affiliations of the authors of these images.<sup>22</sup> I approach *The Family of Man* photobook exclusively from such a perspective. My goal is neither to condemn nor rehabilitate the exhibition, and I do not address its reception and its political meanings, which have been extensively discussed elsewhere. Instead, I examine *The Family of Man* photobook as the most notable case study of the inner workings of the US photographic industry

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<sup>19</sup> Edward Steichen was assisted by *Life* photojournalist Wayne Miller (1918–2013). The first iteration of the exhibition for the New York's Museum of Modern Art was designed by architect Paul Rudolph (1918–1997). The designer of the accompanying photobook's cover was Leo Lionni (1910–1999).

<sup>20</sup> Mary Anne Staniszewski, *The Power of Display: A History of Exhibition Installation at the Museum of Modern Art* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998), 207–59. See the full list of all locations of the world tour of *The Family of Man*: MoMA, "Internationally Circulating Exhibitions," undated, accessed February 16, 2018, available at <https://www.moma.org/momaorg/shared/pdfs/docs/learn/icelist.pdf>.

<sup>21</sup> *The Family of Man*, ed. Edward Steichen (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1955). At the time of writing, the Museum of Modern Art sells "The 60th Anniversary Edition," printed in 2015.

<sup>22</sup> For a summary of previous scholarship on *The Family of Man* exhibition and some new interpretations, see *The Family of Man Revisited: Photography in a Global Age*, ed. Gerd Hurm, Anke Reitz, and Shamoan Zamir (London: I. B. Tauris, 2017).

of the 1950s. In formulating the emphasis on individual images and the professional careers of their makers, I am indebted to art historian Lili Corbus Bezner's analysis of several images in *The Family of Man* that highlights the heterogeneity of visual content forced to fit into the framework of Steichen's overarching, populist narrative.<sup>23</sup> Building on Bezner's study, my discussion is based on a statistical analysis of the location and authorship of images as well as further research about the careers of each of the photographers whose work was included in *The Family of Man* and the seven FIAP yearbooks.

Comparison of the authorship data about images in FIAP yearbooks and *The Family of Man* helps to grasp the extremely high degree of social inequality within the transnational professional group of photographers in the 1950s. Unlike *The Family of Man*, which represented photojournalistic work that was produced within the institutional framework of the magazine publishing industry—most notably *Life*—and commercial photographic agencies, FIAP presented work that was circulated in the self-funded and strictly nonprofit photo-club environment. The difference between the two approaches comes into especially sharp focus in a comparison of two book covers. One is the 1956 FIAP Yearbook, published at the time of *Photokina 1956*, the other, the photobook that accompanied *The Family of Man*, was published in 1955. The front cover of the 1956 FIAP Yearbook features an image of daily life in Angola made by Angola-based photographer de Moura Machado (fig. I.1). The full image appears in the Angolan section of the yearbook (fig. I.8). The choice of cover image, although not without its own inherent problems, signals a higher degree of inclusivity and openness to participants from

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<sup>23</sup> Lili Corbus Bezner, "Subtle Subterfuge: The Flawed Nobility of Edward Steichen's *Family of Man*," in *Photography and Politics in America: From the New Deal into the Cold War* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 121–74.

the so-called second and third worlds than in *The Family of Man*.

Meanwhile, the cover of *The Family of Man* photobook features an image of a Peruvian child playing a flute captured by the US photographer Eugene Harris (1913–1978) (fig. I.9). The same image is reproduced in five other places throughout the photobook and is intended to work as a visual symbol of the optimistic humanism *The Family of Man* embodies (fig. I.10).<sup>24</sup> At the same time, Harris’s photograph of a Peruvian child points to the power inequality in postwar photography. Photographers from the United States and Western Europe were able to produce images of people living in Peru and elsewhere in the Global South and distribute them internationally through influential channels such as *Life*. Peruvian photographers, however, did not have the same opportunities to distribute their images in the same magazines. None of the photographs from Peru in *The Family of Man* photobook were made by a local photographer. Likewise, images from most other countries were not taken by locals. The majority of photographers whose images were included in *The Family of Man* photobook were photojournalists based in the US and Western Europe (mostly France, Switzerland, and West Germany) who traveled extensively. As a result, *The Family of Man* offers a uniform, outsider’s perspective on a vast range of cultures and nations. The seven FIAP photobooks, on the contrary, provide a variety of viewpoints from individuals living *within* these cultures.

Notably, the reception of both projects—*The Family of Man* and FIAP—has also been different. The former was—and still is—canonical and at the center of the postwar section in photography history textbooks. The latter was—and still is—virtually unknown to theorists and

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<sup>24</sup> For example, art historian Katherine Hoffman interprets the repetition “as a musical leitmotif, helping to hold the exhibit together, and pointing to the role of music as a significant expressive universal language.” Katherine Hoffman, “Sowing the Seeds/Setting the Stage: Steichen, Stieglitz and *The Family of Man*,” *History of Photography* 29, no. 4 (2005): 321.



historians. For the more than sixty years since the opening of *The Family of Man*, historians of photography have debated its critical interpretations. Yet they have overlooked the “family” of photographers—the transnational community of photo-club members active in all regions of the world in the 1950s. Their work, documented in the FIAP yearbooks, offers a cross-section of postwar photography consisting of multiple regional perspectives and idiosyncratic styles. Furthermore, the diversity of the images in the FIAP yearbooks contrasts starkly with the uniform visual style of *Life* magazine that *The Family of Man* promoted.

The world political map changed thoroughly during the two decades that followed the end of the Second World War. “The colonized world,” posits historian Vijay Prashad, “had now emerged to claim its space in world affairs.”<sup>25</sup> Forty countries with more than eight hundred million people had become independent.<sup>26</sup> By 1960 Europe’s former political dominance had diminished to “the confetti of empire.”<sup>27</sup> The development of FIAP membership from 1950 to 1965 mirrors these profound changes. In 1950 FIAP had seventeen participating countries.<sup>28</sup> They were mostly clustered in Western Europe (thirteen) with outposts in Latin America (two countries) and Eastern Europe (two countries) (fig. I.11).<sup>29</sup> By 1965 FIAP membership had grown more than three times and reached fifty-five countries (fig. I.12).<sup>30</sup> Thirty-eight new

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<sup>25</sup> Prashad, *Darker Nations*, 45.

<sup>26</sup> Harry Gregor Gelber, *Nations Out of Empires: European Nationalism and the Transformation of Asia* (New York: Palgrave, 2001), 193.

<sup>27</sup> Stovall, *Transnational France*, 383.

<sup>28</sup> See the full list of FIAP member countries in 1950 and the names of each country’s federation of photo clubs in Appendix 1.

<sup>29</sup> I have divided the FIAP member countries among geopolitical regions such as “Eastern Europe,” “Western Europe,” and “Latin America” for the sole purpose of preliminary comparative analysis. In FIAP publications no such division existed. All member countries were always listed in alphabetical order.

<sup>30</sup> See the full list of FIAP member countries in 1965 and the names of each country’s federation of photo clubs in Appendix 2.

countries had joined the seventeen initial members of FIAP. Thirty of the thirty-eight newcomers were located outside Europe.<sup>31</sup> Out of these thirty, ten countries did not exist as sovereign states before the Second World War.<sup>32</sup> Four others joined FIAP even without an officially proclaimed independent status.<sup>33</sup> The social, economic, and political climate in many other FIAP member countries had radically changed after the war, most visibly exemplified by the formation of the Eastern Bloc in Europe, ruled by the Communist Party. Two of the European countries that joined FIAP after 1950 came into existence as a direct result of the war: East and West Germany.

The most conspicuous absences from FIAP were the United Kingdom, the United States, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), and the People's Republic of China. There is evidence that the leaders of the Royal Photographic Society of Great Britain (RPS) were personally acquainted with Van de Wyer and kept in touch with the work of FIAP.<sup>34</sup> As one of the world's oldest photographic societies—RPS was founded in 1853—it did not see the value in becoming one among many members in a newly established organization with no reputation or set tradition. Furthermore, unlike the majority of FIAP member countries, in Great Britain photographers working in magazine and commercial photography or portraiture sought acknowledgment in other public forums, while the function of photo clubs narrowed down to

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<sup>31</sup> The region that showed the most accelerated growth was Asia—its representation in FIAP increased from zero in 1950 to fourteen countries in 1964, almost reaching the number of Western European countries (seventeen). Asia, especially Southeast Asia, saw a large number of previously colonial territories gain independence between 1950 and 1964.

<sup>32</sup> These ten countries were Burma, Ceylon, India, Lebanon, Malaya, Pakistan, Philippines, the Republic of China (Taiwan), Singapore, and Vietnam.

<sup>33</sup> These four countries were Angola, Mozambique, Sabah, and Sarawak.

<sup>34</sup> Reports about communication between FIAP and RPS appeared in the official FIAP communication. See, for example, FIAP, "Informations," *Camera*, no. 2 (1953): 79; Ernest Boesiger, "Offizieller Bericht über den 4. Kongreß in Köln," *Camera*, no. 3 (1958): 143; Ernest Boesiger, "An die Mitglieder der FIAP," *Camera* 9 (1959): 44; Ernest Boesiger, "Varied Information," *Camera*, no. 1 (1962): 49.

socialization among amateurs.<sup>35</sup> In the US, similarly to the UK, the degree of specialization and professionalization of photography was relatively high during the 1950s. Fine art photographers became a distinct professional subgroup that was gradually assimilated into the infrastructure of professional visual art and their work was exhibited in art galleries and museums.<sup>36</sup> Photo clubs in the US in the 1950s, meanwhile, served a distinctively amateur milieu. The Photographic Society of America (PSA), founded in 1934, was the most visible umbrella organization for photo-club members. The only tangible outcome of the occasional communication between FIAP and PSA was the fact that PSA granted its International Understanding through Photography award to Van de Wyer, the president of FIAP, in 1959. He was the third recipient of the prize after Steichen and Cartier-Bresson.<sup>37</sup>

There is no evidence of any attempted contact with any photography-related organizations within the USSR or the People's Republic in China. I argue that there were four major prerequisites for photo-club culture to exist within any given country and for the photo clubs to unite in a national federation and express a wish to join FIAP. First, there had to be enough photographers with somewhat comparable skills, similar interests, and a shared desire to communicate with peers abroad. Second, photographers had to have access to equipment and supplies for making unpaid, self-commissioned work. Third, they had to have enough leisure time to continuously produce new work for the regular photo-club exhibitions and participate in

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<sup>35</sup> Gerry Badger, "Through the Looking Glass", in *Through the Looking Glass: Photographic Art in Britain 1945–1989*, ed. Gerry Badger and John Benton-Harris (London: Barbican Art Gallery, 1989), 24.

<sup>36</sup> See Richard W. Christopherson, "From Folk Art to Fine Art: A Transformation in the Meaning of Photographic Work," *Urban Life and Culture* 3, no. 2 (1974): 123–57; and Helen Gee, *Photography of the Fifties: An American Perspective* (Tucson: Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, 1980).

<sup>37</sup> FIAP, "Mitteilungen," *Camera*, no. 1 (1960): 52.

their club's social life. Finally, they had to have enough personal freedom and motivation to exchange correspondence, prints, and catalogues with their peers abroad. Some or all of these prerequisites were nonexistent in the USSR and China between 1950 and 1965. In 1950, when FIAP was established, Stalin was still in power in the Soviet Union. Under his rule mass terror, forced collectivization, purges, fear, suspicion, denunciations, and censorship made it difficult, if not impossible, for individuals to interact with foreign institutions. During the years immediately following Stalin's death in 1953, the country slowly and painfully transitioned into a post-totalitarian Communist party dictatorship. Only in 1956 did Nikita Khrushchev denounce the crimes of Stalinism. Throughout the 1950s the economic and political conditions in the USSR were not yet conducive for the emerging photo clubs to affiliate with transnational organizations like FIAP. The photo-club culture in the Soviet Union fully developed during the 1960s, and the USSR eventually joined FIAP in 1972.<sup>38</sup>

Literature on the state of the photo-club culture and ordinary photographers' lives and careers in the People's Republic of China between 1950 and 1965 is extremely scarce.<sup>39</sup> The

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<sup>38</sup> For an insight into the ways photo clubs evolved in the USSR in the 1950s and 1960s, see Jessica Werneke, " 'Nobody Understands What is Beautiful and What is Not': Governing Soviet Amateur Photography, Photography Clubs and the Journal *Sovetskoe Foto*," *Photography and Culture* (March 2019): 1–22, <https://doi.org/10.1080/17514517.2019.1581473>. See also Jessica Werneke, "Reimagining the History of the Avant-garde: Photography and the Journal *Sovetskoe Foto* in the 1950s and Early 1960s," *The Soviet and Post-Soviet Review* 44, no. 3 (2017): 264–91; Elena Barkhatova, "Soviet Policy on Photography," in *Beyond Memory: Soviet Nonconformist Photography and Photo-Related Works of Art*, ed. Diane Neumaier (New Brunswick: Jane Voorhees Zimmerli Art Museum and Rutgers, 2004), 47–66; Valery Stigineev, "The Force of the Medium. The Soviet Amateur Photography Movement," in Neumaier, *Beyond Memory*, 67–74; and Sergei Gitman and Valery Stigineev, "Photographers of Russia, Unite Yourselves!," *Art Journal* 53, no. 2 (1994): 28–30.

<sup>39</sup> One important source is Jin Yongquan, *Hongqi zhaoxiangguan: 1956–1959 nian Zhongguo sheying zhengbian* [Red Flag Studio: Debates on photography in China, 1956–1959] (Beijing: Jincheng chubanshe, 2014). This text is currently available only in Chinese. See Yi Gu, review of Jin Yongquan, *Hongqi zhaoxiangguan: 1956–1959 nian Zhongguo sheying zhengbian* [Red Flag Studio: Debates on photography in China, 1956–1959]. *Trans-Asia Photography Review* 6,

numerous professional press photographers who were working throughout mainland China united in a national organization, following the international pattern: the China Photography Society was established on December 22, 1956.<sup>40</sup> However, there is not enough scholarship available to speculate on why the society was not interested, or not allowed, to join FIAP. But it is not surprising because the People's Republic of China was absent from several international organizations during the 1950s. When the Communist government proclaimed the People's Republic of China on the mainland during the Chinese Civil War in 1949, the Kuomintang (the Nationalist Party of China, or the Chinese Nationalist Party) government went into exile on the island of Taiwan, where it established the Republic of China. Taiwan found itself in the theater of the global Cold War where it took up the role of a US "shield" against the Communist influence.<sup>41</sup> As such, Taiwan claimed to represent China in many international forums, excluding or ignoring the People's Republic of China on the mainland. For example, the Republic of China (Taiwan) represented China in the United Nations. It appeared as the sole representative of China

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no. 1 (2014), <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.7977573.0006.109>. More scholarship is available about the next period in Chinese history, the Cultural Revolution (1966–1976). See Marine Cabos, "The Cultural Revolution through the Prism of Vernacular Photography," *Trans-Asia Photography Review* 8, no. 1 (2017), <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.7977573.0008.107>.

<sup>40</sup> Chen Shuxia, Zhou Dengyan, and Shi Zhimin, "Photographic Praxis in China, 1930s–1980s: A Conversation with Chen Shuxia, Shi Zhimin, and Zhou Dengyan about Shi Shaohua and the Friday Salon," *Trans-Asia Photography Review* 9, no. 2 (2019), <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.7977573.0009.206>. Since 1979, the China Photography Society has been known as China Photographers Association. See "China Photographers Association Panorama," China.org.cn (website), accessed August 23, 2019, [http://www.china.org.cn/cpa/2009-04/14/content\\_17604962.htm](http://www.china.org.cn/cpa/2009-04/14/content_17604962.htm), and the website of China Photographers Association [www.cpanet.cn](http://www.cpanet.cn).

<sup>41</sup> Rhoads Murphey, *A History of Asia*, 7th ed. (Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2015), 406–7. The US support of Taiwan was part of a larger political program involving the US, Japan, and Southeast Asia whose goal was to establish a distinctly American sphere of influence in a region where communism seemed likely to gain a notable influence. Jacques Hersh, *The USA and the Rise of East Asia Since 1945: Dilemmas of the Postwar International Political Economy* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 23.

in the fifth São Paulo biennial of art in 1957.<sup>42</sup> In some other large-scale international events, such as the Olympic Games, organizers were open to admitting both Republics, but ongoing arguments between them ensued.<sup>43</sup> Taiwan was also the only representative of China in FIAP, and in chapter 5 I provide an analysis of the images that Taiwan-based photographers circulated in photo-club and FIAP exhibitions.

The absence from FIAP of the US and the USSR—the two major antagonists of the Cold War—granted FIAP enough freedom to welcome all participants without the polarization of American-Soviet interests. There were no obvious political interests at stake and no direct economic benefits to contest in FIAP, and FIAP did not experience any direct pressure from governments with contradicting agendas. While the work of FIAP was not entirely free of governmental politics—as politics informs the perspectives of individuals—it is clear that the organization was not managed or controlled by those directly connected with any kind of political power or authority. On a broader scale, distancing itself from notable public figures and influential institutions turned out to be a disadvantage for FIAP because it lacked visible advocates as well as critics. With a very few exceptions which I discuss in detail in chapter 6, neither FIAP nor photo clubs attracted any noteworthy attention from art critics, publicists, or intellectuals. Photo-club culture remained virtually invisible outside the community of photographers themselves, and they did not discuss the reception of FIAP and photo-club exhibitions and publications beyond recording the number of participants and similar data. Such

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<sup>42</sup> Sabine B. Vogel, *Biennials Art on a Global Scale* (Wien: Springer, 2010), 41.

<sup>43</sup> Historian Barbara Keys writes that the International Olympic Committee “was willing to admit both the mainland communist People’s Republic of China and the Republic of China on Taiwan, but both sides continued to claim sole representation for all of China and to call for the exclusion of the other.” Barbara Keys, “The 1956 Melbourne Olympic Games and the Postwar International Order,” *1956: European and Global Perspectives*, ed. Carole Fink, Frank Hadler, and Tomasz Schramm (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2006), 293.

silence is one of the reasons why the work of FIAP was obscure in the 1950s and remains so now. In comparison, *The Family of Man* established its canonical status partly thanks to the authority of the involved institutions, such as New York's Museum of Modern Art and later the US Information Agency which organized its world tour, and partly thanks to the prominent standing of the individuals who publicly discussed *The Family of Man* at the time of its circulation, like philosophers Roland Barthes and Max Horkheimer and writers Wolfgang Koeppen and Samuel Delaney.<sup>44</sup>

The political and economic changes that occurred after the war influenced the infrastructure of photography also. The rapid development of technologies provided more and better channels of transnational cultural exchange. Travel became more feasible as did the circulation of ideas in books, magazines, and exhibitions. The FIAP yearbooks, published in Switzerland and distributed to all FIAP member countries, serve as one important example of the new mobility that became possible for the first time in the 1950s. Hundreds of photographers in cities and towns in Eastern and Western Europe, Latin America, and Asia sought to participate in photo-club culture because for them the clubs and FIAP symbolized a hope for significant changes in their lives and careers. FIAP biennials and yearbooks offered a new and transnational forum for them, promising to advocate for greater visibility and respect for their work.

The main operations of all photo clubs included informal education, socializing, peer review of the members' creative work, organizing regular juried exhibitions, and the production of publications such as exhibition catalogues, newsletters, and magazines. Despite the uniformity of the photo clubs' names—all were called "photo clubs"—they were not all alike. Clubs across the globe shared similar organizational structures, but the daily life conditions, education, and

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<sup>44</sup> Chapter 1 provides an in-depth insight into the critical reception of *The Family of Man*.

careers of participating photographers, as well as the kinds of images they produced, varied notably from location to location. One example of such a club is the São Paulo-based photo club Foto Cine Clube Bandeirante (FCCB), founded in 1939. It played a central role in the São Paulo avant-garde art scene during the 1950s, when its members began to explore semi-abstract or entirely nonrepresentational photography.<sup>45</sup> The club published its monthly magazine, *Boletim Foto Cine*, and organized annual international salons of photography that were accompanied by illustrated catalogues. Documentation of social life of the FCCB in the pages of *Boletim* demonstrate that the photographers associated with FCCB were white, affluent, and socially well-established members of the professional middle class. Although it was not an explicitly all-male organization, its membership was predominantly male. The upper-middle-class social milieu of FCCB photographers is evident, for example, in the images reproduced in the *Boletim* that document Van de Wyer's 1956 visit to FCCB for the celebration of the club's seventeenth anniversary.<sup>46</sup> Reportage from the reception captures a social gathering of middle-aged white men in tailored suits and women in elegant day dresses (fig. I.13).<sup>47</sup>

Not all clubs united in FIAP necessarily shared the same affluent upper-middle-class membership as that of the FCCB in São Paulo. For example, the Chinese Camera Club in Johannesburg, South Africa, was established in 1952 to unite photographers of Chinese minority

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<sup>45</sup> Chapter 6 discusses the work of the club's members. For the history of FCCB, see *MASP FCCB: Coleção Museu de Arte de São Paulo Foto Cine Clube Bandeirante* (São Paulo: Museu de Arte de São Paulo Assis Chateaubriand, 2016); and Raul Feitosa, *Bandeirante: 70 anos de história na fotografia* (São Paulo: Editora Photo, 2013).

<sup>46</sup> The club's anniversary celebration is documented in detail in the club's official publication: "O XVII aniversário do FCCB," *Boletim Foto Cine* 9, no. 99 (May 1956): 24–26. It has to be noted that Van de Wyer was a close acquaintance of Eduardo Salvatore (1914–2006), the founder and president FCCB, and visited São Paulo and FCCB on a regular basis during the 1950s. See, for example, FIAP, "Kurzbericht über die am Kongreß in Opatija gefaßten wichtigsten Beschlüsse, 19–22. September 1960," *Camera*, no. 1 (1961): 48.

<sup>47</sup> "O XVII aniversário do F.C.C.B.," *Boletim Foto Cine* 9, no. 99 (May 1956): 24–25.



whom the apartheid system categorized as “colored.” Quite contrary to the comfortable cultural and socioeconomic position that the FCCB members enjoyed in Brazil, Chinese photographers in South Africa were marginalized and discriminated against, and their socioeconomic status was “highly precarious,” according to photography historian Malcolm Corrigan who has extensively studied Johannesburg’s Chinese Camera Club.<sup>48</sup> Most of the club’s members, unlike FCCB, were shopkeepers with an occasional small business owner, wholesale merchant, or photo studio owner among them.<sup>49</sup> The global photo-club culture and FIAP provided Chinese Camera Club members with an environment where their work could escape what Corrigan calls “the reductive and limiting ethnic identities imposed upon them by racial classification.”<sup>50</sup>

There is no conclusive socioeconomic or demographic definition of who were all the photographers who joined photo clubs and FIAP in the 1950s and early 1960s. But they all, I argue, wanted to change the status quo in the field of photography at a certain cultural, social, or professional level, even if they did not fully realize it or articulate it themselves. Among the contributors to the FIAP yearbooks were artists, photojournalists, and other professional photographers. The names of approximately one-third of the 738 photographers whose work is included in the seven FIAP yearbooks were relatively well known locally, a few were also recognized internationally. They include artists and photographers such as Annemarie Heinrich (1912–2005) from Argentina, José Oiticica Filho (1906–1964) from Brazil, Dimitris Harissiadis

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<sup>48</sup> Malcolm Corrigan, “A Spirit of Cosmopolitanism Happily Prevailing in Art: The Chinese Camera Club of South Africa and Transnational Networks of Photography,” *de arte* 53, no. 1 (2018): 6. See also Malcolm Corrigan, “Invisible Communities and Their Visible Cameras: The Landscape Photography of the Chinese Camera Club of South Africa,” *African Arts* 48, no. 3 (2015): 48–57; and Malcolm Corrigan, “A History of the Chinese Camera Club of South Africa,” (PhD diss., University of London, School of Oriental and African Studies, 2016).

<sup>49</sup> Corrigan, “Spirit of Cosmopolitanism,” 6.

<sup>50</sup> Corrigan, 22.

(1911–1993) from Greece, Gerhard Murza (1932–1996) from East Germany, Wilhelm Rauh (1923–2013) from West Germany, K. L. Kothary (1921–2008) from India, and Lang Jingshan (1892–1995) from Taiwan, among others. All of them were professionally accomplished photographers who had developed personal styles and had successful careers in different areas of specialization, such as fashion, reportage, and illustration. None of their professional achievements, however, were mentioned in FIAP publications. The pages of the FIAP yearbooks treat all images neutrally and equally; the images are reproduced in the same size and arranged alphabetically by country to avoid any grouping of countries by political, cultural, economic, religious, or any other sensitive or discriminatory criteria. There was no formal distinction between the “first,” “second,” and “third world” participants, between the former colonizers and the colonized, between believers in communism and believers in capitalism, or professional photojournalists and unknown amateurs. Idealistic egalitarianism motivated such standardized format of presentation.

How does one study and interpret the heterogeneous photo-club culture as it is documented in the FIAP photobooks? Should the material be evaluated by the standards set by the leading “world histories of photography” available to us today? Should one try to reinsert each image into the medium’s local history, within the cultural and political landscape of each country where the images were made? And what if such local histories are not yet written? Should we compare the level of the “advancement” of individual photographers from the “second” and “third worlds” to that of their famous peers in Western Europe and the United States whose lives and work are discussed in great detail in scholarly literature? How we can compare an image we encounter for the first time with the canonical images we have seen presented as “art” in so many contexts and so many times that their “greatness” has become

naturalized, a part of our worldview?

I propose that the first step in approaching these questions is to acknowledge the cultural diversity and local specificity of the multiple photographic languages that the FIAP yearbooks capture. At first sight, most images in the seven yearbooks can appear somewhat similar. Many bear the unmistakable attributes of midcentury photography such as relatively high contrast, predominantly dark tonality, graininess, and distinctive softness or a lack of clear, sharp focus. Nevertheless, upon closer inspection it becomes obvious that the similarities are superficial. The similarities are partly dictated by the limitations of then-available photographic equipment and supplies and partly emphasized by the characteristic softness of the lithographic reproduction process on thick, matte, and velvety paper. Apart from the abovementioned similarities, there is no uniformity in subject matter and photographic form. The numerous aesthetic sensibilities and the multiple cultural contexts documented in FIAP yearbooks resist applying one unified periodization of the history of photography whose narrative follows the canon of advanced art in Western Europe and the US. Such a narrative speaks only about individuals who worked in selected locations in Europe and the US, while claiming to present *the* history of photography.<sup>51</sup> The rest of the world in such a narrative, in the words of anthropologist and photography historian Christopher Pinney, “becomes the site for footnoted descriptions which are intended to counterpoint a core Photographic History, European in its sources and nature, but which declines

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<sup>51</sup> Systemic inequality between a center and periphery until now has been the very backbone of photography history. See, for example, Robert Hirsch, *Seizing the Light: A Social History of Photography*. 2nd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill Higher Education, 2009); and Naomi Rosenblum, *A World History of Photography*. 4th ed. (New York: Abbeville Press, 2007). The same is true regarding art history as an academic discipline as it is taught in the US colleges and universities: “Non-Western art, a term that is applied to the vast majority of the world’s art and cultures, is still represented in art history curricula as a mere footnote.” Kristen Chiem and Cynthia S. Colburn, “Global Foundations for a World Art History.” *Visual Resources* 31, no. 3–4 (2015): 187.

to name itself as such.”<sup>52</sup> For example, *A New History of Photography*, edited by Michel Frizot and published in English in 1999, is still the field’s major reference. Of the book’s 776 pages, only seven pages—or approximately 1 percent of its volume—are explicitly dedicated to photographers outside Europe and the US: it is an article about photography in Japan.<sup>53</sup> Its inclusion in the book exemplifies the way in which a few names from other parts of the world gain token acceptance in the dominant narrative.<sup>54</sup> It happens only when art critics and historians can easily incorporate their work into the canon of Western art, thus further strengthening the illusion of its worldwide and universal legitimacy. My dissertation aims to challenge such an illusion. It calls for a recognition of multiple coexisting narratives, each of them valid within their local or regional histories, independent of whether they fit into the storyline of Western art history or not. In other words, I propose to stop breathing exclusively “through the white man’s nose,” as Thai photographer Manit Sriwanichpoom puts it.<sup>55</sup>

The narrative of Western art history is inherently biased and stems from a division of the world between “the West and the rest,” as sociologist and cultural theorist Stuart Hall calls it.<sup>56</sup> It

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<sup>52</sup> Christopher Pinney, “Seven Theses on Photography,” *Thesis Eleven* 113, no. 1 (2012): 142.

<sup>53</sup> Chihiro Minato, “Japan and Photography,” in *A New History of Photography*, ed. Michel Frizot (Cologne: Könemann, 1999), 686–93.

<sup>54</sup> For example, works by Seydou Keïta (1921–2001) and Malick Sidibé (1936–2016) from Mali have come to symbolize “African photography” in the Global North. More diverse photographic practices from the African continent have come to light, for example, in the exhibition “Rise and Fall of Apartheid: Photography and the Bureaucracy of Everyday Life,” curated by Okwui Enwezor with Rory Bester at the International Center for Photography Museum in New York (September 14, 2012–January 6, 2013). Unfortunately, such isolated interventions have not yet succeeded in challenging the mainstream historical narrative. Enwezor has written about the stereotyping at work in the perception of images of Africa circulated in the Western media. See Okwui Enwezor, *Snap Judgments: New Positions in Contemporary African Photography* (New York: International Center of Photography; Göttingen: Steidl, 2006).

<sup>55</sup> Manit Sriwanichpoom, introduction to *Rediscovering Forgotten Thai Masters of Photography*, ed. Manit Sriwanichpoom (Bangkok: Kathmandu Photo Gallery, 2015), 7.

<sup>56</sup> Stuart Hall, “The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power,” in *Formations of Modernity*, ed. Stuart Hall and Bram Gieben (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1992), 186.

represents one of the central cultural paradigms of modernity that took shape in the nineteenth century, when as art historian Robert Nelson notes, “the West” acquired the status of “the acme of evolution.”<sup>57</sup> Today, the Euro-US-centric historical narrative appears so “natural” that often it is impossible, or even seems unnecessary, to challenge it. Attempts to construct a more inclusive narrative meet further obstacles because, as Hall and other scholars point out, neither the West nor the rest are monolithic and monocultural.<sup>58</sup> Therefore, instead of comparing, for example, “Western” and “non-Western” photographic languages or photography in the Global North and South, I have chosen to focus on the relationship between the hegemonic culture and all others.<sup>59</sup>

According to political theorist Fredric Jameson, a “fundamental dissymmetry” between the US and the rest characterizes such a relationship.<sup>60</sup> Its dissymmetry results from complex economic and cultural processes shaped by the global division of labor. Jameson’s example is Hollywood cinema which enforced certain labor division in the film industry: the US emerged as the most powerful producer of films, whereas all other countries were relegated to the role of consumers. None of them has comparable capacity to produce or power to distribute its own

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<sup>57</sup> Robert S. Nelson, “The Map of Art History,” *Art Bulletin* 79, no. 1 (1997): 37.

<sup>58</sup> For a comprehensive summary of scholarly debates regarding art and culture in the context of globalization, see Marc James Léger, “Art and Art History After Globalization,” *Third Text* 26, no. 5 (2012): 515–27. See also Lee Weng Choy, “A Country of Last Whales—Contemplating the Horizon of Global Art History; Or, Can We Ever Really Understand How Big the World Is?” *Third Text* 25, no. 4 (2011): 447–57; Huw Hallam, “Globalized Art History: The New Universality and the Question of Cosmopolitanism,” *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Art* 9, no. 1–2 (2008): 74–89; and James Elkins, “Art History as a Global Discipline,” in *Is Art History Global?* ed. James Elkins (New York: Routledge, 2006), 3–23.

<sup>59</sup> Hegemony, according to Hall, is “a form of power based on leadership by a group in many fields of activity at once, so that its ascendancy commands widespread consent and appears natural and inevitable.” Stuart Hall, “The Spectacle of the ‘Other’,” in *Representation*, ed. Stuart Hall, Jessica Evans, and Sean Nixon, 2nd ed. (London: Sage, 2013), 248.

<sup>60</sup> The dissymmetry exists between the US and “not only third-world countries, but even Japan and those of Western Europe.” Fredric Jameson, “Notes on Globalization as a Philosophical Issue,” in *The Cultures of Globalization*, ed. Fredric Jameson and Masao Miyoshi (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 58.

films on a similar scale. According to Jameson, Hollywood cinema gradually grew to become the hegemonic form of cinema since the 1950s when it won favorable conditions for international distribution thanks to the US requirements in international trade treaties like the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), signed on October 30, 1947.<sup>61</sup> Jameson argues that the expansion of one dominant culture eventually leads to the destruction of national culture industries.<sup>62</sup> Following Jameson's analysis, I interpret the photographic language of *The Family of Man* as a representative of the US magazine industry and as a manifestation of the hegemonic culture, an equivalent of Hollywood cinema in the field of photography. The numerous other local photographic languages that are documented in the FIAP yearbooks never had comparable conditions for their development.

From the perspective of the labor theory of culture developed by the American cultural historian Michael Denning, photo-club culture occupies a gray area between commodified cultural production because many photo-club members were employed in the publishing industry, and “unproductive” affective labor because the photo-club culture itself was based exclusively on unpaid, volunteer work.<sup>63</sup> Nevertheless, production and dissemination of

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<sup>61</sup> The US requirements, according to Jameson, “constitute stages in a long American attempt to undermine a politics of cultural subsidies and quotas in other parts of the world.” Jameson, 60. The goal of GATT was to encourage economic recovery after the Second World War by increasing international trade for the benefit of what then was called the first world. The leaders of the third world countries objected to the arrangements of GATT and “demanded that they have the right to use preferential systems when it suited them,” but they did not achieve such right. Prashad, *Darker Nations*, 69. For a brief history of the GATT, see World Trade Organization, “GATT and the Goods Council,” accessed January 10, 2019, [https://www.wto.org/english/tratop\\_e/gatt\\_e/gatt\\_e.htm](https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/gatt_e/gatt_e.htm).

<sup>62</sup> Jameson, “Notes on Globalization,” 61.

<sup>63</sup> I address the overlapping of seemingly contradictory concepts within professional photojournalism in chapters 2 and 4. Denning himself admits that “that maze of complexity—the labyrinth of capital, labor, and culture—remains the challenge of an emancipatory cultural studies.” Michael Denning, *Culture in the Age of Three Worlds* (London: Verso, 2004), 96.

photographs is a form of labor. The power imbalance in the field of photography during the 1950s accurately reflected the larger geopolitical and economic processes taking place in the world. In other words, the division of labor in photography only echoed the more visible ones that governed manufacturing and trade. For example, the work of North American and Western European photojournalists was distributed internationally through the most authoritative channels such as *Life* and *The Family of Man*. Meanwhile, the role of the “second” and “third” worlds remained to provide raw materials, in this case passive subjects and locations for “first world” photographers.

Postcolonial historiography prepares the ground for approaching the multiethnic and multicultural photo-club culture and addressing the content of images as well as their authors’ careers. I reference theories of representation, stereotyping, and power imbalance, as outlined by Homi K. Bhabha and Stuart Hall.<sup>64</sup> Historian Vijay Prashad’s analysis is especially helpful. He examines the historical construction of the third world as a distinct political and socioeconomic platform whose institutions in the 1950s “enabled the powerless to hold a dialogue with the powerful” but ultimately failed to achieve tangible goals.<sup>65</sup> Scholars of postcolonial theory and especially historians of modern India, such as Dipesh Chakrabarty, Partha Chatterjee, Nicholas B. Dirks, and Gyan Prakash have discussed the possibilities and difficulties of writing a post-Orientalist history that rejects the cultural supremacy of previously established “centers.”<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>64</sup> Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 68–82, and Hall, “The Spectacle of the ‘Other’.” See also Michael Geyer and Charles Bright, “World History in a Global Age,” *The American Historical Review* 100, no. 4 (1995): 1034–60.

<sup>65</sup> Prashad, *Darker Nations*, xviii. See also Vijay Prashad, *The Poorer Nations: A Possible History of the Global South* (London, New York: Verso, 2014).

<sup>66</sup> Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, new ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007); Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and Its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); Nicholas B. Dirks, “Castes of Mind,” *Representations*, no. 37 (1992): 56–78; Gyan Prakash,

Prakash, for example, calls for a “destabilization of identities and crossing of carefully policed boundaries” as a necessary step toward writing a history “that will resist both nativist romanticization and Orientalist distancing.”<sup>67</sup> Chakrabarty, meanwhile, highlights “the problem of asymmetric ignorance.”<sup>68</sup> The problematic asymmetry dictates that photography historians in Brazil, India, and Taiwan, for example, must know the names and works comprising the canon of photography written in Western Europe and the United States, whereas their peers are rarely expected to know the names from Brazil, India, Taiwan, and elsewhere in the former “second” and “third worlds.”

The legacy of FIAP suggests that it is possible to disrupt the existing narrative, although special care must be taken not to further contribute to what political theorist and historian Timothy Mitchell calls the globalization, or further distribution, of an already dominant narrative.<sup>69</sup> Bhabha stresses that “any transnational cultural study must ‘translate’, each time locally and specifically, what decenters and subverts this transnational globality, so that it does not become enthralled by the new global technologies of ideological transmission and cultural consumption.”<sup>70</sup> Nelson, meanwhile, calls for the necessity “to explore ways to write about Others without speaking for them or rendering them passive.”<sup>71</sup> Therefore, instead of trying to insert the global photo-club culture into the existing Western art history of photography, I propose a different and nonhierarchical perspective. Instead of asking, *What is the place of the*

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“Writing Post-Orientalist Histories of the Third World: Perspectives from Indian Historiography,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 32, no. 2 (1990): 383–408.

<sup>67</sup> Prakash, “Writing Post-Orientalist Histories,” 406.

<sup>68</sup> Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe*, 28–29.

<sup>69</sup> Timothy Mitchell, “The Stage of Modernity,” in *Questions of Modernity*, ed. Timothy Mitchell (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 7.

<sup>70</sup> Bhabha, *Location of Culture*, 241.

<sup>71</sup> Nelson, “Map of Art History,” 40.



*images from the FIAP yearbooks in the history of Western European and North American art and photography?*, I ask, *What is their place in a decentralized, global history of visual culture?* Instead of asking, *What do these images tell an audience familiar with Western art history?*, I ask, *What did they mean to their makers and their communities?*

Unfortunately, neither FIAP nor most of its constituents—photo clubs and their national federations—have left a trace in the mainstream histories of photography.<sup>72</sup> The absence of clearly articulated statements from the founders and members of FIAP pose additional difficulties in every step of my research. “But there are many important cultural groups,” notes cultural theorist Raymond Williams, “which have in common a body of practice or a distinguishable ethos, rather than the principles or stated aims of a manifesto.”<sup>73</sup> Although such groups can be more perplexing than those that have clearly verbalized their position and goals, Williams’s work encouraged me to continue searching for the significance of photo clubs and FIAP in the 1950s, “for this is the real point of social and cultural analysis, of any developed kind: to attend not only to the manifest ideas and activities, but also to the positions and ideas which are implicit or even taken for granted.”<sup>74</sup> The work of FIAP is especially difficult to grasp because of its egalitarianism and diversity. Its global reach and heterogeneous membership make FIAP an intriguing, if elusive, object of research.

“Photography as such has no identity. . . . It is a flickering across a field of institutional spaces. It is this field we must study, not photography as such,” writes art historian John Tagg.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>72</sup> The São Paulo-based club Foto Cine Clube Bandeirante (FCCB) is one of the few notable exceptions. Chapter 6 discusses the work of FCCB members in detail.

<sup>73</sup> Raymond Williams, “The Bloomsbury Fraction,” in *Culture and Materialism: Selected Essays* (London and New York: Verso, 2005), 148.

<sup>74</sup> Williams, “Bloomsbury Fraction,” 150.

<sup>75</sup> John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1988), 63.

Sociology of art offers another set of helpful methods of studying the field of photography's institutional spaces because it focuses on "the structure in which art is discovered, discussed, defined, purchased and displayed."<sup>76</sup> I define the global photo-club culture and FIAP as important institutional spaces in which photography as an art form was discovered, discussed, defined, and displayed in the 1950s. From the abovementioned list, I exclude only purchasing because photo clubs as well as FIAP functioned on explicitly nonprofit grounds and outside any market. Some of the sociological categories that I use to examine FIAP include the photographers' reputations and statuses; the conventions and constraints of professional photography both within and outside the photo-club culture; and the distribution systems such as FIAP yearbooks and photo-club exhibitions.

Cultural sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, in collaboration with colleagues Luc Boltanski, Robert Castel, Jean-Claude Chamboredon, and Dominique Schnapper, offered the first major sociological analysis of the breadth of contemporary photographic practices, *Photography: A Middle-Brow Art*, published in French in 1965 and translated into English in 1990.<sup>77</sup> The book is based on several studies commissioned by Kodak-Pathé that Bourdieu and colleagues carried out in France between 1961 and 1964.<sup>78</sup> Today's sociologists recognize Bourdieu's project as a

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<sup>76</sup> Richard W. Christopherson, "Making Art with Machines: Photography's Institutional Inadequacies," *Urban Life and Culture* 3, no. 1 (1974): 13. See also Jeremy Tanner, "The Sociology of the Artist," in *The Sociology of Art: A Reader*, ed. Jeremy Tanner (London: Routledge, 2003), 107.

<sup>77</sup> Pierre Bourdieu et al., *Photography: A Middle-Brow Art*, trans. Shaun Whiteside (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990), first published in French as *Un art moyen: essai sur les usages sociaux de la photographie* (Paris: Les Éditions de Minuit, 1965).

<sup>78</sup> The main subjects of these studies were peasants in a village of Lesquire in Béarn (Bourdieu's native village), Renault factory workers, two photo clubs in Lille, and photojournalists working for major French newspapers. Surveys used in their study are listed in: Bourdieu et al., *Photography*, 176n7 and 196n1. Some of the questionnaires used by the researchers and sample answers are omitted in the English translation and are only available in the French edition, along with a few other chapters that were not translated into English.

“cultural attack” because he dedicated a book to photographers, a choice whose revolutionary nature comes to light only when “we realize with uneasiness just how low photography was at this time in the artistic hierarchy,” as sociologist of art Nathalie Heinich notes.<sup>79</sup>

The influence of *Photography: A Middle-Brow Art* to my dissertation is threefold. First, the authors of the book identify family photography as the primary, most widespread social function of photography.<sup>80</sup> All other functions of photography, including art, establish a cultural distinction against its primary function. Fundamental to my dissertation is the argument that photo-club members often defined photographic art against other, then-less-prestigious functions of photography such as photojournalism.

Second, Bourdieu’s book introduces the understanding that the terms *art* and *artist* can be used, among other things, to elevate a professional group’s social status. Other sociologists, such as Howard Becker, Richard Christopherson, and Barbara Rosenblum, have later used the terms *art* and *artist* as signifiers of cultural and social status.<sup>81</sup> Their scholarship has led to the argument I put forward in my dissertation that a broad range of photographers in the 1950s saw

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<sup>79</sup> Nathalie Heinich, “Bourdieu’s Culture,” in *Bourdieu in Question: New Directions in French Sociology of Art*, ed. Jeffrey A. Halley and Daglind E. Sonolet (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2018), 188. Bourdieu embarked on the groundbreaking study of the multiple social functions of photography in contemporary French society partly because he himself used to be an active photographer. Between 1957 and 1960, Bourdieu produced numerous photographs in Algeria, where he worked as a lecturer at the University of Algiers. A selection of these images was recently published in a book: Pierre Bourdieu, *Picturing Algeria* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2012). The first edition was *Images d’Algérie* (Arles: Actes Sud Littérature with Camera Austria, 2003). Against the backdrop of the brutal Algerian war, “photography was one crucial way in which Bourdieu gathered data—and also developed his sociological eye,” notes sociologist Craig Calhoun in the foreword of *Picturing Algeria*, ix.

<sup>80</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, “The Cult of Unity and Cultivated Differences,” in Bourdieu et al., *Photography*, 13–72.

<sup>81</sup> Howard S. Becker, *Art Worlds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982); Christopherson, “Making Art with Machines,” 3–34; and Barbara Rosenblum, *Photographers at Work* (New York and London: Holmes and Meier, 1978).

photo-club membership as an avenue toward the legitimization of photography as a recognized art form. Many photographers chose to join photo clubs and FIAP, seeing them as institutions that could help them advance their social standing by associating their work with art, a category that in most, if not all, FIAP member countries enjoyed higher prestige than photography.

Finally, Bourdieu captures the confusion and insecurity of what it meant to be a photographer, and especially a “photographic artist” in the beginning of the 1960s. The acknowledgment of the unstable position of photography among other, more well-established occupations is crucial for my dissertation. It is instrumental in revealing the underlying struggle and desire for recognition that motivated a diverse group of photographers to participate in the photo-club culture and FIAP between 1950 and 1965. “The wish to cultivate photography as an art means condemning oneself to a practice that is uncertain of its legitimacy, preoccupied and insecure, perpetually in search of justification,” observes Jean-Claude Chamboredon in his chapter on photographic artists.<sup>82</sup> As one example of such uncertainty, my dissertation demonstrates that the multiple social functions of photography often overlapped within a person’s career or coexisted within a single image. Some of the contributors to the FIAP yearbooks were professionally successful photographers working on magazine, newspaper, and book assignments, who at the same time participated in photo-club activities. They either produced self-commissioned exhibition prints in their spare time or repurposed their commissioned images for presentation in photographic art exhibitions.<sup>83</sup> The FIAP yearbooks show that the boundaries between different social functions of photography were often fluid and not uniformly defined throughout the world between 1950 and 1965.

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<sup>82</sup> Jean-Claude Chamboredon, “Mechanical Art, Natural Art: Photographic Artists,” in Bourdieu et al., *Photography*, 129.

<sup>83</sup> Chapter two discusses these examples in detail.

FIAP was the first organization to provide an inclusive transnational forum for photographers under the umbrella of photographic art. The leaders of FIAP, however, never discussed the meaning of the term *photographic art*.<sup>84</sup> The sociological perspective helps to narrow down the implied meaning of *art* and *artist* in the context of postwar photo clubs. When the FIAP photographers of the 1950s used these terms, they were not talking about an artistic avant-garde. Instead, using the term *art* was their way of demanding attention to and respect for the photographic image, and *artist*, an expression of their aspiration for social mobility. Photo-club culture and FIAP in the 1950s exemplified the process which Christopherson characterizes as “disidentification with the limited, humble status of photographer and identification with the role of artist.”<sup>85</sup> When FIAP members in the 1950s used the term *photographic art*, I argue, they employed it as a vehicle for establishing a cultural distinction for their work. Exactly what this cultural distinction entailed and what trajectories their social mobility would take depended on each location’s specific circumstances, as the following chapters demonstrate.

Chapter 1 acknowledges the central role that the United Nations played in *The Family of Man* as well as in FIAP. *The Family of Man* positioned the UN as a redemptive force that would save humanity from nuclear destruction. But *The Family of Man*, while it idealized the UN, also reinforced negative stereotypes about the “third world” and solidified the authority of white, relatively privileged, and predominantly male photojournalists traveling across the world with a

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<sup>84</sup> The organization’s claims and statements about “photographic art” were vague. For example: “Photographic Art represents the most modern manifestation of Art in general, and . . . its creations are capable of evoking the thrill that is always associated with a masterpiece,” wrote Roland Bourigeaud (1900–1995), the president of the National Federation of Photographic Societies of France (Fédération Nationale des Sociétés Photographiques de France) and the first vice-president of FIAP. Roland Bourigeaud, preface to *FIAP Yearbook 1956* (Lucerne: C. J. Bucher, 1956), 7. “Art” capitalized in original.

<sup>85</sup> Christopherson, “Folk Art to Fine Art,” 125.

US or Western European country's passport. Meanwhile, FIAP took on the model of organizational structure of the UN aiming to unify the transnational community of photographers. FIAP, I argue, attempted to challenge the authority of the few to represent the world as *they* saw it and instead gave voice to the local photographers who lived far from cultural metropolises of the "first world."

Chapter 2 examines the problematic status of photojournalists and the emerging hierarchy within the profession from a sociological perspective. I argue that the economic power and interests of the US magazine industry, exemplified by *Life*, came to dictate the rules of the profession on an international level. As a result, a relatively small group of Western European and US photographers monopolized the photojournalistic production for *Life* and other mainstream illustrated magazines. The most influential group excluded photographers and photojournalists native to the "second" and "third worlds." I argue that for them, FIAP served as a substitute to *Life*—as a prestigious institutional framework for circulating their work. Publication in FIAP yearbooks helped them to establish a cultural distinction, at least among fellow photographers.

Chapter 3 identifies humanist photography as the dominant photographic language of the 1950s. The fact that the high cultural status of humanist photography was an expression of socioeconomic and cultural power of the US magazine industry can easily go unnoticed because its power, as I argue, was seductive instead of being coercive. When the US magazine industry established humanist photography as the central photographic language of the time, it rendered all other photographic languages of the time invisible or irrelevant.

The mechanism of such process surfaced most visibly in the photography trade fair and exhibition complex *Photokina 1956*. Chapter 4 argues that in this iteration of *Photokina*, the US

magazine industry with full support of the UN and UNESCO, solidified its political, economic, and cultural dominance in the field while claiming to speak for *all* and presenting humanist photography as the “universal language.” Meanwhile FIAP, I posit, brought to *Photokina 1956* a confrontational message of heterogeneity and emphasized the nonhierarchical coexistence of many visual styles within the photo-club culture.

In chapter 5 I introduce the concept of photography as a “national language,” one of the most clearly articulated oppositions to the dominant model of photography as a universal one. It flourished among the Chinese refugees settled in Taiwan after the establishment of Communist government in mainland China in 1949 and was championed in photo-club culture by Lang Jingshan. FIAP gave numerous photographers outside Europe a hope that their work would be seen and understood internationally. That such hope was futile, I argue, was a consequence of the unequal terms in which photographic images were interpreted. Everything, when viewed through a Euro-US-centric prism, led to the acknowledgment of the superiority of Western European and North American photographic practices over all others.

Based on the example of photo club Foto Cine Clube Bandeirante in São Paulo, Brazil, chapter 6 sets up an encounter with *fotoclubismo* (from Portuguese *foto clube*—“photo club” in English)—the epitome of the thriving and competitive atmosphere that prevailed in the photo clubs of the 1950s. Building on the arguments of the previous chapters that the case study of Brazilian *fotoclubismo* sets in a sharp focus, I argue that photo clubs of the 1950s functioned as social systems that provided an alternative to the dominant structure of commercial press, resisted the journalistic model of photographic production, and challenged the authority of mainstream photojournalism, all the while emphasizing the role of transnational interconnectivity among individual photographers and clubs.

In the conclusion I acknowledge that FIAP responded to the photographers' needs in the rapidly and violently changing world of the 1950s. FIAP and photo clubs initiated or accelerated processes in which photographers developed a social identity of respected creative professionals. The fact that the organization's efforts so far had been forgotten illuminates the larger power imbalance and systemic inequality in the transnational field of photography in the 1950s. I end the conclusion with a reflection on the epistemological and methodological challenges of writing a global art history that I encountered while studying the legacy of FIAP.



## CHAPTER ONE: FIAP, *THE FAMILY OF MAN*, AND THE UNITED NATIONS

Established five years before the opening of *The Family of Man*, FIAP aimed to become an equivalent of the United Nations in the field of photography. Once every two years, FIAP organized a congress following the model of the UN General Assembly where, ideally, representatives of the world's photographers, elected first by their photo clubs and then by their national federations, would come together as equals and discuss issues that were relevant to them in an organized, professional, and democratic environment. Two photographs from the sixth FIAP congress in Opatija, Yugoslavia, September 19–22, 1960, offer a glimpse into a typical meeting of FIAP constituents. A group photograph of the participants on the terrace of Hotel Kvarner, where the congress sessions were held, shows around fifty delegates (fig. 1.1). Most of them seem to be male, but three female figures are discernible in the front row. One of them appears to be wearing distinctly non-Western style clothing, likely a type of sari. A few nonwhite faces can be distinguished among the majority of white ones, suggesting at least some presence of non-European participants. Another photograph shows a congress session in progress in one of the hotel's conference rooms (fig. 1.2). It is the only photograph that depicts a FIAP congress and documents the level of seriousness and formality that it attempted to create. Even a translator is present, according to the comment that accompanies the photo in the January 1961 issue of *Camera*, the official magazine of FIAP.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile, the ideal model organization of FIAP is captured in one of the very few reproductions in *The Family of Man* photobook that occupy an entire spread. It is an image of the

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<sup>1</sup> FIAP, "Kurzbericht über die am Kongreß in Opatija gefaßten wichtigsten Beschlüsse 19.–22. September 1960," *Camera*, no. 1 (1961): 47.

UN General Assembly by its official photographer Maria Bordy (b. 1918).<sup>2</sup> The photo of the UN assembly hall (fig. 1.3) is neither an especially interesting photograph, nor does it depict any particularly important historical event. Instead, its prominent position reveals the deeply symbolic meaning that it had to convey within *The Family of Man* photobook and exhibition. In the initial version of the exhibition as it was installed at New York's Museum of Modern Art in 1955, the image appeared as an oversized enlargement, one of the biggest in the show (fig. 1.4). It worked as a pivotal point in the exhibition—viewers encountered it after exiting a darkened room with red walls and a large, backlit color transparency depicting an explosion of a hydrogen bomb.<sup>3</sup> The photobook, however, omits the image of the bomb explosion, placing emphasis solely on the UN assembly hall image instead.

For the transnational community of photographers, the UN was more than just a symbolic image. The UN played an outstanding role in both *The Family of Man* and in FIAP: while *The Family of Man* is widely understood to represent the humanist optimism of the UN, FIAP aspired to *become* a kind of UN in the field of photography. The scene presented in Bordy's photograph of the UN assembly hall at the heart of *The Family of Man* photobook was also the imagined self-image of FIAP: photographers from all member countries occupying one shared space where they all had equal rights and chance to speak. The first part of this chapter argues that the UN served as a model for the founders of FIAP in their attempt to unite the transnational community

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<sup>2</sup> Edward Steichen, ed., *The Family of Man* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1955), 184.

<sup>3</sup> Lili Corbus Bezner notes that the image of the UN assembly hall was meant to work as “a symbol of potential salvation for warring humankind.” Lili Corbus Bezner, “Subtle Subterfuge: The Flawed Nobility of Edward Steichen's *Family of Man*,” in *Photography and Politics in America: From the New Deal into the Cold War* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999), 158. For a detailed analysis of the initial installation of *The Family of Man* at the Museum of Modern Art in 1955, New York, see Mary Anne Staniszewski, *The Power of Display: A History of Exhibition Installation at the Museum of Modern Art* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998), 207–59.

of photographers. However, despite the shared admiration for the ideals of the UN, *The Family of Man* and FIAP operated on the opposite ends of the spectrum in terms of sociopolitical power. *The Family of Man* represented a superpower, whereas FIAP emerged as a challenger to its authority in the field of photography. Comparison with *The Family of Man* helps me highlight the ways in which FIAP attempted to adjust the immense power imbalance between the photographers of the “West” and the rest of the world.<sup>4</sup> The second part of the chapter focuses on images in *The Family of Man* which popularized the “first world’s” negative stereotypes about people living elsewhere. I introduce photographs made by these people and circulated in FIAP yearbooks as an alternative to Western presumptions. Meanwhile, in the third part of the chapter, I focus on how *The Family of Man* elevated the cultural status of Western European and US photojournalists while obscuring the work of local photographers. I argue that, following the humanistic ideas that the UN propagated, FIAP created a unique opportunity for photographers to circulate their work according to the principles of peaceful cultural exchange and human rights. At the time, FIAP, just like the UN, embodied a promise of equality that resonated particularly profoundly among the recently independent nations in Asia and across the “second” and “third worlds” in general.

### **The “United Nations” of Photographers**

The founders of FIAP envisioned the organization as a democratic forum that provided equal opportunity for participation from all and any countries that showed a desire to join.

The ambitious vision of FIAP founders and members, however, far exceeded their practical

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<sup>4</sup> Here I follow the ideas that Hall developed in “The West and the Rest: Discourse and Power,” in *Formations of Modernity*, ed. Stuart Hall and Bram Gieben (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1992).

capacity. The size of the hotel's conference room and the number of delegates in the FIAP congress is quite far from the ideal model, the UN assembly hall. The congresses, which met once every two years, were the only times that representatives of FIAP member countries met and interacted in person. Only the well-resourced and government-funded international entities like the UN could afford such luxuries as their own building, full-time staff, and permanent delegates. For a self-financed volunteer organization such as FIAP, even maintaining communication among its members was a constant struggle, an issue to which I shall return later in this chapter. Before I further discuss the unique role that the UN had in the formation and development of FIAP, first it is necessary to address the symbolic power that the image of the UN assembly hall had in *The Family of Man* photobook.

The significance of the UN assembly hall photograph in *The Family of Man* comes into clear focus only when we consider its pairing with the hydrogen bomb explosion image. The bomb image was the symbol of the Cold War conflict as it was constructed and perceived in the United States in the 1950s. It represented the threat of the Soviet Union's possible attack on the United States, inevitably leading to loss of life and destruction at an unprecedented scale. Even without imagery of the actual explosion, anxiety about the escalation of the Cold War to the level of a nuclear war is omnipresent in *The Family of Man*.<sup>5</sup> The photobook echoed and reinforced the anxiety with an ominous quotation from British philosopher Bertrand Russell printed in

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<sup>5</sup> Claude Cookman observes that *The Family of Man* photobook, because of the omitted hydrogen bomb explosion image, "conveys an antiwar message, but only the exhibition expressed the antinuclear message." Claude Hubert Cookman, *American Photojournalism: Motivations and Meanings* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University, 2009), 237. Miles Orvell in his analysis of *The Family of Man* goes even further and declares that the omission of the bomb image in the photobook "produces an argument that is muted, almost to the point of vanishing." Miles Orvell, "Et in Arcadia Ego. *The Family of Man* as Cold War Pastoral," in *The Family of Man Revisited: Photography in a Global Age*, ed. Gerd Hurm, Anke Reitz, and Shamoan Zamir (London: I.B. Tauris, 2018), 194.

white on black on an otherwise empty page: “The best authorities are unanimous in saying that a war with hydrogen bombs is quite likely to put an end to the human race. . . . there will be universal death—sudden only for a minority, but for the majority a slow torture of disease and disintegration.”<sup>6</sup> Following Russell’s warning, *The Family of Man* offers the UN as *the* instrument for avoidance of the universal death. As naive or melodramatic as such an arrangement might seem today, in the middle of the 1950s it reflected the mood of contemporary public debates in the United States.

In order to illuminate the significance of the UN in *The Family of Man*, I shall briefly address the specific perception of the Cold War in the United States, dominated by the arms race between the United States and the Soviet Union.<sup>7</sup> Although historians have reached a consensus about the unlikelihood of an actual confrontation between the two powers, during the 1950s US politicians and the military-industrial complex sustained a metaphorical “shadow of the mushroom cloud,” as historian Eric Hobsbawm describes the atmosphere of fear surrounding the public debates.<sup>8</sup> Both antagonists of the Cold War demonized each other, but the apocalyptic

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<sup>6</sup> Steichen, *Family of Man*, 179.

<sup>7</sup> For detailed discussions on how the US Cold War discourse impacted specific areas of art and culture, both domestically and internationally, see Greg Barnhisel, *Cold War Modernists: Art, Literature, and American Cultural Diplomacy* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015); Giles Scott-Smith, Joes Segal, and Peter Romijn, ed., *Divided Dreamworlds? The Cultural Cold War in East and West* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2012); Heonik Kwon, *The Other Cold War* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010); Rana Mitter and Patrick Major, ed., *Across the Blocs: Exploring Comparative Cold War Cultural and Social History* (London: Routledge, 2004); and David Caute, *The Dancer Defects: The Struggle for Cultural Supremacy during the Cold War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003). See also Gordon Johnston, “Revisiting the Cultural Cold War,” *Social History* 35, no. 3 (2010): 290–307.

<sup>8</sup> Eric Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes: The Short Twentieth Century, 1914–1991* (New York: Vintage, 1996), 253. Moreover, Hobsbawm shows that the Cold War, in many aspects, was a period of certain stability, as both superpowers kept a “highly uneven but essentially unchallenged balance of power” (226). Although numerous armed conflicts took place across the world during the 1950s, and especially in Asia, according to Hobsbawm, they “were controlled,

rhetoric was especially typical to the United States.<sup>9</sup> Such rhetoric not only influenced the country's foreign affairs but also shaped its domestic policy. Among other things, it produced the so-called Red Scare, the persecution of alleged communists and Soviet sympathizers at the time of McCarthyism that also had long-term repercussions on culture.<sup>10</sup> The hydrogen bomb explosion image in *The Family of Man* and Bertrand Russell's quotation had more than one meaning. In a literal sense, it reinforced the anxiety about a hypothetical nuclear attack from the Soviet Union. On a subtler note, the bomb image summarized the apocalyptic discourse of the domestic Cold War and stood in for all that was perceived as un-American and threatening to US political and economic interests.<sup>11</sup>

It was only in 1952 that images from Hiroshima after the bombing were released for the general public. The new hydrogen bomb was supposed to be so much more deadly.<sup>12</sup> In 1955, the same year that the first iteration of *The Family of Man* opened in New York, the US military leaders assumed that the Soviet Union had reached the capability of initiating a nuclear attack on the US.<sup>13</sup> Throughout the 1950s, the US and NATO worked on actual strategies that outlined the

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or stifled, by the fear that they might provoke an open—i.e. a nuclear—war between the superpowers” (253).

<sup>9</sup> Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes*, 234, 236.

<sup>10</sup> According to the American historian Stephen Whitfield, the domestic Cold War “had been used to justify not only the restriction and violation of civil liberties, but also the subjugation of culture to politics.” Stephen J. Whitfield, “The Cultural Cold War as History,” *Virginia Quarterly Review* 69, no. 3 (1993): 377–92, <https://www.vqronline.org/essay/cultural-cold-war-history>. Whitfield's article offers a succinct account of what he calls the “damage assessment” of the Cold War in US culture. For a more detailed discussion, see Stephen J. Whitfield, *The Culture of the Cold War*. 2nd ed. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996).

<sup>11</sup> Hobsbawm succinctly states that the real struggle of the Cold War was not the “threat of communist world domination, but the maintenance of a real US supremacy.” Hobsbawm, *Age of Extremes*, 237. See also Vijay Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World* (New York: New Press, 2007), 7–8.

<sup>12</sup> Orvell, “Et in Arcadia Ego,” 194.

<sup>13</sup> “The United States Joint Chiefs of Staff,” writes Wiggershaus, assumed that the Soviet Union has achieved “full integration of nuclear warfare concepts into ground forces doctrine and

proposed actions following a hypothetical Soviet nuclear offensive. Whatever the scenario, the US and NATO planned “to retaliate immediately with atomic weapons,” writes military historian Norbert Wiggershaus.<sup>14</sup> Military strategists estimated the first phase of the nuclear war would last for thirty days, while its second phase could be “of indefinite length.”<sup>15</sup> If a Soviet nuclear attack were to target the United States, an estimated 65 percent of the population, or about 98 million out of the country’s 150.5 million inhabitants, would die or suffer serious injuries.<sup>16</sup> “It would neither be possible to bury the dead nor to provide hospital treatment for the injured,” the US Federal Civil Defense Administrator governor Val Peterson uttered in a televised address.<sup>17</sup>

While popular US illustrated magazines like *Life* described possible plans of evacuation in case of a Soviet nuclear attack, it was “painfully clear that survival is an impossible dream. Major cities bombed with the H-bomb will be obliterated.”<sup>18</sup> The military admitted that “the actual risks were beyond rational calculation” and that the war would cause panic, lack of supplies, masses of refugees, governments losing control, and total “destruction and chaos surpassing anything seen before.”<sup>19</sup> All estimates about the hypothetical war sounded sinister, especially regarding the loss of civilian lives. A new term appeared to describe such hypothetical war: nuclear holocaust.<sup>20</sup> Against all the terrifying images and visceral phrases describing the

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tactics.” Norbert Wiggershaus, “Elements of NATO’s Nuclear War Scenario 1956,” in *1956: European and Global Perspectives*, ed. Carole Fink, Frank Hadler, and Tomasz Schramm (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2006), 86.

<sup>14</sup> Wiggershaus, “NATO’s Nuclear War Scenario,” 84.

<sup>15</sup> Wiggershaus, 93.

<sup>16</sup> Wiggershaus, 96. If the Soviet Union were to attack West Germany, NATO estimated that both sides would launch 355 nuclear bombs causing 1.7 million deaths and serious injuries to 3.5 million people.

<sup>17</sup> Wiggershaus, 95–96.

<sup>18</sup> Orvell, “Et in Arcadia Ego,” 199. He refers to an unattributed article “All plans to Evacuate Face Staggering Difficulties,” *Life*, April 12, 1954, 30.

<sup>19</sup> Wiggershaus, 94, 95.

<sup>20</sup> Wiggershaus, 99.

hypothetical nuclear holocaust in the press, *The Family of Man* put up a photograph of the UN assembly hall and a sentence from the Charter of the UN.<sup>21</sup> The quotation accompanies Bordy's image in the photobook: "We, the peoples of United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women and of nations large and small."<sup>22</sup>

*The Family of Man* was, among other things, an oversized advertisement for the idealism of the UN. The outstanding role of the UN photograph manifests *The Family of Man* organizers' hope that the UN was the right—and only—authority capable of preventing the threats of a nuclear world war, and a Soviet attack on the United States in particular. Bordy's photograph of the UN assembly hall was positioned centrally in *The Family of Man* photobook because it embodied the ideas that offered at least some counterbalance to the overwhelming visions of a nuclear holocaust. The belief in the power of the UN represents the other most characteristic aspect of the 1950s—an optimistic humanism. Art and architecture historian Christopher E. M. Pearson characterizes it as "idealism and an unquestioned belief in progress," "fierce optimism," and a "search for a utopian wholeness."<sup>23</sup> The central placement of the symbolic image of the

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<sup>21</sup> *The Family of Man*, 184.

<sup>22</sup> The Charter of the UN continues: ". . . and to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom, AND FOR THESE ENDS to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors, and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples, HAVE RESOLVED TO COMBINE OUR EFFORTS TO ACCOMPLISH THESE AIMS." *Charter of The United Nations and Statute of the International Court of Justice* (San Francisco, 1945), 2, accessed April 11, 2019, available at <https://treaties.un.org/doc/publication/ctc/uncharter.pdf>. Emphasis in original.

<sup>23</sup> Christopher E. M. Pearson, *Designing UNESCO: Art, Architecture and International Politics*



UN assembly hall in *The Family of Man* highlights the photography project's dependence on what art historian Blake Stimson identifies as postwar idealism—a collective dream about the possibility of a postnational citizenship and a global civil society based on common humanistic ideals.<sup>24</sup> Much of the idealism and optimism focused on the UN, then a new international organization that was perceived as the only mediator between the representatives of the two hostile superpowers that could prevent a war between them. And indeed the UN appeared to make noticeable strides toward settling conflicts via negotiations. For example, in 1957 the UN succeeded in establishing the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) with the aim to promote the use of nuclear energy for peaceful purposes and to eradicate its military application.<sup>25</sup> The popular optimism at the time was not yet stained by the realization that the actions of organizations such as the UN were biased, often self-serving, and almost always limited in their efficiency.<sup>26</sup> During the 1950s, many perceived the language of UN and

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*at Mid-Century* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), xvii, 3.

<sup>24</sup> Blake Stimson, *The Pivot of the World: Photography and Its Nation* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2006).

<sup>25</sup> The establishment of IAEA and its work is widely discussed among Cold War scholars. For an insight into the current debates, see David Holloway, “The Soviet Union and the Creation of the International Atomic Energy Agency,” *Cold War History* 16, no. 2 (2016): 177–93; and Paul Lever, “The Cold War: The Golden Age of Arms Control,” *Cold War History* 14, no. 4 (2014): 501–13. For an analysis of discussions between the United States and Western European governments relating IAEA and nuclear weapons, see Susanna Schrafstetter and Stephen Twigge, *Avoiding Armageddon: Europe, the United States and the Struggle for Nuclear Nonproliferation, 1945–1970* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2004). For a discussion of a “third world” perspective on IAEA, see Prashad, *Darker Nations*, 41–42.

<sup>26</sup> Historians examining the genealogy of the ideas behind UN and UNESCO have demonstrated that the postwar internationalism, humanism, and universalism emerged from a historical background steeped in the racist superiority of European imperialism and colonialism. According to historians Mark Mazower and Glenda Sluga, it was the historical background that shaped the education and thinking of key political figures such as Jan Smuts (1870–1950), initiator of the UN, and Julian Huxley (1870–1950), the first director of UNESCO. On Jan Smuts, see Mark Mazower, *No Enchanted Palace: The End of Empire and the Ideological Origins of the United Nations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009). On Julian Huxley, see Glenda Sluga,

UNESCO pamphlets with hopefulness and believed that documents such as the UN Declaration of Human Rights would bring actual change. Likewise, audiences in the United States and Western Europe believed that *The Family of Man* conveyed an urgent message of peace and understanding.

For example, German philosopher and sociologist Max Horkheimer, a leading figure of the Frankfurt School, was among the ardent supporters of *The Family of Man*. In his talk at the exhibition's opening in Frankfurt on October 25, 1958, he declared that it "is a symbol of common bonds among human beings that are shared in spite of many political differences in their individual and national character."<sup>27</sup> He further stressed that "[t]he photos aim to encourage human beings to find happiness in the awareness that they can only be happy when individuals cease to suffer from misfortune or disaster that could have been averted through the efforts of all people."<sup>28</sup> Photography theorist Ariella Azoulay argues that in the context of postwar culture, *The Family of Man* served as a visual equivalent to the UN Declaration of Human Rights. Individual photographs included in *The Family of Man*, she writes, "can be recapitulated as a series of prescriptive statements through which universal rights are claimed."<sup>29</sup>

Moreover, the UN was an especially significant symbol of hope in the parts of the world

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"UNESCO and the (One) World of Julian Huxley," *Journal of World History* 21, no. 3 (2010): 393–418.

<sup>27</sup> Max Horkheimer, "Opening of the Photo-Exhibition *The Family of Man*—All of Us," trans. Angela Oakeshott, with Anna Maria Duplang et al., in *The Family of Man Revisited: Photography in a Global Age*, ed. Gerd Hurm, Anke Reitz, and Shamoan Zamir (London: I.B. Tauris, 2017), 49.

<sup>28</sup> Horkheimer, "Opening of the Photo-Exhibition," 50–51.

<sup>29</sup> Ariella Azoulay, "The Family of Man: A Visual Universal Declaration of Human Rights" in *The Human Snapshot*, ed. Thomas Keenan and Tirdad Zolghadr (Berlin: Sternberg Press, 2013), 36–37.

emerging from the colonial past.<sup>30</sup> As historian Vijay Prashad demonstrates, the UN became one of the defining political institutions to shape the postwar position of the “third world,” comprising the recently decolonized countries in Asia and Africa with India and its first prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru in the lead.<sup>31</sup> According to Nehru, “the cultivation of the UN as the principle institution for planetary justice” was equally significant as the local movements for political independence and nonviolent international relations.<sup>32</sup> The postcolonial world saw the UN as their platform, as the sole organization that finally welcomed it as equal to its former colonizers and “enabled the powerless to hold a dialogue with the powerful.”<sup>33</sup> Moreover, Prashad writes that “under colonial conditions, the darker nations had been reduced to being providers of raw materials and consumers of manufactured goods produced in Europe and the United States.” The planetary justice “called for the formerly colonized states to diversify their economic base, develop indigenous manufacturing capacity, and thereby break the colonial chain.” In other words, the “third world” hoped that the UN could shift the existing global division of labor in their favor.<sup>34</sup>

If *The Family of Man* was an oversized advertisement for the UN, then the UN was a no less ardent advertiser of photography as a means of peaceful cultural exchange. The commitment

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<sup>30</sup> The UN “sought an active role in the former colonial world” and established new international organizations such as the International Labor Organization (ILO) and the Food Agricultural Organization (FAO) whose work was aimed at the countries that had gained their independence recently. Carole Fink, Frank Hadler, and Tomasz Schramm, introduction to *1956: European and Global Perspectives*, ed. Carole Fink, Frank Hadler, and Tomasz Schramm (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2006), 32.

<sup>31</sup> Prashad, *Darker Nations*, 11.

<sup>32</sup> Prashad, 11.

<sup>33</sup> Prashad, 27–28, xviii–xix. The United Nations, among many other things, “provided a crucial forum for the Third World to raise issues of colonial barbarity and use the General Assembly as the medium to broadcast previously hidden atrocities before the world.” Prashad, 103.

<sup>34</sup> Prashad, 44.

of UN and UNESCO to promoting their ideas through photography had a remarkable impact on the medium in the late 1940s and early 1950s. The UN and UNESCO attributed to photography significant political meaning and power to implement social changes. They hired the most well-known photographers of the time, such as David “Chim” Seymour (1911–1956), cofounder of the photographers’ cooperative Magnum, and circulated their work in photo books such as *Children of Europe* (1949) and *Human Rights Exhibition Album* (1950). The UN organized or sponsored numerous photography exhibitions. Among others, UNESCO sponsored *The World Exhibition of Photography* that took place in Lucerne, Switzerland, in 1952.<sup>35</sup> Art historian Sarah James points out that the thematic arrangement and visually captivating layout of large-size prints became an important source of inspiration for *The Family of Man* when Steichen visited the Lucerne exhibition.<sup>36</sup>

Moreover, the *UNESCO Courier*, the organization’s internationally distributed official magazine, was formatted as a photo-magazine based on popular examples like *Life*.<sup>37</sup> Its covers, like those of *Life*, featured large and visually captivating photographs. For example, the

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<sup>35</sup> For the Lucerne exhibition catalogue, see: Hans Neuburg, ed., *World Exhibition of Photography 1952 Lucerne Switzerland* (Luzern: Genossenschaft Photoausstellung Luzern, 1952). For a historical analysis of the exhibition see Muriel Willi, “Une exposition écrit l’histoire: Helmut Gernsheim et Erich Stenger à l’Exposition mondiale de la photographie de Lucerne,” *Transbordeur: Photographie, histoire, société*, no. 2 (2018): 29–39.

<sup>36</sup> Sarah E. James, *Common Ground: German Photographic Cultures across the Iron Curtain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 72. In 1952 Steichen visited twenty cities in eleven European countries researching the material for *The Family of Man*. For an account of his visit, see Kristen Gresh, “The European Roots of *The Family of Man*,” *History of Photography* 29, no. 4 (2005): 331–43.

<sup>37</sup> See Tom Allbeson, “Photographic Diplomacy in the Postwar World: UNESCO and the Conception of Photography as A Universal Language, 1946–1956,” *Modern Intellectual History* 12, no. 2 (2015): 383–415; and Edgardo C. Krebs, “Popularizing Anthropology, Combating Racism: Alfred Métraux at *The UNESCO Courier*,” in *A History of UNESCO: Global Actions and Impacts*, ed. Poul Duedahl (Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan, 2016), 29–48.

*Courier's* February 1956 issue, which included an article about *The Family of Man*, had an image from the exhibition on the cover, a photograph by Swiss photographer Jakob Tuggener (1904–1988). The untitled and undated image is a tightly cropped close-up of two muscular arms, capturing two shirtless men at work (fig. 1.5). The work of the UN and UNESCO in the field of photography contributed to the general popularity of photography in the 1950s and in doing so prepared the cultural context for projects such as *The Family of Man* as well as, however indirectly, for the efforts of FIAP.

FIAP announced its foundation in 1950 with a declaration that photography brings “understanding, respect, and love of other customs and beliefs.”<sup>38</sup> Photographer Fritz Neugass (1899–1979) wrote on behalf of the Press, Film, and Photo Office of the UN in 1954: “The aim of the UN is identical with that which lies closest to the hearts of photographers: to bring the nations closer together through mutual understanding.”<sup>39</sup> In the preface to *The Family of Man* photobook in 1955, Steichen wrote, “The art of photography is a dynamic process of giving form to ideas and of explaining man to man.”<sup>40</sup> Humanistic claims about the unity and equality of all people accompanied UN and UNESCO photography exhibitions and publications. Photography became an essential component to the “postwar peace-building in visual terms,” as cultural historian Tom Allbeson observes.<sup>41</sup> During the 1950s, the humanist sentiments of the UN resonated with many, including the transnational community of photographers. Although FIAP avoided involvement in governmental politics, the organization indirectly benefited from UN and UNESCO publications that constantly praised photography as a medium best equipped to spread

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<sup>38</sup> A. Wermelinger and E[rnest] Boesiger, preface to FIAP, *FIAP Biennial 1950* (Bern, 1950), 9.

<sup>39</sup> Fritz Neugass, “The photographers of the United Nations,” *Camera*, no. 9 (1954), 405.

<sup>40</sup> Steichen, *Family of Man*, 5.

<sup>41</sup> Allbeson, “Photographic Diplomacy,” 393.

positive ideas of equality, mutual understanding, and human rights. Such praises also added legitimacy and authority to FIAP, and the organization consciously used the humanist rhetoric of the UN to define itself.

The basic structural principles of FIAP were based on the organizational model of the UN: each country was represented in FIAP by a national federation of photography that united photo clubs in that country. The official members of FIAP were the national federations of photography. The names of the federations were quite similar and carried the country's name, such as the Argentine Federation of Photography (Federación Argentina de Fotografía), the Belgian Federation of Photographic Circles (Fédération Belge des Cercles photographiques), Photographic Society of Thailand, or All-Japan Association of Photographic Societies.<sup>42</sup> The national federations of photo clubs significantly varied in size. For example, in 1952 the Italian Federation of Photographic Societies (Federazione Italiana Associazioni Fotografiche) united twenty-three photo clubs, while the Federation of Photo and Cinema Amateurs of Yugoslavia (Savez Foto i Kino-Amatera Jugoslavije) included 396 clubs.<sup>43</sup> By 1964 the Brazilian Federation of Photographic Art (Federação Brasileira de Arte Fotográfica), established in 1951, united thirty photo clubs and a total of 4,106 photographers throughout the country.<sup>44</sup> Typically the national federations of photography were the primary organizers of regular nationwide and international

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<sup>42</sup> With a few exceptions, in the absence of a nation-wide organization, a single photographic society or club represented a country. For example, in 1954 Hungary was represented the Budapest-based Soproni Fotoclub, which was replaced in 1958 by the recently formed Union of Hungarian Photographic Artists (Union des Artistes Photographes Hongrois). Data from: FIAP, *1958 FIAP Yearbook* (Lucerne: C. J. Bucher, 1958); FIAP, *1966 FIAP Yearbook* (Lucerne: C. J. Bucher, 1965). The names of the organizations and their publications are mentioned here in the form and language as they appeared in FIAP yearbooks.

<sup>43</sup> FIAP, *II. Internationale Photobiennale der Fédération Internationale de l'Art Photographique* (Salzburg: FIAP, 1952), 13–34.

<sup>44</sup> FIAP, untitled, *Camera*, no. 2 (1964), 41.

exhibitions—salons and publishers of nationally or regionally distributed photography periodicals such as, for example, *Fotografija* in Yugoslavia and *Boletín* in Mexico. It is extremely significant that FIAP was able to mobilize the national organizations and inspire the creation of those that were established during the 1950s. The very existence of the national federations demonstrates that, although the photo-club activity was not universally strong across the world, it was present in nearly all regions. Acknowledging the shared elements, the founders of FIAP recognized a potential for unity across national, geographic, and political borders.

FIAP was grounded in the political ideals of the UN that were forward-looking and eagerly debated during the postwar years, such as the notion of a transnational civil society, the redemptive potential of the arts, and importance of cultural exchange in maintaining peace. FIAP used similar phrases to those used by the UN and UNESCO in their photo projects, and for this reason FIAP attracted the attention of photographers across the world. The similar rhetoric gave an impression that FIAP could be as important as was UN at the time. Among the goals of FIAP, as outlined in its charter that was signed in Bern, Switzerland, during the foundational congress on June 17–19, 1950, was “strengthening of peace in the world” and contributing to the “technical, documentary and artistic enrichment of nations.”<sup>45</sup> In the words of Van de Wyer, the organization was established to serve all members “equally regardless of their power or their poverty.”<sup>46</sup> Van de Wyer also noted that “each affiliated national organization preserves its absolute independence and will at all times and under any circumstances find equality and

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<sup>45</sup> Emile Wanderscheid, “Historical Account of FIAP” in FIAP (Fédération Internationale de l’Art Photographique), *Patrimoine Artistique. Notice Historique. 50 années* (Barcelona: FIAP, 1999), 282.

<sup>46</sup> “La FIAP naquit, basée sur une communauté de sentiments et un désir d’entente internationale. Créé par des Fédérations nationales, elle est destinée à les servir d’égale manière quelle que soit leur puissance ou leur pauvreté.” Maurice Van de Wyer, introduction to FIAP, *I. Photo-Biennale der FIAP* (Bern: FIAP, 1950), 7.

fraternity.”<sup>47</sup> Roland Bourigeaud (1900–1995), the president of the National Federation of Photographic Societies of France (Fédération Nationale des Sociétés Photographiques de France) and the first vice president of FIAP, proclaimed in 1954 that the goal of FIAP was to make “an appreciable contribution towards bringing the peoples of the world closer together and the establishing of universal brotherhood.”<sup>48</sup> Meanwhile, Swiss photographer Ernest Boesiger (1897–1969), cofounder and first secretary-general of FIAP, further emphasized that all members of FIAP were to the same extent encouraged to participate in all FIAP projects.<sup>49</sup> In the preface to the first publication of FIAP, Boesiger wrote that “the black and white art . . . through its truthfulness . . . stimulates one to understand, respect, and love other nations’ customs and beliefs.”<sup>50</sup> These and other phrases in FIAP communications sound empty and pompous today, but in the 1950s they faithfully echoed the language of the UN pamphlets and documents. For example, the constitution of UNESCO begins with asserting its goal “to contribute to peace and security by promoting collaboration among the nations through education, science, and culture in order to further universal respect for justice, for the rule of law and for the human rights and fundamental freedoms.”<sup>51</sup>

Even the design of the FIAP logo (fig. 1.6) was conspicuously similar to the UN emblem (fig. 1.7). Both logos more or less subtly signal the belief of their respective founders that Western Europe plays a central role in the world, although both organizations are historically

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<sup>47</sup> Maurice van de Wyer, “The President’s Message,” *Camera*, no. 7 (1954), 346.

<sup>48</sup> Roland Bourigeaud, preface to *1954 FIAP Yearbook* (Lucerne: C. J. Bucher, 1954), 7.

<sup>49</sup> Ernest Boesiger, introduction to the FIAP section, *Camera*, no. 7 (1954), 326.

<sup>50</sup> Wermelinger and Boesiger, preface to *FIAP Biennial 1950*, 9.

<sup>51</sup> UNESCO, “UNESCO Constitution,” November 16, 1945. Cited is the first sentence from Article I on page 3 of the Constitution. Available at [http://www.unesco.org/education/pdf/UNESCO\\_E.PDF](http://www.unesco.org/education/pdf/UNESCO_E.PDF), accessed August 15, 2018.



important only because they became platforms for all others to speak against the Western European imperial legacy, among other things. Both logos feature an image of the globe at the center. For unknown reasons, the image of the globe in the FIAP logo positions Eurasia in the center, prominently depicting the immense but inaccessible shared landmass of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics and the People’s Republic of China, countries that did not participate in the transnational photo-club culture that FIAP represented. The letters FIAP—the abbreviation of the organization’s name in French (Fédération Internationale de l’Art Photographique)—appear on the top of the logo, surrounded by rays of light emanating from the globe. For a comparison, at the center of the globe in the UN logo is the North Pole. All continents are included, visually conveying the all-inclusive nature of the organization. The UN logo does not have any textual component, as that would be limiting or exclusionary because there is no one universally understood language in the world. The laurel wreath beneath the globe, however, is a nod to the Greco-Roman cultural heritage that modern European civilization claims. Meanwhile, the globe in the FIAP logo is surrounded by Latin phrase *Scientia ars lumen* (“science and art of light”). The choice of Latin adds another layer of Eurocentrism, as it was the language of the Roman Empire and the medieval Christian world and is the root of all Romance languages.

The pairing of science and art in the Latin phrase signals another parallel between FIAP and the concepts that the UN and UNESCO promulgated at the time. The first vice president of FIAP, Roland Bourigeaud, wrote in 1954 that photography is a “new and wonderful means of perfecting . . . scientific knowledge” that brings humanity closer to “beauty, to the ideal, and to the happiness.”<sup>52</sup> His words reflect the status of photography as it was perceived in the 1950s, positioned between science (“scientific knowledge”) and culture (“beauty”). At the time the

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<sup>52</sup> Roland Bourigeaud, preface to *1954 FIAP Yearbook* (Lucerne: C. J. Bucher, 1954), 7.

reconciliation of science and culture was among the central goals of UNESCO. As Pearson observes, addressing “the essential dialectic” between the two became the motivating force behind the organization’s work.<sup>53</sup> That the medium of photography was especially suited to overcome not only the perceived dialectic between science and culture but also all other tensions that divided people and to alleviate the political and social disparities of a postwar world was an example of wishful thinking that FIAP shared with the organizers of *The Family of Man* as well as with the UN and UNESCO spokespeople.

A closer look at the institutional structure of photo clubs and FIAP is helpful in grasping their historical importance because it lies outside the territory of artistic innovation and the avant-garde. The significance of photo clubs in the 1950s was, among other things, in their roles as providers of an institutional structure where photographers were able to socialize, circulate their work among their peers abroad, and build a positive self-identification as creative professionals. Moreover, the emergence of FIAP in 1950 characterizes the decade following the end of the Second World War, when theoretical ideas proliferated about the possibility of a civil society—a form of coexistence that could prevent a third world war and guarantee a continuous peace and growing prosperity throughout the world.<sup>54</sup> Civil society was understood as “a global arena in which individuals and organizations *other than sovereign states* come together and engage in activities separate from those pursued by national governments.”<sup>55</sup> Debates about a

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<sup>53</sup> Julian Huxley, the first director of UNESCO, “articulated that fundamental dualistic tension between the universality of science and the subjectivity of the individual which sets UNESCO in a perpetual balancing act.” Pearson, *Designing UNESCO*, xvi.

<sup>54</sup> See, for example, Mark Mazower, *Governing the World: The History of an Idea, 1815 to the Present* (New York: Penguin Books, 2013).

<sup>55</sup> Akira Iriye, *Global Community: The Role of International Organizations in the Making of the Contemporary World* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002), 7. Emphasis added. For a detailed analysis of the political, social, and economic aspects of the concept of the global civil society, see also Srilatha Batliwala and L. David Brown, eds., *Transnational Civil Society: An*

global civil society produced the belief, emerging in the 1950s, that a network of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) is the most suitable format for establishing communication and understanding among peoples across political borders, cultures, and religions.<sup>56</sup> Although today it is more common to refer to charitable and human rights advocacy groups as NGOs, photo clubs, their national federations, and FIAP itself were all technically NGOs.<sup>57</sup>

The most remarkable achievement of FIAP stems from its ambition to represent the transnational community of photographers by uniting the photo clubs into an umbrella organization, independent from governmental politics. Learning from the humanistic idealism of the UN and adapting the format of a nonprofit volunteer organization, FIAP was the first entity after the Second World War to unite photographers throughout the “first,” “second,” and “third worlds,” regardless of their professional affiliation and aesthetic preferences. By uniting and representing the transnational photo-club culture, FIAP participated in shaping the perception of

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*Introduction*, (Bloomfield, CT: Kumarian Press, 2006).

<sup>56</sup> In this historical context, an NGO is any organization that is founded by private individuals and operates as voluntary, nonstate, nonprofit, nonreligious, and nonmilitary association. Iriye, *Global Community*, 2. All kinds of transnational NGOs were established in large numbers in the 1950s. See Thomas Richard Davies, *NGOs: A New History of Transnational Civil Society* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 140.

<sup>57</sup> Historian Kerry Ross was the first to argue that photo clubs can be studied as democratic, civic organizations. See Kerry Ross, “‘Little Works of Art’: Photography, Camera Clubs, and Democratizing Everyday Life in Early Twentieth-Century Japan,” *Japan Forum* 25, no. 4 (2013): 425–457. In her book about the middle-class photo-club membership in Japan in the 1920s and 1930s, Ross defines photo clubs as “the primary institutional setting for the democratization of the fine arts,” “venues of aesthetic socializing,” and “politically neutral spaces to exercise liberal ideals.” Kerry Ross, *Photography for Everyone: The Cultural Lives of Cameras and Consumers in Early Twentieth-Century Japan* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2015), 12, 101, and 127. It has to be noted that the scholarly debates about NGOs rarely focus on those organizations that operate in the field of the arts and culture. For an essential outline of the studies pertaining the history of NGOs, see John Boli and George M. Thomas, eds., *Constructing World Culture: International Nongovernmental Organizations Since 1875* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1999).

photographers as a distinct social and professional group. Such a perception was not at all self-evident in the 1950s, and to this issue I will return in the chapter 2. Here the key assertion is that FIAP created a sense of community among photographers dispersed across the world, each working in different cultural, economic, and sociopolitical contexts. I propose to interpret it as an imagined community, adopting the concept formed by political scientist and historian Benedict Anderson. He developed his influential concept of imagined community as a way of understanding modern nationalism. A nation, according to Anderson, is an imagined political community.<sup>58</sup> Placed in the context of Anderson's terms, FIAP conceived of an imagined community of photographers whose geographically scattered members could be united around shared interests and a shared professional identity. Pearson observes that aspiration for a sovereign group identification outside the nation-state first took shape within postwar Western European culture.<sup>59</sup> But a necessity to belong to a transnationally recognized professional group also emerged in the 1950s outside Europe. For example, cultural anthropologist Karen Strassler highlights the ways in which Chinese diaspora photo clubs in Indonesia provided their members with an entry to a global community of amateur photographers in the 1950s.<sup>60</sup>

The concept of a transnational community of photographers, however, seems to contradict the aspiration of FIAP to become the “United Nations” in the field of photography and

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<sup>58</sup> According to Benedict Anderson, the nation as a community “is *imagined* because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion.” Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 2006), 6. Emphasis in original.

<sup>59</sup> Pearson, *Designing UNESCO*, 29.

<sup>60</sup> Karen Strassler, “Cosmopolitan Visions: Ethnic Chinese and the Photographic Imagining of Indonesia in the Late Colonial and Early Postcolonial Periods,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 67, no. 2 (2008): 408. See also section “Postcolonial Moderns, 1950–1965” in Karen Strassler, *Refracted Visions: Popular Photography and National Modernity in Java* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2010), 43–6.

serve as a metaphorical assembly hall for each country's representatives to showcase their locally specific photographic languages. Structurally, FIAP consisted of national federations that each retained a notion of their own national difference. Such difference was particularly significant in those areas of the world where a sovereign nation-state served as a model in the anti-colonial struggle. For example, photo club members in Indonesia formed an affiliation with a transnational group and at the same time, as Strassler argues, "imagined they were launching Indonesia toward modernity while promoting their nation as an equal among global peers."<sup>61</sup> Although FIAP did not have a capacity to address the profound tension between unity and difference that it encountered, the work of the organization puts that tension into a sharp focus. Because this tension permeated the photo-club culture of the 1950s on several levels, I will return to it throughout the following chapters.<sup>62</sup>

Although providing independence from governmental politics, the format of a nongovernmental organization severely limited the actual impact that FIAP could make. Despite its important-looking logo with a globe in the center and its official-sounding name—the International Federation of Photography—FIAP was run by volunteers who took great pride in the organization's distance from the commercial market, party politics, and national governments. While its model organization built grandiose buildings such as the headquarters of the UN in New York (completed in 1952) or UNESCO in Paris (1958), FIAP did not even have a dedicated office. FIAP did not have any paid staff, and all the organization's activities relied exclusively on its members—unpaid enthusiasts who volunteered their time and labor. Its

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<sup>61</sup> Strassler, "Cosmopolitan Visions," 406.

<sup>62</sup> Chapters 4 and 5 focus on the analysis of the ways in which FIAP and the photo-club culture accommodated photographers who embraced the seemingly contradictory concepts of internationalism and nationalism.

member country delegates met in person only in congresses, organized once every two years in different cities.<sup>63</sup> Between 1950 and 1965, FIAP managed to have its congresses only in Europe, relatively close to countries where the core board members lived (Belgium, France, and Switzerland) but far from the places where most other FIAP constituents resided. This fact exemplifies the discordance between the ideals and the practicalities at the time: a transnational community of equal participants could well be theorized, but it was still far too difficult and expensive for such a community to meet face-to-face. Unlike the UN and UNESCO which were supported by generous governmental funding, FIAP was a self-financed volunteer organization that did not have the means to pay the travel expenses of its geographically dispersed delegates. This difference is essential for understanding the very limited reach of FIAP compared with its grandiose ambitions.

International travel became more feasible than before in the 1950s thanks to the postwar expansion of civil air transportation, although intercontinental trips remained still unaffordable to most and unreliable in many cases.<sup>64</sup> For example, a report about the second FIAP congress in Salzburg, Austria, in 1952 admits that “[a]bout twenty representatives from various countries were present, most of them from Europe because of the extent of the trip and the expense involved in travelling from other continents.”<sup>65</sup> By the time of the fourth congress in Cologne,

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<sup>63</sup> The first eight FIAP congresses coincided with the FIAP biennials and took place in different European cities: Bern, Switzerland (1950); Salzburg, Austria (1952); Barcelona, Spain (1954); Cologne, West Germany (1956); Antwerp, Belgium (1958); Opatija, Yugoslavia (1960); Athens, Greece (1962); and Basel, Switzerland (1964).

<sup>64</sup> For a context of how unaffordable was intercontinental travel in the 1950s, let us consider that in 1949 “a round-trip airplane ticket from England to Australia cost as much as a three-bedroom house in Melbourne’s suburbs,” and even after 1954, when “the advent of commercial jet airlines brought airfares down . . . a ticket to Australia from Europe cost as much as a new car.” Barbara Keys, “The 1956 Melbourne Olympic Games and the Postwar International Order,” in Fink, Hadler, and Schramm, *1956: European and Global Perspectives*, 286.

<sup>65</sup> FIAP, untitled report, *Camera*, no. 11 (1952), 425.

West Germany, in September 26–29, 1956, the geographical scope of FIAP member countries had significantly extended beyond Europe and now included a notable number of participants in Asia and Latin America. At that time FIAP comprised thirty-six national federations of photographers in eighteen countries in Western Europe, eight in Latin America, four in Eastern Europe, four in Asia, one each in Africa and Australia.<sup>66</sup> At the congress in Cologne, delegates from only sixteen countries were present. Most of them came from Western European countries, from which traveling to Cologne was relatively easy, faster, and more affordable.<sup>67</sup> Only one country in Asia (India) and one in Latin America (Uruguay) were represented.<sup>68</sup> Because of delays and other practical obstacles, the delegates from Hungary and Romania arrived in Cologne only toward the end of the congress, while the delegate from Pakistan, Wasim-ud-Din, “was prevented from making the trip at the last minute, and a delegate from Sweden and an invited guest from South Africa arrived in Cologne only after the end of the congress.”<sup>69</sup> The disappointing realities of international travel revealed the equal-opportunity world of communication and mobility envisioned by FIAP to be an idealistic fiction.

The FIAP logo, modeled after the UN emblem, and the centrally placed image of the UN

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<sup>66</sup> Western Europe was represented by eighteen countries: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, West Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Saarland, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland. Latin America was represented by Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba, Mexico, Nicaragua, and Uruguay. Eastern Europe, by Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia. Asia: India, Japan, Pakistan, and Thailand. Africa, by Angola.

<sup>67</sup> Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Greece, Italy, Netherlands, Spain, and Switzerland. FIAP, “Offizieller Bericht über den 4. Kongreß in Köln,” *Camera*, no. 3 (1958), 143.

<sup>68</sup> FIAP, “Offizieller Bericht über den 4. Kongreß in Köln,” *Camera*, no. 3 (1958), 143.

<sup>69</sup> “Der aus Pakistan gemeldete Delegierte, Mr. Wasim-Ud-Din, wurde in letzter Minute an der Reise verhindert, und ein Delegierter aus Schweden und ein eingeladenener Gast aus Südafrika trafen erst nach Auflösung des Kongresses in Köln ein.” FIAP, “Offizieller Bericht über den 4. Kongreß in Köln,” *Camera*, no. 3 (1958), 143.

assembly hall in *The Family of Man* photobook are the two most obvious examples of how photographers attempted to address the challenges of the postwar crisis by looking to the example of the UN. The idealistic concept of FIAP, just like the ideas behind the UN and UNESCO, emerged from the Western European culture as a response to the tragedy of the Second World War. The humanist sentiments and inclusivity of FIAP resonated with photographers in other regions that had survived different tragedies. Although it did not enjoy a position of tangible power, FIAP provided an equal opportunity to all photographers from its member countries to share their work with a transnational audience of peers. Photographers from across the world, and especially from the “second” and “third worlds,” hoped that FIAP could help them be seen and understood on the same grounds as their better-known colleagues from Western Europe and the US. The following two parts of this chapter, however, demonstrate that such hope had yet to be fulfilled.

### **Photographers from India in *The Family of Man* and FIAP**

*Music*, by Indian photographer Vidyavrata (1920–1999), is included in the 1964 FIAP Yearbook (fig. 1.8). From an elevated and distant viewpoint, the camera is looking down toward a row of ten children wearing white tank tops and dark shorts. The children are aligned along a circle drawn on the floor. Inside the circle there are nine empty chairs. Outside the circle, in the upper-left corner of the frame, an adult oversees the proceeding of what likely is a game of musical chairs, a common gym activity in schools. The source of light is outside the frame, coming from the upper-left corner and positioned extremely low, suggesting it is either early morning or late evening. The main visual feature of the image is the elongated shadows cast by the children. The dark shadows stretch across the frame from the middle down to the lower-right corner. They



create a strong diagonal that intersects with the narrow white lines on the ground. The photographer avoids superficial sentiment of depicting children at play by keeping the children, the location, and the circumstances of their play distant and anonymous. Vidyavrata turns a potentially saccharine subject into what can be interpreted as a visual expression of music. The compositional arrangement of bodies in space, distinct geometrical shapes, and the rhythm of lines—not the children who are playing a game—become the main elements of the work. *Music* is a sophisticated study of photographic composition that is nevertheless based on a depiction of everyday life.

Visiting North American and Western European photojournalists also photographed children in India. Yet they were not interested in documenting such unremarkable events of daily life as children playing musical chairs. Instead, they searched for opportunities to make images like the one by American photographer William Vandivert (1912–1989), commissioned by *Life* magazine and included in *The Family of Man* photobook. In Vandivert’s photograph, a naked baby whose stomach looks bloated from malnutrition sits on the ground and eagerly eats from a plate (fig. 1.9). Vandivert’s photograph is tightly cropped around the figure, leaving out details of the surroundings. What *The Family of Man* presentation omits is that this image is part of Vandivert’s reportage about the Bengal famine of 1943. It is also one of the least shocking photographs from the series. With a caption, “Terribly concentrated on food, child stuffs self at Ramkrishna Mission Ashram near Calcutta,” the photograph was first published in December 20, 1943, issue of *Life*. That the photograph of a starving child appeared next to Christmas-themed advertisements of commodities was a regular gesture of the cynical self-promotion of American affluence and material superiority that characterizes *Life* throughout the 1950s (fig. 1.10).

The short article accompanying Vandivert's photo reportage comments, "The child . . . did not see Vandivert, he was so terribly hungry."<sup>70</sup> For the middle-class Americans of the 1950s who comprised the primary audience of *Life* and the first iteration of *The Family of Man*, Vandivert's depiction of the Indian child suggested, besides starvation, also neglect and general poverty. The fact that the child is naked, sits on the floor, eats with hands, and is not held or directly supervised by an adult indicated shocking neglect to the American audience. Yet the child is adorned with jewelry and, at least according to the caption, is in the hands of a charitable society that provides life-saving food. Sitting on the floor and eating with hands are customary in many parts of the world and do not necessarily signal poverty or neglect. Knowing such details in no way lessens the impact of Vandivert's image or the scope of the tragic famine. However, when the photograph was presented in *The Family of Man* without any explanation about time, place, and circumstances apart from the caption "India," it only strengthened the spectators' negative stereotypes and led to the generalized perception of *all* Indian children as *always* isolated and destitute, poor, starving, and on the verge of death.

As an example of the power imbalance between the leading US and Western European magazine photographers and the local photographers of the rest of the world, I propose to compare the images from India in *The Family of Man* photobook and FIAP yearbooks. Among the thirteen images picturing India in *The Family of Man*, seven explicitly focus on suffering, starving, insane, sick, or dying individuals while the others show exoticized, fully or partially veiled figures of women and children. The seven images of suffering, including Vandivert's photograph, belong to the sensationalist shock journalism of the humanitarian crisis that

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<sup>70</sup> "Famine in India. One Million Indians Die to Point the Terrible Moral of Inflation," *Life* 15, no. 25 (December 20, 1943): 3.

proliferated in the illustrated magazines of the US in the 1950s. A different picture of the country appears in the twelve images produced by Indian photographers that are included in the seven FIAP yearbooks published between 1954 and 1965. One element that arguably unites them is their focus on ordinary daily life.

“The greatest photographic exhibition of all time—503 pictures from 68 countries,” the cover of *The Family of Man* photobook declares.<sup>71</sup> Carl Sandburg’s prologue to the photobook presents the project as “a multiplication table of living breathing human faces.”<sup>72</sup> Edward Steichen, in his introduction, writes: “For almost three years we have been searching for these images. Over two million photographs from every corner of the earth have come to us—from individuals, collections, and files. We screened them until we had ten thousand. Then came the almost unbearable task of reducing these to 503 photographs.”<sup>73</sup> The prominent placement of the number of the photographs and countries on the photobook’s cover and the emphasis on numbers in the texts begs us to pay more serious attention to statistics.

Photographer and theorist Allan Sekula was the first to point out the way in which statistics dominate the accounts of *The Family of Man* and thus can be used to interpret the exhibition.<sup>74</sup> According to Sekula the significance of what he called a collision of arithmetic and humanism reveals *The Family of Man* as “an aestheticized job of global accounting, a careful cold war effort to bring about the ideological alignment of the neocolonial peripheries with the imperial center.”<sup>75</sup> Meanwhile, Roland Barthes was among the first to note the power imbalance in *The Family of Man* when he wrote, “That work is an age-old fact does not in the least prevent

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<sup>71</sup> Steichen, *Family of Man*.

<sup>72</sup> Carl Sandburg, prologue in Steichen, *Family of Man*, 3.

<sup>73</sup> Edward Steichen, introduction to *Family of Man*, 5.

<sup>74</sup> Allan Sekula, “The Traffic in Photographs,” *Art Journal* 41, no. 1 (1981): 20.

<sup>75</sup> Sekula, “Traffic in Photographs,” 20.

it from remaining a perfectly historical fact. . . . It will never be fair to confuse in a purely gestural identity the colonial and the western worker.”<sup>76</sup> Barthes was referring to the images in *The Family of Man* that depicted human labor as a universally shared part of life experience. In the following pages, I expand his observation to the labor of photographers whose images were included in the exhibition. Building on Barthes’s and Sekula’s influential critiques, I argue that the often-quoted statistics obscure, among other things, the power imbalance among different groups of photographers working in the 1950s. Steichen, in his introduction to *The Family of Man*, speaks almost exclusively about the images. The only thing he has to say about their makers is, “The photographers who took them—273 men and women—are amateurs and professionals, famed and unknown.”<sup>77</sup> But who exactly were they?

Only a few scholars during the more-than-sixty-year-long history of interpreting *The Family of Man* have inquired about nationality and professional affiliation of the photographers whose work was selected for the project. My examination of this data shows that *The Family of Man*, among other things, naturalized and effectively solidified the authority of white, relatively privileged, and predominantly male photojournalists traveling across the world with a US or Western European country’s passport. Meanwhile FIAP, I argue, challenged their authority by giving voice to the local photographers who lived far from what Sekula calls “the imperial center.”<sup>78</sup> My analysis adds a new angle to the debates about *The Family of Man* as well as decentralizes it by shifting the attention toward the numerous photographers from the “neocolonial peripheries” whose work, documented in FIAP yearbooks, stood against the

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<sup>76</sup> Roland Barthes, “The Great Family of Man,” in *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1972), 102.

<sup>77</sup> Steichen, introduction to *Family of Man*, 5.

<sup>78</sup> Sekula, “Traffic in Photographs,” 20.

uniformity of the *Family*.<sup>79</sup>

The abundance of critical literature about *The Family of Man* and the silence about the much larger “family” of photographers whose work is documented in the FIAP yearbooks itself are telling signs of the power imbalance in the field of the history of photography that, until recently, relied exclusively on a Euro-US-centric narrative. Before I delve into the data about the photographers in *The Family of Man* and FIAP yearbooks, it is helpful to look back at some of the most influential debates about *The Family of Man* that have shaped my own thinking about it. They also have revealed which questions remain unanswered and have helped me establish my own approach to rethinking this canonical exhibition.

*The Family of Man* has been at the center of critical attention since 1955. Writers in each decade highlighted aspects of the exhibition that seemed more relevant than others at that time. The mainstream of the critical reception largely stems from Barthes’s essay. For example, in 1981 Sekula viewed the exhibition as a populist ethnographic archive and “the epitome of American cold war liberalism” that “universalizes the bourgeois nuclear family” and therefore serves as an instrument of cultural colonialism.<sup>80</sup> He critiqued the exhibition project as “it moves from the celebration of patriarchal authority—which finds its highest embodiment in the UN—to the final construction of an imaginary utopia.”<sup>81</sup> Eighteen years later, in 1999, Eric J. Sandeen, American Studies scholar and the pioneer of the first wave of revisionist critique of *The Family of Man*, pointed out that Sekula’s critique was not neutral or objective but was shaped by the

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<sup>79</sup> Sekula, 20.

<sup>80</sup> Sekula, 15, 25.

<sup>81</sup> Sekula, 20. In 2002 Sekula revisited his 1981 critique of *The Family of Man* to add that “its humanism provides a prototype for the new post-Cold War “human rights” rationale for military intervention” and that it can be interpreted as presaging globalization as part of “an integrated global capitalist economic system.” Allan Sekula, “Between the Net and the Deep Blue Sea (Rethinking the Traffic in Photographs),” *October* 102 (2002): 21.

cultural and political background of his particular historical moment. Sandeen noted that Sekula's interpretation was influenced by the Vietnam War and other events in the US at the time when Sekula wrote about *The Family of Man*. Sandeen's own critique of the exhibition begins by acknowledging the historical specificity of the time when Steichen conceived of *The Family of Man* as an urgent response "to the most important threat to humankind—nuclear weapons—in a truly global theater."<sup>82</sup> Furthermore, Sandeen's historical analysis puts the spotlight on the US Information Agency that instrumentalized the exhibition and turned it into "a commodity in the cultural diplomacy of the postwar period, a context little related to photography but intertwined with the message of Steichen's collection."<sup>83</sup>

Another decade later, in 2008, art critic and curator Jorge Ribalta interpreted the role of the exhibition as "the peak expression of humanist discourse and of the new role of art and high culture in the cultural Cold War."<sup>84</sup> Ribalta's critique, among other things, considered the humanist discourse of *The Family of Man* in the context of the rhetoric of the UN and UNESCO in the 1950s. Art historian Tamar Garb, in 2014, offered yet another revision of Sekula's critique in her analysis of the reception of the installation of *The Family of Man* in Johannesburg, South Africa, in 1958 during the show's world tour.<sup>85</sup> Garb's article shifts the emphasis away from scrutinizing the domestic debates and conflicts within the US that previously dominated the scholarship about *The Family of Man*. Instead, Garb brings attention to the fact that each

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<sup>82</sup> Eric J. Sandeen, *Picturing an Exhibition: The Family of Man and 1950s America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1995), 75.

<sup>83</sup> Sandeen, 95.

<sup>84</sup> Jorge Ribalta, introduction to *Public Photographic Spaces: Exhibitions of Propaganda, from Pressa to The Family of Man, 1928–55*, ed. Jorge Ribalta (Barcelona: Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona, 2008), 24.

<sup>85</sup> Tamar Garb, "Rethinking Sekula from the Global South: Humanist Photography Revisited," *Grey Room* 55 (Spring 2014): 34–57.

installment of the exhibition during its world tour looked and was perceived differently.<sup>86</sup>

Beginning in the twenty-first century, yet another wave of revisionist literature has emerged. This wave comprises scholarship that aims to reverse the predominantly critical assessments about *The Family of Man* and its organizers, focusing on the project's positive impacts. For example, media, communication, and cultural studies scholar Fred Turner posited that the exhibition outlined “the kind of world civil rights activists were soon to call for.”<sup>87</sup> Photography theorist Ariella Azoulay declared that the exhibition functioned as a visual equivalent to the UN Declaration of Human Rights.<sup>88</sup>

The latest addition to revisionist literature, the edited volume *The Family of Man Revisited: Photography in a Global Age*, opposes the “too-easy characterizations of *The Family of Man* as only American Cold War propaganda, or as an embodiment of bourgeois ideology.”<sup>89</sup> The book revolves around the previously unpublished English translation of Max Horkheimer's praising remarks about the exhibition that he delivered at its opening in Frankfurt's Haus des deutschen Kunstwerks (House of German Arts and Crafts) on October 25, 1958. The book aims to add depth and complexity to the critical reception of *The Family of Man* by positioning Horkheimer's talk and his other writings about photography as a philosophical counterpoint to

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<sup>86</sup> For other analyses of the local reception of *The Family of Man* during its world tour, see, for example, John O'Brien, “The Nuclear Family of Man,” *Asia-Pacific Journal* 6, no. 7 (2008): 1–13; and Eric J. Sandeen, “*The Family of Man* in Guatemala,” *Visual Studies* 30, no. 2 (2015): 123–30, as well as chapters dedicated to *The Family of Man* in the following two books: Jack Masey and Conway Lloyd Morgan, *Cold War Confrontations: US Exhibitions and Their Role in the Cultural Cold War* (Baden, Switzerland: Lars Müller, 2008), and James Wulf, *US International Exhibitions During the Cold War: Winning Hearts and Minds Through Cultural Diplomacy* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2015).

<sup>87</sup> Fred Turner, “*The Family of Man* and the Politics of Attention in Cold War America,” *Public Culture* 24, no. 1 (2012): 84.

<sup>88</sup> Azoulay, “Declaration of Human Rights,” 36–37.

<sup>89</sup> Shamooun Zamir and Gerd Hurm, *The Family of Man Revisited: Photography in a Global Age*, ed. Gerd Hurm, Anke Reitz, and Shamooun Zamir (London: I.B. Tauris, 2018), 8.

Barthes's now canonical essay. Yet even the most recent additions to the scholarly literature about *The Family of Man* tend to overlook the actual photographers whose work *The Family of Man* promoted internationally and the large-scale impact it had on the labor and careers of photographers across the world.

In contrast to the heterogeneity of the places depicted, the majority of the images in *The Family of Man* came from the same contemporary press sources, such as the *Life* magazine archive and other leading US magazines of the time, like *Vogue* or *Ladies Home Journal*, and notable photo agencies such as Black Star, Rapho Guillumette, and the Magnum cooperative. To provide detailed information about individual photographs and their authors, however, was not a priority to the organizers of *The Family of Man*. They omitted the year of the making of each image as well as the initial caption of the photograph that had accompanied it in the press if previously published. The minimal captions accompanying the images in the photobook note only the name of the photographer, the magazine or agency whose assignment it was, and the country or region where the photograph was taken. The nationality and/or citizenship of each photographer is never mentioned. Later the project was promoted abroad as an achievement of US culture, further obfuscating the specificity of the authorship of each image featured in the exhibition and photobook.

The cover of *The Family of Man* photobook mentions 503 images. I focus on 475 of them because only they are individually credited and contemporary.<sup>90</sup> The remaining twenty-eight

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<sup>90</sup> All statistical data about *The Family of Man* photobook is collected from the images and their captions in the book's first edition and supplemented by my own further research on biographies and careers of each photographer. Approximately fifteen images were included in the first iteration of the exhibition, but they did not appear in the photobook. These images are discussed in Monique Berlier, "The Family of Man: Readings of an Exhibition," in *Picturing the Past: Media, History, and Photography*, ed. Bonnie Brennen and Hanno Hardt (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 216.



photos are either unattributed or historical, such as photographs from the Weimar Republic by August Sander (1876–1964) or a nineteenth-century image by Lewis Carroll (Charles Lutwidge Dodgson, 1832–1898). The 475 contemporary images are credited to 256 photographers. Out of these 256 photographers, 222, or 86 percent, were based in the US and Western Europe, predominantly in France, Switzerland, the UK, and West Germany.<sup>91</sup> Only twelve, or 4.6 percent, of the photographers were natives of non-European cultures: eight from Japan, two from China, one from India, and one from Pakistan.

Part of the dominant 86 percent were professional photojournalists who traveled extensively, capturing on film the landscape and societies of the countries they visited. Among them were also first- or second-generation immigrants to the US who had grown up in various other visual cultures. But the publishing industry's requirements and demand for a certain type of image shaped their commissioned work. Therefore the US and European photojournalists remained outsiders, only brief visitors to all the cultures they encountered in their assignments in Asia, Latin America, Africa, and even in more distant "exotic" regions of Eastern, Northern, and Southern Europe.

The images in *The Family of Man* photobook indeed feature sixty-eight locations throughout the world. They depict people of different ages and races dressed in many kinds of styles of clothing in all climates and in a variety of urban and rural settings. They create an impression of vast diversity. But it is a diversity of subject matter which easily obscures the uniformity of the visual style of the images. Art historian Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff notes that Steichen's selections, instead of acknowledging diversity, rather claimed "universal validity for a

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<sup>91</sup> 162 out of 256 (or 63 percent) of the photographers were based in the US and 60 of 256 (or 23 percent) in Western Europe.

dominant culture.”<sup>92</sup> Among the reasons for the uniformity of most images in *The Family of Man*, I argue, is the fact that they are products of the US magazine industry, and their authors belong to a relatively small and relatively affluent professional group comprising experts at producing the dominant visual culture—the kind of images the editors of *Life* and other influential illustrated magazines requested. Their work does not objectively depict life in these sixty-eight countries as *The Family of Man* implies. Instead, their work represents the editorial choices and photographic conventions of the US magazine industry.

The magazine industry’s choices, representing the editors’ middle-aged and elderly white American male’s outlook, exoticized all other cultures and strengthened simplistic, negative assumptions about them.<sup>93</sup> US magazine illustrations, when presented in *The Family of Man* as universalizing statements about the human condition, further reinforced their symbolic power to represent the world in a particular way, within a distinctive regime of representation.<sup>94</sup> Such a regime hides its biased, self-centered perspective behind a promise of authenticity, honest documentation, and universal validity just as do the titles such as *Life*, not, let’s say, *American Life*, and *The Family of Man*, as opposed to, for example, *The Man in American Photojournalism*.

Another purpose of scrutinizing the differences between outsider and insider perspectives is to highlight the consequences of a process that Hall calls stereotyping. It is a mental process in

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<sup>92</sup> Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff, “Denied Images. *The Family of Man* and the Shoah,” *The Family of Man 1955–2001. Humanism and Postmodernism: A Reappraisal of the Photo Exhibition by Edward Steichen*, ed. Jean Back and Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff, trans. Judith Phillips (Marburg: Jonas Verlag, 2004), 97.

<sup>93</sup> See Schmidt-Linsenhoff, “Denied Images,” 95.

<sup>94</sup> Stuart Hall, “The Spectacle of the ‘Other’,” in *Representation*, ed. Stuart Hall, Jessica Evans, and Sean Nixon, 2nd ed. (London: Sage, 2013), 248.

which we simplify the world and make it comprehensible by dividing it into two main symbolic categories: “us” and “them,” the normal, or familiar, versus all the others. According to Hall, stereotyping creates “essentializing, reductionist, and naturalizing effects” by reducing unfamiliar peoples and cultures to simplistic caricatures.<sup>95</sup> Stereotyping reproduces and reinforces itself all the while appearing natural and self-evident; it encourages the exoticized representation of distant lands and unknown nations because such representation is already embedded in our expectations and prejudices about otherness.<sup>96</sup>

When photographers working for the Western European and US magazine industries produced images that reinforced negative cultural stereotypes about the rest of the world, these images were widely circulated and gained authority as canonical examples of photojournalism. Meanwhile, local photographers, indigenous to the multiple cultures of the “second” and “third worlds,” did not have access to equally prestigious and influential channels of distribution for their images. They found the only outlet for their work in international photo-club exhibitions and the FIAP yearbooks whose audiences were often limited to other similarly powerless photographers. Negative clichés about the “third world” supported the superiority of the white US and Western European culture in general. Moreover, *Life* and *The Family of Man* also strengthened the superiority of leading photojournalists who were based in the United States and Western Europe. I will address the mechanisms that established and reinforced the social and cultural hierarchy among professional magazine photographers in more detail in the chapter 2, but here I will continue with a further examination of the effects of stereotyping. By illuminating the mechanisms that supported the production and dissemination of oversimplified

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<sup>95</sup> Hall, “Spectacle of the ‘Other,’” 247–48.

<sup>96</sup> Hall, 248.

representations, we can better grasp the scope and implications of the power inequality that separated different groups of photographers.

The FIAP yearbooks in many aspects functioned as the antithesis to *The Family of Man*. In FIAP there was no US participation at all. Contrary to *The Family of Man*, images in FIAP yearbooks are not taken by visiting outsiders. The FIAP yearbooks showcase the work of photographers who were insiders to the various regions and the multiple cultures of the world they depicted. The seven photobooks that FIAP produced between 1950 and 1965 feature a total of 896 images made by 738 photographers from forty-five countries. More than half of these countries (twenty-six countries, or 58 percent) were located outside Western Europe. Unlike *The Family of Man*, the FIAP yearbooks do not represent a position of economic, cultural, or political power. The yearbooks document the variety of concerns coming from within a community of photographers in each FIAP member country at a grassroots level.

Moreover, contrary to *The Family of Man*, comprising mostly professional work produced on editorial assignments, FIAP yearbooks showcase the images photographers themselves chose to share. Approximately one third of the contributors to FIAP photobooks were also professional photojournalists. But the images they circulated in FIAP yearbooks were of their own selection, not filtered by the picture editors of illustrated magazines. With their participation in FIAP, the photographers attempted to exercise their symbolic power to represent their own culture as they knew and experienced it on a daily basis, not during a quick trip to another hot spot of a humanitarian crisis, as did the leading group of globe-trotting North American and Western European photojournalists. The fact that the work of FIAP and its constituents is almost completely forgotten reveals how much less influential was their symbolic power when compared to *The Family of Man*.

In *The Family of Man* photobook, a group of elderly, starved, and grimacing women wrapped in rags are captured in a harshly lit close-up shot (fig. 1.11). The author of the image is Werner Bischof (1916–1954), a Swiss photographer and member of Magnum cooperative. Bischof skillfully conveyed the way the creases, drapes, and textures in the fabrics echo the wrinkles and contorted expressions on the women’s faces, which were photographed during a moment of frantic gesticulating. The image is an extreme close-up of human suffering. The photographer’s relative proximity to the subject appears especially intrusive, with the women looking and gesticulating directly into the camera. The hands of the oldest-looking woman slightly to the left of the center of the image appear foreshortened and almost seem to extend out from the photograph into the viewer’s space. The women’s pleading appears to be addressed directly to the viewer, who is by implication a Westerner.

From only looking at Bischof’s image, the viewer has no way of learning who the women are and what exactly is happening, but the photographer succeeds in creating a vision of pain, loss, and desperation. In the Magnum archive, the photograph has the following caption: “India. Bihar province. Dighiar. 1951. Starving women.”<sup>97</sup> Bischof’s other images from the famine in North India appeared in the May 28, 1951, issue of *Life*, accompanied by an article focusing on India’s foreign policy as the main cause of the crisis.<sup>98</sup> In *The Family of Man*, however, Bischof’s photograph, like all others, is presented undated and accompanied only with the caption “India.” In such a context, it works as another formulaic representation of the country as forever in poverty, and as such it only reinforces a negative cliché.

A different picture of the country appears in the twelve images produced by Indian

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<sup>97</sup> Magnum Photos, Online image archive, accessed August 18, 2018, available at <http://pro.magnumphotos.com/image/PAR280789.html>.

<sup>98</sup> “US Heeds India’s Plea for Food,” *Life* 30, no. 22 (May 28, 1951): 17–21.

photographers that are included in the seven FIAP yearbooks published between 1954 and 1965. Through their choice of photographic form—thoughtful compositions, careful arrangement of figures, mastery of unusually positioned light sources, capturing of shadows, and emphasis on simple geometric shapes—Indian photographers attempted to communicate their own experience of life in the country in a visual language that they hoped would be understood and appreciated by their peers abroad. Included in the 1958 FIAP Yearbook, *Rhythm* (fig. 1.12) by Indian photographer Robi R. Ganguli (1931–2014) captures a dance performance by five young women in elaborate costumes.<sup>99</sup> Besides the five dancers, a figure of another woman is barely visible in the far-left side of the frame. The three figures in the foreground are depicted in detail. Their floating garments partially obscure the other two dancers situated behind them.

The photograph's heightened contrast almost reduces the figures of the foreground dancers to lighter triangles standing against the darkened background. Such effect highlights the photographer's attention to form. Yet the focused facial expressions of the dancers are clearly visible, as are the ornaments on their costumes, prioritizing the cultural specificity as the main subject matter of the photograph. But the exact type of dance performed is not mentioned and is not identifiable from the image. It could be a version of bharata natyam, a classic dance typical to southern India, historically performed as part of Hindu religious festivals or for special occasions at a king's court. Bharata natyam was prohibited by the British colonial government

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<sup>99</sup> Few details about the photographer's life and career are known, as is the case with most others whose work is included in the FIAP yearbooks. Ganguli belonged to the spiritual community of Sri Aurobindo Ashram. "Robi Ganguli—A Wide Angle," *Pondy Art*, September 10, 2013, <https://pondyart.org/2013/09/10/robi-ganguli-a-wide-angle/>, accessed July 7, 2016; Anurag Banerjee, "The Passing of Robi Ganguli," *Overman Foundation*, March 21, 2014, <https://overmanfoundation.wordpress.com/2014/03/21/the-passing-of-robi-ganguli/>, accessed July 7, 2016.

between 1910 and 1935.<sup>100</sup> After that the form of dance experienced a revival and, according to dance historian and theorist Janet O’Shea, found itself in the crux of heated debates about urgent cultural and sociopolitical issues.<sup>101</sup> Depictions of bharata natyam, therefore, can be interpreted as a subtle reminder of resistance in the recent past and an assertion of a Hindu identity in the present.

Moreover, the fact that the performance takes place on a stage points to the dance’s connection to a professional, organized culture. Although the specific type of dance captured in *Rhythm* is uncertain, the photograph documents the professionalization of dance and its transformation from a previously amateur form of religious, or court, art into a concert performance. Anthropologist and choreographer Pallabi Chakravorty demonstrates that the professionalization of dance was part of the broader efforts of the Indian government and especially the Ministry of Education to protect and promote Indian cultural heritage in its diversity.<sup>102</sup> As an example of the immense significance that the government associated with culture in the 1950s, the All India Music Conference opened in 1958 with a declaration: “The resurgence of our ancient culture and desire to draw inspirations from its traditions are both a cause and effect of our political freedom.”<sup>103</sup>

In order to promote dance in particular, the Indian government established specialized

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<sup>100</sup> Urmimala Sarkar-Munshi, “Another Time, Another Space—Does the Dance Remain the Same?” in *Dance Matters: Performing India on Local and Global Stages*, ed. Pallabi Chakravorty and Nilanjana Gupta (Abington, UK: Routledge, 2010), 30.

<sup>101</sup> According to Janet O’Shea, Bharatanatyam “moved from the edges of South Indian cultural life to the center of its most intense social and political contentions, including those over national independence, regional identity, and caste and class status.” Janet O’Shea, *At Home in the World: Bharata Natyam on the Global Stage* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2007), 5, 7–8, 13. See also Pallabi Chakravorty, “Dancing into Modernity: Multiple Narratives of India’s Kathak Dance,” *Dance Research Journal* 38, no. 1/2 (2006): 115–36.

<sup>102</sup> Pallabi Chakravorty, “Dancing into Modernity,” 119–20.

<sup>103</sup> Chakravorty, 120.

institutions such as the Sangeet Natak Akademi, a national academy for performing arts that organized and funded performances and festivals. Ancient types of dance, such as bharata natyam, kathak, Odissi, and Manipuri, according to Chakravorty, were promoted as important forms of classical, high culture. They came to embody the prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru's idea of "unity in diversity" and to symbolize the pan-Indian national ideology.<sup>104</sup> Ganguli's *Rhythm* bears witness to a thriving and professional cultural life that draws on local traditions and is distinctly different from white Western European and North American culture.

In another image of India in *The Family of Man*, an emaciated, apparently severely ill or dying man with an empty stare and open mouth is laying on the ground. The photograph was taken by Russian-born American photographer Constantin Joffé (1910–1992) for *Vogue* magazine (fig. 1.13). The man lies on a surface, possibly a floor in a countryside or village dwelling, and appears to be wearing a striped linen shirt and is wrapped in a thick, patterned blanket. A looming dark shape—a rough, rugged bucket—is placed in front of him, perhaps containing water to drink. Typical of the dominant language of the US photojournalism of the time, the main subject is depicted in extreme close-up. Joffé, as a professional photojournalist, pushes the limits and goes for the close-up of the dying person's face. The frame is tightly cropped around the face and upper body, eliminating any distracting details about the circumstances and context. The haunting image of the suffering man's face appears almost from nowhere. As it was presented in *The Family of Man*, Joffé's image clearly participated in creating a one-dimensional vision of India as a sad and destitute place.

For a comparison, in the 1960 FIAP Yearbook an image *No Work* by Indian photographer K. L. Kothary (Kantilal Kothari, 1921–2008) offers yet another perspective on daily life in the

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<sup>104</sup> Chakravorty, 120–23.



country (fig. 1.14). The focus is on the pointed ends of four narrow boats which are cut off on the left. The viewpoint is from above, and the rest of the frame is filled with a smooth surface of water. The horizon line or any other signifiers of the location of the scene are not visible. Two male figures occupy the two boats that are farther away from the camera. One man has turned his back, while the other is seen in profile with his face in shade. Contrary to Joffé's crude close-up of a dying man's face, in Kothary's image the two figures are in the upper-left corner of the frame, quite far from the camera. The figures remain anonymous. Their body language suggests that they may be engaged in a conversation with each other. The title points to an awareness of the social circumstances they share. Yet the source of their unemployment is not specified—viewers do not learn if the men have no work because the fishing season is over, or if it had not started, or because of other reasons. The title might as well refer to a well-deserved break, in which case the stillness of the scene obtains yet another meaning, that of peaceful contemplation and pause. Besides, the emphasis on the visual rhythm created by the ends of the boats against the flat, calm water surface downplays any social motif suggested by the title. Whether the two figures on their boats are fully employed or not does not alter the poetic quality of the image.

A slightly different version of *No Work*, entitled *Repose and Rhythm*, is included in an album of Kothary's work that was published in 1971 (fig. 1.15).<sup>105</sup> Unlike the version in the FIAP yearbook, Kothary's album version is printed in a significantly darker tonality, is less cropped, and includes two more boats and two additional figures. Because the image is more detailed, the space appears less flattened. The new title, *Repose and Rhythm*, emphasizes the stillness of the scene instead of suggesting the social circumstances of the previous title, *No*

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<sup>105</sup> K. L. Kothary and Dileep Kothari, *Diamonds from Dust* (Palanpur: Prasanna Publications, 1971), plate 11.

*Work*. The version in the album is visually closer to the majority of Kothary's oeuvre, consisting of observations of ordinary people in their daily life in rural and small-town settings. His special interest in documenting traditional lifestyles can be interpreted as nostalgic, but it also worked as a distinctive element of postcolonial culture where modernization in general was often aligned with colonialism. Life in a village in India, as Dileep Kothari writes in the introduction to Kothary's photobook, "tastes like fresh water from a mountain spring or a village well in contrast to the taste of artificially colored, sleekly sweetened, mechanically bottled, and glaringly advertised coca-cola [*sic*] of modern mechanical existence."<sup>106</sup> Turning to subject matter that was anti-modern was also a way to establish an anticolonial position. According to Pinney, the village as a location obtained particularly charged meaning for viewers in India and symbolized simplicity and truthfulness, partly influenced by the teaching of Mahatma Gandhi, the leader of the Indian independence movement.<sup>107</sup>

Another example of Kothary's nostalgic, anticolonial imagery is *Begging Monks*, reproduced in the FIAP section in the December 1965 issue of *Camera* (fig. 1.16). The middle ground of the image shows a group of four figures walking toward the camera. According to Kothari's introduction to Kothary's photobook, they are "barefooted Jain ascetics coming from the temple or going on their daily round of alms."<sup>108</sup> The monks are wearing light-colored robes and carrying long sticks. The group takes up the middle of a narrow, unpaved street, which appears like a rift between the walls of multistoried colonial-style buildings. The light source is situated behind and above the figures who cast long shadows that stretch toward the camera and

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<sup>106</sup> Dileep Kothari, "The Lustre of Diamonds," in *Diamonds from Dust*, by K. L. Kothari and Dileep Kothari (Palampur: Prasanna Publications, 1971), 7–8.

<sup>107</sup> Christopher Pinney, *Camera Indica: The Social Life of Indian Photographs* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 14.

<sup>108</sup> Kothari, "Lustre of Diamonds," 7.

almost reach to the lower edge of the frame. The faces of two figures in the front are completely shaded, rendering them anonymous. The two figures behind them are visible but not recognizable. The harsh contrast between the backlight and the dark shadows adds a dramatic nuance to the image, while the distinct vertical and diagonal lines add dynamism to the scene.

A slightly different version of *Begging Monks* in Kothary's photobook is titled *Messengers of Peace* (fig. 1.17).<sup>109</sup> It is a lighter, more detailed print. The faces of the monks can be seen a little more clearly, despite the light source behind their backs. When examining Kothary's other works, his technique of photographing against the sun (a method also called *contre-jour*) stands out as one of his signature techniques just like his interest in the elongated shadows that passersby cast on the unpaved, dusty streets that, according to Kothari's introduction, are "spotted by strange, moon-surface pockmarks and human and animal footprints or the winding marks of the ox-wagon."<sup>110</sup> Photography historian and media and cultural studies scholar Sabeena Gadihoke demonstrates that, after independence, photographs in Indian newspapers and illustrated magazines began to pay much more attention to ordinary people on the streets of towns and cities.<sup>111</sup> Kothary's *Begging Monks* is one such example.

Kothary, however, was not a professional photojournalist. Interested in street photography, he developed a set of artistic approaches to photography that were compatible with his main occupation as a medical doctor. One of his favorite creative methods involved observing life from a few repeating locations. The same street as in *Begging Monks* reappears in numerous Kothary's photographs and adds coherence to his output. It also emphasizes the

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<sup>109</sup> Kothary and Kothari, *Diamonds from Dust*, plate 15.

<sup>110</sup> Kothari, "Lustre of Diamonds," 7.

<sup>111</sup> Sabeena Gadihoke, "Journeys into Inner and Outer Worlds: Photography's Encounter with Public Space in India," in *Where Three Dreams Cross: 150 Years of Photography from India, Pakistan and Bangladesh* (Göttingen: Steidl, 2010), 40.

photographer's rootedness in one particular location and his relatively static viewpoint in relation to the passersby, which is directly opposite to the wandering gazes of the traveling photojournalists. Unlike the locals, journalists were able to leave the area afflicted by poverty, disease, natural disaster, or war behind them any time. Photojournalists never had a chance to fully experience ordinary daily life in any of the locations they visited. The editors of the US and Western European magazines wanted from India only images showing subjects like "disaster, communal strife, fractious border disputes, child labor," and similar subjects.<sup>112</sup> The images of famine and suffering in India that we see in *The Family of Man* fulfilled their formulaic and predictable requests. Kothary's photographs, on the contrary, focused on the mundane rhythms of everyday life, a subject that was not exciting or exotic or shocking enough for *Life*.

Kothary was not only the most well known among the Indian photographers I discuss in this chapter but was also the president of the Federation of Indian Photography, the organization that united photo clubs across the country and represented India in FIAP. The government positioned photography as an important tool for nation-building and one of the most visible and accessible methods of creating a new and modern—but also distinctly Indian—visual culture.<sup>113</sup> Photo clubs were considered the primary institutional framework for photographers' education and popularization of photography among the population. Thus, the activities of photo clubs and task of establishing of new ones across the country became a subject of national importance.

In 1951 a centralized, government-initiated plan—the Indian Social Planning Application Procedure—was devised for making modern technologies available to the people, including

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<sup>112</sup> Gayatri Sinha, "Pursuit of Dreams. Contemporary Contexts in Photography and Video Art in India," in *India: Public Places, Private Spaces. Contemporary Photography and Video Art*, by Gayatri Sinha and Paul Sternberger (Newark, NJ: Newark Museum, 2007), 12.

<sup>113</sup> Sophie Gordon, "The Colonial Project and the Shifting Gaze," in *Art and Visual Culture in India, 1857–2007*, ed. Gayatri Sinha (Mumbai: Marg Publications, 2009), 70.

photographic equipment.<sup>114</sup> “Indian government and administrative experts,” according to a report in the June 1953 issue of *Camera*, aimed “to make photography an indicator . . . for the gradual success of the social and technological planning schemes.”<sup>115</sup> Moreover, the appearance of new photo clubs was linked to the hope that “young India” was ready to “produce a genuinely national group of photographers.”<sup>116</sup>

In a letter dated August 15, 1952, G. Thomas (1907–1993), a photographer and medical doctor, reached out to sixteen photo clubs and societies in cities across India with an invitation to form a new umbrella association.<sup>117</sup> Thomas expressed the desire to add an aspirational direction and unity on a national level to the already existing network of photo clubs. He wrote that “the necessity for forming a Federation of all Indian Photographic Societies has been felt for a quite long time, but now that India is free, the urge is even greater.”<sup>118</sup> Thomas, along with Kothary and their peers, succeeded in mobilizing the various photo clubs, and the Federation of Indian

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<sup>114</sup> “In the Indian Social Planning Application Procedure, started in the summer of 1951, mention is made of furthering the provision of the population with all the products of technology. In a directive to the currency control and customs authorities, photographic apparatus and equipment figure in eleventh place on a list of import priorities.” H. Schmidt-Lamberg, “India. Land of the future for photography,” *Camera*, no. 6 (1953): 266.

<sup>115</sup> Schmidt-Lamberg, “India,” 274.

<sup>116</sup> Schmidt-Lamberg, 276.

<sup>117</sup> The sixteen organizations are: Camera Pictorialists of Ahmedabad; Camera Pictorialists of Bombay; Camera Society, Delhi; Madras Amateur Photographic Society; Mysore Photographic Society; Niharica, Ahmedabad; Palanpur Camera Club; Photographic Association of Bengal; Photographic Society of C. P. & Berar; Photographic Society of India; Photographic Society of Orissa; Photographic Society of Surat; Pictorial Photographers of India; Poona Camera Club; South Calcutta Camera Club; and U.P. Amateur Photographic Association. G. Thomas, “Re: The formation of Indian Photographic Federation” (typewritten letter on one page), August 15, 1952. Facsimile of the letter is available on the website of the Federation of Indian Photography (FIP): [http://www.fip.org.in/fipweb/public/about-us/First\\_Resolution\\_of\\_FIP](http://www.fip.org.in/fipweb/public/about-us/First_Resolution_of_FIP), accessed May 17, 2017.

<sup>118</sup> Thomas, “Indian Photographic Federation.”

Photography (FIP) was established in Bangalore in 1953.<sup>119</sup> Kothary proclaimed that with the foundation of FIP, “a new era . . . evolved in the history of Indian photography.”<sup>120</sup> The unity of Indian photographers, according to Kothary, exemplified the “rapid progress” and even a “beginning of revolution” that was taking place in the country.<sup>121</sup> Thomas, meanwhile, declared that the new era encouraged “the consolidation of Indian photography, of Indians, by Indians, for Indians.”<sup>122</sup>

In 1953, immediately after its foundation, FIP joined FIAP, which Thomas, Kothary, and others perceived as an important channel for representing the work of Indian photographers abroad. Membership in FIAP indeed provided a chance for Indian photographers’ work to appear in an international forum on equal terms with their peers’ work from across the world. Like the UN, FIAP gave all members a space to speak. Yet it is only logical that such speech did not make tangible changes in the real conditions of labor for the photographers. FIAP was not able to gain a similar authority and prestige for its constituents as the US magazine industry had achieved for those who worked for it. Nevertheless, FIAP yearbooks and biennials offered a useful platform where images like Kothary’s could gain some circulation as an anticurrent to the mainstream depictions of India cultivated in *Life* and *The Family of Man*. In that aspect, Kothary and other idealists in FIP succeeded.

Twelve years after the foundation of FIP, when Thomas looked back at the federation’s work, he noted that among the most important fields of activity were the facilitation of

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<sup>119</sup> For the history of the organization, see: Federation of Indian Photography, “History of FIP,” *FIP.org*, accessed May 17, 2017, available at [http://www.fip.org.in/fipweb/public/about-us/History\\_of\\_FIP](http://www.fip.org.in/fipweb/public/about-us/History_of_FIP).

<sup>120</sup> K. L. Kothary, “Federation of Indian Photography,” *Camera*, no. 2 (1954), 96.

<sup>121</sup> Kothary, “Federation of Indian Photography,” 96.

<sup>122</sup> G. Thomas, *History of Photography, India 1840–1980* (Hyderabad: Andhra Pradesh State Akademi of Photography, 1981), 5.

communication and creative exchange within the transnational community of photographers.<sup>123</sup> In 1965 the federation, by then renamed the Indian National Photographers' Association, maintained a specialized library of photography-related books and periodicals and published a monthly magazine, *The Viewfinder*, as well as photo books such as *Contemporary Indian Photography* and *Asian Photography*. The photo-club culture and FIAP at the time provided a rare, and perhaps the only, platform where photographers living outside the US and Western Europe were welcome to present their work.

When Indian photographers presented their work in international forums like FIAP, they responded to the masses of negative images circulated in *Life* and *The Family of Man*. They wanted to tell different stories about life in India than those of the foreign photojournalists who traveled the world and produced images of humanitarian crises and disasters for consumption in the US and Western European illustrated magazines. Although images like Ganguli's *Rhythm*, Vidyavrata's *Music*, and Kothary's *Begging Monks* present the viewer with some "interesting" local types, it was not the colonial or ethnographic gaze that was at work here.<sup>124</sup> Indian photographers' images attempted to position a local normalcy against foreigners' exoticization and reporters' interest in finding *only* violence, poverty, famine, and illness. The Indian images circulated in FIAP yearbooks, however, did little to undermine the foreigners' negative depictions of India. Hall points out that an addition of some positive images to the persistent stream of negative ones can increase diversity and even challenge the dominant discourse, but it cannot displace the negative presumptions entirely.<sup>125</sup> It takes much more work to undo a

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<sup>123</sup> Odette Bretscher, untitled, *Camera*, no. 12 (1965): 33.

<sup>124</sup> The practices of colonial era photography in India are discussed in detail in Zahid R. Chaudhary, *Afterimage of Empire: Photography in Nineteenth-Century India* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012).

<sup>125</sup> Hall, "Spectacle of the 'Other,'" 263.

negative preconception than it takes to continue affirming it by quiet acceptance.

Tagg demonstrates that photographic images are equally significant as material items and as parts of the discursive systems to which they belong.<sup>126</sup> In the next, and final, section of this chapter, I argue that both *The Family of Man* photobook and FIAP yearbooks presented photographs as material items, but one manipulated and the other obscured the discursive systems that had produced them. As a result, *The Family of Man* amplified the force of already influential preconceptions, while FIAP failed to declare its uniqueness and draw enough attention to the multiplicity of local voices that it had mobilized.

### **The Power of Stereotypes**

At the Moscow installment of *The Family of Man* in 1959, a spectator—Theophilus Neokonkwo from Nigeria—slashed and tore down prints of images by Polish-born American *Life* photographer Nat Farbman (1907–1988) that were taken in Bechuanaland.<sup>127</sup> (Figs. 1.18–22.) Neokonkwo claimed to protest the way the exhibition reinforced the white Westerners’ negative cultural and racial preconceptions about the rest of the world. According to his statement, he was protesting against the fact that the images in the show depicted all non-Europeans, and especially Africans, “either half clothed or naked” and as “social inferiors”—as victims of illness, poverty, and despair, while white Americans and Europeans were represented mostly “in dignified

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<sup>126</sup> John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1988), 4.

<sup>127</sup> The sources do not specify exactly which prints Theophilus Neokonkwo attacked. *The Family of Man* photobook features five images by Nat Farbman from Bechuanaland in different sections of the book. Bechuanaland was then a UK protectorate, since 1966 the Republic of Botswana. See Louis Kaplan, *American Exposures: Photography and Community in the Twentieth Century* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 76.



cultural states—wealthy, healthy and wise.”<sup>128</sup>

Neokonkwo’s attack attempted to accuse the US magazine industry of its biased working methods. Physically attacking images in an exhibition was one strategy to manifest the dissatisfaction with the mainstream photographic culture, but it did not have the power to implement any notable changes. The attack on Farbman’s photographs, although based on timely and valid concerns, is today no more than an anecdotal footnote in the history of *The Family of Man*. In the West, the incident was easily dismissed as some sort of Russian-Soviet-communist-encouraged third-world diversion against the exhibition’s peace-loving and universalist gesture. From today’s perspective, it seems clear that we can interpret Neokonkwo’s attack as a protest against what theorist of postcolonial culture Homi K. Bhabha calls the mode of representation of otherness.<sup>129</sup> In *The Family of Man*, any specific historical knowledge about the depicted people was removed. Farbman’s photographs stood in for all “others,” all of Africa even, and symbolized racial difference as social and cultural inferiority to white North Americans and Western Europeans.

If today the symbolic meaning of Farbman’s Bechuanaland photographs in *The Family of Man* seems so obvious that it is not even worth discussing, it was not so in the 1950s. *The Family of Man* embodied a mode of representation of otherness that was so deeply embedded within the dominant culture that even the most notable philosophers of the time saw them as natural and unquestionable. For example, Max Horkheimer at the opening of *The Family of Man* in Frankfurt in 1958 proclaimed that the exhibition’s greatest success was its ability to let the viewer identify

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<sup>128</sup> Theophilus Neokonkwo’s statement appeared in *Afro-American* (Washington, DC), August 22, 1959. Quoted in Sandeen, *Picturing an Exhibition*, 155.

<sup>129</sup> Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 68.

with the numerous individuals of different ethnicities and races portrayed in the photographs. According to Horkheimer, the viewer “can even see himself in the native in the jungle” and feel “that if his fate had been different, he would have worn the same facial expression, the same smile, would have been superstitious, inhibited or desperate like all the people in these photographs.”<sup>130</sup> Deeply immersed in the imagined superiority of his own culture and with a distinctly white European downward perspective on all others, Horkheimer added that “even the funny old magician from Bechuanaland, who has evoked so much laughter among the women and boys, has something about him that every one of us could have.”<sup>131</sup> Horkheimer’s remarks now seem embarrassingly dated. Yet they reveal how narrow-minded and conservative Western European humanism of the 1950s could be.<sup>132</sup> His remarks bring into sharp focus the discursive system in which actions like Neokonkwo’s attack in 1959 remained inconsequential and in which all nonwhite, non-European people could be casually seen as superstitious, inhibited, or desperate, but never equal to the viewer.

Roland Barthes was the first to pay attention to the ways in which *The Family of Man* robbed individual photographs of their historical context.<sup>133</sup> Following Barthes’s initial observation, photography curator Christopher Phillips criticized Edward Steichen for silencing the voice of the photographers, removing the intended meaning from the images, and

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<sup>130</sup> Horkheimer, “Opening of the Photo-Exhibition,” 52.

<sup>131</sup> Horkheimer, 52. The image Horkheimer was likely referring to is one of American photographer Nat Farbman’s five photographs from Bechuanaland (see Figure 1.24) that provoked Neokonkwo’s attack in Moscow in 1959.

<sup>132</sup> Horkheimer was also skeptical about the equality of women and their entry into the labor force and seems to have supported the patriarchal, bourgeois family model with a “nurturing mother” at the center. See Martin Jay, “Max Horkheimer and *The Family of Man*,” in Hurm, Reitz, and Zamir, *Family of Man Revisited*, 62.

<sup>133</sup> Barthes, “Great Family of Man,” 101.

deliberately using them as vehicles for his own story.<sup>134</sup> Steichen's rhetorical use of the photojournalistic images strengthened the reductive effect of the dominant mode of representation. When the photographs of Bischof, Joffé, Vandivert, and their colleagues appeared in *The Family of Man*, undated and captioned only with the word *India*, the photographs' initial reportorial and historically specific meaning shifted toward generalized preconceptions. Removed from their narrative about a single event taking place in one particular place at one particular time and caused by particular circumstances, the images turned into malleable building blocks out of which *The Family of Man* constructed the ahistorical account of what Barthes calls "the myth of the human condition."<sup>135</sup>

Likewise, FIAP yearbooks can also be accused of removing cultural and historical specificity from individual photographs. But the yearbooks did not do so in the service of a singular visual narrative as did *The Family of Man*. The "story" that the yearbooks tell rather follows the logical structure of a statistical report, encyclopedia, or database, because the images are grouped by their country of origin, and the participating countries are arranged alphabetically. The purpose of this format of presentation for FIAP yearbooks was twofold. First, the yearbooks presented each image on its own page so that each image could be fully appreciated individually, unlike the way photographs were often clustered together in illustrated magazine layouts or in the pages of *The Family of Man* photobook. Second, the seemingly neutral arrangement of images by their country of origin was supposed to work as an equalizing factor that neither privileges nor discriminates. The structure of FIAP yearbooks was based on an inclusive and democratizing incentive. They offered a nonhierarchical mode of representation to

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<sup>134</sup> Christopher Phillips, "The Judgment Seat of Photography," *October* 22 (1982): 27–63.

<sup>135</sup> Barthes, "Great Family of Man," 101.

the photographers from all participating countries.<sup>136</sup>

The comparison between *The Family of Man* photobook and FIAP yearbooks, however, is not a comparison between two objects with a similar cultural and political weight. *The Family of Man* in the 1950s had surprisingly limitless authority and power to represent all kinds of otherness from a single viewpoint. Returning to the example of images of India in *The Family of Man* and FIAP yearbooks, we can clearly see that the local photographers' images never reached similar prominence to the ones produced by the US photojournalists. The locally produced images did not have a cultural status and authority that was comparable to the ones printed in the pages of *Life* and included in *The Family of Man*.

One way of interpreting this immense authority is via Jameson's concept of fundamental dissymmetry between the US and the rest of the world, which is exemplified by Hollywood cinema. When Hollywood became the leading producer of cinema in the 1950s, it assigned to the rest of the world the role of a passive consumer of its production. Other national cultural industries can continue producing their own films, but none of them will ever come close to the globally influential position of Hollywood.<sup>137</sup> *The Family of Man* and *Life* of the 1950s are equivalents in the field of photography to Hollywood in the field of film.

For example, it is quite unlikely that someone would present a film still from a well-known Hollywood production as a documentary depiction of whatever its subject is. The differences between the representational regimes of fiction and fact within the hegemonic culture seem, at least to a degree, generally recognized. But such recognition stops working when

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<sup>136</sup> I will return to the problematic presentation of images in the FIAP yearbooks in more detail in chapter 4.

<sup>137</sup> Fredric Jameson, "Notes on Globalization as a Philosophical Issue," in *The Cultures of Globalization*, ed. Fredric Jameson and Masao Miyoshi (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004), 58–61.

images from local and relatively powerless producers enter the mainstream culture. The power imbalance between *Life* photojournalists and photographers from the “second” and “third worlds” further reinforced the authority of the dominant culture. As the case study I discuss below will demonstrate, a film still from a fiction feature produced in India, when it traveled to the US, could easily be interpreted as a documentary photograph.

Out of the thirteen images depicting India in *The Family of Man*, only one was made by an Indian author. It is an untitled image attributed to film director Satyajit Ray (1921–1992) (fig. 1.23).<sup>138</sup> The reasons for its inclusion in *The Family of Man* illuminates the depth of the cultural abyss that separated the leading US photographers such as Steichen from the world outside the US and Western Europe. First, it is remarkable that the image was credited to the film’s director. Indeed, Ray is known for being involved in all aspects of the making of the film, but it is quite unlikely that he was the author of still photographs from the film. Numerous behind-the-scenes photographs taken by the film’s art director, Bansi Chandragupta (1924–1981), show Ray actively engaging with actors and directing the action, but none of them show him on set with a photo camera in hands.<sup>139</sup> Because a designated photographer’s name does not appear in the film’s crew list, it is reasonable to assume that a more likely author of film stills from *Pather Panchali* was either Chandragupta or the film’s cinematographer, Subrata Mitra (1931–2001).<sup>140</sup> The image’s likely erroneous attribution to the director reveals how insignificant authorship was to the organizers of *The Family of Man*, especially if the author did not belong to the leading group of the US and Western European photojournalists.

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<sup>138</sup> Steichen, *Family of Man*, 30.

<sup>139</sup> See, for example, Nemai Ghosh and Andrew Robinson, *Satyajit Ray: A Vision of Cinema* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2005), 14, 159.

<sup>140</sup> “Pather Panchali,” *International Movie Data Base*, accessed November 17, 2017, [http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0048473/fullcredits?ref\\_=ttfc\\_ql\\_1](http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0048473/fullcredits?ref_=ttfc_ql_1).

Moreover, unlike the majority of images in *The Family of Man*, Ray's image is neither a documentary reportage nor a magazine illustration, but a film still. The still is from Ray's first film *Song of the Little Road* (1955), most often referred to as *Pather Panchali*, which is the film's title in Bengali. Removed from the context of the film's narrative, the still does not appear especially interesting. The image is closely cropped around three figures, a smiling woman on the left is dressing a boy depicted in profile to the right, and a girl is combing the boy's hair. In the film, however, this scene represents a significant turning point. For that reason, Ray likely selected this still to be circulated with the film's promotional materials. For example, the still was also used in one version of the film's poster (fig. 1.24). The same image is often reproduced (but always uncredited) in literature about *Pather Panchali*, a notable independent film in the history of Indian cinema.<sup>141</sup>

Ray's film is partly based on a popular autobiographical novel by writer Bibhutibhusan Bandyopadhyay (Banerji), published in 1928.<sup>142</sup> It is a story about a small boy, Apu, who grows up in a poor Brahmin family (class of priests and teachers in Hinduism) in the village of Nishchindipur in the vicinity of Kolkata. *Pather Panchali* was the first part of Ray's filmic trilogy following the main character Apu's life through adolescence and adulthood. The two

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<sup>141</sup> The Apu Trilogy has a special place in the history of Indian cinema. The films have been known and widely discussed among the members of intellectual elite, but they have never been as popular as mainstream Bollywood films. The dialogue in *Pather Panchali* was in Bengali, and the film was never dubbed in Hindi, the most commonly spoken language in India. Local viewers, furthermore, criticized the film for its depiction of poverty and cruelty as well as generally pessimistic outlook. See Nicholas B. Dirks, "The Sovereignty of History: Culture and Modernity in the Cinema of Satyajit Ray," in *Questions of Modernity*, ed. Timothy Mitchell (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 154, and Moinak Biswas, "Early Films: The Novel and Other Horizons," in *Apu and After: Revisiting Ray's Cinema*, ed. Moinak Biswas (Oxford: Seagull Books, 2006), 37–79.

<sup>142</sup> The novel was translated into English after the release of Ray's film. Bibhutibhusan Banerji, *Pather Panchali: Song of the Road*, trans. T. W. Clark and Tarapada Mukherji (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1968).

other parts were *Aparajito* (1956) and *The World of Apu* (1959). In the context of *Pather Panchali*, the still is from an episode in which the mother and sister are dressing the main character Apu and getting him ready for his first day at a school that only accepts boys and is housed inside the village's grocery store. It is an episode that, for the first time in the film, defines Apu "as an active and conscious agent," as film studies scholar Suranjan Ganguly points out.<sup>143</sup> It is significant for the film's narrative also because it depicts one of the very few moments of relative happiness and harmony for the struggling family. At the age of around six, Apu has seen cruelty, death, and madness and knows poverty, pain, hunger, and fear. Apu's little sister will soon die, and later in the trilogy Apu will develop a remorseful and distant relationship with his mother. But *Pather Panchali* constantly reminds the viewer that among the suffering, there is love and hope, and the episode depicting Apu in the care of his mother and sister expresses that beautifully. None of this, however, was known to the viewers of *The Family of Man* photobook. To them, a still from Ray's feature film was presented as yet another documentary image showing the "exotic" people from India.

But how did a still from a Bengali arthouse film, which at the time of the exhibition's organizing was not yet finished, even end up in *The Family of Man*? In early 1954 Monroe Wheeler, Director of Exhibitions and Publications at New York's Museum of Modern Art, visited Kolkata while researching the upcoming exhibition *Textiles and Ornamental Arts in India* (April 11–September 25, 1955).<sup>144</sup> There he met Ray, a young film director who was in the middle of a fundraising campaign for his first feature film and who was showing sample stills to

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<sup>143</sup> Suranjan Ganguly, *Satyajit Ray: In Search of the Modern* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2007), 18.

<sup>144</sup> MoMA, "Textiles and Ornamental Arts of India on view at Museum of Modern Art" (press release), April 13, 1955, available at [https://www.moma.org/documents/moma\\_press-release\\_325979.pdf](https://www.moma.org/documents/moma_press-release_325979.pdf), accessed August 17, 2018.

all and any potential sponsors for the project. After Wheeler saw some of his stills, he promised the museum's support, and the film was scheduled for a world premiere at MoMA in May 1955, during the Indian textiles exhibition.<sup>145</sup> The objects for the exhibition were selected by Edgar Kaufmann Jr., who visited Kolkata later in 1954 and saw the rough cut of the film, which he mistook for "some kind of documentary, showing scenes from the life of the villagers themselves, rather than a feature film."<sup>146</sup> The neorealist style of the film indeed could have been reminiscent of a documentary.<sup>147</sup> Yet the events of Ray's film take place in the 1910s, and most adult characters were played by professional actors, contrary to the typical principles of neorealist cinema—using contemporary settings and casting nonprofessional actors in most roles. By including Ray's film still among photojournalistic images, *The Family of Man* exercised the authority of the hegemonic culture to appropriate any image and use it in its own narrative.

Notably, the first reception of Ray's film, *Pather Panchali*, in New York characterized the way in which the dominant culture treats all images, still and moving, that are produced in other cultures. At the initial screening in New York in 1955, the film did not yet have English subtitles, rendering the Bengali dialogue meaningless to the American audience to whom the foreign language sounded "like a Gramophone record going at high speed," as *New York Times* film critic Bosley Crowther put it in his review.<sup>148</sup> Not even an English-language synopsis was

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<sup>145</sup> The other backer of Ray's film was the Government of West Bengal's Home Publicity Department, which supported the film as a Community Development Project. Andrew Robinson, *The Apu Trilogy: Satyajit Ray and the Making of an Epic* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2011), 58.

<sup>146</sup> Robinson refers to Kaufmann's report to Richard Griffith, the Curator of the museum's Film Library in November 1954. Robinson, *Apu Trilogy*, 67–68.

<sup>147</sup> Among Ray's cinematic influences was Italian neorealism and the work of French director Jean Renoir, whom he had met in Kolkata in 1949 during the shooting of Renoir's film *The River* (1951).

<sup>148</sup> Cited in Robinson, 155.



distributed to the spectators. The viewers did not understand the language of the dialogue; they had not heard of the director; they were not familiar with the novel on which the film was based; they did not know the meaning of the events, relationships, and customs depicted; and even the music sounded unusual.<sup>149</sup> Although the viewers recognized the format of narrative cinema as such, they did not know exactly what they are looking at.<sup>150</sup> Crowther, in the *New York Times*, criticized the film's tempo and editing, which according to him did not meet the standards of Hollywood cinema that were familiar to the audience. But Ray's film "owed little or nothing to Hollywood, and so could not be judged by Hollywood's criteria," notes British author Andrew Robinson.<sup>151</sup> Similarly, most of the images in the FIAP yearbooks owed little or nothing to the Hollywood of photography—the style of *Life* magazine illustrations—and thus should not be judged by the same criteria. Yet, a still from *Pather Panchali* ended up in *The Family of Man*, where it was captioned with one word, *India*, and placed among *Life* illustrations and other photojournalistic images.

In conclusion, it is important to acknowledge that FIAP and *The Family of Man* shared a mutual idealistic ambition—to represent the world through photography. FIAP embodied a postwar idealism and a vision of equality and inclusivity; the organizers of *The Family of Man* cherished similar ideas. But my comparative reading of the two projects brings into focus the

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<sup>149</sup> The music for *Pather Panchali* was composed and performed by Ravi Shankar (1920–2012), Indian composer and sitar virtuoso whose career epitomizes yet another aspect of the dominant Euro-US-centric culture—its authority to borrow and exploit selected elements from other cultures. Shankar became an icon of Western popular culture in the late 1960s because of his collaboration with the Beatles and his performances in the key musical events that came to symbolize the youth culture of the time, such as the Monterey Festival in 1967 and the Woodstock Festival in 1969.

<sup>150</sup> It must be noted that after the initial reception in New York, the professional film industry recognized Ray's work and honored *Pather Panchali* at the Cannes International Film Festival in 1956.

<sup>151</sup> Robinson, *Apu Trilogy*, 156.

power imbalance between two broad groups of photographers. *The Family of Man* exemplifies the dominant culture while FIAP represents all the rest. The dominant culture supported a global circulation of images made by a relatively small group of photographers from Western Europe and North America but never provided equal space for images made by their peers living in the “second” and “third worlds.” I do not believe that the images produced by the second group is inherently truer or in any way better than those produced by the first one.<sup>152</sup> The debate is not about the sincerity or quality of the photographers’ work but rather about its cultural status. The question is not about who had the rights and means to *produce* images but instead who had the authority to *distribute* their images via the most prestigious channels and for the widest audiences.

*The Family of Man* became the landmark of postwar photography on a global scale, largely thanks to promotional efforts and funding by the US government that organized its world tour. The work of FIAP never reached a comparable level of renown and influence, due to the organization’s voluntary membership, constant lack of funding, and relatively marginal social standing in comparison with institutions such as New York’s MoMA. My comparison of images from India in *The Family of Man* and FIAP yearbooks has demonstrated that the photographers’ citizenship and professional affiliation were among the main criteria that determined the cultural status of their work and the scope and context of its circulation. While the work produced by a few US and Western European photojournalists has entered the canon of the world history of

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<sup>152</sup> Historian Gyan Prakash argues that it would be pointless to expect that the marginalized groups would be capable of recovering their authentic voices because a total liberation and independence from the hegemonic culture is not attainable. Gyan Prakash, “Writing Post-Orientalist Histories of the Third World: Perspectives from Indian Historiography,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 32, no. 2 (1990): 402.

photography and photojournalism, their peers from the “second” and “third worlds” have not. Images made by local photographers never had a chance to reach a comparable audience through the pages of *Life* or *The Family of Man* photobook where their work was not welcome. For them, the only accessible international forum was the photo-club culture and FIAP yearbooks that constituted a relatively weak but nevertheless lively alternative for image circulation.

The next chapter will examine the field of professional photojournalism and focus on the stratification within the field that resulted in the formation of a relatively small group of leading photojournalists. I will argue that the importance of FIAP and the photo-club culture goes beyond the boundaries of the “third world” and also pertains to a large segment of European photojournalists who found themselves on the fringes and margins of the profession’s inner hierarchies.

## CHAPTER TWO: OVERLAPS BETWEEN PHOTO-CLUB CULTURE AND PROFESSIONAL PHOTOJOURNALISM

*A String of Horses* by Hungarian photographer Ernő Vadas (1899–1962) is a rural scene, likely manipulated in a darkroom to emphasize the drama of the tumultuous clouds (fig. 2.1). An outstanding feature of the image is the heightened contrast between the mass of dark horses and the lone herdsman on a white horse. But what makes *A String of Horses* significant is the fact that it was equally celebrated in the worlds of photojournalism and photo clubs. The overlap between the photojournalistic space and photo-club culture encouraged photographers to present their work in both contexts. But it was rare that the same image could be successfully circulated in both. Within photo-club culture, *A String of Horses* was perceived as an admirable work of photographic art: It received a FIAP prize in the 1960 FIAP Biennial in Opatija, Yugoslavia, and was later included in the 1962 yearbook. Meanwhile, when presented in the world of photojournalism, it was highly praised as an outstanding journalistic image. Entitled *Herd of Black Horses on the Puszta in Hungary*, it was awarded a World Press Photo prize in the General News section in 1959.<sup>1</sup> Vadas was an active and successful photojournalist. After the end of the war and his survival in a concentration camp, he worked for the Hungarian News Agency, and in 1956 he established the Hungarian Photographers' Association, which subsequently went on to represent the country in FIAP.<sup>2</sup> His work was widely published and appeared also in international publications like *Vanity Fair*, *Harper's Bazaar*, and the *Illustrated London News*.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "Features, Third Prize Singles," *World Press Photo*, accessed July 6, 2016, [https://www.worldpressphoto.org/collection/photo/1959/28701/1/1959-Erno-Vadas-GN3-\(1\)](https://www.worldpressphoto.org/collection/photo/1959/28701/1/1959-Erno-Vadas-GN3-(1)).

<sup>2</sup> "Ernő Vadas," *World Press Photo*, accessed July 6, 2016, <https://www.worldpressphoto.org/person/1186/Erno%20Vadas>.

<sup>3</sup> *Modern Hungarian Photography* (Budapest: Vintage Galéria, 2007), 64.

His example demonstrates one way in which the fields of photojournalism and the photo-club culture overlapped within an individual's career in the 1950s. Recognition in photo-club exhibitions and FIAP often was a highly valued goal for an active professional photographer. It was motivated by the aspiration to elevate the cultural status of photography by presenting it as art and thus also raising the social role of photographers by positioning them closer to artists.

Because most photographers in the 1950s were professionally dependent on the growing fields of magazine publishing and photojournalism, it is necessary to more closely examine the inner dynamic and overlapping of these fields. I begin with highlighting the lowly social status of photographers, which I interpret as being one of the reasons that motivated many of them to pursue change. In the first part of the chapter, I also introduce the emergence of a hierarchy within the profession. I argue that a relatively small group of Western European and US photographers formed an exclusive and dominant group that monopolized the photojournalistic production for *Life* and other mainstream illustrated magazines. Members of that group, best exemplified by Cartier-Bresson and the cooperative Magnum (established in 1947), achieved a significantly higher social status and authority than most of their peers. Their work was widely circulated and often described as art. In the second part of the chapter, I demonstrate that for all others who found themselves excluded from the leading group, the photo-club exhibitions and FIAP served as the main, and often the only, available institutional framework for circulating their work internationally. Finally, the chapter concludes with a discussion of strategies that FIAP and photo clubs used to elevate photographs to the status of “art.”

### **Establishment of Hierarchy**

The career of Dimitris Harissiadis (1911–1993), one of the most well-known Greek photographers of his generation, is a representative example of an accomplished professional

who also aspired to recognition in photo-club culture. *The Rider* (fig. 2.2), reproduced in the FIAP section of the January 1965 issue of *Camera*, is one of the images Harissiadis was known in photo-club culture.<sup>4</sup> It is an elegiac image that has little or no narrative element. *The Rider* captures a horseback rider on a vast, empty beach on a cloudy day. The figure is quite small and distant, and the photographer provides more drama and dynamism to the scene by positioning the horizon line extremely high, close to the top of the third quarter of the frame. *The Rider* is predominantly dark and conveys a melancholic mood instead of the direct depiction of human interaction that characterizes his photojournalistic work.

Harissiadis was an established photojournalist and commercial and theater photographer who also ran a photo agency. His documentary images appeared in magazine photo-essays and thematic documentary photography shows; they were widely published in national and international media and occasionally even appeared in *Life*. One of his photographs from *Life* archive was included in *The Family of Man*. It depicts a young nun comforting an older lady who is kneeling in front of her (fig. 2.3). Like most images in *The Family of Man* photobook, it is undated and captioned only with the photographer's last name, *Life* affiliation, and Greece as the location where the photograph was taken.<sup>5</sup> Yet despite his professional achievements, Harissiadis was not only seeking recognition in the photo-club culture but also playing a key role in establishing the institutional framework to support Greek photographers' participation in FIAP. Harissiadis was one of the founders of the Greek Photographic Society in 1952 (Ελληνική Φωτογραφική Εταιρεία, Elleniki Fotografiki Etaireia, EFE).<sup>6</sup> EFE actively contributed to the

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<sup>4</sup> Ioannis (Jean) Lambros, untitled, *Camera*, no. 1 (1965): 34.

<sup>5</sup> Steichen, *Family of Man*, 149.

<sup>6</sup> Lambros, 34.

efforts of FIAP and hosted the seventh FIAP biennial and congress in Athens in 1962.<sup>7</sup>

The ambiguous and lowly social status of photojournalists deeply concerned many photographers at the time. For example, Swedish documentary photographer Sune Jonsson (1930–2009), in the November 1956 issue of *Camera*, the official magazine of FIAP, regretfully observes that the best photographers of their time “are practically unknown to the general public.”<sup>8</sup> Hungarian photojournalist Paul Almásy (1906–2003), in the March 1965 issue of *Camera*, complains that even the famous photographers’ names were not widely recognized and that photography exhibitions “are attended only by photographers themselves, amateur and professional.”<sup>9</sup> Almásy continues with a comparison: “How different is the scene at an art exhibition with its crowds of curiosity hunters, amateurs and snobs, all of them busily familiarizing themselves with the artists’ names and especially with those names which constantly recur!”<sup>10</sup> The general disinterest in photographers and photojournalists was inherited from the early stages of the illustrated magazine industry and was an established norm by the 1920s and 1930s. In the 1950s the time had finally come for the makers of the images to step into the spotlight.

“Hacks with no personalities” used to be a widespread popular perception of magazine photographers in the 1920s and 1930s, as photography historians Michel Frizot and Cédric de Veigy observe in their discussion of the French illustrated magazine *VU*.<sup>11</sup> Photographers did not

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<sup>7</sup> The seventh FIAP biennial, organized by the Greek Photographic Society, took place in the Parnassos Hall of the Zappeion Exhibition Palace in Athens, Greece, from May 7 to June 10, 1962. FIAP, “Invitation to participate in the 7th FIAP Congress and the 7th Black-White Photography Biennial 1962 in Athens,” *Camera*, no. 1 (1962): 49.

<sup>8</sup> Sune Jonsson, “Photography—An International Language?” *Camera*, no. 11 (1956): 534.

<sup>9</sup> Paul Almásy, “Photography—The Anonymous Art,” *Camera*, no. 3 (1965): 15.

<sup>10</sup> Almásy, 15.

<sup>11</sup> *VU* was published between 1928 and 1940. Michel Frizot and Cédric de Veigy, *VU: The Story of a Magazine That Made an Era* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2009), 14.

own their negatives, and their images were often published anonymously, captioned only with the photo agency's name.<sup>12</sup> The illustrated weekly *Il Mondo*, one of the leading magazines in postwar Italy, did not publish photographers' names well into the 1950s.<sup>13</sup> The editorial staff treated photographers as "artisans" and "like cobblers."<sup>14</sup> Wilson Hicks, photo editor of the US magazine *Life* from 1937 to 1950, characterizes a typical career path of a newspaper and news agency photojournalist as a progression "from motorcycle messenger to office boy to darkroom worker to photographer."<sup>15</sup> "Not all, but a good many photographers," *Life* photo editor Wilson Hicks admits, "have come up the hard way. College graduates among them are in the minority."<sup>16</sup> The average photojournalist was an unprivileged worker, often a self-taught individual at the bottom of the power pyramid and quite far from the intellectual elite of the time.

In the publishing industry's hierarchy in the 1950s, photography was a technical trade rather than a profession, even less a creative one. Photojournalists were insignificant, and their names appeared on magazine pages inconspicuously and in small print, if at all. As an example, even Edward Steichen, himself a photographer, did not pay too much attention to the individual authorship in *The Family of Man* project. In the photobook, some of the images remain attributed only to a magazine or photo agency. Moreover, within the inner workings of the magazine

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<sup>12</sup> Frizot and De Veigy. *VU*, 16.

<sup>13</sup> Art historian Maria Antonella Pelizzari notes that "no photographers were acknowledged by name before 1959." Maria Antonella Pelizzari, *Photography and Italy* (London: Reaktion Books, 2011), 122.

<sup>14</sup> Martina Caruso, *Italian Humanist Photography from Fascism to the Cold War* (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 130.

<sup>15</sup> Wilson Hicks, *Words and Pictures: An Introduction to Photojournalism* (New York: Harper, 1952), 110. At the time, the photojournalist was almost exclusively a man, despite a few notable exceptions like American photographer Margaret Bourke-White (1904–1971) and German-born French photographer Gisèle Freund (1908–2000). Publishers typically employed women in office jobs, such as fact checkers and researchers.

<sup>16</sup> Hicks, *Words and Pictures*, 110.



publishing industry, text had higher value than images, partly because written journalism had a longer history than photojournalism and thus had already obtained a certain social status.

Photographers were comparative latecomers to the field. Journalists in their articles at times purposefully promoted “the role of the *camera* as a tool of documentation,” while underplaying the role of the *photographer* who operated that tool, notes communication studies scholar Barbie Zelizer.<sup>17</sup> Not giving the photographers proper credit for their labor and creativity further undermined their authority and social status among their colleagues.<sup>18</sup>

In sum, the day-to-day business of photojournalism was very far from any art. It was a highly utilitarian occupation, largely dictated by newspaper and magazine editors. Newspaper and magazine editorial offices in general “were organized like factories,” as communication and media studies scholar Hanno Hardt puts it.<sup>19</sup> According to sociologist Barbara Rosenblum, newspapers and magazines developed “a bureaucratically coordinated social system” for producing a constant stream of stylistically homogeneous images.<sup>20</sup> In the production line of the illustrated press, photographers were only expected to supply “raw material”—rolls of exposed negatives from a location, made according to the specifications provided by editors. One of the

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<sup>17</sup> Barbie Zelizer, “Words against Images: Positioning Newswork in the Age of Photography,” in *Newsworkers: Toward a History of the Rank and File*, ed. Hanno Hardt and Bonnie Brennen (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 149. Emphasis added.

<sup>18</sup> My usage of sociological terms *role* and *status* throughout this chapter signifies my emphasis on social mechanisms, structures, and relationships in establishing and maintaining hierarchies among photographers. *Status* in this context “describes the position of an actor within social structure, in particular in so far as this position is ranked as superior or inferior to other positions.” *Role*, meanwhile, refers to what sociologists of art call “patterned expectations about and performances of action by groups of actors interacting with each other.” Jeremy Tanner, ed., *The Sociology of Art: A Reader* (London: Routledge, 2003), 107.

<sup>19</sup> Hanno Hardt, “Without the Rank and File: Journalism History, Media Workers, and Problems of Representation,” in *Newsworkers: Toward a History of the Rank and File*, ed. Hanno Hardt and Bonnie Brennen (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1995), 3.

<sup>20</sup> Barbara Rosenblum, *Photographers at Work* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1978), 111.

few moments, or perhaps the only one, when press photographers were in control of their own work was when they pressed the shutter. They did not have a say in what happened later. The rest was in the hands of others, including developing the negatives, making contact prints, selecting shots for enlargements, deciding which ones to print, composing the narrative of the picture story, and making layouts for the page. “The way the picture finally looks,” concludes Rosenblum, “is the result of a kind of assembly-line production.”<sup>21</sup> In the press, photographers did not get to make any decisions about their own pictures. Within the magazine and newspaper publishing industry of the 1950s, the magazine editor was the star, not the photographer.

Despite its relatively low or nonexistent social prestige, photojournalism was a rapidly ascending profession in the 1950s. Illustrated magazines were extremely popular, and publishers were in constant demand for high-quality images to fill their pages. Spearheaded by the US-based *Life* and its counterparts in Brazil, East and West Germany, Italy, Mexico, and in numerous other countries, the magazine industry popularized photography. As a result, more and more individuals identified themselves as professional photographers or photojournalists. But the majority of photojournalists—those hundreds and thousands of photographers who provided content for the illustrated press on a regular basis—did not feel appreciated for their creative talents, nor did they have much control over their work. Their images were in demand and popular, but they were forced to remain behind the scenes. The late 1940s and early 1950s had brought some improvements regarding giving credit to individual photographers in magazines and newspapers, but the dissatisfaction among photographers was growing, as was the sheer number of photographers working for the illustrated press.<sup>22</sup> A burning question surfaced—what

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<sup>21</sup> Rosenblum, *Photographers at Work*, 54.

<sup>22</sup> See Zelizer, “Words against Images.”

exactly was their place in the social hierarchy of occupations? What was the cultural status of their labor? Were they akin to motorcycle messengers, darkroom workers, fact checkers, proofreaders, advertisement sales agents, and all the other anonymous staffers working for a magazine or newspaper, or were they more like artists, creative individuals whose work is always signed by their name?

At the time, *photojournalist* and *artist* were two distinctly different occupations and cultural spheres. Yet because photography is a visual medium, many of its practitioners developed some degree of a desire to become associated with the visual arts. For many ambitious photojournalists of the 1950s, the imagined line of career advancement was from a photographer to artist, not from a photographer to, for example, editor, publisher, or any other position within the field of journalism or the publishing industry. Many magazine photographers looked for ways to exhibit and publish their work on their own terms in order to cultivate the perception “of a photographer as *auteur* on par with other artists,” in the words of French studies scholar Douglas Smith.<sup>23</sup> Photographers aimed eventually to be recognized as artists—independent creators of images who, instead of fulfilling the requests of editors, are “driven by their own goals,” as photography historian Mary Panzer puts it.<sup>24</sup> Claiming that their work was art, photographers and photojournalists claimed the status of artists for themselves, a status which entailed a higher social and cultural distinction than just a photographer at the time.

Cartier-Bresson most notably demonstrated that a photojournalist could be an artist—or rather, more precisely, that an artist could be a photojournalist. Although his career as an artist

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<sup>23</sup> Douglas Smith, “*Funny Face: Humanism in Post-War French Photography and Philosophy.*” *French Cultural Studies* 16, no. 1 (2005): 44.

<sup>24</sup> Mary Panzer, introduction to *Things as They Are: Photojournalism in Context Since 1955*, by Mary Panzer and Christian Caujolle (New York: Aperture Foundation/World Press Photo, 2005), 21.

and photographer had already taken off in the Parisian avant-garde circles in the 1930s, *Life* commissions in the late 1940s and 1950s solidified his international fame and reputation as a notable artist and a leading photojournalist of his generation. For many photographers in the 1950s, Cartier-Bresson's achievements and luminous career served as an inspirational example. Italian photographer and FIAP member Gianni Berengo Gardin (b. 1930) once admitted, "Cartier-Bresson was a god to me,"<sup>25</sup> and many other photographers of his generation would have agreed. From a sociological perspective, Cartier-Bresson's career provides an example of how social and cultural hierarchies are constructed. For my own analysis of the hierarchy of photographers, I would like to return to Roland Barthes's succinct statement that "it will never be fair to confuse in a purely gestural identity the colonial and the Western worker."<sup>26</sup>

To begin with, we must acknowledge that not all photographers in the 1950s had equal opportunities to develop their creativity and not all societies had the same definition of art. The dominant culture wants us to believe that such differences simply translate into a "natural" hierarchy with a small group of leading practitioners on top and a vast but historically irrelevant and homogeneous mass of what Tagg calls "disenfranchised 'proletariat of creation' " below.<sup>27</sup> My aim in the remainder of this chapter is twofold: to demonstrate that such hierarchy is not natural but rather a product of the dominant culture, and to argue that the systemic inequality

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<sup>25</sup> Clare Longrigg, "Gianni Berengo Gardin's Best Shot: A Venice Vaporetto in 1960," *The Guardian*, April 3, 2014, <https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2014/apr/03/gianni-berengo-gardin-best-shot-venice-cartier-bresson>. See also "Leica Hall of Fame Award 2017 Winner Gianni Berengo Gardin: A Portrait of the Award Winning Photographer," *The Leica Camera Blog*, November 17, 2017, <http://blog.leica-camera.com/2017/11/15/leica-hall-fame-award-2017-winner-gianni-berengo-gardin/>.

<sup>26</sup> Roland Barthes, "The Great Family of Man," in *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1972), 102.

<sup>27</sup> John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1988), 20.

produced alternative social structures, such as photo clubs and FIAP, that were no less effective agents of change on local and regional scale. In the history of photography, Cartier-Bresson, Magnum cooperative, *Life*, and *The Family of Man* occupy the place on top of the hierarchy. Meanwhile, the photographers united in FIAP exemplify a metaphorical proletariat of creation whose historical importance within the art-historical narrative, if any, has been to serve as a distant background. The role of FIAP, I argue, was to provide an instrument for creating cultural distinction for all those photographers who did not belong to the leading group.

The careers of Cartier-Bresson and other well-known photographers in the 1950s bear witness also to a struggle *within* the dominant culture. Even the most celebrated photographers of the time were subject to a conveyor-belt-style workflow that treated them as workers, not creative individuals. Photography historian and longtime curator of photography at New York's Museum of Modern Art Peter Galassi observes that even Cartier-Bresson "had virtually no control once the pictures were handed over to the magazine."<sup>28</sup> Galassi in general is critical of the "compromises and disappointments of group journalism and the picture-story format" that the magazine industry encouraged.<sup>29</sup> The streamlined production of images without doubt limited photographers' creative autonomy, undermined their authority, and deprived them of control over their work. Yet *Life* and other major illustrated magazines were instrumental in providing photographers with opportunities to produce and circulate work that later gained artistic status.

For example, as art historian Nadya Bair demonstrates, for his November 1948 *Life* assignment in China, Cartier-Bresson was tasked with providing images for photo-essays that

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<sup>28</sup> Peter Galassi, *Henri Cartier-Bresson: The Modern Century* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2010), 48.

<sup>29</sup> Galassi, *Henri Cartier-Bresson*, 57.

closely followed instructions by the magazine's managing editor, Ed Thompson.<sup>30</sup> The editor's instructions consisted of obvious cultural stereotypes, as Thompson requested images that would look like the images that people had already seen. Thompson's telegram asked for the following hackneyed subjects: "Finest scholars merchants opera lovers bankers bird fanciers . . . get faces of quiet old men whose hands are clasped around covered cups of jasmine tea."<sup>31</sup> Cartier-Bresson's images appeared in the January 3, 1949, issue of *Life* under the title "City Finds Serenity in Birds and Boxing" (figs. 2.4 and 2.5). In terms of subject matter, they largely correspond to the editor's requirements. Bair acknowledges that the editorial instructions helped the photographers to be in the right place at the right time. But Bair also underlines that while the editors provided the time and location of an event, they did not prescribe its visual treatment. Being in the right place at the right time, however, was an essential prerequisite for Cartier-Bresson to continuously produce the intense and varied images for which he became famous. In other words, Cartier-Bresson would not have developed his now canonical visual style if he had spent his life, for example, in his native village in north-central France, Chanteloup-en-Brie, and worked only for the local newspaper.

Cartier-Bresson became the leading figure in the profession because, among other characteristics, he possessed the traits that sociologist Marco Solaroli highlights as crucial for success in photojournalism: "deep entrepreneurial spirit, strong emotional commitment, and a well-articulated organizational network of material and symbolic resources."<sup>32</sup> An example of such an organizational network of resources is the cooperative Magnum which Cartier-Bresson

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<sup>30</sup> Nadya Bair, "The Decisive Network: Producing Henri Cartier-Bresson at Mid-Century," *History of Photography* 40, no. 2 (2016): 146–66.

<sup>31</sup> Bair, "Decisive Network," 151.

<sup>32</sup> Marco Solaroli, "The Rules of a Middle-Brow Art: Digital Production and Cultural Consecration in the Global Field of Professional Photojournalism." *Poetics* 59 (2016): 54.

cofounded in 1947. Magnum formed a transnational, but nevertheless exclusively Western European and North American, professional group that, among other things, articulated photographers' collective demand for a recognition of their individual creativity *within* the magazine publishing industry. Among the reasons for the foundation of Magnum was its founders' shared desire to claim ownership and control over the distribution and use of their images in the press. Because among the founders of Magnum were photographers whose professional reputations were already well established within the dominant culture, the cooperative soon occupied a central position the magazine industry.<sup>33</sup>

Magnum reached the central position in the field by accumulating what Solaroli calls “symbolic capital” and sociologist of art Nathalie Heinich calls the “capital of visibility.”<sup>34</sup> Sources for Magnum's immense capital of visibility were the individual professional reputations of its members like Cartier-Bresson as well as the collective achievements of the cooperative such as publications in the most visible and prestigious illustrated magazines, exhibitions, awards, and so on. As a result, Magnum monopolized the language of photography on a truly global scale because their work was widely distributed in the pages of the most prestigious illustrated magazines as well as praised in specialized photography magazines.

On the one hand, the success of Magnum marks one significant shift in the attitude toward photojournalists whose work began to achieve gradually higher cultural status over the course of the 1950s. On the other hand, its success also amplified the power imbalance with

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<sup>33</sup> The cofounders of Magnum, besides Henri Cartier-Bresson, were photographers Robert Capa (1913–1954), David “Chim” Seymour (1911–1956), George Rodger (1908–1995), and William Vandivert (1912–1989); and administrative personnel Rita Vandivert (life dates unknown) and Maria Eisner (1909–1991).

<sup>34</sup> Solaroli, “Rules of a Middle-Brow Art,” 56. Solaroli refers to Nathalie Heinich, *De la visibilité: Excellence et singularité en régime médiatique* (Paris: Gallimard, 2012), 51.

long-lasting implications. The cultural prestige that Magnum had accumulated did not extend to photographers outside the dominant culture but only strengthened the capital of visibility of a small and exclusive group of US and Western European photographers. Magnum left its peers from elsewhere in a symbolic periphery. They, however, were actively searching for alternative forms of recognition, and as the next part of this chapter argues, found one in the photo-club culture and FIAP.

### **Escape to the Photo Club**

*Portrait* by Annemarie Heinrich (1912–2005) from Buenos Aires, Argentina, remarkably differs from most other images in the 1956 FIAP Yearbook (fig. 2.6). It is a combination print featuring two likenesses of a glamorous woman whose confident self-presentation suggests a professional career in acting or singing. One is a frontal portrait, taken from a slightly lowered viewpoint utilizing the standard three-point lighting system to emphasize the sculptural qualities of the woman's face. The skillfully organized light sources highlight three areas: her eyes, looking somewhere in distance; her immense earrings with dangling strings of pearls; and her lips, accentuated with a dark-hued lipstick. The second portrait shows the same woman in profile. It is slightly larger than the frontal image and serves as its background because of its even shading and lack of detail. Both faces, although depicted in slightly different scale, appear to be seamlessly attached to the woman's neck, which is vaguely articulated in the lightest shades of gray and gradually merges with the white background at the lower edge of the frame. Heinrich's *Portrait* is an example of her signature style, which involved the motif of the double and combination printing, a technique that she developed in her work for illustrated magazines in the 1940s, the most productive and creative decade in her career.



I have chosen to begin my discussion of professional magazine photographers who sought photo-club and FIAP membership with a discussion of Heinrich's career because it outlines a common pattern. Meanwhile, two factors also make Heinrich's career an untypical case. First, she was one of the very few women among those accomplished professional photographers who were committed photo-club activists during the 1950s. Second, Heinrich's preferred visual style differs from the kinds of work most of her peers circulated in the FIAP yearbooks and photo-club exhibitions at the time. The difference of her aesthetic choices, I argue, demonstrates that photo-club culture and FIAP were inclusive and equally open to photographers working in any visual style, contrary to the groups of leading photojournalists such as Magnum that cultivated only one approach to photography.

Out of the 738 photographers whose work is included in the seven FIAP yearbooks, 268, or approximately one-third, were professional magazine photographers and photojournalists. They were relatively well-known locally and regionally but nevertheless existed outside the Magnum orbit. On many levels, the communication among photographers became increasingly transnational and inclusive. Photographers working for large and small magazines, for national, regional, and local press, in socialist, capitalist and nonaligned countries, were all looking for ways to build their own capital of visibility. Many of them found one avenue to do so in the photo-club culture and especially FIAP. Within the economy of reputations and prestige, FIAP answered to a truly urgent need for a platform for transnational circulation of images and strengthening creative reputations that would serve the majority of the world's photographers—all those who did not belong to the dominant group.

Metaphorically speaking, FIAP in the 1950s promised a sort of substitute to Magnum membership. By implication, many photographers expected that FIAP also would be able to at

least raise public awareness about the creative aspect of their work if not make them outright famous and well respected within their own communities. As I argue, such expectations motivated even professionally accomplished photographers to seek recognition within FIAP. The scope of what FIAP could attain, however, was quite limited. While FIAP succeeded in building connections among photographers and creating a sense of shared professional identity, it did not possess enough authority to change public perception of the profession throughout its member countries.

The relationship between photo-club culture and the professional world of photojournalism in the 1950s was cemented on an organizational level as well. One example of the closeness of such relationships is the connection between FIAP and World Press Photo in their early stages. The World Press Photo competition was established in the Netherlands in 1955.<sup>35</sup> Its prizes were the highest awards for photojournalistic work that was open to international submissions.<sup>36</sup> Van de Wyer served on the jury of the first World Press Photo competition in 1955, along with Europe's leading magazine editors: Karl Beckmeier, editor of *Stern* (West Germany); Paul Frédéric, editor of *Paris Match*; and Theo Ramaker, picture editor of *Het Parool* (the Netherlands). The jury was chaired by Simon Clyne, picture editor of *Daily Mirror* (UK).<sup>37</sup> Avenues for photographers to gain international recognition for their work were scarce. Even the recipients of early World Press Photo awards still aspired for success in the

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<sup>35</sup> World Press Photo still is among the most prestigious awards in the field of photojournalism. For a history of World Press Photo, see Mary Panzer and Christian Caujolle, *Things as They Are: Photojournalism in Context Since 1955* (New York: Aperture Foundation/World Press Photo, 2005).

<sup>36</sup> American photographers at that time had an opportunity to compete for the Pulitzer Prize in photography, established in 1942.

<sup>37</sup> World Press Photo Foundation, "1955 Contest in context," accessed June 20, 2016, <http://www.worldpressphoto.org/collection/context/photo/1955>.

photo-club culture because they valued the acknowledgment of their creativity within the context of art that only photo clubs offered at the time. For that reason, in the 1950s it was not uncommon for the leading magazine photographers and photojournalists of a country also to undertake leading roles in the country's photo-club culture and its participation in FIAP. In the following discussion of five photographers, I shall demonstrate that a publication in FIAP yearbook, as well as participation in the photo-club culture, was believed to signify success among professional magazine photographers.

Heinrich was an accomplished portrait, theater, and cinema photographer whose portraits of glamorous celebrities regularly appeared on the covers of Argentina's major illustrated magazines, such as *El Hogar*, *Sintonía*, and *Radiolandia* (fig. 2.7).<sup>38</sup> (Besides glamour photography, Heinrich ventured into documentary work and amassed an archive of more than one hundred thousand images, capturing the transformation from traditional to industrialized economy in South America between the 1930s and 1950s.<sup>39</sup> She was an activist of the peace movement and women's rights and was a member of the Argentinian Council for Peace (Consejo Argentino por la Paz) and Victory Board (Junta de la Victoria) during the 1940s.<sup>40</sup> Heinrich's

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<sup>38</sup> "Annemarie Heinrich, maestra de la luz," *La Nación*, September 23, 2005, <http://www.lanacion.com.ar/741139-annemarie-heinrich-maestra-de-la-luz>; "Murió Annemarie Heinrich, la fotógrafa mayor de la Argentina," *Clarín*, September 23, 2005, [https://www.clarin.com/ediciones-antiores/murio-annemarie-heinrich-fotografa-mayor-argentina\\_0\\_r1C2YwkAtl.html](https://www.clarin.com/ediciones-antiores/murio-annemarie-heinrich-fotografa-mayor-argentina_0_r1C2YwkAtl.html).

<sup>39</sup> Annemarie Heinrich's documentary work remained mostly unpublished during her lifetime. Since 2014 it has been digitized and partly made available to researchers thanks to the British Library's Endangered Archives Programme. Part of the digitized material is available online at <https://doi.org/10.15130/EAP755>. See Allison Meier, "Rescuing an Obscure Photographic Archive of Early 20th-Century Argentina," *Hyperallergic*, January 6, 2016, <http://hyperallergic.com/260616/rescuing-an-obscure-photographic-archive-of-early-20th-century-argentina/>.

<sup>40</sup> Victoria Giraudo, "A Remarkable Woman: Interview with Alicia and Ricardo Sanguinetti, Photographers and Children of Annemarie Heinrich," in Cortés-Rocca, Pérez Rubio, and Giraudo, *Annemarie Heinrich*, 210.

protofeminism was highlighted in a major museum retrospective, *Annemarie Heinrich: Secret Intentions; Genesis of Women's Liberation in Her Vintage Photographs*, that took place in Buenos Aires in 2015.<sup>41</sup>

Remarkably, in addition to her successful professional career and commitment to political activism, Heinrich was also a dedicated participant of photo-club culture. She was affiliated with Federación Argentina de Fotografía (the Argentine Federation of Photography, FAF), which was established in 1948 and since 1952 represented the country in FIAP.<sup>42</sup> By 1964 FAF united seventy-six camera clubs and photographic societies throughout Argentina.<sup>43</sup> Unlike most other national associations of photo clubs that I discuss, FAF received regular funding from the government that allowed it to organize its members' exhibitions, photography competitions, and an annual nationwide festival of photography on the Day of Photography, November 18th.<sup>44</sup> Besides her commitment to FAF, Heinrich was the cofounder of El Foto Club Argentino (the Argentine Photo Club), Consejo Argentino de Fotografía (Argentine Council on Photography), and Consejo Latinoamericano de Fotografía (Latin American Council on Photography).<sup>45</sup> She was also a cofounder and active member of the group of professional portrait photographers La Carpeta de los Diez (Folder of the Ten), established in 1953.<sup>46</sup>

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<sup>41</sup> The exhibition *Annemarie Heinrich: Secret Intentions; Genesis of Women's Liberation in Her Vintage Photographs* was curated by Victoria Giraudo and Agustín Pérez Rubio at the Fundación Costantini/Museo de Arte Latinoamericano de Buenos Aires (MALBA), Buenos Aires, Argentina (March 20–July 6, 2015).

<sup>42</sup> "La Federación Argentina de Fotografía (FAF)," 2012, accessed July 13, 2016, <http://www.faf-fotografia.com.ar/contenido.asp?id=6>.

<sup>43</sup> Odette Bretscher, untitled, *Camera*, no. 10 (1964): 38.

<sup>44</sup> Feliciano O. Jeanmart, the secretary-general of FAF, quoted in Bretscher, 38.

<sup>45</sup> "Annemarie Heinrich," Nailya Alexander Gallery, accessed July 13, 2016, <http://www.nailyaalexandergallery.com/artists/annemarie-heinrich>.

<sup>46</sup> La Carpeta de los Diez was "the first independent group of photographers in Argentina geared to discussing members' work," and besides Heinrich also included Anatole Saderman, Alex

One of the most notable visual elements in Heinrich's *Portrait* is the use of combination printing. From an art-historical perspective, Heinrich's choice of techniques would call for an evocation of Surrealism. Such evocation, however, would inevitably lead to a search for the "original" source of her methods in the oeuvre of the predominantly male artists who worked in Paris and created the canonical images of Surrealism. I am neither interested in strengthening the authority of already canonized male artists nor interpreting a Buenos Aires-based photographer's work as secondary to that which was produced in Paris. Instead, my aim is to offer one way to discuss Heinrich's work as important on its own terms, focusing my attention on a career and signature visual style that a female photographer crafted in a male-dominated field.

Another aspect of Heinrich's signature style employed in *Portrait* is the motif of the double.<sup>47</sup> Among the numerous photographs where Heinrich used both techniques, a 1953 portrait of Argentine film actress Elsa Daniel (1936–2017) is especially similar to *Portrait* (fig. 2.8). In the portrait of Daniel, her delicate profile is set against its dark silhouette, which is sharply outlined on an almost-white background. In order to create a double image, Heinrich also used the effects of reflecting surfaces, specifically a spherical mirror. In a 1940 portrait of Beba Bidart (1924–1994), for example, a mirror creates a slightly distorted reflection of the meticulously made-up and well-lit face of the Argentine actress, tango singer, and dancer (fig. 2.9). Notably, her use of mirrors and shadows did not purposefully violate or caricature the

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Klein, Fred S. Schiffer, Ilse Mayer, José Malandrino, and Max Jacoby. Cortés-Rocca, Pérez Rubio, and Giraudo, *Annemarie Heinrich*, 245.

<sup>47</sup> Paola Cortés-Rocca, "Woman's View: Annemarie Heinrich and the Twentieth-Century Profession," in *Annemarie Heinrich: Secret Intentions; Genesis of Women's Liberation in Her Vintage Photographs*, by Paola Cortés-Rocca, Agustín Pérez Rubio, and Victoria Giraudo (Buenos Aires: Fundación Eduardo F. Costantini, 2015), 59.

integrity of the images of women in front of her camera.<sup>48</sup> Historian and art critic Agustín Pérez Rubio notes that by using the reflecting ball as a prop, Heinrich creates a women-only space of “emancipation, creativity, and bodily play” where the women on both sides of the camera are self-sufficient and free from the desire or frustration of the male gaze.<sup>49</sup> Heinrich remained an exception among her male peers in FIAP: most other images of women in FIAP yearbooks were by men who comprised the majority of professional magazine photographers and photojournalists in the 1950s.

Before I introduce the last three professional magazine photographers who also looked for recognition in photo-club culture, I would like to stress that FIAP yearbooks present a rare instance where the work of East and West German photographers was displayed side by side. Only in FIAP yearbooks could an image by an official photographer of a Communist-controlled East German magazine appear next to an image by an official photographer of a West German cultural institution with a conspicuously right-wing reputation. On the one hand, such coexistence suggests that the photo-club members shared an interest in exploring their medium’s creative potential somewhat independently from the political views of their employers or governments. On the other hand, it indicates the openness of the photo-club culture and FIAP, which was contrary to the exclusivity of the leading professional groups such as Magnum.

As an example of West German photographers’ work, the 1960 FIAP Yearbook included

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<sup>48</sup> If a comparison with a better-known male artist is unavoidable, I can add that Heinrich’s experiments with shadows, combination printing, and mirror images did not reach into the territory of the grotesque or unrecognizable as, for example, did the *Distortions* that André Kertész (1894–1985) produced in Paris the 1930s. The ways in which Kertész’s photographs from this series presented the female body can be interpreted, among many other things, as an expression of symbolic violence.

<sup>49</sup> Agustín Pérez Rubio, “Annemarie Heinrich: Visionary Liberation of Bodies,” in Cortés-Rocca, Pérez Rubio, and Giraudo, *Annemarie Heinrich*, 24.

*Renate* by Wilhelm Rauh (1923–2013). *Renate*, like his East German colleague Fischer's *Portrait*, is a depiction of a young woman's face (fig. 2.10). In Rauh's photograph the woman is wearing a fashionable dress and earrings and has a chic hairstyle, suggesting a context of fashion or performing arts. She looks sideways at something beyond the frame with an exaggerated expression of surprise, her eyebrows raised and mouth open in a smile. In the background a fragment of a blurred painting depicting an architectural detail on the wall suggests some sort of stage decoration. In the far-left side of the background, the figure of a man is visible. His face is out of focus, and he may be looking either into the camera or at the woman or simply exiting the building oblivious to the work of the photographer and model.

Beginning in 1961, Rauh was the official photographer of the Bayreuther Festspiele, the organizer of the Bayreuth Festival.<sup>50</sup> The festival, established in 1876 by German composer Richard Wagner (1813–1883) and still ongoing today, is an annual event dedicated exclusively to staging his operas.<sup>51</sup> Rauh's own political beliefs are unknown, but the environment where his professional career took place was clearly nationalist. The Bayreuth festival had difficulties recovering after the end of the Second World War because of accusations of collaboration with the Nazis—the festival's organizer between 1930 and 1945 was Winifred Wagner, the composer's daughter-in-law and Adolf Hitler's friend and supporter. After the denazification of Germany, the Bayreuth Festival reopened in 1951 but remained sympathetic to German

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<sup>50</sup> "Das Auge der Festspiele: Fotograf Wilhelm Rauh ist tot," *Nordbayerischer Kurier*, August 8, 2013, <http://www.nordbayerischer-kurier.de/nachrichten/das-auge-der-festspiele-fotograf-wilhelm-rauh-ist-tot>. Rauh's photographs of the town, the festival, and the performances have been reproduced in numerous books published by the Bayreuth Festival. See, for example, Wilhelm Rauh, *Atmosphäre Bayreuth* (Bayreuth: Hans Schwartz Verlag, 1966).

<sup>51</sup> The festival serves a community of dedicated aficionados of Wagner's operas. Bayreuth has a cult status within this community, and the waitlist for tickets can reach ten years.

conservative, right-wing nationalist politics.<sup>52</sup>

Although *Renate* was made a few years before Rauh's tenure at the Festspiele, the painted backdrop and the woman's expressiveness are evocative of a theatrical environment. *Renate* does not significantly differ from the work Rauh produced for professional assignments. For example, several of his photographs made for the Festspiele capture fleeting sideways glances like *Renate* does. An image in one of his photobooks, *The Bayreuth Atmosphere* (*Atmosphäre Bayreuth*, 1966), depicts a crowded scene at a casual restaurant (fig. 2.11). The room has a remarkably large crown glass (also called bottle-bottom glass) window and walls covered with framed photographs and paintings of various size, including Richard Wagner's portrait prominently displayed in the upper-right corner. The caption states, "After the performance at the favorite rendezvous of the artists: the "Eule" (Owl Inn)."<sup>53</sup> Three lit ceiling lamps on the upper part of the image create a triangle that reflects another—human—triangle emerging from the crowd below. An older man wearing a suit and tie at the lower-right corner of the frame, depicted slightly out of focus, is looking directly at the camera. Seated at the far end of the room, a woman seems to be smiling at the camera. To the left of these two figures, there is a younger woman in a sleeveless dress, holding a cigarette in her right hand while her left arm rests on the back of the empty chair next to her. Her attentive and slightly skeptical glance passes

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<sup>52</sup> For example, the festival's first postwar director, Winifred Wagner's son Wieland Wagner, had become a member of Nationalist Socialist Party in 1938 and ran a labor camp in the vicinity of Bayreuth. Geoffrey Wheatcroft, "A Widow's Might," *New York Times*, March 11, 2007, <http://www.nytimes.com/2007/03/11/books/review/Wheatcroft.t.html>. This article reviews Brigitte Hamann, *Winifred Wagner: A Life at the Heart of Hitler's Bayreuth*, trans. Alan Bance (Orlando: Harcourt, 2006).

<sup>53</sup> Wilhelm Rauh, *Atmosphäre Bayreuth* (Bayreuth: Hans Schwartz Verlag, 1966), 92. Herbert Barth is the book's editor and most likely the author of the comments accompanying the photos. The comments are in German as well as in French and English and were translated by P. Hofer-Bury and Desmond Clayton respectively.



through the crowd somewhere between the suited man in the foreground and the smiling woman in the background. She may or may not be conversing with the balding man in a white blazer who is leaning toward her, partially obscured by the figure of another man in the front. Establishing the relationship between foreground and background figures, as well as capturing a play of glances, is part of Rauh's signature visual style, and he employed it in commissioned work as well as in his prints for the photographic art exhibitions and FIAP publications.

The 1966 FIAP Yearbook includes *Portrait* by East Berlin-based magazine photographer Klaus Fischer (1934–2009) (fig. 2.12). Fischer's *Portrait* is a close-up of the face of a young, beautiful woman. The posed portrait could belong to a series of fashion photographs. It represents a subgenre of portraiture, often referred to as a psychological portrait, that emerged in the 1950s.<sup>54</sup> In a psychological portrait, the subject does not make eye contact with the camera. The subject's facial expression, as in Fischer's *Portrait*, is melancholic, introspective, bored—anything but smiling. A sideways glance implies, but never reveals, the presence of someone else. Two key aspects—implied narrative and an interest in a moment of introspection—were borrowed from another distinct genre of photography, the classical film still. They became definitive to the genre of psychological portraiture as it was developed by the photographers in the 1950s and early 1960s.<sup>55</sup> Fischer's *Portrait* perfectly exemplifies the genre—a film still

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<sup>54</sup> The term psychological portrait was popular among photographers in the late 1950s and 1960s and has reappeared in literature with some regularity. As a recent example of its use, see historian Jacob Loewentheil's book about American portrait photographer Marcel Sternberger (1899–1956): *The Psychological Portrait: Marcel Sternberger's Revelations in Photography* (New York: Skira Rizzoli, 2016).

<sup>55</sup> According to art historian Steven Jacobs, film stills are “photographs that could implement narrative functions.” But instead of capturing action, film stills usually depict actors “in static positions with almost neutral faces, very limited in their expression . . . in a condition of introspection or absorption” or in the process of “waiting, meditating or gazing.” Steven Jacobs, “The History and Aesthetics of the Classical Film Still,” *History of Photography* 34, no. 4 (2010), 380, 382, 383.

without a film.

Not unlike his Argentine colleague Heinrich, Fischer was a distinguished magazine photographer. His specialization was also fashion and portraiture, but he became best-known for his female nude photographs, which he produced for the popular East German illustrated entertainment magazine *Das Magazin*, established in 1954. Although an atypical periodical, *Das Magazin* was a government-sanctioned publication and a fully legitimate part of the official visual culture of East Germany. Its editors, as historian Josie McLellan notes, had special and exclusive governmental permission to print nude photographs.<sup>56</sup> For this reason *Das Magazin* was highly popular, “continuously oversubscribed,” and always scarce.<sup>57</sup> Because of the popularity of his nude photographs, Fischer has been called the “Helmut Newton of the East,” a reference to the Paris-based German fashion photographer Helmut Newton (1920–2004), who was renowned for his eroticized depictions of nude or seminude female models and celebrities.<sup>58</sup>

Unlike most other professional photographers at the time, Fischer had an education in the arts. He studied at the Academy of Visual Arts in Leipzig from 1957 to 1962. He also authored numerous books about photography.<sup>59</sup> All things considered, Fischer was a well-known

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<sup>56</sup> Josie McLellan, “‘Even Under Socialism, We Don’t Want to Do Without Love’: East German Erotica,” in *Pleasures in Socialism: Leisure and Luxury in the Eastern Bloc*, ed. David Crowley and Susan Emily Reid (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, 2010), 222.

<sup>57</sup> For example, complaints were reported of there being only about fifty copies of the magazine available for eighteen thousand workers at Zeiss photographic equipment factory in Jena. McLellan, 229, 223.

<sup>58</sup> “Der Helmut Newton des Ostens,” *Stern*, May 30, 2017, <https://www.stern.de/fotografie/akt/aktfotografie-von-klaus-fischer--der-helmut-newton-des-ostens-7446082.html>.

<sup>59</sup> Fischer’s books include: *Mit der Kamera am Abend unterwegs* [Traveling with the Camera in the Evening] (Halle (Saale): Fotokinoverlag, 1958); *Porträts bei Tages- und Kunstlicht* [Portraits in Daylight and Artificial Light] (Halle (Saale): Fotokinoverlag, 1959); and *Das neue Porträt* [The New Portrait] (Halle (Saale): Fotokinoverlag, 1963).

professional, recognized as a successful magazine photographer. Yet he also desired recognition as an artist, and FIAP promised such recognition. Even a photographer like Fischer wanted to see his works exhibited and reproduced as *art*, not just printed in magazine pages, even coveted magazines like *Das Magazin*.

Meanwhile, the daily job of most other East German professional press photographers was to produce images of heroic socialist labor. Despite their otherwise busy and successful careers, even they were looking for the additional capital of visibility that only a publication in a FIAP yearbook could offer. For example, *View from the Highest Building in Europe* by East German photojournalist Gerhard Murza (1932–1996) in the 1964 FIAP Yearbook is a dizzying view from the top of an extremely high, triangular truss tower (fig. 2.13). In the center of the frame, a worker is leaning outward precariously and looking up while holding onto a thick wire rope. Murza was among the most well-known and accomplished professional photojournalists representing East Germany in FIAP yearbooks. From 1960 to 1985 he was the leading photo-reporter for the daily newspaper *Neues Deutschland*, the official paper of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, published since 1946. During his tenure at *Neues Deutschland*, Murza had several assignments to report from industrial construction sites. For example, the GDR Photography Archive holds several photos made by Murza from the top of the “first of the giant excavators, imported from the USSR” in Ronneburg on March 19, 1966 (fig. 2.14).<sup>60</sup> It is likely that Murza made *View from the Highest Building* during a similar editorial assignment. Much later a slightly different view from the same spot was included in an anthology of the best East

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<sup>60</sup> “den ersten aus der UDSSR importierten Riesen–Schreitbagger,” *DDR Bildarchiv*, accessed May 17, 2017, <http://www.ddrbildarchiv.de/search.php?search=false&akseite=6&streffer=100&text=murza&city=>.

German photography, accompanied by the caption, “350 m Communication Tower near Oranienburg” (fig. 2.15).<sup>61</sup>

At first glance Murza’s *View from the Highest Building in Europe* is reminiscent of the 1920s German avant-garde New Vision aesthetic: it explores an unexpected, daring viewpoint and presents modernity in the form of an industrial feat, here an extremely tall steel-frame structure. “The charm of the photograph lies not in the object but in the view from above and in the balanced relationships,” László Moholy-Nagy (1894–1946) wrote in the book *Painting, Photography, Film*, first published in 1925.<sup>62</sup> Moholy-Nagy demonstrated the effectiveness of a view from above in *Berlin Radio Tower* (1928) (fig. 2.16). Its purpose was to make the familiar urban landscape look strange, embodying fascination with all that was new. New architectural and industrial structures symbolized a new, more modern life for Moholy-Nagy and his contemporaries. They also required a new approach for depicting them.<sup>63</sup> Moholy-Nagy took the photograph at the exhibition grounds and trade fair center Messe Berlin, where the radio tower was constructed on the occasion of the third Große Deutsche Funkausstellung (Great German Radio Exhibition) in 1926. At that time it was one of the most visible symbols of Berlin’s technological advancement and success.

Despite the visual similarity, I am more interested in highlighting the historically specific conditions of production in East German photojournalism of the 1950s and 1960s that

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<sup>61</sup> *Fotografie in der DDR: Ein Beitrag zur Bildgeschichte*, ed. Heinz Hoffmann and Rainer Knapp (Leipzig: VEB Fotokinoverlag, 1987), 84.

<sup>62</sup> László Moholy-Nagy, *Painting, Photography, Film*, trans. by Janet Seligman (London: Lund Humphries, 1969), 29, 93. The book was first published in German as the eighth volume in the Bauhausbücher (Bauhaus books) series: László Moholy-Nagy, *Malerei, Fotografie, Film* (München: Lange, 1925).

<sup>63</sup> Michel Frizot, “Another Kind of Photography: New Points of View” in *A New History of Photography*, ed. Michel Frizot (Cologne: Könemann, 1999), 394.

distinguished it from the Weimar Republic avant-garde. Contrary to Moholy-Nagy's *Berlin Radio Tower*, Murza's *View from the Highest Building in Europe* depicts an unrecognizable location in the middle of nowhere. The "building" may be the highest, but the structure itself remains anonymous, and the features of the landscape are unremarkable. Unlike Moholy-Nagy's photo, Murza's work does not provide any visual clues to help locate the structure. Instead, his image emphasizes the human element—the central figure of a worker, another aspect that distinguishes his work from *Berlin Radio Tower*. Finally, Murza's *View from the Highest Building in Europe* is the product of a routine journalistic assignment. Murza was part of the streamlined conveyor-belt production line of the postwar press, filling the pages of *Neues Deutschland* with visual content on a daily basis. His professional concerns—just like those of hundreds and thousands of his peers across the world—were primarily practical, oriented more toward meeting deadlines and delivering results than theorizing and experimenting. By the time Murza made *View from the Highest Building in Europe*, the viewpoint from above was neither new nor particularly artistic. It had turned into one of professional conventions of photography that were taken for granted, just like the three-point lighting system in portraiture.

My approach shifts attention away from the figures of great and influential individuals and instead highlights the role of visual conventions in photographic production. From a sociological perspective, photography as a profession is highly patterned, producing relatively homogeneous systems of images that meet the demands of specific publications or customers.<sup>64</sup> Such systems vary in local contexts. Their existence is neither simply the result of masses blindly following a small group of inventors nor of "peripheries" copying what was invented in the

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<sup>64</sup> Howard S. Becker, "Art Photography in America," *Journal of Communication* 25, no. 1 (1975): 83; and Barbara Rosenblum, *Photographers at Work* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1978), 111–12.

“metropolis.” The systems of images are based on a range of professional conventions whose constant usage guarantees that the images will be readable for their intended audience. Moreover, the employment of such tools does not necessarily lead to standardization but merely positions each image within a recognizable genre (portraiture, reportage, etc.) and suggests a certain mode of perception (emotional tone). My emphasis on the professional conventions avoids hierarchizing and enables me to observe of a variety of visual styles without searching for the “original” or the “source” somewhere outside the images in question. For example, from an art-historical perspective, certain photographic techniques belong to the canonical vocabulary of the avant-garde strategies. Examples of such techniques include those methods used by the six photographers whose careers I just discussed: reflections and mirror images, references to film stills, the use of heightened contrast, and unexpected uses of bird’s-eye or worm’s-eye view. Each of these strategies has a historically specific place on the timeline of avant-garde art. Each has a designated point of origin such as Berlin, Dessau, Paris, Moscow, or New York. When numerous photographers from diverse backgrounds speaking different languages and working in different socioeconomic circumstances assimilated and adapted the former avant-garde strategies into their daily practice, these strategies ceased to be exclusive property of a few European and American artists. Instead, they became communal property shared among a diverse group of practitioners. The continuous reappearance of a few preferred visual tropes was a means of nonverbal communication, similar in its effect to a call and response. I argue that for the photographers, the use of conventions created a sense of belonging to the imagined community of photo-club members which is documented in the pages of the FIAP yearbooks.

For example, James mentions “frozen smiles of heroic comrades,” “collectivist everyday activities,” and “socialist leisure” as some of the characteristic tropes of East German

photography whose desired form the leaders of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany discussed and theorized it in terms of socialist realism.<sup>65</sup> According to art historian John P. Jacob, such tropes included the images of glorified workers and peasants.<sup>66</sup> Murza's *View from the Highest Building*, when presented in an East German newspaper or magazine photo-essay, would have served as an exemplary specimen of the kind of photography that the party had envisioned. Indeed, it is an image of a heroic worker—it depicts an achievement of socialist labor and does so in a visually interesting manner, implying that the photographer is also a skillful, exemplary worker. It is a socialist-realist image, produced by a photojournalist employed in the state-sponsored press. But the same image could also appear as a free-standing work in photo-club exhibitions and FIAP yearbooks. In order to transition to the realm of photographic art, that image had to be detached from its photojournalistic roots and stripped of all layers of concrete information. In such a reductive process, a very specific 350-meter-high communication tower near Oranienburg became a quite generalized view from the highest building in Europe. That, however, was the only possible way in which photographers from East and West Germany, as well as many other countries on the opposite ends of political spectrum, were able to present their work in one shared space.

### **Elevating Photography to the Status of Art**

The most significant element that elevated photography in publications like the FIAP yearbooks to the status of art was their tangible difference from the disposable magazine or newspaper

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<sup>65</sup> Sarah E. James, *Common Ground: German Photographic Cultures Across the Iron Curtain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 103, 104.

<sup>66</sup> John P. Jacob, "Recollecting a Culture," in *Recollecting a Culture: Photography and the Evolution of a Socialist Aesthetic in East Germany* ed. John P. Jacob (Boston: Photographic Resource Center at Boston University, 1998), 8.

page. FIAP yearbooks, among other things, offered the photographers a chance to circulate their images in a photobook format that was otherwise affordable only to a few leading photographers who had the necessary social standing and connections as well as access to financial resources. Each FIAP yearbook was a hardcover, large-format photobook (approximately nine by eleven inches), clothbound, with title letters embossed in gold and covered by a glossy dust jacket featuring a selected photograph from the book. The number of the full-page, high-quality black-and-white photogravure illustrations in each FIAP yearbook ranges between 114 (in 1964) and 157 (in 1956).<sup>67</sup> The yearbooks were published in Lucerne, Switzerland, by the arts and photography books publishing house C. J. Bucher, which also printed *The World of Henri Cartier-Bresson* in 1968.<sup>68</sup> Furthermore, Cartier-Bresson's earlier photobooks had served as models for the FIAP Yearbooks in terms of size, layout, and printing quality. The FIAP yearbooks present the images in a dignified and luxurious manner, distinct from the crowded layouts of most illustrated magazines of the time. The size of the book, the excellence in print quality, the weight and quality of the paper, the full-page reproduction stripped from any distracting text or graphic elements—all these features characterized an elevated art publication in the 1950s (fig. 2.17). The same elements were also at work in Cartier-Bresson's *The Decisive Moment* (*Images à la sauvette*, 1952) and *The Europeans* (1955) (fig. 2.18). Before that, the format of full-page images accompanied with a minimal, if any, amount of text was cultivated in notable publications such as the French graphic arts magazine *Arts et Métiers Graphiques*,

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<sup>67</sup> Starting from the second FIAP Yearbook (1956), color inserts appeared. But they do not constitute a sufficient body of work for a meaningful discussion, as there are only approximately five images per book. In my analysis I consider only the black and white images.

<sup>68</sup> Art historian Peter Galassi observes that C. J. Bucher's gravure printing for *The World of Henri Cartier-Bresson*, "though harsh compared to the velvet luxuries of Draeger, [was] perfectly adequate." Peter Galassi, *Henri Cartier-Bresson: The Modern Century* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2010), 58.



published between 1927 and 1939.<sup>69</sup> Arguably, one of the earliest predecessors of such a format is Alfred Stieglitz's 1903–1917 publication *Camera Work*, in which the separation of image reproductions from text ensued primarily from technical limitations: photogravure illustrations had to be printed separately and tipped in by hand.<sup>70</sup>

Contrary to the photo-essays in the illustrated magazines of the 1950s, FIAP yearbooks consciously sever the link between words and images. FIAP yearbooks completely suppress the narrative function of photography by an explicit rejection of the usual tools of storytelling, such as captions or sequencing. The lists with photographers' names, country and city of residence, and the titles of their work appear separately from the images.<sup>71</sup> The yearbooks further resist any narrative structure by grouping the images by the photographer's country of residence.<sup>72</sup> The names of the countries are arranged alphabetically, following the order of country names in French. The separation of text from the images in the yearbooks was a way to further emphasize

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<sup>69</sup> See, for example, Kristof Van Gansen, *Arts et Métiers Graphiques: Kunst en Grafische Vormgeving in het Interbellum* (Leuven: Peeters, 2015); and Kristof Van Gansen, " 'Une page est une image': Text as Image in *Arts et Métiers Graphiques*," *Journal of European Periodical Studies* 2, no. 2 (2017): 61–76.

<sup>70</sup> Art Institute of Chicago, " *Camera Work*," The Alfred Stieglitz Collection (website), accessed September 5, 2019, <https://media.artic.edu/stieglitz/camera-work/>; Audrey Sands, " *Camera Work*: A Photographic Quarterly. About the Publication," in *Object: Photo. Modern Photographs: The Thomas Walther Collection 1909–1949*, ed. Mitra Abbaspour, Lee Ann Daffner, and Maria Morris Hamburg (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2014), <https://www.moma.org/interactives/objectphoto/publications/770.html>.

<sup>71</sup> The yearbooks provide a minimal amount of information about the reproduced works. Since the 1960 yearbook, an index of authors at the end of the book also provides the photographers' mailing addresses and a few technical details about the works. These details include the model and make of the camera and lens, the shutter speed, the aperture, the film, the film developer, the paper developer, and the type of paper (some specifics were omitted, however almost all photographers give the brand names of their cameras and lenses). Some entries include additional details such as the use of special darkroom techniques or the use of flash.

<sup>72</sup> The only exception to this principle is the first FIAP yearbook (1954) where images are combined in spreads based on their thematic similarities. But beginning with the second yearbook published in 1956, FIAP abandoned this editorial strategy and grouped images by country in all subsequent yearbooks.

the uniqueness and importance of each image as a self-sufficient work. Moreover, the photographers are treated respectfully in the captions, where their names are displayed first. In the press, on the contrary, the subject matter of a photograph was usually described first, while the name of the photographer was last. In this way the status of a photograph shifted from a mere illustration to another's text to a fully autonomous work. At the time it was perceived as a highly desirable upward shift, at least from the perspective of photojournalists and magazine photographers.

The format and design of the FIAP yearbooks documents the social and cultural mechanisms that turned FIAP into a much-desired shared space for the photographers I discussed in the first two parts of this chapter. On the one hand, their affiliation with FIAP was a substitute for the mainstream where they were not welcome. On the other hand, they all struggled with the relative invisibility and insignificance of their profession. Photography lacked what Christopherson calls occupational prestige, and thus the economic value and cultural status of their work was exceptionally low.<sup>73</sup> Christopherson identifies the rudimentary or nonexistent intellectual and economic support mechanisms as reasons for the low value associated with photographers' work. Such mechanisms can include professional or academic education, exhibition opportunities, networks of professional critics, and others.<sup>74</sup> Christopherson concludes, "Without the support of the official art establishment, photographers have created their own distribution and reward system, independent of the older institutional structure."<sup>75</sup> In

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<sup>73</sup> Richard W. Christopherson, "Making Art with Machines: Photography's Institutional Inadequacies." *Urban Life and Culture* 3, no. 1 (1974): 5.

<sup>74</sup> Christopherson, "Making Art with Machines," 15–20.

<sup>75</sup> For example, in the communities of photographers in San Francisco and New York of the early 1970s, this distribution and reward system took shape in the first specialized photography galleries. Christopherson, 23.

the 1950s, I argue, photo clubs and FIAP represented such a system and exemplified what Christopherson calls a “homemade substitute art world.”<sup>76</sup> In the institutional emptiness that surrounded photography in the 1950s, photo clubs and FIAP often were the only structures that offered photographers at least some form of affiliation and positive identification.

Regular participation in photo-club exhibitions and publications in FIAP yearbooks became crucial indicators of creative success, especially because they allowed the photographers to place their work in the context of art, which was distinctively different from their daily work in the press. Art and professional work could overlap in a person’s career, but the production of *art* images obtained a higher cultural status, partly because of its disassociation from the employer or paying customer. The photographers’ motivation to exhibit self-commissioned work was based on the assumption that creative autonomy is a prerequisite for claiming the status of *artist*, a social status higher than the one of a *photographer* and thus highly desired among practitioners, including those who had achieved notable success in journalism or commercial photography. Even if a photograph was initially made as part of an editorial assignment, its author could claim back at least some control and ownership by selecting, captioning, and (optionally) hand-printing it for explicitly nonprofit photo-club exhibitions and FIAP yearbooks. There the images were circulated among peers who shared the knowledge and skills of the trade and thus were the most perceptive and concerned audience for each other’s work.<sup>77</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Christopherson, 32. Here and in other sociological texts quoted, *art world* does not mean *the* art world, as it is casually used by art critics, artists, and art historians today, but rather it signifies any institutional, social, and economic network that makes possible the production of a particular form of culture. Thus, there are numerous art worlds of photography, painting, music, literature, poetry, dance, performance, and so on. The sociological use of this phrase is reinforced in Howard S. Becker, *Art Worlds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982).

<sup>77</sup> *Life* photo editor Wilson Hicks observed that the photographer, “not expecting purely esthetic judgments in the editorial office, obtains them from other photographers or friends.” Furthermore, Hicks connected the search for recognition with the presentation of photographs in

In sum, FIAP yearbooks capture a brief but fascinating moment in the history of postwar photography where the fields of photojournalism and art intersected. The overlap between the two fields characterizes the 1950s as a transitional period when photography's cultural and social status was yet uncertain. Magazine photographers and photojournalists formed an emerging and growing professional group, but their social standing was relatively low compared to journalists and editorial staff. During the 1950s a relatively small group of Western European and US photographers monopolized image production for the most influential periodicals of the time such as *Life*. A few notable photographers, best exemplified by Cartier-Bresson and the cooperative Magnum, attained remarkable international recognition, and their work was praised as an art form. Meanwhile, the majority of photographers were explicitly excluded from the most prestigious circles and had to struggle for their reputation.

From today's perspective it is obvious that FIAP served an important function within a field dominated by the power hierarchies that the US publishing industry created or reinforced. In search for alternative ways to make connections amongst themselves, circulate their images, and seek peer recognition, photographers joined or established photo clubs and united in FIAP. Publications such as FIAP yearbooks offered the photographers a helpful platform for disseminating their work across political and ethnic borders. At the time, photo-club culture and FIAP formed their own "bloc," their own "non-aligned" movement parallel to the mainstream of

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dedicated art spaces: "When, after journalistic publication, [the photographer's] pictures are printed by courtesy in books or photographic magazines or annuals, or hung on museum walls, he is vastly pleased. In such places . . . they can be looked at in their warmth as art." Hicks, *Words and Pictures*, 99. The magazine editor's observation anticipates what sociologists found out later in a methodical study of the profession: "The admiration of one's peers constitutes a partial legitimacy which is at least enough to establish the photographer as an artist." Jean-Claude Chamboredon, "Mechanical Art, Natural Art: Photographic Artists," in Pierre Bourdieu, et al., trans. Shaun Whiteside (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990), 146–147.

the highly influential US and Western European magazine industry, even if not fully realizing it themselves and not articulating it in those terms.

Moreover, FIAP yearbooks demonstrate that the photo-club members' aesthetic sensibilities and preferences in subject matter were pointed in multiple, often contradictory, directions, just like their careers and socioeconomic standing. When they joined photo clubs and FIAP, they joined a struggle for greater recognition of their skills and mastery of the medium, of their creative autonomy and independence from editors or commercial customers, and of the nonutilitarian function of their images. Joining a photo club and FIAP was one way for photographers to achieve reputations as accomplished, skillful masters of their medium, for which they chose the word *artist* as an operational term. In the context of FIAP, terms like *art* and *artist* signified primarily a high professional ability and peer recognition. These words should not be mistaken for the way we use the same terms in art-historical contexts to signify *advanced art* and *notable artists*. Furthermore, success in photo-club exhibitions and FIAP publications did not immediately bring a visible change to each individual's career. Most of the photographers whose works are reproduced in the FIAP yearbooks still remain unknown. Among the reasons is the relatively secluded nature of the photo-club culture and the absence of contacts and communication with the arts establishment. As Christopherson puts it, even in the 1970s it was "possible to be an art photographer and yet never come in contact with the institutions which support the work of artists in other media."<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Christopherson, "Making Art with Machines," 32.

### CHAPTER THREE: HEGEMONY OF HUMANIST PHOTOGRAPHY

*Poster in Paris* by West German photographer Gustav (Gust) Hahn (b. 1906), reproduced in the FIAP 1956 Yearbook, exemplifies the clichés of humanist photography of the 1950s (fig. 3.1). It is conceived as an inherently French, and particularly Parisian, image made by a German photographer. As such, it belongs to the vast group of images in postwar European photography that romanticized Paris as the ultimate location for beauty, inspiration, fashion, and art.<sup>1</sup> In Hahn's photograph, a woman is captured walking along a city street past a wall with an oversized poster advertising "belles chaussures" (beautiful shoes) made by Unic Fenestrier, a French brand of handcrafted footwear established in 1907 and today known as Robert Clergerie. The poster features an illustration of a man's legs walking. The woman's stride mimics that of the man's in the poster, as if they were walking side by side. Scale plays an important role here—the woman's body appears small, even fragile, when compared to the oversize image of the man's legs. Completing the composition, in a further echo of striding legs, a pigeon is seen in the foreground walking in the opposite direction to the woman. Hahn's images of Paris were popular, and a slightly cropped version of his *Poster in Paris* was circulated as a postcard, printed in color (fig. 3.2).

In a single frame, Hahn's *Poster in Paris* conveys all the key stereotypical elements of Paris as they were constructed in the humanist photography of the 1950s. There is romance in the suggested interaction between the woman and man. There is playfulness in the relational triangle formed by the moving figures of the woman, man, and pigeon. There is a sense of style and an

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<sup>1</sup> See Vestberg, "Photography as Cultural Memory," 75–90; and Vestberg, "Robert Doisneau," 157–65.

appreciation of fashion: the woman is stylishly dressed and wears high heels, while the poster in the background advertises men's shoes. The choice of the street scene with the Unic Fenestrier poster was deliberate. It was designed by Bernard Villemot (1911–1989), a French designer well known for his Art Deco-inspired, simple, and often brightly colored posters for brands such as Bally footwear, Gauloises cigarettes, and Air France.<sup>2</sup> (fig. 3.3.) Hahn's attention to the ways that commercial signage changed the urban landscape in the 1950s arguably originated from his own professional interests—at this time he worked as a typographer and photographer in the field of advertising.<sup>3</sup> For a photographer who was also a connoisseur of graphic design, the inclusion of Villemot's poster added yet another layer of “Frenchness” and “Parisianness” to his composition.

Although humanist photography first emerged within French culture even before the Second World War, I argue that it acquired its canonical status in the 1950s because it was promoted by the US magazine industry and influential institutions such as New York's Museum of Modern Art. The rise of humanist photography to the center of the dominant historical narrative had its economic, political, and sociological reasons. Indeed, many photographers and their audiences sincerely fell in love with humanist photography, but such love was evoked by a calculated power on a march to expand its influence. The affection toward humanist photography signals that the power at work was seductive, not coercive. As I demonstrate in the second part

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<sup>2</sup> George Bon Salle and Jeanne Bon Salle, *Embracing an Icon: The Posters of Bernard Villemot: Catalogues Raisonné* (New York: The Poster Art Library/Posters Please, 2015).

<sup>3</sup> Hahn's *Poster in Paris* belongs to a larger body of work in which Hahn captured the dynamic and often humorous interplay between ordinary passersby and the bold graphic elements seen in shop signs and advertising posters on the streets of Paris. See Gerald Cinamon, “Gust Hahn,” *German Graphic Designers During the Hitler Period* (website), accessed January 30, 2018, [http://www.germandesigners.net/designers/gust\\_hahn](http://www.germandesigners.net/designers/gust_hahn).

of this chapter, the visual style of humanist photography was seductive because it captured the sentiment and pathos of postwar Western Europe and the US through methods and subjects that also resonated elsewhere. Because it evoked a sentimental emotional response, humanist photography evolved into *Life*-fotografie—the leading visual style of illustration not only in *Life* but also in other countries, especially in the West German press. To provide a characteristic example of the subject matter of this visual style, in the third part of the chapter I present images of children in *The Family of Man*, the UN photography projects, and FIAP yearbooks.

### **The Seductive Style**

One of the thirty-two photographs reproduced in *The Family of Man* photobook with the caption “France” depicts a young couple at a street-side market in Paris (fig. 3.4).<sup>4</sup> A woman and man stride toward the camera, while the man casually embraces the woman with his left arm and kisses her on the cheek. Robert Doisneau (1912–1994) made the photograph in 1950 as part of a larger series commissioned by *Life*. The assignment was based on American cultural stereotypes about Paris as a city of romance and lovers. Doisneau fulfilled the editorial request by organizing a photoshoot with young actors in recognizably Parisian locations.<sup>5</sup> The images that made the cut were those where the young couples were embracing and kissing in public spaces, ignored by passersby. Doisneau’s untitled photograph from *The Family of Man* was first published as part of a photo-essay in the June 12 issue of *Life*, accompanied by the sentence, “In Paris young lovers

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<sup>4</sup> Edward Steichen, ed., *The Family of Man* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1955), 12.

<sup>5</sup> See Peter Hamilton, “‘A Poetry of the Streets?’ Documenting Frenchness in an Era of Reconstruction: Humanist Photography 1935–1960,” in *The Documentary Impulse in French Literature*, ed. Norman Buford (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001), 177–219; and Nina Lager Vestberg, “Robert Doisneau and the Making of a Universal Cliché,” *History of Photography* 35, no. 2 (2011): 157–65.



kiss wherever they want to and nobody seems to care.”<sup>6</sup> (fig. 3.5.) The image appeared right next to another one that today is recognized as the quintessential example of French humanist photography, *The Kiss by the Town Hall (Le baiser de l’hôtel de ville, 1950)*.<sup>7</sup> (fig. 3.6.)

French photographers such as Cartier-Bresson and Doisneau, alongside Brassai (1899–1984), Izis (1911–1980), Willy Ronis (1910–2009), and others, established the canon of humanist photography in terms of subject matter and photographic methods.<sup>8</sup> Humanist photography focused on what sociologist Peter Hamilton refers to as *quotidienality*: conspicuously unexceptional themes and ordinary people observed at home or in public places, most typically city streets.<sup>9</sup> The repertoire of humanist photography’s preferred subjects in the 1950s included families, young couples, children, work, leisure, popular festivities, and holidays.<sup>10</sup> The visual style of humanist photography ranges from snapshot-like depictions of urban life to carefully composed frames, but a shared method involves the suggestion of immediacy and presence that Hamilton describes as an effect of “simple, unretouched, realist representations.”<sup>11</sup> One of the most typical methods for achieving such an effect was capturing

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<sup>6</sup> “Speaking of Pictures. . .,” *Life* 28, no. 24 (June 12, 1950): 16–18.

<sup>7</sup> “Speaking of Pictures. . .,” 17. *The Kiss* gained its canonic status gradually over the years. In *Life* it appeared almost unnoticeable and unrecognizable, cropped to a square and squeezed into a busy layout among several other photographs.

<sup>8</sup> Key anthologies of French humanist photography include Quentin Bajac and Clément Chéroux, *Collection Photographs: A History of Photography Through the Collections of the Centre Pompidou, Musée National d’Art Moderne* (Göttingen: Steidl, 2007); Laure Beaumont-Maillet, Françoise Denoyelle, and Dominique Versavel, *La photographie humaniste, 1945–1968: Autour d’Izis, Boubat, Brassai, Doisneau, Ronis* (Paris: Bibliothèque nationale de France, 2006), and Marie de Thézy and Claude Nori, *La photographie humaniste: 1930–1960, histoire d’un mouvement en France* (Paris: Contrejour, 1992).

<sup>9</sup> Hamilton, “‘A poetry of the streets?’,” 177–219.

<sup>10</sup> Hamilton, 194.

<sup>11</sup> Hamilton, 180.

an action in midmovement thus freezing a fleeting moment in the photographic image.<sup>12</sup> Cartier-Bresson gave this method a catchy name, the “decisive moment,” in his eponymous photobook published in 1952.<sup>13</sup>

Also called a “picture journalism with a human claim,” humanist photography of the 1950s is one of the genres of magazine photography that, in turn, forms a part of a broader field of photojournalism.<sup>14</sup> This kind of photojournalism was quite far from the kind of reportage as practiced, for example, by Robert Capa (1913–1954), a war correspondent and cofounder of the Magnum cooperative. Instead of reporting from the most dangerous hot spots of the world, as Capa did, authors of humanist photography of the 1950s typically reported from places where nothing particularly violent, extraordinary, or even interesting happened. Their subject was the everyday lives of ordinary people. Humanist photography was the first subgenre of photojournalism to put regular, often poor, working-class people at the center of attention without an underlying moralizing message. The images often convey a humorous, nostalgic, or optimistic narrative and assert that beauty and joy can be found among ordinary people. Among the subjects of the subgenre, the streets and people of Paris were the most visible and reappeared in numerous photobooks that were in circulation at the time.<sup>15</sup> Paris was the ultimate source of

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<sup>12</sup> Art historian Peter Galassi even notes that “photographers had made arrested motion a theme in itself.” Peter Galassi, *Henri Cartier-Bresson: The Modern Century* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2010), 32.

<sup>13</sup> Henri Cartier-Bresson, *The Decisive Moment* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1952). This book was first published in French as *Images à la sauvette* (Paris: Éditions Verve, 1952).

<sup>14</sup> “der „Bildjournalismus mit humanem Anspruch““: Silke Oßwald, “Photokina: Kultur und Kommerz im Köln der fünfziger Jahre,” in *Köln in den 50er Jahren: Zwischen Tradition und Modernisierung*, ed. Jost Dülffer (Cologne: SH-Verlag, 2001), 366. See also: Ulrich Pohlmann, “Life-Fotografie: 'Fotografie als Weltsprache',” in Ulrich Pohlmann, *Kultur, Technik und Kommerz: die Photokina-Bilderschauen 1950–1980* (Cologne: Historisches Archiv der Stadt, 1990), 80–87.

<sup>15</sup> Photography historian Thomas Michael Gunther mentions more than sixteen photobooks about Paris by French and other Western European photographers, published between 1929 and 1963,

what art historian Nina Lager Vestberg calls fictive memories.<sup>16</sup> Art historian Ian Jeffrey calls the postwar Paris “Europe’s own naked city,” referring to *Naked City*, a photo book about New York City (1945) by American photographer Weegee (Arthur Fellig, 1899–1968).<sup>17</sup> The city of Paris was the “naked” screen onto which the illustrated magazine audiences in Western Europe and the US projected their dreams and desires. Thus for some, Paris was the city of lovers, for some others the city of fashion, and for others the hotbed of avant-garde art like it used to be before the Second World War.<sup>18</sup>

Before discussing the international reach of humanist photography and its impact on the field on a transnational scope, I would like to outline some of the inner contradictions that characterize the genre in order to historicize its reading. In the following paragraphs, I will contrast today’s perception of humanist photography as sentimental and clichéd with the historical context of the 1950s where it brought an unexpected turn to the perception of photography’s role. I will touch upon the inherently leftist political leaning of the French humanist photography that, however, was neutralized by commercialization in for-profit illustrated magazines. Finally, I will point to the genre’s role in postwar culture as a distraction from the involvement of France in colonial violence, especially the war in Algeria. It is

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in “The Spread of Photography: Commissions, Advertising, Publishing” in *A New History of Photography* (Cologne: Könemann, 1999), 573–74.

<sup>16</sup> Nina Lager Vestberg, “Photography as Cultural Memory: Imag(in)ing France in the 1950s,” *Journal of Romance Studies* 5, no. 2 (2005): 75–90. See also Vestberg, “Robert Doisneau.”

<sup>17</sup> Ian Jeffrey, “The Way Life Goes: Suffering and Hope,” in *A New History of Photography*, ed. Michel Frizot (Cologne: Könemann, 1999), 526.

<sup>18</sup> Art historian and curator Valerie Hillings, while analyzing the formational years of West German artists in the Zero group, acknowledges that Paris for them “by the 1950s had resumed its position as the center for avant-garde art in Europe.” Valerie Hillings, “Countdown to a New Beginning: The Multinational ZERO Network, 1950s–60s,” in *ZERO: Countdown to Tomorrow, 1950s–60s*, ed. Katherine Atkins and Jennifer Bantz (New York: Guggenheim Museum Publications, 2014), 17.

important to acknowledge the contradictions behind one visual style because they characterize the generally confused state in which the field of photography found itself in the 1950s. Set against the background of chaos and uncertainty, humanist photography evolved to become the dominant visual style thanks to its influential supporters on different levels, such as the US magazine industry, the United Nations and UNESCO, and Edward Steichen at New York's Museum of Modern Art.

From today's viewpoint it can be difficult to see past the sentimental clichés that images like Doisneau's *The Kiss* embodied.<sup>19</sup> His work (along with the work of other humanist photographers), however, was perceived differently in the 1950s, and that perception is key to understanding the multiple reasons behind humanist photography's evolution into the central, mainstream visual style of the decade. The very emphasis on everydayness, even if it was staged, was a quite radical gesture in magazine photography. Pierre Bourdieu has demonstrated that the idea to photograph daily life and ordinary streets was pioneered by a few photographers with "aesthetic ambitions" but nevertheless remained unacceptable to the majority of people in France even into the 1960s.<sup>20</sup> The consensus, according to Bourdieu, was simple: "One does not photograph something that one sees every day."<sup>21</sup> The perceived primary function of

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<sup>19</sup> The generation of the 1960s had already developed a negative perception of 1950s humanist photography. Later generations of critics "vilif[ied] this photographic sensibility," as photography historian Clément Chéroux notes, and discredited its "lyrical optimism," reducing its importance to merely sentimental, nostalgic, or anecdotal illustrations. Clément Chéroux, "Social Fantastic, Poetic Realism, and Humanist Photography, 1930–1990: Looking at Things on a Human Scale," in *Collection of Photographs: History of Photography through the Collections of the Centre Pompidou* by Quentin Bajac and Clément Chéroux (Göttingen: Steidl, 2007), 181.

<sup>20</sup> Pierre Bourdieu, "The Cult of Unity and Cultivated Differences," in *Photography: A Middle-Brow Art*, by Pierre Bourdieu et al., trans. Shaun Whiteside (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990), 34.

<sup>21</sup> Bourdieu, "Cult of Unity," 34.

photography, as Bourdieu's research indicates, was to document only people who were important and only events that were outstanding and to do so in a dignified and solemn manner. Humanist photography, with its banal subjects depicted with a casual, often-playful immediacy, stood in opposition to what most people believed to be the medium's main function. The same images that we today see as hackneyed and sentimental, in the 1950s could be read as lyrical, emphatic, and intimate depictions of "real" life.<sup>22</sup> The effects of intimacy and spontaneity, although they were often the results of staging and directing, formed a significant part of humanist photography's appeal in the 1950s.

It is also significant that French humanist photography depicts predominantly working-class subjects, or, at times, young and good-looking actors playing the part of working-class subjects like those who Doisneau hired for his *Life* assignment. The canonical French humanist photographers shared an interest in depicting social groups such as urban working class, petty bourgeoisie, and the poor, which carried some connotation of leftist politics.<sup>23</sup> Most of the French humanist photographers, according to Hamilton, "would have placed themselves on the left," and some of them—like Doisneau and Ronis—were Communist party members.<sup>24</sup> Yet humanist photography avoids being obviously political. The images are not necessarily identifiable as illustrative of leftist or communist ideas. All the numerous photographers who produced images in this visual paradigm during the 1950s were neither members of a defined group nor shared a single, clearly articulated sociopolitical agenda. The political aspect of

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<sup>22</sup> Hamilton, " 'A poetry of the streets?'" 180; see also Peter Hamilton, "Representing the Social: France and Frenchness in Post-war Humanist Photography" in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, ed. Stuart Hall (London: Sage, 1997), 75–150.

<sup>23</sup> Hamilton, " 'A poetry of the streets?'" 180.

<sup>24</sup> Hamilton, 180.

humanist photography of the 1950s was far more elusive than that of the Worker Photography movement in interwar Europe or the Photographic Unit of the Farm Security Administration in the US at the time of the Great Depression.<sup>25</sup>

Humanist photography, therefore, did not aim to produce a critical exposé or a call to action but rather to make positive, life-affirming images that focused on the small pleasures and anecdotal vignettes found in everyday life. Notably, Wilson Hicks, photo editor of *Life*, explicitly dismissed social criticism in photography as a “crusading impulse” that he interpreted as merely a sign of adolescence that should pass when a person reaches maturity.<sup>26</sup> A mature photographer’s main goal, according to Hicks, should be evoking emotion.<sup>27</sup> Instead of, for example, socialists’ zealous desire to change the world that had emerged in the Worker Photography Movement, humanist photography of the 1950s was supposed to evoke moderate and intimate emotions like sentiment, nostalgia, and mild empathy. Humanist photography was praised, according to art historian Sarah James, as “photography supposedly freed from ideology, apolitically picturing a universalizing, transnational sense of belonging.”<sup>28</sup> But all it was freed of was any obvious signs of leftist political propaganda. The images worked for the benefit of the ideology of consumer society, while their seductive emotional appeal masked their political

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<sup>25</sup> For more about the shared socialist political platform of the Worker Photography movement, see Jorge Ribalta, ed., *The Worker Photography Movement, 1926–1939: Essays and Documents*, (Madrid: Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía, 2011). For more about the “alignment of humanism with the political left” among the US photographers during the Great Depression, see Claude Hubert Cookman, *American Photojournalism: Motivations and Meanings* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern University, 2009), 224–26.

<sup>26</sup> Wilson Hicks, *Words and Pictures: An Introduction to Photojournalism* (New York: Harper, 1952), 103–4.

<sup>27</sup> Hicks, 105.

<sup>28</sup> Sarah E. James, *Common Ground: German Photographic Cultures across the Iron Curtain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 8.

function.

Hicks well understood that the audience of *Life* desperately desired to see images of normalcy, and humanist photographers supplied that through photographs conveying what photography historian Jean-Claude Gautrand characterizes as “sensitivity to the simple joys of life” and “an empathy for the people in the street, caught in action.”<sup>29</sup> We know that the “joys of life” were not always necessarily “caught in action” but were carefully staged according to the magazine editors’ requests. Although the subjects indeed were from the working class or even poor, their depiction was romanticized or anecdotal. As a result, images by Doisneau, although he was a Communist party member, were apolitical enough (or mature enough in Hicks’s set of values) to be printed in *Life* at the height of McCarthyism.

French humanist photographers like Doisneau put the spotlight on working-class subjects by depicting their friendly demeanors and the daily chores they tended. But their sympathies were limited almost exclusively to white Parisians. By producing the images of the casual and at times anecdotal “poetry of the streets,” they (likely unknowingly) helped to obscure the disturbing reality of French colonial politics of the time. The Algerian war (1954–1962) was more visible in France than any other colonial conflict at the time.<sup>30</sup> Algeria had the most notable

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<sup>29</sup> Jean-Claude Gautrand, “Looking at Others. Humanism and Neo-realism” in *A New History of Photography*, ed. Michel Frizot (Cologne: Könemann, 1999), 613.

<sup>30</sup> For example, France was also involved in the war in Vietnam, also called the Indochina War (1946–1954), but historian Tyler Stovall points out that the majority of the general public in France did not even notice that war. Among the reasons was the deployment of predominantly non-French soldiers, such as the French Foreign Legion and the local colonial subjects—the Vietnamese. As a result, “for most French people, the Indochina war existed on the other side of the world, far away from their concerns.” Tyler Stovall, *Transnational France: The Modern History of a Universal Nation* (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2015), 388. Similarly, relatively unnoticed went *the* relatively low-key process of negotiations through which France granted independence to Morocco and Tunisia in 1956. See Carole Fink, Frank Hadler, and Tomasz Schramm, introduction to *1956: European and Global Perspectives*, ed. Carole Fink, Frank Hadler, and Tomasz Schramm (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2006), 26.

French settler society (approximately one million) and was considered an integral part of France, not a colony. The independence movement in Algeria caused a strong anti-independence reaction in France.<sup>31</sup> “Today, whenever two Frenchmen meet, there is a dead body between them,” wrote Jean-Paul Sartre in 1961.<sup>32</sup> His essay was the preface to Frantz Fanon’s *The Wretched of the Earth*, “a justification of revolutionary anticolonial violence,” written from a perspective of an activist at the National Liberation Front of Algeria (Front de Libération Nationale).<sup>33</sup> “In France and England humanism claims to be universal,” Sartre noted, directly addressing the reader. “You who are so liberal, so humane, who take the love of culture to the point of affectation, you pretend to forget that you have colonies where massacres are committed in your name.”<sup>34</sup> Arguably, French humanist photography helped Western Europe “to forget” some inconvenient truths, while promoting a positive image of white Parisian popular culture in its romantic or humorous aspects.<sup>35</sup>

In historical literature, humanist photography remains closely associated with French, and particularly Parisian, culture.<sup>36</sup> However, the acknowledgement of its international influence in

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<sup>31</sup> “Algeria is France,” announced then-socialist politician François Mitterand in 1954. François Mitterand, *Le Monde*, November 14, 1954. Quoted in Fink, Hadler, and Schramm, introduction to *1956*, 26n54. “When asked in opinion polls, most French strongly opposed the idea of Algerian independence.” Stovall, *Transnational France*, 391.

<sup>32</sup> Jean-Paul Sartre, preface to *The Wretched of the Earth*, by Frantz Fanon, trans. Richard Philcox (New York: Grove Press, 2004), lxii. First published in French as Frantz Fanon, *Les damnés de la terre* (Paris: François Maspero éditeur, 1961).

<sup>33</sup> Stovall, *Transnational France*, 395.

<sup>34</sup> Sartre, preface to Fanon, *Wretched of the Earth*, xlix.

<sup>35</sup> Historian Vijay Prashad writes about this selective forgetting in the 1950s: “In conference after conference, Europe’s intellectuals bemoaned the insanity of the brutal massacre of the Jews, Communists, Gypsies, and the disabled—but most of them remained silent about the ongoing violence in the tropics.” Vijay Prashad, *The Darker Nations: A People's History of the Third World* (New York: New Press, 2007), 6.

<sup>36</sup> See, for example, Bajac and Chéroux, *Collection Photographs*; Beaumont-Maillet, Denoyelle, and Versavel, *La photographie humaniste*; and De Thézy and Nori, *La photographie humaniste*.



the 1950s is crucial for grasping how one locally specific visual style became the world's most well-known photographic convention of the decade. I argue that the "picture journalism with a human claim" eventually turned into what anthropologist Arjun Appadurai would call an instrument of homogenization, a tool belonging to those mechanisms that the dominant culture uses for establishing its authority.<sup>37</sup> In what follows, I shall highlight the institutions that led to the canonization of humanist photography, beginning with the publishing industry in the United States and Western Europe and leading up to the organizational level of the United Nations and *The Family of Man* project.

### **Life Through the Lens of *Life-Fotografie***

In 1950 Swiss journalist Fritz Flueler, in a central feature article in *Camera*, rhetorically asked, "What do the editors of to-day prefer?" and swiftly answered, "It can be summed up in one word—*Life*. And because life manifests it self [*sic*] most clearly in movement, what attracts them most are photographs with movement in them. Men, animals, machines, as long as they have been caught at one of their functions, fill the pages of the illustrated papers."<sup>38</sup> Illustrations to the article, Flueler's semi-ethnographic photo-reportage from a trip to Sardinia, indicate the range of approved subjects in predominantly rural settings. Flueler's photographs feature people in towns and villages going about their everyday business, while the captions focus on characteristic details of their clothing, comment on the architecture, or explain locally specific customs such as a particular method of fishing (fig. 3.7). The article, written from a perspective of an illustrated

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<sup>37</sup> Arjun Appadurai, "Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy," in *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory*, ed. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 333.

<sup>38</sup> Fritz Flueler, "What Kind of Photographs Do the Illustrated Papers Prefer?" *Camera*, no. 11 (1950): 343. Emphasis in original.

magazine photo editor, criticizes obviously posed and arranged photographs as an obsolete form that should be abandoned with the single exception of “photographs of film stars and pin-ups, in which posing is not only permissible but even necessary.”<sup>39</sup> Flueler concludes the article with another rhetorical question, “To be the mirror of life—is there a finer, more worthwhile task for the lens, that substitute [*sic*] for the living eye?”<sup>40</sup>

The publishers and editors of the illustrated magazines of the time were directly responsible for the emergence and popularity of a visual style that German historians call *Life-fotografie* (*Life* photography).<sup>41</sup> The term *Life-fotografie* combines a reference to the approach to magazine photography cultivated by *Life* with the German word *Fotografie*.<sup>42</sup> What remains slightly less articulated in the bilingual term, *Life-fotografie*, is the fact that among its primary sources was French humanist photography as well as popular fascination with the streets and people of Paris. Nevertheless, the composite term is helpful because it challenges the traditional, nation-state centered approach to the history of photography and emphasizes the transnational character of photographic production in the 1950s, while adequately acknowledging its

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<sup>39</sup> Flueler, “What Kind of Photographs,” 343.

<sup>40</sup> Flueler, 355.

<sup>41</sup> See Astrid Ihle, “Photography as Contemporary Document: Comments on the Conceptions of the Documentary in Germany after 1945” in *Art of Two Germanys. Cold War Cultures*, ed. Stephanie Barron, Sabine Eckmann, and Eckhart Gillen (New York: Abrams, 2009), 186–205; Silke Oßwald, “Photokina: Kultur und Kommerz im Köln der fünfziger Jahre,” in *Köln in den 50er Jahren: zwischen Tradition und Modernisierung*, ed. Jost Dülffer (Cologne: SH-Verlag, 2001), 366; and Ulrich Pohlmann, “*Life*-Fotografie: ‘Fotografie als Weltsprache’,” in *Kultur, Technik und Kommerz: die Photokina-Bilderschauen 1950–1980* (Cologne: Historisches Archiv der Stadt, 1990), 80–87.

<sup>42</sup> Historian Ulrich Pohlmann notes that such promotion can be interpreted as part of the soft Americanization of West German culture in general. The visual style was best articulated in West German photography, but I would like to emphasize that photographers working in the style of *Life-fotografie* were not necessarily *only* American, West German, or French. See Ulrich Pohlmann, “Zwischen Kultur, Technik und Kommerz: Die photokina-Bilderschauen 1950–80” in *Kultur, Technik und Kommerz: die Photokina-Bilderschauen 1950–1980* (Cologne: Historisches Archiv der Stadt, 1990), 12.

dependency on the magazine industry and the outstanding influence of *Life* in particular. There is no doubt that French humanist photographers were famous and influential in their own right during the 1905s. Yet I argue that their canonical status was significantly reinforced and multiplied by their inclusion in projects that have largely shaped the postwar history of photography such as *The Family of Man*, MoMA exhibitions, and anthologies starting from Beaumont Newhall's *The History of Photography: From 1839 to the Present*, first published in 1937. Distribution in the pages of *Life* popularized and legitimized the French photographers' work on yet another level. It was an effect of the overlooked/invisible power imbalance between projects funded or initiated by US institutions and all the rest, which I identify following Jameson's thesis.<sup>43</sup>

Flueler's rhetoric reinforced the dominant position of *Life*-fotografie as the *only* true "mirror of life." By creating a constant demand for humanist photography, the magazine industry actively encouraged photographers to continue exploring, and indeed exploiting, the potential of one visual style of photography. Photographers in other countries adapted the approaches established by the French humanist photographers and further developed their visual style. In other words, *Life*-fotografie would not have risen to its international prominence without *Life* and other influential illustrated magazines that commissioned and published illustrations almost exclusively in this visual style. In the 1950s the best-known Western European and American photographers of the time such as Cartier-Bresson, Ronis, and Feininger published numerous books and articles about the rules of "good photography" based on their own work, and thus

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<sup>43</sup> Fredric Jameson, "Notes on Globalization as a Philosophical Issue," in *The Cultures of Globalization*, ed. Fredric Jameson and Masao Miyoshi (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004), 57.

further established *Life*-fotografie as the dominant photographic language of the decade.<sup>44</sup>

Moreover, *Life*-fotografie was increasingly associated with the term *art*, especially thanks to Edward Steichen's role in further promoting humanist photography. Steichen as an authoritative figure in an influential art museum significantly contributed to its visibility and popularity in the United States.<sup>45</sup> *The Family of Man*, among other things, was also an important step of musealization and canonization of humanist photography.<sup>46</sup> Besides, Steichen had actively promoted French humanist photography and showcased it in New York's Museum of Modern Art on several occasions prior to *The Family of Man*. For example, Steichen presented the work of Cartier-Bresson alongside four other Paris-based photographers who are now considered key figures in French humanism—Doisneau, Brassai, Izis, and Ronis—in the exhibition *Five French Photographers* (December 18, 1951–February 24, 1952). According to Steichen, their work conveyed “tender simplicity, a sly humor, a warm earthiness, the ‘everydayness’ of the familiar and the convincing aliveness.”<sup>47</sup> Steichen's quote exemplifies the uncritical acceptance of French humanist photography abroad and especially in the United States

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<sup>44</sup> See, for example, Henri Cartier-Bresson, “The Moment of Truth,” *Camera*, no. 4 (1954): 176; Willy Ronis, “Natural and photographic vision,” *Camera*, no. 12 (1954): 567; and Andreas Feininger, *The Creative Photographer* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1955).

<sup>45</sup> Here I rely on a sociological perspective, according to which powerful individuals, groups, and institutions define which authors and what kinds of images are most important at a given time. See David Inglis, “Thinking ‘Art’ Sociologically,” in *The Sociology of Art: Ways of Seeing*, ed. David Inglis and John Hughson (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 12.

<sup>46</sup> Many contemporaries were outraged by its first appearance in an art museum. Some reviewers of *The Family of Man* expressed their belief that the exhibition had nothing to do with art and that it better suited a venue like the Museum of Natural History or the lobby of the United Nations, not the Museum of Modern Art. See Monique Berlier, “*The Family of Man*: Readings of an Exhibition,” in *Picturing the Past: Media, History, and Photography*, ed. Bonnie Brennen and Hanno Hardt (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999), 219.

<sup>47</sup> Edward Steichen is quoted in the exhibition's press release. Museum of Modern Art, “Journalist Photography from France to be Shown in ‘Five French Photographers,’” press release, December 13, 1951, [https://www.moma.org/documents/moma\\_press-release\\_325821.pdf](https://www.moma.org/documents/moma_press-release_325821.pdf).

in the 1950s. His interpretation took the visual style at face value partly because its “Parisianness,” partly because of its sentiment and humor, and partly because of the effect of spontaneous, informal observation. As a result, the simultaneous appearance of humanist photography in the pages of *Life* and in an art museum context strengthened its authority in the United States as well as internationally.

The process by which humanist photography became the principal visual language of the 1950s is comparable to the one by which Hollywood cinema came to dominate the film industry. In such processes of cultural and economic domination, the power remains invisible because it is seductive, not coercive. Part of the widespread appeal of *Life*-fotografie in the 1950s lies in the fact that it celebrated normalcy and affirmed the possibility of a safe, peaceful existence. The emphasis on subjects like young couples walking hand in hand or children at play evoked a sentimental emotional response. Such sentiments found perceptive audiences in societies recuperating after the war and other major disasters. The “picture journalism with a human claim” reflected the dreams of a generation living at a time of profound crisis. It visualized a hope for the recuperation and reconstruction of an ordinary, peaceful life. For this reason, the popularity of humanist photography appears to be so *natural* that it is seemingly unnecessary to question it. That is exactly the function of a seductive power that operates behind the surface of irresistible images.<sup>48</sup> *Life*-fotografie of the 1950s was not quite the “mirror” of reality it promised to be, but it rather produced a reality of its own. Moreover, the reality it produced was largely shaped by the white, male, sexist, and often sentimental editors of *Life*.

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<sup>48</sup> Here I am following John Tagg’s call: “We must cease once and for all to describe the effects of power in negative terms—as exclusion, repression, censorship, concealment, eradication. In fact, power produces. It produces reality. It produces domains of objects, institutions of language, rituals of truth.” John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 1988), 87.

*Life*-fotografie was seductive because it faithfully echoed the desire to find in photography a “mirror” of life. But it also exemplified the ways in which *Life* and the US publishing industry in general commodified hope and optimism and sold it back to their audiences as an escape from the frustrations and fears regarding the possibility of a nuclear world war. The US magazine industry as well as *The Family of Man* used *Life*-fotografie as an instrument of the expansion of the US cultural and political dominance. Humanist photography, legitimized in the pages of *Life* and *The Family of Man* exhibition and photobook, established a new set of photographic conventions that gradually replaced the ones inherited from the 1920s and 1930s that I discuss in chapter 2. The conventions of humanist photography prioritized one photographic form (the illusion of spontaneity and immediacy) and one type of subject matter (people on the streets) over all others. Images that were produced within this paradigm obtained the highly desired look of *Life*-fotografie. Working within these conventions guaranteed that the resulting images would be perceived as timely and interesting and the magazine editors would choose to publish them over all others.

*Life*-fotografie became the most visible photographic language of the 1950s because the photographers at the time willingly adapted its conventions which served as a set of quality standards and the measure of modernity. Meanwhile, all other visual styles remained unexplored or abandoned. The spread of *Life*-fotografie was a manifestation of the larger process that Jameson calls the standardization of culture, which, just like Hollywood cinema, succeeds on the account of the destruction or marginalization of local cultures.<sup>49</sup> Because magazine editors systematically preferred *Life*-fotografie, the style received an outstanding amount of attention and the highest level of visibility, while all local photographic practices were gradually

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<sup>49</sup> Jameson, “Notes on Globalization,” 57.

neglected, rejected, or transformed.<sup>50</sup> Today we cannot learn much about those practices because they were robbed of their potential in the 1950s when they were displaced by the uniform approach of *Life*-fotografie.

### **Humanist Photography in FIAP, the UN, and *The Family of Man***

*Inner-City Children* by West German photographer Horst Baumann (b. 1934) in the 1956 FIAP Yearbook is one of the few depictions of vulnerable children in postwar West Germany that appeared in the FIAP yearbooks (fig. 3.8). The image captures two girls passing by a plain brick building on a city street. One of them pulls a cart of empty wooden boxes, while the other slightly smaller girl helps her by pushing the cart from behind. Their faces, as far as they can be seen from the profile, convey dedication and commitment, suggesting that this is not a game but work. One of the boxes still carries parts of labeling stenciled on its side—“Jam (22) export pack . . . (2 years) . . .” (fig. 3.9). The fact that the label is in English suggests that the box is likely a reclaimed container of the US food aid to West Germany. The image does not depict obvious hardship or suffering, but it creates a somewhat dark mood. The two children are alone on the street. The brick wall behind the two girls stands in shade, and the outlines of a few windows are barely visible. It looms above the relatively small figures of the children like a monolithic, dark mass and emphasizes the gloominess of the scene. Regardless of whether the two girls in *Inner-City Children* were poor or not, the brick wall serves as an architectural metaphor of the children’s mood, as implied by the photographer. *Inner-City Children* exemplifies the typical subject matter of images in the illustrated magazines and photo-club exhibitions of the 1950s.

“The striking feature of Europe in the 1950s and 1960s,” writes historian Tony Judt, was

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<sup>50</sup> Jameson, 59.

“the number of children and youths. After a forty-year hiatus, Europe was becoming young again.”<sup>51</sup> Judt goes on to add dry statistical detail: “It was not just that millions of children had been born after the war: an unprecedented number of them had survived. Thanks to improved nutrition, housing and medical care, the infant mortality rate—the number of children per thousand live births who died before reaching their first birthday—fell sharply in Western Europe in these decades.”<sup>52</sup> Judt’s is a materialist historian’s perspective, supported by the rationality of statistics. In the language of photography of the 1950s, a similar message was conveyed through images of children, which make up a distinct thematic group in postwar magazine photography and in *Life*-fotografie in particular. The photographers captured the new visibility of children and youths in their surroundings. Such images produced and reproduced the sentiment and pathos of postwar Western Europe and the United States. The image of the child became a symbol of hope set against the background of destruction and crisis.

The increased attention to children marks a larger shift in the discourse around the child that took place after the end of the Second World War. In 1953 the United Nations founded UNICEF, an agency dedicated to the welfare of children. In 1959, in addition to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the UN circulated its Declaration of the Rights of the Child that listed “rights to protection, education, health care, shelter and good nutrition.”<sup>53</sup> The widely publicized initiatives not only established children as a distinct, especially vulnerable group within a society, but also emphasized that they are “human beings with a distinct set of rights

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<sup>51</sup> Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945* (New York: Penguin Press, 2005), 331.

<sup>52</sup> Judt, *Postwar*, 331.

<sup>53</sup> “Children,” United Nations (website), accessed August 7, 2018, <http://www.un.org/en/sections/issues-depth/children/>.



instead of . . . passive objects of care and charity.”<sup>54</sup> Such official declarations did not affect public thinking overnight, but they gradually influenced the way adults perceived children.

Moreover, the wellbeing of children motivated the expansion of industries that produced different consumer goods for them—toys, books, apparel, and so on. Schools, along with housing, were among the priorities for repair or building anew after the war. Architectural historian Roy Kozlovsky observes that in the United Kingdom, for example, architecture planned around the specific needs of children became a highly visible part of the field, reaching an unprecedented level of importance.<sup>55</sup> Architects debated about the design of schools, playgrounds, and children’s hospitals in journals and conferences.<sup>56</sup> Even the most notable architects, such as Le Corbusier and José Luis Sert, adopted a “more child-centered approach.”<sup>57</sup> As a result, during the 1950s “the theme of the child in the city,” according to Kozlovsky, became a most widespread tool “for theorizing urbanism.”<sup>58</sup> The public debates on different levels also influenced the ways that adults depicted children and how these depictions functioned in society.

The professional photographers’ interest in depicting children during the 1950s was rooted in a much broader category of popular photography—family photography, which Bourdieu identifies as the primary function of photography at the time. Bourdieu, in his study of photographic practices of the rural population in France, found out that family photo albums contained virtually no photographs of children taken before 1939. The pictures in albums

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<sup>54</sup> “Children,” United Nations.

<sup>55</sup> Roy Kozlovsky, *The Architectures of Childhood: Children, Modern Architecture and Reconstruction in Postwar England* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2013), 1.

<sup>56</sup> Kozlovsky, *Architectures of Childhood*, 47.

<sup>57</sup> Kozlovsky, 4.

<sup>58</sup> Kozlovsky, 2.

depicted predominantly adults, with only a few images of parents together with children and almost no images of children alone. Meanwhile, children were depicted in almost half of the photos taken after 1945.<sup>59</sup> Bourdieu connected this significant reversal of hierarchy in family photography practices to society's special attention to children and childhood after the end of the Second World War.

The format of *Life*-fotografie was perfectly suited for the production of images of children that conveyed hope and optimism to viewers. Among the best-known examples of such symbolic images is Cartier-Bresson's *Rue Mouffetard. Paris* (1954), a close-up of a smiling boy in shorts who walks down a city street carrying two wine bottles (fig. 3.10). *Rue Mouffetard*, an embodiment of what Galassi calls "saccharine sentiment," mobilizes all the conventions of humanist photography, such as the observation of as-it-happens public life on the streets and the focus on ordinary people in everyday situations, all the while creating an impression of spontaneous, unposed arrangements of figures.<sup>60</sup> At the same time, the image is carefully constructed and partly directed by the photographer: the boy is consciously performing for the camera, while the girls behind him seem to be laughing and applauding his performance as well as the fact that it is being photographed. Sentiment was exactly the emotional response that photographs like *Rue Mouffetard* aimed for. The image of children at play on the streets of European cities and towns worked as an allegory of a peaceful, prosperous life and a promising future. On the other end of the emotional spectrum of *Life*-fotografie are the photographs of children dealing with the traumas of war and children in situations of distress and poverty. The aim of such images was to evoke empathy in the viewer toward the deprived child. The UN and

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<sup>59</sup> Bourdieu, "Cult of Unity," 22.

<sup>60</sup> Peter Galassi, *Henri Cartier-Bresson: The Modern Century* (London: Thames & Hudson, 2010), 56.

UNESCO in particular, relied on such images to popularize their projects. For example, *Children of Europe* was a widely circulated photobook commissioned by UNESCO and published in 1949 (fig. 3.11).<sup>61</sup> For the book, David “Chim” Seymour (1911–1956), Polish-born US photojournalist and cofounder of Magnum cooperative, photographed children in different parts of Europe between 1947 and 1948. Seymour focused on the depiction of orphans, the starving, the poor, and the mentally and physically disabled.

Seymour’s book creates a powerful image of a child as a survivor and victim of war. It does not, however, provide any details about who the photographed children were or in what circumstances the photographer encountered them. Some captions imply homelessness, malnutrition, or criminality but do not give any specific details. In a few other cases, the captions offer a generalized description of the location like “hospital” or “police,” but the place and country are never disclosed. Allbeson argues that the omission of the ethnicity of the children, as well as the country where each photograph was taken, was indicative of UNESCO’s “effort to universalize the image of children as symbols of the future disconnected from a particular nation.”<sup>62</sup> Such an effort was aimed at promoting internationalism and the idea of world citizenship, which UNESCO at that time believed to be “a means of ensuring peace through social justice.”<sup>63</sup> Although *Children of Europe* was conceived to evoke hope, most images in the photobook depict children as vulnerable and deprived. Carefully crafted captions add to the emotional effect of the images. For example, one image from the book is a close-up portrait of two small children who look up at the camera and hold empty metallic cups (fig. 3.12). The

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<sup>61</sup> David Seymour, *Children of Europe* (Paris: UNESCO, 1949).

<sup>62</sup> Tom Allbeson, “Photographic Diplomacy in the Postwar World: UNESCO and the Conception of Photography as a Universal Language, 1946–1956,” *Modern Intellectual History* 12, no. 2 (2015): 406.

<sup>63</sup> Allbeson, “Photographic Diplomacy,” 407.

caption reads, “Milk for the children sometimes, but they need it every day.”<sup>64</sup> Like all the other photographs in the book, it is undated and the location omitted. Thus, the photograph turns into a generalized image of childhood hunger and hardship. The image exemplifies some of the key strategies of *Life*-fotografie. The image is direct, even intrusive, and the children make eye contact with the camera. Most of the time Seymour did not photograph his subjects as an observer from a distance, but instead entered their world and captured their images from within their private space. The resulting images are extreme close-ups of people, and only a few images include a noticeable amount of surrounding environment.

Depictions of children in their everyday activities became increasingly visible in the photo-club culture and were also represented in the FIAP yearbooks. Some of the images in FIAP yearbooks document children amidst postwar poverty and devastation. Others attempt to romanticize childhood and the ability of children to find joy and happiness in the bleakest of environments. But unlike Seymour’s images that were a product of clearly defined photojournalistic assignment, photographs in FIAP yearbooks were self-commissioned and therefore more ambiguous. Lack of context leaves the viewer guessing the exact nature of the subject and what the photographer’s intention had been.

Another example of the vulnerable child subject is West German photographer Ludwig Schricker’s (life dates unknown) work *At an Orphanage* in the 1958 yearbook (fig. 3.13). It depicts a busy lunch scene where nuns feed several small children. Schricker’s image captures part of the reality in the aftermath of war. In the center of the image is an older nun who spoon-feeds a boy, whom we see only from the side, his face not visible. The nun sits at a table, while the boy stands close to her, his right hand resting on her knee. The nun holds an empty metal

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<sup>64</sup> Seymour, *Children of Europe*, n.p.

bowl under his chin—the little boy might be getting the last spoonful. Two bigger boys with identical short haircuts flank him on both sides and follow the feeding process with extreme attention—the boy to the right is staring with his eyes and mouth wide open. Like Baumann's *Inner-City Children*, Schricker's photograph does not depict suffering or violence. Adults take care of children; there is food and a place to live. The children, however, have lost their families.

The editors of the FIAP yearbook balanced the implied sadness of the little orphans' life with a more cheerful view. On the opposite page from Schricker's photograph, five children jump rope in West German photographer Jacob Gerhard's (life dates unknown) image *Five on the Rope* (fig. 3.14). For the viewer of the 1950s, images of children at play still symbolized hope for a better future. A similar strategy is at work in Seymour's book *Children of Europe*. The last image in the photobook shows a group of girls playing ring-around-the-rosy in a sunlit area in front of a looming ruin of an unidentifiable stone building (fig. 3.15). The image was intended to provide a relatively optimistic ending to the book. Its caption speaks in the imagined voice of the depicted children, ventriloquized by UNESCO officials: "With the love, understanding and help of grown-ups some of us have already begun to build a secure and happy life."<sup>65</sup> A slightly different version of the same shot, taken from the same viewpoint but a short while before or after the book's image, is included in *The Family of Man* photobook. There its location is given as Italy (fig. 3.16). Moreover, it is part of an entire spread dedicated to images taken in various countries that depict children playing ring-around-the-rosy, elevating a children's game to an international symbol of hope.<sup>66</sup> To emphasize the visual effect, the images are laid out in a round, wreath-like arrangement that mimics the way children run around in a

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<sup>65</sup> Seymour, *Children of Europe*, n.p.

<sup>66</sup> Steichen, *Family of Man*, 94–95.

circle when playing the game (fig. 3.17).

The very last image in *The Family of Man* photobook is also an image of children: a small girl and a slightly older boy are captured walking away from the camera along a rocky footpath (fig. 3.18). The two figures are surrounded by a rich and dark *repoussoir* of vegetation, emphasizing the sunlit clearing that they appear to be walking into. It seems that the children are walking purposefully; the boy is a step ahead and leading the girl along by holding her hand. It is credited to American photographer W. Eugene Smith, and its location indicated as United States. The image is captioned with a quote by French diplomat and poet Saint-John Perse, “A world to be born under your footsteps. . .” that sets an optimistic tone as we close the photobook.<sup>67</sup> At a first glance, the image may seem quite unremarkable. The fact that the children’s faces remain obscured takes away the sentimental joy of seeing their possibly loveable, childish expressions. The environment also does not appear to be especially interesting or unusual. In fact, *Life* initially rejected it for a lack of immediate appeal, and it was first published in a specialized photography magazine, *US Camera*, in 1947.<sup>68</sup>

This image had a particularly visible place and a symbolic role in *The Family of Man* photobook where it was chosen as the visual allegory of humanity’s way out of darkness into the light. Because of the inclusion in *The Family of Man*, Smith’s photograph became extremely popular. The photographer received thousands of requests for prints.<sup>69</sup> It was given the title *Walk to Paradise Garden*, which amplified its allegorical potential. Smith printed the image in much

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<sup>67</sup> Steichen, 192. Saint-John Perse is a literary pseudonym of Marie-René-Auguste-Aléxis Saint-Léger Léger (1887–1975).

<sup>68</sup> Marc-Emmanuel Mélon, “The Patriarchal Family: Domestic Ideology in *The Family of Man*,” in *The Family of Man 1955–2001. Humanism and Postmodernism: A Reappraisal of the Photo Exhibition by Edward Steichen*, trans. Carol Hateley, ed. Jean Back and Viktoria Schmidt-Linsenhoff (Marburg: Jonas Verlag, 2004), 57.

<sup>69</sup> Mélon, “Patriarchal Family,” 57.

more heightened contrast, eliminating unnecessary details and intensifying the dramatical distinction between the dark surroundings and the brightly lit center of the frame where the children are heading (fig. 3.19). Smith's personal story behind making the photograph only added to its emotional appeal. In the photograph Smith captured his own children in a forest near his home in 1946. He presented it as the first photograph that he took after a painful physical and mental recovery from the injuries he suffered in the Pacific Ocean theater of the Second World War. He described the making of the photograph as a moment of spiritual rebirth.<sup>70</sup> Entitled *Walk to Paradise Garden*, Smith's photograph was used as a handy illustration for purposes as varied as the Ford Motor Company's advertising campaign with the slogan, "Their Future is at Our Fingertips" and the book *What is Democracy?*, published by the US Information Service for the audiences of the American National Exhibition in Moscow in 1959, which also included a version of *The Family of Man*.<sup>71</sup> Smith's *Walk to Paradise Garden* exemplifies the kind of humanist photography we can call *Life-fotografie*. It is an image that aims at evoking an emotional response. It appears to be intimate and personal, lacking any relationship to the sociopolitical and economic mechanisms of the photography industry whatsoever. Exactly because of that reason, it also perfectly characterizes the industry that excelled at producing seductive and sentimental images and achieved the dominant position in the field of photography on a global scale.

In sum, *Life-fotografie* gained its visibility and authority for three main reasons. First, the

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<sup>70</sup> Mélon, 57–59. See also Ben Cosgrove, "Into the Light: W. Eugene Smith's *Walk to Paradise Garden*," *Time*, September 4, 2013, <http://time.com/37534/into-the-light-w-eugene-smiths-walk-to-paradise-garden/>; and John D. Perivolaris, "Humanism Reimagined: Spain as a Photographic Subject in W. Eugene Smith's *Spanish Village* (1951) and Cristina Garda Rodero's *España oculta* (1989)," in *Phototextualities: Intersections of Photography and Narrative*, ed. Alex Hughes and Andrea Noble (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2003).

<sup>71</sup> Mélon, "Patriarchal Family," 57.

regular appearance of humanist photography in the pages of *Life* legitimized it as the preferred visual style of photography, not only in the United States but also among broader audiences, including the transnational community of photographers. Second, it had influential advocates in positions of power like Edward Steichen and New York's Museum of Modern Art. Their support helped to solidify the association of humanist photography with American visual culture, when *The Family of Man* was circulated internationally as an American show. Finally, *Life*-photografie spoke to the aesthetic sensibilities of many at the time. It was a seductive and relatable photographic language that charmed with its anecdotal subjects and its skillful illusion of spontaneously captured moments from the flow of "real" life.



CHAPTER FOUR: PHOTOGRAPHY AS “UNIVERSAL LANGUAGE.” THE FIAP  
BIENNIAL IN THE INTERNATIONAL PHOTOGRAPHY TRADE FAIR *PHOTOKINA 1956*

*At the Exhibition* by West German photographer Walter Schnebele (b. 1920) in the 1958 FIAP Yearbook depicts a man and a little girl sitting on his shoulders at a photography exhibition (fig. 4.1). Schnebele’s image is remarkable because it provides a rare insight into a commonplace photography exhibition design during the 1950s when exhibition installation photo-documentation was not yet widely practiced. Both the little girl and the man are perusing an open booklet, likely an exhibition catalogue, that the man is holding. One of the exhibited prints is a close-up portrait of a little girl. The pseudo-mise-en-abyme effect adds a slightly anecdotal tone to Schnebele’s image: a photograph of a child is within a photograph of a child. Although Schnebele’s work fits within the larger group of *Life*-fotografie, its emotional tone significantly differs from the emphasis on the victimized child in the photographs I discussed in chapter 3. Here the child is well cared for; she wears a nice coat with a checkered pattern and a knitted hat with two large flower-shaped ornaments on the sides. The child is with an adult, presumably a parent, and in a safe, clean indoor space.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, the exhibition space, with its shiny parquet floor and floral arrangements visible in the far left and far right background, is an environment for cultured leisure. In the unidentified show, the prints are attached directly to white- or light-colored panels on simple A-shaped wooden easels. The prints on the panels are only labeled with

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<sup>1</sup> *At the Exhibition* is also one of the very few images of fatherhood in the FIAP yearbooks, as well as in *The Family of Man*. Photographers more often depicted bonding between fathers and sons, or mothers and children of all genders. Art historian Patricia Vettel-Becker, in her detailed analysis of American postwar photography from a gender perspective, notes that only four pages in *The Family of Man* photobook depicted fatherhood, while twenty pages were dedicated to motherhood. Patricia Vettel-Becker, *Shooting from the Hip: Photography, Masculinity, and Postwar America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), ix–x.

numbers. The names of the photographers and titles of works likely were listed in the catalogue, which the exhibition goer in Schnebele's image peruses. Such understated arrangement of prints was typical to most regular photo-club exhibitions taking place in the 1950s. Exceptionally designed exhibitions like *The Family of Man* stood out ever more sharply. Photography exhibition design, as I argue in this chapter, was among the most powerful instruments of persuasion that the US magazine industry was using with the support of UNESCO.

“Photography is a visual lingua franca understood on all five continents, irrespective of race, creed, culture or social level. . . . It contributes to the understanding between nations,” declared Van de Wyer at the opening of the international photography trade fair and exhibition complex *Photokina 1956* which took place in Cologne, West Germany, from September 29 to October 7, 1956.<sup>2</sup> One of the central exhibitions at *Photokina 1956* was organized by FIAP—the FIAP biennial (fig. 4.2). In *Photokina 1956*, the US magazine industry, the UN and UNESCO, and an international group of photo-related manufacturers formed a unified front advocating for humanist photography as the world's “universal language.” That such language represented *only* the worldview of a narrow group of US and Western European publishing professionals, however, remained unarticulated. FIAP, I posit, stood against this front with its underlying message of inclusivity and pluralism of multiple photographic languages. The message, however, went overlooked. FIAP, whose geographically dispersed constituents were only loosely united under a vague concept of photographic art, did not have the means and capacity to significantly challenge the unified front of the universal language. For that reason, the year 1956 was a decisive turning point for the history of FIAP and photo-club culture. Its significance, however,

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<sup>2</sup> Maurice Van de Wyer, untitled, in *Photokina 1956* (Cologne: Photokina, 1956), 28.

is not nearly as obvious or spectacular than that of the political crises that have made 1956 one of the crucial years in the history of the twentieth century.<sup>3</sup> None of the visually stunning reportages from the notorious revolts and political crises of the 1950s ever appeared in the FIAP yearbooks or photo-club exhibitions, partly because one of the functions of photo-club culture at the time was to serve as an escape room from press work.<sup>4</sup>

When we see that the president of FIAP spoke at the same event as, for example, the director of UNESCO, it suggests that FIAP had a comparable authority in the field of photography. When we see *Life*-fotografie in FIAP yearbooks along with numerous other visual styles, it appears as one of many, while its exclusive and superior position remains obscured. In order to highlight the power imbalance, I shall take a closer look at *Photokina 1956*, the exhibition where all the involved forces met face to face. It was the arena where the seductive power of the unified front of *Life*-fotografie established its leading position. *Photokina 1956* was a pivotal moment when the fate of FIAP and all those whom it represented was sealed.

This chapter addresses the most significant differences between the FIAP biennial and all other exhibitions in *Photokina 1956*. It argues that FIAP and the photo-club culture opposed the

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<sup>3</sup> For a guide to the most notable crises and events of the year 1956, see *1956: European and Global Perspectives*, ed. Carole Fink, Frank Hadler, and Tomasz Schramm (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2006). See also Francis Beckett and Tony Russell, *1956: The Year that Changed Britain* (London: Biteback Publishing, 2015); Charles Gati, *Failed Illusions: Moscow, Washington, Budapest, and the 1956 Hungarian Revolt* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson Center Press; Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006); Simon Hall, *1956: The World in Revolt* (London: Faber & Faber, 2016); David A. Nichols, *Eisenhower 1956: The President's Year of Crisis; Suez and the Brink of War* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2012); and Kathleen E. Smith, *Moscow 1956: The Silenced Spring* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2017).

<sup>4</sup> See, for example, the reportage from Hungary by Austrian photographer and Magnum member Erich Lessing (1923–2018), printed in a photobook dedicated to the fiftieth anniversary of the Hungarian Revolution: Erich Lessing, *Revolution in Hungary: The 1956 Budapest Uprising*, ed. György Konrád (London: Thames & Hudson, 2006).

treatment of photographers and their work within the mainstream for-profit press. First, I shall demonstrate how the publishing industry translated the principles of its workflow and labor division into a particular style of exhibition design which I call magazine-style exhibition design. *Life*-fotografie as an instrument of the dominant culture is at the core of this section, in which I examine the mechanisms that elevated one type of photography to the status of “universal language.” In the second part of the chapter I shall argue that by showcasing prints made by the participating photographers themselves, the FIAP biennial went in the opposite direction of all other exhibitions in *Photokina* 1956 and rejected the labor division of the publishing industry in general. Third, unlike the thematic or narrative arrangement of images in displays like the Magnum show, the FIAP biennial insisted on presenting singled-out and decontextualized images. Such a presentation format produced what I call *solitary images*, a problematic exhibition format that turned into a disadvantage for FIAP. Finally, in the last section of this chapter I shall propose to read the underlying message of the FIAP biennial as an antimarket and anti-imperialist proclamation, a timely response to the universalization of the commercialized *Life*-fotografie.

### ***Life*-fotografie as “Universal Language” in *Photokina* 1956**

By studying the only available image documenting the FIAP biennial (fig. I.5), it is obvious that the biennial’s distinct look differed from other *Photokina* 1956 exhibitions such as the Magnum show (fig. 4.3). The size and arrangement of the prints is the most obvious difference between both images. In the FIAP biennial, multiple relatively small prints are grouped closely next to one another in a grid-like pattern on a dark-colored panel. Such a type of display, with its abundance of detailed visual information, forces viewers to examine each image from a close distance and thus could seem overwhelming. Meanwhile, the Magnum show featured poster-

sized prints in a large, light, and airy space that invited spectators to roam and explore their visual landscape effortlessly.

Before taking a closer look at the FIAP biennial, the Magnum exhibition, and the historical significance of *Photokina 1956*, I would like to introduce the conditions of organizing the biennial and its unique offerings in relation to most other major photography exhibitions of the 1950s. The FIAP biennial was established in 1950 as an international exhibition of contemporary photography displaying the same number of works from each FIAP member country. Each country's national federation of photo clubs selected works for the biennials, and neither the organizing committee of each biennial nor the FIAP board intervened in this process. As a platform for equal participation, the FIAP biennial epitomized postwar idealism: it transcended nation-state boundaries, advocated the ideals of a global civil society, attempted to survey the cultural diversity of the world, and mobilized photographers in countries emerging from colonial rule, especially in Asia. A regularly recurring world exhibition of photography of such scope and ambition had not existed before. The FIAP biennial was conceived as a nomadic exhibition, organized each time by a different country and its national federation of photographers.<sup>5</sup> The location of the biennials was partly influenced by other significant events taking place in a city or region as the core board members were thinking about the possibilities of attracting additional visitors and promoting their cause to new audiences.<sup>6</sup> The invitation from

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<sup>5</sup> The first eight FIAP biennials took place in these locations: Bern, Switzerland (1950); Salzburg, Austria (1952); Barcelona, Spain (1954); Cologne, West Germany (1956); Antwerp, Belgium (1958); Opatija, Yugoslavia (1960); Athens, Greece (1962); and Basel, Switzerland (1964).

<sup>6</sup> Other examples include the third FIAP biennial that coincided with the traveling exhibition *Modern Art in the USA*, part of which was on view at the same time at the same venue, the Palacio de la Virreina in Barcelona, Spain. The FIAP biennial was on view from September 23 to October 24, 1954. See FIAP, untitled, *Camera*, no. 10 (1953): 455–56; FIAP, untitled, *Camera*, no. 4 (1954): 202; FIAP, untitled, *Camera*, no. 9 (1954): 432. The traveling exhibition *Modern*

*Photokina 1956* to present the FIAP biennial as one of the main highlights of its program was the most notable opportunity for FIAP to reach a large and transnational audience of photography professionals and enthusiasts.<sup>7</sup>

Thirty out of the thirty-six FIAP member countries took part in the biennial that was included in *Photokina 1956*: seventeen countries from Western Europe, five from Latin America, four from Eastern Europe, three from Asia, and one from Africa.<sup>8</sup> Each participating country was invited to contribute an equal number of works—eighteen prints.<sup>9</sup> The works then were grouped by the photographer's country of residence, and the countries arranged alphabetically. The

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*Art in the USA* was on display in the Palacio de la Virreina and Museo de Arte Moderno, Barcelona, Spain, from September 24 to October 24, 1954. See "Internationally Circulating Exhibitions," the Archive of the Museum of Modern Art (website), accessed February 7, 2017, <https://www.moma.org/momaorg/shared/pdfs/docs/learn/icelist.pdf>. The fifth FIAP biennial in Antwerp, Belgium, was organized to coincide with the Brussels World's Fair *Expo 58*, the first major world's fair after the Second World War. FIAP, "Offizieller Bericht über den 4. Kongreß in Köln," *Camera*, no. 3 (1958): 144. The biennial took place in the Marble Hall in the gardens of the Royal Zoological Society in Antwerp (September 27– October 5, 1958). Ernest Boesiger, "Einladung zur Teilnahme am V. Kongreß und an der V. Photo-Biennale der FIAP 1958 in Antwerpen," *Camera*, no. 6 (1958): 286. The sixth biennial in Opatija, Yugoslavia, in 1960, was synchronized with the opening of the Tenth International Exhibition of Technology in Turin (*10° Salone Internazionale della Tecnica*, mentioned in *Camera* also as *Mostra della Tecnica*). Ernest Boesiger, "Einladung zur Teilnahme am VI. Kongreß und an der VI. Biennale Schwarz-weiß 1960 in Opatija, Jugoslawien," *Camera*, no. 6 (1960): 44. The eighth biennial in Basel, Switzerland, coincided with the *Expo 64* in Lausanne, the Swiss national exposition taking place once in twenty-five years.

<sup>7</sup> Between 1950 and 1965, FIAP organized an exhibition within the framework of *Photokina* in 1951, 1952, 1954, 1956, 1958, and 1963. But only in *Photokina 1956* was it granted a central and highly visible location.

<sup>8</sup> Western Europe was represented by these seventeen countries: Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Saarland, Spain, Sweden, and Switzerland. Latin America was represented by Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, and Uruguay. Eastern Europe was represented by Hungary, Poland, Romania, and Yugoslavia. Asia was represented by India, Japan, and Pakistan. Africa was represented by Angola.

<sup>9</sup> Only five countries had submitted a smaller number of works. The FIAP Biennial had sixteen works from Luxembourg and Ireland, fifteen from Denmark, nine from Iceland, and eight from Angola.

structure of FIAP biennial exemplified the ultimate democratization of the exhibition organizing process—the authority of any supervisor was eliminated, and all the power was in the hands of participating authors. But the side effects of such democratization proved to be problematic. One of the outcomes was the visual incoherence of works appearing in the FIAP biennial. Yet the aesthetic and thematic diversity of the biennial adequately reflected the variety of local photographic cultures across the world that coexisted in the 1950s. Embracing the variety and incoherence, FIAP attempted to convey a particularly ambitious vision of the role of photography in the 1950s: it intended to bring together photographers of the “first,” “second,” and “third worlds.” At the time such an intention was innovative in its egalitarianism and openness. The scope as well as shortcomings of the organization’s vision stand out most sharply against the backdrop of *Photokina 1956*.

The goal of *Photokina* was no less than “the spiritual enrichment and material progress of mankind—the satisfaction of its needs and its desire for peaceful work,” declared L. Fritz Gruber, the organizer of the exhibitions in the fair’s cultural section.<sup>10</sup> Meanwhile, Luther H. Evans, the director of UNESCO, proclaimed in the introduction to *Photokina 1956* catalogue that “photography . . . promot[es] international understanding.”<sup>11</sup> The involvement of UNESCO added political significance to *Photokina 1956* by positioning photography as an instrument of peace building. West Germany—the Federal Republic of Germany—was only an observer, not a full member of the United Nations at the time.<sup>12</sup> Nevertheless, *Photokina 1956* prominently

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<sup>10</sup> L. Fritz Gruber, introduction to *Photokina: Its origin and achievements*, ed. L. Fritz Gruber (Cologne: Messe- und Ausstellungs-Ges., 1958), n.p.

<sup>11</sup> Luther H. Evans, untitled, in *Photokina 1956*, 27.

<sup>12</sup> West Germany was admitted as a full member of the UN only in 1973, together with the East Germany (German Democratic Republic). I thank Martin Škabraha for bringing this fact to my attention.

featured two photo exhibitions organized by UNESCO: *Knowledge has no Borders (Wissen kennt keine Grenzen)* and *UNESCO's Ten Years of Work in the Service of Peace (10 Jahre Friedenswerk der UNESCO)*. They were compiled by art historian Jean-Alphonse Keim (1904–1972), head of the information media and technologies department at UNESCO's Paris-based Secretariat General.<sup>13</sup> The UNESCO exhibitions were installed at the entrance to the cultural section of *Photokina 1956* (fig. 4.4) and their main purpose was to promote the organization's work and to set a politically correct tone to the whole trade fair.<sup>14</sup> *Photokina* showcased the latest cutting-edge photographic technology, while its cultural focus during the 1950s was almost entirely limited to *Life*-fotografie and the work of US magazine photographers. Manufacturers of cameras, lenses, accessories, and chemicals aligned themselves with the political agenda of the United States and with the UN and UNESCO, leading West Germany away from politicized public debates and toward a smooth transition to consumer society.<sup>15</sup>

All speakers at the opening of *Photokina 1956* agreed on the optimistic and humanistic idea that photography was a “universal language,” a medium best equipped to encourage understanding between peoples in a world recovering from the destruction of world war and

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<sup>13</sup> Among others, the exhibition also included images by French humanist photographers such as Marc Riboud (1923–2016).

<sup>14</sup> The UN and UNESCO organized similar shows in every *Photokina*, and according to Pohlmann, they typically included some images from the UN photo archive, some scenes documenting the work of the UN parliamentarians, and photographs of political crises and natural catastrophes in the Global South with the underlying message that the solution to all that is a peaceful international cooperation led by the UN and UNESCO. Ulrich Pohlmann, “Einführungs-, Repräsentations- und Lehrschauen,” in *Kultur, Technik und Kommerz: Die Photokina-Bilderschauen 1950–1980* (Cologne: Historisches Archiv der Stadt, 1990), 38.

<sup>15</sup> „Mit dem wirtschaftlichen Aufschwung nach der Währungsreform und dem vollzogenen Übergang zur Konsumgütergesellschaft blieb die Entwicklung der photokina in den 50er Jahren eng verbunden.“ Ulrich Pohlmann, „Zwischen Kultur, Technik und Kommerz,“ in *Kultur, Technik und Kommerz: Die Photokina-Bilderschauen 1950–1980* (Cologne: Historisches Archiv der Stadt, 1990), 8.



increasingly anxious about the possible breakout of another war—a nuclear war—threatening total extinction. The praise of photography as a universal language was unanimous only in theory. In practice, I argue, *Photokina 1956* revealed the inherent power imbalance between two different understandings of the phrase. When used in FIAP communication, the phrase *universal language* expressed the hope of the powerless to stand up on the same level with the few celebrities of the field. When used by all others at the opening of *Photokina 1956*, the same phrase signified the uniform language of the leading US and Western European magazines that was distributed by publications such as *Life* and enthusiastically supported by the West German photo industry, the US government, and international organizations such as the UN and UNESCO. The US magazine industry and UNESCO invested heavily in efforts to promote *Life*-fotografie as the most contemporary form of photography in *Photokina 1956*. Their understanding of universality, driven by the market forces of publishing and photo-related manufacturing, was wrapped in humanistic declarations that photography brings understanding among nations and thus can prevent another world war.

For example, American photographer Arthur Rothstein (1915–1985), who at that time was working for *Look* magazine, wrote in 1957: “The photographic image speaks directly to the mind and transcends the barriers of language and nationality.”<sup>16</sup> Andreas Feininger (1906–1999), another American photographer and a prolific author of books on photographic technique, in the beginning of his 1955 book *The Creative Photographer*, stated that photography “can bridge the chasm created by differences of language and alphabet. It is a means of universal communication. It is the language of One World.”<sup>17</sup> Photography as a universal language leads to

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<sup>16</sup> Arthur Rothstein, “Communication,” *Image GEH Journal* 6, no. 3 (March 1957): 67.

<sup>17</sup> Andreas Feininger, *The Creative Photographer* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1955), 3.

an understanding among peoples, without which, Feininger continues, “nations may eventually destroy one another as a result of ignorance and fear.”<sup>18</sup> For them, universal was only *Life*-fotografie, the language of the US illustrated magazines. As *Photokina 1956* demonstrated, universal was only what was uttered from a position of power.

*Life*-fotografie implies also a certain type of exhibition design, the so-called magazine-style design. A notable example of magazine-style exhibition design in *Photokina 1956* was the Magnum show (fig. 4.3). Enlargements of different sizes were arranged as if on a magazine page, contrasting large images with smaller ones. The various sizes of the prints provided a dynamic rhythm of distinct visual emphases and background. The unframed prints were mounted directly on panels, some of which were freestanding and removed from the wall. The freestanding panels extended into the viewers’ space and created an inviting visual landscape that suggested a labyrinth of endless visual experiences. Panels with photographs showing larger-than-life-size faces and bodies amplified the visual impact of the images. At the same time, however, the poster-size images often served as a mere background to the trade fair’s atmosphere of casual socializing and business-like routine (fig. 4.5). When the content of the images was tragic or disturbing, the oversized enlargements somewhat alienated the viewers. For example, this was the case with the exhibition “Chim’s Children” in *Photokina 1958*, which featured images from David Seymour’s book *Children of Europe*, commissioned by UNESCO in 1949. In one of the photographs documenting the trade fair, viewers are captured leisurely strolling among the poster-size enlargements and one of them is even yawning (fig. 4.6).

The magazine-style exhibition design brought a key element of the publishing industry into the exhibition space, namely the strict division of labor, and adapted it as a standard for the

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<sup>18</sup> Feininger, *Creative Photographer*, 3.

production of all major commercial and press photography shows. In such division of labor, a photographer *takes* images, while others *make* them: select, crop, print, and caption. The workflow of magazine and newspaper publishing established such division of labor because it made the production “efficient, systematized, and rationalized,” as sociologist Barbara Rosenblum notes.<sup>19</sup> Most exhibitions in *Photokina 1956* consisted of impressive enlargements of various sizes, made to order by the organizers to fit their envisioned design. Likewise, all the images in *The Family of Man* were printed by the darkroom technicians from the negatives provided by photographers, agencies, or magazine archives.<sup>20</sup> The image selection was in the hands of the organizers, and printing in the hands of anonymous technicians who followed their instructions. The large-format prints represented the authority of the curatorial vision that superseded each individual author’s intentions. The photographers’ preferences in such shows were not accommodated or even considered. Their images were used as vehicles for a larger narrative constructed by the organizers, not the photographers. The strict division of labor not only disregarded the creative ambitions of photographers and took control over their work out of their hands, but also led to the increasing homogeneity of press photography.<sup>21</sup> The effective mechanism of the industry rejected everything that did not fit, or forced it to fit it by applying uniform, standardized processes for developing negatives and printing images, as well as by means of cropping, layout, and captioning.

The Magnum show in *Photokina 1956* employs all the most typical elements of the

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<sup>19</sup> From a sociological perspective, “[t]he division of labor is a form of work organization in which a total process is segmented into smaller units, each of which is performed by a different person.” Barbara Rosenblum, *Photographers at Work* (New York and London: Holmes and Meier, 1978), 116.

<sup>20</sup> Berlier, “*The Family of Man: Readings of an Exhibition*,” 213.

<sup>21</sup> Rosenblum, *Photographers at Work*, 116.

magazine-style exhibition design of the 1950s: the emphasis is on large, unframed photographs that are printed by darkroom technicians from negatives provided by photographers or agencies, displays combine different sizes of prints in visually interesting compositions, and the images appear in a thematic group. All together these elements resembled the way photographs were used in illustrated magazine layouts. During the 1950s magazine-style exhibition design became naturalized as the single leading and most attractive type of photography exhibition design.

In order to establish a better understanding of the significance of the magazine-style exhibition design as a manifestation of the dominant culture, in the following pages I shall highlight the relationship between the field of for-profit magazine publishing and the West German photo industry. I will argue that the West German photo industry's nostalgia for the commercial and technological successes of the Weimar Republic had a notable influence on that relationship. All these elements came together in *Photokina 1956*, which was organized with the support of the United States and UNESCO.

*Photokina* as an annual, international photography trade fair and exhibition complex was established in 1950, the same year as FIAP. *Photokina* symbolized postwar West Germany's optimism and focus on economic and technological achievements. As historian Ulrich Pohlmann notes, the trade fair "opened with an advertising spectacle exactly five years after the end of the war."<sup>22</sup> It belonged to the determined efforts to rebuild the country's economy after the war. For many in West Germany, the establishment of the international trade fair marked "the end of the devastation of the 'ruin period' and a promising future."<sup>23</sup> The steady growth and the

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<sup>22</sup> "die exakt fünf Jahre nach Kriegsende mit einem Werbespektakel eröffnet wurde." Ulrich Pohlmann, "Zwischen Kultur," 8.

<sup>23</sup> „... so rücken Jene euphorischen Stellungnahmen ins Blickfeld, die von dem Ende der Entbehrungen der „trümmerzeit“ und von einer verheißungsvollen Zukunft kündeten.“ Pohlmann, "Zwischen Kultur," 8.

increasingly international scope of *Photokina* backed the hope for such a promising future. At the center of public attention was the fair's commercial section where local and international companies presented the newest cameras, lenses, accessories, film, paper, chemicals, supplies, and services for the various needs of professional and hobby photographers. For example, in 1950 the first *Photokina* represented three hundred exhibitors (all from West Germany) and attracted seventy-four thousand visitors. The fifth *Photokina* in 1956 featured 355 West German and 139 foreign exhibitors.<sup>24</sup> At the top of the list of foreign countries whose companies participated in the trade fair was France (forty-seven companies) followed by the United States (sixteen), Japan (fifteen), the United Kingdom (thirteen), Austria (eight), and Switzerland (eight). A small number of companies from Belgium, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Netherlands, and Sweden also participated.<sup>25</sup> *Photokina 1956* accommodated around two hundred thousand attendees.<sup>26</sup> While the majority of the visitors were from West Germany, 14 percent were from seventy-six other countries from all continents—Europe (twenty-nine countries), the Americas (twenty-three), Asia (twelve), Africa (ten), and Australia and New Zealand.<sup>27</sup> Arguably, attendees of the fair were primarily attracted by the trade section. Only about a half of the visitors of *Photokina 1956* also ventured into the cultural section with the Magnum show, FIAP biennial, and other exhibitions.

Although *Photokina* was deeply rooted in postwar culture, it was also a successor to the publishing and photography trade fairs of the Weimar Republic, such as *Pressa* in Cologne

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<sup>24</sup> *Photokina 1956* also included a cinematography section with sixty-two exhibitors, but this part of the trade fair is not relevant to my analysis.

<sup>25</sup> L. Fritz Gruber, *Photokina: Its Origin and Achievements* (Cologne: Messe- und Ausstellungs-Ges. 1958), n.p.

<sup>26</sup> Gruber, *Photokina*, n.p.

<sup>27</sup> Gruber, n.p.

(1928) and *Film und Foto* in Stuttgart (1929) as well as some Nazi-era exhibitions, such as *Die Kamera* in Berlin (1933).<sup>28</sup> Furthermore, *Photokina* took place in the same building that was constructed to house *Pressa* in 1928—a “monumental” structure designed in what design historian Jeremy Aynsley calls an “expressive brick idiom.”<sup>29</sup> (Figs. 4.7 and 4.8.) Konrad Adenauer, the mayor of Cologne in 1928, declared that *Pressa* was, among other things, an “instrument of PEACE!”<sup>30</sup> In 1956 Adenauer served as the first postwar Chancellor of West Germany. Reiterating his declaration from 1928, West German politicians and manufacturers of photo-related goods again claimed that photography was an instrument of peace.

During the 1950s *Photokina* demonstrated that the West German photo industry was like a “phoenix that has risen from the ruins.”<sup>31</sup> This Phoenix, however, was the German photographic industry, not the avant-garde art or socialist activism of the 1920s. The only nostalgic connection to the Weimar Republic that the trade fair organizers purposefully established was the use of Bauhaus-style lettering in the logo of *Photokina* and in all its publicity materials (Figs. 4.9 and 4.10). The lettering is reminiscent of designer and artist Herbert Bayer’s (1900–1985) experimental typeface *Universal* from 1925 that he created for the Bauhaus (fig.

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<sup>28</sup> On *Pressa*, see Jeremy Aynsley, “*Pressa* Cologne, 1928: Exhibitions and Publication Design in the Weimar Period,” *Design Issues* 10, no. 3 (1994): 52–76. On *Film und Foto*, see Bruce Altshuler, “*Film und Foto*” in *Salon to Biennial—Exhibitions that Made History, 1863–1959* (New York: Phaidon, 2008), 217–36. On *Film und Foto*, see Olivier Lugon, “Prints from the Thomas Walther Collection and German Exhibitions around 1930,” in *Object: Photo. Modern Photographs: The Thomas Walther Collection 1909–1949*, ed. Mitra Abbaspour, Lee Ann Daffner, and Maria Morris Hambourg (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 2014). On *Die Kamera* and other photography trade fairs and exhibitions in Nazi Germany, see Ulrich Pohlmann, “‘Not Autonomous Art but a Political Weapon.’ Photography Exhibitions as a Means for Aestheticising Politics and Economy in National Socialism,” in *Public Photographic Spaces: Exhibitions of Propaganda, from Pressa to The Family of Man, 1928–55*, ed. Jorge Ribalta (Barcelona: Museu d’Art Contemporani de Barcelona, 2008), 275–98.

<sup>29</sup> Aynsley, “*Pressa* Cologne, 1928,” 61.

<sup>30</sup> Aynsley, 58. All caps end exclamation mark in original.

<sup>31</sup> Walter Läubli, “Good Luck!” *Camera*, no. 11 (1951): 403.

4.11). Moreover, the magazine-style exhibition design, although characteristic of the 1950s, was also not entirely new. Among its distant predecessors were the large-scale photomontages of the late 1920s and 1930s as they appeared in, for example, the Weimar Republic press and photography trade fairs. Especially notable is El Lissitzky's Soviet pavilion in *Pressa* where photographic images were used to create an immersive "montage environment."<sup>32</sup> Spectacular photomurals or "photomontages blown up to monumental scale" were also ubiquitous in the 1937 Paris World's Exposition (Exposition Internationale des Arts et des Techniques dans la Vie Moderne).<sup>33</sup> However by that time, as art historian Romy Golan points out, photomurals were increasingly associated with "the flagrant politicization of the medium by the Soviet, Italian Fascist, and Nazi regimes."<sup>34</sup> For that reason, photomurals did not survive into the apolitical 1950s in Europe. Instead of montage, the postwar version of immersive photographic environment was based on a spatial arrangement of individual enlargements on panels extending into the viewer's space. Such arrangement was based on Bayer's principle of extended vision, which he had developed in the 1930s.<sup>35</sup> Bayer's extended vision included displaying large-size photographic prints at different angles from the walls thus creating an environment where the images enter the viewer's space.<sup>36</sup> Bayer himself described his method as an "extension of

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<sup>32</sup> Aynsley, "Pressa Cologne, 1928," 53.

<sup>33</sup> Romy Golan, "The Medium of the Decade: The Photomural in 1937," in *Schwartz-Weiss als Evidenz: "With Black and White You Can Keep More of a Distance,"* ed. Monika Wagner and Helmut Lethen, (Frankfurt: Campus, 2015), 97.

<sup>34</sup> Romy Golan, *Muralnomad: The Paradox of Wall Painting, Europe 1927–1957* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 128.

<sup>35</sup> Olivier Lugon, "Dynamic Paths of Thought. Exhibition Design, Photography and Circulation in the Work of Herbert Bayer." In Annie van den Oever, ed., *Cinema beyond Film: Media Epistemology in the Modern Era* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2010: 117–44), 124–25.

<sup>36</sup> An example of Bayer's principle of extended vision is his work for New York's Museum of Art, especially the design of the exhibition *Road to Victory*, curated by Edward Steichen in 1942. Lugon, 133. For a detailed description of *Road to Victory*, see Mary Anne Staniszewski, *The*

cinema to the surrounding space.”<sup>37</sup>

While cinema was the reference for Bayer, illustrated magazine layouts were the key reference to the magazine-style exhibition design of the 1950s. A notable and early example is *The World Exhibition of Photography*, sponsored by UNESCO, that took place in Lucerne, Switzerland, in 1952 (Figs. 4.12 and 4.13). Its thematic arrangement of images and the spatial arrangement of large-format prints became a source of inspiration for Steichen.<sup>38</sup> The first installation of *The Family of Man* in New York’s Museum of Modern Art in 1955 is another notable example of magazine-style exhibition design (fig. 4.14). Although indebted to Bayer’s approach, the exhibition was designed by the young architect Paul Rudolph (1918–1997) under Steichen’s guidance.<sup>39</sup>

The Magnum exhibition in *Photokina 1956* is an example of the simplified approach to magazine-style design: without the complex spatial structure of *The Family of Man* and an overarching message to convey, it attracted viewers’ attention primarily with the size of enlargements and their spatial arrangement. The US magazine industry as well as the West German manufacturers of photo-related goods increasingly used a simplified magazine-style exhibition design to expand their influence and authority throughout the 1950s and into the 1960s, especially in commercial trade fair contexts, such as in *Photokina*. It became a

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*Power of Display: A History of Exhibition Installation at the Museum of Modern Art* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998), 207–60.

<sup>37</sup> Lugon, “Dynamic Paths,” 134.

<sup>38</sup> Sarah E. James, *Common Ground: German Photographic Cultures across the Iron Curtain* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013), 72. The Lucerne exhibition’s catalogue lists photographers whose work was displayed, but it does not contain installation photos. See: Hans Neuburg, ed., *World Exhibition of Photography 1952 Lucerne Switzerland* (Luzern: Genossenschaft Photoausstellung Luzern, 1952). For installation photos, see June–July 1952 issue of *Camera*.

<sup>39</sup> For a detailed description of the initial installation of *The Family of Man* at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, in 1955, see Staniszewski, *Power of Display*, 207–59.



mainstream format for large photography exhibitions that worked as an instrument for establishing cultural and economic dominance. Although works by acknowledged and canonical photographers oftentimes were exhibited as relatively small prints, the majority of commercial exhibitions went in the opposite direction. One example of a musealized and miniaturized presentation of photographic prints is the historical exhibition “Masters of Portraiture” in *Photokina 1960*, which comprised a series of modestly sized, individually framed prints (fig. 4.15). Meanwhile, the Magnum exhibition in *Photokina 1963* featured an arrangement of even bigger enlargements than in *Photokina 1956* (fig. 4.16). Another example of the magazine-style exhibition design that relied on individual enlargements as spatial accents was the solo show of American photojournalist Margaret Bourke-White (1904–1971) as part of the exhibition “Women and Photography” in *Photokina 1958* (fig. 4.17). A solo show of American photojournalist Gordon Parks (1912–2006) in *Photokina 1966* featured enlargements of various sizes attached to panels that created a space for close and prolonged observation from the seating area in front of them, while the “The Second World Exhibition of Photography: The Woman” in *Photokina 1968* was based on panels with large prints and text that invited the spectator to move through the space (figs. 4.18 and 4.19).

Contrary to the practices of most other participants of *Photokina 1956*, FIAP and its constituents understood the phrase *universal language* to signify a coexistence of multiple, diverse, and idiosyncratic approaches to photography coming from practitioners across the world. Their interpretation of universality was driven by their shared belief in photography as an idealistic pursuit of self-expression in a visual medium that, for the photo-club culture, existed strictly outside the market. The word *universal* for them meant stylistic plurality, equal rights and access, and interconnectivity among peers. By introducing such an understanding of universality,

FIAP challenged the role of Western Europe and the United States as the primary centers of creativity, as it was equally open to participants from all regions. Moreover, in *Photokina 1956* the FIAP exhibition claimed a space for all of them alongside those few who represented the dominant position in photojournalism and *Life*-fotografie, such as Cartier-Bresson, Capa, Bischof, and Smith.

The case study of *Photokina 1956* reveals the limitations and contradictions of the postwar paradigm of photography as a universal language. Although all participants in *Photokina 1956* spoke about it, in practice the term signified only a narrow subgenre of magazine illustrations and photojournalistic images by a small but influential group of Western European and US photographers, backed by the US publishing industry, with generous funding and publicity from US and West German sources, and the support of the UN and UNESCO. When *Life*-fotografie was presented as a universal language, it became the language of the US economic and political power that discouraged or discredited all other kinds of photographic expression that might have evolved in other regions of the world. The elevation of one visual style to the level of international superiority is an example of power inequality in action. *Life*-fotografie became the Hollywood cinema in the field of photography in the 1950s: it took all the attention and economic resources and dominated the field so completely that there was seemingly nothing else. One of the most devastating negative effects was that individual and locally specific photographic languages were relegated as irrelevant. Critics and historians forgot them, and the photographers themselves abandoned them as they aimed to achieve professional success. To do so, they had to adapt to the dominant language, otherwise they would always remain irrelevant.

## **FIAP Biennial in *Photokina 1956***

The factor that determined the look of the FIAP biennial the most was that all prints came directly from their makers, rather than an agency or editorial office. Contrary to the Magnum show and other exhibitions in *Photokina 1956*, the FIAP biennial offered a forum for sharing the products of a photographer's individual labor where all steps of the process were carried out by the photographers themselves. Even when some photographers repurposed their commissioned journalistic images for display in FIAP biennials, the very choice of the images was completely theirs. The diversity of genres, styles, and types of subject matter in FIAP biennials was a result of the photographers' conscious escape from the homogeneity and conveyor-belt production line that they knew from their daily work in magazines and newspapers. The prints were mailed in by the authors, mounted at the location of the biennial, and returned to the authors after the show. The handmade prints were believed to best express their authors' creative intent. Thus FIAP provided a space where photographers had control over the entire process of creating the picture, including but not limited to developing the film, printing the contacts, selecting the right image, and making and post-processing the final print.

Only one aspect of the photographic process was out of the direct control of the FIAP biennial's participants—the size of prints. The prints tended to be of uniform size, which moreover was conspicuously small in comparison with the size of prints at other *Photokina 1956* exhibitions, where they were mostly oversized, poster-size enlargements. In all calls to participate, FIAP emphasized the maximum size limit of the prints—eleven-by-fifteen inches (thirty-by-forty centimeters). The detailed regulations regarding the size of prints may seem irrelevant or restricting from today's viewpoint. But the small and uniform size was an important message. It conveyed that the prints were made by the photographers themselves, contrary to the

publishing world where photographers delivered only negatives. The print size limit was influenced by the commercially manufactured paper, which only came in standard sizes. Eleven-by-fifteen inches was close to the largest size for printing in a conventional home darkroom, thus signaling the importance of the author's hand, as opposed to enlargements produced in professional darkrooms for commercial purposes.

Moreover, the size limitation was a factor that offered equal opportunity to all participants. Photographers perceived the size restriction as one of the inevitable technical constraints that include also those imposed by the types of cameras, lenses, film, chemicals, paper, and other supplies available at any given moment. Becker notes that photographers relied on the mass-produced equipment and supplies because the technological aspect of their profession was the only one that was dependable.<sup>40</sup> In the case of FIAP, I would like to add that the size limitation was also intended to guarantee that none of the participants gain advantage over others by submitting images that would attract more attention just because of their outstanding size. Besides, the print size was limited to eleven-by-fifteen inches so participants could ship them as "registered printed matter" without commercial value, in compliance with the international mail regulations. In sum, setting the same size limit for everyone worked as a sign of inclusivity and equality, although somewhat restricting individual choice.

Upon receiving the FIAP biennial, the organizers of *Photokina 1956* attempted to apply the principles of the dominant magazine-style exhibition design to it. Its display, like most other *Photokina 1956* exhibitions, was designed by Hellmut Remmelmann, the chief architect and designer of *Photokina*. His attempt to fit the FIAP biennial into the magazine-style design is

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<sup>40</sup> Howard S. Becker, "Art as Collective Action," in *The Sociology of Art: A Reader*, ed. Jeremy Tanner (London: Routledge, 2003), 91.

especially notable in a comparison with the way in which the FIAP biennials were displayed previously. For example, the earliest FIAP biennial that is documented is the second, which took place in the Carabinieri Room (Carabinieri-Saal) of the Residenz Palace in Salzburg, Austria (June 7—July 16, 1952).<sup>41</sup> The small catalogue accompanying the biennial features a rare installation shot.<sup>42</sup> It shows that all the exhibited prints were framed in similar-style dark frames and hung in two or three rows close to each other (fig. 4.20). The works, as was typical for all FIAP biennials, were grouped in sections according to the photographers' country of residence (fig. 4.21).

The choice to exhibit works in such an isolated manner was not a random decision made by the FIAP biennial organizers, picking one exhibition design style from numerous possibilities. Instead it had evolved over a longer historical process. The predecessor of *Photokina* on a symbolic level was the Weimar Republic publishing and photography trade fair *Pressa* in particular. FIAP biennials, in comparison, were distant descendants of the international salons of photography organized by the pictorialists and photo-secessionists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>43</sup> The genealogy of the museum-style exhibition format in the field of

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<sup>41</sup> The practicalities of the biennial were in the hands of the Austrian Photographers' Union (Österreichische Lichtbildnerbund), which belonged to the Federation of Austrian Amateur Photographer Association (Verband der amateurphotographenvereine Österreichs, VDAVÖ), the official Austrian representative in FIAP.

<sup>42</sup> FIAP, *II Internationale Fotobiennale de la Fédération Internationale de l'Art Photographique* (Österreichische Lichtbildnerbund: Salzburg, 1952).

<sup>43</sup> For a discussion of the historical pictorialism and photo-secession movements, see Anne McCauley, ed., *Clarence H. White and His World: The Art and Craft of Photography, 1895–1925* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017); Patrick Daum, Francis Ribemont, and Philip Prodger, eds., *Impressionist Camera: Pictorial Photography in Europe, 1888–1918* (London: Merrell Holberton, 2006); Christian A. Peterson, *After the Photo-Secession: American Pictorial Photography, 1910–1955* (Minneapolis: Minneapolis Institute of Arts 1997), and Margaret F. Harker, *The Linked Ring: The Secession Movement in Photography in Britain, 1892–1910* (London: Heinemann, 1979).

photography goes back to pictorialist exhibitions such as the ones held at the Little Galleries of the Photo Secession in New York in 1906 (fig. 4.22). They were the first to claim for photographic images an equal status to that of fine art by exhibiting them in a way that was reminiscent of the way graphic arts and painting were displayed in Western European museums. The analogy points to the always present desire of photography to become *like* painting, that is to be treated as seriously and respectfully as painting.

In the 1950s it was obvious that photography was not *like* painting, and the contemporary photographic images are not at all *similar* to paintings in the Louvre or the British Museum. But it is telling that FIAP and the photo-club culture of the 1950s did not look for a model in innovative or more advanced forms of exhibition design. FIAP had adapted a similar format as its exhibition strategy. When the second FIAP biennial was included in the program of *Photokina 1952*, it was displayed in a museum-style manner as a series of individually framed prints in a single row along the walls with the addition of Remmelman's spatial object whose several iterations ran through all exhibitions of *Photokina* that year (fig. 4.23). The choice to follow a historical practice embodied the photographers' wish to give more respect and gravitas to the photographic image.<sup>44</sup> But for the transnational community of photo-club members, it was meaningful and productive to cultivate the apparently outdated format because the other major alternative at the time was the magazine layout. Looking back at historical models and continuing a certain tradition served for the photographers as one way to dissociate themselves from the contemporary press whose attitude toward the labor and personality of the photographer

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<sup>44</sup> I shall return to the organizational structures that the photo-club culture of the 1950s inherited from the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century pictorialists and photo-secessionists in my discussion of the central role of the photo-club salons in chapter 6.

was often exploitative.

The museum-style presentation of individually framed photographic prints stubbornly survived the interwar avant-garde years by existing quietly in the background, always there for the photographers but often unnoticed by historians because it has been normalized and taken for granted. Photography historian Olivier Lugon briefly mentions this paradox in his discussion of El Lissitzky and László Moholy-Nagy whose groundbreaking exhibition designs in the second half of the 1920s attempted to liberate photography from what Lugon calls “the traditional, frontal and static mode of contemplation of the graphic arts.”<sup>45</sup> At the same time, Lugon has to admit that when it came to exhibiting their own prints and photo-related works, they chose “small format, with frames and a light-colored cardboard background, each photo clearly separated from the others and hung more or less at eye-level.”<sup>46</sup> Even the most radical avant-gardists chose the conservative and historical museum-style display when they wanted to present their work as individual artworks.

In *Photokina 1956*, meanwhile, the prints of the FIAP biennial were arranged in a more dynamic fashion than in any previous FIAP exhibition. Unframed photographs were directly attached to free-standing display panels. Instead of monotonous rows of framed prints, Rummelmann arranged three rows of prints in a grid-like structure, outlined with thick, light-colored lines that stood out against the dark background color of the panels. Light-colored lines on a very dark background separate the wall into four rectangular sections that are arranged symmetrically: the two middle ones are longer and touch the floor, while the two outside ones

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<sup>45</sup> Lugon, “Dynamic Paths,” 121. For a discussion of the issues of scale in photography and especially the inherent tension between miniaturization and enlargement, see also Olivier Lugon, “Photography and Scale: Projection, Exhibition, Collection,” *Art History* 38, no. 2 (2015): 386–403.

<sup>46</sup> Lugon, “Dynamic Paths,” 121.

are shorter and remain only on the upper section of the wall. The available photo documentation is black and white, but a report suggests that the stands were designed using the organization's official colors—blue and gold.<sup>47</sup> Rummelmann clearly designed the FIAP biennial in a way so it would better align with the other *Photokina 1956* exhibitions that all had strong graphic elements to attract the viewer's attention (fig. 4.24). But his efforts eventually did a disservice to the organization because they reinforced the superior position of the magazine culture and undermined the importance of the individual print—the very essence of the FIAP biennial. Unframed and grouped together in tight layouts, the prints lost their individual appeal. The uniform size of the prints was the only element that balanced out the wildly varied visual qualities and content of the exhibited work. The overall effect of the uniformity, however, did not benefit the FIAP biennial. The panels were lacking visual anchors and created an overcrowded impression. The magazine-style approach did not work as well for FIAP. In Rummelmann's design, the biennial could not compete with the dynamism of the large prints and visually more interesting designs of most other exhibitions in the trade fair.

### **The Solitary Image Format**

Bangkok-based Thai photographer Lip Lim (life dates unknown) captured rice harvesting in his *Every Grain by Labor* (fig. 4.25). The photograph shows a man raking rice grains for drying. Strong diagonals dominate the horizontally oriented photograph: a triangular heap of rice in the upper-left quarter, a leaning male figure pulling a rake behind him in the upper-right quarter, and diagonal traces of the rake in the vast expanse of rice grains in the foreground. The title likely

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<sup>47</sup> FIAP, "Offizieller Bericht über den 4. Kongreß in Köln," *Camera*, no. 3 (1958): 143.



refers to a popular saying in China and throughout Southeast Asia that says, “every grain of rice is a drop of peasant’s sweat.” For viewers unfamiliar with the region’s culture and economy and the importance and the realities of rice production, the image might have appeared as a merely exotic or nostalgic illustration. No doubt local Thai viewers would have disagreed with such a single-dimensional reading of the image.

“To reproduce death or birth tells us, literally, nothing,” writes Roland Barthes.<sup>48</sup> Photographs, even if they depict seemingly obvious subject matter, “must be inserted into a category of knowledge,” he continues. “For however universal, they are the signs of an historical writing.”<sup>49</sup> Without the necessary insertion into a category of knowledge, the images in FIAP biennial told its viewers nothing. The perception of the images became problematic, especially of those images that came from outside of Western Europe. The absence of any context or commentary about who the photographers were, what was depicted, or why it was important to them erased the historical specificity of each photographer’s labor conditions and career. Especially when the images depict similar subject matter, each photographer’s different socioeconomic and cultural background seems to disappear. The decontextualized presentation, a format that I propose to call the *solitary image*, reduced the meaning of images like *Every Grain by Labor* for the audiences in Western Europe to superficial tokens of the diversity of human activity à la *The Family of Man* at best and à la sentimental ethnic clichés at worst.

My use of the term *solitary image* is intended to point to the removal of the images from their “category of knowledge” and their decontextualization. The term emphasizes the absence of those elements that usually attracted the viewer’s attention, such as a famous photographer’s

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<sup>48</sup> Roland Barthes, “The Great Family of Man,” in *Mythologies*, trans. by Annette Lavers (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1972), 101.

<sup>49</sup> Barthes, “Great Family of Man,” 102.

name or recognizably “interesting” content such as streets of Paris. The format of presentation needs to be named so we can notice its specificity and its effects on the perception of images, especially in contrast to the much more discussed narrative qualities of *Life*-fotografie. Moreover, the format of the solitary image needs to be theorized because it was the most widespread format in which photographers encountered one another’s work in photo-club exhibitions and specialized photo magazine publications. For FIAP and photo-club culture of the 1950s, the format of the solitary image, among many other things, was also a form of resistance. By choosing to exhibit each work as a single visual unit, the photographers actively opposed the way their work was typically treated in the magazine layouts. The FIAP biennial offered a space where photographers were welcome to share their work outside the mainstream journalistic and commercial spaces.

In 1951 André Malraux explained that Islamic carpets appeared to Western European audiences as solely “decorative” art because for them the carpets had “no history, no hierarchy, and no meaning.”<sup>50</sup> Similarly, most images in the FIAP biennials and yearbooks appeared to Western European audiences as “decorative”—as depictions of patterns, shapes, and figures without history, hierarchy, and meaning. While most other exhibitions in *Photokina 1956* were organized around a theme and their images were arranged in a way that suggested some form of narrative, the FIAP biennial presented images in a seemingly arbitrary combination, grouped only by their country of origin. The people, objects, situations, landscapes, and architecture depicted in the images remained unfamiliar and irrelevant to the viewers. All details about each image’s subject matter and the circumstances of its making were omitted. Only the

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<sup>50</sup> André Malraux, *The Voices of Silence*, trans. Stuart Gilbert (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 42. First published in French: André Malraux, *Les Voix du Silence* (Paris: La Galerie de la Pléiade, 1951).

photographers' names, country of residence, and a short title were listed. Although the name of the author was included in the caption, it did not add a noticeable amount of information because the name was likely unknown to the viewer. The reputation of photographers from the "second" and "third worlds," even if notable in their home country, did not follow their work when it was presented in the Western Europe and United States. Most images in the FIAP biennial in *Photokina 1956* were made by photographers in countries and regions unfamiliar to the viewers. Almost half of these countries were in Eastern Europe, Latin America, Asia, and Africa, and even the region conventionally called Western Europe was far from homogeneous culturally and economically.

As examples of solitary images, I would like to briefly analyze a few photographs from the FIAP biennial that depict the subject of labor. *Man Behind the Curtains* by Singaporean photographer Chong-Teng Ang (life dates unknown) is based on a geometric visual effect (fig. 4.26). The horizontally oriented frame is filled with eleven parallel clotheslines with large pieces of light-colored cloth hanging over them. The rhythm of the straight horizontal lines balances out the more irregular pattern of the vertical drapes, emphasized by the bright sunlight creating strong shadows. The play of lines and patterns is interrupted by a human figure in the upper-left quarter of the frame. A man with a naked torso and a piece of white cloth covering his shoulders is holding up one of the large pieces of fabric drying in the sun. The caption does not provide a location or other details, but the amount of fabric pieces suggests that the photograph was taken at a large-scale operation involving textile laundering or dyeing rather than at a domestic location. The solitary image format, however, begs the viewer to examine the play of lines and ignore the unclear nature of the production and man's role in it.

The solitary image format had a similar impact on works by European photographers

who worked outside cultural metropolises. For example, Italian photographer Gaetano Lazzaro (life dates unknown) captured a scene with cane mats that are laid out to dry in open air (fig. 4.27). These mats were then used as floor mats at home (*stuoia* in Italian) or as a surface for drying fruit (*graticcio di canne*).<sup>51</sup> Nine wide parallel rows of canes fill the vertically oriented frame, creating a consistent pattern. The photographer's point of view and the use of a wide-angle lens exaggerates the perspectival effect, as the front row takes up a third of the frame, while four rows fill the upper third of the frame. A sense of scale is established by two women leaning over the canes on the upper third of the image. The emphasis on the rhythmical pattern of cane mats turns the viewer's attention away from contemplating the labor conditions of rural women.

Finally, *The Last Row* by East German photographer Erwin Döring (life dates unknown) depicts a combine that appears to be harvesting some type of grain crop (fig. 4.28). The scene is captured from an elevated point of view, and the camera looks down onto the field of crops, which fills the entire frame. The viewpoint from above leaves no room for a horizon line. Although the photograph suggests linear perspective, and the parallel lines of rows have a vanishing point somewhere outside the frame, the predominant formal element is an all-over pattern. The skillful treatment of the subject suggests that the author was a professional.<sup>52</sup> Annual harvesting was a popular and mandatory "news" topic in the Communist press, and Döring likely

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<sup>51</sup> I am grateful to Viviana Bucarelli for her insights on the subject matter of the image that she generously shared with me in email correspondence on November 16, 2017.

<sup>52</sup> Erwin Döring's work is included in an anthology of East German photography: *Fotografie in der DDR: Ein Beitrag zur Bildgeschichte*, ed. Heinz Hoffmann and Rainer Knapp (Leipzig: VEB Fotokinoverlag, 1987), 110. Also, Döring was awarded the World Press Photo prize in the of Arts and Sciences section in 1975 for his work *Solo Violinist Mayumi Fujikawa* (1974). See: "Erwin Döring," World Press Photo (website), accessed January 25, 2018, <https://www.worldpressphoto.org/people/erwin-döring>.

produced this image as part of an official editorial commission. The elevated viewpoint (perhaps from a tower or a small plane) also suggests that the photographer was working on an official assignment, as making bird's-eye-view photographs was usually prohibited—or simply inaccessible—to amateur photographers and other members of the general public. East German photographers, as employees of a state-owned press, were integral to the Communist regime. Without knowing more about the photographer, it is impossible to say whether he was critical about it or sincerely embraced it. *The Last Row* depicts socialist labor, but at the same time it draws the viewer's attention away from the actual hardships and everyday conditions of that labor that the East German Socialist Realism theorists required from a faithful photographer.<sup>53</sup> It is also impossible to say whether the photographer purposefully emphasized the rhythm and geometrical pattern of the rows of crops to claim an affinity with the socialist leanings of the Weimar Republic avant-garde photographers or chose the image for exhibition for completely different reasons. When presented as a solitary image to the audience abroad, *The Last Row* obscured the deeply political role of photography and photographers as it was defined in East German culture.

Embedded within the format of the solitary image was an idealistic aspiration for equal opportunity and democracy. As I have demonstrated in the previous chapters, the socioeconomic status of the photographers affiliated with photo clubs varied and included professional photojournalists, commercial photographers, and fashion and portrait photographers as well as dedicated enthusiasts who had parallel careers in other fields. By adapting the format of the

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<sup>53</sup> F[riedrich] Herneck, "Concerning the Question of Socialist Realism in Photography," *Die Fotografie* 8, 1960, translated into English in *Recollecting a Culture: Photography and the Evolution of a Socialist Aesthetic in East Germany*, ed. John P. Jacob (Boston: Photographic Resource Center at Boston University, 1998), 98.

solitary image, FIAP attempted to level the playing field for the photo-club culture and the community of photographers as a whole: all that mattered was an idealized concept of unbiased appreciation of the visual form. All images were presented equally, no matter if the author was a small-town newspaper reporter or a country's leading celebrity portraitist. The FIAP biennial provided an equalizing forum for all of its participants because only a photographer's name was mentioned, rather than professional status. The solitary image format in the FIAP biennials created an illusion of a truly democratic, open, and egalitarian structure. Instead of attempting to classify the photographers by demographic, employment, or aesthetic criteria, FIAP biennials offered a space that neither discriminated nor glorified any particular individual contributor. The greatest benefit of the solitary image for FIAP was that it helped the transnational community of photographers acquire and strengthen their collective identity.

At the same time, the format of the solitary image erased, or rendered opaque, the socioeconomic and cultural context of each image's production. The effects of decontextualization were further exacerbated by the unequal power relations among different groups of photographers. *Photokina 1956* made these power relations especially visible by bringing together the dominant *Life*-fotografie and the lineup of all the incoherent photographic practices represented by FIAP in one space. The fate of a solitary image never threatened, for example, images by Cartier-Bresson or those by other leading photographers whose work was disseminated by *Life* and featured in international photography magazines on a regular basis. Even when the work of famed photographers was occasionally published without extended captions and removed from the context of the photo essay, such images nevertheless were never solitary because the association with their author's name alone provided enough information for

the viewer to acknowledge the cultural status and importance of the images.<sup>54</sup> The audience of *Photokina 1956* was culturally conditioned to appreciate the work by a relatively small group of Western European and US photographers. They were predisposed to receive their work with respect and admiration because they were already familiar with their names, key images, and biographies, and they had read interviews with them or even their educational articles in photography magazines or books about photography.

Meanwhile, the audience of *Photokina 1956* was not prepared to perceive the work by photographers from the “second” and “third worlds” on the same terms. The “first world” saw the other “worlds” as generally inferior and assumed that the photographers from those parts of the world were also inferior and irrelevant. Moreover, the other “worlds,” for the audience of *Photokina 1956*, existed exclusively as a passive subject of photographs made by the Western European and North American photojournalists. In the imagination of the “first world” audiences, the rest of the globe was a place of endless suffering and deprivation as seen in Magnum photographs. It was perceived as a place where “naked,” “superstitious,” and “desperate” humans populated the jungle, according to philosopher Max Horkheimer.<sup>55</sup> The Western European audience in 1956, it seems, was incapable of grasping the very idea that people out there could exist not only as half-naked and starving victims but also as actual *photographers* who furthermore could be working with literally the same type of cameras and

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<sup>54</sup> Becker observes that “The reputation of the artist and the work reinforce one another: we value more a work done by an artist we respect, just as we respect more an artist whose work we have admired.” Howard S. Becker, *Art Worlds* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1982), 23.

<sup>55</sup> Max Horkheimer, “Opening of the Photo-Exhibition *The Family of Man—All of Us*,” trans. by Angela Oakeshott, with Anna Maria Duplang, Hedwig Hinzmann, Gerd Hurm, and Shamoan Zamir, in *The Family of Man Revisited: Photography in a Global Age*, ed. Gerd Hurm, Anke Reitz, and Shamoan Zamir (London: I.B. Tauris, 2017), 52.

chemicals as their Western peers.

However, the daily life and labor conditions of the photographers in the “first world” were far from equal to their colleagues in the “second” and “third worlds”, and their presentation *as equal* only obscured the profound differences. It is true that FIAP brought the photo-club culture to a new level of visibility by presenting it in *Photokina 1956*. But the viewers of the FIAP biennial in Cologne did not have a chance to learn anything substantial about the photographers who made the images; their careers, struggles, and beliefs; or the various activities of their clubs. The viewers in *Photokina 1956* were attentive to images by Cartier-Bresson and other Magnum photographers but at the same time remained unable to see those by Chong-Teng Ang, Lip Lim, or others. Today the solitary images in the FIAP yearbooks often are the only evidence that such photographers even existed, had a career, were recognized by their peers, and enjoyed a certain level of professional success.

### **Antimarket Politics of FIAP**

FIAP stepped into the market-driven mechanism of *Photokina 1956* as a representative of the world’s photo-clubs. Although without declaring it clearly, FIAP and photo-club culture offered a not-for-profit institutional framework where photographers could socialize as well as produce and exhibit work independently from the dictature of the commercial press and paying customers. Within the ultra-commercial context of *Photokina 1956* it becomes especially apparent that, although FIAP constantly emphasized its distance from all political matters, its own politics had a strong antimarket position. Regardless of what each individual photographer’s beliefs were, photo-club culture of the 1950s was an attempt to stand up against the expanding capitalist market system. FIAP mobilized photographers to oppose the idea that all creative



activities can be monetized and that all cultural production can be monopolized.

In *Photokina 1956* everything was for sale. The promotion and sales of new photographic equipment, accessories, and supplies was the main purpose of the commercial section of *Photokina 1956*. The fair's cultural section supported the commercial section. Directly or by implication, all exhibitions were meant to serve the market and the domination of the US publishing and photo industries. Thus for example, the American landscape and nature photographer Ansel Adams (1902–1984) presented his latest work—oversized color transparencies that demonstrated the artistic usage of the latest technological advancements (fig. 4.29). Meanwhile, the photo-club culture was built on an explicitly nonprofit and volunteer basis. I argue that FIAP, even if incidentally, succeeded in creating an escape route away from the capitalist commodification and monetization of all aspects of photography that *Photokina 1956* celebrated with the blessing of the United States and UNESCO.

The total rejection of market forces as well as the emphasis on both the photographer's craft and individual labor in opposition to the divided labor in the magazine and newspaper publishing industries characterize one aspect of FIAP and the photo-club culture in the 1950s. Their inclusiveness, meanwhile, is a sign of anti-imperialist and anticolonial idealism. But FIAP never articulated its own politics, apart from claiming that it operated “far from any politics.”<sup>56</sup> The founders and core board members of FIAP—Van de Wyer, Boesiger, and Bourigeaud—themselves were not exactly fighters against capitalism, colonialism, and injustice. Their public images were of rather conservative, respectable, and white, middle-aged, upper-middle-class gentlemen from Belgium, Switzerland, and France respectively. When promoting the FIAP

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<sup>56</sup> « Loin de toute politique. . . » Maurice Van de Wyer, introduction to FIAP, *I. Photo-Biennale der FIAP* (Bern: FIAP, 1950), 7.

biennials and photobooks, the organization's leaders made every effort to praise the printing quality, the high artistic level of the photographs, and the international scope of contributors, while emphasizing that "each photograph has been considered for inclusion only in respect of its genuine artistic intent and every constraint, due to either professional, political, economic or merely sensational pressure, has been rejected."<sup>57</sup> Such statements accurately echoed the historical pathos of postwar Western Europe where the word *political* itself had become dangerous and repulsive.

All the while avoiding direct language, the board members of FIAP fully supported the nonprofit nature of the photo-club culture. FIAP itself never promoted or endorsed any activity that might result in profit for the organization or the participating photographers. Prints in the FIAP biennials were not for sale and were promptly returned to their authors after the exhibition was over. The primary, and often only, source of the organization's income was the membership fee—fifteen US dollars per country per year—that barely covered the minimum expenses involved in running the organization, preparing the newsletters and reports, circulating calls for participation in the FIAP biennials, and so on. The annual budget of FIAP in 1955, for example, did not exceed the price of two new Leica cameras, which at that time cost approximately 300 US dollars.<sup>58</sup> The board members did most of their organizational work on a voluntary basis and

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<sup>57</sup> FIAP, "An Invitation," *Camera*, no. 6 (1955): 324.

<sup>58</sup> The FIAP membership fees were in US dollars or the equivalent, while the FIAP budget was in Swiss francs. During a FIAP congress meeting in Cologne on September 26, 1956, Ernest Boesiger reported on the status of the organization's bank account in the Kantonalbank of Bern during the previous two years. According to Boesiger's report, 1954 saw revenue of 1,262.56 Swiss francs and expenses of 1,704.51, with a net loss of 439.95. The year 1955 had ended with revenue of 2,483.88 Swiss francs and expenses of 2,192.38, resulting in a net income of 291.50. Ernest Boesiger, "Offizieller Bericht über den 4. Kongreß in Köln," *Camera*, no. 3 (1958): 144. The price of a Leica camera was 300 US dollars or 1,300 Swiss francs. Information about the price of Leica is available in *Camera*, no. 6 (1953): 276.

without remuneration.

The official magazine of FIAP, *Camera*, is another example of how FIAP attempted to work outside the logic and rules of the market within the publishing industry. *Camera* as a German-language photography magazine was published by C. J. Bucher in Lucerne, Switzerland, since 1922. In 1948 it became a multilingual photography monthly periodical, published in German, English, and French, and was distributed to a constantly growing number of countries within and outside of Europe. In 1952 the leaders of FIAP came to an agreement with the publishers and editors of *Camera* about the number of pages that were reserved in each issue for content provided by FIAP. They also agreed on a note to be printed on the first page of each issue of *Camera*—“Official organ of the FIAP, The International Federation of Photographic Art”—in all three languages. FIAP did not invest any resources in the magazine’s production. Meanwhile, the subscription to *Camera* was included in the organization’s annual membership fee in order to guarantee that each national association received a copy every month.

Moreover, FIAP also engaged the C. J. Bucher publishing house to coedit and publish the FIAP yearbooks. They agreed that the publishers would cover all expenses and a small part of revenue would go to FIAP.<sup>59</sup> The constant complaining about low sale results suggests that—regardless of the high print quality and the publicity—the yearbooks did not always sell as well as planned and the revenue generated was often minuscule. No more than five thousand copies of

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<sup>59</sup> FIAP had reached the following agreement with the publishing house C. J. Bucher: “The contract regarding the yearbook provides the following remuneration to the FIAP: 0.5 Swiss Francs per copy for up to 5,000 copies sold; 0.75 Francs per copy for 5,000–7,500 copies sold; 1 Franc per copy for 7,500 to 10,000 copies sold; and 1.25 Francs per copy above 10,000 copies sold.” FIAP, “Offizieller Bericht über den Kongreß in Antwerpen vom 22. Bis 25. Sept. 1958,” *Camera*, no. 3, (1960): 52.

each yearbook were ever published.<sup>60</sup> The exact amount of copies sold is unknown as is whether FIAP really received the promised 0.5 Swiss francs for each copy sold.<sup>61</sup> The monetary element is significant when comparing the achievements of FIAP to those of *Photokina 1956* and other well-designed and well-promoted exhibitions and photobooks organized or financed by the US publishing industry, the manufacturers of photo-related goods, and the UN and UNESCO, all of which had access to more substantial budgets and resources than FIAP.

In sum, *Photokina 1956* was the site of an unprecedented confrontation between the dominant commercialized photographic culture—organized around the magazine publishing industry—and its alternative whose organizational basis was FIAP and photo-clubs. “If a language, as has been said, is but a dialect backed up by an army, the same could be said of the narratives of ‘modernity’ that, almost universally today, point to a certain ‘Europe’ as the primary habitus of the modern,” writes historian Dipesh Chakrabarty.<sup>62</sup> The universal language of the 1950s, *Life*-fotografie, was but a dialect backed up by US economic and cultural power. FIAP and the photo-club culture offered photographers an institutional framework that was explicitly antimarket. It was also anti-imperialist as it offered equal participation to all member countries and did not promote only the work of a few individuals from the dominant culture. But the institutional framework of the photo-club culture and FIAP was not as well organized,

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<sup>60</sup> Emile Wanderscheid, “Historical Account of FIAP,” in *Fédération Internationale de l’Art Photographique: Patrimoine artistique; Notice historique; 50 années* (Barcelona: FIAP, 1999), 286.

<sup>61</sup> At that time, 0.5 Swiss francs equaled approximately 0.12 US dollars. The currency conversion rate was 1.0 USD = 4.3 Swiss francs. This conversion rate between US dollars and Swiss francs did not change significantly between 1950 and 1964. The estimate is based on Historical Currency Converter (website), accessed June 12, 2016, <http://fxtop.com/en/currency-converter-past.php>.

<sup>62</sup> Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference*, new ed. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 43.

unified, or solid as its opponent, which was supported by a metaphorical army, including international organizations and the US and Western European governments, publishers, and manufacturers. FIAP did not have a capacity to clearly formulate its position. Its actions were neither as focused nor as sharp as they could have been because all its constituents remained far from each other and on their own. In comparison with the convincing front of the universal language, the claims of FIAP sounded weak and unclear. It is especially visible in the antimarket position that FIAP represented to the fullest yet failed to articulate in a way that would make a lasting impact. Moreover, it is likely that the participating photographers themselves did not fully realize the immense sociopolitical potential of the collective in which they were involved. Neither most photo clubs nor FIAP itself were part of an openly socialist, anticapitalist, or anticolonialism movement.

As a result, despite its intentions, democratic structure, and transnational inclusivity, the FIAP biennial went unappreciated and misunderstood in comparison to other *Photokina 1956* exhibitions. After the FIAP biennial in *Photokina 1956* failed to achieve any notable result, many constituents gradually became disillusioned and disappointed in photo-club culture and FIAP. The vague idealism of FIAP and the clubs was appealing to photographers as long as they seemed to open up new exhibition opportunities and new channels to circulate their work. Although the photographers had formed a certain form of group identification through their participation in photo clubs and FIAP, they did not share similar economic standing or a unified political platform. The apolitical position of the FIAP core members by itself was too weak and too nebulous to rise against the more powerful front of *Life-fotografie*. Therefore, what FIAP could achieve on behalf of the diverse group was severely limited. A more articulate voice would have been needed in order to give a clearer shape and direction to the work of FIAP, perhaps by

positioning it consciously against commercialized photojournalism. Such a voice, however, did not emerge. FIAP had potential to form a strong alternative to the mainstream photographic paradigm of its time. Its potential in this aspect, unfortunately, went untapped.

CHAPTER FIVE: PHOTOGRAPHY AS “NATIONAL LANGUAGE.” THE  
PHOTOGRAPHIC PRACTICE OF LANG JINGSHAN IN TAIWAN

*Lost in the Clouds* (1963) by Taiwan-based Chinese photographer Lang Jingshan (Chin-San Long, 1892–1995) is an allegory of mourning and pain caused by the separation from the homeland (fig. 5.1).<sup>1</sup> A lonesome figure depicted from the back overlooks a landscape that is almost completely hidden by fog. *Lost in the Clouds* creates an atmosphere of melancholic introspection and conveys the sense of loss that was all too familiar to Lang’s fellow refugees from mainland China. Moreover, Lang was one of the few photographers of the time who clearly articulated his dislike for *Life*-fotografie. He openly criticized the foreign photojournalists’ “condescending and curious gaze” and their “curious lenses that often zoomed in on opium, mahjong, and bound feet.”<sup>2</sup> In these examples we can easily recognize those simplistic subjects that *Life* editors demanded in their telegrams to Cartier-Bresson and his colleagues who were traveling to the “exotic” Far East. As his personal lifelong project, Lang took up confronting negative presumptions by creating completely different images of China and disseminating them internationally through the photo-club and FIAP publications. What he offered as a countermeasure to the condescending gaze of *Life*-fotografie was another stereotype, albeit one

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<sup>1</sup> Lang Jingshan is the pinyin transliteration of the artist’s name, and today’s art historians prefer this system for transliterating Chinese names into English. For the sake of coherence, I use this form. Moreover, in this system last names come before given names, following the typical usage in Chinese. Thus, I refer to the photographer as “Lang” when I use only the last name. Chin-San Long or Chin San Long were the transliterations that appeared in the FIAP communication and other English-language sources in the 1950s and 1960s. The historical spelling, as it appeared in the publications of the 1950s, is noted in the footnotes referring to the source. For a detailed discussion of the different transliterations of Lang’s name, see Mia Yinxing Liu, “The Allegorical Landscape: Lang Jingshan’s Photography in Context,” *Archives of Asian Art* 65, no. 1–2 (2015): 1, 20.

<sup>2</sup> Liu, 4, 22n33.

coming from within Chinese culture. His photographic work, based on the conventions of traditional Chinese ink painting, captured the unique experience of the nationalist refugees in Taiwan through deeply nostalgic metaphors. Lang was the most visible and most respected among the exiled Chinese photographers in Taiwan, and he was the creative and political leader of the Photographic Society of China in Taipei. His principles of “Chinese photography,” “Chinese camera art,” and “Chinese print,” as they were variously called at the time, found avid followers among the mainland refugees in Taiwan.<sup>3</sup> Lang became a symbolic father figure to a visual style in photography that expressed the particular sense of displacement and loss that the refugee Chinese photographers had experienced.

The first section of this chapter will examine the use of terms like *nationalism* and *internationalism* in the discourse of FIAP and photo-club culture of the 1950s. In the second section, I shall introduce the visual style and subject matter of the “Chinese” photographic art that Lang and his peers established in Taiwan. I will argue that among the sources of Lang’s concept of photography as a national language was the Republican era Chinese nationalism that evolved through the refugee community’s experience of displacement and loss. The last section of this chapter will address the problematic perception of Lang’s concept of “Chinese” photography from the perspective of Western European and North American culture. The work of Lang and his colleagues remained largely misunderstood outside their own community. Only

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<sup>3</sup> Lang was well known also within other Chinese diasporas in South East Asia and even in South Africa. FIAP yearbooks contain photographs by Chinese photographers living in Hong Kong, Philippines, and Singapore that follow Lang’s technique. For a discussion of Chinese diaspora photographers in Indonesia, see Karen Strassler, “Cosmopolitan Visions: Ethnic Chinese and the Photographic Imagining of Indonesia in the Late Colonial and Early Postcolonial Periods,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 67, no. 2 (2008): 395–432. For a discussion of photographers who adapted Lang’s visual style in the Chinese émigré community in South Africa, see Malcolm Corrigan, “A Spirit of Cosmopolitanism Happily Prevailing in Art: The Chinese Camera Club of South Africa and Transnational Networks of Photography,” *De Arte* 53, no. 1 (2018): 3–26.



recently have scholars begun to critically assess Lang's work and highlight its political urgency and historical specificity. These aspects previously remained obscured behind the surface of Lang's seemingly timeless and ahistorical visual style that, moreover, was mistaken for a derivative of European and American pictorialism of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. In an article published in 2015, art historian Mia Yinxing Liu demonstrates that Lang's work is not at all "'escapist' images made in a political vacuum," as it can appear to a present-day viewer at first glance. Instead, Liu argues that Lang's images "gave visual form to the Taiwan Nationalist historiography" and functioned as powerful visual "allegories of nationhood."<sup>4</sup> Building upon Liu's groundbreaking work, I will highlight the ways in which Lang mobilized the conventions of one specific subgenre of Chinese ink painting in order to construct a photographic language that claimed to be utterly "national" and nationalist.

### **Nationalism and Internationalism in FIAP**

Three of Lang's works are reproduced in the FIAP section of the May 1964 issue of *Camera*.<sup>5</sup> As was often the case with photo-club and FIAP publications, all three are printed untitled and undated. Two of the three images are idealized depictions of nature. One features a small herd of deer, symbols of longevity in traditional Chinese painting (fig. 5.2).<sup>6</sup> Another photograph depicts a single boat floating amid an indeterminate expanse of fog (fig. 5.3). The composition of both images is similar: expressive shapes of dark tree branches frame the top portion of the image while the rest of the image is filled with light mist of varying density. The main figures—four deer in one and a boat in the other—stand out against a background of light mist. The delicate

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<sup>4</sup> Liu, "Allegorical Landscape," 20.

<sup>5</sup> Odette Bretscher, untitled, *Camera*, no. 5 (1964): 32–35.

<sup>6</sup> Ting, *Chinese Painting*, 24.

rendering of the fog is reminiscent of ink wash in a painting, while the silhouettes of the tree branches recall elegant brushstrokes. The third work is a more complex composition that embodies his concept of photography as a “national,” not universal, language (fig. 5.4). It is *An Excursion*, made around 1951.<sup>7</sup> Compared to Lang’s other works of the time, it offers greater spatial complexity, a wider range of visual elements, and suggests a narrative. A few dark stalks of reeds in the foreground lead the viewer’s gaze to the middle ground where a boat with three figures floats in a foggy space suggesting a river. Jagged mountain peaks loom high above in the background, partially obscured by large expanses of lightly shaded mist. *An Excursion* consists of three distinct picture planes that appear as if they were positioned in different distances and at different angles from the viewer, not unlike the way space is constructed in traditional Chinese ink painting.<sup>8</sup> The separate visual elements are united into a single image by using combination printing, Lang’s signature technique to which I will return in the last section of this chapter.

Each of the visual elements in Lang’s works, and especially in *An Excursion*, had a significant personal meaning for Lang. Such meaning may have resonated with his peers, other mainland refugees in Taiwan, but was not obvious to others. For example, in the analysis of Lang’s *An Excursion*, Liu has discovered that Lang used a photograph of reeds that he took near Taipei, but the image of the mountain ridge was captured during Lang’s visit to the Yellow Mountains in mainland China.<sup>9</sup> Liu reinserts *An Excursion* in the artist’s autobiographical narrative by pointing out that he took the image of the boat in 1949 in the harbor of Hong Kong, in the middle of his difficult escape to Taiwan, during which he eventually had to leave behind

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<sup>7</sup> Wu Hung gives the title of this work as *Boating on a Misty Lake*. Wu Hung, *Zooming In: Histories of Photography in China* (London: Reaktion, 2006), 178.

<sup>8</sup> Liu, “Allegorical Landscape,” 12–13.

<sup>9</sup> Liu, 12.

several family members, his photographic equipment, and most of his archive.<sup>10</sup>

The documental aspect of the narrative comes to the fore in a comparison of the close-up of the boat from *An Excursion* (fig. 5.5) and its source image, Lang's photograph of the Hong Kong harbor (fig. 5.6). As Liu puts it, the "ghost boat stranded in the misty void," symbolized the "tumultuous times and an unknown future" for Lang.<sup>11</sup> The early 1950s were equally tumultuous for most other Chinese refugees, who were the primary audience of Lang's works when they were exhibited in Taipei. There Lang's landscapes were met with what Liu calls an "overflowing homesick pathos."<sup>12</sup> Many viewers, like Lang himself, were forced to leave behind family members and their belongings. In Lang's foggy fantasy landscapes, viewers recognized their own idealized memories of their native land. Lang's *An Excursion* made a timely and complex political statement which was perceived as such by his primary audience, the community of his fellow refugees from mainland in Taiwan.

Before I can address Lang's significance as a promoter of photography as a "national language," it is necessary to outline the historically specific perception of terms like *nationalism* and *internationalism* in the discourse of FIAP and photo-club culture of the 1950s. The very appearance of such terms in the context of photography signals that photographers and FIAP board members were aware of the immense weight these terms carried at the time. "Although patriotism occasionally leads to disaster," Van de Wyer tentatively asserted, "it is only too natural that a national photographic organization with exclusive and specific tendencies should be welcomed with pride."<sup>13</sup> The use of these terms in their written communication, however,

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<sup>10</sup> Liu, 12–13.

<sup>11</sup> Liu, 13.

<sup>12</sup> Liu, 11.

<sup>13</sup> Maurice Van de Wyer, "Preamble," *FIAP Yearbook 1956* (Lucerne: C. J. Bucher, 1956), 5.

remained ambiguous and vague. The vagueness demonstrates that neither the photographers nor FIAP leaders had a single answer for the best ways to mobilize these terms to benefit their cause. For example, the FIAP board announcements actively solicited photographs for the FIAP biennials and yearbooks that were “characteristic to [their makers’] country.”<sup>14</sup> According to one of the calls for participation, “each country must select [works that are] the most representative of its national genius.”<sup>15</sup> The photographs, the call said, must also be “modern and lively,”<sup>16</sup> and their subject matter “as varied as possible.”<sup>17</sup> Calls for participation requested “the most excellent, interesting, and varied collections” that should comprise works that “emphasize the national characteristics.”<sup>18</sup> However, FIAP as an organization never discussed the requirements for diversity and national characteristics in photography in more detail. The requirements were left open to the interpretation of each participating country. At the time, the meaning of “national characteristics” varied significantly. The term *nationalism* itself had emerged from an anticolonial movement within Europe itself.<sup>19</sup> But in Europe the term could have only negative connotations in the 1950s. Political scientist and anthropologist Partha Chatterjee puts a special

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<sup>14</sup> Ernest Boesiger, “IVth Photo-Biennial 1956,” *Camera*, no. 5 (1956): 230.

The FIAP congresses repeatedly discussed the ways in which the biennials could represent each member’s “national character” the best. See, for example, also Roland Bourigeaud, untitled, *Camera*, no. 11/12 (1953): 526; FIAP, “Offizieller Bericht über den Kongreß in Antwerpen vom 22. Bis 25. Sept. 1958,” *Camera*, no. 2 (1960): 53–56.

<sup>15</sup> Roland Bourigeaud, “International Congress of Barcelona and the third Biennial 1954,” *Camera*, no. 4 (1954): 202.

<sup>16</sup> Boesiger, “IVth Photo-Biennial 1956,” 230.

<sup>17</sup> Bourigeaud, “International Congress,” 202.

<sup>18</sup> “Also, diesmal nur ganz erstklassige, interessante und abwechslungsreiche Kollektionen, die wenn möglich den Charakter des Landes dokumentieren, einsenden.” FIAP, “Einladung zur Teilnahme am V. Kongreß und an der V. Photo-Biennale der FIAP 1958 in Antwerpen,” *Camera*, no. 7 (1958): 342; FIAP, “Communications,” *Camera*, no. 3 (1963): 61.

<sup>19</sup> The term was “introduced by the Irish Nationalist party as it launched the struggle against British colonialism.” Timothy Mitchell, “The Stage of Modernity,” in *Questions of Modernity*, ed. Timothy Mitchell (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2000), 4.

emphasis on “Europe’s failure to manage its own ethnic nationalisms” as one of the major causes of the two world wars in the first half of the twentieth century.<sup>20</sup> In postwar Europe, according to Pearson, a widespread belief blamed the war on “a blind devotion to nationalism” while putting all hopes on “an open spirit of internationalism.”<sup>21</sup>

Thus, idealistic beliefs about internationalism in Europe grew out of the disappointment in the nation-state model and the failure of national governments to maintain peace. At the time when FIAP was founded in 1950, the possibility of free communication among individuals across borders and their participation in an international, democratic organization such as FIAP was perceived as empowering and emancipating. FIAP subscribed to the hope that cultural exchange was possible between individuals in a forum that remained independent from national government policy or ideology.<sup>22</sup> Similar ideas were circulating in many fields, as people who feared another world war were desperately looking for common ground on which to build a global civil community that would unite them beyond nation-state boundaries.<sup>23</sup>

FIAP presented its 1956 yearbook as “a rich fragment of cosmopolitan art.”<sup>24</sup> The 1958 yearbook represented “the international realm of photography” and the “diversity of its artistic treasures.”<sup>25</sup> In the context of photography, words like *international* and *cosmopolitan* were used

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<sup>20</sup> Partha Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments: Colonial and Postcolonial Histories* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 4.

<sup>21</sup> Christopher E. M. Pearson, *Designing UNESCO: Art, Architecture and International Politics at Mid-Century* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2010), 36.

<sup>22</sup> Roland Bourigeaud, “The FIAP,” *FIAP Yearbook 1958* (Lucerne: C. J. Bucher, 1958), dust jacket.

<sup>23</sup> One such community comprised scientists who developed a discourse of united efforts for the benefit of the humanity, not only their home country. Daniel Speich Chassé, “The Scientific Construction of Swiss Neutrality” in *Neutrality in Twentieth-Century Europe: Intersections of Science, Culture, and Politics after the First World War*, ed. Rebecka Lettevall, Geert Somsen, and Sven Widmalm (New York: Routledge, 2012), 159.

<sup>24</sup> FIAP, “Year-book 1956,” *Camera*, no. 3 (1956): 126.

<sup>25</sup> Maurice Van de Wyer, “Foreword,” *FIAP Yearbook 1958* (Lucerne: C. J. Bucher, 1958), 5.

interchangeably, and their meaning was never specified or discussed. Typically, they were used as positive adjectives to suggest worldliness, tolerance, and openness to diversity. *Cosmopolitan* was used to signal qualities opposite to *provincial* or *narrow-minded*.<sup>26</sup> Most obviously, *international* was embedded in the name of FIAP, the International Federation of Photographic Art. It is worthwhile to note that the term *international* was rooted in European colonial discourse of the late nineteenth-century when it was used as a concept to evoke what political theorist Timothy Mitchell calls the global order of imperialism.<sup>27</sup> When the board members occasionally used it in the communication of FIAP, they unknowingly propagated their Eurocentric worldview. At the same time, their interpretation of internationalism created a welcoming forum for photographers from all those countries and territories that had previously been perceived only as voiceless provinces and margins of the empires.

Meanwhile, multiple nationalisms also existed across the globe, and each was a response to a specific local political situation. Anticolonial nationalism was on the rise in Asia where many territories emerged from the European rule and gained independence. In that context, nationalism was understood as part of the process of decolonization and national self-determination whose ultimate goal was the creation of a modern nation-state.<sup>28</sup> Nationalism in India, for example, was aimed at opposing the consequences of British colonial rule and toward

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<sup>26</sup> For a detailed discussion of the emergence and oftentimes uncertain uses of the term *cosmopolitan*, see John Tomlinson, “The Possibility of Cosmopolitanism” in *Globalization and Culture* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1999), 181–205.

<sup>27</sup> Timothy Mitchell writes: “The idea of ‘the international’ was popularized in London in 1862, when the world exhibition of that year was named the Great International Exhibition. The new word evoked the global order of imperialism that the exhibition was intended to represent.” Mitchell, “Stage of Modernity,” 4.

<sup>28</sup> Clive J. Christie, *A Modern History of Southeast Asia: Decolonization, Nationalism and Separatism* (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 1996), 4.

establishing a new, national culture.<sup>29</sup> By contrast, nationalism in Taiwan was not anticolonial but rather anticommunist. Chinese nationalism surrounding the exiled anti-Communist Kuomintang (the Nationalist Party of China or the Chinese Nationalist Party) government and political refugees in Taiwan cultivated a dream of regaining control over mainland China, where a civil war resulted in the establishment of the People's Republic of China under a Communist government in 1949. In sum, all FIAP constituents had their own way of defining their “national characteristics” and how they could be expressed in photography.

The very concept that photography can be a distinctly national *and* international language was a construction that reflected the specific circumstances and the larger political processes of the 1950s. On one hand, photographs circulated in the FIAP biennials and yearbooks were expected to reflect the culture of their makers' countries and to show something “characteristic” to those places. And yet the same images were expected to show that all participants—all photographers—understood each other's work. FIAP, like its model organization, the UN, faced a profound dilemma: how to be an all-inclusive, democratic, and transnational organization that rose above the concept of nation-state while at the same time allowing each participating nation to express its own ideals and retain its identity?

FIAP board members never addressed the possible tensions or contradictions of defining photography as an international and national language at the same time. Van de Wyer once vaguely hinted at the need to “reconstitute the national as well as the international atmosphere” in the work of FIAP but left the issue at that.<sup>30</sup> Such uncertainty and ambiguity perfectly

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<sup>29</sup> Anticolonial nationalism differs from other forms of nationalism because it “creates its own domain of sovereignty within colonial society well before it begins its political battle with the imperial power.” Chatterjee, *Nation and its Fragments*, 6.

<sup>30</sup> Maurice Van de Wyer, “Preamble,” *FIAP Yearbook 1956* (Lucerne: C. J. Bucher, 1956), 5.

characterize the 1950s as a confusing and contradictory decade and FIAP—as a product of its time. The organization’s greatest achievement was the creation of a forum that was equally open to all members and documented not only Eurocentric internationalism but also the attempts to define photography as a national language, as exemplified by the works of Lang and his colleagues, refugees from mainland China working in Taiwan. The photo-club culture and FIAP became a niche of civil society, a narrow and limited but nevertheless public space where Chinese diaspora photographers, inspired by Lang, constructed their professional and ethnic identity.

Moreover, Lang’s example demonstrates that FIAP equally embraced and supported all the diversity of the visual styles in which its constituents were working. FIAP, like the United Nations, gave photographers of the “second” and “third worlds” hope that their work would be seen and understood internationally. None of these styles developed into viable alternatives to *Life*-fotografie, and none of them was able to reach a comparably high cultural status on an international level as did humanist photography. Nonetheless, their very existence, oftentimes forgotten and documented only in the FIAP yearbooks, manifests the resilience of individual, local, or regional practices against the seductive uniformity of *Life*-fotografie.

### **Chinese Nationalism and the National Language of Photography**

Six works from Taiwan are included in the last two FIAP yearbooks, published in 1964 and 1965. Three out of six works depict cranes, known as auspicious symbols of longevity in the iconography of traditional Chinese art.<sup>31</sup> For example, *Mother and Sons* by Chang Chao-Tang

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<sup>31</sup> The crane in traditional Chinese painting symbolizes “good health and longevity, [and] also [is] a bird of good augury.” Francisca Ting, *Chinese Painting* (London: Batsford, 2001), 21.



(life dates unknown) in the 1966 FIAP Yearbook depict three baby cranes sitting on a naked tree branch and awaiting an adult bird approaching with outstretched wings in midflight (fig. 5.7).<sup>32</sup> The image evokes the visual effects and composition of an ink painting. The plain background consists of a smooth gradient of light grays. The figures of the birds, each captured in the most characteristic and recognizable profile views, are carefully arranged using combination printing. *A View of Chung Cheng Lake* by Yuang S. L. (life dates unknown) in 1964 yearbook is a view of a pavilion, situated at the far end of a lake (fig. 5.8).<sup>33</sup> The vastness of the vista is vividly emphasized by a group of tree branches and leaves in the extreme foreground in the upper part of the image, a widespread compositional convention in Chinese painting. Another image, *A Day's Work* by Ho Beng-Heng (life dates unknown), in the 1966 Yearbook captures a rural labor scene. A man and an ox are walking along a distinct S-shaped curve of a path through terraced fields (fig. 5.9). The photograph is taken from a bird's-eye view, another pictorial device of Chinese painting. Although the image documents the harsh and pre-industrial conditions of rural labor, it is not obviously critical of it, as its main focus is the harmonious composition. The romanticized depiction of a traditional form of farming serves as another expression of nostalgia for the homeland that exists only in memories.

Works from Taiwan stand out in FIAP yearbooks as a visually unified and distinct group. Lang and his peers aimed to imitate the form and subject matter of Chinese ink painting, thus claiming to continue an aesthetic tradition that, according to Lang, was inherently Chinese and threatened by the contemporary Eurocentric visual culture. Works from Taiwan rejected the

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<sup>32</sup> Here and elsewhere, the names of Chinese photographers, with the exception of Lang Jingshan, are transcribed the way they appear in the FIAP publications.

<sup>33</sup> Chung Cheng Lake in Taiwan was later known as Zhongzheng Lake, but in 2016 it was renamed Meinong Lake.

depiction of any obvious signs of modern urban life and instead looked back at landscape painting and depictions of nature in a visual style that at the first glance seems to epitomize “traditional” Chinese culture. The photographers’ choices, however, were specific and strategic. What we would call *traditional* Chinese culture is not homogeneous and consists of numerous distinct layers and fields, such as regional folk art and customs, courtly art, religious art, and so on. Out of all possible fields, Lang and his peers chose to follow the visual culture that the Chinese literati—the gentlemen-artists and gentlemen-scholars—had created between approximately the fourteenth and eighteenth centuries.<sup>34</sup> That visual culture differs from other Chinese artistic traditions with its intimate, introspective nature, use of literary and artistic references, and reflective, often critical perspective on the contemporary world, expressed through allegories. The aristocratic literati produced art and calligraphy that was meant only for their own and their peers’ viewing, not for a broader public. They developed a visual language that critiqued current political issues in ways that only a few would be able to understand.<sup>35</sup> Moreover, a recurring motif in the literati visual culture was observation of nature that, among other things, could symbolize a life dedicated to contemplation, withdrawn from the despised society. One could say that the literati art was nostalgic because it tried to recuperate an impossible ideal—a perfect life of self-reflection and appreciation of nature.

The compositional principles and iconography of Lang’s composite pictures directly

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<sup>34</sup> For a discussion of the Chinese literati painting tradition and its role in Chinese culture, see Ci Lin, *Chinese Painting* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 85–86, 113–15. See also Craig Clunas, “Art in the Life of the Élite,” in *Art in China* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 135–82.

<sup>35</sup> Jonathan Hay writes: “They addressed political issues constantly, albeit obliquely for reasons of self-preservation.” Jonathan Hay, “Double Modernity, Para-Modernity” in *Antinomies of Art and Culture: Modernity, Postmodernity, Contemporaneity*, ed. Terry Smith, Okwui Enwezor, and Nancy Condee (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 119.

reference classical Chinese literati landscape painting. Among the indirect sources for Lang's *An Excursion* was, for example, a fourteenth-century ink painting *Fishermen on Dongting Lake* by Wu Zheng (1280–1354), a notable Yuan Dynasty painter (fig. 5.10).<sup>36</sup> Silhouettes of pine trees in the lower part of the image set a foreground as if it were viewed from above. At the top of the image, a mountain mass appears, seemingly disconnected from the foreground because it exists on its own picture plane, depicted as if seen from the side. A vague, undefined mass of fog fills the middle ground, suggesting a body of water where a softly outlined boat floats. The human figure in the boat represents the hermit-fisherman, an unemployed gentleman scholar.<sup>37</sup> Such hermits were symbolic figures because they were known for living the idealized lives of literati, free from obligations and far from society: “They sleep, admire the scenery, sing boating songs, but seldom fish.”<sup>38</sup> Lang was well versed in the cultural heritage of China. He identified with such a hermit-fisherman—an aesthete, a poet, and an artist in the tradition of the literati.<sup>39</sup> Lang's father was a “connoisseur-collector of antiques including calligraphy and paintings.”<sup>40</sup> Lang claimed to be a descendant of Lang Shih-Yuan (active ca. 742–755), a notable Tang dynasty poet. He had traced the genealogy of the Lang family back to a Count Fi who received a Lang estate as a fief and built around it an eponymous city in the feudal state of Lu during the Spring and Autumn period (the first half of the Eastern Zhou dynasty, ca. 771–476 BC). Lang arguably saw himself first and foremost as an individual who was called to safeguard the survival of

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<sup>36</sup> Lin, *Chinese Painting*, 110–15.

<sup>37</sup> Maxwell K. Hearn, *How to Read Chinese Paintings* (New Haven Yale University Press, 2008), 94.

<sup>38</sup> James Cahill, *Chinese Painting* (New York: Skira Rizzoli, 1983), 107.

<sup>39</sup> See Lin, *Chinese Painting*, 85–86, 113–115; and Clunas, “Life of the Élite,” 135–82.

<sup>40</sup> The China Series Publishing Committee, preface to *Techniques in Composite Picture-Making* by Chin-San Long (Taipei: China Series Publishing Committee, 1958). Long, *Composite Picture-Making*, 2.

“traditional China” and its culture in exile. Producing his photographic images in the visual style of literati painting was his way of doing that.

Lang’s approach was influenced not only by literati landscape painting but also by the way Chinese photographers of previous generations had treated landscape and natural scenery. Art and visual culture historian Yi Gu admits that Chinese photographers had already been adapting selected visual conventions from painting by the late nineteenth century.<sup>41</sup> Art historian Wu Hung notes that the photographers working in the first commercial studios in major port cities such as Shanghai, Hong Kong, and Macao had made landscapes “imbued with a distinct literati taste” and “composed like traditional landscape paintings.”<sup>42</sup> An example of such an approach is *Toumao Mountain* by Tunh Hing (life dates unknown, active 1860s–80s) included in his *Album of Bohea; or, Wu-e Photographic Views*, 1860s–70s (fig. 5.11). Like Lang’s *An Excursion*, the image features mountains, river, and a boat as its main symbolic characters. Unlike Lang’s image, *Toumao Mountain*, however, represents a single view on a natural landscape. Painting had already been a model for Chinese landscape photographers in the 1860s and 1870s, but Lang was a pioneer of the combination print technique for producing distinctively “Chinese” photographs.

It is somewhat paradoxically that one of the strongest criticisms of the dominance of *Life-fotografie* came from Taiwan, an island country that, under the name of the Republic of China, had become a US ally in the Cold War after the proclamation of the Communist People’s Republic of China on the mainland in 1949. A stream of refugees from the mainland followed,

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<sup>41</sup> Yi Gu, “What’s in a Name? Photography and the Reinvention of Visual Truth in China, 1840–1911,” *Art Bulletin* 95, no. 1 (2013): 123.

<sup>42</sup> Wu Hung, “Introduction: Reading Early Photographs of China,” in *Brush and Shutter: Early Photography in China*, ed. Jeffrey W. Cody and Frances Terpak (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2011), 11.

including Lang and other professionals working in different areas of culture. Approximately a million Chinese migrated to Taiwan between 1945 and 1952.<sup>43</sup> Settled on the island of Taiwan, they formed a social and cultural elite. Among other things, the elite engaged in a forced Sinicization of the local population. But its role also turned out to be significant on an international level. The intellectuals and artists in the refugee community in Taiwan were to shape most ideas about China's history and art that were circulated within Western European and North American culture throughout the second half of the twentieth century.<sup>44</sup>

By choosing to translate the principles of literati art into photography, Lang and his peers in Taiwan actively, if only desperately, responded to the process of diminishing the role of cultural heritage in the Communist China that reached its peak in the violent events of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution that begun in 1966. While Communist China tried to eradicate the legacy of the secular but aristocratic scholar culture, the refugee community in Taiwan emerged as the only protector of that culture. Moreover, choosing an inherently nostalgic aesthetic was also their way of rejecting the path of progress and development of photography dictated by Western European and North American magazines and books.

The modern nationalist concept of Chinese culture as distinctively different from other cultures took shape in the 1920s.<sup>45</sup> Established in 1912 under the leadership of its first president,

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<sup>43</sup> See Daniel C. Lynch, "Taiwan's Self-Conscious Nation-Building Project," *Asian Survey* 44, no. 4 (2004): 513–33.

<sup>44</sup> This particular group of refugee intellectuals and artists established an "insular Republican Chinese construct of 'Chinese' culture." Jennifer Purtle, "Placing Chinese Painting History: The Cultural Production of the Geohistory of Painting Practice in China," in *Time and Place: The Geohistory of Art*, ed. Thomas DaCosta Kaufmann and Elizabeth Pilliod (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005), 141.

<sup>45</sup> In the early modern era the concept of culture in China was sinocentric—associated exclusively with Chinese culture. In other words, only China had culture, and it was at the center of the world's development, the Central or Middle Kingdom (the literal translation of the country's modern name in Mandarin, *Zhongguo*). The need to define itself in comparison with

Sun Yat-Sen, the first Republic of China was, by the late 1920s, only partially controlled by the Kuomintang government, and the country was constantly at war. Sun Yat-Sen's nationalism gained a following because it responded to the challenges of the current political and social situation: it emphasized the nation's survival and focused on creating ethnic and racial unity.<sup>46</sup>

In the field of photography, Chinese photographer Liu Bannong (1891–1934) best expressed the nationalist ideals of the time in a preface to *The Beijing Light Society Annual* in 1929, saying: “We need to use the camera to express fully our own personalities and the distinctive sentiments and refinements of the Chinese people, thus enabling our works to establish their own kind of character different from that of other countries. Only then will our efforts not have been wasted and we will not have given uselessly our money to Kodak and Agfa.”<sup>47</sup> Liu Bannong was a prominent promoter of photography in China and a leader of the photo club the Beijing Light Society.<sup>48</sup> His nationalist pathos experienced a revival in the 1950s among those refugees from communist government who had settled in Taiwan. Moreover, refugee photographers in the 1950s found one particular way to promote their “distinctive

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other nations became especially relevant in the twentieth century. For a recent critical interpretation of sinocentrism, see Dilip K. Basu, “Chinese Xenology and the Opium War: Reflections on Sinocentrism,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 73, no. 4 (2014): 927–40. See also the chapter “Information and Knowledge: Qing China's Perceptions of the Maritime World in the Eighteenth Century” in Chin-keong Ng, *Boundaries and Beyond: China's Maritime Southeast in Late Imperial Times* (Singapore: National University of Singapore Press, 2017), 191–204.

<sup>46</sup> Shameer Modongal, “Development of Nationalism in China,” *Cogent Social Sciences* 2 (2016): 1235749, 6, <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/23311886.2016.1235749>. See also Yingjie Guo, *Cultural Nationalism in Contemporary China* (London: Routledge, 2003).

<sup>47</sup> Quoted in English in Richard K. Kent, “Early Twentieth-Century Art Photography in China: Adopting, Domesticating, and Embracing the Foreign,” *Trans-Asia Photography Review* 3, no. 2 (2013): n.p., available at <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.7977573.0003.204>.

<sup>48</sup> Richard K. Kent, “Fine Art Photography in Republican Period Shanghai: From Pictorialism to Modernism,” in *Bridges to Heaven: Essays on East Asian Art in Honor of Professor Wen C. Fong*, ed. Jerome Silbergeld, Dora C. Y. Ching, Judith G. Smith, and Alfreda Murck (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 855.

sentiments and refinements” internationally through their participation in photo-club and FIAP exhibitions and publications. The leading figure among them was Lang. He developed his own version of a “national” language of photography, which he called Chinese camera art, and actively promoted it abroad.

Lang’s career as a professional magazine photographer, journalist, and cultural activist took shape in the late 1920s, in the same atmosphere of desperate nationalism that nurtured Liu Bannong’s rhetoric. Lang emerged as the first notable Chinese photojournalist when he worked in the newspapers *Shen Bao* (Shanghai News) and *Shi Bao* (Times) in the 1920s.<sup>49</sup> Among Lang’s activities at the time was also the foundation of the China Camera Club in Shanghai in 1928.<sup>50</sup> Photo clubs and photographic societies continued to provide the main institutional framework for photographers in the following decades also. Like it was with the photographers I discussed in the previous chapters, Lang’s career followed the pattern where locally or regionally recognized professionals were committed also to the photo-club culture and deeply involved in its organizational work alongside to their commissioned editorial work. The main difference from the 1920s was that in the 1950s FIAP brought the photo-club culture to a new level of development by opening new avenues to broader, transnational participation and offering a new and timely political framing through its rhetorical analogies with the humanism and egalitarianism of UN.

After the civil war, when Lang settled in Taiwan, he continued his organizational efforts

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<sup>49</sup> Fan Di’an, foreword in *Lang Jingshan: Image of China; 20th-Century Chinese Photography Masters* (Beijing: National Art Museum of China, 2013), 8.

<sup>50</sup> For details on Lang’s formative years, see Roberta Wue, “China in the World: On Photography, Montages, and the Magic Lantern,” *History of Photography* 41, no. 2 (2017): 174. See also Claire Roberts, *Photography and China* (London: Reaktion, 2013), 83; and the Fan Di’an foreword in *Lang Jingshan*, 8–9.

and set up the Photographic Society of China in Taipei in 1953. FIAP accepted the Photographic Society of China as a full member in 1962. At the time, the society united approximately three hundred photographers. One of its main activities was organizing international photography exhibitions at the National Art Gallery in Taipei.<sup>51</sup> Lang and his peers who were affiliated with the Taipei-based Photographic Society of China followed Liu Bannong's call to make a distinctively "Chinese" photographic art. They found one way of doing so in the translation of the aesthetic conventions of traditional Chinese ink painting into the language of photography. Their works in the FIAP yearbooks exemplify the approach to photography as a tool for claiming a modern political identity through visual tropes that expressed their sense of displacement and evoked nostalgia.

### **Making and Reading "Chinese" Photography Outside China**

Lang once wrote: "Art can never be detached from this world, much less stand in isolation. It is attached to its time, its society, and its nationality."<sup>52</sup> His *An Excursion* exemplifies art that is deeply embedded in a particular time and place. It is a metaphor for nationalist politics, an illustration of the refugee experience, and an expression of mourning for all that one particular sociopolitical group of Chinese society had lost in the political upheaval of the time. But these layers of meaning remained inaccessible to most of the viewers who were not intimately familiar with the political and social conditions that surrounded its making. Lang's was one of the few articulate voices among the photographers who already called for a greater acknowledgment of diversity in the 1950s instead of judging everything only from the perspective of the Western art-

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<sup>51</sup> Odette Bretscher, untitled, *Camera*, no. 5 (1964): 32.

<sup>52</sup> Liu, "Allegorical Landscape," 1.



historical narrative. By saying that art is “attached to its time, its society, and its nationality,” Lang argued for paying closer attention to each image and the cultural background of its maker.<sup>53</sup> He articulated a profound understanding of the transnational landscape of photography whose multiple parts cannot be measured with the same metric. Unsurprisingly, his call slipped by unnoticed in the 1950s.

For the foreign audience in the photo-club and FIAP exhibitions and publications, the visual elements of *An Excursion* appeared only as formal pictorial devices, whose primary role was to balance the volumes in composition, while at the same time claiming an “authentic” and seemingly ahistorical “Chinese” aesthetic. But what went unnoticed was that the image embodied the sentiment and nostalgia of Chinese exiles in Taiwan, and as such it was not ahistorical but specific to the early 1950s. Only today can we begin looking beyond the exclusive canon of photography and start thinking about the multiple parallel paths of development that photography took in the 1950s. In this section I will zoom in on the cultural background of Lang’s methods and argue that his work, as a distinct alternative to *Life*-fotografie, exemplifies the variety of photographic practices and illuminates the role of the photo-club culture and FIAP in circulating and documenting them.

Lang Jingshan was the most influential promoter of “Chinese” photography not only with his own creative work but also in his organizational efforts in Taiwan and his setting up of transnational connections. He travelled extensively in the 1950s and 1960s; he participated in the FIAP congresses, visited other destinations in Europe, and traveled to Latin America.<sup>54</sup> Moreover, unlike most other photographers whose work was featured in FIAP publications, Lang

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<sup>53</sup> Liu, “Allegorical Landscape,” 1.

<sup>54</sup> For example, Lang participated in the FIAP congress in Athens in 1962 and visited Switzerland. Odette Bretscher, untitled, *Camera*, no. 5 (1964): 32.

theorized his aesthetic program and widely circulated his ideas both within the diasporic Chinese community and internationally. Lang's theoretical writings were published in Chinese and translated into English, French, and Japanese. He established the theoretical framework of his creative practice in the book *Techniques in Composite Picture-Making: Chinese Arts in Photography*, first published in Mandarin in 1942 and later circulated in numerous editions in several languages.<sup>55</sup> His writings support my argument that he used the methods and visual devices of Chinese literati ink painting in order to establish a particular cultural distinction and authority to his photographic work. Lang expressed the nostalgia and sense of loss that permeated the mainland refugee community in Taiwan and participated in the construction of the image of China as a timeless fantasy.

Pivotal to Lang's methodology was the concept of a "composite picture," his preferred term whose closest generic equivalent is the combination print.<sup>56</sup> Lang's theory of the composite picture directly translated some of the principles of Chinese literati ink painting into photography. For Lang, the importance of establishing the connection with an artistic tradition of the past was twofold. First, the connection helped him to define and theorize a particularly "Chinese" photography because it followed a historical tradition of visual representation that Chinese artists had developed and theorized. Second, the connection with the past was useful in distinguishing his "Chinese" photography from the work of his European and US colleagues.

Lang argues that the way of capturing the world inherent to photography is restrictive because it captures *everything* that is in front of the camera. The visible reality, however, is far

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<sup>55</sup> The English version was published in 1958 with parallel text in Chinese, Japanese, and French. Long, *Composite Picture-Making*. The book has been reprinted several times. See, for example, Chin-san Long, *Chinese Arts in Photography* (Taipei: Institute of Graphic Arts, 1964), and *A Selection of Idyllic Composite Pictures* (Taipei: Photographic Society of China, 1990).

<sup>56</sup> Liu, "Allegorical Landscape," 1, 20n6.

from those aesthetic ideals that artists desire to convey. The method of composite pictures rectifies that. Instead of capturing *all* details of any given natural scenery, it allows artists to select and emphasize only those elements that are the most expressive of their preconceived ideas. By doing so, the technique of composite pictures, according to Lang, follows the methodology of Chinese landscape painting. Lang explains his reasoning behind the use of a combination of several source negatives:

Nature is often imperfect. . . . By printing only the desirable parts from two or more negatives and by leaving out what is not necessary . . . we can now eliminate what is not wanted and add in what is lacking; we can now make up an ideal picture out of various individual photographs without losing any of the effects or qualities that are necessary to a photograph.<sup>57</sup>

Lang's works are pictorial compositions, conceived in the artist's mind and carefully constructed from parts of multiple negatives taken in different locations. The resulting composite picture, or "post-image" as Wu Hung calls it, "is a fictional construct of fragmentary images based on the photographer's visual memories."<sup>58</sup> Lang demonstrates his process step by step in his book (Figs. 5.12 and 5.13). He discusses the formation of relationships between the foreground, middle ground, and background in great detail; establishes the bird's-eye view as the preferred viewpoint; and elaborates on the symbolic role of natural elements, such as rocks or clouds, as well as the strategic placement of fog that partially obscures the view and creates a sense of depth.<sup>59</sup> Lang writes:

Chinese artists of the traditional schools are often accused of painting from imagination. Nothing could be further from the truth. They do not paint from imagination but from memory. What differentiates them from the Western artists is that they paint what they *have seen* instead of what they *are seeing*. . . . A corrected and retouched view of nature is expressed in the artists' own work. The same is now being done in composite

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<sup>57</sup> Chin-San Long, "Composite Picture and Chinese Art," in *Composite Picture-Making*, 9.

<sup>58</sup> Wu Hung, *Zooming In*, 178.

<sup>59</sup> Chin-San Long, "How to Make Composite Pictures," in *Composite Picture-Making*, 13–21.

pictures.<sup>60</sup>

By revealing his methods and techniques, Lang emphasizes that his images are not meant to “deceive” the viewers or make them believe that they depict an ideal landscape that he had captured with his camera. Instead, he expected his viewers to read his images like they would read ink paintings. Scholars have established that historical Chinese ink painting worked for their audiences as “an expanded field of vision” which, as historian of East Asian art Wen C. Fong succinctly states, “transforms the landscape into a symbolic form as an image of the mind.”<sup>61</sup> In other words, the literati painting that Lang referenced in his images was never concerned with a mimetic depiction of natural vistas. “The value of the picture does not depend upon its likeness to anything in nature,” writes art historian James Cahill.<sup>62</sup> Instead, “The object in nature serves as raw material which must be transformed into an artistic idiom.”<sup>63</sup> Lang’s technique of composite images helped him transform parts of nature and landscape into his own “images of the mind.”<sup>64</sup> While his colleagues in Europe and the United States arranged people, objects, and lighting in front of their cameras in order to achieve a specific result, Lang arranged parts of multiple negatives.

Making photographs that referred to paintings of the past evoked prejudice in Lang’s international audiences that were accustomed to looking at photography through the lens of the dominant culture that at that time preferred the subjects and visual style of *Life*-fotografie. Lang and his peers explicitly rejected that approach. His work, however, continues to evoke prejudice in present-day historians of art and photography. It is not surprising to read in a photography

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<sup>60</sup> Long, “Composite Picture and Chinese Art,” 9. Emphasis in original.

<sup>61</sup> Wen C. Fong, “Why Chinese Painting Is History,” *Art Bulletin* 85, no. 2 (2003): 273–74.

<sup>62</sup> Cahill, *Chinese Painting*, 89–90.

<sup>63</sup> Cahill, 90.

<sup>64</sup> Fong, “Why Chinese Painting Is History,” 274.

textbook, for example, that Chinese photographers like Lang lacked originality because they did not learn from “the rich creative ideas of modernism and the tradition of Western social documentation.”<sup>65</sup> Viewed from the perspective of the Western art history, postwar Chinese photography appears ahistorical, repetitive, and unresponsive to the contemporary world because it comprises *only* “the emulation of the themes, compositions, and styles of scroll painting . . . with calligraphed characters sometimes added to the negative or sometimes brushed into the print.”<sup>66</sup> From that viewpoint, it is easy to label Lang’s work as unoriginal because it does not demonstrate a stylistic departure from, or a critical response to, a set of well-established aesthetic conventions from another historical period.

But historian of Chinese art Jonathan Hay, for example, warns against the “facile transposition of a European frame of reference to the Chinese context.”<sup>67</sup> Therefore, it is important to acknowledge that both keywords in the critical quotation above, *to emulate* and *painting*, have a different meaning in Chinese culture than they do in Western art history. First, the verbs *to emulate* or *to imitate* in the context of Western art criticism usually have a negative connotation, but it is the opposite in traditional Chinese art theory.<sup>68</sup> “Traditional China operated as a culture of copies and replicas,” notes Fong.<sup>69</sup> Second, the particular kind of painting that

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<sup>65</sup> Naomi Rosenblum, *A World History of Photography*, 4th ed. (New York: Abbeville Press, 2007), 562.

<sup>66</sup> Rosenblum, *World History of Photography*, 565.

<sup>67</sup> Hay, “Double Modernity, Para-Modernity,” 115.

<sup>68</sup> “The Chinese critical language about Lang is tightly moored to the problematic interpretation of emulation in the twentieth- and twenty-first-century West. On the other hand, Lang’s practice is shaped mostly by a Chinese art tradition that has its own complicated history of ‘emulation’.” Mia Yinxing Liu, “The ‘Emulative’ Portraits: Lang Jingshan’s Photography of Zhang Daqian,” *Trans-Asia Photography Review* 6, no. 1 (2015): n.p, <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/spo.7977573.0006.106>.

<sup>69</sup> Fong, “Why Chinese Painting Is History,” 261.

Lang's works reference, the literati landscape painting, not only comprised a specific range of subject matter and aesthetic approaches but also had a strong theoretical heritage that he purposefully integrated into his photographic practice in order to convey emotions and thoughts urgent to himself and his community.<sup>70</sup> For example, Lang refers to the six canonical rules of Chinese painting in his writing, one of which he interpreted in English as "Modelling on Classical Patterns by Clever Translation."<sup>71</sup> Liu translates it as "transmission by copying" and emphasizes that in Chinese art education, copying was highly valued "as an essential process for an artist to learn his craft and to know where he stands in relation to the past."<sup>72</sup> When conceiving his composite pictures, Lang worked from within a cultural tradition where the value of an artwork was not measured by the degree of its originality and transgression from its predecessors, as in modern Western art history, but rather the opposite.

Because Lang used a historical visual style to express nostalgia and the sense of loss, his reworking of the past was not obviously critical or ironic but rather romanticizing and idealizing. The apparently antimodern aspect of Lang's work further complicates its perception from the Western art-historical perspective. It illuminates yet another aspect of the power imbalance between the dominant culture and all others. When Western European artists appropriated elements from the history other cultures, doing so was viewed as a sign of originality and innovation. Meanwhile, when artists of other regions referred *to their own* indigenous culture, their work was criticized as "parochial and unoriginal."<sup>73</sup> I would like to refer to one example of

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<sup>70</sup> Fong, 273–74.

<sup>71</sup> Long, "How to Make Composite Pictures," 16.

<sup>72</sup> Liu, " 'Emulative' Portraits," n.p.

<sup>73</sup> Sylvester Okwunodu Ogbechie, "The Perils of Unilateral Power: Neomodernism Metaphors and the New Global Order," in *Antinomies of Art and Culture: Modernity, Postmodernity, Contemporaneity*, ed. Terry Smith, Okwui Enwezor, and Nancy Condee (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 181.

such imbalance discussed by art historian and curator of African art and visual culture Sylvester Okwunodu Ogbechie. In 1955 Nigerian painter and sculptor Ben Enwonwu (1917–1994) made a bronze sculpture, *Anyanwu*, whose head was modeled after a sixteenth-century bronze sculpture from Benin. European critics accused Enwonwu of lacking originality and even of imitating the signature style of Swiss artist Alberto Giacometti’s postwar sculptures. Enwonwu responded by saying that he had used visual devices from his own Igbo and Edo heritage. He could not have been imitating any of the European modernists because they were the ones who had copied forms from African art.<sup>74</sup> A similar imbalance was—and still is—at work in the reception of Lang’s “Chinese camera art.” When a Chinese artist borrowed elements from the past of his own artistic heritage, the dominant culture categorized it as a pastiche unworthy of a second look. Meanwhile, when Western European artists imitated elements of East Asian art and visual culture in chinoiserie and japonisme, such imitation became part of the grand narrative of modernism.

Second, when Lang translated the historical tradition of literati ink painting into the language of photography in the 1950s, he stood against the narrative of modernization.<sup>75</sup> The seeming antimodernity of Lang’s work obscures its embeddedness in a particular historical moment. Appadurai in his discussion of societies that are caught in the process of migration, deterritorialization, and displacement, posits that culture for them becomes “an arena for

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<sup>74</sup> Ogbechie, “Perils of Unilateral Power,” 181.

<sup>75</sup> As historian Prasenjit Duara puts it, “The dominant narrative of modern Chinese history in both China and the West is the narrative of modernization.” Prasenjit Duara, *Rescuing History from the Nation: Questioning Narratives of Modern China* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 206.

conscious choice, justification, and representation.”<sup>76</sup> Lang’s composite pictures were among the products of such conscious choice. Facing the trauma of exile, the Chinese refugee community in Taiwan was inclined to romanticize the art of the past in search of their own selfhood in the present. Lang’s “Chinese camera art” was neither a straightforward continuation nor a simplistic copying of a historical artistic tradition but a completely new and hybrid form of visual culture. Lang chose the style of the literati ink painting, adapted it to the modern photographic technologies, and circulated it within the transnational photo-club culture that emerged as a result of the global political changes after the Second World War. Lang created the new form of visual culture in response to the current local sociopolitical situation and the refugee community’s need for self-identification as well as to the growing dominance of the *Life*-fotografie in the field of photography.

To conclude my discussion of Lang’s works, I would like to reinforce the idea that he constructed a particular aesthetic program as well as a political agenda. He made aesthetic choices consciously and aimed to visually articulate ideas that were urgent to him and his peers. His choices were deeply embedded in local cultural and historical contexts. Lang employed historical theoretical concepts, iconography, and compositional schemes in order to remember his homeland, to mourn its loss, and also to construct an allegoric image of it for the audiences abroad. Photo-club culture and FIAP provided the only institutional framework where Lang could circulate his images internationally. Presented in the format of solitary images within the space of the photo-club and FIAP exhibitions and publications, however, Lang’s composite pictures floated unattached to his political position and personal narrative. Viewers and critics

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<sup>76</sup> Arjun Appadurai, “Disjuncture and Difference in the Global Cultural Economy,” in *Colonial Discourse and Post-Colonial Theory*, ed. Patrick Williams and Laura Chrisman (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), 335.



abroad failed to understand the cultural significance of Lang's work. Most typically they perceived his work as token "Chinese" images and stereotypical souvenirs of an "exotic" culture, while erroneously associating his technique with the late nineteenth-century Western European and American pictorialism. Fong writes that "citing Western analogies with Chinese painting history" can lead to "being either ethnocentric or, worse, following the Orientalist approach of applying the (Western) evolutionary model to the study of Chinese painting."<sup>77</sup> We are following what Fong would call the Orientalist approach any time we use the canonic images and visual styles produced in Western Europe and the United States—such as pictorialism—as a standard against which to compare images from all other regions. Such comparison inevitably leads to the acknowledgement of the superiority of the canonic images, while making all others appear provincial, unoriginal, and otherwise unworthy of further study.

The Orientalist approach is deeply embedded in the discipline because art-historical training teaches that important artists and photographers work along a line of progress that consists of successive stages of "development," dictated by the social, political, and economic processes in Western Europe and the United States. But such a model of periodization does not adequately describe the processes that are taking place elsewhere.<sup>78</sup> Such a model, however, is so fundamental to art history that it appears as the natural and only possible one. Conscious effort is

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<sup>77</sup> Fong, "Why Chinese Painting Is History," 259. Fong refers to an earlier article by Oleg Grabar, an authority in the field of Islamic art and architecture. In 1982 Grabar had already expressed the necessity of multiple and local art histories instead of attempting to align everything to a single Euro-US-centric narrative. Grabar writes: "The history of art required by new countries in old worlds is not one that relates them to the west but one that proclaims their differences." Oleg Grabar, "On the Universality of the History of Art," *Art Journal* 42, no. 4 (1982): 282.

<sup>78</sup> See Gao Minglu, "'Particular Time, Specific Space, My Truth': Total Modernity in Chinese Contemporary Art," in *Antinomies of Art and Culture: Modernity, Postmodernity, Contemporaneity*, ed. Terry Smith, Okwui Enwezor, and Nancy Condee (Durham: Duke University Press, 2008), 135.

necessary to notice all the numerous ways in which the Euro-US-centric bias shapes our thinking. Likewise, effort is needed to stop looking at the diversity of the world's cultures exclusively through the lens of the Western art history.

CHAPTER SIX: THE IDEALS OF PHOTO-CLUB CULTURE. FOTO CINE CLUBE  
BANDEIRANTE IN SÃO PAULO

It is quite surprising to find a work by Lang reproduced on the cover of *Boletim Foto Cine*, a magazine published by the photo club Foto Cine Clube Bandeirante (FCCB) in São Paulo, Brazil. Lang's undated work *In the Spring* on the cover of the July–August 1963 issue of *Boletim* depicts a mountain landscape, partially hidden by a vague expanse of mist (fig. 6.1). In the foreground, an S-shaped tree captures the viewer's gaze. *In the Spring* is a skillful example of Lang's signature visual style and the method of “composite picture” that I discuss in detail in chapter 5. But here, on the cover of *Boletim*, *In the Spring* is also an important symbol of three concepts inherent to the global photo-club culture of the 1950s: interconnectivity among members, regular circulation of images, and openness to all visual styles, including those that diverged from the mainstream of *Life*-fotografie.

Photo-club culture of the 1950s was polycentric and pluralistic. One of the several centers of its activity was the São Paulo photo club FCCB. I have chosen to conclude my dissertation with a case study on FCCB because it was a club that most clearly articulated the ideals that emerged from within the global photo-club culture and embodied them in the most straightforward way. Among the reasons for this is the fact that FCCB united people whose involvement with photography was limited almost exclusively to the photo-club culture. Meanwhile, most of the other photo club members that I introduced in previous chapters were professional magazine photographers and photojournalists for whom clubs offered an additional channel for distributing their images besides the press. Moreover, FCCB is one of the very few photo clubs of the 1950s that has attracted notable scholarly attention, including museum

exhibitions and critical publications.<sup>1</sup> Therefore, FCCB is not the most *typical* photo club of the 1950s. It is, rather, an exception. Because of that, I discuss it at the end of my dissertation. But the example of FCCB is of vital importance because it reinforces and supports the arguments of the previous chapters all the while shifting the spotlight toward those aspects of the photo-club culture that so far have remained in the background. One such aspect is the significance of interconnectivity among photographers and photo clubs across national borders. Another is the emphasis on the club as the primary module in the network of the photo-club culture as opposed to individual photographers whose works and careers are the focus of all previous chapters.

Drawing on the example of FCCB, in the first section of this chapter I shall argue that photo clubs of the 1950s functioned as social systems that provided photographers with an institutional framework that was distinctly different from the professional structure of commercial press because it was dedicated to facilitating interconnectivity and exchange among photographers and clubs. Unlike the publishing industry, the photo-club culture was concerned neither with profiting from photography nor with engaging the general public. The primary intended audience of FIAP yearbooks as well as photo-club salons was photographers themselves. FIAP and photo clubs aspired to create a space for photographers and photographic images that would distinctly differ from that of the commercial press. FIAP endorsed only those channels of circulating images that resisted the for-profit journalistic model of photographic

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<sup>1</sup> The most notable example is the exhibition *Foto Cine Clube Bandeirante: From the Archive to the Network (Foto Cine Clube Bandeirante: do arquivo à rede)* curated by Rosângela Rennó at the São Paulo Museum of Art and on view from November 27, 2015 to March 20, 2016. The exhibition showcased the work of eighty-five FCCB-affiliated photographers primarily from the 1950s and 1960s. For the history of FCCB, see Raul Feitosa, *Bandeirante: 70 anos de história na fotografia* (São Paulo: Editora Photo, 2013), and *MASP FCCB: Coleção Museu de Arte de São Paulo Foto Cine Clube Bandeirante* (São Paulo: Museu de Arte de São Paulo Assis Chateaubriand, 2016).

production and image dissemination. The most notable of such channels was the photo-club salon. The second part of the chapter demonstrates that FCCB not only created a successful salon but also produced the first attempts to record all salons taking place across the world. Finally, the last section of the chapter argues that FCCB members developed two distinct visual styles, namely pictorialist revival and modernist photography. The significance of both styles in the context of the photo-club culture lies in the ways in which they challenged the dominance of *Life-fotografie* and set out to establish an authority for alternative photographic languages.

### **Facilitating Transnational Exchange**

In July of 1963, the then-seventy-one-year-old Lang opened his solo exhibition in São Paulo, organized by FCCB. At the opening, the club's president, Eduardo Salvatore (1914–2006), awarded Lang honorary membership in FCCB and the Brazilian Federation of Photographic Art (fig. 6.2). A report about the opening of Lang's exhibition in *Boletim* includes photographs of the visiting artist among representatives of the consulate of the Republic of China (Taiwan) and respectable members of São Paulo's Chinese community (fig. 6.3). The article in *Boletim* accompanying the images from the opening of Lang's exhibition praises him as a "great master" of Chinese photography, outlines his biography, and briefly summarizes his theoretical writings about his composite picture technique.<sup>2</sup> It is not clear, however, what kind of conversations Lang had with Salvatore and other FCCB photographers. We cannot be sure how they perceived Lang's nostalgic landscapes and other combination prints. Likewise, we do not know what Lang's opinion about the FCCB members' work was. But the encounter itself exemplifies the

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<sup>2</sup> J. E. L. S., "Encontro com Chin-San Long," *Boletim Foto Cine* 12, no. 138 (July–August 1963): 14–17.

central role of exchange and communication among the diverse photo-club members.

“For me, the most moving aspect of looking at a [photo-club] salon catalogue is seeing the names of Brazilians entangled with names of artists from other parts of the world,” wrote Brazilian scientist, artist, and FCCB member José Oiticica Filho (1906–1964) in 1951.<sup>3</sup> He continued, “This is what patriotism means to me, a type of sane patriotism expressed in seeing my name and the name of my country among names of artists from other countries, democratically positioned as equals.”<sup>4</sup> Oiticica Filho’s idealism characterizes one aspect of the global photo-club culture of the 1950s. A dream about an idealized forum, governed by the principles of equality and democracy, was the common ground on which FIAP united the national federations of photo clubs across the world.

I interpret Lang’s exhibition at the FCCB as a deeply symbolic event that expresses one of the ideals of the photo-club culture. Socializing among representatives of distinctive local photographic languages, at least theoretically “positioned as equals” within one shared space, as Oiticica Filho envisioned, was one of the central concepts that mobilized photographers to participate in photo clubs and FIAP.<sup>5</sup> Among the reasons why FIAP succeeded in engaging so many constituents was its promise to provide photo clubs with a dedicated forum for democratic and inclusive communication across political and ethnic borders. Practical difficulties most of the time limited such fora to the FIAP biennials and the pages of FIAP yearbooks. The dream

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<sup>3</sup> “O mais emocionante, para mim, num catálogo de Salão, é ver os nomes de brasileiros entrelaçados com o de outros artistas de diferentes partes da Terra.” José Oiticica Filho, “Reforçando os pontos dos ii,” *Boletim Foto Cine* 5, no. 58 (February 1951): 22. Translated from Portuguese by Luisa Valle.

<sup>4</sup> “Isto para mim é que é patriotismo, patriotism são, de ver meu nome junto ao do Brasil, ente os nomes de outros artistas e de outros Países, democráticamente nas mesmas condições de igualdade.” Oiticica Filho, 22. Translated from Portuguese by Luisa Valle.

<sup>5</sup> Oiticica Filho, “Reforçando os pontos dos ii,” 22.

about transnational interconnectivity and mobility could only come true on rare occasions.<sup>6</sup>

Lang's travels offer one exceptional example.<sup>7</sup>

Another example of outstanding mobility at the time was the president of FIAP, Van de Wyer. His regular visits to São Paulo and other locations in Brazil strengthened the sense of belonging to the transnational community among Brazilian photographers. For example, at the beginning of his visit to Brazil in 1960, Van de Wyer stopped in the port city of Santos, where the members of the local photo club greeted him in front of the city hall with a large, custom-made banner printed with the words "Santos welcomes the president of the International Federation of Photographic Art, Maurice Van de Wyer."<sup>8</sup> (fig. 6.4) Later Van de Wyer served as the honorary chair of the biannual meeting of the Management Committee of the Brazilian Federation that took place in São Paulo. There he also discussed the Brazilian participation in FIAP activities with Salvatore and others.<sup>9</sup> (fig. 6.5.)

FCCB in São Paulo attracted visitors not only from Europe and Asia but also from Brazil's neighboring countries. For example, Argentine photographer Annemarie Heinrich, whose work I discuss in chapter 2, visited the club with a solo exhibition in 1951 and 1960.

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<sup>6</sup> FIAP itself did not have an office, so its constituents could not actually visit it and use it for socializing. The only occasion when FIAP provided a physical space for its constituents to meet in person was the congress which took place once in two years. I discuss the practical difficulties that prevented most non-European members from attending the congresses in chapter 1.

<sup>7</sup> Lang was especially active in establishing connections with other photographers and promoting his own artistic principles abroad as well as at home. For example, in 1963 Lang also visited Rio de Janeiro, opened solo shows in New York and Manila, and initiated a series of lectures on photographic art at the National Art Institute, Taiwan. Edwin Kin-keung Lai, "The Life and Art Photography of Lang Jingshan (1892–1995)," (PhD diss., University of Hong Kong, 2000), 305, [http://dx.doi.org/10.5353/th\\_b3023021](http://dx.doi.org/10.5353/th_b3023021).

<sup>8</sup> "Reception of the President of FIAP in Santos, Brazil by the authorities and club in 1960. The posters were mounted in front of the City Hall." FIAP, "Kurzbericht über die am Kongreß in Opatija gefaßten wichtigsten Beschlüsse 19.–22. September 1960," *Camera*, no. 1 (1961): 48.

<sup>9</sup> FIAP, "Kurzbericht," 48.

Heinrich's visits are even more significant because she was one of the very few women among professional photographers who were also leading figures in the photo-club culture during the 1950s. Heinrich's visits to the club and exhibitions in São Paulo are documented in *Boletim* in a manner no less detailed than those of her male peers. For example, her undated work *Artist's Hands* is reproduced on the cover of the March 1951 issue of *Boletim* (fig. 6.6). In the same issue of *Boletim*, a lengthy article by Jacob Polacow describes her work, accompanied by photos from the well-attended opening of her show.<sup>10</sup> A photo by German Lorca (b. 1922) in the same issue of *Boletim* depicts Heinrich among FCCB members Oiticica Filho, José Yalenti (1895–1967), and Aldo Augusto de Souza Lima (b. 1920) (fig. 6.7).

It is not a coincidence that Lang, Van de Wyer, Heinrich, and others chose to visit FCCB in São Paulo out of the hundreds of photo clubs that were active around the world. Founded in 1939, FCCB went on to become one of the most visible hubs of the local, regional, and global photo-club culture during the 1950s. One of the most important reasons was the commitment of FCCB members to promoting communication among photographers and their constant efforts at creating and maintaining institutional frameworks for such exchange. Brazilian historians of photography have coined a term *fotoclubismo* (from the Portuguese *foto clube*—"photo club" in English) to describe the thriving and dynamic atmosphere that prevailed in the local photo-club culture at the time.<sup>11</sup> Moreover, art and photography historian Helouise Costa notes that the term

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<sup>10</sup> Jacob Polacow, "Cem Quadros de Annemarie Heinrich," *Boletim Foto Cine* 5, no. 59 (March 1951): 6–8.

<sup>11</sup> Recent publications about *fotoclubismo* include: Marly T. C. Porto, *Eduardo Salvatore e seu papel como articulador do fotoclubismo paulista* (São Paulo: Grão Editora, 2018); Rosângela Rennó, "Do arquivo à rede," in *MASP—FCCB*, 8–12; Luzia Costa Rodeghiero, *O fotoclubismo na história de Porto Alegre no século XX* (Porto Alegre: Oficina do Historiador, EDIPUCRS, 2014), 507–21; and Angela Magalhães and Nadja Fonseca Peregrino, *Fotoclubismo no Brasil: O legado da Sociedade Fluminense de Fotografia* (Rio de Janeiro: Senac Nacional, 2012). See also: Paula V. Kupfer, "Gertrudes Altschul and the Foto Cine Clube Bandeirante: Modern



*fotoclubismo* also implies a certain socioeconomic class affiliation because belonging to photo clubs and active participation in their regular exhibitions “became an important factor of social distinction” in Brazil.<sup>12</sup> Apart from the professional photographers and photojournalists whose work I discuss in the first four chapters of my dissertation, photo-club culture in the 1950s also engaged a large segment of relatively affluent, socially well-connected middle- and upper-middle-class professionals. FCCB is one of the best examples of their involvement. For example, Salvatore was a lawyer by profession. Lorca also was a lawyer, Oiticica Filho was a scientist, and Yalenti was an engineer.<sup>13</sup> Ivo Ferreira da Silva (b. 1911), Gaspar Gasparian (1899–1966), and Ademar Manarini (1920–1989) were industrialists.<sup>14</sup> Gertrudes Altschul (1904–1962) worked in her family business which produced artificial decorative flowers.<sup>15</sup> Thomaz Farkas (1924–2011) had degrees in engineering and communication and was a university professor and family business owner.<sup>16</sup> Kazuo Kawahara (b. 1905) and Jean Lecoq (1898–1986) were merchants.<sup>17</sup> As a rare exception, Francisco Albuquerque (1917–2000) listed himself as a professional photographer.<sup>18</sup> Because of their relatively affluent economic standing, individuals committed to *fotoclubismo* like Salvatore and clubs like FCCB had more resources and

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Photography and Femininity in 1950s São Paulo” (master’s thesis, Hunter College, New York, 2016), 26–32, [http://academicworks.cuny.edu/hc\\_sas\\_etds/136](http://academicworks.cuny.edu/hc_sas_etds/136).

<sup>12</sup> “. . . tornou-se um importante fator de distinção social.” Helouise Costa, “O Foto Cine Clube Bandeirante no Museu de Arte de São Paulo,” in *MASP—FCCB*, 15. Translations are mine unless noted otherwise.

<sup>13</sup> For short biographies of FCCB members see *MASP—FCCB*.

<sup>14</sup> *MASP—FCCB*, 157; 121; 29.

<sup>15</sup> Paula Kupfer, “Gertrudes Altschul: An Adopted Brazilian Photographer in São Paulo,” *Post: Notes on Modern and Contemporary Art Around the Globe*, May 2, 2018, [https://post.at.moma.org/content\\_items/1142-gertrudes-altschul-an-adopted-brazilian-photographer-in-sao-paulo](https://post.at.moma.org/content_items/1142-gertrudes-altschul-an-adopted-brazilian-photographer-in-sao-paulo).

<sup>16</sup> “Bio,” Thomaz Farkas (website), accessed July 11, 2019, <https://www.thomazfarkas.com/bio/>.

<sup>17</sup> *MASP—FCCB*, 217; 173.

<sup>18</sup> *MASP—FCCB*, 109.

opportunities at their disposal compared to their peers in other countries—press photographers who at the time most often were not among the most prosperous members of their societies. Meanwhile FCCB, for example, had its own building with an exhibition hall and other facilities. The club published its own periodical, *Boletim Foto Cine*, while the club’s members had enough time and capacity to socialize on a regular basis and write polemic articles about photography on local and international scale.<sup>19</sup>

Salvatore was an avid advocate of photo-club culture.<sup>20</sup> He established and maintained close cooperation with FIAP. Salvatore also initiated the foundation of the Brazilian Federation of Photographic Art (Federação Brasileira de Arte Fotográfica, later renamed Confederação Brasileira de Fotografia) which was established in 1950. Among the reasons of the foundation of the Brazilian Federation was the intent to unify the numerous photo clubs active in Brazil and to represent all of them in FIAP. Such an intent was timely in Brazil where tension and even certain antagonism characterized the relationships among clubs, especially those between São Paulo-based FCCB and its rival Sociedade Fluminense de Fotografia (SFF), based in the municipality of Niterói in the state of Rio de Janeiro.<sup>21</sup> Another key figure who formed and reinforced a link

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<sup>19</sup> *Boletim Foto Cine* was established in May 1946 as a newsletter for FCCB. By 1951 *Boletim* had evolved into an illustrated forty-page monthly magazine. Alongside single-page reproductions of selected works by FCCB members and detailed chronicling of the club’s social events, *Boletim* featured photography exhibition reviews and articles on artistic and technical aspects of the medium. As such, *Boletim* documents the inner workings of a remarkable photo club that reached local, regional, and even international recognition in the 1950s. During the 1950s and early 1960s, *Boletim* was published under the editorial guidance of Jacob Polacow (1913–1966) and the general leadership of Eduardo Salvatore, the club’s founder and president. Since 2018, scans of most *Boletim Foto Cine* issues have been available for viewing online at the FCCB website: <http://www.fotoclub.art.br/acervo/>

<sup>20</sup> Salvatore was a long-term president of FCCB (1943–1990) as well as the founder of the Brazilian Federation of Photographic Art and its chair (1950–1989).

<sup>21</sup> Oiticica Filho writes in detail about the rivalry between the two clubs in *Boletim*. See José Oiticica Filho, “Reforçando os pontos dos ii,” *Boletim Foto Cine* 5, no. 58 (February 1951): 21–25; no. 59 (March 1951): 28–30; and no. 60 (April 1951): 26–28.

between his local scene and the transnational photo-club culture of the 1950s was Oiticica Filho. Although based in Rio de Janeiro, Oiticica Filho was an active member of FCCB and an outstanding supporter of the work of FIAP. He was also among the most active promoters of the Brazilian Federation.<sup>22</sup> Over the next decade, the Brazilian Federation went on to mobilize thirty photo clubs and a total of 4,106 photographers throughout Brazil.<sup>23</sup> It strengthened the communication among Brazilian photographers as well as furthered exchange between them and their overseas peers through salon participation and involvement in the work of FIAP. In one of his articles, Oiticica Filho reminds his audience to keep in mind the goal of the recently established Brazilian Federation of Photographic Art to create “a brotherhood between the clubs and societies of photography of Brazil.”<sup>24</sup> There is little doubt that such unification was utopian, but such idealism united the diverse community of photographers under the umbrella of FIAP.

Committed photo-club activists in different parts of the globe were isolated but also connected. They were isolated because their organizational efforts primarily responded to the local circumstances. Photographers like Annemarie Heinrich in Argentina, Lang Jingshan in Taiwan, K. L. Kothary in India, and Ernő Vadas in Hungary each had a different set of material and intellectual resources. Each had to overcome different challenges in their professional careers. Each had developed a different visual style in their own creative work. They did not have much in common except an idealistic notion of mutual exchange and connectivity among equal peers across national borders. They all conceived of the photo club as a necessary modular

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<sup>22</sup> Oiticica Filho wrote about the Brazilian Federation for photography magazines in Argentina and US. See José Oiticica Filho, “Se concreto la primera convención brasilera de arte fotográfico,” *Correo Fotográfica Sudamericano* (Buenos Aires) 30, no. 653 (February 1951): 38; “First Brazilian Convention,” *PSA Journal* (New York) 17, no. 4 (April 1951): 218.

<sup>23</sup> FIAP, untitled, *Camera*, no. 2 (1964): 41.

<sup>24</sup> “. . . cujo fito principal é irmanar os Clubes e Sociedades de Arte Fotográfica do Brasil. . .” Oiticica Filho, “Reforçando os pontos,” parte 3, 28. Translated from Portuguese by Luisa Valle.

unit which operated within a larger system. In such a system, clubs in each country united in a national federation, and the federations then gathered in the metaphorical assembly hall called FIAP. Photographers were connected because FIAP yearbooks as well as the regular photo-club salons constantly put them in contact with the work of their peers from elsewhere. Thus, FIAP yearbooks and photo-club salons created and strengthened a sense of togetherness and simultaneity that transcended each individual photographer's daily routine which was embedded in their local socioeconomic situation.

While it is not clear whether Oiticica Filho and Van de Wyer ever met in person, Oiticica Filho became one of the most visible advocates of the work of FIAP. The next section of this chapter argues that Oiticica Filho, alongside such figures as Van de Wyer and Lang, was among the first to grasp the unprecedented rate at which photo-club culture expanded on a global level from the late 1940s throughout the 1950s. Oiticica Filho's activities in FIAP illuminate the importance of the unification of photo clubs in national federations and then in FIAP as a process that photographers at the time believed to lead to their shared ideal. That ideal involved claiming a space for photographic images outside the commercial press.

### **Creating an Independent System of Image Circulation**

Among the numerous photographs documenting the club's social gatherings and the crowded salon exhibition openings that fill the pages of the *Boletim*, a few images scattered throughout years stand out because they document the last visitor of the São Paulo International Salon of Photography before its closing. In 1952, for example, the last visitor was a woman in a plaid coat, carrying a folded umbrella in her right hand, as documented in the unattributed photograph in the July issue of the *Boletim* (fig. 6.8). The photograph also provides a good view of the

salon's exhibition design with a single row of individually framed and matted prints displayed on the walls, apparently above eye level.

Aiming to distance itself from the model of photographic production in the commercial press, photo-club culture developed its own model of image circulation. That model was based on annual, juried exhibitions or international salons of photography organized by photo clubs. International salons were intended to bring together a vast array of images in different genres and visual styles from photographers in numerous countries. The visual diversity of salons, documented in their catalogues, embodies one of the central ideals of the photo-club culture: a voluntary exchange among photographers as equal peers across political and ethnic borders. Salons were at the center of the photo-club life because they were the primary venues for exhibiting photography outside the commercial press and all the image circulation channels it controlled. They were based on open calls for participation, they were explicitly noncommercial, and their intended audience consisted of fellow photographers, unlike the press work that was commissioned, commercial, and appealing to broad audiences. Therefore, I interpret the photo-club salons in the 1950s as a form of resistance against the model of for-profit photojournalistic production.

FIAP emerged as the first organization that attempted to systematically document the growing number of regular annual salons that took place during the 1950s. I would like to begin illuminating the crucial role of salons in the photo-club culture of the 1950s with an analysis of their organizational structure and a definition of their historically specific function during the 1950s. Arguably, the term *salon* was applied to photography exhibitions with the aim of ennobling (Bourdieu's preferred term) the medium and elevating it to the cultural status of fine

arts, and of painting in particular.<sup>25</sup> Besides, the term had a historical reference that added at least some degree of cultural legitimacy to photography's claim on the status as an art form. The historical reference was to the salons organized by the late nineteenth-century pictorialist and turn-of-the-century photo-secessionist clubs.<sup>26</sup> On a structural level, the international salons of photography in the 1950s were modeled after these predecessors. The salons of the 1950s, however, had a different function, and their socioeconomic and cultural role was historically specific. The geographical reach of the historical pictorialist salons was limited almost exclusively to Europe and the United States. Moreover, these earlier salons were dedicated to nurturing only one particular kind of aesthetic. Photo-club culture of the 1950s, on the other hand, created an overarching and inclusive structure that extended equal exhibition and publication opportunities to photo-club members across the world. New salons organized by recently established photo clubs began to emerge in large numbers in response to contemporary political processes after the end of the Second World War, especially in the "third world." Furthermore, the salons of the 1950s welcomed all photographers regardless of their preferred

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<sup>25</sup> Swiss writer Pierre Grellet once called the 1954 FIAP Yearbook the "Salon Carré of photographic art." Pierre Grellet, "Les chefs-d'oeuvre photographiques des deux mondes," *L'Abeille: L'hebdomadaire du pays romand*, April 17, 1954, reprinted in *Camera* 7 (1954): 346. For Pierre Bourdieu's analysis of photographers' collective desire for upward social mobility through adopting terminology from fine arts, see Pierre Bourdieu, "The Cult of Unity and Cultivated Differences," in Bourdieu et al., *Photography: A Middle-Brow Art*, trans. Shaun Whiteside (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990), 13–72.

<sup>26</sup> For a sociological analysis of the most notable pictorialist salons, see Ulrich F. Keller, "The Myth of Art Photography," *History of Photography* 8, no. 4 (1984): 249–75. For a discussion of the historical pictorialism and the photo-secessionist movements in Europe and the United States, see Anne McCauley, ed., *Clarence H. White and His World: The Art and Craft of Photography, 1895–1925* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017); Patrick Daum, Francis Ribemont, and Philip Prodger, eds., *Impressionist Camera: Pictorial Photography in Europe, 1888–1918* (London: Merrell Holberton, 2006); Christian A. Peterson, *After the Photo-Secession: American Pictorial Photography, 1910–1955* (Minneapolis: Minneapolis Institute of Arts 1997), and Margaret F. Harker, *The Linked Ring: The Secession Movement in Photography in Britain, 1892–1910* (London: Heinemann, 1979).

aesthetic approaches, subject matter, or employment status. Therefore, I argue that the format of salon exhibition became truly transnational and inclusive only in the 1950s.

Typically, the salons were numbered; thus their names reveal their history. The majority of salons that were active during the 1950s were formed after the end of the Second World War. For example, the Witwatersrand Salon was established in Johannesburg in 1947, the Wervik International Salon of Photographic Art was established in Belgium in 1948, the Singapore Exhibition was established in 1949, and the Kenya Exhibition in Nairobi was established in 1955.<sup>27</sup> A few others were established in the late 1930s or early 1940s. For example, the São Paulo International Salon of Photography, organized by FCCB, was established in 1941. Only a few salons that had been established in the late nineteenth century managed to survive the two world wars and continued to operate in the 1950s. One outstanding example was the Edinburgh International Salon of Photography, which began in 1861 and still takes place every year up to the present day.<sup>28</sup>

Most salons active in the 1950s were founded on the principle of open participation. In the first step of organizing a salon, a photo club distributed an open call to submit prints. Regular listings of calls for participation in salons were circulated in local and international photography magazines and were included also in the FIAP section of *Camera*. The announcements included the name of the salon, dates, venue, print submission deadline, and mailing address for submissions. In response to a call for participation, photographers mailed in their prints. From a pool of submissions, a panel of judges selected works for the salon (fig. 6.9). The jury, typically

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<sup>27</sup> FIAP, untitled listing of exhibitions, *Camera*, no. 1 (1956): 42; FIAP, "Information Concerning the List of Exhibitions," *Camera*, no. 6 (1956): 292.

<sup>28</sup> Peter Stubbs, "A Brief History of the Edinburgh Photographic Society," Edinphoto (website), accessed June 13, 2016, [http://www.edinphoto.org.uk/4/4\\_eps\\_brief\\_history.htm](http://www.edinphoto.org.uk/4/4_eps_brief_history.htm).

consisting of the club's most prominent photographers, selected a relatively small amount of prints for exhibition, rejecting the rest. An average salon accepted approximately two hundred prints and usually no more than one print per author. The salon judging, was a subjective and at times obscure form of peer review and critique, often causing resentment among the photographers whose work was rejected. Nevertheless, the judges aimed to accept at least one work from each country whose photographers had submitted prints in order to provide a diverse representation of different cultures. As a result, an average salon comprised prints from twenty to thirty countries. The selected prints were exhibited either on the premises of the organizing club or in a public venue such as a museum or gallery. For example, the São Paulo International Salons of Photography, organized by FCCB, were held at the Prestes Maia Gallery in the 1950s.

Many of the salon exhibitions may have lasted only a few days or a week, but the exhibitions themselves were less important than their catalogues. Because many exhibitors were from countries other than where the salon was held, they were never expected to attend. The catalogue that documented the accepted works and was distributed to all participants, meanwhile, served as the most significant proof of inclusion as well as a vital channel for circulating images.<sup>29</sup> The salons varied in the scope and prestige they had among photographers, as did their catalogues. The catalogue formats ranged from a small softcover brochure printed in black and white to a two-hundred-page hard-cover photobook with full-page illustrations of all accepted prints, reproduced on glossy paper. A notable example of the latter is the catalogue of the International Photographic Salon of Japan (fig. 6.10). The catalogues of the São Paulo

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<sup>29</sup> Each catalogue usually recorded data about all accepted works and indicated the number of submitted, accepted, and rejected works from each participating country. Occasionally the mailing addresses of photographers were also listed to encourage direct correspondence and communication among peers.



International Salons of Photography in the 1950s were published as special editions of the *Boletim Foto Cine* and were softcover brochures containing an average of fifty pages (fig. 6.11). Selected images were reproduced alongside the listings of accepted works (fig. 6.12).

The organizational structure of the salons as well as the format of their catalogues in the 1950s closely followed the tradition established in the late nineteenth century. One example is the catalogues of the annual salons of the Royal Photographic Society (RPS) that were held in London. Like the catalogues of São Paulo International Salons in the 1950s, the catalogues of the RPS salons in the 1890s were published as special editions of the organization's periodical, *The Photographic Journal*. For example, the catalogue of the forty-third RPS Annual Exhibition in 1898 contains the list of accepted works, reproductions of a few selected works, and an index of exhibitors with their postal addresses (fig. 6.13). The list of addresses reveals the limited geographical scope of participants. Most participants lived in the United Kingdom, and a few resided in cities like New York and Berlin. Photo-club culture of the 1950s had inherited the organizational structure of salons from late nineteenth-century Europe but put that structure to work in the historically specific circumstances of the 1950s. Salons of the 1950s took up new meanings, contents, and functions when they began to appear in the former colonies and in regions then relegated to the "second" and "third worlds."

In the cultural context of the 1950s, the principles of the salon exhibition format worked as the antithesis of the dominant use of photography in the commercial press. The salons formed the only transnational, inclusive, and nonprofit substitute to the image circulation within the market-driven system of photo agencies, magazine publishing, and professional photojournalism. The curated thematic photography exhibitions that I analyze in previous chapters, such as *The Family of Man* or the Magnum show in *Photokina 1956*, exemplify that system. Meanwhile, the

salons operated clearly outside the reach of the dominant publishing industry. Salons depended exclusively on the unpaid, voluntary labor of photographers who were their organizers, jurors, and participants, as well as their primary audience. In the salons of photography, nothing was for sale. All the prints were returned to their authors after the end of each salon.

Moreover, the photo-club salons served as the primary exhibition venues for photography before the medium's general acceptance in art galleries, museums, and other designated art spaces in most FIAP member countries during the 1950s. Art spaces welcomed the work of photographers only as rare exceptions. In Brazil, among those exceptions were the solo shows by FCCB members German Lorca and Ademar Manarini at the Museum of Modern Art in São Paulo in 1952 and 1954.<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, FCCB as a group was invited to participate in the second São Paulo Biennial in 1953.<sup>31</sup> FCCB also showcased its members' work in subsequent editions of the biennial. The close relationships of some FCCB members with the advanced art scene of São Paulo helped the club to take a relatively prominent place in Brazilian art history, compared with other FIAP member countries where photo clubs were much farther removed from the arts and thus escaped any attention from art historians. In this aspect, FCCB was an outstanding exception. For example, Geraldo de Barros (1923–1998), one of the pioneers of nonrepresentational photography in FCCB, was also one of the founders and key members of *Grupo Ruptura*, a notable group of São Paulo painters associated with Concrete art, a branch of geometric abstraction in Brazilian painting and sculpture that evolved in the 1950s.<sup>32</sup> But the

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<sup>30</sup> Helouise Costa, "O Foto Cine Clube Bandeirante no Museu de Arte de São Paulo," in *MASP FCCB*, 13.

<sup>31</sup> Geraldo de Barros, Ademar Manarini, Eduardo Salvatore, and José Yalenti orchestrated this participation. Costa, 13.

<sup>32</sup> For a discussion of Gerald de Barros's photographic abstractions, see Danielle Stewart, "Geraldo de Barros: Photography as Construction," *H-ART: Revista de historia, teoría y crítica de arte*, no. 2 (2018): 73–92. See also Heloisa Espada, "Fotoformas: luz e artifício," *Geraldo de*

case of de Barros indicates that, even despite the successful integration of a few photographers into their local art scenes, photo-club culture generally evolved and existed separately from it.<sup>33</sup>

Regardless of a few notable exceptions, the photo-club salon remained the primary context where photographers in most FIAP member countries were able to exhibit their work on their own terms, rather than under the guidance and control of others such as editors in the press.

For the photographers involved in the photo-club culture, salon participation was a form of symbolic justification of their efforts and a means of comparing their successes. For each of the photographers, the number of salons that had accepted their prints signified not only an affirmation of positive peer reception but also served as a proof of their work's travel routes across countries and continents. The number of salon acceptances and their diverse locations mapped each photographer's vicarious journeys and functioned as tokens of interconnectivity with fellow photo-club members in faraway lands who had held their prints and viewed them

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*Barros e a fotografia*, ed. Heloisa Espada (Rio de Janeiro; São Paulo: Instituto Moreira Salles/Sesc, 2014), 12–35, and Carolina Etcheverry, “Geraldo De Barros e José Oiticica Filho: Experimentação em Fotografia (1950–1964),” *Anais Do Museu Paulista* 18, no. 1 (2010): 207–28. For a discussion of *Grupo Ruptura*, see, for example, Héctor Olea, “Waldemar Cordeiro: From Visible Ideas to the Invisible Work,” in *Building on a Construct: The Adolpho Leirner Collection of Brazilian Constructive Art in at the Museum of Fine Arts, Houston*, ed. Héctor Olea and Mari Carmen Ramírez (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009): 129–56. For a discussion of Brazilian Concrete art, see Sérgio B. Martins, *Constructing an Avant-Garde: Art in Brazil 1949–1979* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2013); Mary Kate O’Hare, ed., *Constructive Spirit: Abstract Art in South and North America, 1920s–50s* (Newark, NJ: Newark Museum, 2010); and Erin Aldana, “Mechanisms of the Individual and the Social: Arte Concreta and São Paulo,” in *The Geometry of Hope: Latin American Abstract Art from the Patricia Phelps de Cisneros Collection*, ed. Gabriel Pérez-Barreiro (Austin, TX: Blanton Museum of Art, 2007), 38–49.

<sup>33</sup> It has to be noted that by 1951 de Barros had already stopped producing new photographs and actively participating in the daily work of FCCB. His works were never circulated in any of the FIAP yearbooks or biennials. Thus, further discussion of his activities is not relevant to my examination of the global photo-club culture through the work of FCCB and FIAP. See Daniel Girardin, “From Abstraction to the Essence of Form: A Photographic Adventure in Modern Brazil” in *Geraldo de Barros: 1923–1998; Fotoformas*, ed. Reinhold Misselbeck (Munich: Prestel, 1999), 18.

reproduced in catalogues. For these reasons, salon exhibitions were important for a large segment of photographers across the world. But these exhibitions remained virtually invisible and difficult to discuss because their activities were decentralized. They took place at various times in different countries, and there was no single resource that would list all of them.

Photographers kept track of the salons where they submitted their own work, and clubs kept track of the salons they organized. But there was no coordinated effort to outline the full scope of the salons and their participants on a global scale. While FIAP aimed to unite and represent the national federations of photo clubs from all participating countries, the numerous and geographically dispersed salons did not yet have a tangible collective presence.

Oiticica Filho took the initiative to create such a presence, and he was one of the first to offer one way of mapping the expanding world of salons. In the first half of the 1950s, Oiticica Filho emerged as the most remarkable contributor to FIAP yearbooks and the organization's magazine, *Camera*, offering the earliest quasi-scientific attempts to chart the international salons as the key structural elements of the photo-club culture that FIAP had set out to unify. Oiticica Filho's career is representative of the FCCB membership demographics. Like most other FCCB participants, Oiticica Filho had neither formal training in the arts nor a connection with photojournalism or the publishing industry. Oiticica Filho was, first and foremost, a scientist and only secondarily a photographer.<sup>34</sup> He graduated from the National School of Civil Engineering

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<sup>34</sup> Although Oiticica Filho's artistic legacy today remains overshadowed by that of his son, artist Hélio Oiticica (1937–80), scholarship in Brazil acknowledges him as an important experimental photographer. His contributions to FIAP publications, however, remain unexamined. Recent publications about Oiticica Filho include Andreas Valentin, "Light and Form: Brazilian and German Photography in the 1950s," *Konsthistorisk Tidskrift/Journal of Art History* 85, no. 2 (2016): 159–80; Andreas Valentin, "Nas asas da mariposa: A ciência e a fotografia de José Oiticica Filho," *ARS* 13, no. 25 (2015): 31–49; Carolina Etcheverry, "Geraldo De Barros e José Oiticica Filho: Experimentação em Fotografia (1950–1964)," *Anais do Museu Paulista* 18, no. 1 (2010): 207–28; Beatriz Scigliano Carneiro, "Uma inconsutil invenção: A arteciência em José

in Rio de Janeiro in 1930. From 1943 to 1964, he worked as an entomologist at the National Museum of the University of Brazil.<sup>35</sup> His interest in photography began with the detailed images of insects and flowers he took as part of his scientific work in the late 1940s. In 1947 he received a Guggenheim Foundation grant for research in organismic biology and ecology at the Smithsonian Institution, where he worked from 1948 to 1950. During these two years he and his family lived in Washington, DC.<sup>36</sup> His background in engineering and the sciences helped shape Oiticica Filho's analytic perception of the photo-club culture, while his stay in the United States broadened his perspective and heightened his awareness of transnational scientific and cultural exchange. During the 1950s Oiticica Filho began to compile extensive data pertaining to the activities of hundreds of photographers in salons throughout the world, which he later summarized and published in FIAP yearbooks and *Camera*.

Using international salon catalogues that he and his peers had received in return for their contributions, Oiticica Filho gathered statistical data about the salons and their participants. One of his goals was to provide a certain clarity and logic to an activity in which no objective criteria existed. Amid all the subjective judgments that characterized the salons, as well as the confusion

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Oiticica Filho," *Ponto-e-Vírgula* 6 (2009): 107–46. The unavailability of primary source materials complicates further research, as many of Oiticica Filho's prints and negatives are believed to have perished in a fire at the house of his son César Oiticica in Rio de Janeiro in 2009. See Francisco Alambert, "The Oiticica Fire," *Art Journal* 68, no. 4 (2009): 113–14.

<sup>35</sup> Between 1928 and 1962, he lectured in mathematics at several schools in Rio. "José Oiticica Filho," Enciclopédia Itaú Cultural de Arte e Cultura Brasileiras (website), accessed April 21, 2018, <http://enciclopedia.itaucultural.org.br/pessoa10674/jose-oiticica-filho>. Oiticica Filho came from a family of scholars. His father, José Rodrigues Oiticica (1882–1957), was a professor of philology and linguistics, a poet, and a political activist and anarchist.

<sup>36</sup> "José Oiticica Filho," Projeto Hélio Oiticica (website), accessed December 11, 2018, [www.heliooiticica.org.br/english/biografia/biojof1940.htm](http://www.heliooiticica.org.br/english/biografia/biojof1940.htm). Data about his Guggenheim Foundation grant can be found at "José Oiticica Filho," John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation (website), accessed December 11, 2018, <https://www.gf.org/fellows/all-fellows/jose-oiticica-filho/>.

about artistic criteria that resulted from them, Oiticica Filho called for objectivity and a scientific approach to evaluating achievements within the photo-club culture. Collecting data served for him as one way of outlining one section of the broader field of photography that was, in Chamboredon's words, "uncertain of its legitimacy, preoccupied and insecure, perpetually in search of justification."<sup>37</sup>

Oiticica Filho published several reports about international salons in FIAP yearbooks and *Camera* in the middle of the 1950s. His publications provide important evidence of various individuals' activity, demonstrate the geographical reach of photo-club culture, and highlight the importance of image exchange and circulation within that culture. For example, one of Oiticica Filho's publications offers insight into the scope of international salons that took place during 1956.<sup>38</sup> His article, published in the 1958 FIAP Yearbook, is based on data he collected from the catalogues of 125 international salons that took place in twenty-seven countries in Europe, Africa, the Americas, Asia, and Australia during 1956. In this article, Oiticica Filho records the names of 518 photographers from thirty-four countries who had at least ten prints accepted in the 125 salons whose catalogues Oiticica Filho analyzed.<sup>39</sup> (fig. 6.14.) The list also includes the names of twenty-four Brazilian photographers, mostly FCCB members from São Paulo,

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<sup>37</sup> Jean-Claude Chamboredon, "Mechanical Art, Natural Art: Photographic Artists," in Pierre Bourdieu et al., *Photography: A Middle-Brow Art*, trans. Shaun Whiteside (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1990), 129.

<sup>38</sup> José Oiticica Filho, "The FIAP Official List of Pictorial Photography for the Year 1956," in *1958 FIAP Yearbook* (Lucerne: C. J. Bucher, 1958), 159–78. It has to be noted that in this context, the word "pictorial" does not refer to "pictorialist" photography or to any other particular art movement. Rather, it is an awkward rephrasing of the terms "photographic art" or "artistic photography" into English from the German *der künstlerischen Photographie* or the French *la photographie artistique*.

<sup>39</sup> Countries are listed alphabetically, beginning with Argentina and ending with Vietnam. Under each country the names of photographers are listed in alphabetical order. Oiticica Filho, "The FIAP Official List of Pictorial Photography for the Year 1956," 167–78.

including Oiticica Filho himself, Gertrudes Altschul, Francisco Albuquerque, Gaspar Gasparian, Jean Lecoq, Kazuo Kawahara, Ivo Ferreira da Silva, and the club's president, Salvatore. The presence of FCCB photographers in the list of salon participants indicates their active involvement in the photo-club culture. Although today we think about FCCB photographers such as Altschul, Oiticica Filho, Salvatore, and others as *artists*, during the 1950s they depended on the photo-club salons, not art spaces, for circulating their work.

Salon participation was as significant for photographers as gallery and museum exhibitions were for artists working in other media. Moreover, the photo-club salons were of cardinal importance to photographers in the 1950s because they offered an exceptional avenue to accrue individual recognition. Such recognition, however, could be measured only quantitatively, based on the number of a photographer's prints that were accepted in salons. Because the photo-club culture lacked other means of evaluating success and recognition, salon participation turned into a fierce competition for some photographers.<sup>40</sup> For example, Oiticica Filho's analysis identifies 143 photographers who had been the most active participants of the international salons.<sup>41</sup> They managed circulating tens and even hundreds of their prints at a time in various salons throughout the world.<sup>42</sup> (fig. 6.15.) For example, at number ninety-nine, with fifty-eight prints accepted in thirty-five salons, we find Indian photographer K. L. Kothary whose commitment to photo-club culture I addressed in chapter 1. Oiticica Filho himself is not among

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<sup>40</sup> For a further discussion of the competitive aspects of the photo-club culture, see Alise Tifentale, "Rules of the Photographers' Universe," *Photoresearcher*, no. 27 (2017): 68–77.

<sup>41</sup> The "FIAP List of the Most Prolific Exhibitors for 1956 Having Forty or More Acceptances" provides the name and country of residence for each participant, the number of exhibitions, and the number of their prints accepted in salons. Oiticica Filho, 164.

<sup>42</sup> The first in the list is a Cheung Yu-Chiu from Hong Kong who had 314 prints accepted in 110 salons in 1956. Unfortunately, most of the photographers on the list remain largely unknown as no information about their lives and careers can be found in secondary sources.

the top exhibitors in 1956, whereas in 1955 he was number seven, with 204 prints accepted in ninety-eight salons.<sup>43</sup> Further analysis of the numbers of participants and accepted works in international salons can reveal different levels of activity from a variety of individuals, clubs, and even countries. Yet such an approach, as Oiticica Filho himself readily admitted, has serious limitations. Responding to the heated debates among photographers surrounding the rivalry of the São Paulo and Rio clubs, Oiticica Filho warned that quantitative factors should not be conflated with qualitative ones: contrary to a then-popular assumption, a higher number of accepted works does not automatically mean a higher level of artistic achievement.<sup>44</sup> He further admitted that statistical methods cannot explain, for example, the success or failure of an individual photograph. The personal preferences of the judges solely determined the selection of works accepted in the juried salons. These choices, according to Oiticica Filho, cannot be measured scientifically.<sup>45</sup>

Thus, Oiticica Filho's contribution to mapping the photo-club culture is twofold. First, his attempt to mobilize objective data provides a unique guide to the otherwise yet uncharted field of postwar photo-club culture and firmly locates Brazil as one of its more prolific centers. His lists demonstrate that the photo-club culture, with its network of salons, was a transnational

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<sup>43</sup> José Oiticica-Filho, "The FIAP Official List of Pictorial Photography for the Year 1955," *Camera*, no. 12 (1956): 624.

<sup>44</sup> See, for example, José Oiticica Filho, "Reforçando os pontos dos ii," *Boletim Foto Cine* 5, no. 59 (March 1951): 28–30. See also a partial translation of this article from Portuguese into English: José Oiticica Filho, "Setting the Record Straighter. Part II," trans. Luisa Valle, *ARTMargins* 8, no. 2 (June 2019): 116–21. For a more detailed discussion of Oiticica Filho's publications about the international salons in FIAP yearbooks and *Camera*, see Alise Tifentale, "Introduction to José Oiticica Filho's 'Setting the Record Straighter,'" *ARTMargins* 8, no. 2 (June 2019): 105–15.

<sup>45</sup> Oiticica Filho writes that the judges' perception of each print is a "mystery" and that they accept or reject a print guided by their ego and individual aesthetic judgment that cannot be rationally explained. Oiticica Filho, "Reforçando os pontos dos ii," 29.



system that connected individuals and clubs throughout the “first,” “second,” and “third worlds.” Second, Oiticica Filho’s articles and data collections highlight the competitive and at times sportsmanlike spirit of the photo-club culture that motivated some photographers to continuously increase their participation in the salons. Competition was also in the mind of Van de Wyer when he called one of the FIAP photobooks an Olympiad of photography.<sup>46</sup> In my interpretation, the reference to the Olympic Games highlights not only the significance of the competitive aspect of the photo-club culture but also its idealism. The Olympic Games embodied one of the humanist ideals of the 1950s, a dream about a fair and egalitarian encounter of peers that takes place under unified rules, outside the market, and far from the animosities of the Cold War and other political conflicts.<sup>47</sup>

Salons and their catalogues, I argue, succeeded in establishing a system of image circulation that not only provided a substitute to the for-profit journalistic space but also encouraged and nurtured alternative photographic languages. I discussed one distinct example of such idiosyncratic language in my analysis of the career of Argentine photographer Annemarie Heinrich in chapter 2. Another example was at the center of chapter 5, dedicated to Chinese photographer Lang Jingshan. In the last section of this chapter, I shall analyze two other strategies of resistance to the dominant *Life*-fotografie of the 1950s in the work of FCCB photographers that was circulated in FIAP yearbooks.

### **Challenging the Authority of *Life*-fotografie**

Oiticica Filho emerged on the photo-club scene in the early 1950s with a photograph entitled

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<sup>46</sup> FIAP, “Year-book 1956,” *Camera*, no. 3 (1956): 126.

<sup>47</sup> Jim Riordan, *The International Politics of Sport in the Twentieth Century* (London: Taylor and Francis, 1999), 13.

*Kiosk* (1945).<sup>48</sup> *Kiosk* is a romantic image, a square composition in predominantly dark tonality that suggests an evening or even nighttime scene under moonlight (fig. 6.16). In the approximate center of the frame is a pavilion with a triangular roof, partially obscured by tall, slender trees that create a vertical, rhythmical pattern on the left side of the image. To the right there is a body of water with a smooth surface that reflects a few barely visible trees deeper in the dark background. *Pictorialist revival* is my proposed name for the visual style of *Kiosk*, which represents a group of romanticized and seemingly antimodernist images circulated within photo-club culture.<sup>49</sup>

Meanwhile, Oiticica Filho's *Abstraction*, included in the 1960 FIAP Yearbook, epitomizes his interest in experimental and nonrepresentational photography (fig. 6.17). It belongs to a visual style usually called "modernist photography," which describes semi- or nonrepresentational explorations, as well as studies of modernist architecture and the modern built environment in Brazilian photography.<sup>50</sup> Arguably, the most important difference between the pictorialist revival and modernist photography lies in their subject matter. At the same time, both visual styles are reminiscent of historical pictorialism because they share a high level of

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<sup>48</sup> Within five years of its making, *Kiosk* was accepted in seventy-eight international salons and reproduced in five salon catalogues and seven international photography magazines. José Oiticica Filho, "Reforçando os pontos dos ii," *Boletim Foto Cine* 5, no. 58 (February 1951): 21–25.

<sup>49</sup> I use the term *pictorialist revival* to denote the reemergence of some elements of the historical pictorialism in photography of the 1950s and early 1960s and to clearly distinguish it from the classical pictorialism that developed in Western Europe and the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For an in-depth analysis of the aesthetics and techniques of classical pictorialism, see Daum, Ribemont, and Prodder, *Impressionist Camera* and McCauley, *Clarence H. White*. See also Anne Hammond, "Naturalistic Vision and Symbolist Image: The Pictorial Impulse," in *A New History of Photography*, ed. Michel Frizot (Cologne: Könemann, 1999), 292–309; and Robert Hirsch, *Seizing the Light: A Social History of Photography*, 2nd ed. (New York: McGraw-Hill Higher Education, 2009), 153–56.

<sup>50</sup> Brazilian historians of art and photography use the phrase *modernist photography* to describe such work produced by the members of FCCB. See *MASP FCCB*.

graininess or lack sharpness and nuanced variations of gray shades. In Oiticica Filho's *Abstraction*, repeated, vaguely rectangular medium- to dark-gray elements fill the frame, each outlined in lighter gray or white. Arrangements of the small rectangles appear next to circular and semicircular areas of a mostly uniform black. The light outlines on the dark background at times suggest as textural relief rising above the surface of the print, suggesting a painting's surface covered in small, repetitive strokes of the painting knife, resulting in thick impasto. Based on its repetition of rectangular elements on a grid-like structure, *Abstraction* could easily be mistaken for a monochromatic abstract painting. The "strokes" of lighter and darker grays come together in a semi-recognizable shape that could be, among other things, a simplified depiction of a human eye or a butterfly's wing. *Abstraction* is also reminiscent of a magnified scientific image, depicting, for example, enlarged cells or a crystalline structure under a microscope. It can look like a satellite view of a landscape with outlines of structures. But all possible interpretations of the abstract pattern of texture and form remain ambiguous.

In his later works Oiticica Filho continued to explore nonrepresentational photography. Among his techniques was a multistep process in which he made a drawing or painting, photographed it, enlarged the negative, made a positive print on a transparency, and then superimposed it onto the original drawing, photographed it again, and so on.<sup>51</sup> The resulting images make up the series *Recreation* (fig. 6.18). Unlike the ambiguity and the fluid, organic shapes of *Abstraction*, *Recreation* indicates a tendency toward a more rigid geometry, as works in the series feature clusters of simple, repeating geometric shapes and bold lines.<sup>52</sup> The

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<sup>51</sup> Itaú Cultural, "José Oiticica Filho," *Escritoriodearte.com*, accessed July 13, 2016, <https://www.escritoriodearte.com/artista/jose-oiticica-filho/>.

<sup>52</sup> *Recreation* embodies an interest in what critic and curator Paulo Herkenhoff calls "serialization and modulation of geometric lines and forms." Paulo Herkenhoff, "Divergent Parallels: Toward a Comparative Study of Neo-concretism and Minimalism," in *Geometric*

photographic contrast is heightened to the maximum, and white outlines on a black background create the clustered shapes that are distributed along a grid-like structure.

Indirectly critiquing the dominant visual style of *Life-fotografie*, Oiticica Filho suggested that the compositional possibilities of figurative realism in photography are exhausted and implied that the future of photography was completely nonrepresentational.<sup>53</sup> In contrast to Cartier-Bresson's popular concept of the decisive moment, Oiticica Filho proposed a concept of "fundamental time" (*tempo fundamental* in Portuguese)—the time spent in the darkroom.<sup>54</sup> The excitement about the possibilities of semi- and nonrepresentational photography among FCCB members coincided with the rise of Concrete art, a branch of geometric abstraction in painting and sculpture.<sup>55</sup> But within the global photo-club culture, abstraction and other techniques that prioritized darkroom work over camera work manifested a shared desire to search for a photographic vocabulary outside the language of *Life-fotografie*. Such a desire was in no way

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*abstraction: Latin American art from the Patricia Phelps de Cisneros collection = Abstracción geométrica: arte Latinoamericano en la colección Patricia Phelps de Cisneros* by Yve-Alain Bois et al., (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Art Museums, 2001), 109.

<sup>53</sup> “. . . as possibilidades de composição (realismo/figurativismo) dentro do retângulo já foram praticamente esgotadas. . .” Paulo Herkenhoff, “A trajetória: Da fotografia acadêmica ao projeto construtivo,” in *José Oiticica Filho: A ruptura da fotografia nos anos 50* (Rio de Janeiro: Funarte, 1983), 15.

<sup>54</sup> Herkenhoff, 15. See also Valentin, “Light and Form,” 167.

<sup>55</sup> Art historian Juan Ledezma, for example, draws parallels between Brazilian modernist photography and geometric abstraction in painting of the 1950, arguing that both “converge in the formation of a new model of seeing.” These art forms, according to Ledezma, “establish the specific features that define a local experience of modernity” which is a “product of industrial development.” Juan Ledezma, “The Sites of Abstraction: Notes on and for an Exhibition of Latin American Concrete Art,” in *The Sites of Latin American Abstraction = Los Sitios de la Abstracción Latinoamericana*, exhibition catalog (Miami: CIFO, 2006), 37–38. An in-depth discussion of the connections between Brazilian Concrete art and the development of nonrepresentational photography in Brazil is outside the scope of my dissertation. For a further discussion of Brazilian Concrete art, see Martins, *Constructing an Avant-Garde*; O’Hare, *Constructive Spirit*; and Aldana, “Arte Concreta and São Paulo.”

limited to FCCB members alone. For example, FIAP yearbooks demonstrate that several other photographers also used camera-less techniques to create abstract images. The 1956 FIAP yearbook includes *Vira 19* by Danish photographer Viktor Rasmussen (life dates unknown). It is a nonrepresentational image created by exposing photosensitive paper to light (fig. 6.19). The 1958 FIAP yearbook, meanwhile, features a nonrepresentational image, *Pattern*, by Swedish photographer Tage Skår (life dates unknown) who at the time worked for the Hasselblad company (fig. 6.20).<sup>56</sup> Skår's *Pattern* is a high-contrast image of what appears to be an irregular, all-over pattern of white lines across a black background with a clustering of white, irregular geometric shapes in the center of the image. But not all camera-less photography is also nonrepresentational. Some camera-less techniques—such as the photogram, in which objects are placed on a photosensitive surface and exposed to light—are indexical and result in more or less recognizable depictions of these objects.<sup>57</sup> Yet such depictions visually differ from the figurative realism of *Life*-fotografie. For example, the photogram *Plant Ornament* by another Danish photographer, Walter Rømer (life dates unknown), in the 1964 yearbook features dried poppy stems (fig. 6.21). Skår's and Rømer's images appear to be informed by a surrealist aesthetic but without the psychological element.

As a slightly different example of the coexistence of seemingly antagonistic visual styles within one photographer's output, I would like to briefly address two works by the leader of FCCB, Eduardo Salvatore.<sup>58</sup> His *Lines*, included in the 1954 FIAP Yearbook, depicts a

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<sup>56</sup> Information about Skår's employment: Sören Gunnarsson, "Hasselblads fotografer," Forum Forts (website), August 20, 2015, <http://gunnarssonforum.blogspot.com/2015/08/hasselblads-fotografer.html>, accessed April 23, 2019.

<sup>57</sup> See Geoffrey Batchen, *Emanations: The Art of the Cameraless Photograph* (Munich: Prestel, 2016).

<sup>58</sup> Salvatore's creative work and his commitment to FCCB is discussed in detail in Marly T. C. Porto, *Eduardo Salvatore e seu papel como articulador do fotoclubismo paulista* (São Paulo:

nondescript rural location captured from a low, almost worm's-eye view with a low horizon and a vast expanse of cloudless, slightly gradient sky taking up five-sixths of the frame (fig. 6.22). Two tall electrical poles carry two parallel wires on the upper part of the image, whereas two rows of low fence posts connected by three lines of barbed wire appear in the lower part. The main visual feature of the work is the irregular pattern of vertical and diagonal lines sharply standing out against the smooth and flat-looking background. *Lines* exemplifies the aesthetics of Brazilian modernist photography that characterize FCCB in the 1950s, although the image's rural setting distinguishes it from the urban motifs favored by most other FCCB photographers.

Meanwhile, in Salvatore's *Composition with a Horse*, reproduced in the 1962 yearbook, a figure of a resting, light-colored horse takes up the foreground (fig. 6.23). The figure is almost white and stands out sharply on the dark background. The location is rural and antiquated, as suggested by the fragments of a dilapidated brick wall and the crumbled roof tiles in different shades. A large two-wheeled cart, an additional symbol of the preindustrial past, appears in the center middle ground between the horse and the building. In its visual form and its romantic and nostalgic subject matter, *Composition with a Horse* exemplifies the visual style of pictorialist revival. Two main factors differentiate the pictorialist revival of the 1950s from its historical predecessor. One key difference is technique. The masters of classical pictorialism were working with custom-built equipment, handmade papers, and complicated or experimental printing techniques.<sup>59</sup> Most of the revivalists achieved the desired visual effects with the then-standard

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Grão Editora, 2018).

<sup>59</sup> Among the most characteristic methods of classical pictorialism are sophisticated printing techniques such as gum bichromate, bromoil, oil transfer or platinum prints as well as making negatives and/or prints that are partly painted over or colored with the aim of achieving soft focus and resemblance to a handmade image such as a drawing or painting. See Daum, Ribemont, and Prodger, *Impressionist Camera*; and McCauley, *Clarence H. White*.

silver gelatin printing process, using mass-produced paper stock, and branded, ready-made chemicals.<sup>60</sup> The other key difference is the attitude toward subject matter. In the classical pictorialism, rural subjects, portraits, and female nudes often echoed the sinister but intriguing atmosphere of Romanticism and Symbolism that was fashionable among the upper class European pictorialists of the late nineteenth century. The revivalists of the 1950s, meanwhile, were not so much interested in romantic or symbolist painting as they were motivated to create images that would obviously differ from contemporary press photography. Although the revivalists romanticized their subject matter, often evoking a nostalgia for a preindustrial past, their choice of pictorialist visual style signaled that their images have a different purpose than photojournalistic photographs—instead of information, they offered a form of aesthetic or contemplative enjoyment. The two works by Salvatore demonstrate that during the 1950s and the early 1960s, the modernist paradigm and seemingly antimodernist pictorialist revival coexisted not only within one club, but even within one photographer's oeuvre. I argue that they often were parallel lines of creative inquiry and aesthetic exploration within the photo-club culture because both were leading away from the photographic language of the mainstream press.

Just as FCCB photographers were not alone in their explorations of abstraction and camera-less photography, numerous photographers in other countries also created work in the visual style of pictorialist revival. For example, Irish photographer Hugh Doran (1926–2004), in his work *Sunday*, which was reproduced in the 1954 FIAP Yearbook, captured a horse-drawn

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<sup>60</sup> For example, Salvatore indicated in the FIAP yearbook that he made *Composition with a Horse* with a Zeiss Super-Ikonta camera and a Tessar f/2.8 lens, which was a popular mid-format folding camera that was relatively simple to use and took 6 x 6 cm images on a roll of negative film. Zeiss produced this type of cameras between 1937 and 1955. Source of the data about the camera: “Super Ikonta 532/16,” Camera-wiki.org (website), accessed July 25, 2019, [http://camera-wiki.org/wiki/Super\\_Ikonta\\_532/16](http://camera-wiki.org/wiki/Super_Ikonta_532/16).

wooden carriage parked in front of a traditional rural dwelling with a thatched roof (fig. 6.24). Doran's image conveys the quiet atmosphere of a Sunday in an idealized village or small-town and suggests nostalgia for the rural past. Doran, a printer by profession and a lifetime employee of Guinness, was an active participant in photo-club culture and salon exhibitions and likely selected prints for the salons from his vast collection of images of Irish country houses and streets of Dublin.<sup>61</sup> Mexican photographer Enrique Segarra López (1923–2017), in his *Repose*, which was reproduced in 1954 FIAP Yearbook, also creates a deeply nostalgic image (fig. 6.25). *Repose* depicts a man and his horse, likely a Mexican vaquero (cattle ranch worker), against a majestic mountain landscape background. Using the visual style of pictorialist revival, the image romanticizes the preindustrial lifestyle and glorifies heroic masculinity, thus fitting in with the broader group of stereotypical images of Mexico and Mexican people created by Segarra López and other members of the Club Fotográfico de México during the 1950s.<sup>62</sup>

Interpretation of the abovementioned and other images reproduced in FIAP yearbooks poses an art-historical challenge. From the perspective of Western art history they can appear as belated, derivative, or inconsequential fallout of the “genuine” or “original” artistic movements that formed in other places at other times, namely in Berlin, New York, and Paris during the 1920s and early 1930s, or even earlier in case of pictorialism. As my response to this challenge, I propose to view all images circulated within photo-club culture of the 1950s as expressions of aesthetic pluralism and inclusivity which echoed the humanism of the UN Declaration of Human

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<sup>61</sup> “Hugh Doran: Photographer,” Irish Architectural Archive (website), accessed July 11, 2019, <http://iarc.ie/exhibitions/previous-exhibitions/hugh-doran-photographer/>.

<sup>62</sup> Priscila Miraz de Freitas Grecco, “Amateur photography in Mexico: Club Fotográfico de México and the Presence of Folklorization in the Construction of Mexico's National Identity—1950.” *Tempo e Argumento* 8, no. 17 (2016): 676–710.



Rights, discussed in greater detail in chapter 1. Let us remember that FIAP announced its foundation in 1950 with a proclamation that photography brings “understanding, respect, and love of other customs and beliefs.”<sup>63</sup> Learning from the rhetoric of UN and UNESCO, FIAP imagined itself as an open and nonhierarchical forum for photographers where all participants were equal, regardless of their professional and social status, ethnicity, religion, or political beliefs. Similarly, all images they produced were treated as equally important and respectable. One of the characteristic features of the photo-club culture of the 1950s was its openness to different visual styles and types of subject matter. The stylistic diversity within the output of just one club such as FCCB, as it is documented in FIAP yearbooks, supports my argument that the photo-club culture of the 1950s was inclusive and nonhierarchical.

The primary significance of the photo-club culture, I argue, does not depend on aesthetic innovation and visual avant-gardism as they are defined in the narrative of the Western history of photography and art. Instead, its historical importance lies in the fact that photo clubs and FIAP created a transnational and truly global alternative, an opposition even, to the dominant system of image production and circulation within the commercial publishing industry. Moreover, the case study of FCCB suggests that photo clubs in fact formed a fully functional field that was politically, economically, and culturally independent from the publishing industry and for-profit photojournalism. However, most of the photographers I discussed in previous chapters belonged to both worlds: they produced work for the commercial press by day and for the photo club by night. For that reason, oftentimes it can be difficult to recognize the independence and distinctiveness of the photo-club culture during the 1950s.

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<sup>63</sup> A. Wermelinger and E[rnest] Boesiger, preface to FIAP, *FIAP Biennial 1950* (Bern, 1950), 9.

## CONCLUSION

A close-up photograph of a couple in ethnographic costumes, captured in mid-leap against the sky by an M. Sinclair from Toulouse, is reproduced on the dust jacket of the 1958 FIAP Yearbook (fig. E.1). Entitled *Dance*, Sinclair's photograph of a joyous performance in an open-air setting appears an almost desperate attempt to convey optimism. But the choice of the cover image also hints at the pleasant and superficial presentations of regional and ethnic specificity that one can find inside the yearbook, promoted as the "Olympiad of photography." With its utopian vision of cultural exchange among peers and peaceful coexistence of different photographic languages, the legacy of FIAP challenges the Cold War-driven narratives of postwar history that emphasize tension and antagonism.

The Olympic Games of 1956 catalyzed transnational cultural exchange and established a global culture of modern sport.<sup>1</sup> FIAP aimed to achieve a similar goal in the field of photography with its own "Olympiad of photography"—the yearbooks and biennials showcasing the work of the organization's diverse constituents.<sup>2</sup> In many aspects FIAP succeeded, even if in a less spectacular way than the Olympic Games. FIAP was the first organized effort to unite photographers on a truly global scale, equally welcoming constituents from communist, capitalist, and nonaligned countries. FIAP promised equal opportunity to all members and mobilized photographers in countries emerging from colonial rule, especially in Asia. Such promise embodied the idealistic and optimistic side of postwar culture.

The emergence and rapid growth of FIAP captures the 1950s as a transitional moment in

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<sup>1</sup> Barbara Keys, "The 1956 Melbourne Olympic Games and the Postwar International Order," in *1956: European and Global Perspectives*, ed. Carole Fink, Frank Hadler, and Tomasz Schramm (Leipzig: Leipziger Universitätsverlag, 2006), 283.

<sup>2</sup> FIAP, "Year-book 1956," *Camera*, no. 3 (1956): 126.

the medium as it evolved against the backdrop of profound political changes, confusion, and deep crisis. FIAP succeeded in uniting photographers in its member countries and in giving them a sense of direction. By doing so, FIAP set in motion social processes that led to the formation of self-awareness of photographers as a transnational professional group. In particular, its ambitious attempt to carve a niche for the photographers working outside the commercial and cultural metropolises of the time characterizes the political idealism of the decade. Moreover, I argue that FIAP brought the institutional structure of the photo club into the arena of a struggle around the right to represent and be represented. FIAP yearbooks document the striving of the powerless to claim a public and transnational space for self-representation. FIAP and the photo-club culture offered alternative channels of image circulation outside the commercial photojournalism and mainstream magazine publishing industries.

The organization's idealism and ambitions, however, were constantly hindered by too many practical limitations, such as the lack of financial resources and political influence as well as the absence of notable theorists or visionary leaders among its advocates and supporters. Moreover, the organization's disinterest in, or its inability to develop a theoretical discourse further undermined its visibility when the new generation of college-educated young people came onto the scene in the 1960s. The vaguely humanistic rhetoric of FIAP did not appeal to a generation looking for total revolt and ways of challenging everything their parents' and grandparents' generations had established. The organization's legacy, and most importantly the seven yearbooks it published, were subsequently forgotten among the abundance of photobooks and magazines published in the 1960s and later. By the 1970s, when the history and theory of photography took shape as a distinct discipline, the first fifteen years of FIAP were forgotten. The uniqueness and historical timeliness of what FIAP tried to accomplish ended up unexamined

and completely overlooked by photography historians.

Moreover, it was also the larger power imbalance and systemic inequality in the transnational field of photography that condemned the efforts of FIAP and photo-club culture to relative obscurity. One might wonder why there were no photographers in, for example, Brazil, India, or Taiwan in the 1950s whose fame and achievements were equivalent to, for example, Cartier-Bresson's. Culture, artistic traditions, economics, politics, and social conditions in these countries were not identical to those in Western Europe or the United States. The photographers' concerns and aesthetic preferences were not identical either. Visual culture did not follow the same patterns in its development across all cultures or regions. Instead, it responded to its immediate environment and expressed its local modernity, shaped by distinct sociopolitical situations and aesthetic traditions. Photographers working outside the United States and Western Europe, especially in Asia and Latin America, were not interested in the same visual tropes as their American and European colleagues because their experience of modernity was not the same. The daily life, education, and cultural milieu of photographers in most FIAP member countries was not comparable to the conditions that shaped photographers like Cartier-Bresson in France. The lives and careers of Brazilian, Indian, Taiwanese, and many other photographers offered entirely different opportunities, challenges, and tasks, and subsequently they produced different types of images.

Observation of such differences, however, does not have to lead to a false hierarchy where the dominant culture is elevated to an advanced status while all others lag behind. Instead, acknowledgement of the differences can highlight how dissimilar the cultural, political, and social circumstances were that surrounded the photographers across the world in the 1950s. The FIAP yearbooks offer one way of doing that with their presentation of all their constituents'

images next to one another as equals. Furthermore, an elite group of Western European and North American photojournalists did not miraculously produce work that was far superior to anyone else's. They had more opportunities and better conditions to continuously make new work. They had access to the most relevant content—the places where important things happened and events where notable people were present—that added to the cultural significance of their images. Their work had noticeably more exposure. Broad and transnational audiences saw their key images reproduced so many times that it was no longer possible to perceive them as average or ordinary. Meanwhile, photographs in the FIAP yearbooks remained “solitary images,” misunderstood and overlooked because they lacked what Tagg calls “the weight of cultural significance.”<sup>3</sup>

Moreover, all other visual styles of photography, compared to *Life*-fotografie, remained as unrealized possibilities in the 1950s and onward because they did not have similar institutional, economic, and political support. The differences among local photographic cultures, which can be observed in the FIAP yearbooks, were soon smoothed over as professional photographers increasingly aimed to emulate and adapt the language of *Life*-fotografie. The growing levels of commercialization and globalization in both art and photojournalism markets further facilitated the process of homogenization in the 1980s and 1990s. Besides, the rising degree of professionalization and specialization solidified distinct categories of photographers, such as photojournalists, fashion photographers, advertising photographers, portrait photographers, fine arts photographers and artists working with photography, amateur photographers, and so on. Some of these categories continued to intertwine occasionally, but

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<sup>3</sup> John Tagg, *The Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (Hampshire: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 18.

never again did they overlap as seamlessly as they did in the photo clubs of the 1950s.

But most importantly, the seven yearbooks FIAP published between 1950 and 1965 document the contradictions of the 1950s as seen through the eyes of the photographers who emerged as an independent, transnational, and creative group. The photobooks reflect the political and socioeconomic confusions and crises of the 1950s, but they do it indirectly. The images in the FIAP yearbooks witness the struggles of people who took up photography as a professional pursuit in societies that did not yet have a certain place for a “photographer” or “photographic artist.” The images point to the unexamined careers of photographers who stood up to be active *producers* of their own images at a time when mainstream photojournalism expected them to remain passive photographic *subjects*. FIAP and photo-club culture enabled them to claim voices for themselves.

My examination of the legacy of FIAP indicates that it is not nearly the only organization of the 1950s that has been forgotten. A similar fate has fallen on most national associations and photo clubs that were active participants in FIAP at that time. The FIAP yearbooks point to the existence of the national associations, but their histories in many FIAP member countries have not yet been written. Similarly, the yearbooks present images by participating photographers, but their names often are unknown as their lives and careers remain unexamined. While researching the history of FIAP and its constituents, I have identified two main reasons for such obscurity that continue to hinder further investigation of the global photo-club culture.

First, one major obstacle is the lack of archival sources, documentation, and access to the actual prints. Unfortunately, FIAP, just like a large part of the photo-club culture in the 1950s, did not self-document or self-archive on a serious level or on a regular basis. For example, FIAP does not have a centralized archive of its documents and publications from the 1950s. Each club

documented its salons in catalogues, and participating photographers likely archived the catalogues of salons that exhibited their work, but such micro-archives, if preserved at all, remain in private hands and dispersed across the globe. In China, for example, the archives of photographers active during the 1950s are kept in archives under government censorship, unavailable even to local scholars.<sup>4</sup> Meanwhile, FIAP kept neither records of its activity nor any of the prints that were exhibited in biennials and reproduced in yearbooks. Prints were returned to their authors, and most of their work has never been systematically collected in the authors' home countries. Thai photographer Manit Sriwanichpoom, for example, acknowledges that most of the photographs produced in Thailand during the first two thirds of the twentieth century have been lost, damaged in the hot and humid climate, or destroyed in floods. In the absence of any interest from cultural institutions in photography, most practitioners "saw no point in burdening themselves and their descendants with the chore of conserving records of their lives and their photographs."<sup>5</sup> Sadly, I have found out that this is a common scenario across the FIAP member countries.

Second, a no-less-serious impediment is the lack of secondary sources. It stems partly from the abovementioned inaccessibility or nonexistence of documentation and partly from the fact that photographers and photo clubs did not possess enough cultural significance during the 1950s. The gap in scholarly literature accurately reflects the power imbalance that has caused the forgetting of the names of tens and hundreds of photographers because their practice did not fall within the categories established in mainstream culture. For example, among the reasons for the absence of scholarship about photo-club culture, Chinese artist and curator Chen Shuxia

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<sup>4</sup> See Chen, Zhou, and Shi, "Photographic Praxis in China."

<sup>5</sup> Manit Sriwanichpoom, introduction to *Rediscovering Forgotten Thai Masters*, 7.

mentions the fact that “researchers have often been trapped in a convention of researching big-name artists, so interest in the less spectacular but still historically significant events has remained minimal.”<sup>6</sup> Reliable and detailed historical accounts on a national or regional level, however, are paramount for any attempt to write an inclusive global history.

Yet the scarcity or abundance of primary and secondary sources alone does not determine what a historian can discover and analyze. On the one hand, global archival research across countries, regions, and languages is in any case an unfeasible task for a single scholar, even if the archives existed. On the other hand, a “global” or “transnational” history is not just a sum of many local histories, even if exhaustive secondary sources on each location were available. Among the main goals of writing a global or transnational history, I believe, is finding a balance between local details and overarching patterns that connect these details in ways that produce new and otherwise unreachable knowledge. Finding such balance is a work in permanent progress. For example, the story of FIAP reveals one remarkable pattern in the field of photography, yet the amount of available information about the organization’s participants limits the scope of claims that can be made about its historical role. Nevertheless, having established the transnational significance of photo-club culture in the 1950s, I hope to have also opened avenues for further research about the individuals and institutions whose contributions formed the basis of this culture. With more historical details emerging, scholars will be able to see new connections and to draw a more complex map of the pattern that now only begins to surface. I believe that such research has the potential to change the landscape of photography history gradually toward a more inclusive, decentralized, and pluralistic discipline.

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<sup>6</sup> Chen, Zhou, and Shi, n.p.



FIGURES

Illustrations to the Introduction

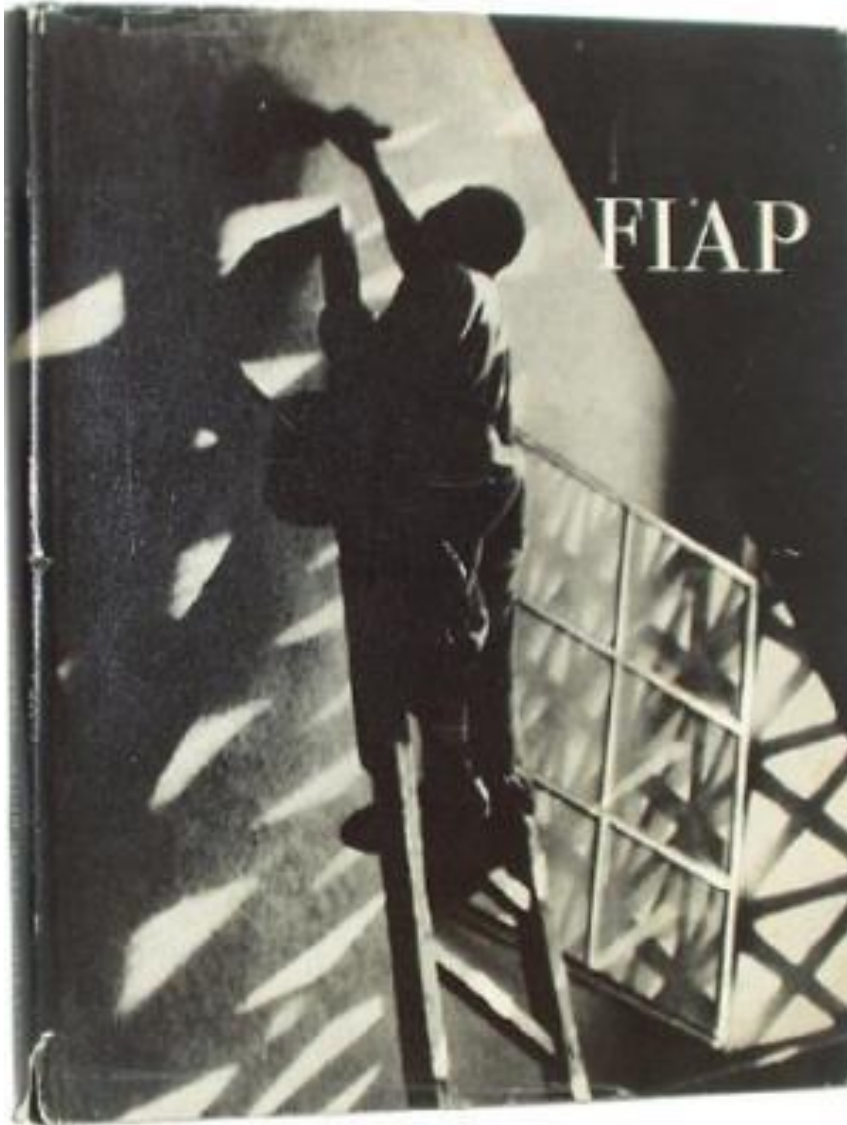
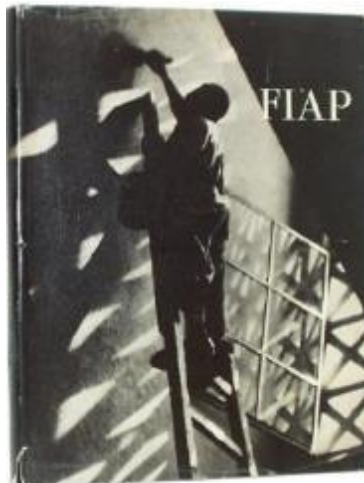


Figure I.1. Eduardo Alves de Moura Machado, *Play of Lights*, undated. Detail. *1956 FIAP Yearbook* (Lucerne: C. J. Bucher, 1956), dust jacket.



The 1954 FIAP Yearbook



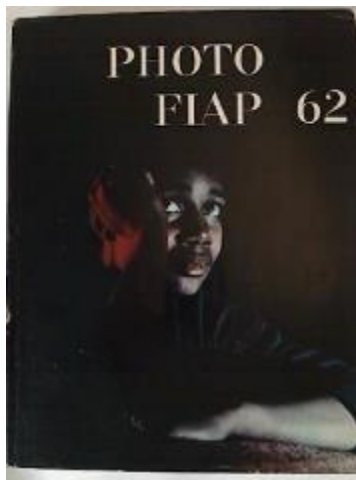
The 1956 FIAP Yearbook



The 1958 FIAP Yearbook



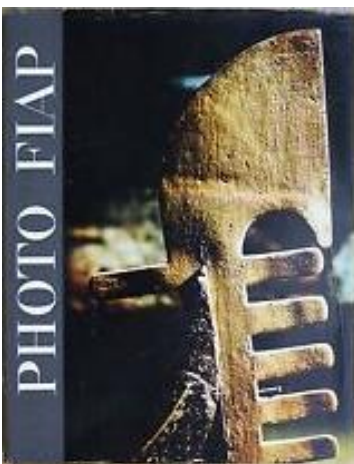
The 1960 FIAP Yearbook



The 1962 FIAP Yearbook



The 1964 FIAP Yearbook



The 1966 FIAP Yearbook

Figure I.2. Covers of the seven photobooks that FIAP produced between 1950 and 1965, published by C. J. Bucher, Lucerne, Switzerland.

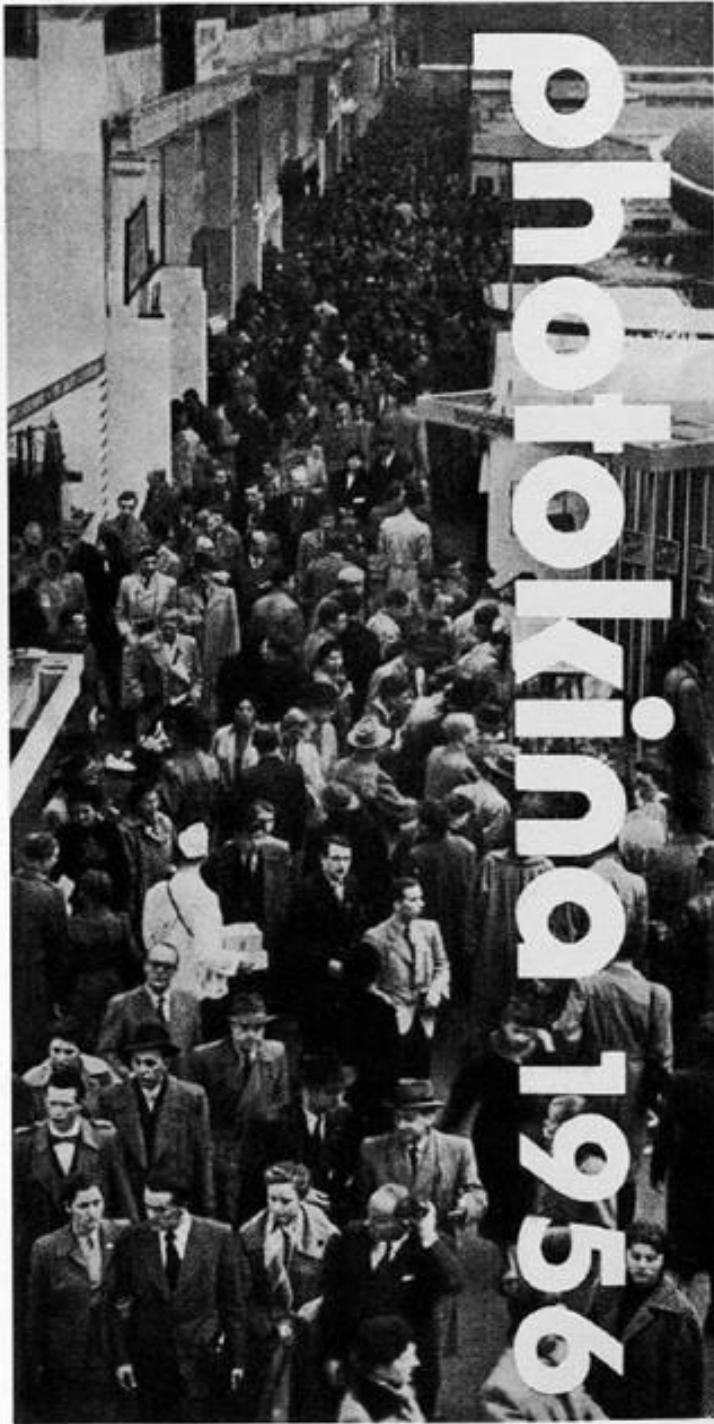


Figure I.3. Leaflet of *Photokina 1956*. Ulrich Pohlmann, *Kultur, Technik und Kommerz: Die Photokina-Bilderschauen 1950–1980* (Cologne: Historisches Archiv der Stadt, 1990), 121.



Figure I.4. Overview of the trade fair Hall 1 at the *Photokina 1956*. Photo: Koelnmesse/Photokina. Christoph Thomas, “Grüßwort,” Fototechnik Made in Germany, accessed January 26, 2019, <http://made-in-germany.photography/einfuehrung/grusswort-christoph-thomas/>.



Figure I.5. Erich Salomon retrospective in *Photokina 1956*. Photo: Charles E. Fraser. Pohlmann, *Kultur, Technik und Kommerz*, 53.





Figure I.6. Promotion event at the *Ernst Leitz GmbH (Leica)* booth at *Photokina*. Photo: Koelnmesse/Photokina. Christoph Thomas, “Grußwort,” *Fototechnik Made in Germany*, accessed January 26, 2019, <http://made-in-germany.photography/einfuehrung/grusswort-christoph-thomas/>.



Figure I.7. FIAP exhibition in *Photokina 1956*. Photo: unattributed. Pohlmann, *Kultur, Technik und Kommerz*, 63.

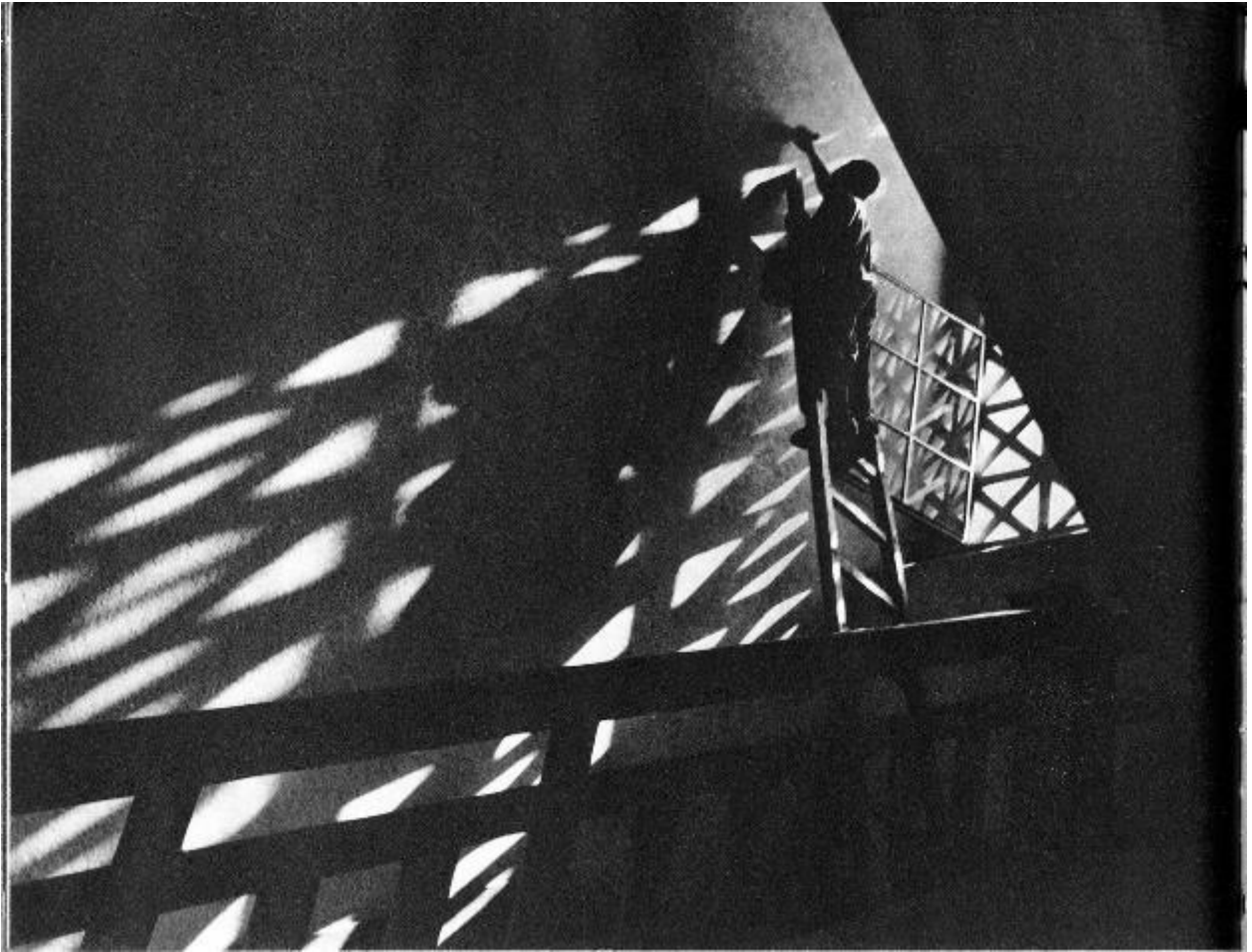


Figure I.8. Eduardo Alves de Moura Machado, *Play of Lights*, undated. *1956 FIAP Yearbook*, 26.



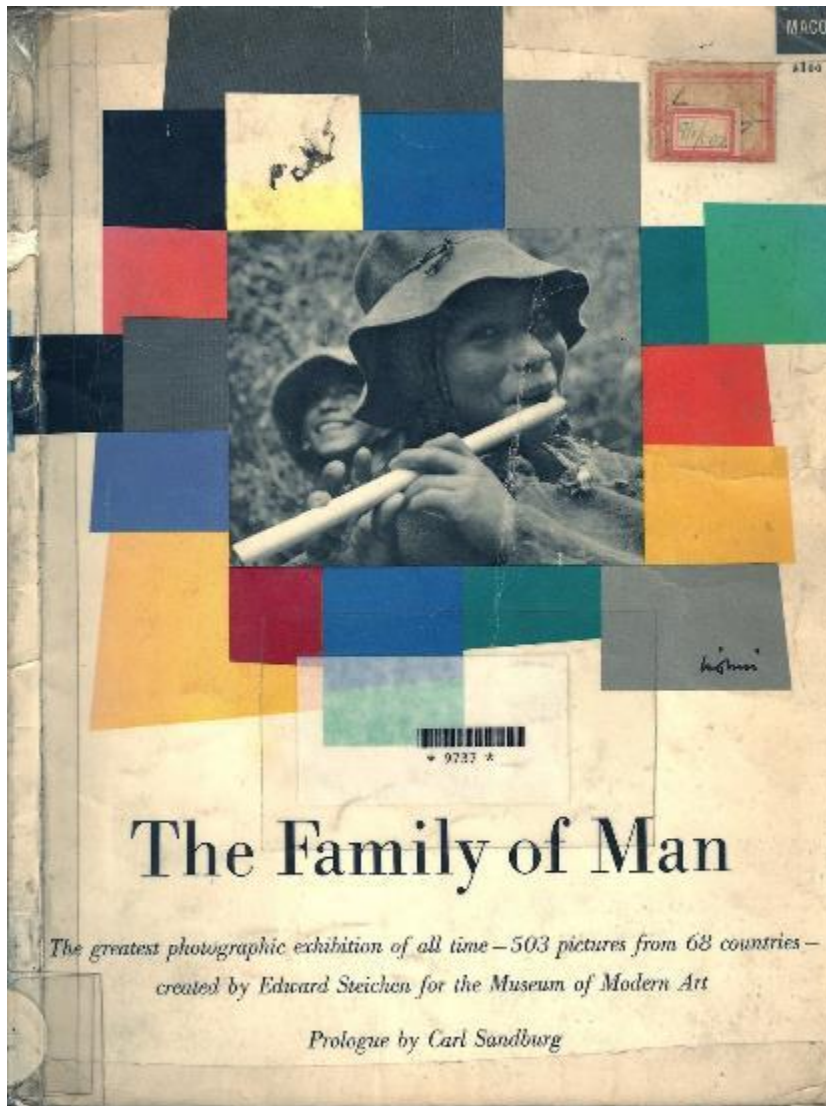


Figure I.9. Cover of the photobook accompanying the exhibition *The Family of Man*, edited by Edward Steichen and published by the Museum of Modern Art, New York, in 1955.



Figure I.10. Eugene Harris, untitled, undated (Peru). Reproduced on the cover of some editions of *The Family of Man* photo-book and five times throughout the book.



Figure I.11. The geographical distribution of FIAP member countries in 1950 on a world map. The source for the map is the data included in appendix 1.



Figure I.12. The geographical distribution of FIAP member countries in 1965 on a world map. The source for the map is the data included in the appendix 2.



Figure I.13. Images from the photo reportage about Maurice Van de Weyer's participation in the celebration of the seventeenth anniversary of São Paulo-based photo club Foto Cine Clube Bandeirante, April 26, 1956. Photo: Francisco Albuquerque. "O XVII aniversário do FCCB," *Boletim Foto Cine* 9, no. 99 (May 1956): 24–25. The red arrow in the bottom image points to Van de Weyer.



## Illustrations to Chapter 1

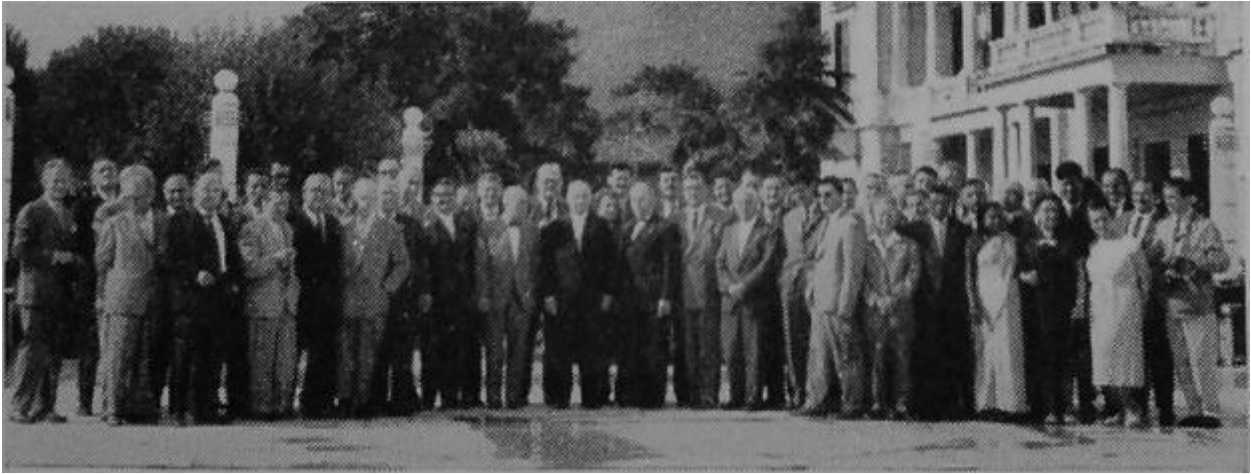


Figure 1.1. Participants of the FIAP congress on the terrace of Hotel Kvarner in Opatija, Yugoslavia (September 19–22, 1960). FIAP, “Kurzbericht über die am Kongreß in Opatija gefaßten wichtigsten Beschlüsse 19. – 22. September 1960,” *Camera*, no. 1 (1961): 47.

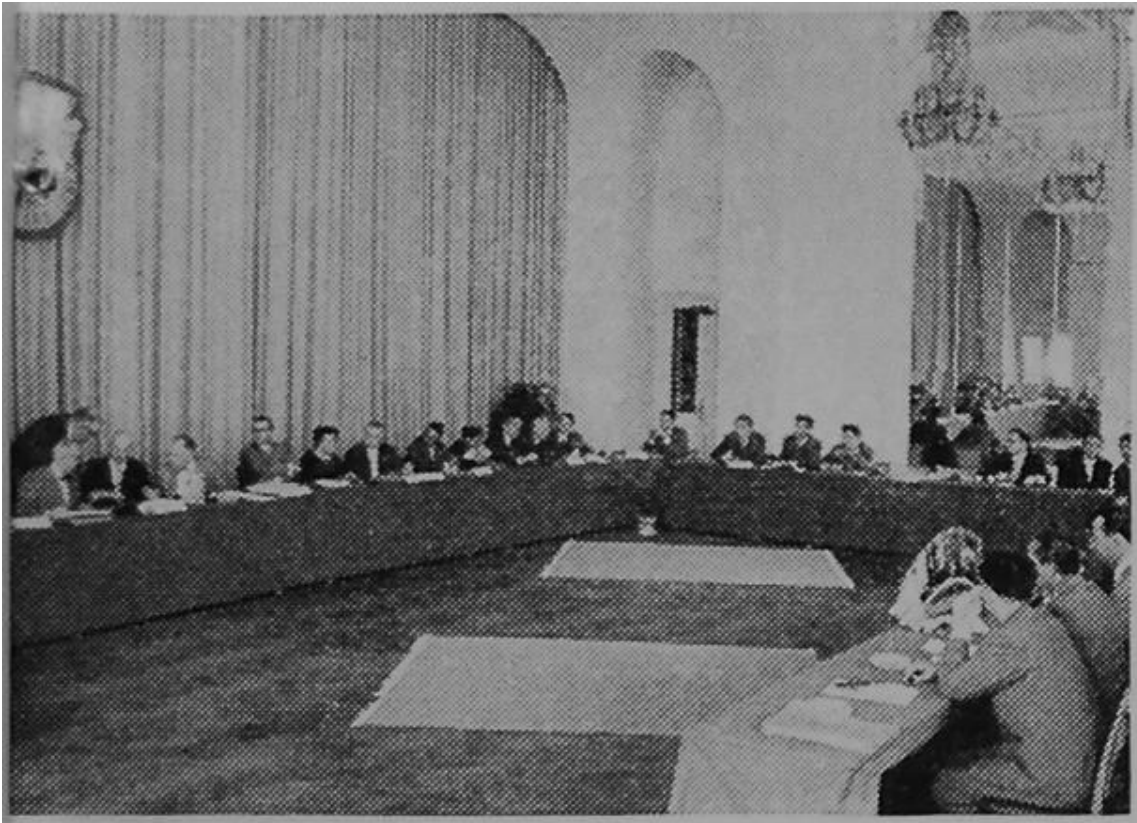


Figure 1.2. View of the FIAP congress in Opatija, Yugoslavia (September 19–22, 1960). Reproduced in FIAP, “Kurzbericht,” 47.

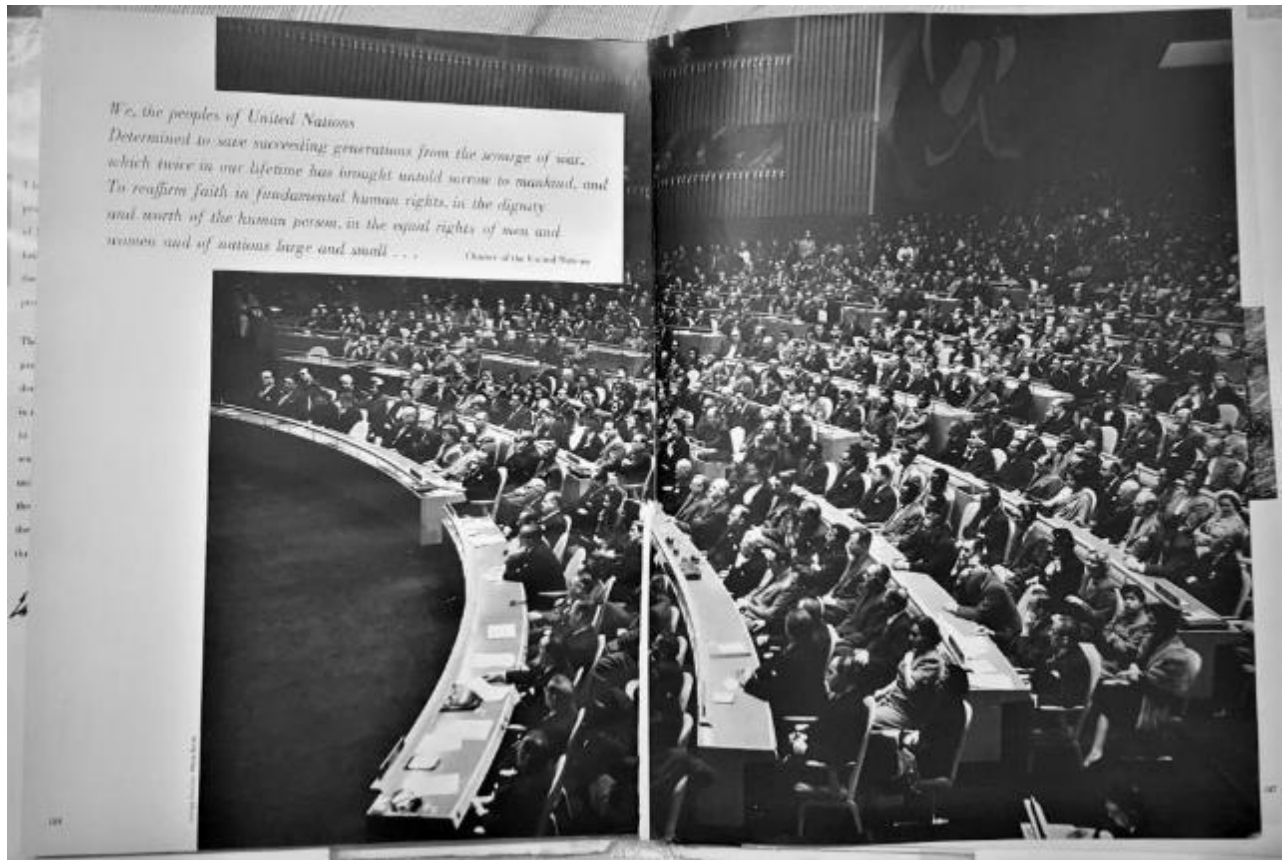


Figure 1.3. Maria Bordy, untitled (assembly hall of the United Nations), undated. Edward Steichen, ed., *The Family of Man* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1955), 184–85.



Figure 1.4. Installation view of the exhibition *The Family of Man* at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, January 24–May 8, 1955. Mary Anne Staniszewski, *The Power of Display: A History of Exhibition Installation at the Museum of Modern Art* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 1998), 249.

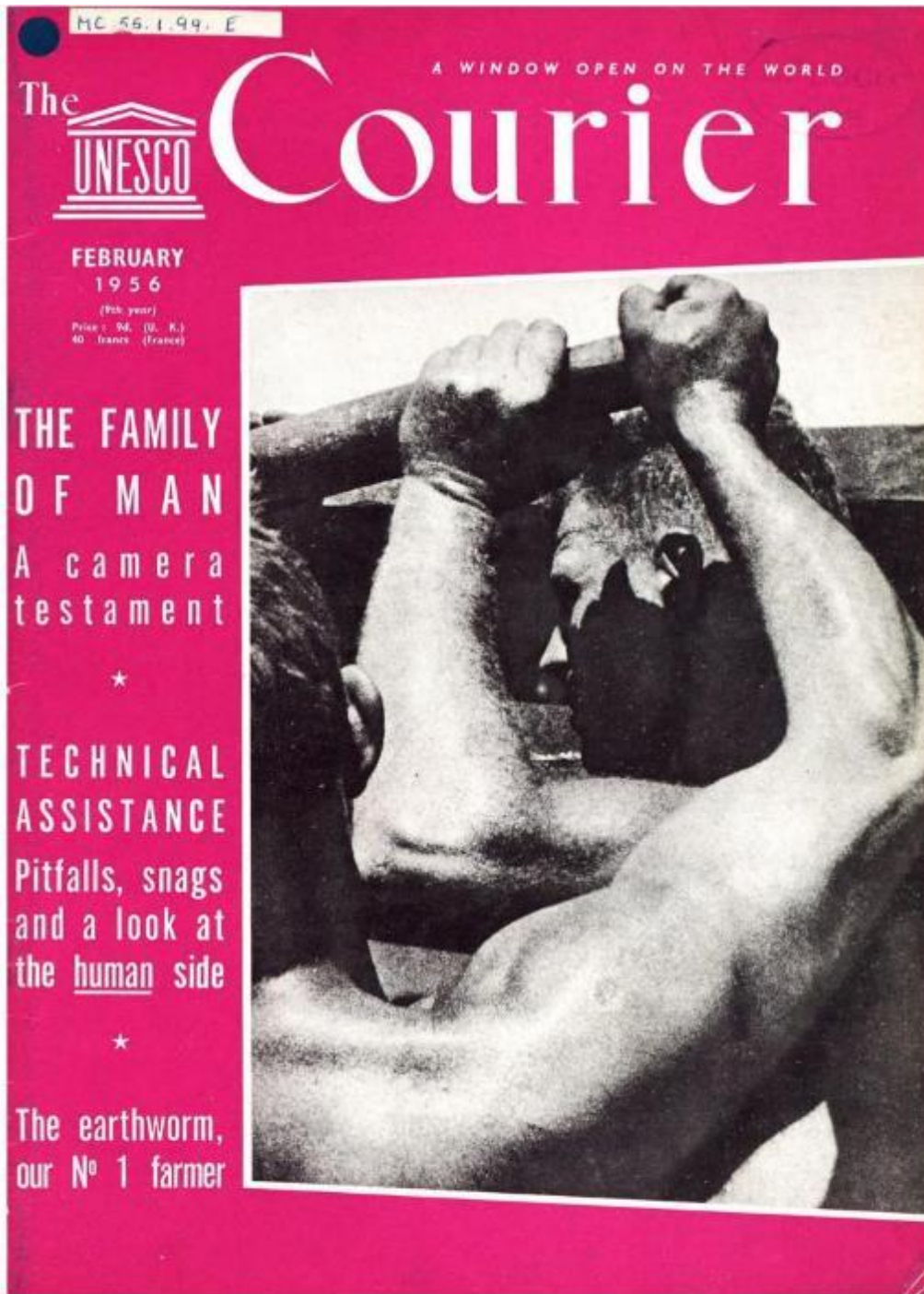


Figure 1.5. Cover of the February 1956 issue of the *UNESCO Courier* magazine.





Figure 1.6. Logo of FIAP.



Figure 1.7. Logo of the UN.



Figure 1.8. Vidyavrata, *Music*, undated. *1964 FIAP Yearbook*, 92.

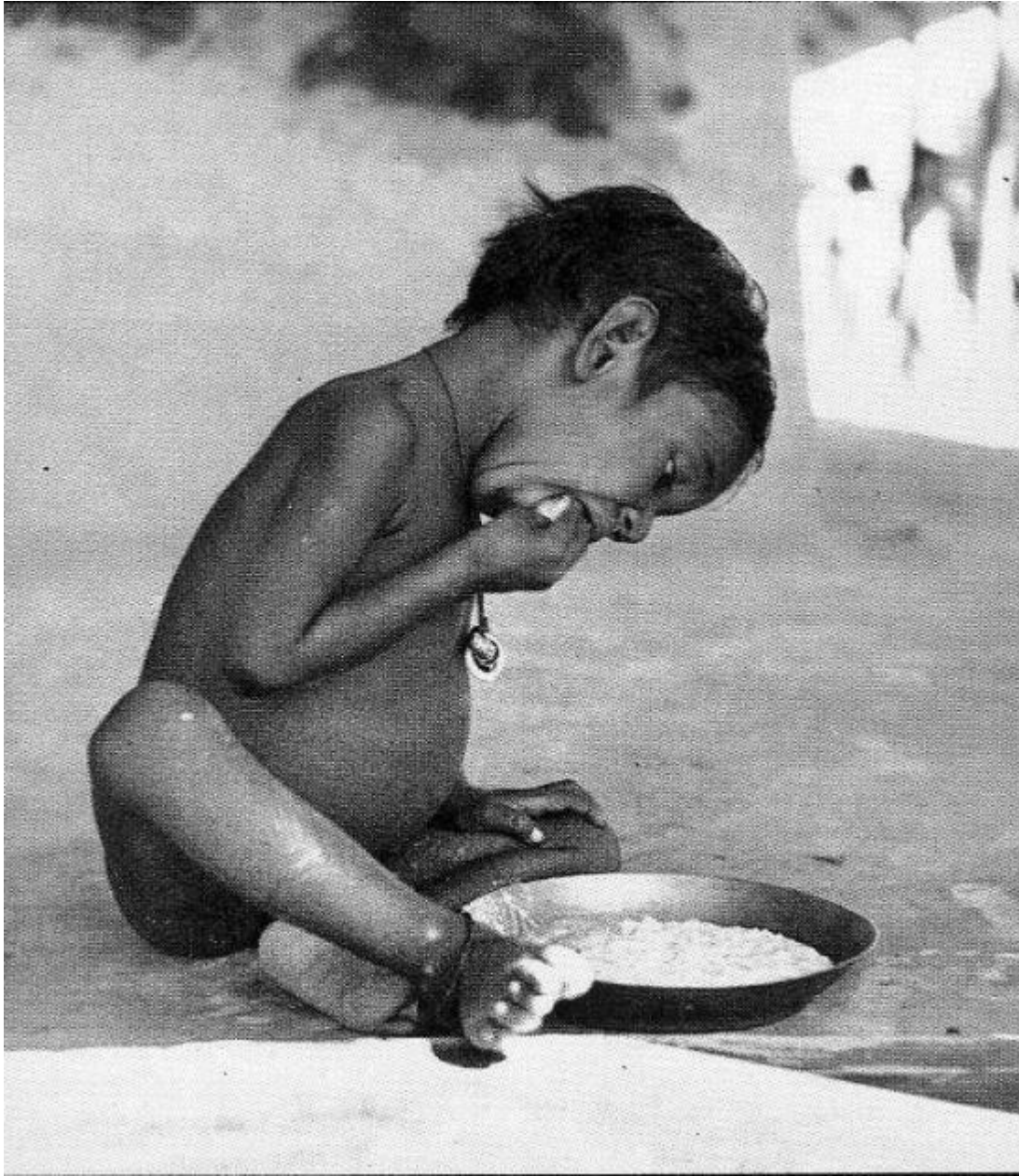


Figure 1.9. William Vandivert, untitled, undated (India). Steichen, *Family of Man*, 153.



DISPLACED INDIAN WOMEN LINE UP FOR GOVERNMENT-ISSUED FOOD SUPPLIES. ABOVE: REFUGEE CHILD BEING HELD BY HIS MOTHER.



Terrified and hungry as they wait for food, these children are the victims of the famine in India.

## FAMINE IN INDIA

ONE MILLION INDIANS DIE TO POINT THE TERRIBLE MORAL OF INFLATION

Three years ago the British Government of India called for the British to take steps to prevent the famine in India. The government has not taken the steps necessary. The government has not taken the steps necessary to prevent the famine in India. The government has not taken the steps necessary to prevent the famine in India. The government has not taken the steps necessary to prevent the famine in India.

The famine in India is the result of the government's failure to take the steps necessary to prevent the famine in India. The government has not taken the steps necessary to prevent the famine in India. The government has not taken the steps necessary to prevent the famine in India. The government has not taken the steps necessary to prevent the famine in India.

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**So let's wish them the Very Best**

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Remember in a cigarette—the Blend...the Right Combination—that's the thing

**AND HERE THEY ARE... again in the cheerful Chesterfield Christmas Red—the cigarette gift that SATISFIES with the best in Smoking Pleasure.**

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Figure 1.10. A spread from *Life* 15, no. 25 (December 20, 1943): 38–39.

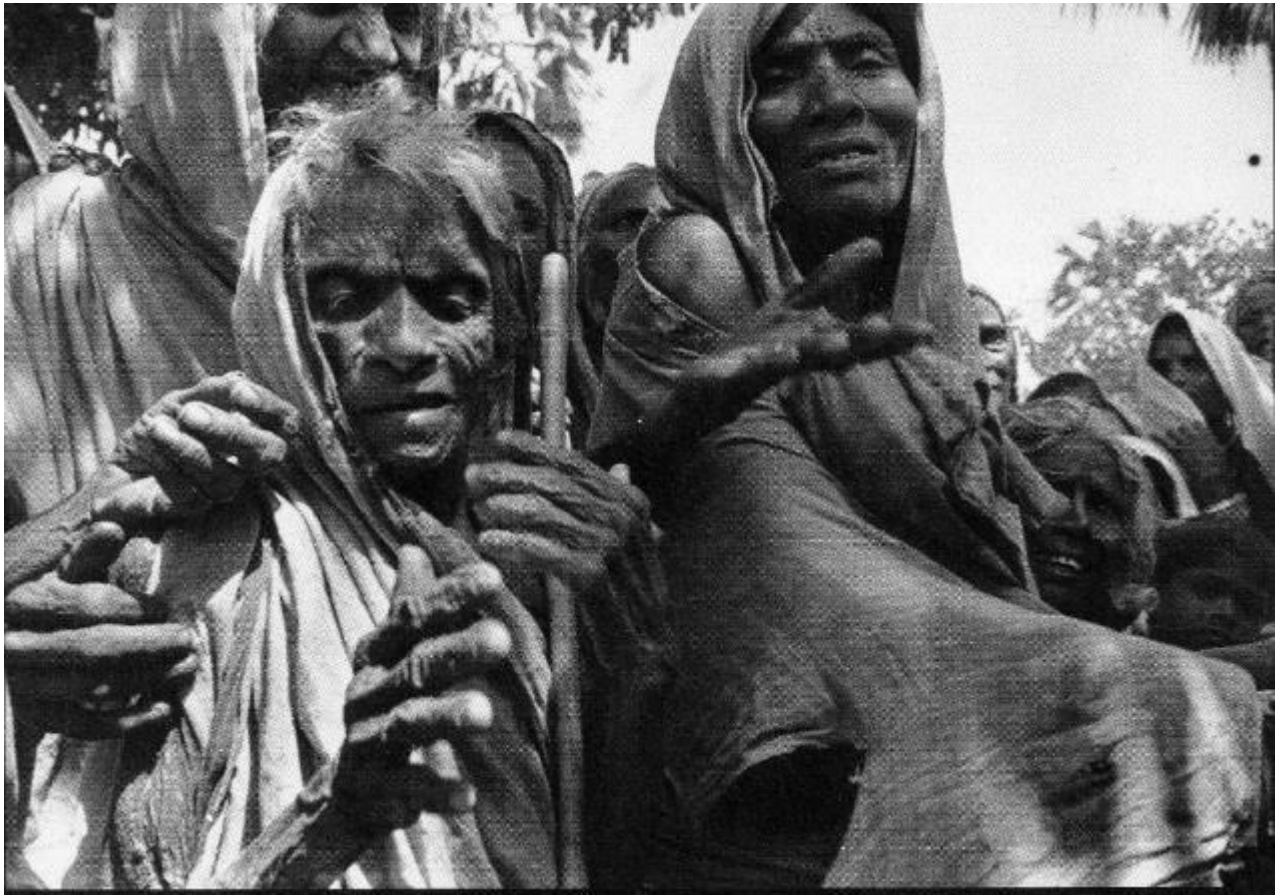


Figure 1.11. Werner Bischof, untitled, undated (India). Steichen, *Family of Man*, 153.





Figure 1.12. Robi R. Ganguli, *Rhythm*, undated. *1958 FIAP Yearbook*, 77.



Figure 1.13. Constantin Joffé, untitled, undated (India). Steichen, *Family of Man*, 153.



Figure 1.14. K. L. Kothary, *No Work*, undated. *1960 FIAP Yearbook*, 79.





Figure 1.15. K. L. Kothary, *Repose and Rhythm*, undated. Reproduced in K. L. Kothary and Dileep Kothari, *Diamonds from Dust* (Palanpur: Prasanna Publications, 1971), plate 11. The image is accompanied by a caption: “Exhibited at 44th London Salon. Published in the FIAP Annual, Switzerland 1960. Won 4th award in Contest of the Stars of The Photographic Society of America, 1955.”



Figure 1.16. K. L. Kothary, *Begging Monks*, undated. Image from Odette Bretscher, untitled, *Camera*, no. 12 (1965): 33.



Figure 1.17. K. L. Kothary, *Messengers of Peace*, undated. Reproduced in Kothari, *Diamonds from Dust*, plate 15. The image is accompanied by a caption: “Exhibited at MPS International, 1957 (Kodak Plaque), 48th London Salon, 3rd Pondicherry, and 17th Lucknow International Salons.”

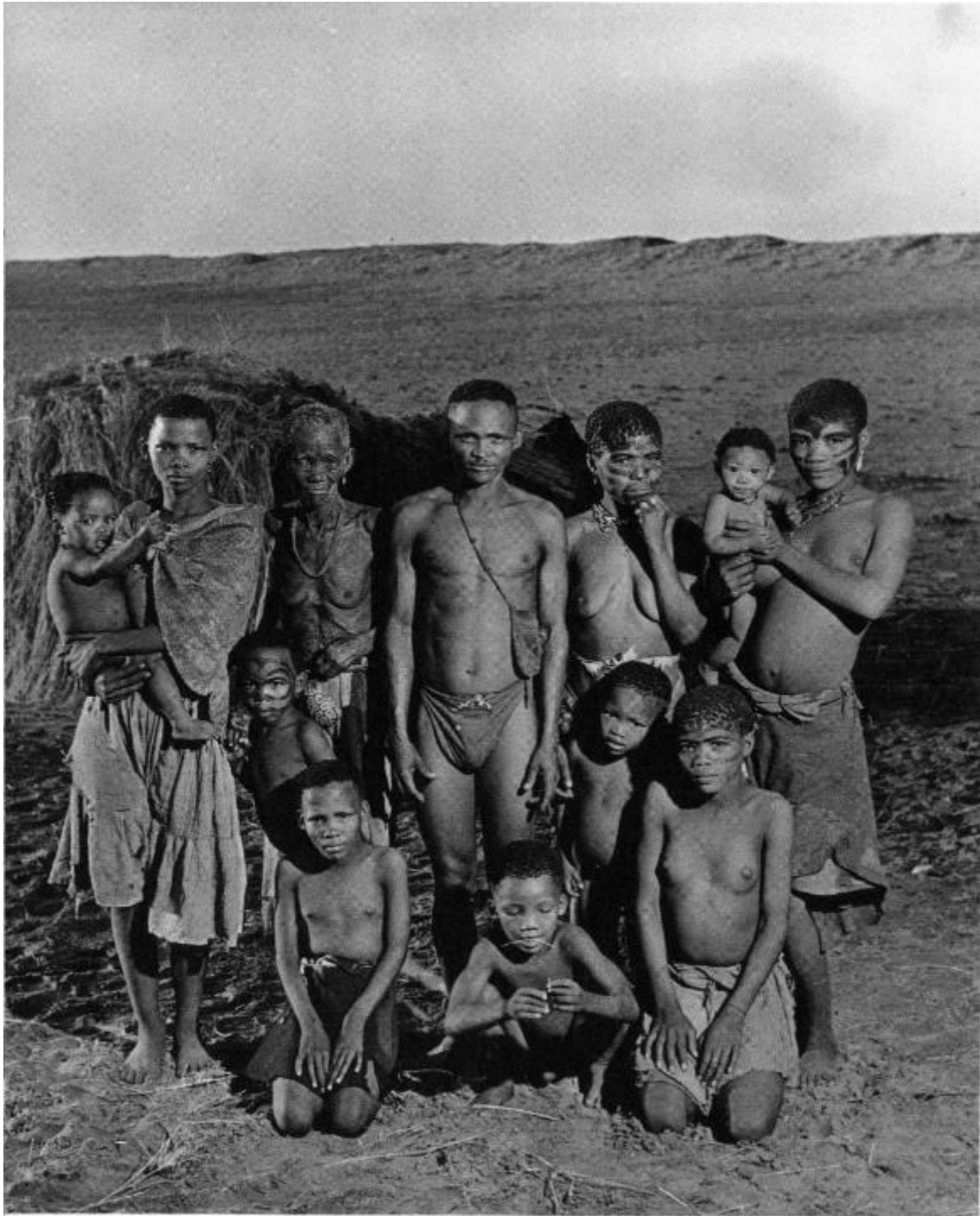


Figure 1.18. Nat Farbman, untitled, undated (Bechuanaland). Steichen, *Family of Man*, 58.

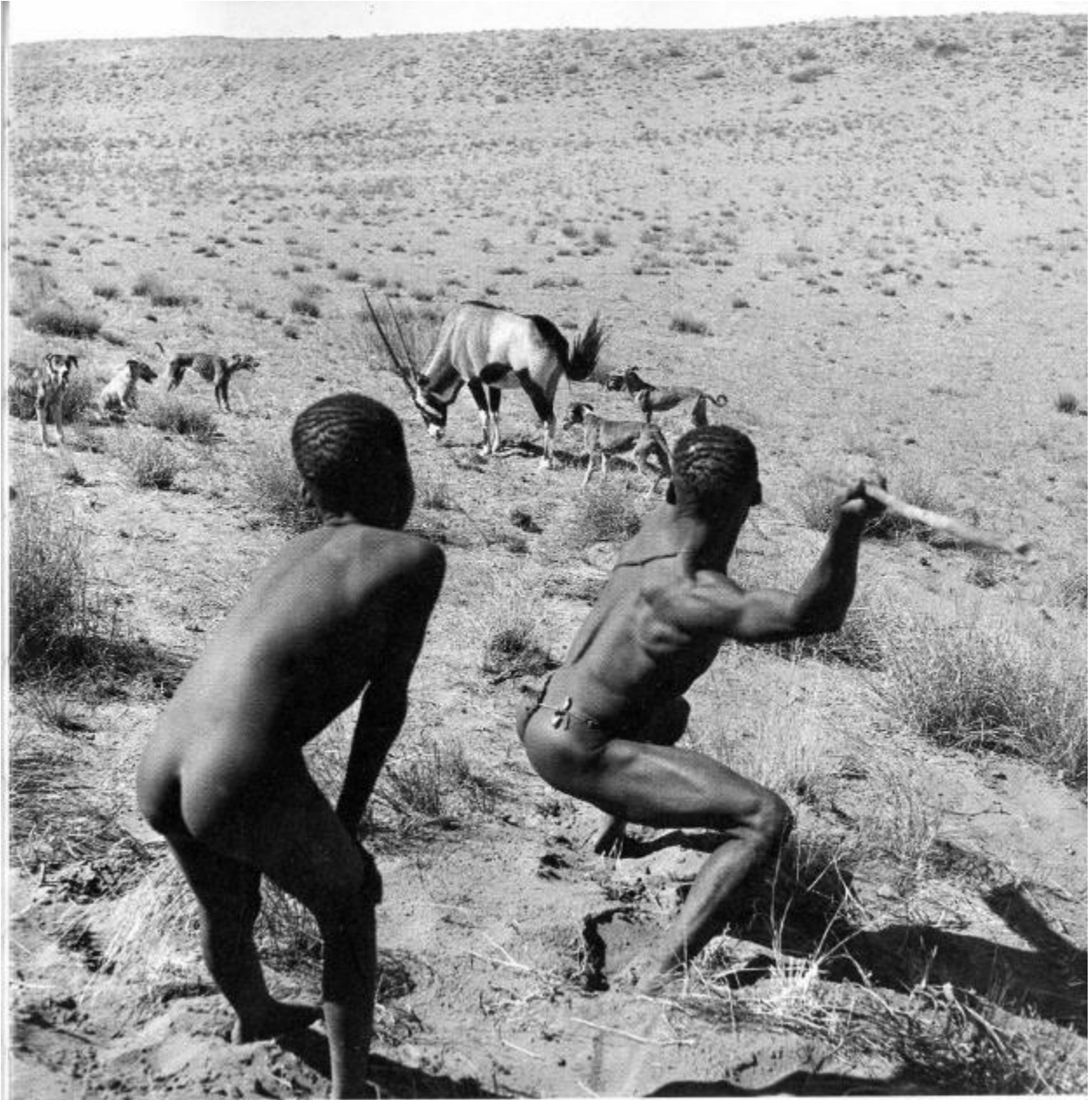


Figure 1.19. Nat Farbman, untitled, undated (Bechuanaland). Steichen, *Family of Man*, 51.



Figure 1.20. Nat Farbman, untitled, undated (Bechuanaland). Steichen, *Family of Man*, 35.





Figure 1.21. Nat Farbman, untitled, undated (Bechuanaland). Steichen, *Family of Man*, 61.



Figure 1.22. Nat Farbman, untitled, undated (Bechuanaland). Steichen, *Family of Man*, 120.





Figure 1.23. Attributed to Satyajit Ray, untitled, undated (India). Steichen, *Family of Man*, 30.

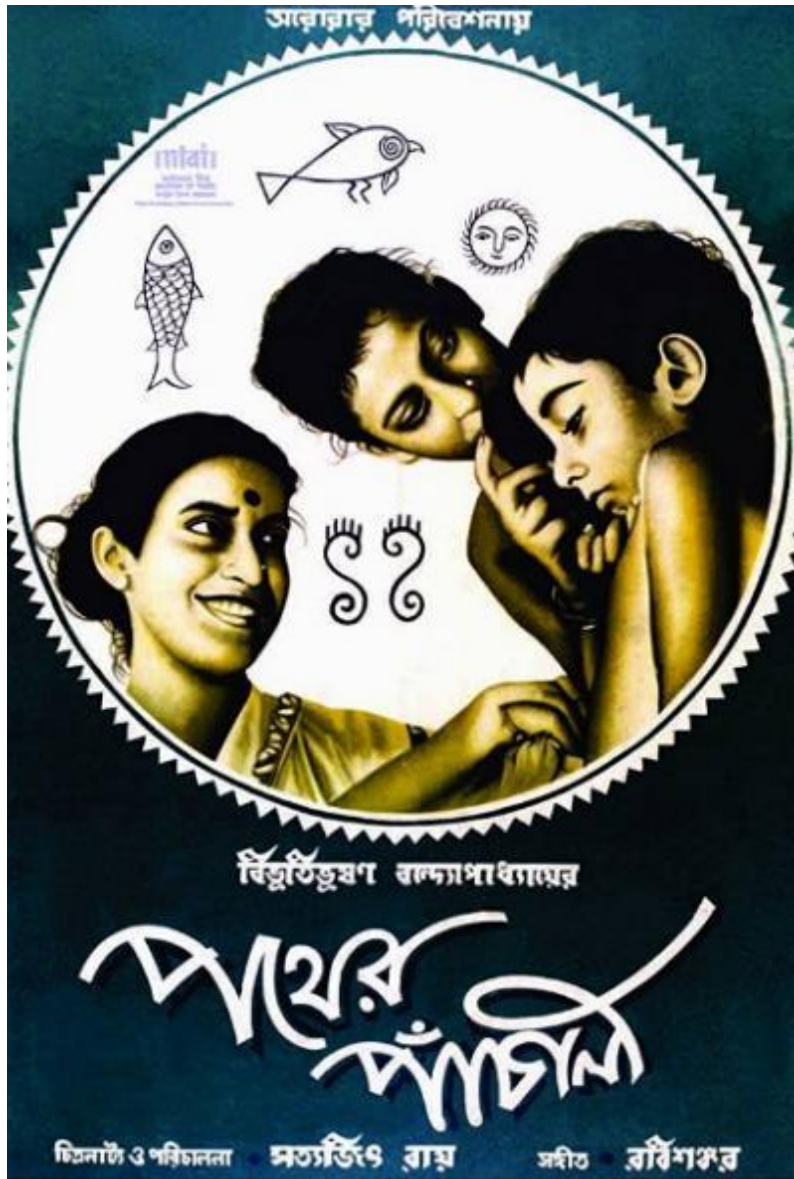


Figure 1.24. Poster of the film *Pather Panchali* (*Song of the Little Road*, 1955), directed by Satyajit Ray. Image from *International Movie Data Base*, accessed November 17, 2017, <https://www.imdb.com/title/tt0048473/mediaviewer/rm2984380416>.

## Illustrations to Chapter 2



Figure 2.1. Ernő Vadas, *A String of Horses (Herd of Black Horses on the Puszta in Hungary)*, undated. *1962 FIAP Yearbook*, 69.



Figure 2.2. Dimitris Harissiadis, *The Rider*, undated. Reproduced in Ioannis (Jean) Lambros, untitled, *Camera*, no. 1 (1965): 35.



Figure 2.3. Dimitris Harissiadis, untitled, undated (Greece). Steichen, *Family of Man*, 149.





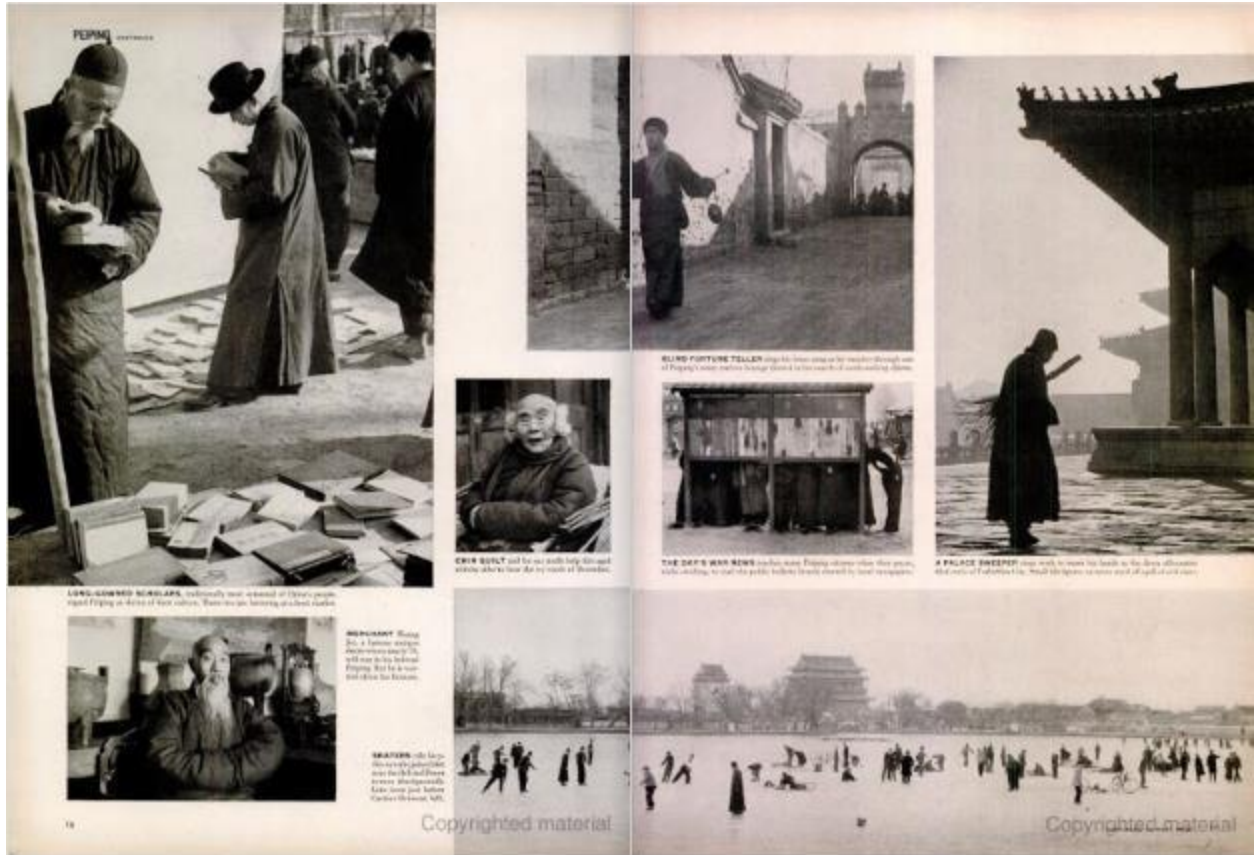


Figure 2.5. A spread from Henri Cartier-Bresson's reportage from China, "A Last Look at Peiping." *Life* 26, no. 1 (January 3, 1949): 16–17.



Figure 2.6. Annemarie Heinrich, *Portrait*, undated. *1956 FIAP Yearbook*, 31.





Figure 2.7. Annemarie Heinrich, portrait of French actress and model Ana María Cassan (1936–1960) as it appears on the cover of *Radiolandia*, September 1957.



Figure 2.8. Annemarie Heinrich, *Elsa Daniel*, 1953. Reproduced in Paola Cortés-Rocca, Agustín Pérez Rubio, and Victoria Giraudo, *Annemarie Heinrich: Secret Intentions; Genesis of Women's Liberation in Her Vintage Photographs* (Buenos Aires: Fundación Eduardo F. Costantini, 2015), 141.



Figure 2.9. Annemarie Heinrich, *Beba Bidart*, 1940. Cortés-Rocca, Pérez Rubio, and Giraudo, *Annemarie Heinrich*, 85.



Figure 2.10. Wilhelm Rauh, *Renate*, undated. *1960 FIAP Yearbook*, 9.



Figure 2.11. Wilhelm Rauh, “After the performance at the favourite rendezvous of the artists: the “Eule” (Owl Inn).” Reproduced in Wilhelm Rauh, *Atmosphäre Bayreuth* (Bayreuth: Hans Schwartz Verlag, 1966), 92.



Figure 2.12. Klaus Fischer, *Portrait*, undated. *1966 FIAP Yearbook*, 18.



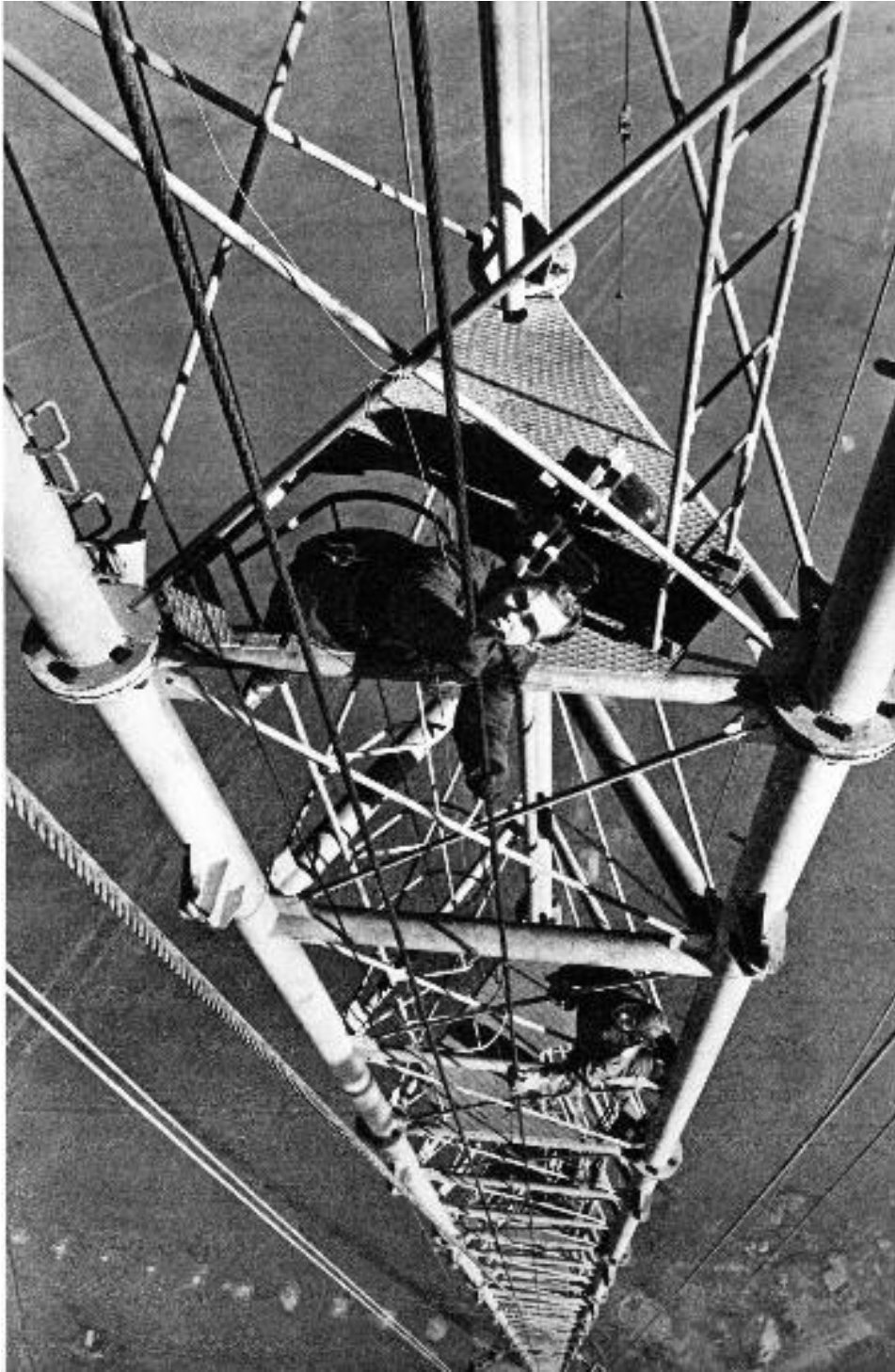


Figure 2.13. Gerhard Murza, *View from the Highest Building in Europe*, undated. *1964 FIAP Yearbook*, 19.



Figure 2.14. Gerhard Murza, “Together with Soviet specialists, members of a Wismut brigade from Ronneburg are assembling the first giant excavator imported from the USSR on March 29, 1966.” (Ronneburg, März 1966. Gemeinsam mit sowjetischen Spezialisten montieren Angehörige einer Wismut - Brigade aus Ronneburg den ersten aus der UDSSR importierten Riesen-Schreitbagger 29.03.1966.) *DDR Bildarchiv* (website), accessed May 17, 2017, <http://www.ddrbildarchiv.de/search.php?search=false&akseite=6&streffer=100&text=murza&city=>





Figure 2.15. Gerhard Murza, *350 m Communication Tower near Oranienburg*, 1960. Reproduced in Heinz Hoffmann and Rainer Knapp, ed., *Fotografie in der DDR: Ein Beitrag zur Bildgeschichte* (Leipzig: VEB Fotokinoverlag, 1987), 84.



Figure 2.16. László Moholy-Nagy, *Berlin Radio Tower*, 1928.

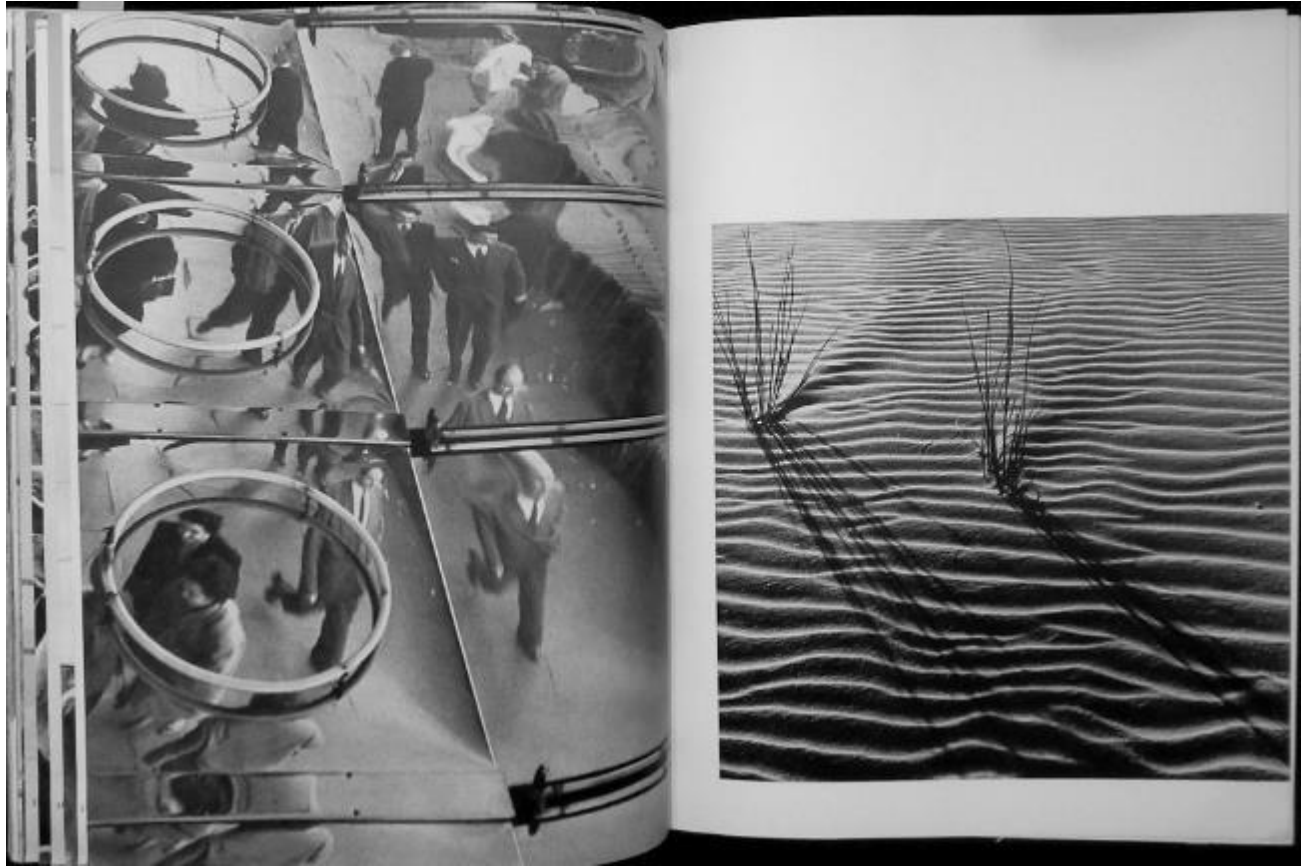


Figure 2.17. A spread from the 1960 FIAP Yearbook (pages 118–19), featuring the work of two photographers from Montevideo, Uruguay. On the left: Raúl E. Legrand, *Street Scene*. On the right: Julio Fitipaldo, *Dreaming*.



Figure 2.18. A spread from Henri Cartier-Bresson's book *The Decisive Moment* (1952), n.p.

Illustrations to Chapter 3



Figure 3.1. Gustav (Gust) Hahn, *Poster in Paris*, undated. *1956 FIAP Yearbook*, 14.



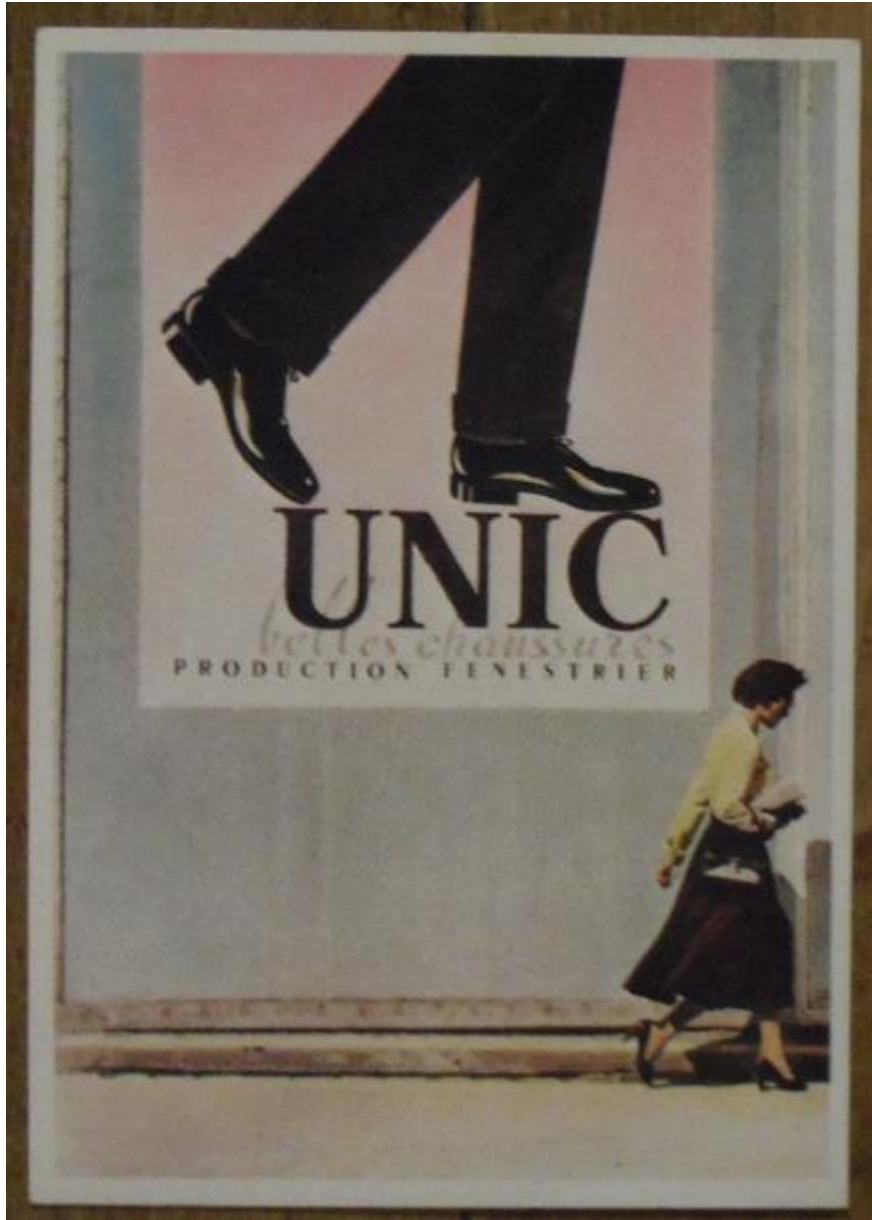


Figure 3.2. Gustav (Gust) Hahn), postcard with *Poster in Paris*, printed in color, undated.

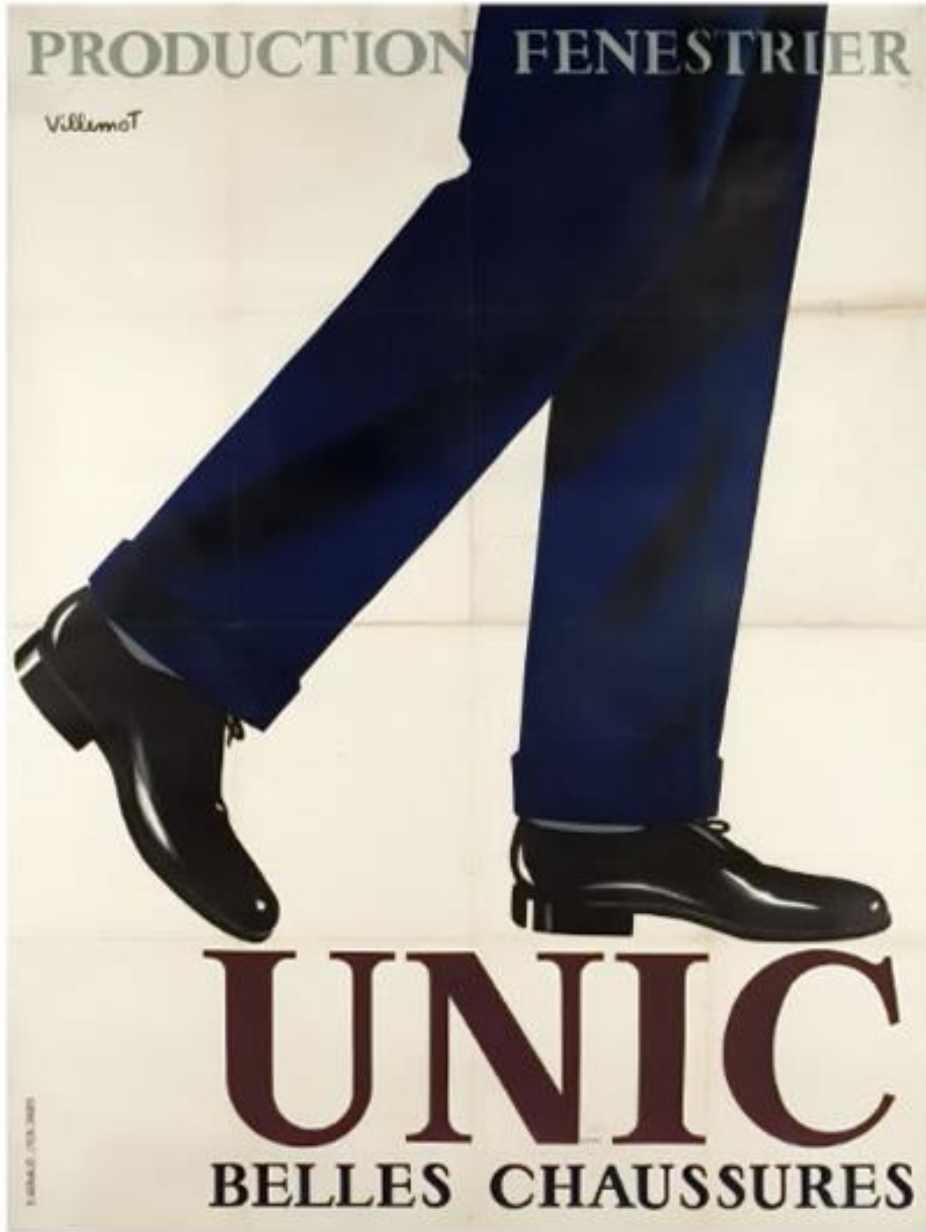


Figure 3.3. Bernard Villemot, poster for Unic Fenestrier brand men's shoes, 1954.



Figure 3.4. Robert Doisneau, untitled, undated (France). *The Family of Man*, 12.





Figure 3.5. A spread from Robert Doisneau’s photo-essay about “lovers in Paris.” “Speaking of Pictures. . .,” *Life* 28, no. 24 (June 12, 1950): 16–17.



Figure 3.6. Robert Doisneau, *Kiss by the Hôtel de Ville*, 1950.

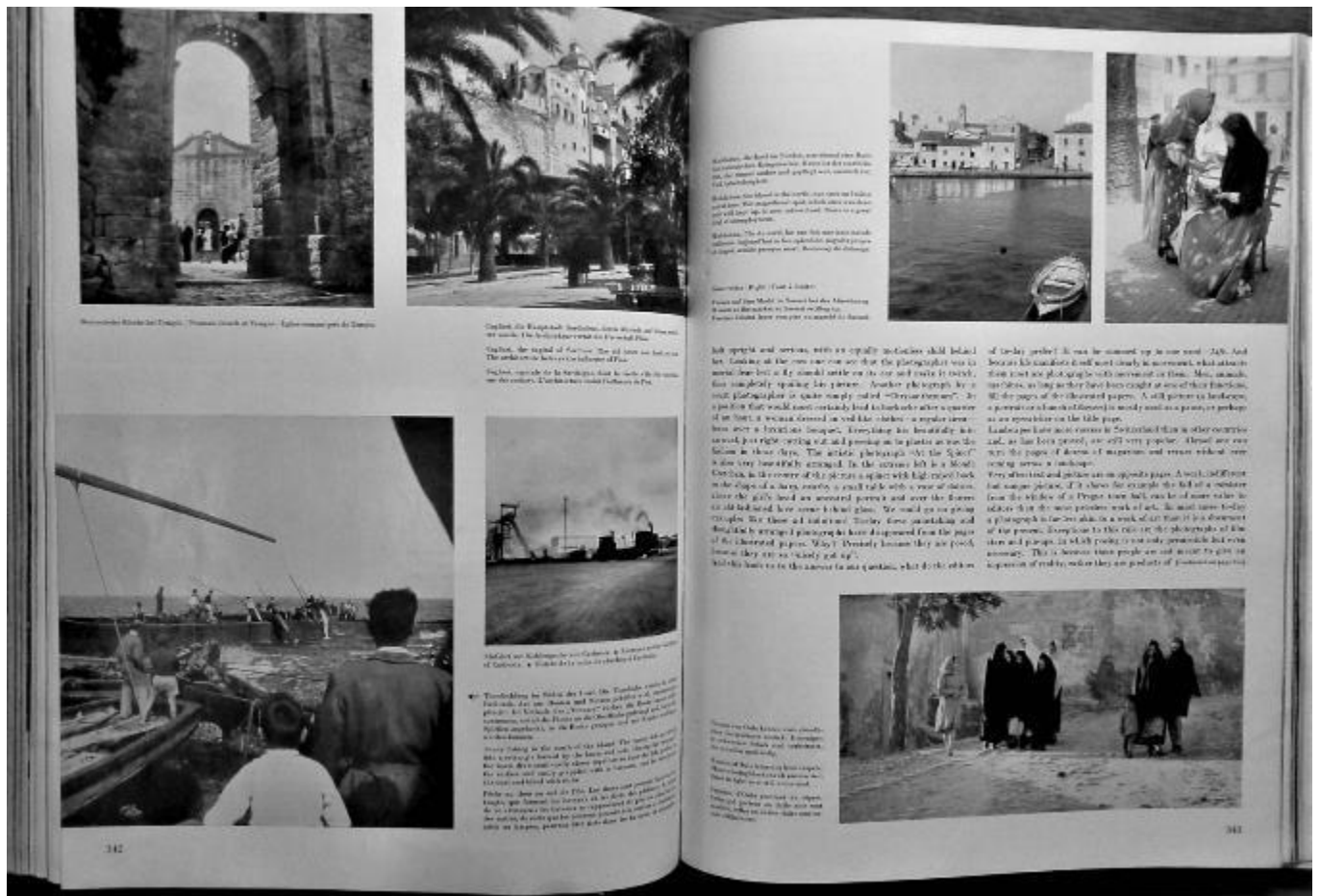


Figure 3.7. A spread from Fritz Flueller's article "What Kind of Photographs Do the Illustrated Papers Prefer?" *Camera*, no. 11 (1950): 342–43. Article is illustrated with Flueller's photographs from a trip to Sardinia.



Figure 3.8. Horst Baumann, *Inner-City Children*, undated. *1956 FIAP Yearbook*, 10.



Figure 3.9. Detail of Horst Baumann, *Inner-City Children*, undated. *1956 FIAP Yearbook*, 10.



Figure 3.10. Henri Cartier-Bresson, *Rue Mouffetard. Paris, 1954.*



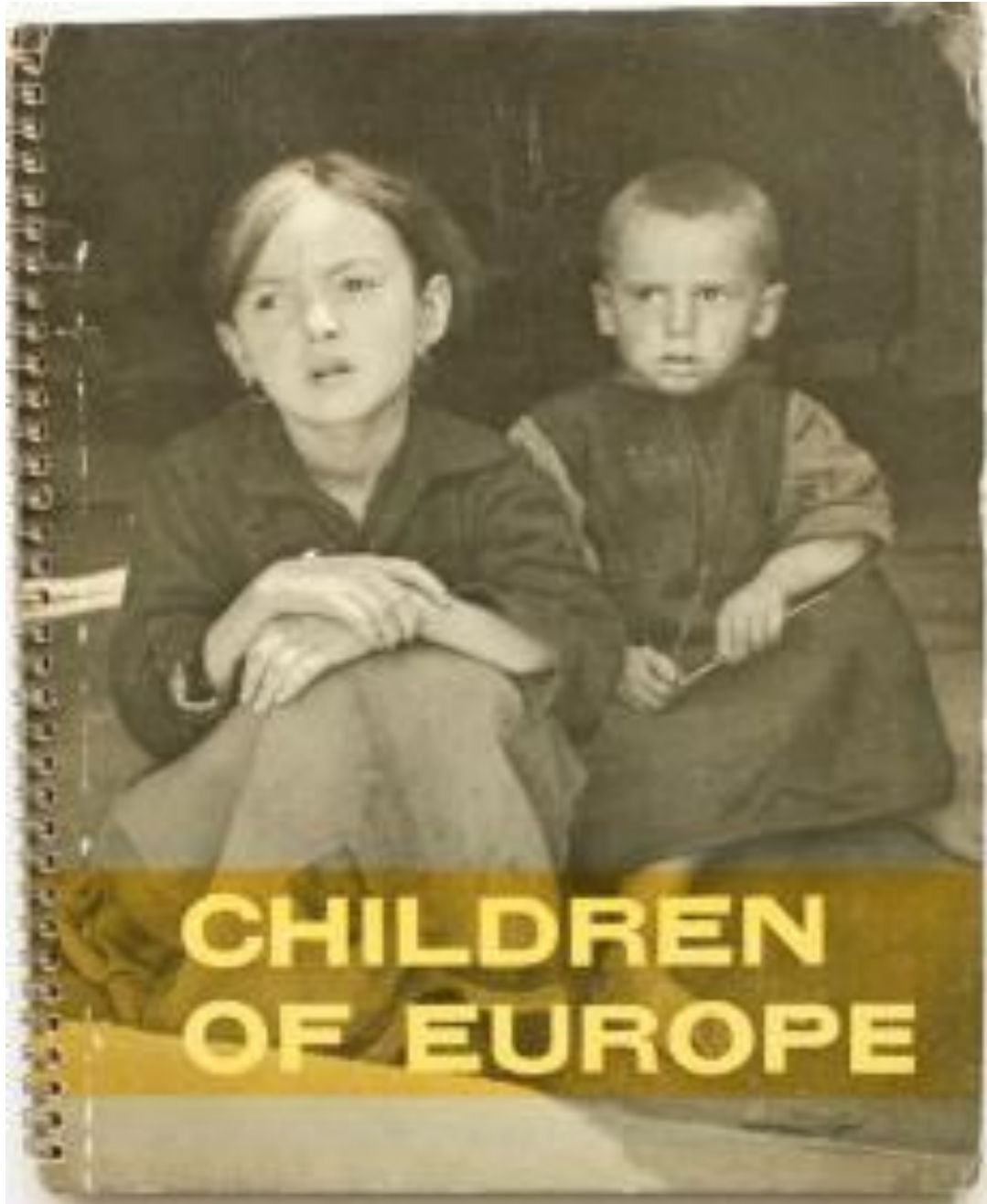


Figure 3.11. Cover of David Seymour, *Children of Europe* (Paris: UNESCO, 1949).



Figure 3.12. David Seymour, untitled, undated. Seymour, *Children of Europe*, 41.





Figure 3.13. Ludwig Schricker, *At an Orphanage*, undated. *1958 FIAP Yearbook*, 12.



Figure 3.14. A spread from the 1958 FIAP Yearbook, 12–13. Left: Ludwig Schrickler, *At an Orphanage*, undated. Right: Jacob Gerhard, *Five on the Rope*, undated.



Figure 3.15. David Seymour, untitled, undated. Seymour, *Children of Europe*, 60.



Figure 3.16. David Seymour, untitled, undated (Italy). *The Family of Man*, 94.

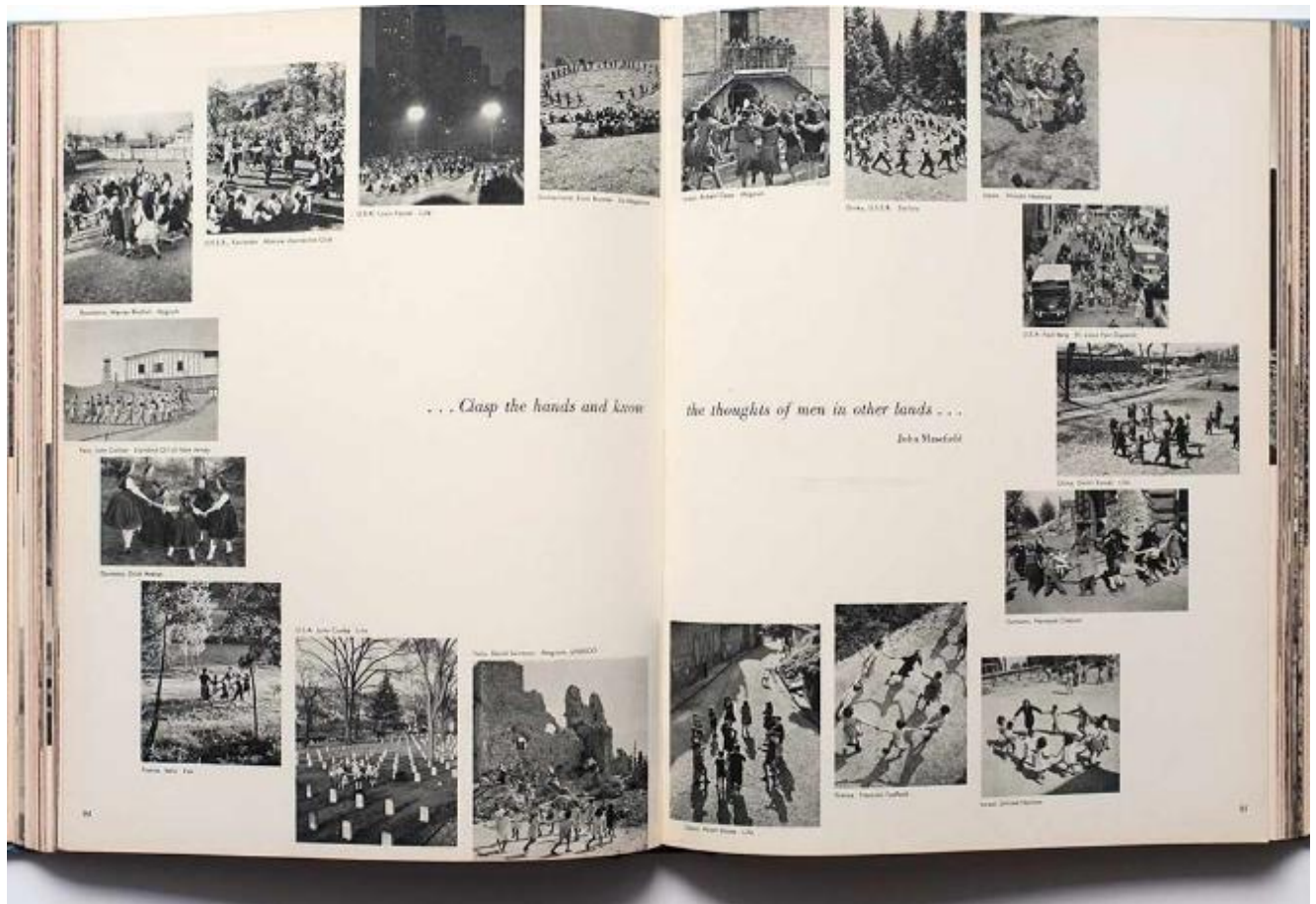


Figure 3.17. A spread from *The Family of Man*, 94–95.



Figure 3.18. W. Eugene Smith, untitled, undated (United States). *The Family of Man*, 192.





Figure 3.19. W. Eugene Smith, *Walk to Paradise Garden*, 1946. Ben Cosgrove, "Into the Light: W. Eugene Smith's *Walk to Paradise Garden*," *Time*, September 4, 2013, <http://time.com/37534/into-the-light-w-eugene-smiths-walk-to-paradise-garden/>.

Illustrations to Chapter 4

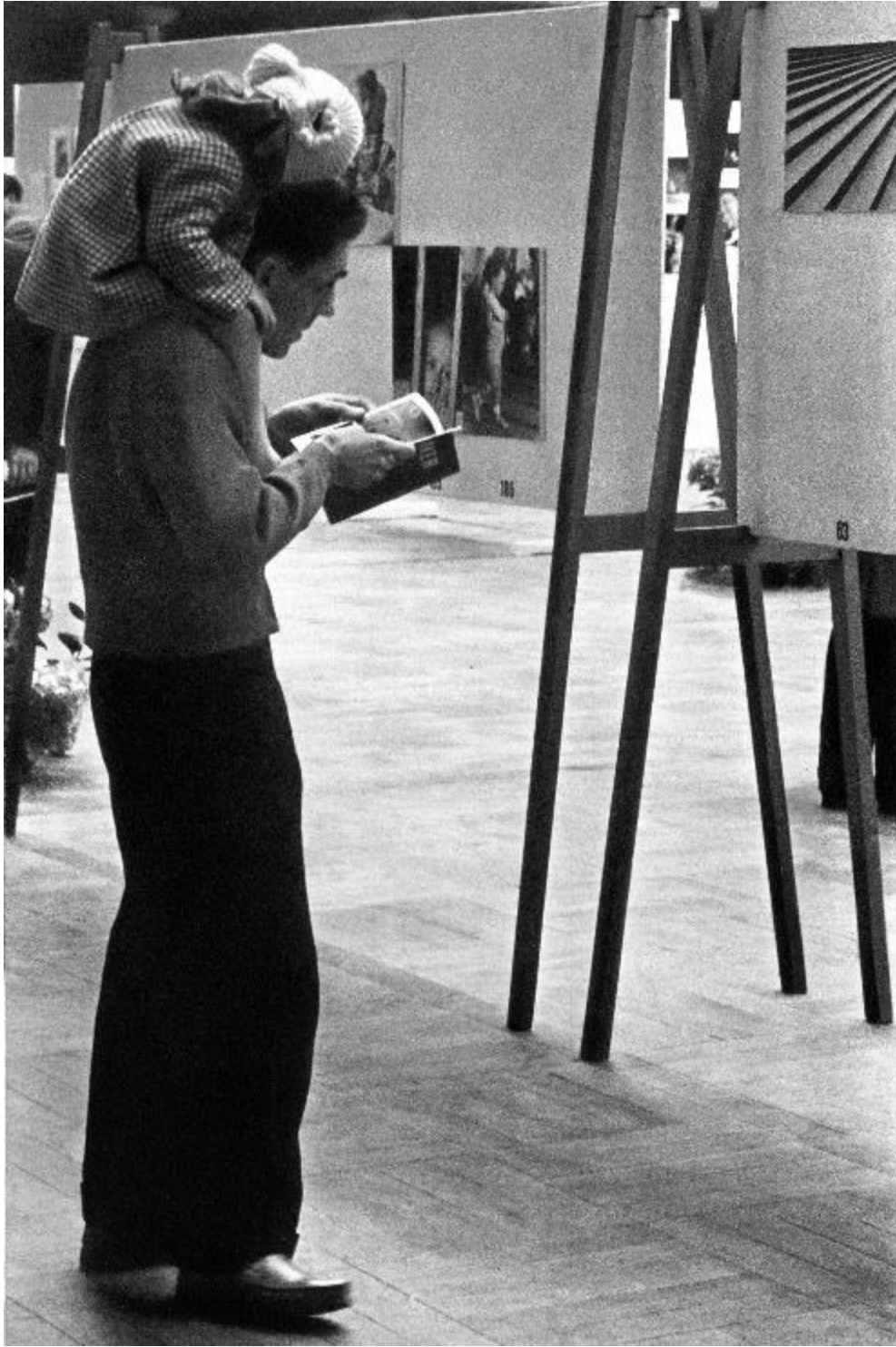


Figure 4.1. Walter Schnebele, *At the Exhibition*, undated. *1958 FIAP Yearbook*, 14.



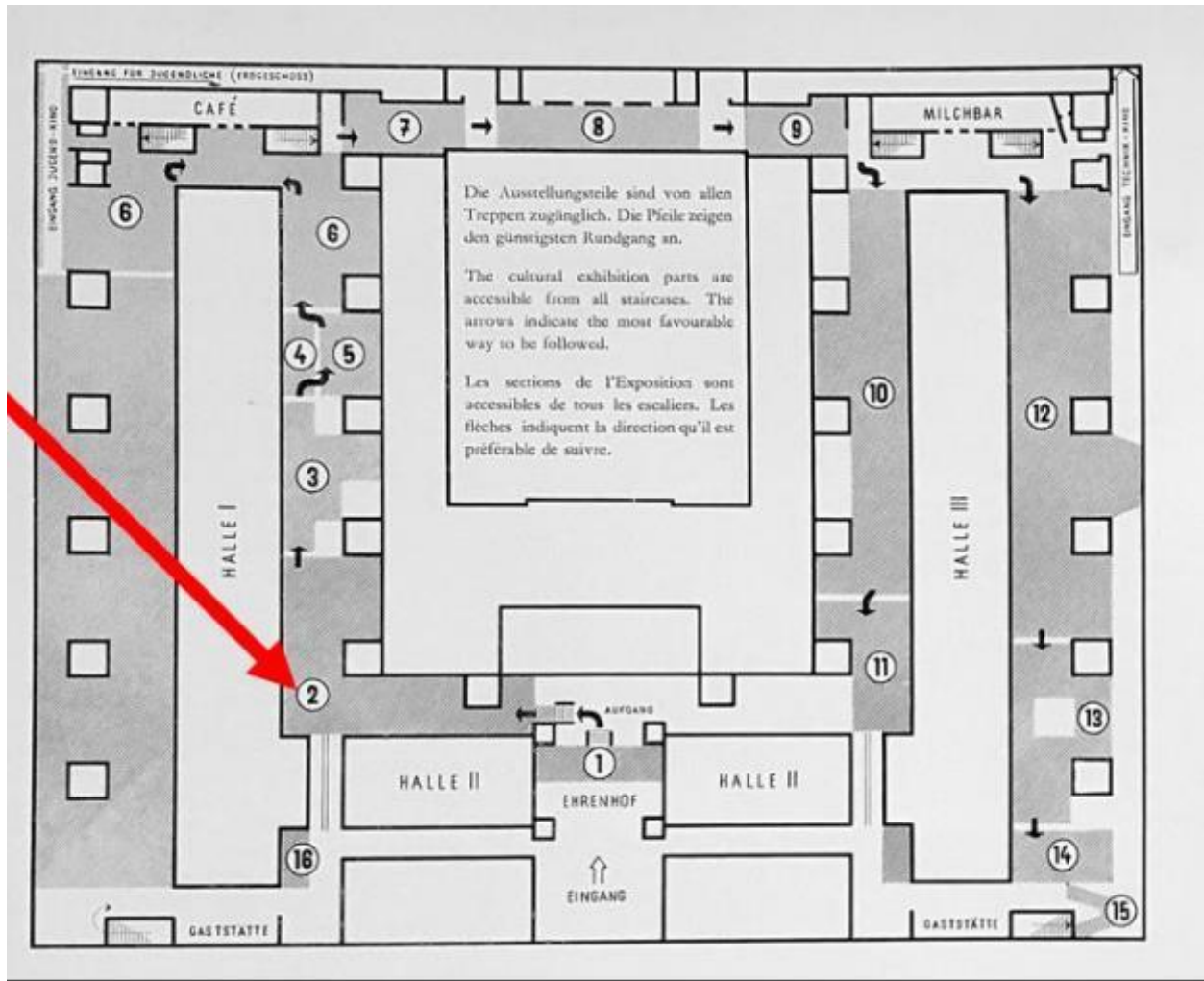


Figure 4.2. Exhibition plan of *Photokina* 1956. Number 1 indicates the location of the UNESCO exhibition. Number 2 shows the location of the FIAP biennial. *Photokina 1956* (Cologne: Photokina, 1956), 30. I have added the red arrow pointing at the location of the FIAP biennial.



Figure 4.3. Magnum exhibition in *Photokina 1956*. Photo: Charles E. Fraser. Pohlmann, *Kultur, Technik und Kommerz*, 82.



Figure 4.4. UNESCO exhibition in *Photokina 1956*. Photo: Charles E. Fraser. Pohlmann, *Kultur, Technik und Kommerz*, 37.



Figure 4.5. Magnum exhibition in *Photokina 1956*. Photo: Heinz Held. Cologne City Historical Archive.



Figure 4.6. Exhibition “Chim’s Children” in *Photokina 1958*. Photo: Erich Lambertin. Pohlmann, *Kultur, Technik und Kommerz*, 53.





Figure 4.7. Postcard with an inscription in German: “Köln am Rhein, Messehof, Pressa, Internationale Presse Ausstellung 1928” (Cologne on the Rhine, Trade fair building, Pressa, International Press Exhibition, 1928). Photo: unattributed.



Figure 4.8. The main entrance to *Photokina* in 1952. Photo: Erich Lambertin. Pohlmann, *Kultur, Technik und Kommerz*, front cover.



Figure 4.9. Poster of *Photokina 1956*. Translation of the German text: “International Photo and Cine Exhibition, Cologne, September 29–October 7, 1956.”





Figure 4.10. The catalogue of *Photokina 1956*.



Figure 4.11. Herbert Bayer, example of *Universal* typeface, 1925.



Figure 4.12. Cover of June–July 1952 issue of *Camera* with an installation view of the World Exhibition of Photography, Lucerne, Switzerland, May 15–July 31, 1952. Photo: Hugo P. Herdeg. The works on display are attributed to the following photographers (clockwise from top left): Werner Bischof (Magnum), Davide Clari, Christer Christian, Hugo P. Herdeg, Christian Staub, Emil Brunner, and Arik Nepo (*Vogue*).





Figure 4.13. Installation view of the “Department of Human Activities” in the World Exhibition of Photography in Lucerne. Photo: Hugo P. Herdeg in *Camera*, no. 6–7 (1952), 205.



Figure 4.14. Installation view of the exhibition *The Family of Man*, January 24–May 8, 1955. Photo: Ezra Stoller. Museum of Modern Art Archives.

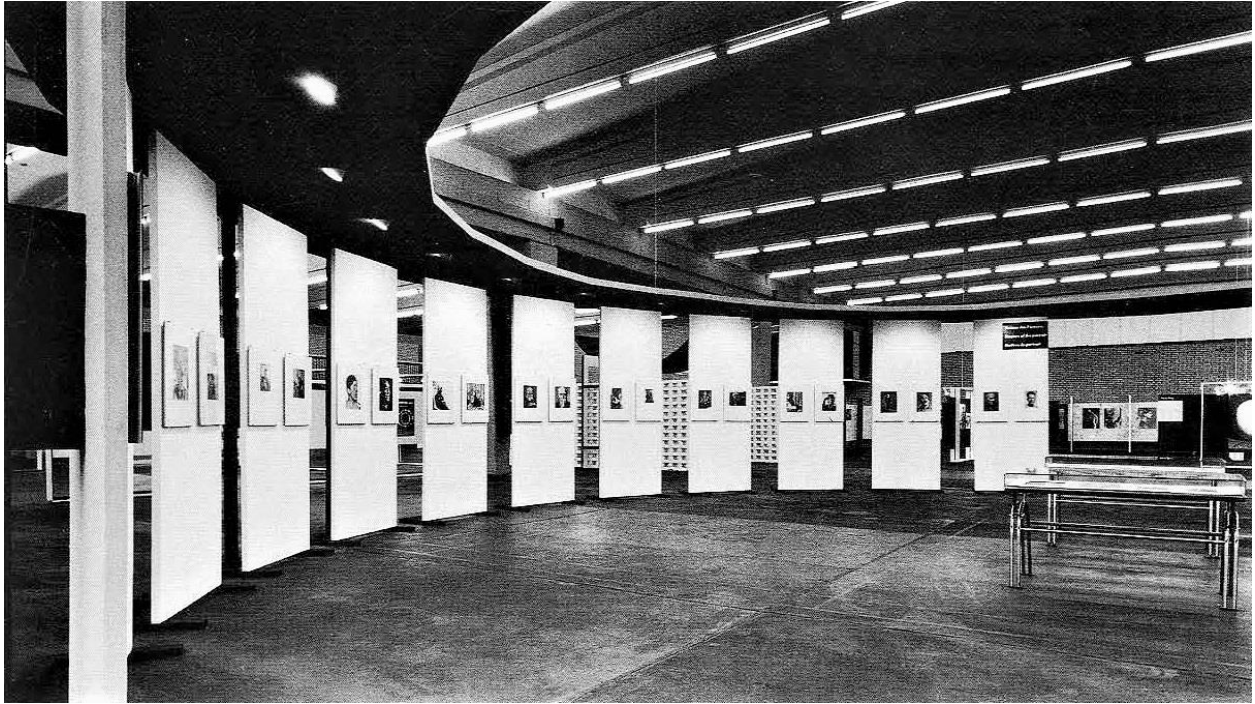


Figure 4.15. Installation view of the exhibition “Masters of Portraiture” in *Photokina 1960*.  
Photo: Charles E. Fraser. Pohlmann, *Kultur, Technik und Kommerz*, 111.



Figure 4.16. Installation view of Magnum exhibition in *Photokina 1963*. Photo: Charles E. Fraser. Pohlmann, *Kultur, Technik und Kommerz*, 84.



Figure 4.17. Installation view of solo show by Margaret Bourke-White in the exhibition “Women and Photography” in *Photokina 1958*. Photo: Charles E. Fraser. Pohlmann, *Kultur, Technik und Kommerz*, 103.





Figure 4.18. Installation view of solo show by Gordon Parks in *Photokina 1966*. Photo: unattributed. Pohlmann, *Kultur, Technik und Kommerz*, 106.



Figure 4.19. Installation view of “The Second World Exhibition of Photography: The Woman” in *Photokina 1968*. Photo: Charles E. Fraser. Pohlmann, *Kultur, Technik und Kommerz*, 92.

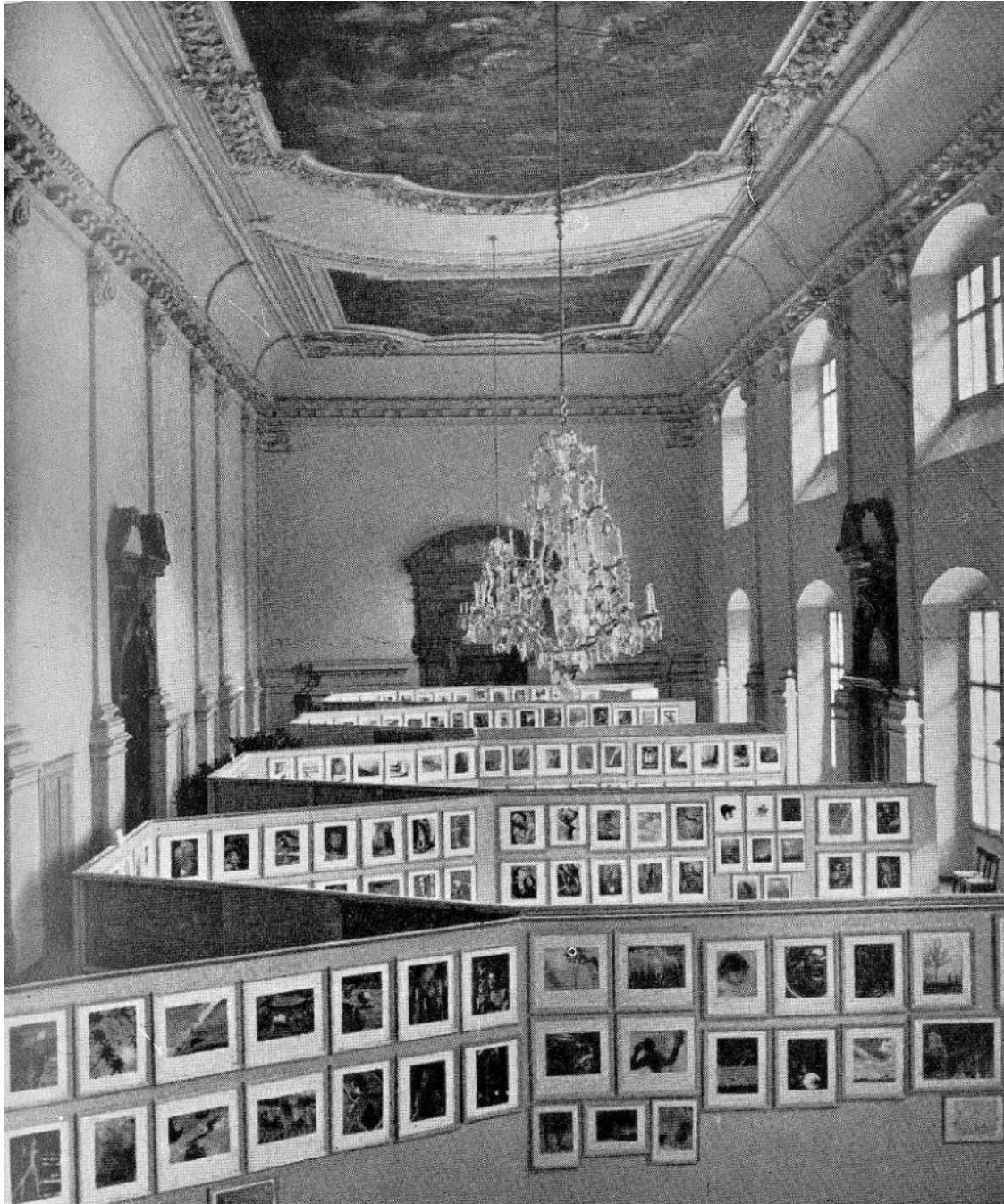


Figure 4.20. Installation view of the second FIAP biennial in the Carabinieri-Saal of the Residenz Palace, Salzburg, Austria, 1952. Photo: O. Stibor, Salzburg. FIAP, *II Internationale Fotobiennale de la Fédération Internationale de l'Art Photographique* (Österreichische Lichtbildnerbund: Salzburg, 1952), n.p.

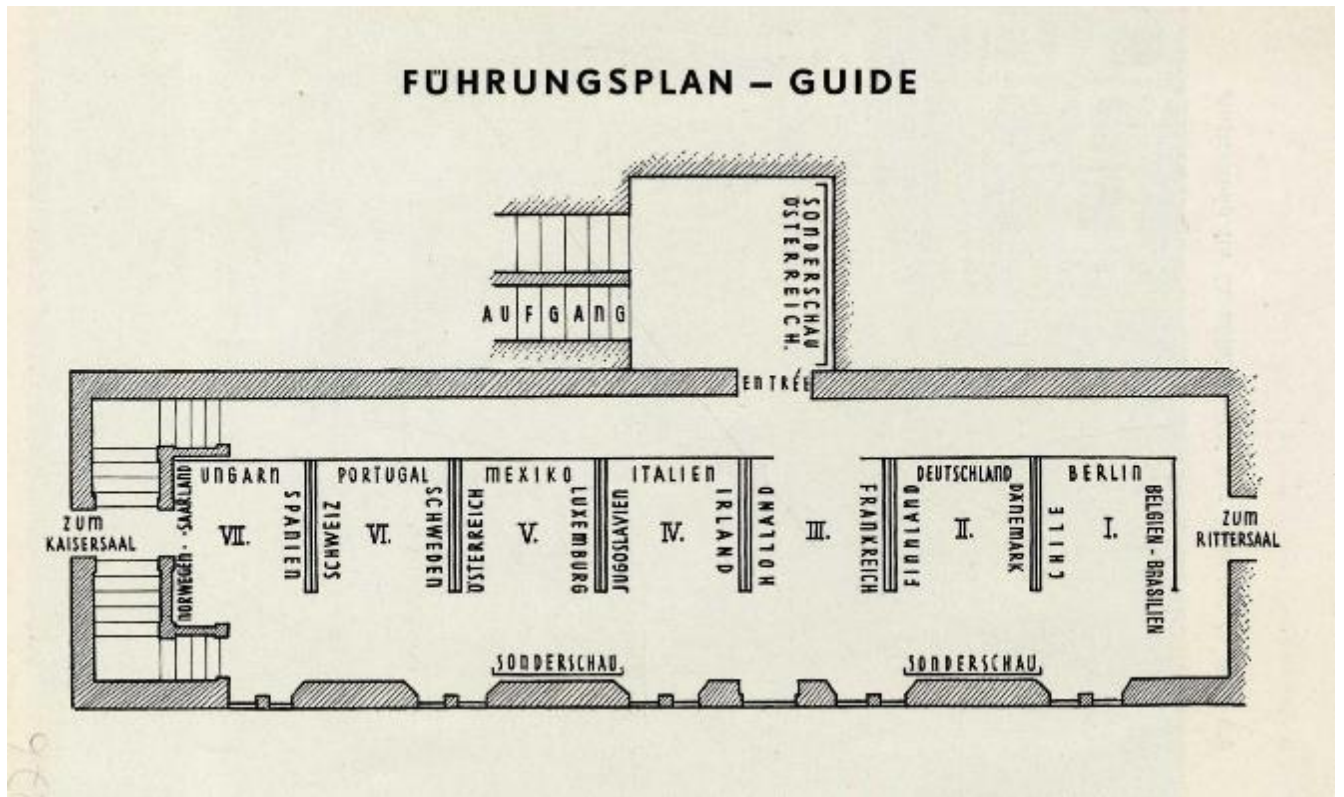


Figure 4.21. Exhibition plan of the second FIAP biennial in Salzburg, Austria, 1952. FIAP, *II Internationale Fotobiennale*, n.p.



Figure 4.22. Installation view of the Gertrude Käsebier and Clarence H. White exhibition at the Little Galleries of the Photo Secession, 291 Fifth Avenue, New York, 1906. Photo: Gertrude Käsebier. *Camera Work* no. 14 (1906), n.p.



Figure 4.23. Installation view of the second FIAP biennial in *Photokina 1952*. Photo: Charles E. Fraser. Pohlmann, *Kultur, Technik und Kommerz*, 63.





Figure 4.24. Installation view of the exhibition *Stärker als Worte* (*Stronger than Words*) in *Photokina 1956*. Photo: Charles E. Fraser. Pohlmann, *Kultur, Technik und Kommerz*, 84.



Figure 4.25. Lip Lim, *Every Grain by Labor*, undated. 1964 *FIAP Yearbook*, 136.



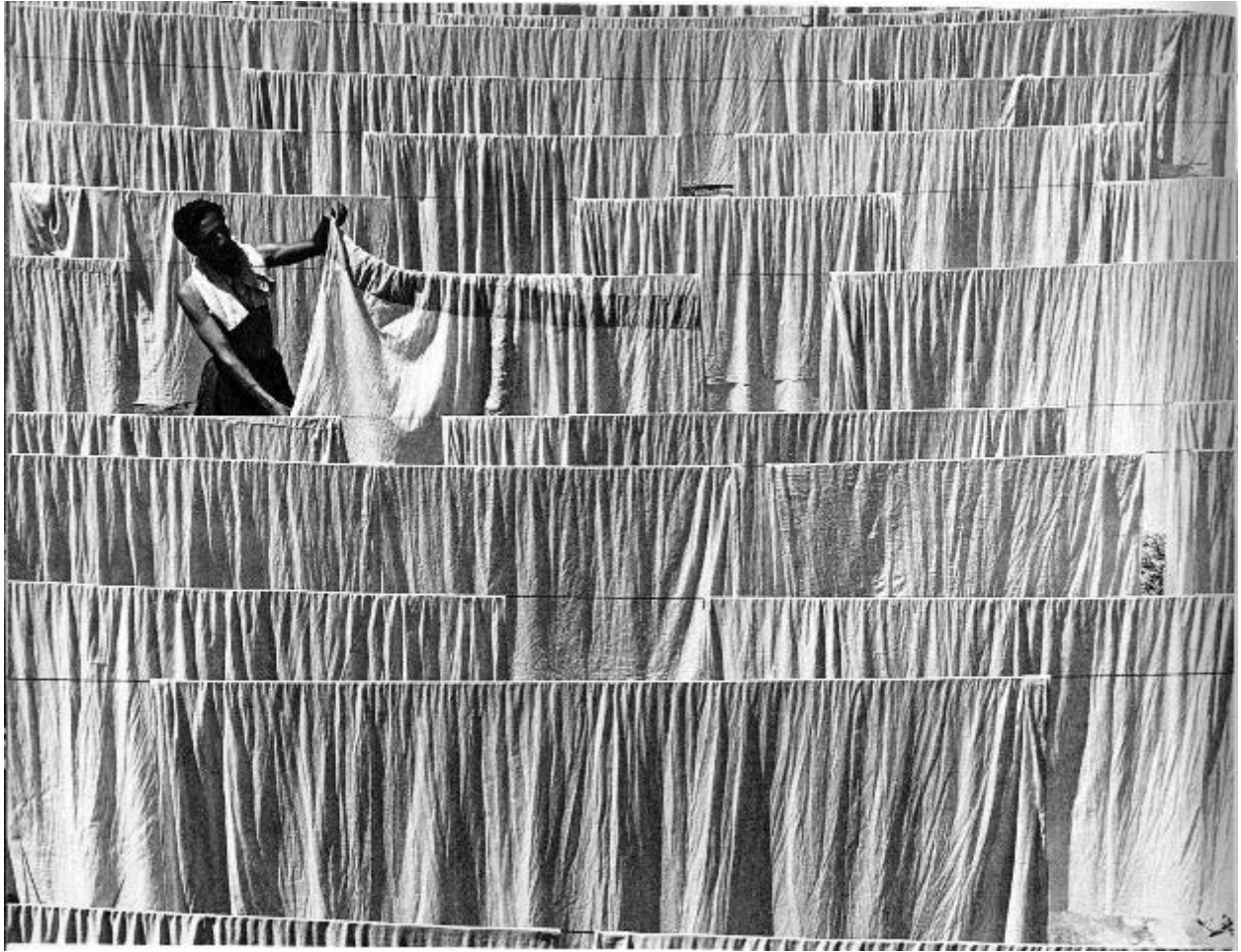


Figure 4.26. Chong-Theng Ang, *Man Behind the Curtains*, undated. *1964 FIAP Yearbook*, 128.



Figure 4.27. Gaetano Lazzaro, *Geometry in the Sun*, undated. *1956 FIAP Yearbook*, 122.



Figure 4.28. Erwin Döring, *The Last Row*, undated. *1966 FIAP Yearbook*, 21.



Figure 4.29. Installation view of Ansel Adams solo exhibition in *Photokina 1956*, featuring large-size color transparencies. Photo: Charles E. Fraser. Pohlmann, *Kultur, Technik und Kommerz*, 102.



Illustrations to Chapter 5



Figure 5.1. Lang Jingshan, *Lost in the Clouds*, 1963. Lang Jingshan, *Image of China: 20th-Century Chinese Photography Masters* (Beijing: National Art Museum of China, 2013), 61.



Figure 5.2. Lang Jingshan, untitled, undated. Odette Bretscher, untitled, *Camera*, no. 5 (1964): 34.



Figure 5.3. Lang Jingshan, untitled, undated. Odette Bretscher, untitled, *Camera*, no. 5 (1964): 34.



Figure 5.4. Lang Jingshan, *An Excursion*, ca. 1951. Reproduced in Bretscher, untitled (1964), 34. This reproduction from Lang Jingshan, *Image of China; 20th-Century Chinese Photography Masters* (Beijing: National Art Museum of China, 2013), 53.





Figure 5.5. Detail of *An Excursion* (figure 5.7).



Figure 5.6. Lang Jingshan, *Small Ferry Boat in Hong Kong*, 1949. Mia Yinxing Liu, "The Allegorical Landscape: Lang Jingshan's Photography in Context," *Archives of Asian Art* 65, no. 1–2 (2015): 13.



Figure 5.7. Chang Chao-Tang, *Mother and Sons*, undated. 1966 FIAP Yearbook, 48.

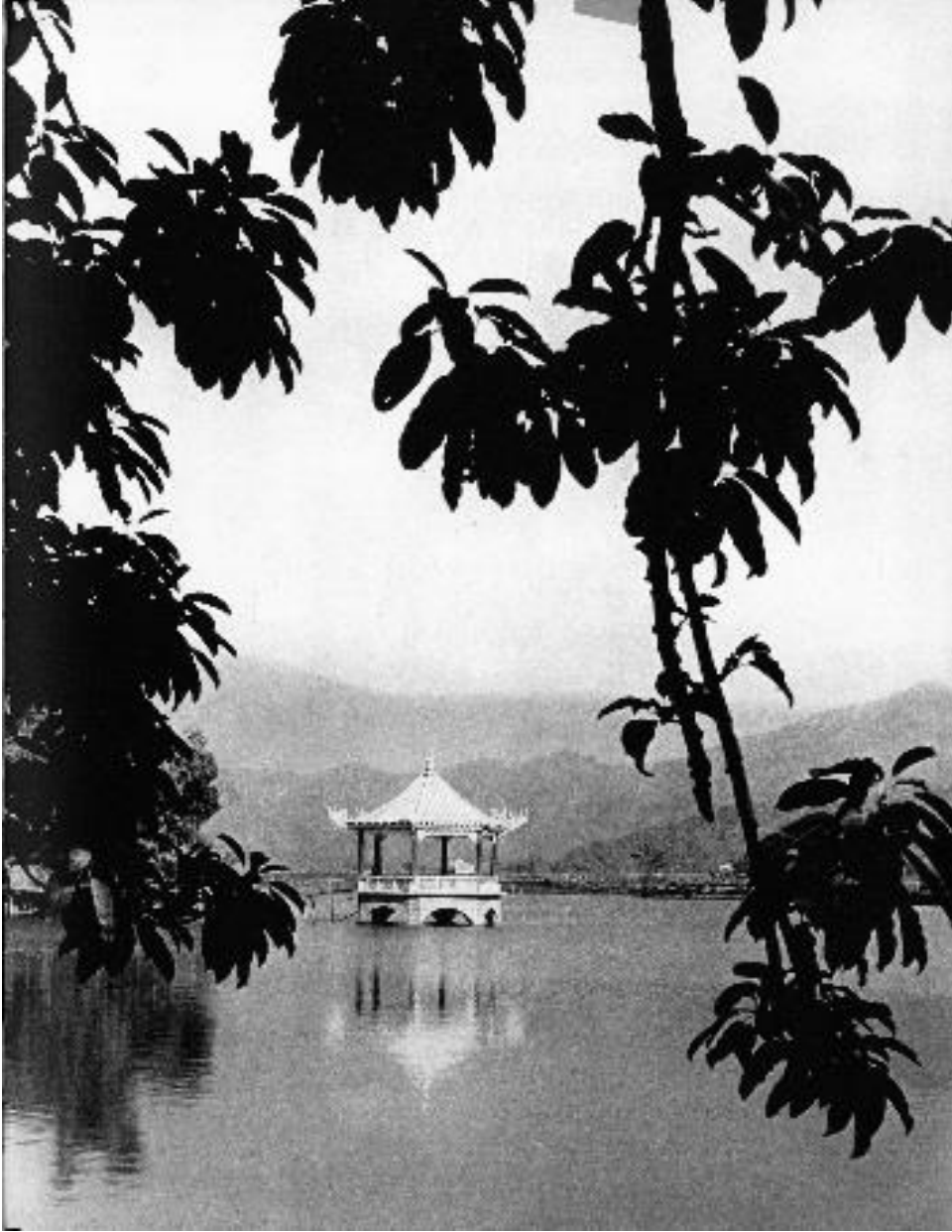


Figure 5.8. Yuang S. L., *A View of Chung Cheng Lake*, undated. *1964 FIAP Yearbook*, 51.

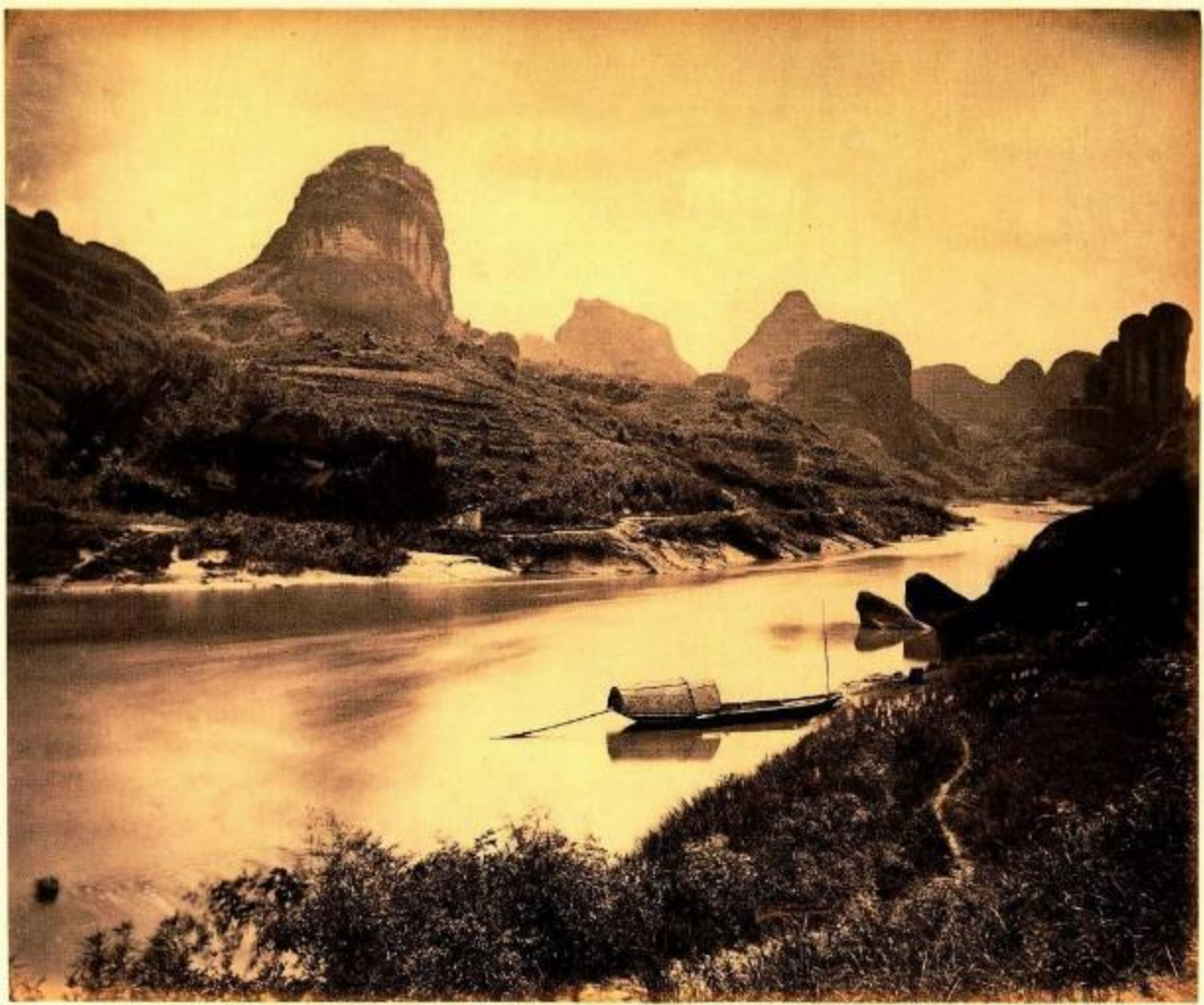


Figure 5.9. Ho Beng-Heng, *A Day's Work*, undated. *1966 FIAP Yearbook*, 47.



Figure 5.10. Wu Zheng (1280–1354; China), *Fishermen on Dongting Lake*. Scroll, ink on paper. Ci Lin, *Chinese Painting* (Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 110.





— 兜 藝 埠 Tou-mao-fong

Figure 5.11. Tung Hing, *Toumao Mountain*. From Tung Hing, *Album of Bohea; or, Wu-e Photographic Views*, 1860s–70s. Reproduced in *Brush and Shutter: Early Photography in China*, ed. Jeffrey W. Cody and Frances Terpak (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2011), 165.



Figure 5.12. Spread from Lang Jingshan's book demonstrating the technique of composite pictures. Chin-San Long, *Techniques in Composite Picture-making* (Taipei: China Series Publishing Committee, 1958), 44–45.



Figure 5.13. Page from Lang Jingshan's book demonstrating the technique of composite pictures. Chin-San Long, *Techniques in Composite Picture-making* (Taipei: China Series Publishing Committee, 1958), 60.



Illustrations to Chapter 6

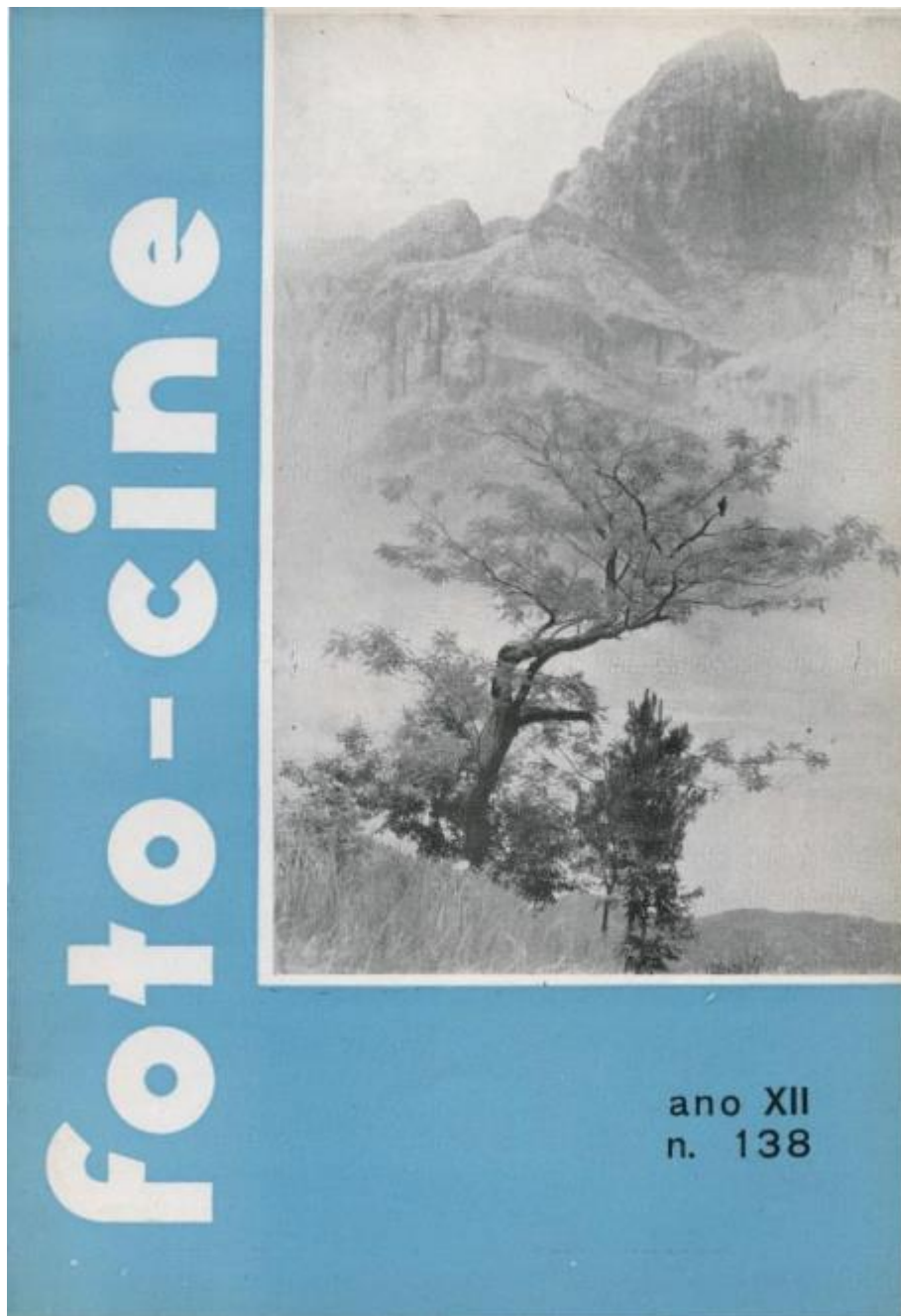


Figure 6.1. The first cover of *Boletim Foto Cine* 12, no. 138 (July–August 1963) with a reproduction of *In the Spring* (undated) by Lang Jingshan.



Figure 6.2. FCCB president Eduardo Salvatore (on the left) presents Lang Jingshan honorary membership in FCCB and the Brazilian Federation of Photography at the opening of Lang's exhibition at the FCCB in July 1963 (top left). Photo: Tufy Kanji. J. E. L. S., "Encontro com Chin-San Long," *Boletim Foto Cine* 12, no. 138 (July–August 1963): 17.



Figure 6.3. Reception at the FCCB on the occasion of the opening of solo exhibition by Lang Jingshan in July 1963. Lang Jingshan with Eduardo Salvatore and the consul of the Republic of China (Taiwan) in São Paulo, president of the Chinese Social Center of São Paulo, and members of the Brazilian Academy of Fine Arts. Photo: Tufy Kanji, J. E. L. S., “Encontro com Chin-San Long.” *Boletim Foto Cine* 12, no. 138 (July–August 1963): 16.



Figure 6.4. “Reception of the President of FIAP in Santos, Brazil, by the authorities and club in 1960. The banner was mounted in front of the City Hall.” The text on banner: “Santos welcomes the president of Fédération Internationale de l’art Photographique Maurice Van de Wyer.” FIAP, “Kurzbericht über die am Kongreß in Opatija gefaßten wichtigsten Beschlüsse 19.–22. September 1960,” *Camera*, no. 1 (1961): 48.



Figure 6.5. “Meeting of the Management Committee of the Brazilian Federation of Photographic Art in São Paulo, Brazil, chaired by Dr. M. Van de Wyer, President of FIAP.” (a) Maurice Van de Wyer; (b) Eduardo Salvatore; (c) P. Mendes, FIAP, “Kurzbericht über die am Kongreß in Opatija gefaßten wichtigsten Beschlüsse 19.–22. September 1960,” *Camera*, no. 1 (1961): 48. Lettering on the photo in original.



Figure 6.6. The first cover of *Boletim Foto Cine* 5, no. 59 (March 1951) with a reproduction of *Artist's Hands* (undated) by Annemarie Heinrich.





Figure 6.7. Annemarie Heinrich with FCCB members José Oiticica Filho, José Yalenti, and Aldo Augusto de Souza Lima. Photo: German Lorca. *Boletim Foto Cine* 5, no. 59 (March 1951), 12.



Figure 6.8. The last visitor of the eleventh São Paulo International Salon of Photography at the Prestes Maia Gallery briefly before closing. Photo: unattributed. *Boletim Foto Cine* 7, no. 78 (1952): 23.



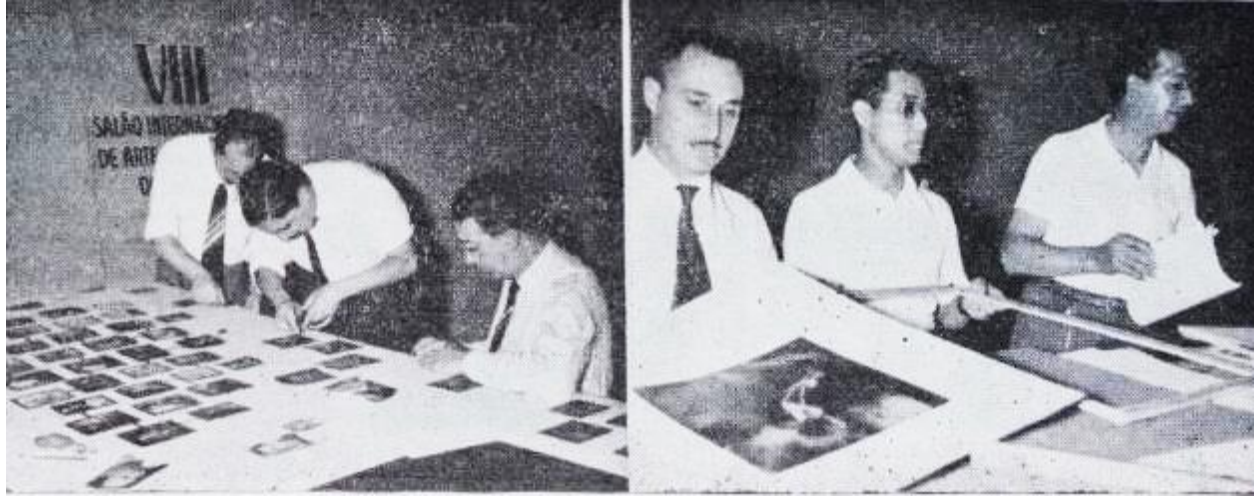


Figure 6.9. The jury of the eighth São Paulo International Salon of Photography at work. Photo: unattributed. *Boletim Foto Cine* 4, no. 48 (April 1950): 7.

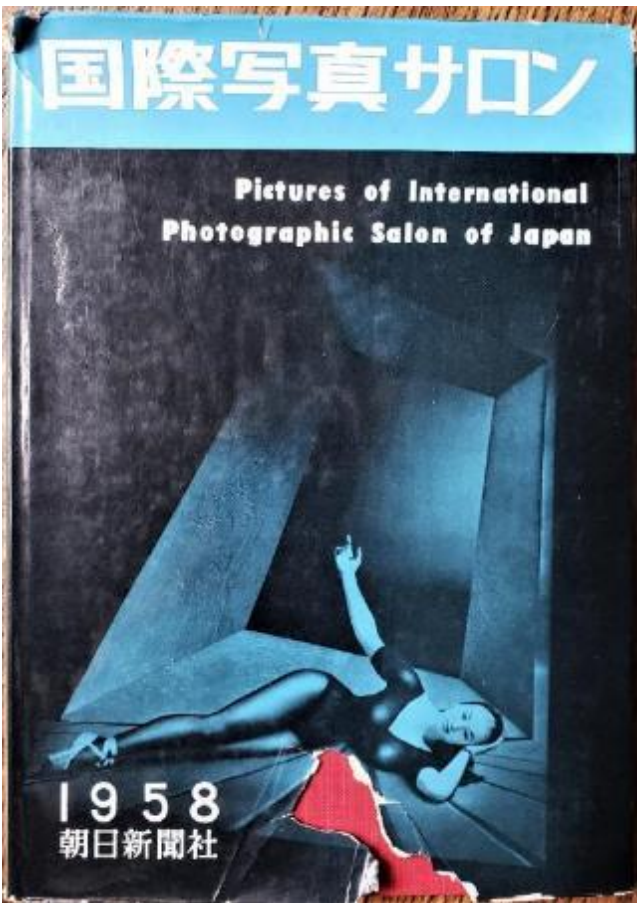


Figure 6.10. Cover and sample spreads from one of the most luxurious salon catalogues, *Pictures of International Photographic Salon of Japan* (Tokyo: Asahi Shimbun, 1958).

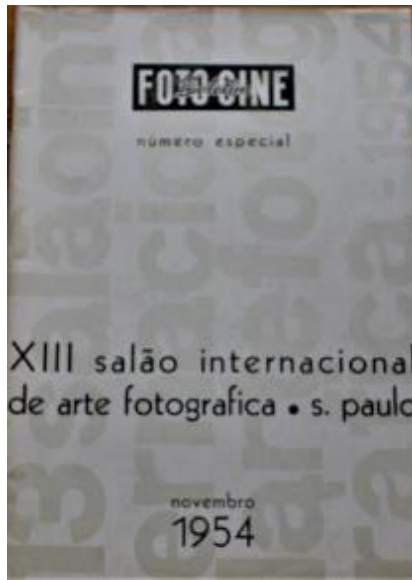


Figure 6.11. Selected covers of the catalogues of the São Paulo International Salons of Photography published between 1950 and 1959 as special editions of the *Boletim Foto Cine*. I am thankful to Marly Porto for providing me access to the catalogues in 2016.



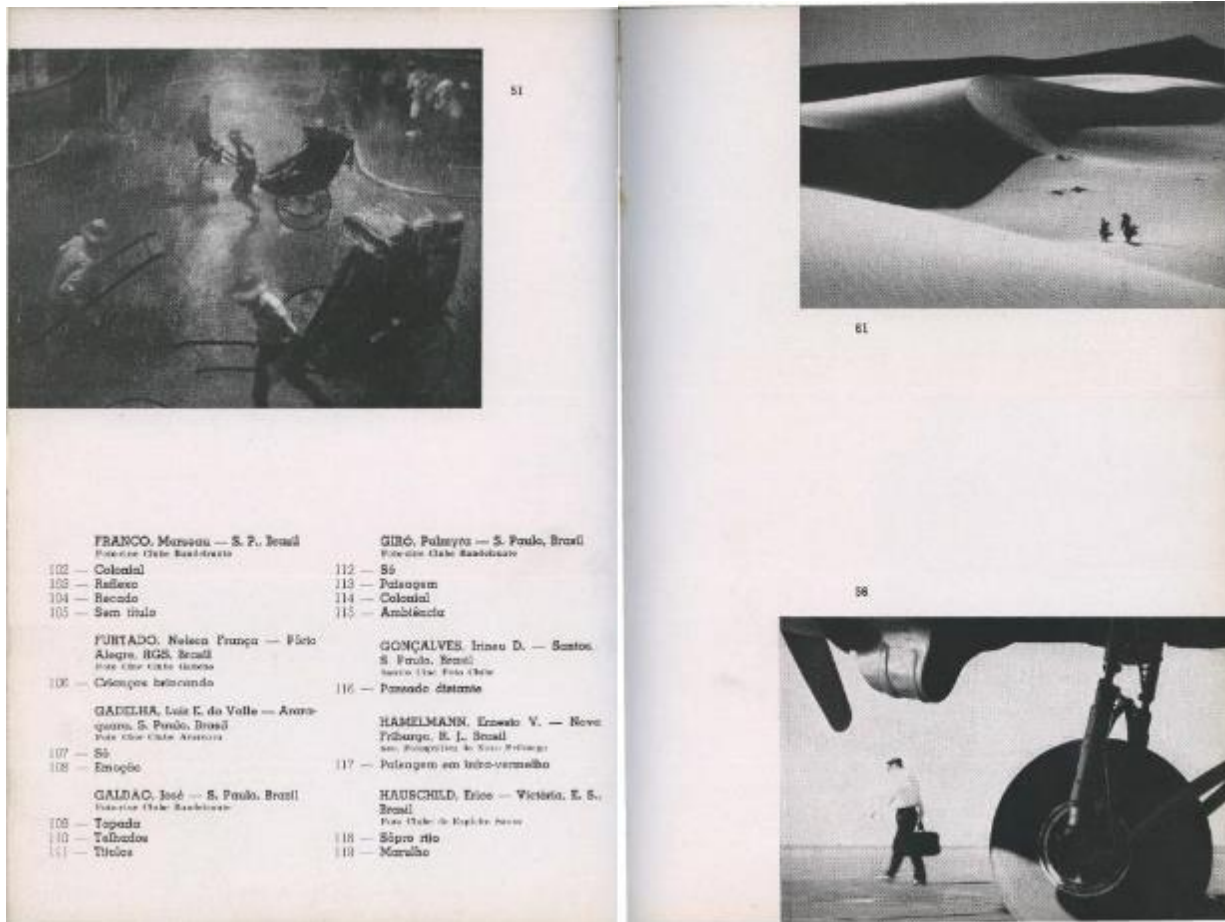


Figure 6.12. A spread from the catalogue of the eighteenth São Paulo International Salon of Photography with a fragment of the listing of the accepted works and three illustrations.

- |                                                                                                       |                                                                                     |                                                                                                        |  |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--|
| <b>FRANCO, Marcondes — S. P., Brasil</b><br><i>Fotografia Ultra Realista</i>                          |                                                                                     | <b>GIRÓ, Pulcinella — S. Paulo, Brasil</b><br><i>Fotografia Ultra Realista</i>                         |  |
| 102 — Colonial                                                                                        | 112 — Sô                                                                            |                                                                                                        |  |
| 103 — Reflexo                                                                                         | 113 — Paisagem                                                                      |                                                                                                        |  |
| 104 — Recado                                                                                          | 114 — Colonial                                                                      |                                                                                                        |  |
| 105 — Sem título                                                                                      | 115 — Ambiência                                                                     |                                                                                                        |  |
| <b>FURTADO, Nelson França — Fico</b><br><i>Alegre, BGS, Brasil</i><br><i>Para Uma Nova Ilustração</i> |                                                                                     | <b>GOMÇALVES, Irineu D. — Santos, S. Paulo, Brasil</b><br><i>Para Uma Nova Ilustração</i>              |  |
| 106 — Citações bíblicas                                                                               | 116 — Passado distante                                                              |                                                                                                        |  |
| <b>GADELHA, Luiz E. do Valle — Araraquara, S. Paulo, Brasil</b><br><i>Para Uma Nova Ilustração</i>    |                                                                                     | <b>HAMELMANN, Ernesto V. — Nova Friburgo, R. J., Brasil</b><br><i>Para uma Ilustração de São Paulo</i> |  |
| 107 — Sô                                                                                              | 117 — Paisagem em preto-vermelho                                                    |                                                                                                        |  |
| 108 — Emoção                                                                                          | <b>HAUSCHILD, Erice — Vitória, E. S., Brasil</b><br><i>Para Uma Nova Ilustração</i> |                                                                                                        |  |
| <b>GALDAS, José — S. Paulo, Brasil</b><br><i>Fotografia Ultra Realista</i>                            |                                                                                     | 118 — Sôpro rito                                                                                       |  |
| 109 — Topada                                                                                          | 119 — Marulho                                                                       |                                                                                                        |  |
| 110 — Tufões                                                                                          |                                                                                     |                                                                                                        |  |
| 111 — Tufões                                                                                          |                                                                                     |                                                                                                        |  |





	Exhibitions in Lithuania Acceptances	Photos Photographs Taken		Exhibitions in Lithuania Acceptances	Photos Photographs Taken
1. Cheung, Yu-Chiu, Hong Kong	110	314	77. Deaderick, Moreland M., USA	23	67
2. Wu, Francis, Hong Kong	102	272	78. Tremser, Rhodes, South Africa	32	87
3. Wu, K. H., Hong Kong	107	264	79. Toth, Istvan, Hungary	46	67
4. Wu, Daisy, Hong Kong	105	246	80. Swanson, Pelle Pets, Canada	23	66
5. Lee, Wellington, USA	103	237	81. Caldwell, John T. Jr., USA	38	66
6. Kan, Hing-Fook, Hong Kong	96	227	82. Hung, Pak-Ching, Hong Kong	50	66
7. Heller, Frank J., USA	96	216	83. Ballentine, Grace M., USA	32	65
8. Solomon, Philip, USA	75	192	84. Litsel, Otto, USA	41	65
9. Calheiros, Pedro, Brazil	86	186	85. Piktanen, Matti A., Finland	29	63
10. Pun, Yet-Pore, Hong Kong	96	184	86. Szigal, Martin, Hungary	43	63
11. Klouber, Edward F., USA	82	183	87. Harrison, Florence M., USA	25	62
12. Hung, Man-Yu, Hong Kong	87	182	88. Hawkins, G. L., Great Britain	28	61
13. Shum, Kung-Sik, Hong Kong	89	163	89. Grab, Gerhard, Germany	26	60
14. Skita, Victor, Hungary	84	162	90. Hankins, Fred M., USA	26	60
15. Mansfield, Carl, USA	85	162	91. Chua, Soo-Bin, Malaya	33	60
16. Cheo, S. Y., USA	82	157	92. Fishman, Milton N., USA	35	60
17. Lin, Hsiang-Hau, Hong Kong	82	153	93. Bovilacqua, Carlo, Italy	29	59
18. Bicainé, Jean, France	82	148	94. Zuber, Vilko, Jugoslavia	40	59
19. Middleton, Thomas, Great Britain	53	142	95. Armatrong, J. Elwood, USA	21	58
20. Merlino, Joseph, USA	74	141	96. Yan, Fok-Leun, Malaya	26	58
21. Montgomery, John P. Jr., USA	61	140	97. Yip, Chong-Fung, Malaya	33	58
22. Lai, Shiu-Fong, Hong Kong	79	138	98. Wood, Walter F., Canada	34	58
23. Kwan, Tai-Chi, Hong Kong	75	136	99. Kothary, K. L., India	35	58
24. Gripman, Ann-Marie, Sweden	51	135	100. Hangland, Josef, USA	25	57
25. Bodins, A. Aubrey, USA	50	133	101. Chew, K. C., Hong Kong	31	57
26. Dubro, Boris, USA	47	132	102. Price, Thomas, Portugal	31	56
27. Hais, Grant M., USA	59	129	103. Jacob, Edward J., USA	35	56
28. Ho, Fan, Hong Kong	59	125	104. Heim, R. B., USA	29	55
29. Fong, Raymond, Hong Kong	68	125	105. Barnett, Ed. Willis, USA	41	55
30. Cheung, Man-Fing, Hong Kong	73	123	106. Cho, Lucky, Hong Kong	38	54
31. Tchan, Fou-Li, Hong Kong	66	122	107. Jackson, William, Great Britain	25	53
32. Wippert, Gertrude M., USA	52	121	108. Schuster, Ludwig, Germany	30	53
33. Waddie, Harry L., Canada	46	119	109. Yu, Kai-ming, Hong Kong	31	51
34. Fischer, Leopold, Austria	64	118	110. Loong, Ting-Cheung, Hong Kong	37	51
35. Valentine, R. E., USA	57	116	111. Sherry, J. Ivan, USA	24	50
36. Veres, Thomas, Hungary	71	115	112. Stark, Boyd E., USA	27	50
37. Chan, Shau-U, Hong Kong	64	112	113. Choi, Tin-Wing, Hong Kong	35	49
38. Hankins, Adele, Hungary	67	111	114. Bradbury, Royal, USA	21	48
39. Angelo, P. F., Hungary	65	110	115. Ang, Kok-Huat, Malaya	32	48
40. Willey, Ken, USA	49	108	116. Vassanyi, Bela, Hungary	32	48
41. Ho, Chung-Hei, Hong Kong	60	107	117. Gray, Allen G., Australia	26	47
42. Veres, Martha, Hungary	63	107	118. Wolk, Alejandro, Argentina	33	47
43. Whitehouse, T. V., USA	38	106	119. Cho, Shan, Hong Kong	34	47
44. Greene, Ronald A., USA	43	103	120. Kwan, S. Y., Hong Kong	29	46
45. Wagner, G. H., USA	56	100	121. Tomori, E., Hungary	37	46
46. McVie, James, Canada	38	97	122. Boylun, Frank J., USA	24	45
47. Ng, Shin-Keen, Hong Kong	61	97	123. Parry, Alicia H., USA	25	45
48. Sacto, O., Hong Kong	39	94	124. Phi, Nham-Ha, Viet Nam	25	45
49. King, Burton, USA	40	92	125. Wu, Hung-Tak, Hong Kong	33	45
50. Neubert, Frank R., Great Britain	61	91	126. Underwood, Arthur M., USA	15	44
51. Hall, Shirley M., USA	37	90	127. Siegler, Barbara Merriam, USA	24	44
52. Levenson, J. N., USA	41	90	128. Casaco, Antonio Rosa, Portugal	32	44
53. Cheng, Chou-Lin, Hong Kong	31	89	129. Berry, Albert, USA	19	43
54. Hartley, Harry L., USA	30	87	130. Hartman, Howard A., USA	25	43
55. Schwartz, Alfred C., USA	36	87	131. Lee, Kee-Chong, Malaya	25	43
56. Vadas, Jolan, Hungary	59	85	132. Conway, W. P., USA	27	43
57. Deadfield, Joseph, South Africa	42	84	133. Heinonen, Helga, Finland	28	43
58. Geer, E. Throop, USA	34	80	134. Vicente, Fernando, Portugal	30	43
59. Core, Challa, USA	34	80	135. Miner, Henry C. Jr., USA	22	42
60. Rossi, Adolf, Czechoslovakia	54	79	136. Gink, Carl, Hungary	30	42
61. Wilder, Ellen, USA	36	78	137. Brown, Eric W., USA	16	41
62. Lee, Seck-On, Hong Kong	38	78	138. Obrovsky, Emil, Austria	21	41
63. Ebeall, Jean, USA	40	78	139. Bonnaventure, Philippe, Belgium	24	41
64. Rencosi, Vitorio, Italy	42	78	140. Siu, Ka-Hee, Hong Kong	33	41
65. Thorek, Max, USA	48	76	141. Beinet, Gilles, France	21	40
66. Santos, Victor Manuel C., Portugal	40	75	142. Jorge, Gaudir Elias, Brazil	23	40
67. Kalman, Bela, Hungary	52	74	143. Lee, Lim, Malaya	26	40
68. Pool, Gertrude L., USA	37	73			
69. Li, Man-Kim, Hong Kong	46	73			
70. Super, John W., USA	22	71			
71. Rauch, John H., USA	38	71			
72. Hirsch, Mahlon, USA	46	71			
73. Lums, Charles J., USA	28	70			
74. Carr, Willard H., USA	52	70			
75. Hand, Letta M., USA	31	68			
76. Pavic, Milan, Jugoslavia	47	68			

Figure 6.15. José Oiticica Filho, "FIAP List of the Most Prolific Exhibitors for 1956 Having Forty or More Acceptances" (detail). *1958 FIAP Yearbook*, 165.



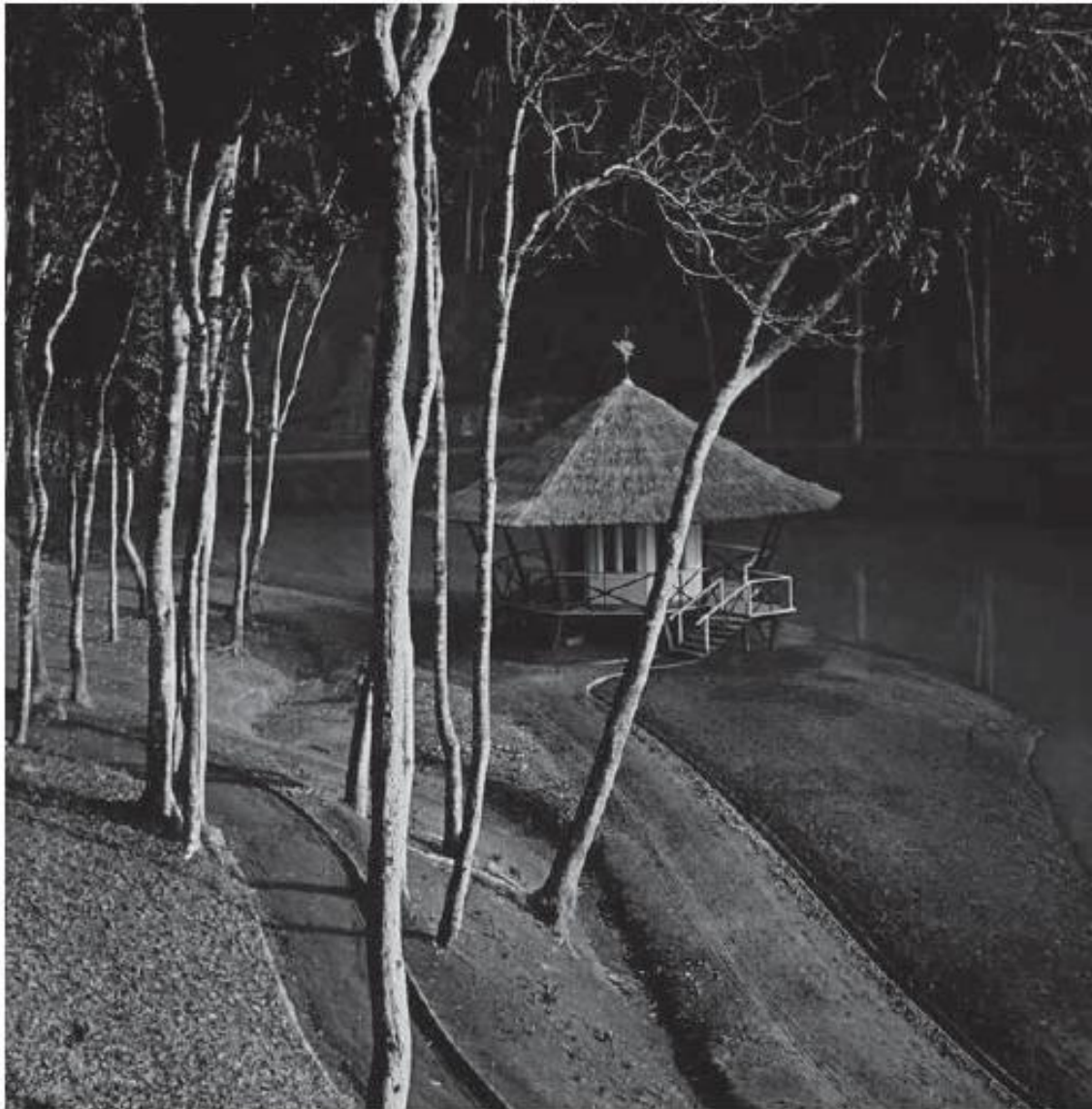


Figure 6.16. José Oiticica Filho, *Kiosk*, 1945. Andreas Valentin, “Nas asas da mariposa: a ciência e a fotografia de José Oiticica Filho,” *ARS* 13, no. 25 (2015): 6.



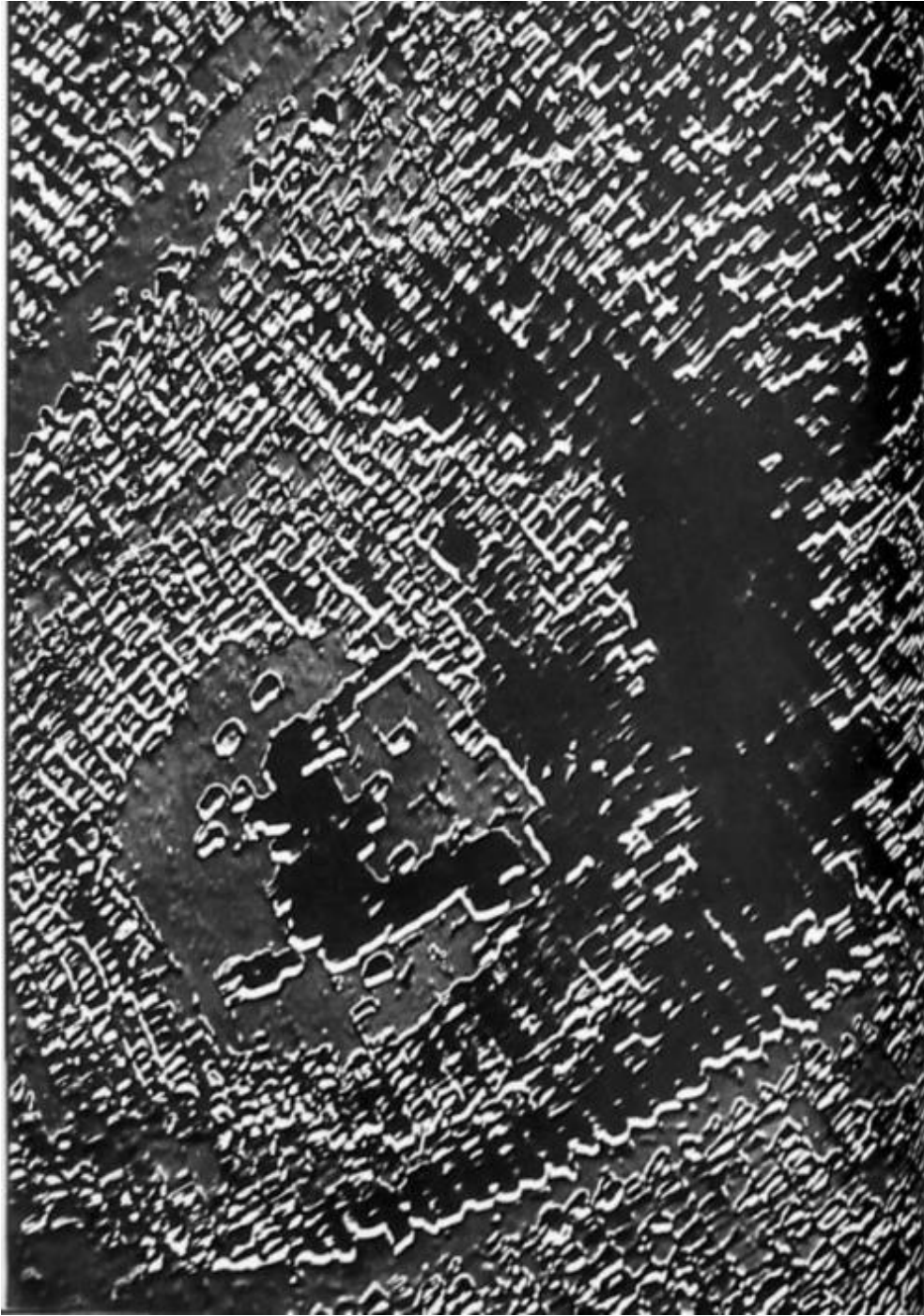


Figure 6.17. José Oiticica Filho, *Abstraction*, undated. *1960 FIAP Yearbook*, 30.

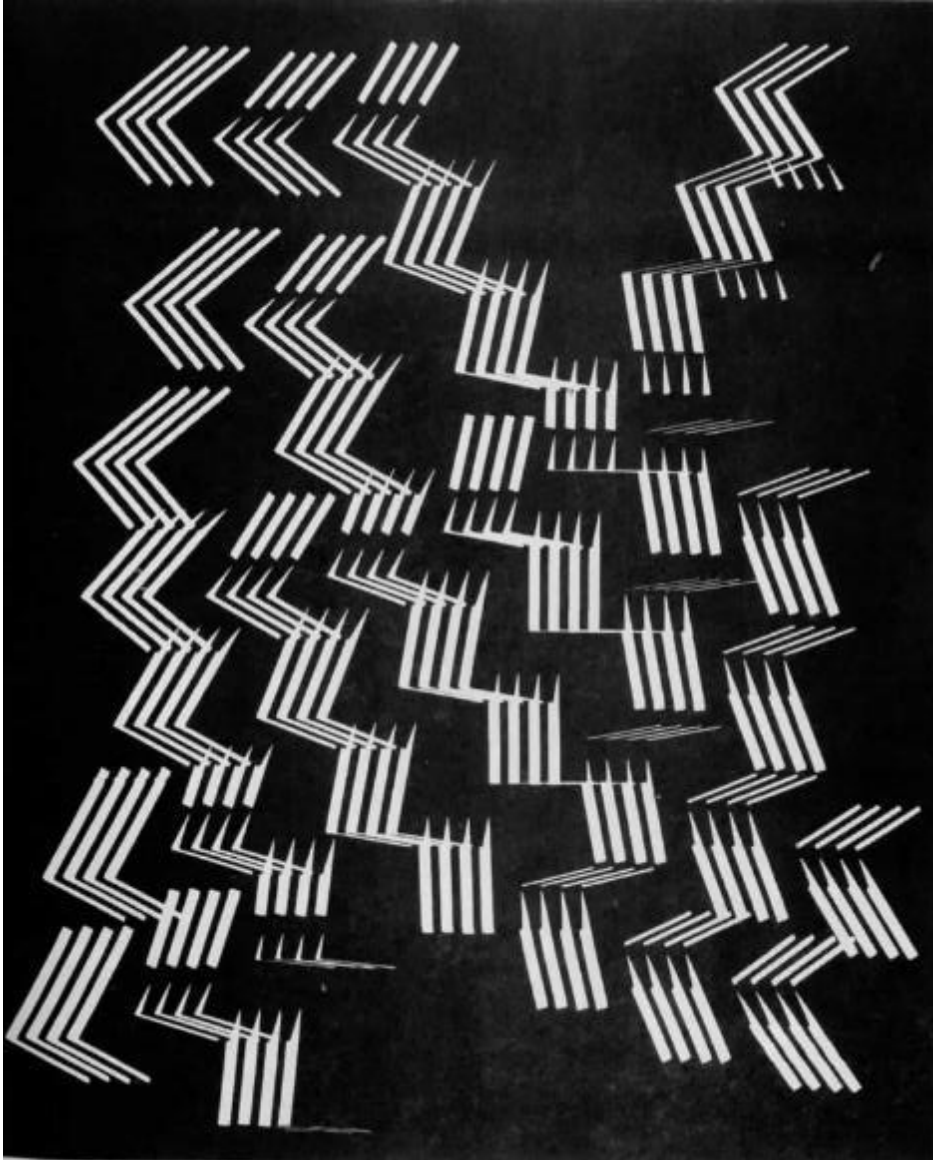


Figure 6.18. José Oiticica Filho, *Recreation 1-5*, 1959. Helouise Costa and Renato Rodrigues, *A fotografia moderna no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Funarte, 1995), 59.

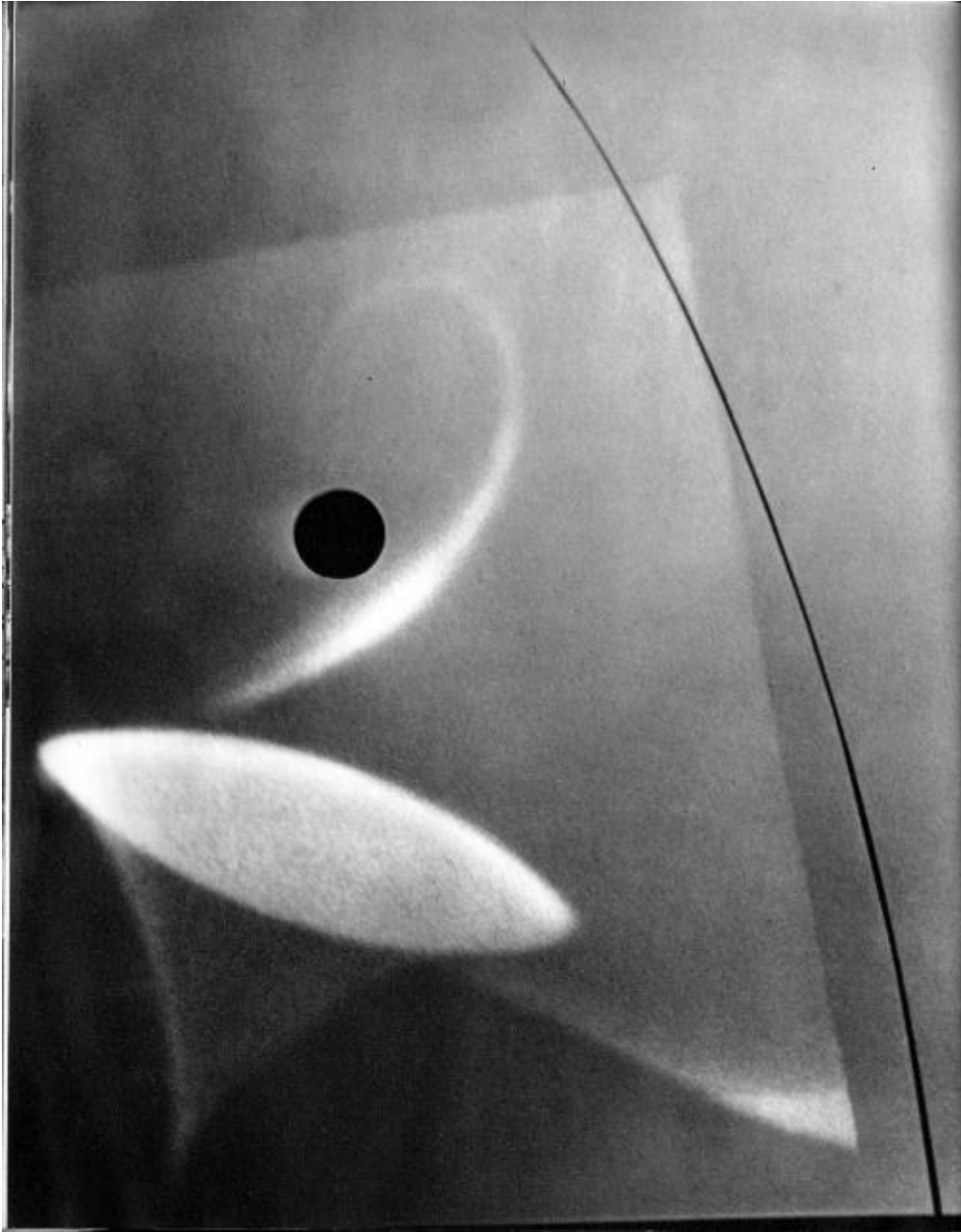


Figure 6.19. Viktor Rasmussen, *Vira 19*, undated. *1956 FIAP Yearbook*, 62.

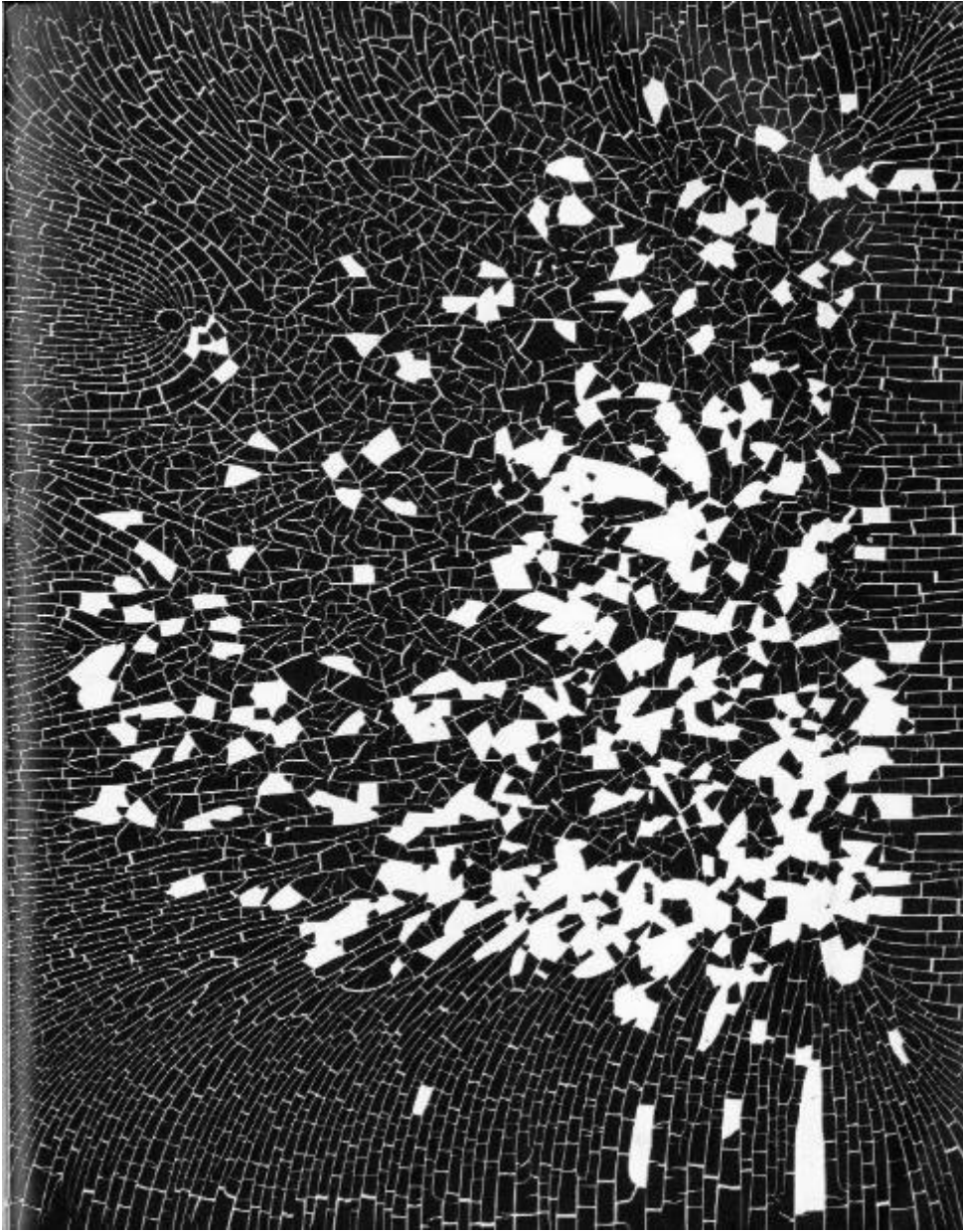


Figure 6.20. Tage Skår, *Pattern*, undated. *1958 FIAP Yearbook*, 119.

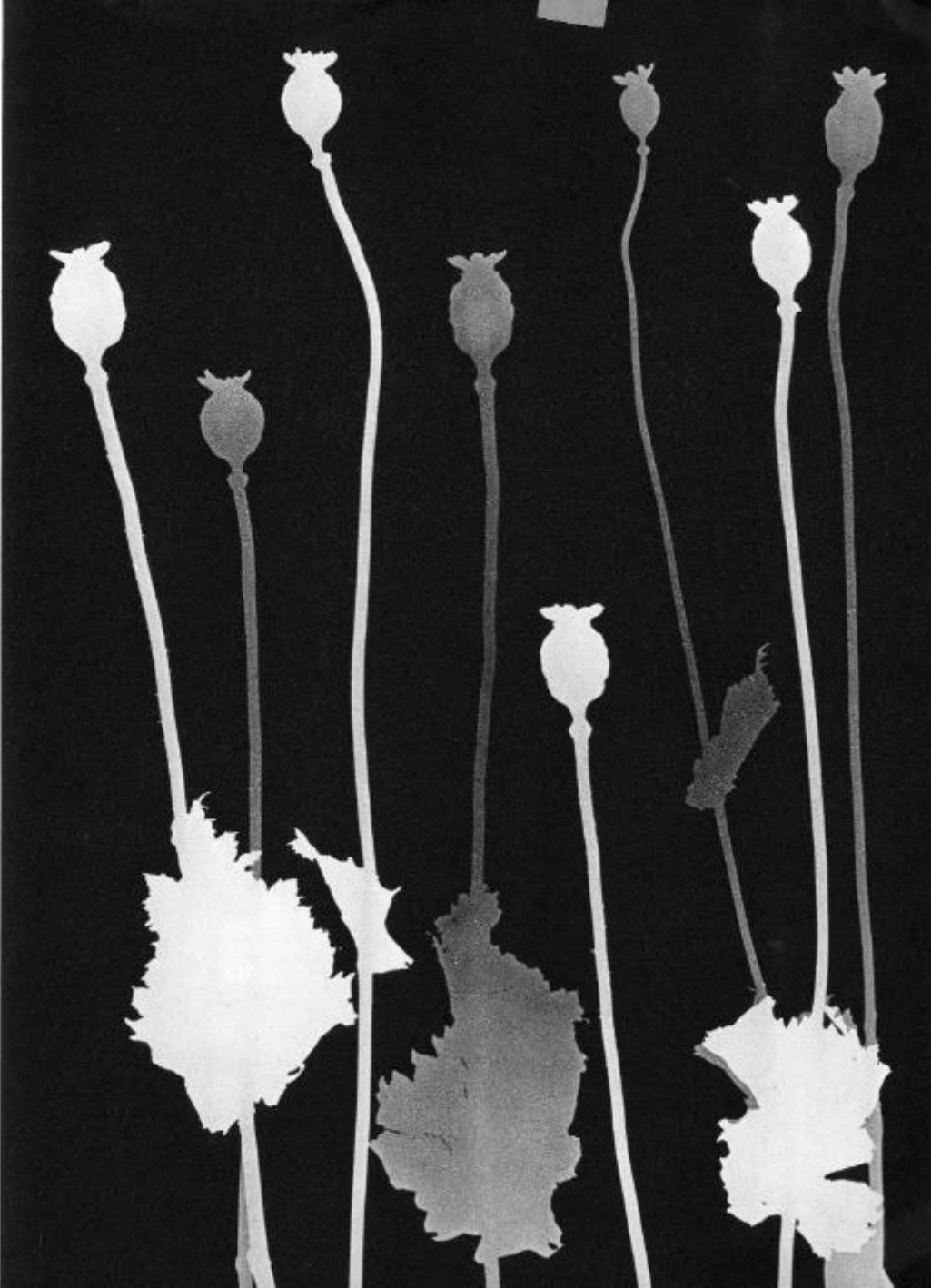


Figure 6.21. Walter Rømer, *Plant Ornament*, undated (photogram). *1964 FIAP Yearbook*, 55.



Figure 6.22. Eduardo Salvatore, *Lines*, undated. *1954 FIAP Yearbook*, 67.





Figure 6.23. Eduardo Salvatore, *Composition with a Horse*, undated. *1962 FIAP Yearbook*, 30.



Figure 6.24. Hugh Doran, *Sunday*, undated. *1956 FIAP Yearbook*, 81.





Figure 6.25. Enrique Segarra López, *Repose*, undated. *1954 FIAP Yearbook*, 54.

Illustrations to the Epilogue

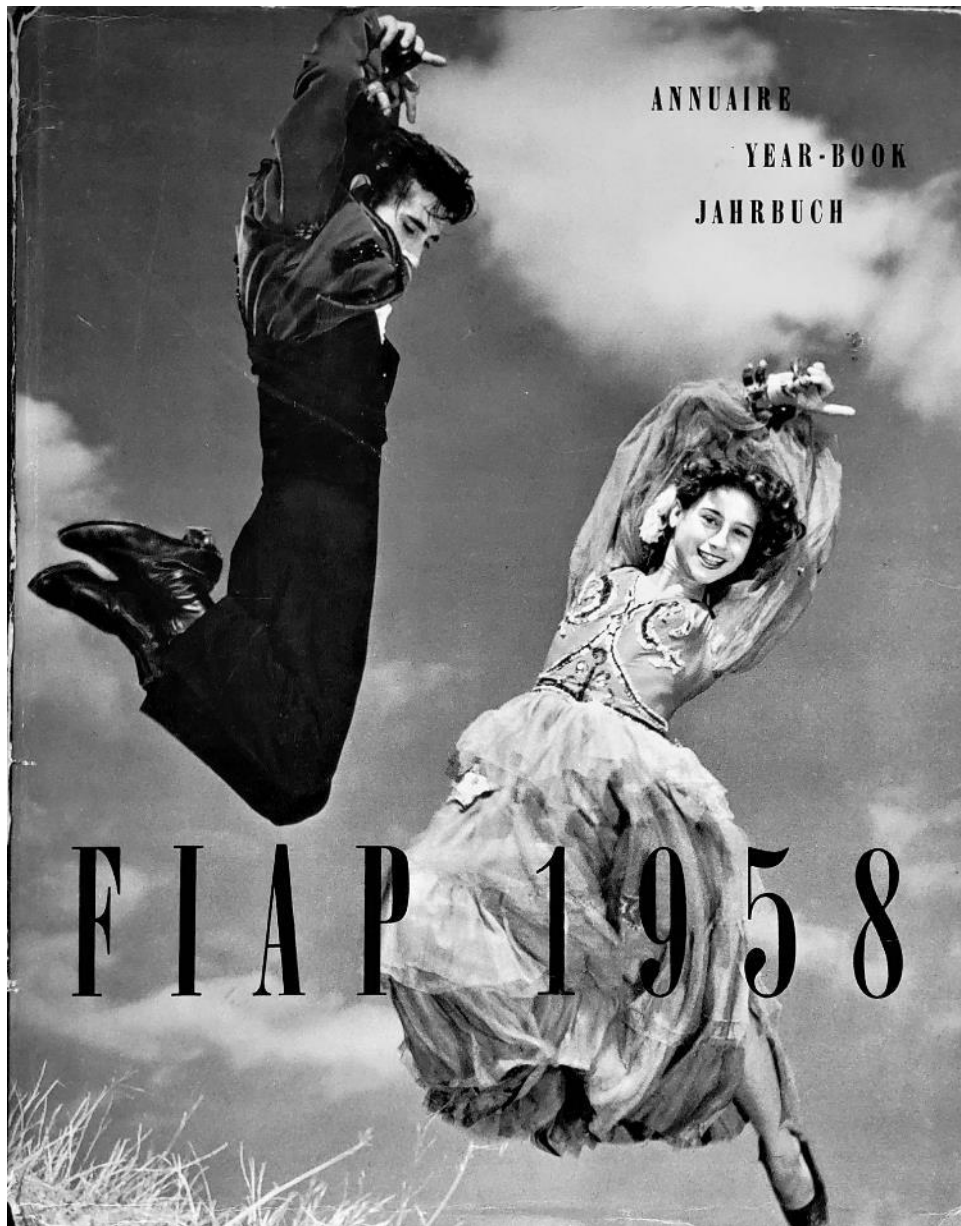


Figure E.1.  
M. Sinclair, *Dance*, undated. 1958 *FIAP Yearbook*, dust jacket.

## APPENDICES

### Appendix 1

List of FIAP member countries and the respective organizations by region as of 1950. Countries are grouped by region and then alphabetically (the names of the countries are listed as they appeared in the catalog of the first FIAP biennial published in Bern in 1950). Source of data: FIAP, *I. Photo-Biennale der FIAP* (Bern: FIAP, 1950).

	Countries by region	Name of the organization
Western Europe		
1	Austria	Verband der Amateurphotographen-Vereine Österreichs
2	Belgium	Fédération Belge des Cercles Photographiques
3	Denmark	Danske Kamera-Pictorialister
4	Spain	Federación Española de Arte Fotográfico
5	Finland	Suomen Kamerseurojen Liitto
6	France	Fédération Nationale des Sociétés Photographiques de France
7	Netherlands	Bond Van Nederlandse Amateur-Fotografen Vereenigenen
8	Ireland	Photographic Society of Ireland
9	Italy	Federazione Italiana Associazioni Fotografiche
10	Luxembourg	Fédération Luxembourgeoise des Photographes Amateurs
11	Portugal	Grémio Portugês de Fotografia
12	Sweden	Riksförbundet Svensk Fotografi
13	Switzerland	Schweizerischer Amateur-Photographen-Verband
Eastern Europe		
14	Hungary	Soproni Foto Club
15	Yugoslavia	Savez Foto i Kino-Amatera Jugoslavije
Latin America		
16	Brazil	Federação Brasileira de Fotografia
17	Cuba	Club Fotográfico de Cuba

## Appendix 2

List of FIAP member countries and the respective organizations by region as of 1964. Countries are grouped by region and then alphabetically (the names of the countries are listed as they appeared in the FIAP Yearbook published in 1965). Source of data: FIAP, *FIAP 1966 Yearbook* (Lucerne: C. J. Bucher, 1965).

	Countries by region	Name of the organization
Western Europe		
1	Austria	Verband Österreichischer Amateurphotographen-Vereine
2	Belgium	Fédération Belge des Cercles Photographiques
3	Denmark	Danske Kamera-Pictorialister
4	Finland	The Association of Finnish Camera Clubs
5	France	Fédération Nationale des Sociétés Photographiques de France
6	Germany (West)	Verband Deutscher Amateur-Photographen-Vereine
7	Greece	Association Photographique Hellénique
8	Iceland	The Photographic Society of Iceland
9	Ireland	Photographic Society of Ireland
10	Italy	Federazione Italiana Associazioni Fotografiche
11	Luxembourg	Fédération Luxembourgeoise des Photographes Amateurs
12	Netherlands	Bond Van Nederlandse Amateur-Fotografen Vereenigen
13	Norway	Norwegian Federation of Photo Clubs
14	Portugal	Foto-Club 6x6
15	Spain	Federación Española de Arte Fotográfico
16	Sweden	The National Association of Swedish Photography
17	Switzerland	Schweizerischer Amateur-Photographen-Verband
Asia		
18	Burma	Burma Photographic Society
19	Ceylon (now Sri Lanka)	Photographic Society of Ceylon

20	Formose (Taiwan)	The Photographic Society of China, Taipei
21	Hong Kong	The Hong Kong Federation of Photography
22	India	Federation of Indian Photography
23	Japan	All Japan Association of Photographic Societies
24	Malaya	The Penang Pictorialists
25	Pakistan	Photographic Society of Pakistan
26	Philippines	Candid Camera Club
27	Singapore	Photographic Society of Singapore
28	Sabah	Sabah Photographic Society of North Borneo
29	Sarawak (Borneo)	Photographic Society of Sarawak
30	Thailand	Photographic Society of Thailand
31	Vietnam	Cercle sportif Chin Woo, Section photographique
Latin America		
32	Argentina	Federación Argentina de Fotografía
33	Brazil	Confederação Brasileira de Fotografia
34	Chile	Federación Chilena de Clubs Fotográficos
35	Colombia	Club Fotográfico Medellín
36	Cuba	Club Fotográfico de Cuba
37	Guatemala	Club Fotográfico de Guatemala
38	Mexico	Federación Mexicana de Fotografía
39	Nicaragua	Club Fotográfico de Nicaragua
40	Panama	Foto Club de Panama
41	Uruguay	Foto Club Uruguayo
Eastern Europe		
42	Bulgaria	Bulgarska Fotografía
43	Germany (East)	Deutscher Kulturbund, Sektion Fotografie
44	Hungary	Union des Artistes Photographes Hongrois

45	Poland	Union des Artistes Photographes Polonais
46	Romania	Association des Artistes Photographes de la R. P. Roumaine
47	Yugoslavia	Fédération des photo- et ciné-amateurs de Yougoslavie
Africa		
48	Angola	Sociedade Cultural de Angola, Seção de Arte Fotografica
49	Mozambique	Centro de Cultura e Arte de Beira, Secção Fotográfica
50	South Africa	The Photographic Society of Southern Africa
Middle East		
51	Kuwait	Kuwait Photographic Society
52	Lebanon	Société Libanaise de l'Art Photographique
53	Turkey	Türkiye Amatör Foto Klübü
North America		
54	Canada	Color Photographic Association of Canada
Australia & Oceania		
55	Australia	Australian Photographic Society, Inc.

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