

**PHOTOACTIVISM:
POLITICAL ICONOGRAPHY IN FRANCE, 1944-1968**

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A Dissertation presented to the Graduate Faculty of the University
of Virginia in Candidacy for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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University of Virginia
July, 2016

Abstract

The aim of this dissertation is to provide a critical history of French reportage photography in the decades following the Second World War, beginning with the Liberation in 1944 and ending in May '68. During the *Trente Glorieuses*, reportage photography became an integral part of the media, which operated as the central platform for engaging the public in political discourse. My research explores how, during this era of mass communication, the photographic medium participated in the nation's political life in concrete historical circumstances. In the course of this investigation, I inspect both the material, thematic, and formal strategies photographers employed to produce images in different political contexts, and the publication history of their works (who published their images, in what format, and for what purposes). The dissertation thus examines the role reportage photography played in promoting political discourse in France by visually engaging the most critical historical processes the nation was undergoing: modernization, democratization, and decolonization. At the same time, it also analyzes the reciprocal impact that changing political climate had on reportage photography. Specifically, it provides an historical account of the multiple causes that effected during the 1960s the displacement of humanist photography by photojournalism as the medium's prominent current.

This study rejects the notion that reportage photography was a neutral and passive mirroring of political life. By coining the term "photoactivism" I thus intend to designate reportage photographers' constantly active engagement with political discourse, both as visual witnesses and as participating actors in (re)framing the nation's self-perception and political culture. Beholding momentous historical events, I contend, photographers forged varying iconographic attitudes at different points in time to bridge, or otherwise bring out, the discrepancies between what the dominant discourse allowed for and what it excluded from its bounds. While in the reconstruction years the state and civil society were relatively aligned

with one another, during the 1960s they became increasingly antagonistic. Reportage photographers thus found themselves caught between the hammer of the state and the anvil of civil society, having to maneuver between opposite ends of the political spectrum, and meet the demands of various institutions without foregoing their own views and social commitments.

The dissertation takes part of the historiographical current known as the “visual turn,” which expands historical research by incorporating substantial ocular sources and treating them in novel ways, while addressing the methodological challenges they pose. My thorough inspection of the iconographic output and representational platforms of prominent photoactivists promises to shed light on the constitutive role reportage photography has played in French political culture. It also affords a demonstration of the significance of political history for the evolution of reportage photography.

Acknowledgments

During my studies, which were oftentimes characterized by intellectual vagabondage and doubt, I was not at all sure whether this research project would ever reach the finishing line. Choosing to explore an unconventional topic and struggling at times to explain why it merited greater historical scrutiny, further complicated things. I can therefore say with certainty that the project ultimately came to fruition thanks to a large group of people, who supported, guided, and inspired me on this long and winding road.

First and foremost, I would like to express my gratitude to my original adviser, Lenard R. Berlanstein, who taught me most of what I know about French history and inspired me to pursue my project. My deepest appreciation goes to my subsequent research advisers, Sophia Rosenfeld and Alon Confino, who generously offered much needed encouragement, support, and constructive criticism after Lenny's death. Thank you to Allan Megill and Alison Levine for their enlightening comments on the manuscript. I have also greatly benefited from the various seminars I took with the faculty of the Corcoran Department of History at the University of Virginia. In particular, I am deeply grateful to Joseph C. Miller, who taught me to think and write historically.

The University of Virginia has provided me with extensive scholarly and financial support during nearly the entire length of the PhD degree. I benefitted from its various resources, including the fellowship in partnership with the *École Normale Supérieure* in Paris, followed by the Dumas Malone Graduate Research fellowship to complete research in France. The Summer Research Grant by the University's Society of Fellows enabled me to conduct further archival work in the United States and Switzerland. And UVA's cooperation with the Mellon Foundation also gave me the opportunity to participate in a doctoral writing seminar and complete the first chapter under the sensitive and sage guidance of John D. Lyons.

The work on this project led to a fruitful intellectual exchange with scholars from other academic institutions who greatly contributed to its evolving. Vanessa Schwartz from USC kindly offered thorough comments on most chapters. Photography historian Françoise Denoyelle from Paris-I Sorbonne and ENS Louis-Lumière not only invited me to participate in her *Histoire et photographie* seminar and guided parts of my research, but was also an important contributor to my dissertation committee. My friend and colleague Yann Scioldo-Zürcher from the CNRS offered much valued support. Special thanks go to my friend and mentor Dan Diner from the Hebrew University and the Simon Dubnow Institute, whose original thinking and phenomenal knowledge of European history was immensely inspiring as I revised the manuscript's multiple drafts.

One of the major benefits of conducting research in France was that it put me into contact with a large group of wonderfully kind and generous people. BNF curator Dominique Versavel gave me access to the archives and collections of the *Département des Estampes et de la photographie* in Richelieu. At the BNF site in Tolbiac, Henja Vlaadringerbroek assisted me in tracing the most obscure of publications. In the *Bibliothèque Documentation Internationale Contemporaine* at Hôtel des Invalides and Nanterre, Caroline Apostolopoulos and Rosa Olmos helped me find and use the library's photographic and audio-visual sources. Lucie Moriceau from the *Etablissement de Communication et de Production Audiovisuelle de la Défense* at Fort d'Ivry kindly provided assistance locating all the relevant military photographic records from the Algerian War. Special thanks to Geneviève Dieuzeide and Béatrice Kalaydjian, who opened up the collections of the *Documentation française* and shared their professional experiences with me. Journalist Michel Puech gave me free access to his private archive of the *Association Nationale des Journalistes Reporters Photographes*. At Gamma photo agency, Mohamed Lounes helped me locate the agency's publications during the spring and summer of 1968. Marianne Montely-Caron from the *Fondation Gilles Caron* in

Dijon offered invaluable assistance over long periods of time. My deep appreciation also goes to Marc Garanger, who invited me to work extensively at his private archive in Lablore (Normady). I would also like to thank Manuel Bidermanas, Georges Chatain, Floris de Bonville, Hélène Défaix-Jaeger, Véronique Figini-Véron, Agathe Gaillard, Jean-Claude Gautrand, Hervé Gloaguen, Serge Hambourg, Hubert Henrotte, Judith Kagan, Jacques Ostier, Bernard Perrine, Jean Pottier, Jean-Louis Swiners, and Sabine Weiss, who willingly shared with me their knowledge and experience. Finally, I would like to warmly thank Nicole Bériou for helping me find accommodation during my frequent research trips to Paris.

My wonderful family and friends have provided me with a safety net that gave me the strength to endure the difficulties of a long and demanding research project. I thank my parents, Drora and Shimon, my brother Ido, as well as Ilana and Lena Zengina, for their inexhaustible encouragement and assistance that meant more than they realize. At critical moments, I could always rely on my friends Ido Ben-Shmuel, Brent Cebul, Ofir Dor, Eran Dorfman, Sophie Friese-Greene, Elisabeth Heyne, Alec Hickmott, Einat Klafter, Einam Livnat, Guy Lurie, Stephen Macekura, Nimrod Reitman, and Galia Yanoshevsky. Lastly, and most importantly, my deepest gratitude goes to my wife Miri, whose love, brilliance, strength, and unique sensibilities were my primary anchor during these years. This manuscript is dedicated to her.

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INTRODUCTION

“We reach here the very principle of myth: it transforms history into nature. . . . what allows the reader to consume myth innocently is that he does not *see* it as a semiological system but as an inductive . . . causal process: the signifier and the signified have, *in his eyes*, a natural relationship.”

Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, 1957¹

In “Myth Today” from 1957, French literary theorist and critic Roland Barthes turned to semiological analysis to expose how catchy and ubiquitous images of popular culture disguised ideological subtexts. Precisely because contemporary mass culture enhanced meaning through supposedly self-evident and trivial representations of reality, explained Barthes, it enabled “bourgeois” ideology to spread effectively to the rest of (class-divided) French society. “The whole of France is steeped in this anonymous ideology,” he wrote; “our press . . . , our rituals, our justice, our diplomacy, our conversations, our remarks about the weather . . . , everything, in everyday life is dependent on the representation which the bourgeoisie *has and makes us have* of the relations between man and the world.”² In a series of monthly press articles in *Combat* and *Les Lettres nouvelles* between 1954 and 1956, Barthes in fact pioneered a new genre of cultural critique, which unveiled the ideological mechanisms that underlay popular culture.

In *Mythologies*, Barthes understood visual artifacts to be central to the consolidation of seemingly mundane cultural representations as historical truths. Among such artifacts, Barthes noted in the foreword, were “a photograph in a weekly, a film, a show, an exhibition.”³ Barthes discussed the use of photography, which in the 1950s was perceived primarily as a non-artistic functional tool, in various cultural settings. Essays on photography included critiques of the

¹ Roland Barthes, *Mythologies* (Paris: Edition du Seuil, 1957); Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, trans. Annette Lavers (New York: The noonday Press, 1972), 128-130, italics added.

² Ibid., 139.

³ Ibid., 10.

representation by Harcourt Studio of French actors as divine creatures, ‘The Family of Man’ as a flat ahistorical exhibition, as well as of the promotion of a bourgeois work ethic through images of artists on vacation. In his essays on the iconography of Abbé Pierre, on electoral campaigns, and on racist “ethnological” accounts in *Paris Match* (*Bichon chez les Nègres*), Barthes traced even more radical, if well-hidden, ideological messages. Especially enlightening in this regard was his famous interpretation of the cover photograph of the widely popular illustrated magazine:

I’m at the barber’s, and a copy of *Paris-Match* is offered to me. On the cover, a young Negro in a French uniform is saluting, with his eyes uplifted, probably fixed on a fold of the tricolor. All this is the *meaning* of the picture. But, whether naively or not, I see very well what it signifies to me: that France is a great Empire, and that all her sons, without any color discrimination, faithfully serve under the flag, and that there is no better answer to the detractors of an alleged colonialism than the zeal shown by this Negro in serving his so-called oppressors. I am therefore again faced with a greater semiological system: there is a signifier, itself formed from a previous system (*a black soldier is giving the French salute*); there is a signified (it is here a purposeful mixture of Frenchness and militariness); finally, there is a presence of the signified through the signifier.⁴

In analyzing images (among other cultural artifacts) produced by various media, Barthes’ *Mythologies* uncovered the connection between the visual and the political realms during the era of mass communication.⁵

Though Barthes’ “semioclastic” readings in *Mythologies* were politically motivated, his innovative observations concerning cultural imagery nonetheless provide a fitting conceptual backdrop for a properly historical study of French photography. The aim of my scholarly work is to provide a critical history of reportage photography in the decades following the Second World War. Drawing on the widely accepted periodization of French history, this study adopts the chronological framework of what has been termed the *Trente Glorieuses*, beginning with

⁴ Ibid., 115.

⁵ Nearly three decades later, Barthes dedicated an entire study exclusively to photography in *La chambre claire: note sur la photographie* (Paris: Gallimard, 1981).

the Liberation in 1944 and ending in May '68. Focusing on the medium's most important genre at the time, I subject reportage photography to rigorous historical scrutiny, examining its participation in political public life. Specifically, I inspect the *constitutive* role reportage photography played in promoting political discourse in postwar France by visually engaging the most critical historical processes the nation was undergoing: modernization, democratization, and decolonization.⁶

This study thus rejects the notion that reportage photography was a neutral and passive mirroring of political life.⁷ Though many contemporaries at the time considered photography solely as a *documentary* medium,⁸ photographers in fact did more than merely record current political events "objectively." By the nature of their profession, I argue, they had to actively negotiate the gap between a rapidly changing political, economic, and social realities and a political discourse, itself internally contested. Witnessing momentous historical events, my study shows, photographers forged varying iconographic attitudes at different points in time to bridge, or otherwise bring out, the discrepancies between what dominant political discourse allowed for and what it excluded from its bounds. Ironically, it was precisely photography's status as a reliable visual chronicler delivering certified *information* to the public that allowed its practitioners to play such a pivotal role in enhancing political discourse, particularly at moments of crisis and struggle over the meaning of Frenchness and republicanism. In this regard, I refer to reportage photographers as "photoactivists," designating by this newly coined neologism their active engagement in political discourse as visual witnesses to key moments, but also actors in the unfolding of French history.

⁶ In this context, I use the term "discourse" as it was employed by Michel Foucault, that is, as the sum of cultural practices.

⁷ It may be noted here that reportage photography in France entailed a more extensive coverage of a given theme or event than the American "picture story."

⁸ See, for example, André Bazin, "The Ontology of the Photographic Image," trans. Hugh Grey, *Film Quarterly* 13, 4 (Summer 1960): 4-9.

In order to reach the public, photoactivists cooperated with the two major players who set the tone of public political discourse – the state and civil society. While in the decade following the Liberation these were largely consonant in their views and objectives, during the 1960s their relations became increasingly antagonistic. Reportage photographers thus found themselves caught between the hammer of the state and the anvil of civil society, having to maneuver between opposite sides of political discourse, and to meet the demands of this or that institution without foregoing their own political views and social commitments. My research thus examines the fruits of their uneasy cooperation with news editors and curators, as well as state officials, to advance, or undercut, competing narratives of Frenchness and republicanism (these being the two key issues in political discourse during the period). A close inspection of the iconographic output and representational platforms of reportage photography promises to shed light on the significance of changing political contexts for the genre's evolution. As I intend to show, in the face of shifting political circumstances, photoactivists adopted various visual strategies that ultimately effected a paradigm shift in the uses and appearances of the medium during the *Trente Glorieuses*.

The two photoactivist trends that came into prominence during this timeframe were, first, humanism and, later on, photojournalism. Humanist photography was a socially progressive republican outlook that focused on the lower, underprivileged classes, especially those of the French capital, and compassionately depicted them in a sentimental and lyrical way that consolidated a sense of continuity between past and present. From the mid-1930s to the late 1950s, anti-fascist, Left-oriented photographers brought into view contemporaries' troubled existence by zooming out from particular events and showing the larger picture of the "essential part of humankind."⁹ Their subjects' direct emotional engagements with the lens (35-50mm focal lengths that parallel the human field of vision), that is, with the viewer—in an

⁹ Sabine Weiss, *Intime convictions* (Paris: Contrejour, 1989), 17.

aestheticized yet realistic setting—asserted that the joys and sorrows of life were inherent to the people’s heroic struggle for liberty, equality, and fraternity. Photojournalism, on the other hand, designates an attempted “objective,” less-personal, way of seeing, committed to the critical (un)covering of news events. It aimed to achieve impartial representation so that the images photographers capture on film might serve as unequivocal proof of the existence of harsh realities, notably wars, throughout the world. To achieve this aim, photojournalists expanded their perspective by using wide angle and telephoto zooms. Emerging in direct correlation to the rise of illustrated news magazines in the early decades of the twentieth century, photojournalism reached its golden age during the Vietnam War. Though both photographic paradigms were deeply committed to revealing the truth about contemporary reality and operated in the service of democratic values (particularly social solidarity and freedom of information), they nonetheless embodied fundamentally different attitudes toward real-life coverage. In this study, I both explore how the two currents evolved and functioned in concrete political settings and provide a historical account of the process that effected the displacement of humanist photography by photojournalism during the 1960s.

The project at hand takes part in the historiographical current known as the “visual turn,” which expands historical research by incorporating ocular sources, while addressing the methodological challenges they pose. Three decades after Barthes’ *Mythologies* first appeared, historian Hayden White coined the term “historiophoty” to inspire colleagues to start paying attention to the “lexicon, grammar, and syntax” of “imagistic evidence” as distinctive “discourse in its own right.”¹⁰ The problem with present historical writing, explained White, was that it used visual records primarily as “illustration . . . of previous verbally written discourse.”¹¹ Though the “visual turn” aimed to resolve this shortcoming, historian Jennifer

¹⁰ Hayden White, “Historgraphy and Historiophoty,” *American Historical Review* 93, 5 (December 1988): 1193.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 1194.

Evans stated as late as 2012 that most scholars continue to treat “visual evidence literally, flatly, as illustrative and not constitutive of distinct if complex historical sentiments, memories, and ways of being in the world at particular moments in time.”¹² Taking Evans’ critique a step further, historian Julia Adeney Thomas argues—following Michel Foucault’s *The Archaeology of Knowledge*—that historians should use the visual to “excavate [their subjects’] discursive formations” without ignoring their “pre-discursive” inclinations.¹³ While it remains to be seen how attainable her scholarly ideal is, it should be noted that Thomas takes on the criticism often leveled against cultural history at large—the visual turn constituting one of its offshoots—namely the lack of scholarly consensus over a central research paradigm.¹⁴

Though broad methodological questions about cultural history in general and the visual turn in particular remain unresolved, the contribution of monographs on visual culture to historical research cannot be questioned. Evans’ and Thomas’ own research, for instance, could not have been so insightful and innovative had it not relied extensively on visual primary sources. In her article “Seeing Subjectivity,” Evans uncovers the multilayered functions of homoerotic photography in mid-20th century West Berlin as a constitutive agent in the formation of queer sociability.¹⁵ By the same token, Thomas explores the central role various photographic genres played in postwar Japan in consolidating national identity, enhancing historical consciousness, and serving as agents of collective memory.¹⁶

Historical studies that have drawn on visual sources greatly enriched the historiography of modern France as well. In *The View from Above*, historian Jeanne Haffner showed that aerial

¹² Jennifer Evans, “Historicizing the Visual,” *German Studies Review* 35, 3 (October 2012): 485-89.

¹³ Julia Adeney Thomas, “The Evidence of Sight,” *History and Theory* 48, 4 (2009): 151-68.

¹⁴ Victoria E. Bonnel and Lynn Hunt eds., “Introduction,” *Beyond the Cultural Turn* (Berkeley: California University Press, 1999), 1-11.

¹⁵ Jennifer Evans, “Seeing Subjectivity: Erotic Photography and the Optics of Desire,” *American Historical Review* 118, 2 (April 2013): 430-62.

¹⁶ Julia Adeney Thomas, “Power Made Visible: Photography and Postwar Japan’s Elusive Reality,” *Journal of Asian Studies* 67, 2 (May 2008): 365-94; Thomas, “Photography, National Identity, and the ‘Cataract of Times’: Wartime Images and the Case of Japan,” *American Historical Review* 103, 5 (December 1998): 1475-501; Thomas, “Landscape’s Mediation between History and Memory: A Revisualization of Japan’s (War-Time) Past,” *East Asian History* 36 (December 2008): 55-72.

photography enabled postwar city planners and senior state officials at the *ministère de la Reconstruction et de l'Urbanisme* to articulate a concept of “social space” (*espace social*).¹⁷ In another excellent study, Catherine E. Clark shows how archivists, librarians, and curators relied largely on photography as a privileged means of preserving Parisian history between 1870 and 1970.¹⁸ And in *Framing the Nation*, Alison J. Murray Levine uses previously unstudied state-funded educational documentary films to shed new light on the consolidation of national identity in interwar France.¹⁹ Demonstrating that inhabitants of the provinces and empire were among the main target audiences of documentary films, Levine shows that the state’s inclusive “voice” towards those living in France’s periphery evinces a conception of “Frenchness” significantly broader than had been previously suggested by eminent studies.²⁰ Levine further shows that France’s employment of documentary films for educational purposes belies the common opinion of its lagging behind other nations’ supposedly more progressive use of the genre. Continuing this historiographical current in French history, my research contributes to the “visual turn” by shedding light on reportage photography’s reciprocal relations with political processes. Considered from a broader methodological perspective, this project promotes an interdisciplinary approach that combines political and cultural history, media studies, and art history, by bringing into critical conversation largely isolated, yet closely interconnected, accounts of the history of reportage photography.

To trace the interrelationship of reportage photography and political discourse, I propose a sub-periodization of the *Trente Glorieuses* into four major phases. The point of departure of my research is the decade of *national reconstruction*, which came on the heels of

¹⁷ Jeanne Haffner, *The View from Above: The Science of Social Space* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2013).

¹⁸ Catherine E. Clark, “Photography as History: Collecting, Narrating, and Preserving Paris, 1870-1970” (PhD diss., University of Southern California, 2012).

¹⁹ Alison J. Murray Levine, *Framing the Nation: Documentary Film in Interwar France* (New York: Continuum, 2010).

²⁰ See Eugen Weber, *The Hollow Years: France in the 1930s* (New York: Norton, 1994); Herman Lebovics, *True France: The Wars over Cultural Identity, 1900-1945* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992).

the Second World War. While acknowledging the notable political shift during this period, I do not suggest that in the immediate postwar years France started over with a “clean slate.” Rather, I designate the state’s post-Liberation *dirigisme* as a continuation of *étatiste* developments since the 1930s and of Nazi *plannification* during the Occupation. The next stage in my periodization is the Fourth Republic’s gravest political crisis, which ultimately led to its fall: the Algerian War. I view this critical episode as a cataclysmic event in France’s colonial history, as well as a game-changing challenge to republicanism and national self-perception. The third phase I trace is the decade of accelerated modernization of the country during the 1960s (whose roots go back to the Fourth Republic), in the course of which the Gaullist regime transformed France into a fully industrialized, decolonized, and Europeanized nation. Finally, I designate the Fifth Republic’s major political upheaval, May ’68, as the last phase in France’s political history during the *Trente Glorieuses*, bringing to an explosive ending the entire postwar era. In this regard, May ’68 is to be viewed as a brief and sudden eruption of pent up discontent against aggressive state-led modernization and the hierarchical centralism prevalent in the country’s political, social, and cultural institutions. The study’s political periodization thus historicizes the era as a series of swings of the political pendulum during nearly three decades of rapid economic growth and state development.

To historicize how reportage photography had *actually* succeeded in enhancing political discourse through the mass media, this study provides a close reading of images that addressed contemporary realities while seeking to reach the widest possible audience. As the historical sources that are available rendered it virtually impossible to provide a direct account of the reception of these images, I opted to proceed by taking an indirect route: shifting back and forth between approaching photographs as visual texts requiring stylistic interpretation and considering them contextually against their broader historical backdrops. This dual strategy of

probing primary sources enabled me to bring photographic images (back) to life and to optimally approximate their original historical significance.

The research proceeds by way of tracking the careers of representative professional photographers through the above-specified stages in French postwar political history during the *Trente Glorieuses*. I inquire both into the stylistic strategies employed by photographers for the production of images in different political circumstances, and into the publication history of their work. Thus, alongside investigations of the material, thematic, and formal aspects of their visual productions, I also examine which institutions published their images, in what formats, and for what purposes. Following the professional trajectories of leading photoactivists allows me to substantiate my designation of the major development in the medium's genealogy as a paradigm shift from humanism to photojournalism. In practice, of course, this transition was not all that neat and schematic. More than a few reportage photographers embraced different styles at varied stages of their careers, while working for both state agencies and civil institutions. That being said, tracing photographers' growing *professionalization* during the period can help explain their shifting alliances from the state to civil society, as well as the resultant iconographic shift from humanism to photojournalism.

Tracing the contours of the gradual, if uneven, shift in photographers' participatory positions and practices within political discourse requires an extensive and creative use of primary sources. Private archival sources include Marc Garanger's records of the Algerian War in Lamblore (Normandy), the *Fondation Gilles Caron* in Dijon, which holds the photographer's complete coverage of the May-June events in 1968, as well as Janine Niépce and Élie Kagan's private papers in Chablis (Burgundy) and Paris, respectively. The private archive of the *Association Nationale des Journalistes Reporters Photographes* enabled me to be the first scholar to study its important contribution to French photojournalism during the 1960s. At the archive of Gamma agency, I accessed all photographic material published in the

French press during the spring and summer of 1968, as well as information about its photographers that sheds light on their motivations to cover the French political scene. And at the archive of the *Société Française de Photographie*, I traced the prints of the May '68 exhibition by the Parisian professional photographic club: *Les 30 x 40*. In addition to the sources mentioned above, I conducted a series of interviews with various photographers and former managers of Gamma agency.

Public archival records include the massive photographic collections and exhibition catalogues in the *Département des Estampes et de la photographie* at the *Bibliothèque Nationale de France* (Richelieu), which enabled me to explore the yearly exhibition held at the institution between 1946 and 1959. In this department, I also worked on the records of former curator Jean Vallery Radot, as well as on the private archive of photographer Annette Léna. At the *Bibliothèque Nationale de France* (Tolbiac), I used specialized reviews on the medium, including *Le photographe*, *Zoom*, *Photo*, *Jeune photographie* and *Terre d'image*, among others, to comprehend how photographers, critics, and theorists conceptualized the medium during the period. At Tolbiac, I also contextualized postwar photographic iconography using a wide spectrum of mass media publications, including newspapers and illustrated magazines with conflicting ideological worldviews, such as *Paris Match*, *Réalités*, *Regards*, *Point de vue* – *Images du monde*, *L'Express*, and *Le Nouvel observateur*. Alongside mainstream media publications, I also examined anti-government militant publications by groups on the extreme Left, such as the *tiermondiste* review *Jeune Afrique* and the Communist student monthly *Clarté*. At the *Bibliothèque de Documentation Internationale Contemporaine* at Hôtel des Invalides, I studied Élie Kagan's photographic archive. And at the library's main branch in Nanterre, I examined the complete records of *Révolution africaine* for which Kagan worked. At the library's audio-visual section, I could learn more about the illustrated militant review using filmed interviews with the photographer's colleagues.

Complementing this broad array of publications by various groups and organizations within French society, I analyze official government agency publications, which also employed photography as a means of shaping public opinion. Among the state's commissioning branches were the *ministère de la Défense*, *La documentation française*, *ministère des Affaires étrangères*, and *ministère de la Coopération*. At the bureaus of the *Documentation française* (quai Voltaire), I located the agency's publications, as well as supporting material on the institution's chief administrator: Marcel Koch. Former workers at the agency's photographic branch also shared their professional experiences with me. At the *Établissement de Communication et de Production Audiovisuelle de la Défense*, I accessed the army's photographic records from the Algerian War. And at the archives of the *ministère des Affaires étrangères* (La Courneuve), I was able to access the publications of the *Association Française d'Action Artistique*. Finally, at the *Bibliothèque Centrale du Muséum national d'histoire naturelle* I found the records of the 1964 photographic exhibition held by the *ministère de la Coopération* at the *Musée de l'Homme*. Taken together, this study's primary sources form a robust reservoir of insights into and experiences of the political dimension of reportage photography in postwar France.

The project is divided into four chapters. Chapter One explores how humanist photography came to define the French photographic school during the national reconstruction decade. Whereas previous studies of the genre, based primarily on classic photobooks by eminent photographers, argued that humanist photography promoted "Frenchness," I contend that, in the aftermath of the Vichy regime and the Occupation, this concept—like political culture at large—was highly unstable. Instead, my analysis draws on more reliable historical sources, namely the French press, official state publications, and the nation's yearly photographic salon, which were far more significant distribution channels of humanist iconography than the photobooks. These institutions used humanist photography, the chapter

argues, as a credible source of information, but only in a secondary, *illustrative* sense, which was neither strictly documentary nor properly artistic by American definitions. In the period's topsy-turvy political climate, each venue addressed questions of national self-perception and political culture differently. At the same time, given France's *dirigiste* exertion of political power, the chapter also examines the ways state institutions used humanist iconography to advance their own ideological agendas. Unlike earlier accounts, which would have us believe that humanist photography was monolithically indicative of political consensus, my study sees this early trend in reportage photography as a multiplex practice, often employed in the service of conflicted political worldviews and agendas.

Chapter Two traces the last two years of the Algerian War as heralding the break with the humanist paradigm by a new generation of young photographers. Opposing the war, these photographers harnessed their craft to produce hard visual evidence, which promoted a more critical way of viewing contemporary political reality. Previous studies have explored how the state censored photography while using the medium to advance its "pacification" propaganda during the Algerian War. While this was surely a central function of reportage photography, I advance a more nuanced understanding of the role it played during this historical episode. On the one hand, the chapter examines the correlations between the iconography of "pacification" produced by military photographers working in the state's service and the predominantly humanist orientation of reportage photography leading up to the War. On the other hand, it explores how the medium served the anti-war opposition to state policy by those who witnessed the Algerian War firsthand and took up a camera to shed light on what was actually happening on the ground. Specifically, I ask what subjects, style, and overall composition these self-appointed reportage photographers used to wage their visual war against de Gaulle's government, focusing in particular on their coverage of the state's treatment of Muslim Algerians.

Chapter Three shows that reportage photography during the 1960s in fact played a significant role in the heated political climate of the so-called “1968 years,” a significant feature of political discourse overlooked by the current literature on these themes and period. The chapter argues that the tension between government policies and different groups within civil society defined to a large extent the functions and parameters of reportage photography during the decade. As I demonstrate, state agencies, such as the *ministère des Affaires étrangères*, the *Documentation française*, and the *ministère de la Coopération*, used photography as a privileged means for bringing the accelerated (Europeanized) modernization of France into public view. Part of this modernization narrative included presenting French youth as an agent of national rejuvenation and the country’s “cooperation” with its former African colonies as mutually beneficial. In addition, the chapter explores how reportage photography also served anti-institutional activism—which spread among militant groups within French society in the aftermath of the Algerian War—to undermine the state-produced image of France’s modern grandeur. Negotiating these contrary forces in political discourse, the chapter engages reportage photographers’ growing gravitation—in mainstream magazine press—toward the civil pole, as they progressively distanced themselves from official discourse and asserted their occupational autonomy. Finally, and most importantly, I examine the campaign of the ANJRP (*Association nationale des journalistes reporters photographes*) for self-determination and for the freedom of press. In the course of this struggle, I contend, the Association redefined the *professional* standards of photojournalism in 1960s France.

Chapter Four offers a reassessment of the photographic coverage of May ’68. Whereas previous studies have provided only fragmentary accounts of reportage photography during this historical episode, I treat May ’68 holistically, as a culminating event in a series of developments during the 1960s. Specifically, I contend that May ’68 created the conditions that ushered what I call a “photojournalistic moment” in the development of the French media.

As state-controlled television and radio broadcasting were greatly inhibited by censorship, photojournalism, my argument goes, became central in visualizing the May-June events for the entire nation, covering their unfolding from every angle and so *uncovering* even those aspects most sought by the state to remain hidden from public view. The chapter thus considers the strategies photojournalists employed to visualize this explosive episode as the ultimate national scoop. It examines how photojournalists fleshed out May '68 as a sudden yet multilayered moment of national self-illumination by iconically flashing back to the nation's internal political conflicts since the Liberation, and even suggesting dim reflections of the French Revolution. In so doing, I contend, photojournalism undermined the power of the state to determine popular political discourse while granting society a stronger civil voice. The dissertation's temporal scope thus enables me to provide an in-depth account of the role photojournalism played in May '68, not as an isolated episode, but rather as the highpoint in the gradual paradigm shift from humanist photography to the golden era of photojournalism starting with the late 1960s onwards.

* * *

Positioned on the periphery of the historiography on modern France, this project seeks to deepen our understanding of the nation's political culture by rethinking the visual practices of reportage photography. In the (postwar) era of mass communication, the omnipresence and uncontested rhetorical power of the camera turned it into an important instrument of modern political discourse. Given the status of the media as a primary agent in transmitting information through ideologically-saturated representations, my aim is to subject the talismanic effect of photography, whose seemingly objective witnessing tends to suspend the viewer's disbelief, to rigorous historical analysis. From this perspective, political discourse appears to share important structural similarities with the mechanism of the camera: both necessitate selectively

focusing on a limited number of objects, which inevitably provide only a partial record of reality. To render a meaningful whole out of the multiple elements, both photography and political discourse require an organizing framework and compositional principles. Ultimately, the effect of the transcribed content depends on the varying sensitivity of the receptive surface – the film of celluloid or the film of public consciousness. Indeed, the photographic metaphor is particularly apt in capturing the specificities of public discourse. In these and other respects, the metaphor is equally pertinent for scholarly research. Though this study is bound to be partial and limited in scope, I would like to think that it assumes the appropriate critical distance and sensitive receptivity to present a clear yet nuanced account of the role reportage photography played in the political discourse of postwar France. To begin to assess that role, we turn now to the photoactivism of humanist observers in the aftermath of the Liberation.

CHAPTER 1

Participant Observer:**Humanist Photography during the Era of National Reconstruction, 1945-1958**

In this chapter, I seek to explain how humanist photography became the dominant genre in France during the years of postwar national reconstruction. The theme most associated with this genre is the quotidian heroism of the Parisian lower classes: working class people are depicted in a sentimental manner as the embodiment of French republican values – free, equal, and fraternal. Rather than dwelling on the carefully constructed aesthetic vision of individual photographers in their photobooks (as previous studies had done),¹ I shall focus on their typical cooperation with the main commissioning institutions in France: the press, the cultural establishment, and the government's information branch. By exploring the products of the various collaborations between humanist photographers and each of these institutions, we can arrive at a more comprehensive historical understanding of the genre's participation in the lively political discourse during the age of reconstruction.

As we shall see, humanist photography played an important role in forging an optimistic political vision of the nation's cultural rebuilding in the aftermath of the Second World War. In spite of emerging as early as the mid-1930s, humanist photography reached its zenith only after the Liberation, providing a much-needed unifying iconography of the French nation. In comparison with the social conservatism of the Third Republic, the postwar decade of national reconstruction proved significantly more favorable to the social progressivism that humanist photography endorsed. Maintaining a delicate balance between the aesthetic and documentary aspects of photography, humanists produced portraits of

¹ See: Peter Hamilton, *Robert Doisneau: A Photographer's Life* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1995); Jean-Claude Gautrand, *Robert Doisneau* (London: Tachen, 2003); Jean-Claude Gautrand, *Willy Ronis* (London: Tachen 2013); Françoise Denoyelle, *Le siècle de Willy Ronis* (Paris: Terre bleue, 2012); Jean Vautrin, *Sabine Weiss* (Paris: La Martinière, 2003).

French society that evoked a sense of solidarity among its members. In doing so, photographers such as Willy Ronis and Robert Doisneau offered contemporaries a hopeful vision of a future in which all rifts within French society—opened up by the Occupation and postwar modernization—would be healed.

The first major monograph dedicated to humanist photography, by Marie de Thézy, traces the roots of this genre to poetic realism, which dominated French cinema and literature from the mid-1930s to the late 1950s. Sociologist Peter Hamilton, following de Thézy, observes that humanist photography played a part in the “reconstruction of national identity after the Liberation.”² In their accounts, both de Thézy and Hamilton ignore the trends and developments within photography, namely the growing prominence of a documentary aesthetic during the interwar period. Moreover, Peter Hamilton’s analysis leaves aside the main bulk of humanist work, continuously commissioned and disseminated by the most important public institutions in France. Instead, his interpretation of the genre relies exclusively on *iconic* images that appeared in photobooks by leading photographers, such as Robert Doisneau, Henri Cartier-Bresson, and Willy Ronis. These cherry-picked works are given as examples of the visual construction of “social solidarity.” However, they are not representative of the daily assignments of these famous photographers. Nor do they represent the overall ideological or aesthetic inclination of the major commissioning public institutions in France, not to mention the work of (often less prominent) photographers featured in their reviews.³ Hamilton’s main example, Doisneau’s “*Le Baiser de l’Hôtel de Ville*,” was completely unknown at the time to French audiences (it was published in *Life* magazine). And his example of the celebration of the homeless man (*clochard*), which was a common

² Peter Hamilton, “‘A poetry of the streets?’ Documenting Frenchness in an Era of Reconstruction: Humanist Photography 1935-1960,” *French Literature Series* 28 (2001):178-227. See also: Hamilton, “Representing the Social: France and Frenchness in Post-war Humanist Photography,” in *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, Stuart Hall ed. (London: Sage, 1997), 75-150; Nina Elisabeth Lager Vestberg, “Souvenir of the Street: The Representation of Paris in French Humanist Photography, c. 1947-1962,” (PhD diss., University of London, 2006).

³ Hamilton, “A poetry of the streets?,” 215.

trope in photobooks, was utterly inconceivable in the French press during the years of national reconstruction.⁴ Such limitations, I argue, led to yet another major flaw in Hamilton's study: his proclamation that humanist photographers promoted "Frenchness," which disregards the lack of consensus regarding national identity among contemporaries reeling, in the aftermath of the Liberation, from devastating social ruptures.

The Rise of Humanist Photography

In order to historicize the rise of the humanist worldview in mid-1930s France, we must first review several photographic developments throughout the world in the preceding decade. The first development was the emergence of an innovative conceptualization of photography as a documentary art. Until the 1920s, the concepts of *documentary* and *art* were distinct and even mutually exclusive.⁵ After decades of Pictorialist domination in the world of photography, modernist circles in Central Europe and the United States began to incorporate documentary practices into their oeuvres, and moved away from the stylized aesthetic of painting. In the hands of the photographers of the New Vision movement (*Das Neue Sehen*), most prominently László Moholy-Nagy, the camera became a mechanical extension of the eye's visual perception. Photography came to be viewed as a transparent medium, displaying reality directly and without artifice.⁶ In parallel, the New Objectivity (*Neue Sachlichkeit*) and Straight Photography art movements incorporated into photography subject matters and techniques, previously reserved for scientific, legal, and archival purposes.

⁴ Blaise Cendrars and Robert Doisneau, *La banlieue de Paris* (Paris: Pierre Seghers, 1949). Izis Bidermanas *et al.*, *Paris des rêves* (Lausanne: La guide du livre, 1950). Pierre Mac Orlan and Willy Ronis, *Belleville, Ménilmontant* (Grenoble: Arthaud, 1954).

⁵ Olivier Lugon, *Le style documentaire: d'August Sander à Walker Evans, 1920-1945* (Paris: Macula, 2001), 125-39.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 62-3. Towards the end of the decade, New Vision became less innovative as its low and high angle shots became increasingly formulaic.

The direct engagement of documentary photographers with surrounding society marked another important step toward humanist reportage. Photographic pioneers such as the German August Sander and the American Walker Evans, explains photography historian Olivier Lugon, invented a new aesthetic language to visually record contemporaries inside real homes or workplaces, avoiding any staging.⁷ Their works were characterized by an austere realistic style, devoid of expressive memes and narrative content.⁸ Yet, while engaging with contemporary reality, these photographers were primarily interested in capturing the zeitgeist of modernity and expanding the field of their documentary explorations. It was photographer François Kollar who showed real interest in the French working class in the commissioned project (for *Les éditions Horizons*), *La France travaille*, between 1931 and 1934.⁹ In his innovative work, Kollar introduced new expressive means to favorably depict French laborers in their workplace environment. François Kollar (nee Ferenc Kollár) left Hungary in 1924 and resettled in interwar Paris, where a group of prominent immigrant photographers that included André Kertész, Brassai, Man Ray, and Germaine Krull, was redefining modernist art. Another foreign photographer, American Berenice Abbott, discovered in the late 1920s the work of the recently deceased French photographer Eugène Atget as the late nineteenth century forerunner of documentary aesthetic. Abbott's introduction of Atget's oeuvre to the public served as a major boost for the solidification of photography's documentary aesthetic in France.¹⁰ To this we may add the fact that, as Alison Levine's research has shown, French cinema was already making extensive use of the

⁷ Ibid., 92-107.

⁸ Walker Evans and Lincoln Kirstein, *American Photographs* (New York: Spiral Press, 1938). August Sander and Alfred Döblin, *Antlitz der Zeit 60 Aufnahmen deutscher Menschen* (Munich: Kurt Wolff, 1929). The shift from "documentary style" to "humanist reportage," argues Lugon, marked the history of the FSA, which aimed to propaganda for the New Deal policy. Lugon, *ibid.*, 125-34.

⁹ François Kollar, *La France travaille* (Paris: *Les éditions Horizons*, 1931-4).

¹⁰ Molly Nesbit, "Photography and History: Eugène Atget," in *A New History of Photography*, edited by Michel Frizot (Köln, Knöemann, 1998), 398-409. Pierre Mac-Orlan, *Atget, photographe de Paris* (Paris: Henri Jonquières, éd. 1930).

documentary mode in the 1920s.¹¹ Considering the various evidence of the centrality of the documentary genre in French visual media in the century's early decades, we must acknowledge its importance to the rise of humanist photography.

Ideology was another contributing element for the emergence of the humanist paradigm in modern media. As the 1930s witnessed an intensification in socio-political engagement, many photographers abandoned the lean documentary style. Instead they directly applied the documentary mode, supplementing illustrated news magazines with sentimentally evocative images of the lower classes (most affected by the economic and political crisis France was experiencing). This iconographic transition was evident in the new journalistic approach known as "Participant Observation," which used subjective, often first-person narration, in the illustrated magazines of the 1930s. Photographs were used in a captioned storyboard-like sequence that threw the reader into the midst of an unfolding scene. It is this dramatic immediacy that strongly appealed to the readers' sentiments, involved as they were in the nation's political life.¹² Identified by many as a potent tool of ideological dissemination, the photo essay became widely popular in the West.

The fact that socially engaged reportage photography was prevalent in countries like the United States, England, and the Netherlands, begs the following question: what was it about French humanist photography that rendered it the epitome of the genre.¹³ Three specific historical contexts shed light on its emergence and special importance in France: the project of national reconstruction, reportage photographers' political alliance with republicanism, and humanist ideology. First, an accelerated state-led economic modernization from the

¹¹ The adjective "documentary" first appeared in 1896 in the *Pathé* cinema catalogue. It was later followed by a noun form, *le documentaire*, in the 1915 *Ciné-Journal*, and was established as an autonomous cinematic genre during the 1920s. Alison J. Murray Levine, *Framing the Nation*, 16-7.

¹² The documentary image series during the 1920s was primarily subjected to organizational rather than narrative criteria. Cinematic montage in this regard was the major influence on the evolving of the social photo-reportage. Lugon, *Le Style documentaire*, 131-32.

¹³ Jean-Claude Gautrand, "Looking at Others: Humanism and Neo-Realism," in *A New History of Photography*, Michel Frizot, ed., 623.

1930s to the late 1950s placed reportage photographers at the forefront of recording the effects that the rapidly changing reality had on national self-perception. With their lightweight cameras, usually a Leica or a Rolleiflex, photographers could capture both contemporaries' mourning over the irrevocable loss of a wholesome past, and the change for the better that various modern innovations effected in the daily lives of people.¹⁴ During the years of national reconstruction, French photographers not only presented socio-political reality to the expanding population of media consumers, but also figured heavily into the ideological response to the ruptures in French society caused by Nazi occupation. As apparently objective recorders of this incessantly changing reality, reportage photographers were in a unique position to reaffirm the murky present by visually inscribing into it a vision of a bright future reflectively illuminated by the memory of a radiant past. Following the cataclysms of two world wars, the nineteenth century—rather than the first half of the twentieth century—was romanticized as the age of progress, with Paris, as famously proclaimed by Walter Benjamin, being its capital.¹⁵ The century that gave rise to national consciousness, class struggles, and popular revolutions, as well as to unprecedented scientific and technological advances, served photographers as the model for national reconstruction. Through their lenses, photographers selectively framed everyday scenes—in Paris, predominantly in Eastern neighborhoods featuring nineteenth-century architecture—, which often took place on the street, and usually involved the common people. In creating backward-looking images of the everyday activities of the lower classes, presenting them as the unshakeable backbone of French republicanism, humanist photographers stubbornly instilled an uncertain national future with their unwavering optimism.

¹⁴ On the relation between elegiac nostalgia and the emergence of historical consciousness in modern Europe see: Peter Fritzsche, *Stranded in the Present: Modern Time and the Melancholy of History* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 2004); on the role of the state in modernization during the period, see: Philip Nord, *France's New Deal: From the Thirties to the Postwar Era* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).

¹⁵ Walter Benjamin, "Paris, Capital of the Nineteenth Century," in *The Arcades Project*, trans. Howard Eiland and Kevin McLaughlin (Cambridge: The Harvard University Press, 1999), 14-26.

This brings us to the second distinctive context for the formation of humanist photography in France – its practitioners’ direct involvement in republican political culture. The vast majority of photographers, whether foreigners or natives, who published in the illustrated media during the interwar period—especially *Vu*, *Marianne*, *Voilà* and *Regards*—were active socialists and communists. Moreover, the new generation of mostly Jewish émigré photographers who fled pogroms, rising nationalism, and Fascism in eastern and central Europe, was deeply invested in the internationalist worldview of the French Left.¹⁶ In Paris, figures like Robert Capa (André Friedmann) and David Seymour (Dawid Szymin) found the ideal environment to engage in a politicized photography with strong continental resonance.¹⁷ The collective work of this young generation of gifted photographers, which also included, most notably, André Kertész, Henri Cartier-Bresson, and Willy Ronis, consolidated the image of the short-lived Popular Front (and in particular Léon Blum’s government) as a response to fascism and authoritarian regimes.¹⁸ The most representative symbol of the masses’ support of the Popular Front was the political gesture practiced in processions by politicians and workers alike: the raised fist. The image by Willy Ronis, for instance, shows the extent to which these processions were an ideological spectacle designated for the press photographer [fig. 1.1].¹⁹ Another iconic example was Cartier-Bresson’s series on the first annual paid leaves, which lifted the living standards of the working and middle classes [fig.

¹⁶ Jewish and other émigré photographers worked in all sectors of the French illustrated market. In Russia, Jewish photographers were also dominant, making up half of the country’s practitioners. David Shneer, *Through Soviet Jewish Eyes: Photography, War and the Holocaust* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2011).

¹⁷ Along with Brassai and Man Ray, they were active in avant-garde circles and participated in the exhibitions of the *Association des Écrivains et Artistes Révolutionnaires*, such as the October 1935 show *Documents de la vie sociale*, and *la photographie qui accuse* in February. Among its political objectives were pacifism, anti-fascism, and capitalism. Françoise Denoyelle *et al.*, *Le Front populaire des photographes* (Paris: Terre bleue, 2006), 35.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 35-9. During this period, explains photography historian Gaëlle Morel in her article on the Communist review *Regards*, occurred the transition from experimental to an institutionalized political engagement. Gaëlle Morel, “Du Peuple au populisme,” *Études photographiques* 9 (May, 2001): 44-63.

¹⁹ Henceforth, references to photos in chapter appendices will appear in the following format: [fig. x.y], with x designating the chapter number and y designating the photo number.

1.2].²⁰ These photographers also creatively depicted the gravity of the threats to popular republicanism from the extreme right in France and abroad. The most imminent threat, which established the reputation of the photographers working for the Alliance agency, was the Spanish Civil War. This event shaped both Capa's and Seymour's careers as leading war photographers, who later covered the Liberation of Europe by the Allies. It was this iconography, pioneered during the Popular Front, that served as the basis for the French postwar humanist photography.

The third and final context for the rise of socially engaged reportage photography was the prominence of "humanist" ideology, being the only common ground on which the disparate political and cultural elites in France could unite in the aftermath of the Liberation.²¹ For a nation on the verge of civil war, cooperation was the only available means for realizing France's urgent priorities in the autumn of 1944: winning the war and rebuilding democratic institutions. As argued by historian Michael Kelly, in the absence of any consensual political or social institution, social and Christian democrats integrated divergent moral ideas into an ideology that communists and nationalists could accommodate or accept to some degree.²² "The humanist moment," says Kelly, gave "those whose situation had been, like that of the Church, highly ambiguous . . . a moral language to express attitudes that could not be stated politically."²³ The trend toward publications that incorporated terms like *l'homme* or *l'humanité* in their titles was based on the concept of the unity of mankind as the touchstone for evaluating the achievements of civilization against a transcendent Other,

²⁰ In addition to the more famous photographs of the Popular Front, such as workers dancing in occupied factories, there were also images of peasants. On this subject, see: Denoyelle, *Le Front populaire des photographes*, 41-193.

²¹ Whereas humanism existed in Britain, the United States and the Netherlands as a secular ideology, only in France it drew extensively from religion. Michael Kelly, *The Cultural and Intellectual Rebuilding of France after the Second World War* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 128.

²² Ibid., 136-38. From the late 1920s, socialist intellectuals like Charles Andler gradually applied the term humanism, which previously referred to the Renaissance, to a general agenda for a new program of popular education. Catholic and Christian-democrat intellectuals appropriated it as a means of replacing the right wing doctrine of the *Action française*. The PCF drew on Romain Rolland, Henri Barbusse, Louis Aragon, and André Malraux's writings, in its adoption of increasingly humanist discourse two years before the Popular Front.

²³ Ibid., 150.

whether this be God or the nation (conceptualized as eternal and universal). Reeling from the devastating consequences of the Second World War, leading public figures insisted that strengthening social and individual agency was the safeguard for meaningful existence in the face of overwhelmingly complex scientific, social, political, and economic realities. Variant strands of humanist thought, whether Socialist, Christian, existentialist, or Marxist, all promoted a continuous *collective* social endeavor against alienation, oppression, and inequality.²⁴ The effectiveness of humanist ideology in the immediate postwar years, according to Kelly, explains why it continued to exert influence during the 1950s in the form of “discreet hegemony.” This involved blurring traditional divides (such as gender and race) by cultivating a monolithic icon of the “French citizen” – one that was necessary to maintain a sense of consensus in the face of a fragile political reality.²⁵

Before delving into the three major institutional platforms that made humanist iconography available to the broad public, it might be worthwhile to briefly discuss the background of the chapter’s leading photoactivists: Robert Doisneau and Willy Ronis. To understand what motivated Doisneau’s extensive coverage of Paris and its *banlieue* from the late 1930s to the 1960s, it is crucial to take into account the massive urban and social transformations the capital had undergone since the Second Empire. Gentilly, the southern Parisian suburb where Doisneau was born in 1912, was directly impacted by Georges-Eugène Haussmann’s vast rebuilding project, which displaced the working classes from central Paris to the area between the *faubourg* and the edge of the *banlieue* known as “the zone.” Several years before Doisneau’s birth, his father, Gaston, a cobblestone maker from the small village of Raizeux (Seine-et-Oise), moved to the suburb to work for a plumbing company. Gaston’s

²⁴ Ibid., 142–48. Catholic intellectuals promoted national unity through humanist discourse in reviews like *Esprit*, *Témoignage Chrétien*, and *Économie et humanisme*. Jean Lacroix from *Esprit*, for instance, bridged national culture between the Catholic and the non-Catholic Left. The SFIO promoted socialist humanism through texts like Blum’s *A l’Echelle humaine*, written during his wartime imprisonment. Existentialism also contributed to the ideology of humanism, notably Sartre’s 1946 pamphlet: *L’Existentialisme est un humanisme*.

²⁵ Ibid., 153.

relocation was part of the large migration waves of rural population to the city outskirts following the development of industry and commerce in the Parisian “red belt.”²⁶ The environment in which Doisneau grew up was marked by the severe post Great War housing shortage and accelerated proletarianization. His work as a photographer at the Renault assembly line in Boulogne-Billancourt, Europe’s largest factory, after the economic crisis of the early 1930s, further solidified his initial allegiance with Communism.²⁷ As he later confessed, working at “Renault . . . was the true beginning of [his] career as a photographer and the end of [his] youth.”²⁸ Willy Ronis (nee Roness) was born in Paris in 1910 to a family of Jewish immigrants who had fled the pogroms in Odessa and Lithuania several years earlier. Growing up in a working class Parisian neighborhood, Ronis’ daily reading of *l’Humanité* served him as an agent of socialization and drew him closer to the PCF, which struggled against fascist organizations such as *l’Action française* and *Croix-de-feu*. As he developed his interest in photography, Ronis joined the photo-cinema section of the *Association des écrivains et artistes révolutionnaires* in the mid-1930s.²⁹ Similar to Doisneau, Ronis’ encounter with workers’ strikes at the Citroën factory during the period of the Popular Front reinforced his ideological convictions as a supporter of the Communist Party.

The Postwar Illustrated Press and the People

“The appetite for money and the indifference to all things great has simultaneously operated to give France a press that, except on rare occasions, had no other objective than to give power to the few and debase the morality of all. Therefore, it wasn’t difficult for this press to turn out as it did in 1940-1944, that is, the disgrace of the country.”

Albert Camus, *Combat*, August 31 1944

²⁶ For more information on the proletarianization of the Parisian *banlieue* since the second half of the nineteenth century, see: Tyler Stovall, *The Rise of the Paris Red Belt* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

²⁷ Peter Hamilton, *Robert Doisneau: A Photographer’s Life* (New York: Abbeville Press, 1995), 16-46.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 60

²⁹ Françoise Denoyelle, *Le siècle de Willy Ronis* (Paris: Terre bleue, 2012), 43-110.

After the Liberation, a growing number of illustrated magazines harnessed humanist photography as a tool for promoting a wide array of ideological worldviews. In the newly state-reconstituted “anti-capitalist” press during the era of national reconstruction, reportage photography was not only a means to reach new audiences but also aimed to assure readers of the veracity of the journal’s editorial line. News magazine thus used humanist iconography to construct a populist portrayal of the contemporary France as a means of legitimizing their political agendas. The Communist weekly news magazine *Regards*, for example, used such imagery to portray the working class as the nation’s heroic backbone. Similarly, illustrated magazines with conservative agendas, such as *Réalités* and *Point de vue – Images du monde*, employed the humanist paradigm to promote their respective views of the nation.

The euphoric months after the Liberation were nothing less than revolutionary for the French media – an ambitious attempt to create a clean slate. The goal of the CNR (*Conseil National de la résistance*) and the FNPCI (*Fédération nationale de la presse clandestine intérieure*) was to transform the French media into a non-profit and broad-based democratic instrument for the nation’s social regeneration.³⁰ In particular, the *Comité général d’études de la résistance* issued a series of directives for the Provisional Government, known as the *cahier bleu*, to abolish what was considered as corrupting capitalistic influences on the press. It was authored by Pierre-Henri Teitgen and other politicians, administrators and eminent journalists, who perceived corporate interests as the root cause of the manipulation of public opinion during the 1930s. Scandals such as the Stavisky and Salengro affairs (1934, 1936), as well as the Popular Front’s failed attempts to break up the monopolies of the Havas information agency and of Hachette’s distribution company, further strengthened the

³⁰ Ivan Chupin *et al.*, *Histoire politique et économique des médias en France* (Paris: La découverte, 2009), 56.

committee's convictions that the press was corrupt.³¹ More importantly, Teitgen and his team believed that the subjection of the press to the forces of the market had turned it into one of the main proponents of collaboration during the Occupation.³² Their target was therefore to change the lacuna in the (foundational) liberal law from July 29 1881, which granted the press autonomy from the government while subordinating it to economic factors.³³ The solution, according to them, was to recreate a renewed "anti-capitalist" journalism on the basis of the underground press of the *résistance*, which would pave the way for the public towards republicanism and social progress.

Liberation was thus a golden opportunity for Teitgen, who became the new *Ministère de l'Information*, to put the *cahier bleu* into legislative effect.³⁴ The "anti-capitalist" consensus among socialists, Christian-democrats and communists was that the state ought to assume a more assertive role – that of an arbiter and key player in the national media.³⁵ As part of the *épuration*, the August 1944 decree on charges of "national indignity" targeted journalists who collaborated during the Occupation.³⁶ Further sanctions on collaborationists

³¹ Ibid., 46.

³² Fabrice d'Almeida and Chrisitan Delporte, *Histoire des médias en France de la Grande Guerre à nos jours* (Paris: Flammarion, 2003), 147.

³³ Its major innovation was to the press autonomy from the government by placing it under the authority of the *Ministère de la Justice* rather the *Ministère de l'Intérieur*. For a more comprehensive discussion on the law, also see: Chupin *et al.*, *Histoire politique et économique des médias en France*, 36-8. Since the late nineteenth century, journalists increasingly denounced the involvement of the press with the world of finance, calling their peers to adopt more rigorous journalistic standards. Patrick Eveno, *Histoire de la presse française: De Théophraste Renaudot à la révolution numérique* (Paris: Flammarion, 2012), 126-7; 149.

³⁴ The "cahier bleu" was codified by the ordinance of the Provisional Government in Algiers from June 22 1944, which affirmed the urgency of eliminating collaborationist journals, and proclaimed that the remaking of the press was a political priority for the *résistance*. D'Almeida and Delporte, *Histoire des médias en France*, 148.

³⁵ Chupin *et al.*, *Histoire politique et économique*, 56. The views among the representatives of these political currents about the exact role the state should play vis-à-vis the press were obviously not unanimous. The spectrum was between an autonomous media, protected both from government and the market, and one that was entirely subjected to the state.

³⁶ The fact that the first (and not last) of those executed during the *épuration* was a journalist, Georges Suarez from *Aujourd'hui*, reveals that the media was treated more harshly than other collaborationist sectors. The relative severity towards journalists led contemporaries to refer to them as "scapegoats." Laurence Corroy and Émile Roche, *La presse française depuis 1945* (Paris: Ellipses, 2010), 12-3. The case of Maurice Papon, which will be discussed in more detail in the following chapter, illustrates how directly responsible official under Vichy not only escaped from justice but actually managed to continue his meteoric rise under the Fourth and Fifth Republics. Yet the incrimination of journalists remained statistically very low; out of 9,000 cases, only 700 temporary suspensions followed (90% of the cases were not longer than two years). D'Almeida and Delporte, *Histoire des médias en France*, 152.

ensued in March 1945, with an ordinance that established press card committees, which suspended the employment of disloyal journalists.³⁷ Even further, collaborating journals and agencies were seized by the *Société nationale des entreprises de presse*, and handed over to former *résistance* members, who were also given generous state subsidies for establishing their own press offices.³⁸ The offices of the collaborationist *Le Temps* were seized by the government, and used by de Gaulle to establish *Le Monde*. Vichy's *Office français d'information* (Havas Agency until November 1940) was to become the *Agence France Presse*, whose director was appointed by the *Conseil des ministres*.

As much as the structural changes in the press were dramatic, they concerned the photographic agencies to a much lesser extent. As photography historian Françoise Denoyelle argues in her monumental study on photography during the Occupation, most agencies that had helped create and distribute propaganda for the Vichy regime, primarily for commercial reasons, continued to operate after Liberation.³⁹ Article 12 of the September 30, 1944 decree indeed mentioned private agencies of "reportage photography," but it was very mildly enforced, which allowed agencies that collaborated to gain an advantage over new ones due to their archives.⁴⁰ Moreover, the fact that hardly any photographers were accused of treason,

³⁷ Ibid., 149. From 1949 onwards, the committee could no longer deny journalists from work on the grounds of collaboration. On this year, Jean Prouvost received authorization to launch his journals, notably *Paris Match*.

³⁸ Eveno, *Histoire de la presse française*, 189; Chupin et al., *Histoire politique et économique*, 57. This extensive legislation also included the August 26 1944 law that required journals to render the owner's name publically known (as well as prevented any influence from abroad). D'Almeida and Delporte, *Histoire des médias en France*, 160.

³⁹ The photo agencies during the Occupation either produced images that promoted the propaganda of the Vichy regime, in which Marshal Pétain, the so-called "most French of the French," was the main protagonist, or distributed images that originated from German Staffal propaganda bureau. The SCP (*Service Central Photographique*) in Vichy under Georges Reynal coordinated and centralized the robust propaganda efforts of Pétain's collaborationist regime. Certain agencies that were created during the Occupation and strongly promoted collaboration policy, namely DNP and Fama, ceased to exist after Liberation. Older agencies, such as Fulgur, SAFARA, Silvestre (previously known as Henri Manuel), and Trampus, that also collaborated, were closed between 1945 and 1946. But more than a few others that collaborated, such as Fulgur and LAPI, continued to operate in the decades after Liberation. And finally, the attempt by Membré to obtain a monopoly over press photography, after Paris was liberated, through a new agency, Photo-Press Libération, was rejected by the profession and thus ultimately failed. This can partly be explained by the lack of interest in photography by the SNEP (*Société Nationale des Entreprises de Presse*). Françoise Denoyelle, *La photographie d'actualité et de propagande sous le régime de Vichy* (Paris: CNRS, 2003), 7-16; 170-3; 334-5.

⁴⁰ Ibid., 277.

unlike journalists, can be explained by the lack of interest of the judicial system in photography as propaganda instrument. And indeed, notes Denoyelle, the very few who were brought to trial, relied for their defense on the definition of photography as a simple testimonial documentation.⁴¹ However, the agencies that produced humanist photography after the Liberation, primarily Rapho and Magnum, had been closed or Aryanized during the Occupation, whether because their directors were Jewish, or foreign, or both.⁴² By the same token, a considerable part of the photographers who became the emissaries of humanist photography in postwar France were victims of collaboration. These included those who either escaped (André Kretész, Robert Capa), hid in the non-occupied zone (Willy Ronis, Izis, Ergy Landau), were incarcerated in a German POW camp (Henri Cartier-Bresson), or in French camps, such as Gurs (Hans Namuth) and Drancy (Dominique Darbois).

The conditions in the aftermath of Liberation were favorable to the French Communist Party, a member of the tripartite system that controlled the largest segment of the national press, with thirty-one journals and reviews. The communist press had been suppressed by Daladier's government in September 1939, following the discovery of the Molotov-Ribbentrop Pact; it returned to the public sphere with panache after the war. *Regards*, the party's illustrated weekly, had first appeared in early 1932, after the PCF's failure in the elections, in an attempt to attract new audiences who were less used to reading newspapers.⁴³ For the uneducated masses, the photograph, presented in series, and accompanied by captions, conveyed the communist worldview with a sense of authenticity. Among the influential and politically engaged photographers who published their images in

⁴¹ Ibid., 277-8; 334.

⁴² During the Occupation, Fama photo agency obtained the archives of Rapho and Alliance-Photo. The founders of Rapho and Alliance-Photo, Charles Rado and Maria Eisner respectively, remained after the Second World War in the United States, however the former requested Raymond Grosset to reopen the agency in Paris whereas the latter decided to open Magnum an office in Paris.

⁴³ Gaëlle Morel, "Du people au populisme: Les couvertures du magazine communiste *Regards* (1932-1939)." *Études photographiques* 9 (May 2001): 44. The French communist illustrated review was modeled after the *Arbeiter Illustrierte Zeitung* in Weimar Republic. In September 1933, the title *Regards sur le monde du travail* was changed to its original name.

the Communist press were Robert Capa, Willy Ronis, Robert Doisneau, Henri Cartier-Bresson and Brassai. *Regards*, the earliest and most important platform for the genre in the immediate postwar years in the French press, continued to employ the humanist iconography that had been popularized since the Popular Front [figs. 1.3].

To understand how humanist photography became the reigning paradigm during the era of national reconstruction, we must take into account the impact of the Second World War. After four long years of Occupation, followed by intense fighting and the uncovering of inconceivable horrors, French photographers were driven to offer a glimpse into a more hopeful future. A great source of inspiration was the founding myth of the liberation of Paris, which was supposedly achieved by its own people.⁴⁴ In the French press right after the war, *Regards* exemplified this perspective, in which the Parisian worker, cast in images as the quintessential French citizen, was exalted as the embodiment of French republicanism.⁴⁵ In these photographs, the brave *Menu peuple* of Paris—a metonymy of French society—succeeded in freeing the capital from the Nazi occupier thanks to their loyalty to the nation’s glorious revolutionary past. Images of ordinary people on the barricades, young (and handsome) *résistance* fighters, and Nazi officers taken hostage against the background of the Opéra monument, consolidated the narrative of Paris as a “heroic city,” according to historian Rosemary Wakeman [figs. 1.4 & 1.5].⁴⁶ “Responding to the call of the Resistance,” proclaimed *Regards*, “the people descended into the street and erected barricades in the

⁴⁴ On the commemoration of Liberation, see: Susan Keith, “Collective Memory and the End of Occupation: Remembering (and forgetting) the Liberation of Paris in Images,” *Visual Communication Quarterly* 17, no. 3 (August, 2010): 134-146. On books and the Carnavalet Museum commemorating the Liberation, see: Catherine E. Clark, “Paris, August 1944: Photographic Histories of the Liberation of Paris.” In *Photography as History: Collecting, Narrating, and Preserving Paris, 1870-1970*, (Ph.D diss., University of Southern California, 2012), 146-210. See also: Olivier Donat, ed., *Paris Libéré, Paris Photographié, Paris Exposé* (Paris: Paris Musées, 2014).

⁴⁵ As indicated by the magazine’s titles, such as “At Vincennes, with the people of Paris,” and its referring to PCF leader, Maurice Thorez, as “son of the people.” *Regards* 57 (September 1946): 9.

⁴⁶ Rosemary Wakeman, *The Heroic City: Paris, 1945-1958* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2009).

invaded cities. . . . Paris had liberated itself. The heart of the insurrection progressed from the Opera, where the patriots victoriously warded off a German attack. . . .”⁴⁷

Regards was reinstated even before the war ended, and incorporated heroic wartime imagery that dovetailed with its subsequent reconstruction iconography. The image of a virile young soldier wearing a beret (the insignia of the French lower classes), on the cover of the first post-Liberation issue of February 1945, is a perfect example of how photographers represented the French resistance to Fascism. The renewed determination of the French soldier, aiming a machine gun towards the camera through a firing loophole in the snow, represents Man’s control over his destiny in the face of tyranny [fig. 1.6]. As the FFI (*Forces françaises de l’intérieur*) joined the allied fighting at the German border, the article “French youth, the army of tomorrow” casts this campaign as a direct continuation of the popular Liberation myth.⁴⁸ It even claims that the young men fighting in the division with the symbolic name *Ile de France* were members of *résistance* networks from the working-class neighborhoods of La Villette and Belleville.

The second iconographic theme that accompanied the reports on the progress of allied forces into Germany was the uncovering of crimes against humanity by the Nazi regime. The photographs of the amassed skeletal cadavers of the victims of Nazism were a lurid reminder that the PCF (who led antifascist campaigns since the mid-1930s) was the most reliable guarantor of French republicanism. As visual evidence of inconceivable Nazi barbarism, these photographs embodied the iconographic antithesis to humanist photography. According to humanist discourse, the real victims of the Nazis were “the sons of France,” that is, the French people at large. The PCF thus preferred to underplay the categories of racial genocide, so as to support its narrative of a united national front against fascism and its collaborators.

⁴⁷ *Regards* 55 (August, 1946).

⁴⁸ “Jeunesse de France, Armée de demain: La division ‘Ile de France’ dans la neige acheve son entrainement,” *Regards* 1 (1 February 1945).

For example, the word “racial” appears in quotation marks in the passage below, and the initial photographs in *Regards* of Nazi war crimes do not even mention that most of the victims were Jews. Their propaganda leading to Marshal Pétain’s trial is a case in point: ⁴⁹

When shall we hear the actual accusers, the actual victims, . . . [the] sons of France? When shall we see the women, the children of the executed [*fusillés*], and the deported coming to testify of the martyrdom of the dead [*disparus*]? . . . Following official statistics, 99% of political deportees, 99% of “racial” deportees will not return. Isn’t that a nice outcome of the politics of collaboration? The man who sits in his uniform of a French field marshal is one of the biggest assassins that history has ever known. Indeed, at Pétain’s trial, only one witness is missing: France.⁵⁰

During the era of national reconstruction, humanist photography placed labor at the focal point of a new battleground for the French people. Images of workers had, of course, been part of *Regards*’ iconography under the Popular Front. Yet, in the aftermath of Liberation, photo-essays constructed images of workers as an extension of wartime heroism, a definitive response to the Vichyite authoritarianism (especially in regards to the *Service du Travail Obligatoire*).⁵¹ Whether it was the battle over steel, carbon, or the soil, the March 22 1946 editorial summarized the question as “To Produce or to Die”:

Either the working class and the people of France fully engage in the battle for production, in which case our country will be safe, and along with it, democracy, liberty, the Republic, and the independence of our motherland, or we abandon ourselves and become a second-rate nation in which monopolies and neo-fascists make the law. . . . [Workers,] rest assured that victory in this battle will open up great possibilities for your movement. . . .⁵²

The workers’ self-sacrificial heroism in *Regards* was a recurring theme in the party’s attempts to advance their political demands, such as salary increases. In a series of photo-

⁴⁹ For more information about the gradual reporting of the Nazi camps in the French media, which gave a very partial image of the camps uncovered in Germany and ignored the Jewishness of the victims, see: Christian Delporte, ed., “Les médias et les origines de la mémoire: qu’ont effectivement lu, vu et entendu les Français sur la libération des camps en 1945?,” in *Les médias et la Libération en Europe 1945-2005* (Paris: L’Harmattan, 2006), 285-304.

⁵⁰ “Pétain-Bazaine doit payer. . . !,” *Regards* 14 (August 1, 1945).

⁵¹ On the iconography propagated by the Vichy regime, see: Denis Peschanski, *Collaboration and Resistance: Images of Life in Vichy France, 1940-44* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 2000).

⁵² G. Milhaud, “Produire ou mourir,” *Regards* 33 (March 22, 1946).

essays entitled “Men of the Railroad” from March 1948, Doisneau casts the workers of the national railroad system (SNCF) as larger-than-life heroes, by directly drawing from the cinematic imagery of poetic realism. In the cover image that opens the first article, we have a low-angle shot of two drivers marching towards their radiant locomotive in the distance [fig. 1.7]. Walking with fraternal nonchalance, cigarette butt in mouth *à la Jean Gabin* (the most emblematic cinema protagonist of the Parisian working class since the 1930s), the two men in the forefront are greater than the all-powerful locomotive. In the spirit of Jean Renoir’s 1936 *La Bête humaine* and René Clément’s 1946 *La Bataille du rail*,⁵³ Jacques Friedland (who contributed the text of this photo-essay) uses colloquial language to paint a sympathetic picture of the heroic and dutiful French worker, speaking, as it were, from the latter’s mouth:

“[We work] eight hour shifts at the railroad . . . day in and day out. You see, it’s even harder on the wife and kids who don’t have their dad around most of the time.” This is the heroic story of ordinary people who pay taxes and slave away from dawn till dusk and hardly make enough money to provide for their families. This is the case for the majority of the 472,000 railroad workers.⁵⁴

In other photo-essays in the same vein, we see images of smiling children en route to their “sunny vacation” thanks to the workers who maintain France’s trusty railway system.⁵⁵ Similar to Doisneau’s railroad men, Willy Ronis’ coal miners are also depicted as working-class soldiers. To strengthen the parallels between the coal mine and the battlefield, the caption of an image of shirtless workers holding their instruments as a weapon states that it was photographed “hundreds of meters beneath the ground” [fig. 1.8]. The subtitle “always on the first line” leaves little doubt regarding this visual analogy. The following image by Ronis shows men walking in a straight line after completing their assignment against the background of a coal mountain, a metaphor for the challenge they have overcome [fig. 1.9].

⁵³ *La Bête humaine*, Jean Renoir (New York: Yanus Films, 1936); *La Bataille du rail*, René Clément’s (Paris: 1946)

⁵⁴ Jacques Friedland, “Les hommes du rail,” *Regards* 129 (January 1948).

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

Of course, images of heroic workers were largely restricted to men, thus exemplifying what Michael Kelly termed “male humanism.”⁵⁶

The same visual rhetoric of celebrating the intrepid French people was harnessed for explicit PCF political propaganda. An example is the photo essay entitled “The People of Paris Says No to Fascism” on the impact of de Gaulle’s famous speech in Bayeux (June 1946). Next to a small photograph of de Gaulle giving his speech, we see several larger images of “young emulators of Hitler’s SS” shouting slogans like “long live de Gaulle,” and “long live the PRL” (*Parti républicain de la liberté*) as they vandalize the streets and PCF offices. The article and captions make direct parallels between de Gaulle’s “followers” and the anti-republican demonstrators of February 1934.⁵⁷ Concluding this essay, are large photos of a march of “half a million Parisian protesters” carrying banners of the French Left near the PCF headquarters, as a clear riposte to the provocation of de Gaulle and his “troublemakers” [fig. 1.10]. Similarly, Doisneau’s reportage with the secretary general of the union of syndicates, entitled “Starvers Versus the Starving,” shows party followers as defenders of republican values. Using a high-angle shot, the masses are shown standing in orderly silence (unlike their rowdy opponents), in deference of PCF leadership at the Vélodrome d’hiver [fig. 1.11]. CGT’s general secretary for the metallurgy sector, Eugène Haneff, proclaimed the Party’s policy in the following words:

Nobody can ignore the deplorable state in which the enemy . . . has left our poor, looted, and wrecked country, while placing men at key posts from which they engaged in harmful antinational activity after the Germans’ departure. . . . The working class, . . . which refused to use its past sacrifices [for political gain], has come to realize that . . . the sharks of industry and commerce, driven by profit and hate for the people and democracy, are hiking prices. . . . The Minister of National Prodigality, Mr. de Methon, has supplied them with the authorizations [to do so]. . . . The honest common folk should vote on November 10 for republican candidates. . . .⁵⁸

⁵⁶ Kelly, *The Cultural and Intellectual Rebuilding of France*, 120-26.

⁵⁷ “Fauteurs de troubles,” *Regards* 47 (June 28, 1947).

⁵⁸ Eugène Haneff, “Affameurs contre affamés,” *Regards* 57 (6 September, 1946): 5-7.

Doisneau's concluding image of a child's feet in canvas shoes, a prime example of the affective devices of humanist photography, directly appeals to the emotions of readers in an attempt to sway the vote to the Left before the first elections of the Fourth Republic [fig. 1.12].⁵⁹

Following the rapturous effect of the Occupation and postwar modernization, daily life in the capital's physical space became for humanist photographers a spectacle they continually engaged with. During the decade of national reconstruction, these photographers instilled new meaning into mundane practices of the capital's working people. The narrative of expelling the fascist intruder and rebuilding the nation on popular republican values, explains Wakeman, was told allegorically through the lives of the common people inhabiting the streets of Paris; the national struggle was rendered in terms of a daily struggle.⁶⁰ The chosen backdrop for the presentation of this daily struggle, moreover, was typically not modern Western districts, but rather the nineteenth-century neighborhoods in Eastern Paris. As noted earlier, this setting served humanist photographers as a nostalgically evocative urban landscape upon which to build a compelling socio-political image of a hopeful future. Ronis' photo essay from the June 1948 issue, titled "The Merry Children of Belleville" [fig. 1.13], is illustrative of one of the common tropes of humanist photography: children playing in poor working-class neighborhoods. As Pierre Olivier's accompanying poetic text shows, such images deeply resonated:

The children of Belleville have the most beautiful smiles in the world. . . . They will not spend their vacations on the sunny beaches of the coasts of Nacre and Émeraude, their beach is this little corner of Paris where they laugh and cry surrounded by high walls, so high that the sun in the distant skies affords only a momentary glimpse of a single ray of

⁵⁹ This evidence contradicts Gaëlle Morel's claim that humanist photography—unlike experimental approaches—in *Regards* promoted political conformism since the Popular Front. Her analysis, based exclusively on *Regards*' cover photos, missed the political dimension of the photo-essays after the Liberation. Morel, "Du Peuple au populisme," 58-63.

⁶⁰ Wakeman, *The Heroic City*, 5-10.

light. The children of Belleville play hide and seek with sunbeams and shades capering on the cobblestones, those same cobblestones of the barricades and the revolution.⁶¹

For a country obsessed with its low birthrate, the sight of children playing on the cobblestones of their *quartier-village* (the capital's basic unit during the nineteenth century) was a powerful metaphor for national renewal and a promise of a bright republican future.⁶² Such iconography, however, would have been ineffective had it been exclusively limited to distinctive districts of the capital. Photographers had to find a way to visualize Paris as an integrated and coherent republican urban space. In contrast to Wakeman's claim that the discourse of poetic humanism lacked a Parisian physical center, I argue that humanist photographers did have an urban pivot – the banks of the Seine, to which they were drawn as if by a magnet.⁶³ Its immediate architectural surroundings dating back to the nineteenth century, the Seine's location connected all sorts of Parisian neighborhoods and was always accessible to common people, offering them solace from everyday hardships. Moreover, it was an easily identifiable reference point in the capital's landscape. It is no wonder that Kertész's 1934 *Paris vu par André Kertész*, as well as the Éli Lotar's 1946 *Aubervilliers*, featured the Seine in their opening photograph and shot, respectively. *Regards* also celebrated, via snapshots, the sight of Parisians along the Seine riverbank as a synecdoche for the people's sovereignty over their "heroic city." In Brassai's photo-essay from August 1945

⁶¹ Pierre Olivier, "Les Joyeux enfants de Belleville," *Regards* 129 (January 1948). Although the images are not signed "Willy Ronis" it is most likely that the photographer who published the photo book *Belleville-Menilmontnat* in 1954 was their author.

⁶² A starker example was the article in *Regards* on Éli Lotar's documentary film *Aubervilliers* from April 1946. Charles Tillon, the newly elected Communist mayor of the municipality commissioned the film to record the district's low standard of living after the tenure of the collaborationist Pierre Laval. The film, presented at the 1946 Cannes film festival under the category of social-documentary, was an impressive cooperation of key figures in the cinema industry that promoted poetic humanism, among them script writer Jacques Prévert and Josph Kosma, who composed the music. Director and co-writer Éli Lotar, who started his career as a surrealist photographer in the late 1920s, photographed the heroic struggling of the proletariat against the impossible conditions of this *îlot insalubre*. The film focalized especially on the angelic proletarian children who turned this lurid place into a playground, a metaphor for the hopeful future of Aubervilliers under the new mayor, who also wrote for *Regards*. This common thread was integral to humanist photo books on Paris by Doisneau, Izis, and Ronis.

⁶³ Wakeman, *The Heroic City*, 11.

on those who remained in Paris during the *vacances*, the caption of a photo of an old couple sitting on a bench on the Pont des Arts is especially illuminating: “The sea, we’ve never seen it! We have seen this grand river flowing throughout our peaceful existence” [fig. 1.14].⁶⁴ Doisneau’s photo reportage “34° in the Shade: Paris Unbuttons Itself,” captures joyfully spontaneous scenes of young Parisians frolicking in and around the Seine, enjoying the *vacances* in their own carefree way. The photo featuring a Sunday painter and his model—both in swimsuits—against the background of the Seine and the Notre Dame Cathedral, is representative of the photographer’s populist humorous style [fig. 1.15].



Illustration 1: Robert Doisneau and Willy Ronis on vacation: August, 1949.

Humanist photography, however, had also a darker side, which condemned certain aspects of national reconstruction, namely, what it conceived as the desperate struggle of the heroic people for a dignified existence. In *Regards*, especially after the PCF was chased from the government, a film-noirish aesthetic of the misery of the poor legitimized the party’s

⁶⁴ “Nous avons passé les vacances à Paris,” *Regards* 15 (August 15, 1945).

agenda. In photo-reportage “Doctor X...” from January 1948, Doisneau accentuated the depressing atmosphere of health hazards that were due to the harsh living conditions of a typical suburban area (*zone*) on the outskirts of Paris. In a dimly lit room, he shows only the faces of the doctor and that of little girl, held by her mother [fig. 1.16]. The caption “[D]octor, I can’t take this anymore” strengthens his denunciation of government policy, which according to him, neglected the weak:

The first consequence [sickness] is due to malnutrition The radio announced several days ago in a triumphant tone that mortality has never been lower. You know what I think. I can confirm that the majority of my colleagues share my opinion. No decent man can deny that the high rates of sickness and mortality persist The present policy toward the workers of ALL categories cannot but perpetuate them.⁶⁵

In the photo-essay “350 Grams of White Bread,” Ronis and Cartier-Bresson conveyed another common form of hardship: food rationing. Using a set of strict age and gender roles, the photo essay condemned the government’s rationing of “poor quality bread” to 250 grams through humanist iconography and discourse [fig. 1.17].⁶⁶ The mother, represented as the figure responsible raising the children and preparing food for the family, implores the minister to increase bread supply, echoing the March on Versailles during the French Revolution. The male workers, as one of the images in the photo-essay implies, reveal the government’s “deceitful” policy of hiding the nation’s expected wheat supplies. Yet it is the central (and largest) image that sheds light on photographers’ strategy—showing children’s vulnerability—in order to trigger readers’ emotional response against government policy. The contrast between the sad expression of the little girl and the caption, explaining she “already

⁶⁵ Jacques Friedland and Robert Doisneau, “*Doctor X...*,” *Regards* 129 (January 1948).

⁶⁶ Jean-Pierre Rioux, *The Fourth Republic, 1945-1958*, trans. Godfrey Rogers (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 457.

worries about the [forces of the] market,” plays on the public’s hope to see the young postwar generation, the future of France, prosper.⁶⁷

Humanist photography, however, was not restricted after the Liberation solely to magazines of the French Left. In light of the dominance of humanist ideology during the years of national reconstruction, it is perhaps not surprising that magazines with conservative agendas, such as the anti-communist monthly *Réalités* and even the Gaullist weekly *Point de vue – images du monde*, also appropriated the genre for their own use. Like *Regards*, conservative journals in the rejuvenated press used humanist iconography of the common people to legitimize their pretense to speak for the entire nation. Paradoxically, even the expensive illustrated magazine *Point de vue – Images du monde*, which gravitated towards European royal families, used humanist iconography extensively for its photo essays. Émilien Amaury, former resistant and FNPCI member, and later a publicity entrepreneur who strongly supported de Gaulle and owned a press group bearing his name, bought two illustrated anti-communist magazines and fused them in 1948 to launch a large-scale national magazine.⁶⁸ Amaury took advantage of the 1947 economic crisis in the press that drove most (party-affiliated) journals into bankruptcy, and thus paved the way for the gradual return of capitalism to the national press through the use of publicity.⁶⁹ The Amaury press group thus baptized the new *Point de vue – images du monde* according to a somewhat loose conservative ideology and economically profitable format of color photographs that had more appeal to its designated audiences. Yet the editor, former army photographer and prominent photography critic, Albert Plécy, introduced humanist photography to the magazine. As

⁶⁷ *Regards* 129 (January 1948). On the postwar generation as pivotal point for France’s social and cultural reconstruction, see: Richard Ivan Jobs, *Riding the New Wave: Youth and the Rejuvenation of France after the Second World War* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007).

⁶⁸ Jean and Hubert Monmarché, who were affiliated to the FFL, launched in 1945 *Image du monde*, an anti-communist illustrated magazine, which began using the services of photography editor Albert Plécy shortly after its inception. For more information on the Amaury press group, which had several right-of-center publications, such as *Le Parisien Libéré*, see: Éveno, *Histoire de la presse française*, 242-5.

⁶⁹ Corroy and Roche, *La presse française*, 20.

France's most ardent promoter of photography, he sought to promote this genre as an intriguing "human document," which is at the same time not overtly political.⁷⁰ For this purpose, Plécy bought the best photo-essays, whether from leading French photographers, such as Doisneau and Ronis, or the founders of Magnum photo agency. In his view, photography's evocative power was not inferior to that of the more established plastic arts. Not only that, Plécy believed that as a popular medium of mass communication, photography constituted the vanguard of a new modern universal language: "the civilization of the image."⁷¹

The housing crisis in the difficult winter of 1954 was precisely the kind of burning national issue that suited the critical editorial line of *Point de vue – images du monde* set against Pierre Mendès-France's government. The magazine happily promoted the story of a philanthropic priest, the Abbé Pierre, who addressed the plight of the homeless, so as to embarrass the government by means of an inclusive Christian humanist discourse. And indeed, the reportage by photographer Janine Niépce and André Poirier for the Christmas edition offered an uplifting message of hope and solidarity, which did not concern the political expectations of the poor that the government would solve their problems:

The caregiver for the "homeless" [*sans-logis*], who struggles against misery and tends to suffering human beings with touching fervor, has agreed to answer our questions They [the homeless] come from Paris, the provinces, and even from abroad . . . arriv[ing] exhausted after having spent everything they had during the journey They find a tent and first-aid treatment The struggle against the cold never ends [but] thanks to the initiative of the Abbé Pierre and the rag dealers [*chiffonniers*] of Emmaüs, they again find normal conditions for existence.⁷²

⁷⁰ Plécy was visionary of photography, eager to promote the medium through his weekly columns, the association *Gens d'Images* he presided, as well as through his television show, *La chambre noire*, during the second half of the 1960s. Raphael Morata, *Quand Doisneau était l'oeil de Point de vue – images du monde* (Paris: Express groupe Roularta, 2012), 22.

⁷¹ Albert Plécy, *Grammaire élémentaire de l'image* (Paris: Éditions Estienne, 1962).

⁷² André Poirier and Janine Niépce, "Fiches pour la postérité: L'abbé Pierre," *Point de vue – Images du monde* 342 (December 23, 1954): 7-10.

Three interrelated and annotated photographs help summarize the optimistic message of the photo-essay. One is the image of a little girl holding a toy against the background of a tent with the caption: “the homeless find accommodation and the necessary treatment.” The second is of the blue-collar driver of the Emmaüs philanthropic community: “a simple phone-call, and they will come with their fifteen trucks to empty your attic from surplus.” And finally, readers see the construction of “semi-circle metal residences in the beautiful neighborhood of Noisy-le-grand” [figs. 1.18, 1.19, & 1.20]. The magazine, moreover, showed empathy for the a-political public campaign of the homeless at the place Hôtel de Ville, praising the “dignified, silent and impressive” nature of their “demonstration.”⁷³

The photo-essay on the veterans of the Indochina War offers another example of how humanist iconography could be adjusted to condemn Mendès-France’s surrendering of the French colony in South-East Asia. Published in mid-June 1954, between France’s military defeat in Dien Bien Phu and the end of the war, the photo essay “Oublaïsse, Town of New Fortune” was a morale-boosting, happy-end story on the rehabilitation of wounded veteran *légionnaires*. At the same time, the philanthropic story implicitly blamed the government for its peace negotiations with the Viet Minh, thus enhancing the volume’s critical editorials and caricatures of the Prime Minister. House photographer Maurice Zalewski and author André Poirier used a patriotic, religious-humanist meta-narrative to tell the story of Jean-François Perrette, a 56-year-old industrialist who initiated a private rehabilitation project for the veterans and their families on the premises of his chateau:

230 km from Paris . . . there is currently developing a human experience, of which the least we could say is that it honors our country Thanks to the faith and devotion of a first-rate organizer, to the good will of a hundred men, women and children, this town of morally and physically diminished human beings will become resurrected, as its people fight together to bring back the life they could never have hoped to regain individually. These pioneers of a new kind are the wounded from the war in Indochina, men who often have one arm or leg Is there a more beautiful example than this? Germans,

⁷³ Ibid.

Spaniards, Italians, Hungarians, Czech, French, black, yellow or white – all embraced the same noble cause and defend their right to life. They are among their own . . . ⁷⁴

Zalewski's images cast a benevolent light on the model village community "in the heart of France" as a microcosmic justification for the French Empire. The photographs include: Perrette (also known as the "commander"), the men at work or singing during leisure time or of their wives attending babies alongside the children playing against the background of the Castle [figs. 1.21, 1.22, & 1.23]. The caption of the image of the indigenous Indochinese veteran praying at church is especially enlightening for its ideological baggage, which is oddly reminiscent of the Vichy regime [fig. 1.24]. "With two legs amputated while defending his motherland," wrote Poirier, "the Tonkinese Luu Van Gan fulfills, on a little wheelchair, his part of the labor He thus earns his daily bread and acquires the certitude that he is not a burden to society."⁷⁵ Given the parallels between the two self-administered segregated communities, it is not surprising that the text concluded with direct reference to the two philanthropists: "The two men [Abbé Pierre and Perrette] have understood they must unite their efforts to win; they remain in close contact to save whomever can be saved."⁷⁶

Réalités, the famous, elegant, and large-scale national monthly, had a moderate right-of-center ideological affiliation. While giving readers an exotic taste for voyages through in-depth photo-essays on countries around the world, the monthly campaigned for free market capitalism, voiced a pro-American stance at the height of the Cold War, and endorsed both European integration and the French Union.⁷⁷ Owner Didier Remon, eminent figure in the remaking of the French press at Liberation, MRP supporter and associate of Jean Monnet,

⁷⁴ Maurice Zalewski and André Poirier, "Oublaiss, cité de nouvelle chance," *Point de vue – images du monde* 316 (June 17, 1954): 9-12; 38.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ Ibid., 38.

⁷⁷ See, for instance: Jean-Philippe Charbonnier, "Les espoirs de l'AEF," *Réalités* 73 (February 1952); Charbonnier, "Conversation avec un jeune officier français sur le front d'Indochine," *Réalités* 74 (March 1952).

launched the review, modeled after American magazine, *Fortune*, in January 1946.⁷⁸ Leading politicians and intellectuals, among them René Pleven and Raymond Aron, wrote for this prestigious publication, edited by Alfred Max.⁷⁹ To supplement the high journalistic standards of *Réalités*, artistic editor Albert Gilou recruited the most prominent French photographers to conduct long travels throughout the world in order to bring the very best iconography for the monthly. These included primarily Jean-Philippe Charbonnier and Édouard Boubat, who were assisted by rising talents, such as Frank Horvat, Gilles Ehrmann, Jean-Louis Swiners, Michel Dejardains, and Hervé Gloaguen.

The photo essay on the coal miners by Charbonnier illuminates how even the most classic topic that was monopolized by the communist press could equally serve a diametrically opposed political camp. The issue, dedicated to a “portrait of France and the French in 1954,” according to a North-South geographical divide, aimed to give an answer “to who the workers vote for” in the coal miners’ towns in northern France. In sharp contrast to the iconography in *Regards*, Charbonnier chose to photograph the coalminers in their private homes [fig. 1.25]. Through the depiction of identical rituals of two neighboring workers, the article sought to demystify the ideological appeal of communism among the most emblematic working-class profession.⁸⁰ As monolithic as this social group might have seemed to the bourgeois readers of *Réalités*, Charbonnier’s mirror-image of the coal miners portraying these workers primarily as family men, whose motivations to vote for a given

⁷⁸ In November, Remon created press and publishing group SEPE (*Société d’études et de publications économiques*), which published condemnatory accounts on communism, such as the Kravchenko Affair. Anne de Mondenard and Michel Guerrin, *Réalités: Un mensuel français illustré, 1946-1978* (Paris: Actes Sud, 2008), 12-25.

⁷⁹ Alfred Max was a journalist in Havas agency from the mid-1930s. In 1938 he created the *centre d’étude d’opinion publique*, and after stay in the United States during the war, became editor in chief of *Réalités*. For more information on Max and his experiences at the monthly, see: Alfred Max, *30 ans d’initiatives et d’affrontements en lisière de l’Histoire: sondages, presse, politique locale, Plan-de-la-Tour* (Var: Editions d’aujourd’hui, 1988).

⁸⁰ “Voting for the socialists but enlisted in the CGT, Robert B, a coalminer from the region of Lens is in fact, like most of his comrades, a man little interested in politics. His favored journal is *l’Équipe* [sports magazine]. He votes socialist because he is put off by the ‘brutal methods’ of militant communists, by their ‘obedience to Moscow’ (‘without being overly patriotic, I am after all French’) . . .” Jesse R. Pitts and Jean-Philippe Charbonnier, “Les quatre points cardinaux : nord sud,” *Réalités* 103 (August 1954): 61.

party were dictated primarily by subjective utilitarian criteria, primarily economic. “The increase in living standards will automatically diminish [PCF’s] clientele,” assessed the essay’s author Jesse R. Pitts, concluding that the “socialists have a chance to become a large working class party.”⁸¹

Réalités also used humanist photography to directly promote capitalist values, primarily entrepreneurship. Charbonnier’s famous photo-essay “The ungrateful and magnificent life of a country doctor” from January 1951 (modeled after Eugene Smith’s “Country Doctor” for *Life* magazine) celebrated its protagonist’s professional merit.⁸² The image of a blissful birth scene sharply contradicted the message of Doisneau’s “Doctor X.” To suit the conservative taste of the readership of the review, the right part of the frame that contained the mother’s spread legs and bottle of wine, was cropped [fig. 1.26]. More importantly, the equally challenging professional life of Bertrand, the country doctor, was portrayed as a very rewarding career move:

In the countryside, the serious and honest doctor can hardly make a fortune or hope to relocate to the city. But, professionally, he acquires first-rate experience He knows it and if he is quick to complain about the harsh aspects of life, he also realizes the privileges that it brings. If 9,207 French physicians live today in communes intended for less than 3,500 inhabitants and yet decide to stay, it is because of their professional devotion, but also because this life of self-abnegation contains promises for [future] compensation.⁸³

The country doctor photo-essay was part of a series of articles on professions with individual protagonists, such as a “provincial notary” or “a country mayor.” They exemplify how *Réalités* constructed—similarly to the iconography of struggling American farmers by the FSA in the late 1930s—a New Deal-like heroic narrative of perseverant individual

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² De Mondenard and Guerrin, *Réalités: Un mensuel français illustré*, 85.

⁸³ Jean-Philippe Charbonnier, “La vie ingrate et magnifique du médecin de campagne,” *Réalités* 60 (January 1951): 27.

entrepreneurship as the basis for French national reconstruction.⁸⁴ *Réalités* thus strongly supported Monnet's plan for economic modernization that successive Fourth Republic governments executed.

While elaborating their aesthetic personal style, the ideological orientation of Charbonnier, Boubat, and their colleagues in *Réalités* did not ignore the common people. To the contrary, these photographers substantiated any political claim about the country or society by depicting common French people. Among those topics were a French mother, family, or workers, as well as the denunciation of prostitution, alcoholism or the abandonment of children. The Christmas 1952 issue, for instance, addressed France's grave housing crisis as part of the "injustices the French should no longer tolerate." Yet it did so from a standpoint of the direct personal responsibility of the tenants for their housing conditions rather than that of the state. Thus Charbonnier's famous portrait of a large family living in a dilapidated house, which again drew from FSA iconography, was part of a heroic personal "struggle . . . of every Frenchman . . . against injustices 'from below' at his own level" [fig. 1.27]. Although the family in the photo is poor, this is a portrait of a model (and heroic) French family, which had successfully met a tremendous challenge for self-improvement, a message the caption further accentuated.⁸⁵

Charbonnier's professional trajectory, although atypical, can somewhat summarize the complex history of humanist photography in the French press during the era of national reconstruction. As someone from right-of center ideological background who escaped forced labor during the Occupation, it is clear how he fitted into the broad and fragile consensus of France's cultural rebuilding. The traumatic experience of his first photographic mission, the

⁸⁴ Charbonnier, "La vie d'un notaire de province," *Réalités* 73 (February 1952); Max Scheler and Sabine Weiss, "La vie d'un maire de campagne," *Réalités* 90 (July 1953).

⁸⁵ "Family B that we see here below . . . lives in La Courneuve in a cabine made of rotten wood. . . . Madame B . . . , who recently gave birth to her fourth baby, is assisted by her husband in rendering her interior spotless clean. . . . Mister B. . . managed to buy in small piece of land and intend to build a house himself." Robert Guillain, Jean-Philippe Chabonnier, and Sabine Weiss, *Réalités* 83 (December 1952): 80

execution of a collaborator in Vienne (Isère) at liberation, explains why he first sought a job with Plécy before joining *Réalités*.⁸⁶ Yet, the photographer's use of color, as well as his highly original photo-essays—such as those on the Indochina and Algerian Wars, and on psychiatric hospitals (a subject photographers in the 1960s and 1970s were intrigued by—also heralded the demise of the humanist paradigm.⁸⁷

Re-Consolidating Frenchness at the *Salon National de la photographie*

Alongside the ideological function it served in the French press, reportage photography was also central in mending the nation's unraveled social fabric and reasserting the integrity of the cultural patchwork constituting "Frenchness." One of the major photographic routes the project of national rehabilitation had taken after the Second World War was the founding of the *Salon National de la photographie* (SNP). Operating between 1946 and 1959, the SNP was the product of the cooperation between two groups: a number of photographers who came to be known as the *Groupe des XV*, and the administrators of the *Bibliothèque Nationale*. The launching of this photographic institution was intended to promote the interests of both parties. For the BN curators, who were among the first to acknowledge photography's documentary and aesthetic qualities, operating the *Salon* was an affordable means (at a time of severe economic want) of expanding the BN's collections. Photographers, on their part, saw the SNP as an important platform for gaining official recognition of the aesthetic merits of the medium and for their consequent admission to the Olympus of France's artistic elite. Still widely perceived by artists and critics as inferior to the fine arts, the *Groupe des XV* had to find an effective way to elevate photography's status. The SNP, they thought, was ideally suited for this task. Now, to be granted the opportunity to advance

⁸⁶ Jean-Philippe Charbonnier, *Un photographe vous parle* (Paris: B. Grasset, 1961), 41-4.

⁸⁷ Hervé Bazin and Jean-Philippe Charbonnier, "Bons pour l'Asile," *Réalités* 108 (January 1955).

their agenda by mounting aesthetically oriented photographic exhibitions at the SNP, the *Groupe des XV* was obliged to take into consideration the requirements of the BN and, less directly, of the state. It was for this reason that, not long after the doors of the *Salon* first opened, the *Groupe's* members found themselves admitting substantial documentary elements into their and other photographers' exhibitions, allowing the "infiltration" of an iconography that polluted their pristine aestheticist efforts. Ironically, the *Groupe's* elitist endeavor to serve as the elect few, whose work would induct photography into high art's hall of fame, ended up backfiring, as it ultimately led to the opposite result: the solidification of the essentially *populist* humanism as the defining feature of "French" photography. Just as ironically, humanist iconography, which the *Groupe des XV* had inadvertently institutionalized as emblematic of the *French* photography school, in fact drew heavily on elements pioneered by émigrés from central Europe. What came to be known as a quintessentially French school of photography was therefore largely an outgrowth of the innovative oeuvre of foreign, mostly Jewish, professionals. Ironically, then, the *Groupe's* founders, most of whom had been members of the late-1930s nationalist and xenophobic photographers' association *Rectangle*, became heirs to these foreigners' visual legacy.

At any rate, in the years following the Liberation, the *Salon* was by far France's most high profile annual photographic event. Its importance for the visibility of participants, whose professional status was anything but secure, cannot be overstated. Patronage from a prestigious public institution such as the BN granted photographers the certitude that their work would gain recognition in the years to come. Showing their best work at the highbrow (BN-affiliated) Parisian Mansart Gallery, as well as on tours to France's major cities—Marseille, Lyon, and Bordeaux—, photographers were guaranteed international exposure as well, as the doors of galleries in locations such as New York, London, Lucerne, Baden-

Baden, and Egypt, were opened to them.⁸⁸ The SNP's institutional esteem, moreover, was backed by a massive publicity campaign, including the evening news broadcast *Journal télévisé* and the extensive press and radio coverage. Finally, the national exhibition introduced participants to private and public enterprises seeking out photographers to run their publicity campaigns.⁸⁹

What made possible the Salon's initial inception and its subsequent rise to fame was a comprehensive policy change, introduced in 1936 by the BN's *Cabinet des Estampes* curators, which officially recognized, for the very first time, photography's documentary and artistic value.⁹⁰ As photography historian Véronique Figini-Veron explains in her study on the institutionalization of photography as an artistic medium in twentieth-century France, under the Popular Front, BN's general administrator Julien Cain and curators Jean Laran, Jean Prinnet, Catherine Sérullaz, and Jean Vallery-Radot, began to systematically catalogue the photographs owned by the BN.⁹¹ In addition, to make the public "know . . . the essential works of art of [the Salon's] photography school,"⁹² during the Occupation the curators expanded their purchasing policy, making direct acquisitions from contemporary photographers.⁹³ After the Liberation and Cain's release from the Buchenwald concentration

⁸⁸ Jean Vallery-Radot's archive, *Département des Estampes et de la photographie*, BNF (Richelieu).

⁸⁹ Kodak-Pathé advertised their products in the salon's catalogues and financed the prizes for the winners.

⁹⁰ "[A]mong our loyals," wrote curator Jean Laran, "there are traditionalists who shout blasphemies when they encounter a photograph in our albums, including one of a documentary nature. Habit and ignorance must be vanquished." Jean Laran, *Estampes et Photographies à la Bibliothèque Nationale* (Paris: SN, 1953-4), 9. Quoted from Véronique Figini-Véron, "L'État et le patrimoine photographique. Des collectes aléatoires aux politiques spécifiques, les enrichissements des collections publiques et leur rôle dans la valorisation du statut de la photographie. France, seconde moitié du XX^e siècle" (PhD diss.; Sorbonne University, 2013), 134.

⁹¹ Ibid., 136-41. The curators of the *Cabinet des Estampes* took the first step towards the official recognition of photography as an art form by a state institution in 1936 when they included photographically illustrated books on art and monuments. As Figini-Véron explains, this initiative was legitimized by the precedent of the former "technical" practice of engraving, which up to that point was the standard means of illustrating books on art. In 1938-1939, BN curators recognized the photographer as an *author* of a "document." This acknowledgement, argues Figini-Véron, prompted Laran and his associates to launch a new taxonomic category, which ultimately led to the incorporation of photography into the institution's general catalogue.

⁹² Jean Prinnet and Catherine Sérullaz, *Les Photographies au Cabinet des Estampes. Memento pour l'enregistrement, le classement, le montage des épreuves et la rédaction des catalogues* (Paris: SN, circa 1944), 2.

⁹³ This new approach explains why members of *Rectangle*, who later joined the *Groupe des XV*, were among the first photographers to enter the BN's catalogue.

camp, the BN curators pursued an ambitious strategy of transforming their cabinet into a photographic *museum* and *documentation center*.⁹⁴ To achieve this goal, they had to further expand the institution's emerging photography collection (which eventually became the largest in the country). The BN's institutional patronage of the SNP was designed to attain precisely this aim by keeping the works exhibited at the salon and receiving copy deposits of other photographic works, as required by the copyright protection law.⁹⁵ In return, the BN adopted a favorable policy toward photographers, seeking to promote them and to "preserve, classify, distribute, and protect" their work.⁹⁶ To prompt the nation's leading photographers to take part in the Salon, the curators established institutional cooperation with France's main photographic association: *Confédération française de la photographie*.⁹⁷

Whereas the curators of the *Cabinet des Estampes* sat on the SNP's honor committee, the members of the *Groupe des XV*, who served on the Salon's jury, had near complete control over the content of the photographic exhibition.⁹⁸ This distribution of roles foregrounds the continuity characterizing the medium's institutional history: the individuals comprising the *Groupe des XV* and the SNP's jury had been leading figures of French photography in the interwar period, enjoying solid reputations and institutional support long

⁹⁴ Julien Cain, "Avant propos," *1^{ER} Salon national de la photographie* (Paris: Bibliothèque National, 1946), 7. The BN gave up on this attempt by the mid-1960, following Cain's retirement, as well as the dismantling of the *Groupe des XV*. Figini-Véron, *L'État et le patrimoine photographique*, 149.

⁹⁵ According to article 12 in the Salon's regulation, all photographers were obliged to deposit a copy, identical in size and quality, to the *Cabinet des Estampes* for each work presented. Vallery-Radot's archive.

⁹⁶ Figini-Véron, *L'État et le patrimoine photographique*, 163 ; 179. The law on copyright deposit was issued in 19 May 1925, and the BN played an important role in including photography in the Author rights' law (of literary and artistic property), which was issued in Mars 11, 1957.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, 147-8. This cooperation was also intended to lower the financial cost and personnel needed for the organization of the SNP.

⁹⁸ Having already challenged established orthodoxies about the artistic merit of photography, the curators did so to avoid antagonizing additional people in the art world, which risked them from donating their collections to the BN. As Jean Laran wrote, "to organize under our own aegis an event in the honor of a living artist, will make . . . the Cabinet – one friend and a hundred enemies. Jean Laran, *Remarques sur l'organisation du Cabinet des Estampes* (Paris : BN, 1939), 140. Quoted from Figini-Véron, *L'État et le patrimoine photographique*, 164. Therefore, it was the CFP that dealt with such delicate issues.

before the Liberation.⁹⁹ The head of the CFP, André Garban, who presided over the *Groupe* and, subsequently over the SNP, started his career as an assistant to Nadar, working as a portraitist. He became a prominent representative of the photographic establishment in France by holding official positions at the association of professional photographers (*Groupement national de la photographie professionnelle*), as well as France's historical photographic association (*Société française de photographie*). These institutional affiliations placed him in a favorable position to launch the *Groupe des XV* after the Liberation as the aesthetic vanguard of French photography. By grouping together some of France's leading photographers, Garban and his colleagues could promote the agenda they had been pursuing since the late 1930s: "[T]o elevate [*mettre en valeur*] French photography by means of frequent exhibitions."¹⁰⁰ During meetings held once a month at Garban's home, these photographers encouraged each other to develop their artistic vision beyond their daily jobs in book illustration, publicity, fashion, portraiture, and the press. While having a mutual goal, the members of Garban's circle did not, however, share a monolithic aesthetic worldview, noted Daniel Masclet, a member of the group and photography critic. What brought these photographers together was their desire to bring to the fore the aesthetic qualities of French photography, which Masclet defined as a commitment to the purest form possible. "True photography," according to him, allowed for "no tinkering or manipulation." "The perfect negative" was to be only "minimally, preferably not at all, retouched." To this he added the demand for the "[c]learness and clarity of the image, never soft-focus," and the instruction to produce images "[o]nly in the grand tradition . . ."¹⁰¹

⁹⁹ Marie de Thézy, *Paris 1950* (Paris: Bibliothèque historique de la ville de Paris, 1982), 29-31. This explains why promising young reportage photographers like Robert Doisneau and Willy Ronis joined the group once current members decided to leave.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., 11.

¹⁰¹ Ibid., 18. For more information on Daniel Masclet, see: Christian Bouqueret, *Daniel Masclet: Photographe, critique, théoricien* (Marval: Paris, 2001).

According to Masclet, in order to elevate its artistic status, French photography had to embrace the innovative techniques of American Straight Photography and German New Objectivity, as well as the experimental methods pioneered by the work of émigré photographers in Paris during the 1930s. Yet, as far as photographic themes and aesthetic sensibilities were concerned, unlike their forward-looking foreign counterparts, members of the *Groupe des XV* gravitated back to the nineteenth century, with the works of fellow Frenchmen, such as Nadar and Atget, serving as their artistic models. The *Groupe*'s choice of this synthetic strategy was motivated, I argue, by its members' acute awareness of the weight of tradition in French art and culture. Understanding that this "traditionalist" tendency was unfavorable to new art forms, and coming upon the aesthetic reservations that artists, critics, and public figures expressed toward their medium, French photographers opted not to rock the boat too much. Instead, they advanced their agenda by increments.¹⁰² To get the art establishment's approval of their medium, native photographers portrayed themselves as *contemporary* masters continuing a glorious French tradition, whose founding myth was the invention of photography.¹⁰³ The post-Liberation years indeed seemed the most appropriate moment to celebrate and commemorate the nation's achievements by institutionalizing the place of the French photography school as a respected art alongside engraving at the *Cabinet des Estampes*.

A closer look at the identity and artistic agenda of the *Groupe des XV* members further demonstrates the strong institutional continuity among professional photographic

¹⁰² In addition to footnote number 82, see also: Maurice Chapelon, "Baudelaire avait raison: la photographie n'est pas un art", *Le Figaro littéraire*, 14 October, 1950 ; "Un débat à la Société Française de Photographie, sur la photographie, est-elle un art?", *Le Photographe*, 5 March, 1951; Martin Jay, *Downcast Eyes: the denigration of vision in twentieth-century French thought* (Berkeley: California University Press, 1993).

¹⁰³ To be admitted to the *Groupe de XV*, one needed to receive invitation from its president. Consequently, professional photographers who were not on good terms with the members of the group were not admitted. The sense of elitism that pervaded the group could be attested from Pierre Jahan's wife, who noted being among "respectable men in the sense of the 17th century." De Thézy, *Paris 1950*, 12. As Chrisitan Bouqueret explains, in France there was no rupture or rigid use of genres, as was the case in Germany with New Objectivity. Christian Bouqueret, *Des années folles aux années noires* (Paris: Marval, 1997), 57-9.

circles from the 1930s to the 1950s. The group's most influential figures—Garban, Emmanuel Sougez, René-Jacques, Pierre Jahan, Marcel Bovis, Yvonne Chevalier, François Tueffard, and Henry Lacheroy—were all members of the photographers' association *Rectangle*.¹⁰⁴ In the climate of the late 1930s, these native photographers adopted a xenophobic discourse toward the émigré photographers from Central Europe, as the latter were gaining ever-growing recognition by the capital's developing media market in the mid-1930s.¹⁰⁵ Shocked by the lightweight equipment and experimental techniques employed by young foreign photographers, Emmanuel Sougez, a publicity photographer and chief of the visual section of *L'Illustration*, was appalled by these newcomers' undermining of large-format and studio photography, in which he and his French colleagues specialized.¹⁰⁶ Rather than freewheeling art, Sougez insisted, photography is essentially a "delicate and complicated craft, which requires both knowledge and experience."¹⁰⁷ By putting forward an artisanal notion of photography as gradually acquired expertise, he placed photography in a solidly nineteenth-century tradition, attempting to protect the young medium from modern cosmopolitanism and radicalism. Such conservative views were echoed in the period's most authoritative journal on photography and the graphic arts: *Arts et Métiers Graphiques*.¹⁰⁸ As

¹⁰⁴ *Le Rectangle* also included Marcel Arthaud, Serge Boiron, Louis Caillaux, Gaston Paris, Philippe Pottier and Jean Roubier.

¹⁰⁵ Françoise Denoyelle, *La lumière de Paris*, Vol. 2 (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997), 315 ; Bouqueret, *Des années folles*, 214.

¹⁰⁶ "Whereas other peoples regard photography as trustworthy and praise it, in France, which is after all the country of Niépce, it has been ridiculed for too long by I don't know what kind of absurd judgments. The professional photographer is considered even today among certain circles as a grotesque creature, a pretentious failure. . . . The fervor from which Niépce's invention benefits today comes precisely from the exterior, from those Germans and Central European neighbors, considered [by some] as the best photographers in the world. With their arsenal and appetites, they have imposed in Paris an illegitimate supremacy due to the shoving and smothering our poor chaps, thus seizing an excessive place among them." Emmanuel Sougez, "Le Rectangle", *Photo-Illustrations* 33 (June 1938): 4.

¹⁰⁷ Two years earlier, Sougez specifically wrote that "photo, more than an art, if it was ever one, is above all a profession." Emmanuel Sougez, "Le point VI," *La Photographie* (December 1936): 15-6. For more information on Sougez, see: Sophie Rochar's introduction to *Emmanuel Sougez, L'Éminence grise* (Paris: Éditions Créaphis, 1993), 11-36.

¹⁰⁸ Since 1930, *Arts et Métiers Graphiques* included a yearly annex dedicated to photography. In an article on Pierre Boucher, Remy Duval wrote that "inutile virtuosity, irritating camera shots, and other special effects, had to get rid of in order to attain a simpler, more measured and sensible period. We pursue through the objective

the journal's title suggests, during the Occupation, photography was listed among the graphic arts and crafts. This enabled the members of *Rectangle* to present their photographic work (under the rubric "graphic arts") at the 1942 *Salon des Artisans* of the Seine region held in honor of Pétain.¹⁰⁹ While *Rectangle*'s ideological affinities with the Vichy regime served its members well during the Occupation, it was dismantled toward the end of the war to avoid repercussions during the *épuration*. Garban and Sougez, however, did not remain idle for long; their first (failed) attempt to launch a new association took place as early as December 1944. The first exhibition of the newly formed *Groupe des XV* was held at Pascaud Gallery in spring 1946 with the intention of preparing its members for the first-ever annual exhibition of French photography at the SNP [figs. 1.28, 1.29 & 1.30].¹¹⁰

How, then, did it come about that the members of the *Groupe des XV* ended up promoting, as jurors and as presenters at the SNP, humanist iconography, which was incongruous with their elitist aspirations? Public skepticism about photography as an artistic medium during the era of national reconstruction, I believe, largely accounts for the strong influence that the documentary approach exerted in determining the SNP's iconographic orientation. Even though the introduction to the first salon by the BN's general administrator Julien Cain and painter Édouard Goerg characterized photography as primarily a documentary

our hereditary art [practiced by Boucher]." Remy Duval, "Fumées, Pierre Boucher," *Arts et Métiers Graphiques* 49 (1935-36): 46-50. Maximilien Vox proclaimed over the pages of this review being "100% Aryan French." Maximilien Vox, 'Maximilien Vox par Maximilien Vox,' *Arts et Métiers Graphiques* 45 (15 February, 1935): 63.

¹⁰⁹ The case of René-Jacques, a member of the *Groupe des XV*, illustrates this transition. After he joined *Rectangle* in June 1941, he attended monthly meeting of the group at the *Société française de photographie* (where later the CFP was located). This institutional affiliation, which enabled French photographers to continue to work, required them to obtain on a monthly basis a work certificate from the German Staffel propaganda office, which enabled them to obtain raw materials. René-Jacques' who won the first prize at the Artisans' Salon and published images in the collaborationist press, including *Je Suis Partout*. Jean-Claude Gaurrand, *René-Jacques* (Paris: Éditions Pierre Belfond, 1992), 45-57. For a comprehensive discussion on photography in France during the Occupation, see: Françoise Denoyelle, *La photographie d'actualité et de propagande sous le régime de Vichy* (Paris : CNRS, 2003).

¹¹⁰ The fact that there were no specialized galleries to exhibit photographic works in Paris until the mid-1960s accentuates the persistence of the notion of photography's lack of aesthetic worth. De Thézy, *Paris 1950*, 10-1; 21-2.

medium, the images that were actually shown featured mostly figurative aesthetic imagery.¹¹¹ The showing of nudes, industrial views, landscapes, double exposures, and flower arrangements (to name only the most frequently recurrent themes), was reflective of the *Groupe des XV*'s agenda for the SNP. The works of Doisneau and Jean Roubier, the only photographers at the SNP to employ humanist iconography, were therefore relegated to the exhibition's periphery [fig. 1.31]. To the *Groupe*'s great dismay, however, it was not their artistically oriented works, but Doisneau's and Roubier's down-to-earth documentary images that received the critics' praises for directly engaging with contemporary reality. Returning from the SNP, art critic Louis Cheronnet, for instance, applauded the merits of these outsiders' more realistic images:

About fifteen years ago, foreign photographers still amazed us with their admirable technological perfection . . . Today French [photographers] have turned away from their own technical experiments, clarifying and stripping down their work to achieve greater honesty with respect to the truth of the object and of the event. A French school is truly born here with a diversity that enchants us. . . . Nearly all of Roubier's and Doisneau's moving scenes of the city's outskirts are remarkable for bringing us images of the world we so desperately long for today. They powerfully assert the purpose for which photography is to be used.¹¹²

With the exception of Doisneau's and Roubier's work, the vast majority of the work presented at the first salon received negative reviews. René Coursaget regretted not finding works by "photographers with strong personalities, such as Brassai." He characterized the images presented at the first salon as "too cold, purely plastic, and petrifying the flow of life."¹¹³ Art historian Maximilian Gauthier wrote in *Gavroche* that it was "rather a cold,

¹¹¹ Julien Cain, "Avant propos"; Eduard Goerg, "Photographie et peinture," *1^{er} Salon National de la Photographie*, 10-1.

¹¹² Louis Cheronnet, "Les droit de l'image," *Les nouvelles littéraires* (November 21, 1946): 3.

¹¹³ René Coursaget, "Le premier salon de la photographie," *Opéra* (27 November, 1946).

laboratory-style selection.” He therefore insisted that the following salon should include “fewer ‘compositions’ and much more ‘reportages.’”¹¹⁴

Given the extensive criticism of photography’s solipsistic artistic pretensions, the most effective means to promote the medium among critics and the broad public was to adopt a more documentary approach.¹¹⁵ Photography, argued Gauthier (who prepared the catalogues of the following salons), could develop an aesthetic style only if it recognized itself as essentially a documentary medium. By refusing to imitate the aesthetics of painting or engraving, photography could be redefined as a *modern* visual instrument. At the same time, by assuming its natural place alongside the neighboring art of cinema, it could develop its uniquely distinctive merit: freezing a moment in time that would make for a truthful portrait of contemporary society at such a momentous historical hour. Gauthier was not alone in adopting this stance. In the catalogue of the second SNP, Louis Cheronnet accentuated the medium’s “documentary value”:

. . . [I]t is often in holding on to its frankness and evidentiary character that photography attains its utmost beauty, as well as its greatest social utility. In this regard, painting cannot rival photography. . . . Only Goya knew how to terrify our spirits with the *disasters of war*. But let us remark that this [Goya’s] series of engravings already functions as photo-essay in black and white, and the author did not hesitate to emphasize its authenticity by writing under certain images: “I have seen this.” What can we say about photographs brought from the concentration camps or taken right after certain bombardments, which show us the worst visions of human degradation and death?¹¹⁶

Cheronnet’s emphasis on the role of photography in the face of the (recent) war and, especially, the concentration camps was at least partly informed by the admittance of visual testimony, either still or moving images, as reliable evidence at the Nuremberg Trials. His words also reverberated in the personal story of the BN’s chief executive, Julien Cain, a

¹¹⁴ This was the case because public lacked accessible knowledge to evaluate the medium on its own terms.

¹¹⁵ Curator Jean Prinet from the *Cabinet des Estampes* made this argument in his introduction to the third SNP. Jean Prinet, *3^{ème} Salon National de la Photographie* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1948), 6.

¹¹⁶ Louis Cheronnet, *2^{ème} Salon National de la Photographie* (Paris: Bibliothèque Nationale, 1947), 11-2.

supporter of the Popular Front who had been imprisoned under the Vichy regime in early 1941 and deported three years later to the Buchenwald concentration camp.¹¹⁷ It is therefore not surprising that Cheronnet insisted upon the documentary vocation of French photography:

The styles [of the presenters] take into account [photography's] essentially [documentary] qualities. . . . [T]hese help them stay clear of aesthetic influences alien to their profession, to avoid vain pursuits, to escape certain sterile modes . . . in searching for [photography's] own proper mode of expression. Perhaps even more so, [they] have contributed to tracing the defining outlines of the new French school of photography, whose best qualities in my opinion are akin to the genius of our [Franco-Gallic] race: a deep concern for truth and a balanced originality in striving for harmony, reason, and clarity.¹¹⁸

In the following salons, humanist photography gradually came to be recognized as the national photographic style. Young photographers who were identified with the genre, such as Édouard Boubat and Willy Ronis, presented for the first time at the second SNP. Moreover, the jury admitted eight foreign photographers who were living in France—among them Brassai, Ergy Landau, and Nora Dumas—and whose works had been key in shaping the French photography school during the interwar period.¹¹⁹ Most importantly, the iconography of the original members of the *Groupe des XV* increasingly gravitated toward a socially-oriented documentary style, as was the case in Marcel Amson's images of "Human Figures" and André Garban's series "The Faces of My Country." The case of Lucien Lorelle, an advertising photographer, is especially enlightening. For a poster commissioned from him by the Red Cross, Lorelle positioned a non-professional model holding a baby in a meticulously staged setting of misery. In a book published shortly afterwards, he explained the artistic choice he had made as being motivated by a desire to awaken the viewers' admiration of the protagonist's (emblematically) stoic composure in the face of dire circumstances [fig. 1.32]:

¹¹⁷ Because Cain was Jewish, he was removed from office at the beginning of the Occupation. Upon his release from Buchenwald, he published his testimony on genocide. Julien Cain, "L'organisation scientifique de l'extermination," *Le Figaro* (April 19, 1945).

¹¹⁸ Cheronnet, *2^{ème} Salon*, 13.

¹¹⁹ Jean Vallery-Radot's archive.

[T]his young mother, who spends her life in misery, is a living condemnation of the egoism of man. We anticipate the moment when she will suddenly cry out for help or out of despair, making us redden with shame. . . . Two tons of half-tone printed posters were shown across France's largest cities. She was saying: help us! Touching anecdote: many kind donors to the Red Cross specifically addressed their offerings to the mother in the frame.¹²⁰

In the SNP's second annual round, critics agreed with the SNP organizers that this time they had succeeded in creating a truly national style. Guy Breton remarked in *L'Époque* that in the second salon, "French photography . . . regain[ed] the world's first place":

One hundred and sixty-eight works . . . brilliantly affirm, by virtue of their sensibility, their luminosity, and their humanity, the calling of French artist-photographers. Indeed, the portraits and compositions of . . . Marcel Amson, André Garban, . . . Willy Ronis, . . . leave far behind the technically perfect, but devoid of any spirit, photographs of Life, or Picture Post. Especially Doisneau, whose humor and sensibility reminds one of René Clair.¹²¹

The Catholic leftist review *Témoignage Chrétien* also praised the SNP's "poets of the camera." Listing Marcel Amson, Brassai, and Nora Dumas among the most notable photographers at the salon, the review singled out Doisneau's work:

In the domain of reportage, Doisneau's name stands out. We remained speechless in front of his "Strict Intimacy," [an image of] two solitary newlyweds crossing a deserted *banlieue* street to enter a bistro. As to his "Little Brothers," they have already acquired celebrity status among the public. The image is of two little boys carrying a pot of milk and a copy of *L'Humanité*, which the PCF propaganda offices reproduced in hundreds of thousands of copies and posted all over France's walls.¹²²

When it came to Doisneau's images, reviews were enthusiastic across the board. In addition to the accolades he received for "*Les petits frères au lait*" [fig. 1.33], other work he had

¹²⁰ Lucien Lorelle and Donald Langelaan, *La photographie publicitaire* (Paris: Publications photographiques et cinématographiques Paul Montel, 1949), 60-1.

¹²¹ Guy Breton, *L'Époque* (November 8, 1947).

¹²² "Les maîtres de la photo," *Témoignage Chrétien* (December 12, 1947).

shown at the second salon were also celebrated, promoting the crowning of this “sensitive and gifted artist,” to use Coursaget’s words, as “Atget’s ideal successor.”¹²³

The critics’ public exaltation of the new wind blowing at the SNP prompted the (otherwise reluctant) members of the *Groupe des XV* to grant humanist reportage photography greater visibility in the following Salons. Curator Jean Prinnet wrote in the catalogue of the 1948 Salon that it aimed “to show in what ways contemporary French photography differ[ed] from the foreign schools.” Rather than conforming to “doctrines” of “figurative or abstract art,” added Prinnet, “the essential role of [French] photography is to produce beautiful images that inform us about the exterior world, allowing us to discover our surroundings and to become aware of what we could not see before.”¹²⁴ The third Salon was thus dedicated to showing “aspects of contemporary life,” focusing on generically French popular and rustic types, such as Doisneau’s “*Concièrge*” [fig. 1.34] and Brassai’s “*Drame villageois*” [fig. 1.35]. This iconography, however, was not particularly “new” or “original,” as Prinnet claimed it to be. Masclet, a member of the *Groupe des XV* (who was to part ways with it soon after writing his review), condemned in *Le Photographe* the repetitive humanist pattern at the exhibition:

All critics complain (and justly so) that our life and era are not sufficiently represented by photographic means, though these are [in principle] ideally suited to do so. But now, messieurs the reporters . . . , Brassai . . . , Doisneau, Willy Ronis, this is your job! Indeed, you give us . . . fine “slices of life,” vividly captured by the [camera] lens, but these are often the same images, imbued with touching yet simple sentimentalism: poverty-stricken children, the flea market, a clown, the zone Isn’t there anything else, perhaps more important, you can show us? Is not the reporter the man who sees everything, who photographs the whole [of life]? . . . Your domain is endless! So why show us the same things?¹²⁵

¹²³ René Coursaget, “La photographie française,” *Opéra* (November 19, 1947).

¹²⁴ Jean Prinnet, *3^{ème} Salon National de la Photographie*, 5-6.

¹²⁵ DM, “Les salons artistiques,” *Le Photographe* 683 (November 5, 1948): 53. Masclet left the group in 1948.

Though Masclet's scathing critique was largely justified, the SNP continued to grow in popularity and to enjoy the media's approval. This naturally led to the further advancement of humanist photography. The theme chosen for the fourth SNP in 1949 was "The Presence of Man," elaborated with humanist pathos and articulated in the first person plural by the authors. In his introduction to the exhibition catalogue, Georges Duhamel from the *Académie Française* wrote: "All our thoughts, all our sentiments, all our emotions are determined by the presence or absence of Man."¹²⁶ The prominent art and photography critic Waldemar George, who had earlier tried to synthesize humanist discourse with fascist ideology during the 1930s,¹²⁷ now spoke, with regard to the fourth salon, of the photographer's personal act of interpretation as a modern witness of contemporary reality. In the introduction to the catalogue of the fifth SNP (1950), dedicated to the theme of "expression and movement," he wrote:

Each photographer projects onto the universe what he contemplates with the eyes of his soul, his selfhood [*Moi*], that is, his personality. . . . He interrogates and deciphers [people's] faces, these keen mirrors, the imprints of interior life. He brings to light the secret of [human] glances Through the visible, he translates the invisible. These effigies of individualism, the veritable challenge to twentieth century [sameness], are testimonies of our humanity, as persuasive and powerful as the anonymous masks we find staring at us [from works of] those contemporary artists most conscious of our current alienation and abandonment! . . . Perhaps one day photography will resolve the problem of Man, this unknown.¹²⁸

¹²⁶ Édouard Goerg applied Duhamel's statement to the sense of calling of the contemporary photographer: ". . . [T]he photographer have become from now on a revealer of the contemporary world, a witness of our daily life, both private and public – a man whom the modern world, in its succession of happy or tragic days, cannot do without. . . . none of us lives anymore as before, at the rhythm of his neighborhood, his city, even his nation. We live in the rhythm of the world Our memory records each day such a large number of forms, faces, aspects of world Hence the miracle of the photograph, which excludes Man partially in the creation of an image [i.e mechanical process] in order to allow us to reconstitute it more completely and dauntingly in the image obtained." Édouard Goerg, *4ème Salon National de la Photographie*, 5-6.

¹²⁷ Waldemar George, *l'Humanisme et l'idée de patrie* (Paris: Fasquelle, 1936).

¹²⁸ Waldemar George, *5ème Salone National de la Photographie*, 4.

As witnesses endowed with a penetrating interpretive vision capable of deciphering the hidden truth of being, SNP photographers sought to transform the mundane reality of a nation rebuilding itself into a public spectacle of mythical dimensions.

The works of a number of regular SNP participants exhibited at the fourth and fifth SNPs, illustrate the centrality of humanist iconography in determining the (interrelated) themes to which these annual events were dedicated (“The Presence of Man” and “Expression and Movement,” respectively). Willy Ronis’ *“Drame du rail”* symbolically embodies the universal essence of human tragedy through a concrete image. As the photo’s title suggests, the image of the bereaving mother—her face wearing an iconic expression of grief as she stares at the funeral coffin of her lifeless child—is a contemporary rendition of a universal moment in human existence [fig. 1.36]. Brassai’s *“Chien du commissaire,”* showing a dog, instead of a gendarme, sitting at the reception window of a local police station, demonstrates the endearing playfulness characteristic of humanist photography, as it lends lighthearted humor to a quintessentially French scene [fig. 1.37]. Boubat’s iconic *“Jeune fille aux fleurs”* is emblematic of the lyrical nature of humanist photography [fig. 1.38]. The portrait of Jacques Prévert by Izis (Israëlis Bidermanas) is also emblematic [fig. 1.39].¹²⁹ As one of the great cultural luminaries in postwar France, promoting poetic realism in both poetry and cinema, Prévert was a central figure in humanist circles. However, in spite of certain formal and modal affinities between poetic realism and humanist photography, the two currents diverged on subject matter: the SNP humanist photographs portrayed segments of society, namely peasants and churchmen, which the cinematic and literary genre ignored. Nora Dumas’ series on “[T]he Lives of Peasants,” for instance, mapped out the different stages of their lives according to age categories [figs. 1.40 & 1.41].¹³⁰

¹²⁹ Prévert also cooperated with Doisneau and Ronis for their photobooks.

¹³⁰ Several years before The Family of Man exhibition, Dumas’ series already contained similar schematic qualities that mapped out a person’s life.

The celebration of humanism as the embodiment of French postwar photography reached its climax in the 1951-1952 Salons. The sixth SNP was dedicated to “[T]he Discovery of France: Things and People of France,” and was sponsored by the *Commissariat Général au Tourisme*. In light of the Salon’s stated goal “to promote tourism in France and the French Union,”¹³¹ it is not surprising that emblematically French folklorist elements were foregrounded. Art critic René Coursaget’s characterization of the French in his introductory note to the catalogue had strong nationalist overtones:

A hard-working, merry, and generous people, united by a common heritage of glory and sorrow, but comprised of multiple races that, in spite of incessant intermixing, have conserved in a number of French regions human islands of more or less pure ethnicity . . . : Brittany, Vendée, . . . , Alsace. [In those regions], the deep-rooted ancestral traditions and customs subsist with surprising vitality. . . .¹³²

Garban’s text in the same catalogue maintained Coursaget’s ideological tone, applying it to the work of exhibiting photographers:

Each of us, whether raised in the shade of the church tower or not, received the imprint of the milieu in which we had been brought up. What certain [photographers] convey in their images is not merely a simple documentation of a particular site or landscape, but the articulation of myriad impressions they had inherited from their ancestors.¹³³

Most photographers who were showing at the SNP constructed Frenchness in the (relatively) inclusive manner of humanist ideology. Marcel Amson’s “*Le village que vous traversez*” pictures an nationally emblematic portrait of a small rural community by featuring such key types as the mayor, the school teacher, and the priest [figs. 1.42 & 1.43]. Garban’s alter-boys series “*Les Petits Chanteurs à la Croix de Bois à Saint-Germain l’Auxerrois*,” as well as his portraiture of traditional village life in “*Cluis (Indre), Mariage*” [fig. 1.44] are equally rooted in a backward-looking, traditional view of the nation. Of course, such a

¹³¹ Yves Christ, “Tourisme et Photographie,” *6^{ème} Salon Nationale de la Photographie*, 6.

¹³² René Coursaget, “Miroir de la France,” *ibid.*, 14.

¹³³ André Garban, “Choses et Gens de France,” *ibid.*, 15.

national panorama would not be complete without the *menu peuple* of the capital. Paul Koruna's series of *Gens de Montmartre* applies the typically rural notion of locality to his portraits of the inhabitants of this northern district in Paris [fig. 1.45]. Jean Michaud's series "*Serviteurs anonymes*" offers a set of heroic portraits of France's men in uniform [figs. 1.46 & 1.47]. Taken together, the inclusive social portrait of the nation promoted by the SNP's was part of its effort to create in the French public a sense of national continuity from the 1930s to the 1950s. This inclusive endeavor incorporated even some images of Greater France: Marcel Bovis's series from Algeria, the "*Femme de l'Aurès*," employs humanist imagery, then at the height of its appeal, to embody the positive effects of France's civilizing mission on motely populations [fig. 1.48].¹³⁴

From 1956 onwards, however, SNP exhibitions witnessed the gradual decline of the humanist genre. Following the widely noticed "Family of Man" exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art in Paris, curator Jean Vallery-Radot declared that the 11th Salon's main task was to "open up the Salon to other categories of photography," that is, to expand the BN's collections. The conceptual framework of the 11th SNP (1956) thus included new photographic categories, notably of nature, architecture, industry, publicity, art, aerial photography, and science. Consequently, having reigned supreme for nearly a decade as the quintessential style of postwar French photography, humanism now had to contend with the new photographic genres featured at the SNP annual exhibitions. As part of its transformation, magazines such as *Paris Match* and *Point de vue – images du monde*, began showing at annual exhibitions selected works by their staff photographers, making important contributions to the BN's ever-growing number of photographic collections (peaking at that time at about a thousand). In addition, state agencies such as the *Centre National de la*

¹³⁴ The French Union and Algeria were marginal in the Salons.

Recherche Scientifique and the *Institut Géographique National*, exhibited various examples of applied photography.¹³⁵

Though the appeal of humanist photography still held sway in the second half of the 1950s, in the context of France's booming economy and rising consumerism it became increasingly irrelevant. From the 1954 Salons onwards, the genre became progressively detached from the daily lives of ordinary French people. For example, André Garban's "*Le départ du mariner*," which represented the "human" category in the 1956 salon, using hired models and rented costumes, was clearly staged, looking more like an advertisement than a fortuitous snapshot [fig. 1.49]. Even Doisneau's "bread" series from 1957 on the most basic component of French diet was mostly playful and comic, lacking the rigor of earlier works he had presented at the SNP. Similarly, Janine Niépce's Parisian street scenes, presented at the 1954 exhibition, also evinced a distancing from populist concerns. Unlike the popular visual imagery of Doisneau, Izis, and Ronis, which was typically set in working-class neighborhoods, Niépce (who had worked during the early 1950s in her native Burgundy for the *Commissariat général au Tourisme*), celebrated elite Parisian institutions, like the renowned restaurant *La tour d'argent*. Her attempt to assert her place among master photographers like Doisneau and Ronis (who, like her, were affiliated to Rapho agency), yielded in 1957 the photo-book *Le livre de Paris*, which was designated primarily for wealthy domestic visitors and offered a vision of the capital that was utterly different from their own popular view of the capital.¹³⁶

It was also in the second half of the 1950s that the SNP was subject to considerable criticism from BN curators and the press. One of the main criticisms concerned the lack of transparency of the jury's admission process, which arguably put into question the Salon's

¹³⁵ *XII Salon National de la Photographie*, (Paris: B.N., 1957), 17-33. In this Salon more images were shown than any previous exhibition, nearly twice as much as in *The Family of Man*.

¹³⁶ Janine Niépce and Georges Charensol, *Le livre de Paris* (Paris: Arts et métiers graphiques, 1957).

claim to give different photographers equal opportunities and to fairly represent all of France's photographic tendencies. Curator Jean Prinnet wrote to president Garban, asserting that the SNP should neither be dedicated to "purely technical qualities nor [serve] the tendencies of any one group [i.e., *Groupe des XV*]," and pleading with him to do everything in his power "to make sure that the Salon truly represents French photographic production."¹³⁷ The press continued to question the impartiality of the SNP admissions committee. *Libération* pointed out the committee's responsibility for the "absence of certain esteemed practitioners" from the Salon's exhibitions.¹³⁸ In a survey by the review *Photo-monde*, amateurs and professionals alike "deplored the situation in which only a small and hardly representative fraction of French photography had access" to the prestigious exhibition. Exasperated with the running of the SNP as if it were a royal court, Albert Plécy launched in 1955 the photography association *Gens d'Images* with the purpose of democratizing photographic creation in postwar France. His weekly column on photography, titled "The Permanent Salon of Photography," sought to expose readers to the work of amateurs and professionals alike. Plécy also directly attacked the SNP, calling its tenth exhibition "sclerosis, cul-de-sac," and the following one "mediocre ambition."¹³⁹ But perhaps the tipping point in the SNP's gradual demise was its oblivious representation of current reality, namely the war in Algeria. The press response was outright condemnation:

The SNP is ten years old now. . . . The work of photographers attending to scholars, engineers, and architects is largely represented. And yet, what are the images upon which the visitor's gaze falls most intently on after the painful weeks we have experienced [in Algeria]? Upon images of calm, peace, and grace. These photographs, undoubtedly, excel at offering us salutary refuge.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ Jean Prinnet, "Viste de M. Garban" (June 16, 1953), Jean Vallery Radot's Archive.

¹³⁸ "L'Art de la photo à la Nationale," *Libération* (October 8, 1953).

¹³⁹ Albert Plécy, "Le salon permanent de la photo," *Point de vue – Image du monde* 385 (October 29, 1955): 18-19. Plécy, *Ibid.*, (November 23, 1956): 18-20. Another critic labeled the selection criteria of the 1956 salon as "overly didactic, [a result of] collective narcissism." See: "11^e SNP à la BN: La photographie ne tue plus la peinture mais elle en deviant souvent la simulacra," *Arts* 594 (November 21, 1956).

¹⁴⁰ "Images de paix au SNP," *Témoignage Chrétien* (November 1956).

Considering the SNP's prior commitment to photography as a documentary means for witnessing contemporary life in France, these sardonic appear especially venomous.

With mounting criticism against the *Salon National de la Photographie*, existing internal disagreements among the *Groupe des XV* intensified, making running the SNP even more challenging. Upon Garban's death in 1957, the rivalry between its younger and older members led to the elite association's final disintegration.¹⁴¹ Naturally, this had a paralyzing effect on the administration of the Salon, given the central role that the members of the *Groupe* had been playing as jurors and organizers of the annual event. Consequently, the 1958 and 1960 Salons were cancelled.

Humanist Propaganda: The *Documentation Française*'s National Reconstruction Campaign

"The American and British [information] services are establishing branches in the large cities of the Eastern *departments*, and the British services have now opened a documentation center in Strasbourg. Following the exploits of Hitler's propaganda in the past five years, it would be regrettable if British and American propaganda were to take its place without the French information services having the opportunity to manifest themselves."

Pierre Bourdan, Minister of Youth, Arts, and Letters, 1947¹⁴²

The chapter's final segment explores how the state employed humanist photography to make its propaganda campaign for national reconstruction more effective. In the aftermath of the Occupation, the *Direction de la Documentation et de Diffusion* was in charge of mediating to the general public information concerning the nation's most pressing political, social, and economic challenges. Specifically, its task was to prompt favorable public opinion of state-governed republicanism. Following the Vichy regime's extensive use of photographic propaganda, senior administrators at the *Direction de la Documentation et de Diffusion*,

¹⁴¹ De Thézy, *Paris 1950*, 37-8.

¹⁴² (The archives of the Documentation française) Quoted from Jean Jenger [director of the agency between 1987 and 1995], *1945-1995: La documentation française a 50 ans* (Paris: La Documentation française, 1995), 35. For most of 1947, the *Documentation française* was temporarily subjected to the Minister of Youth, Arts, and Letters.

which was subordinate at the time to the *Ministère de l'Information*, were convinced of the medium's potency in the political indoctrination of inexperienced audiences.¹⁴³ Subsequently, they commissioned extensive reportages from France's greatest photographers, and featured the latter's work products in various publications of the *Documentation française*.¹⁴⁴ My analysis of the *Documentation française illustrée* between 1946 and the late 1950s reveals that humanist photography was used for *republican* propaganda in order to efface the conservative ethos of the Vichy regime.¹⁴⁵

During the years of national reconstruction, the new *Direction de la Documentation et de Diffusion* within the *Ministère de l'Information* was assigned the task of educating the public.¹⁴⁶ For this purpose, two preexisting wartime branches in de Gaulle's war ministry were fused: the documentation center of the *Commissariat à l'intérieur* in London and the documentation services of the Provisional Government in Algiers. The former, headed by Second Lieutenant Jean-Louis Brémieux-Brillac, was charged, starting in January 1942, with collecting and analyzing political, social, and economic data on Occupied France.¹⁴⁷ The latter, headed by senior civil servant Marcel Koch, was charged from June 1943 onwards with preparing a strategy for the dissemination of Gaullist propaganda in the liberated territories. In light of Koch's area of expertise as co-director of the *Mission d'accueil*

¹⁴³ On Vichy as pioneer of national propaganda in French history, see: Denoyelle, *La photographie d'actualité et de propagande sous le régime de Vichy*. And indeed, the *Documentation française* has kept the ample photographic material of Vichy's photographic collections.

¹⁴⁴ The *Documentation française* became the nation's largest photographic commissioner, except for the private media. Jenger, 1945-1995: *La documentation française*, 42-3; Figini-Véron, *L'État et le patrimoine photographique*, 117-20. Since 1949, the *documentation Française*, in collaboration with the BN, also published books on France's photographic collections: *Répertoire des collections françaises de documents photographiques établi par le comité de coordination de la documentation par l'image* (Paris: La Documentation française, 1949).

¹⁴⁵ Denis Peschanski, *Collaboartion and Resistance: Images of Life in Vichy France, 1940-44*.

¹⁴⁶ The public relation bureaus of the Allies served as the model for the *Documentation française*, especially the British post-war Central Office of Information, which used extensive means such as books, brochures, films and exhibitions. *Notes et Études documentaires* (Paris: La documentation française, 1969, special edition): 10-11. For more information about the *Documentation française*, see: *Secrétariat général du gouvernement, 1943-1963* (Paris: La documentation française, 1963).

¹⁴⁷ This bureau also included a radio service, which broadcast Gaullist propaganda in French via the BBC. After the Occupation of Southern France, Crémieux-Brilhac's bureau was in charge of diffusing by plane in occupied France political propaganda under the title *Courrier de documentation politique*. Jenger, 1945-1995: *La documentation française*, 16-9.

alsacienne et Lorraine in Algiers and his being a member of the consultative committee on the reintegration of France's Eastern departments, it is not surprising that he was chosen to be the director of the new agency.¹⁴⁸ In a conference on "documentation" that was held at the *Institut Technique des Administrations Publiques* in late June 1951, Koch stated his bureau's doctrine:

For the first time . . . an administrative service is in charge of collecting general information. It is recognized from now on that the complexity of contemporary events, their repercussions in the lives of groups and individuals, no longer allows people to be indifferent to the problems the modern world is facing, and whose evolvment can implicate, directly or indirectly, [both] the national collective and each of its members.¹⁴⁹

The influence of humanist ideology, as articulated by thinkers like André Hauriou and spread in the Free French Gaullist groups in London and Algiers, is clearly noticeable in Koch's vision.¹⁵⁰ According to this republican worldview, fundamental political quarrels about the nature of the regime in France would come to an end if the state could find a way to play a more active role vis-à-vis the masses, that is, if it could educate the "civic spirit" of an expanding body politic to assume the responsibilities of a progressive democratic regime.¹⁵¹

Thus, Koch went on:

[G]reater and greater parts of state activity have become *public* services to the extent that social development is [now] oriented toward the distribution of national resources among growing numbers [of citizens]. In this situation, would it not be paradoxical, even dangerous, to allow people, directly or indirectly, to self-manage their responsibilities without [the state] instructing public opinion on the essential realities?¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸ On Koch's background, see: the official publication *Hommage à Marcel Koch* (Paris: La documentation française, 1969). On the "cultural centers" in the departments of Alsace-Lorraine, see: Jenger, *1945-1995: La documentation française*, 34-5.

¹⁴⁹ La documentation française, *Notes et Études Documentaires*: 8.

¹⁵⁰ André Hauriou, *Vers une doctrine de la résistance: le socialisme humaniste* (Algiers: Fontaine, 1944). See: Kelly, *The Cultural and Intellectual Rebuilding of France*, 141-2.

¹⁵¹ La documentation française, *Notes et Études Documentaires*: 8.

¹⁵² *Ibid.*, 5.

Though Koch did not elaborate what exactly these “essential realities” were, he nonetheless suggested they were intimately connected to the two main tasks of his bureau. First, it had to *document* reality, that is, to play an active role in organizing the incessant flow of information produced by the ministries, new national research centers, and state-related institutions. This extensive body of information, he contended, could no longer concern exclusively specialists and high state servants. Instead, administrative documentation “had to adapt to the exigencies of forging a civic spirit, and to serve as raw material for authorities to use in their instruction of the public.”¹⁵³ The project of documentation thus required that an effective and independent coordination agency turn specialized data, coming in from numerous institutions with different—and at times opposing—agendas, into “objective” general information.¹⁵⁴ The agency’s second task was to *disseminate* this information to the broad public through various periodicals edited and distributed by its publishing house: *La Documentation française*. Among the many periodicals it published were *Articles et documents*, *Cahiers français d’information*, *Problèmes politiques et sociaux*, and *La Documentation photographique* (whose first issue first appeared as early as December 1944). According to an estimate from the early 1960s, the *Documentation française* printed four million copies yearly. Seeking to reach a maximum of the broad public—both through its own publications and through cooperation with the media—the agency’s strategy was to make the information it distributed as communicable and attractive as possible.¹⁵⁵ In Koch’s words, to reach the masses and shape their views on contemporary national issues—whether political, social, or economic—information had to be “widely disseminated” (*vulgarisation*).

¹⁵³ Ibid., 8.

¹⁵⁴ The bureau’s administrative migration from the *Ministère de l’Information* between 1945 and early 1947 (via the *Ministère de la Jeunesse, des Arts et des Lettres*) until it was permanently attached to the Prime Minister’s office reveals the government’s decision to achieve effective coordination between government branches.

¹⁵⁵ *La Documentation française*, *Notes et Études Documentaires*, 5-9. The agency worked with various institutions, such as the *Institut National d’Études Démographiques*, *Institut National d’Hygiène*, *Institut National de la Statistique et des Études économiques*, the *Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique*, *Centre National de Documentation Pédagogique*, the National Archives (and library), the *Commissariat au Plan*.

A keen technocrat, Koch understood that photographic illustration, thanks to its low production cost, popular appeal, and iconicity, could play a central role in educating the inexpert public, first and foremost schoolchildren.¹⁵⁶

The publication of *La Documentation française illustrée* (DFI) reveals how the state employed photography as an instrument of national propaganda in the aftermath of the Liberation. Jacqueline Eichart, who was in charge of visual illustration, had at her disposal the agency's large *photothèque*, which contained tens of thousands of images from eminent national collections of the Second World War (including those confiscated from Vichy), the overseas territories during the interwar period, and contemporary material from the small state-controlled news agency *Agence France Presse*.¹⁵⁷ However, for the coverage of most contemporary issues, Eichart commissioned projects from France's leading reportage photographers, who were eager to work.¹⁵⁸ The monthly monographs addressed concrete issues of national interest, didactically juxtaposing text and image. Similar to *La Documentation photographique*, the DFI was intended primarily as a pedagogical tool to assist teachers in instructing their pupils. As we shall see in what follows, the DFI's use of humanist photography from the late 1940s until the end of the 1950s sought to promote state-led republicanism, social cohesion, and public consensus over the nation's economic modernization and overseas empire.

¹⁵⁶ Photographically-illustrated publications included the semimonthly review *La Documentation photographique* for the Ministry of National Education, as well as famous books, among them *La vie française à travers les âges* (1950; 1962), *La France en quinze jours* (1965), *Documents d'outre mer* (1955), and yearly publication of "France" (1955-1973), including for publication abroad via the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

¹⁵⁷ The photographic archives of the *Office français d'information cinématographique* (OFIC), as well as *Service central photographique de Vichy* that were confiscated at the Liberation, the images of the documentation centers in London and Algiers, as well as the photo collection on overseas territories that originated from the *Agence économique des colonies*. The content of the original *photothèque* was dispersed among various institutions. Most of its images are currently kept at the photo-archive of the ministry of Defense (ECPAD) at Fort d'Ivry.

¹⁵⁸ The agency had a major advantage over the national press, namely, its commitment to preserve authors' rights and its more generous payment schedule. Interview with Genvieve Dieuzeide, the agency's photographic director as of 1965 (Paris, January 2012).

Since its earliest publications, the DFI called the public's attention to the country's greatest social challenges (such as child mortality and tuberculosis), while also articulating the goals that the French needed to achieve in order to become a model republican nation. With this dual aim in mind, the DFI used humanist iconography both to substantiate through visual evidence the effectiveness of the state's policies, and to appeal to readers on an emotional level so as to prompt them to embrace the republican worldview. In this regard, humanist photography assisted the DFI in constructing a counter-narrative of *republican* Frenchness that was to take the place of the Vichyite National Revolution. Three central, interrelated iconographic themes recurred in the institution's re-articulation of France's national identity: social rejuvenation, industrial reconstruction, and the overseas empire. A close inspection of the aesthetic, documentary, and ideological dimensions of the DFI's use of photography with respect to these themes will thus shed light on the revue's visual strategy in nurturing readers' "civic spirit."¹⁵⁹

No matter how grave the social problems liberated France was facing, these were always presented by the DFI as if they were on their way to being solved. The January 1948 brochure, for example, gives an alarming overview of the state of contemporary society. In addition to preexisting problems such as alcoholism and low birthrates, the effects of the war and the Occupation on child mortality had produced a situation in which "the French population [was] the oldest in the world . . . [so that] generational renewal [was] in jeopardy."¹⁶⁰ Addressing this issue, the DFI relied on humanist iconography to illustrate recent victories "in the struggle to repopulate France."¹⁶¹ The cover photo of the issue on "The French Population" exemplifies the ways in which DFI used humanistic iconography to instill among the young readership an emotional conviction in the journal's optimistic

¹⁶⁰ La Documentation française, "La population française," *La Documentation française illustrée* 13 (Paris: La Documentation française, January 1948): 5-6.

¹⁶¹ La Documentation française, "3 ans d'effort français," *DFI* 10 (October 1946): 5. The information for the issue was supplied by the *Insitut National d'Etudes Demographiques*.

proclamations. Prominent photographer Ergy Landau, who had published a book on children in the late 1930s and showed photos of children at play at the SNP, created the iconic image of three joyful children holding hands as they rush through a natural landscape toward the viewer [fig. 1.50].¹⁶² The low-angle image of the representative figures of France's most vulnerable age group underscores their vitality and excites viewers with confidence in the future of French society. The children's metaphorical dash for the radiant future, directly engaging the viewer in their forward-bound movement, also evokes a sense of social cohesiveness, while holding on to a traditional gender hierarchy (the boy in the middle of the shot with a girl on either side).

Supplementing dry technical details concerning particular social problems and their planned resolution, the issue's photos drive home the point that the revitalization of French society is well underway. For example, François Kollar's photograph, set outdoors on a beautiful sunny day and featuring a nurse leaning over a majestically white cradle—the first in a perfectly symmetrical crescent-shaped row of like cradles—conveys the maternal benevolence of the Republic's affirmative welfare policy [fig. 1.51]. In the DFI's publication on "[T]he Battle against Tuberculosis," featured photos illustrate the technical expertise, high effectiveness, and deep commitment of the state in its national campaign to eradicate the disease. The text specifies how, right after the Liberation, state legislation took advantage of recent advances in the "medical sciences," presenting the French government as the sole authority capable of effectively implementing the new regulations for the benefit of the entire population: "Only the state and Social Security services can practically handle all [of the campaign's] responsibilities."¹⁶³ André Papillion's photograph of schoolgirls waiting in line to get vaccinated at a mobile immunization clinic makes the same point. Featuring their

¹⁶² Ergy Landau and Marcel Aymé, *Enfants* (Paris: O.E.T., 1936). What intrigued her about children was that their expression of feelings, whether "happiness . . . , anger . . . , or sadness," embodied the "essential, lasting traits of human character."

¹⁶³ La Documentation française, "La lutte contre le tuberculose en France," *DFI* 67 (July 1952): 11.

school in the photo's background, cobblestones glistening under their feet, the image of the adolescent girls awaiting their turn (under the watchful eye of the school supervisor), illustrates the benevolent role of the Social Security Services in France's educational institutions [fig. 1.52]. Though the photo's strict symmetry seems to challenge common conceptions of the humanist genre, the strong sense of orderliness and equality in treating pupils symbolizes the state's determination to protect the nation's entire population from any threat to its wellbeing.

The DFI employed photography to promote another major state campaign: increasing the national birthrate. The issue on "Infant and Maternal Protection," for example, uses visual illustrations to demonstrate the welfare benefits enjoyed by the French citizens who take on parenthood. The text starts by expressing approval of the state's affirmative welfare legislation (passed in early November 1945), which favors those who embrace child-rearing. In order to "prevent the abandonment of children," explains the text, the state has come up with "various solutions . . . [such as] setting up family homes, intended to accommodate . . . pregnant women and mothers with newborns," while refraining from unnecessary intrusion into their private affairs.¹⁶⁴ To increase the rhetorical power of this narrative, photographer Raymond Goursat constructed intimate familial settings of children (and, in some cases, struggling mothers) being cared for by dedicated nurses, social workers, and the like. The blissful cover photo of young children having "a meal in the open air of a Parisian park," their needs attended to by loving nursery governesses, is a good example of this dynamic [fig. 1.53]. The theme of maternal affection is strongly present in another photograph [fig. 1.54]: the dancing circle of children and governesses on "the kindergarten terrace at Viala street" against the picturesque background of the Eiffel Tower. Goursat's photo of "a social worker

¹⁶⁴ La Documentation française, "La protection maternelle et infantile," *DFI* 95 (November 1954): 4. The information for the brochure originated from the PMI (*bureau de la Protection Maternelle et Infantile*), which was affiliated to the *Ministère de la Santé publique et de la Population*.

nursing an ill mother” broadens the visual scope of the state’s social services to mothers in need [fig. 1.55]. Showing various interactions between children, mothers, and state workers, Goursat’s photographs create the impression of closely-knit interpersonal relationships, prompting in readers an emotional response to the otherwise strictly informative data on state legislation and social services.

An even more ambitious national undertaking the DFI gave visibility to, was the promotion of gender equality. The issue dedicated to “Women in French Life” constructed a progressive chronological narrative since the beginning of the nineteenth century, labeling the years 1880-1945 as “the period of emancipation.”¹⁶⁵ The state’s republican propaganda presented the Liberation as the culminating moment in the nation’s steady egalitarian progress, rendering social debates over gender equality “obsolete.”¹⁶⁶ At the same time as illustrating women’s social advance, however, the DFI’s photographs highlighted their traditional gender roles. Two photos illustrating the brochure’s historical overview reveal the tension between women’s equality and discrimination [fig. 1.56]. Directly above the overview’s title—“Since 1945”—appears an unaccredited photograph (dating back to the Liberation) of an elderly woman dropping her vote into a ballot box. The image marks the watershed moment in state legislation when French women were first granted the right to vote and to be elected for public office. At the end of the brief overview appears another photograph, which illustrates the positive results of the affirmative legislation on the “regulation of salaries” and “equal conditions at the workplace.” The photograph, taken by René Jacques, shows women working “in an underwear garment factory.” Though intended to celebrate women’s employment outside the home, the image unwittingly reveals the country’s gender-based job distribution, assigning women the traditionally “female”

¹⁶⁵ La Documentation française, “La femme dans la vie française,” *DFI* 71 (November 1952): 4.

¹⁶⁶ Ibid.

occupation of the seamstress.¹⁶⁷ The issue concludes with the affirmation of women's most traditional role: motherhood. A photograph by G. Baumann, showing two woman—probably mother and daughter—lovingly gazing at the infant in the latter's arms, makes for an exquisitely aesthetic portrait of intergenerational motherhood endowed with a Christian aura [fig. 1.57]. Such images attest to the blindness of humanist photography and ideology, preoccupied at the time with the general conditions of French society, to their own perpetuation of certain aspects of gender inequality.¹⁶⁸ Indeed, the French vision of gender equality was rather conservative in comparison to other Western nations, as evident in the brochure's proclamation that, unlike the Anglo-Saxon countries, which supposedly adopted radical feminist views, "in France the orientation [was] toward solutions that [were] as distant from any [egalitarian] excess" as they were from blatant sexism. Hence, while celebrating the fact that French women were now practicing various professions, the issue simultaneously exalted women's contribution to the nation by virtue of their maternal "privilege" and noted their significance for the country's economy as "consumers in charge of the family household."¹⁶⁹

In addition to covering projects in the field of social welfare, the DFI regularly informed the public of the nation's industrial and economic modernization. Together with other publications of the *Documentation française*, the DFI sought to convince the broad public of the need to embrace the massive (if contested) Monnet Plan. Using photography to focus the public's gaze on industrial *planification*, such as the construction of the hydroelectric system of dams, the laying of a European interconnected railway network, and the growing importance of the chemical industry, the DFI rendered these projects visually

¹⁶⁷ This iconography accentuates the equally traditional examples of women nursing and weaving on the volume's cover.

¹⁶⁸ As Michael Kelly explains, in the aftermath of the Liberation even Simone de Beauvoir promoted humanist ideology as being gender-neutral. According to her conceptualization in the article "Idéalisme morale et réalisme politique," in the second issue of *Les temps modernes*, "man" was an ambiguous being eternally torn between ethical idealism and political realism. Kelly, *The Cultural and Intellectual Rebuilding of France*, 152.

¹⁶⁹ DFI, "La femme dans la vie française," 31.

monumental. For their industrial propaganda campaign, postwar photographers drew on the experimental aesthetic of the 1930s. Looking to the medium's innovative style in the interwar years, photographers were able to forge a progressive—yet not revolutionary—iconography of a laboring modern society during the years of national reconstruction. In their endeavor to aestheticize industrial production, photographers focused both on machinery and on the workers operating it. By placing the laborer at the center of economic modernization, they created a popular documentary aesthetic of labor, which fused past and present in its romantic representation of national types. The DFI's glorification of massive industrial modernization, as well as its economic benefits for the French people, countered the class-oriented iconography propagated by the PCF prior to its expulsion from the government in 1947.¹⁷⁰

The subject of heavy industry, the primary undertaking of the Monnet Plan, might seem at first glance utterly incongruous with humanist photography. And yet, leading French photographers of still life, including Henri Lacheroy, René Jacques, Denis Brihat, and Jean Dieuzaide—who all worked for the *Documentation française*—employed this genre both for documentary and for aesthetic purposes. Their aestheticized high-angle shots of assembly lines and industrial facilities owed much of their style to interwar experimental photography, notably Germaine Krull's 1928 photobook *Métal*.¹⁷¹ Though in the postwar era industrial photography was no longer radically experimental, its aesthetic qualities nonetheless remained powerfully evocative. Dieuzaide's double-page photograph of an imposingly radiant industrial complex at night is an arresting example [fig. 1.58]. The complex's construction as an industrial landscape bathed in artificial light, also carried metaphorical significance, namely, that of “the radiance of France,” to use the title of Gabrielle Hecht's

¹⁷⁰ In contrast to Marxist theory, which argued that the transition from artisanal to capitalist labor would lead to the alienation (*Entfremdung*) of the anonymous modern worker, and as a result to the creation of a distinctive proletarian class consciousness, the DFI's iconography of labor showed the salutary effects of economic modernization. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels [1848], *The Communist Manifesto*, trans. Paul M. Sweezy and Leo Huberman (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1964).

¹⁷¹ Germaine Krull, *Métal* (Paris: Librairie des arts décoratifs, 1928).

historical study of the country's nuclear industry – France's flagship project during the postwar era [fig. 1.59].¹⁷² In this regard, the DFI's coverage of heavy industry was motivated by economic and political agendas alike. It is therefore hardly surprising that the major industrial sites featured in the journal's issues were located in Lorraine.

To highlight the benefits of France's heavy industry, photographers focused on the factory worker as its concrete embodiment. Though postwar France was undergoing dramatic industrial and economic changes, the heroic iconography of the male laborer was nonetheless a staple character in the nation's tradition, and could therefore be used to bridge between the past and present, so as to create a sense of social cohesion and temporal continuity. However, in contrast to militant communist propaganda, which presented the coal miner as class conscious, combative, and resolute, the DFI opted for the pacifying image of a contented miner for the cover of the September 1947 issue [fig. 1.60].¹⁷³ A month later, while violent strikes continued to spread across the country, the revue featured a photo of smiling children holding chunks of coal, adding the caption: "France is proud of its miners."¹⁷⁴ While focusing on coal miners and other industrial workers, the DFI did not characterize them as narrowly representing the working class, but rather accentuated their essential Frenchness. Moreover, as photographers followed coal miners underground, they tended to focus on the industry's modern machinery, often positioning it at the foreground of their pictures [fig. 1.61]. In addition to celebrating technological advance, the DFI's depiction of industrial labor also placed strong emphasis on improved working conditions, safety, and welfare.¹⁷⁵ Doisneau's

¹⁷² Gabrielle Hecht, *The Radiance of France: Nuclear power and national identity after World War II* (Cambridge, Mass: MIT press, 1998). The March 1958 issue was dedicated to the atomic energy project (and photographed by Denis Brihat).

¹⁷³ La Documentation française, "Les charbonnages français", *DFI* 9 (September 1947).

¹⁷⁴ La Documentation française, "Trois ans d'effort français", *DFI* 10 (October 1947): 7.

¹⁷⁵ It is not surprising that the September 1947 issue on coal mining discusses the improved housing projects for blue-collar workers. By the same token, Paul Almasy's photographs of the production of new trucks by the transport system are captioned: "Modern material is conceived to diminish the driver's fatigue, as well as to facilitate his reparation efforts, as well as that of the maintenance crew." La Documentation française, "Équipement et progrès technique," *DFI* 73-4 (January-February 1953): 37.

photograph of smiling blue-collar employees of *Gaz de France*, moreover, gives a concrete human dimension to massive national projects like the one connecting the capital's energy infrastructure to the industrial complex in Lorraine [fig. 1.62].

The DFI also covered technical innovations in agriculture as part of the country's economic modernization. In light of the prominent place of agriculture in the national economy since the end of 1947, the state used Marshall-Plan aid to pursue modernization by systematically introducing new fertilizers and mechanized labor. By 1950, these advances allowed the agricultural sector of French economy to achieve "a production increase from 25 to 30 percent in comparison to the interwar period, with a 12 percent decrease in workforce."¹⁷⁶ The ultimate goal was to effect a "transition from traditional autarkic farming to growing for the market," achieving mass production of substantially improved quality. In its publications, the DFI therefore put a spotlight on the means—in part manufactured by France's heavy industry—that would bring about the modernization of agricultural labor: fertilizers and the tractor.¹⁷⁷ The latter in particular became an emblematic visual icon of the "evolution of French agriculture." Still, in all photographs depicting the various types of agricultural production rendered more effective thanks to the tractor, the stock character of the good old peasant is featured in the frame. In the nation's agricultural evolution from animal to mechanized labor, the (male) peasant remains a permanent fixture grounding this "new agriculture" in French tradition [fig. 1.63].¹⁷⁸ In this regard, Doisneau's portrait of the reaper consolidates the image of the French peasant as a link between past and present [fig. 1.64].

¹⁷⁶ Ibid, 28.

¹⁷⁷ "... [T]he expansion of the production of fertilizers indicates the nation's agricultural prosperity." La Documentation française, "L'industrie française des engrais chimiques," *DFI* 131 (November 1957): 3.

¹⁷⁸ The purchasing of a tractor, facilitated by the Marshall Plan, thus stated that "the peasantry of tomorrow, victorious of its past, to liberate itself from its hardest servitudes, has to be more intelligent and open up to the world . . . more than ever before." D. Faucher, "Conclusion: vers un agriculture nouvelle," *DFI* 118 (October 1956): 31; "La machine dans l'agriculture française," *ibid.*, 30.

The DFI's use of photography for its coverage of the third central theme in the postwar re-definition of national identity—the overseas empire—has hardly been studied. Humanist photography is therefore virtually unrecognized today for its contribution to the legitimization of the “French imperial nation-state” after the Second World War.¹⁷⁹ Research on the genre thus far has failed to give a reliable account of the scope of state-commissioned assignments on which leading photographers were sent throughout the French Union. My inquiry into the case study of the DFI sheds light on humanist photography's contribution to the government's propaganda campaign of a ten-year modernization plan in the colonies, known as the FIDES (*Fonds d'Investissements pour le Développement Economique et Social*). Led by the *Ministère des Affaires étrangères* and the *Ministère de la France d'Outre-mer*. Overseas France and Foreign Affairs, the campaign in favor of the French Union had to refute UN's allegations of the persistence of French colonialism. It also had to quell domestic skepticism about France's seemingly hazardous investments in overseas territories. The campaign's publicity director, acknowledging the important role photography played among the broad, unspecialized public, joined hands with the DFI.¹⁸⁰ Employing the universalist aesthetic of humanist iconography for the depiction of the French Union, the DFI's campaign recast France's postwar adaptation of the “civilizing mission” as a national project of socio-economic modernization. According to this postwar master narrative, France could regain its global status as a super power by using the vast natural resources and work power of the African member countries, while also introducing their subjects to modern living standards and republican political culture.

In various DFI revues, French Africa was construed as virgin soil successfully undergoing massive modernization. An especially symbolic illustration of this major

¹⁷⁹ On interwar France as “imperial nation-state,” see: Gary Wilder, *The French Imperial Nation-State: Negritude and Colonial Humanism between the Two World Wars* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2005).

¹⁸⁰ Nicholas Bancel and Ghislaine Mathy, “La propagande économique,” in *Images et colonies, 1880-1962* (Paris: BDIC, 1993), 222.

transformation can be glimpsed in a double-page photograph that shows a small native boat against the background of a huge modern waterworks facility [fig. 1.65]. The text accompanying the image specifies the twelve member African countries receiving French investment funds under the title: “[T]he economic and social development of the [French] Community.” By the same token, the photograph by Paul Almasy of local cowboys crossing a small wooden bridge with their cattle herd, is placed next to a smaller aerial photograph of a nickel factory in the port city of Nouméa in New Caledonia [fig. 1.66]. The caption specifies that in addition to steel, magnesium, and chrome, “New Caledonia is the world’s third largest producer of nickel.”¹⁸¹ Aerial photos were an especially suitable means for convincing contemporaries that investments in the colonies were successful because the view from above kept out of sight the poor living conditions of the native population. This focus on exclusively large industrial facilities and untarnished African nature, contributed to the portrayal of French Africa as a plentiful reservoir of natural resources, indispensable for France’s booming economy.¹⁸²

Images of African labor were helpful in alleviating the tension between the continent’s supposed proximity to nature and the accelerated modernization plan underway. The DFI’s presentation of the native population working in agriculture and industry nonetheless drew on the preexisting colonialist notion of rational socio-economic development (*la mise en valeur*), which was a main tenet of the French civilizing mission.¹⁸³ Yet, in contrast to the rigidly hierarchical iconography of the interwar period, which presented the native population as prone to laziness, the DFI-commissioned images showed the opposite: under French tutelage all African subjects in the postwar era could “evolve,” and become worthy French citizens. Kollar’s image of a shirtless African man “load[ing]

¹⁸¹ “La communauté,” *DFI* 152 (December 1959): 18-9.

¹⁸² Nicholas Bancel *et al.*, *Image d’empire* (Paris: La Martinière, 1997), 169-87.

¹⁸³ Alice Conklin, *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895-1930* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1997), 6-7.

banana clusters onto a small boat,” embodies this intermediary phase [fig. 1.67]. The abundance of African fruit in the foreground of the frame evinces the need for the presence of a technological and industrial superpower (embodied by the French merchant fleet vessel in the picture’s background) to fully exploit the natural resources of Africa. Kollar’s photo of the African worker, moreover, is juxtaposed with even starker colonial imagery of Africans as primitives, the latter most probably being borrowed from the agency’s photo collection of the *Agence économique des colonies*. At the same time, the DFI accentuated the capacity of Africans to master the skills required to operate modern agricultural technology. For example, Dominique Darbois’s photographs of “a mobile unit of crop protection” and an interior of a plywood factory in Port-Gentil (Gabon) clearly show the facility with which African workers are operating agricultural machinery to demonstrate the benefits both sides enjoy from their cooperation under direct French sovereignty [figs. 1.68 & 1.69].

The discourse of socio-economic development was thus in line with the grand postwar modernization narrative across the French Union. In this regard, the colonialist concept of the *évolué*, the subject capable of assimilating French values, was redefined as all-inclusive; all African subjects could now benefit from modern education, transportation, and health.¹⁸⁴ The December 1954 issue on “[T]he Sahara,” for instance, elaborated on the benefits of a modern transportation infrastructure in addition to other advantages of French rule, such as “lasting peace, . . . the suppression of slavery, and over thirty years of rational economic development [*mise en valeur*].” The photograph by Lelièvre of a cargo truck on the “line between Arak and Tamanrasset” creates a powerful visual juxtaposition between French technological competence and the uncultivated African land, showing a modern vehicle piercing through the imposingly primal landscape of the Sahara desert region [fig. 1.70]. In addition to the clearly visible French word “Alger” on the truck, the caption references another location in

¹⁸⁴ Ibid., 38-72.

Algeria with deep ideological baggage: Tamanrasset.¹⁸⁵ The fact that the two men beside the vehicle are wearing traditional outfits indicates that French civilization was indeed expanding to the local population. This interpretation is further substantiated by the titles beneath the image: “*L’Oeuvre française*” and “*mise en valeur*.” Similarly, Eduard Bélin’s photo of a moving train connecting the Mediterranean coast to Nigeria highlights another flagship project of the French Empire [fig. 1.71].

Health and education were also essential components in redefining France’s civilizing mission in Africa as a postwar modernization project, particularly in response to recent human-rights legislation by the UN. The May 1954 publication on “Health Protection in France’s Overseas Territories” assesses the means with which “human capital is preserved and increased.”¹⁸⁶ The opening photograph by Kollar reveals the documentary, aesthetic, and ideological applications of humanist photography for the Fourth Republic’s imperial propaganda [fig. 1.72]. The sentimental aesthetic of the maternal gesture of the two female figures at the maternity clinic in Dakar reverberates G. Baumann’s photograph of the French mother discussed above. The ideology of France’s civilizing mission is equally present in the photo’s composition and accompanying text. The glowing whiteness of the outfit of the African nurse holding the baby suggests the effectiveness of the French medical services in making available to the public a competent and dedicated local workforce: “In these populations, attending to the sick and maintaining the well-being of the healthy, France has created a set of sanitary services whose organization and activity merits recognition.”¹⁸⁷ At the same time, the nurse’s religious head cover not only references the French religious orders as one of the cornerstones of the nation’s colonial heritage, but also enhances the photograph’s overall Christian aura. The religious visual trope is even more noticeable in the

¹⁸⁵ Upon his return to power in 1958, General de Gaulle coined the phrase “Tous Français, de Dunkerque à Tamanrasset,” a slogan ardent supporters of French Algeria warmly adopted.

¹⁸⁶ “La protection de la santé dans les territoires de la France d’outre mer,” *DFI* 89 (May, 1954), 31.

¹⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 3.

periodical's cover, where a cross appears directly above the "Clinic" sign of a colonial building packed with local population [fig. 1.73]. In yet another photograph, Kollar shows the technical expertise of an African medical operating a microscope at a Dakar laboratory named after Ernest Nestor Roume, former governor in French West Africa and Indochina [fig. 1.74].¹⁸⁸

This chapter has shown how humanist photography participated in reconsolidating France's republican self-perception during the era of national reconstruction. Though poetic realism exerted a limited degree of influence on the genre, as we have seen, most of its aesthetic characteristics originated from photographic currents rather than cinema or literature. Humanist iconography came to play a specifically ideological role in the press, the cultural establishment, and state campaigns, thanks to its *documentary* characteristics. In other words, what allowed the humanist genre to become a central instrument in promoting varying ideological agendas at a precarious time, when overt political debate would have been too hazardous, was the fact that it was perceived essentially as a credible visual document for aesthetically illustrating various social aspects of contemporary reality for inexperienced audiences. Had it not been for the national trauma of the Second World War and Occupation, the genre would probably not have attained such prominence in postwar years. Relying on the French version of social photo-essay, multiple political agents employed humanist photography to promote disparate conceptualizations of the nation's republicanism by producing inclusive iconographies of France's popular classes. Notwithstanding the fact that most humanist images produced during the decade of national rebuilding were carefully composed—most of them partly or completely staged (e.g., Doisneau's "*Le baiser de l'hôtel de ville*")—, the

¹⁸⁸As historians Pascal Blanchard and Nicholas Bancel argue, French propaganda campaigns used the figure of the native infant to promote France's assistance and medical services in the overseas territories. Bancel *et al.*, *Images et empire*, 181.

persistent perception of the medium as a source of truthful visual testimony enabled reportage photographers to play a major role in France's cultural reconstruction.¹⁸⁹

At the same time, it is important to note that contemporaries did not necessarily designate the postwar photo essay as "humanist." The genre was not a school, no manifesto was ever written, and photographers who constructed humanist iconography did not perceive themselves as members of a movement, explains Marie de Thézy in her monograph on the subject.¹⁹⁰ Yet, as the era of national reconstruction was drawing to a close, the genre's common denominators—collectivity, sentimentality, and universalism—become increasingly evident. The publication of photo-books by leading photographers such as Ronis and Doisneau—the two main protagonists of this chapter—further accentuated the genre's contours.¹⁹¹ In March 1959, not surprisingly, the photographic editor of *Réalités* used the term "humanist photography" for the first time.¹⁹² As is often the case, the emergence of the genre's clear outlines was coextensive with its decline. By the early 1960s, humanist photography had come to be seen as naïve and out of touch with contemporary reality.¹⁹³ The era of national reconstruction was over and the humanist paradigm had played out its course. It was now the time for a novel photographic paradigm to take the stage.

¹⁸⁹ This discussion, however, cannot encompass all the uses of humanist iconography, which also included private organizations like book publications, the music industry, calendars and postcards, as well as public and governmental institutions, such as the *Commissariat général au Tourisme* and the *Ministère des Affaires étrangères*. Figini-Véron, "Photographie, littérature, chanson: rencontres croisées," in Laure Beaumont-Maillat et al., eds., *La photographie humaniste, 1945-1968* (Paris: BNF, 2006), 67-76. On the trail that revealed that Doisneau's famous image, which became a massive photographic icon in the 1980s, see: Peter Hamilton, "Representing the Social: France and Frenchness in Post-war Humanist Photography," 75-150.

¹⁹⁰ De Thézy, *La photographie humaniste*, 14.

¹⁹¹ Doisneau's *Instantanés de Paris* (Paris: Arthaud, 1955); *Les parisiens tels qu'ils sont* (Paris: R. Delpire, 1954); and, with Elsa Triolet, *Pour que Paris soit* (Paris: Editions cercle d'art, 1956); Willy Ronis and Pierre MacOrlan, *Belleville-Ménilmontant* (Grenoble: Arthaud, 1954); Izis, *Paris des rêves* (Lausanne: Editions clarefontaine, 1950). See also: François Calvi's *France aux visages* (Paris: Arthaud, 1953); *Dictionnaire pittoresque de la France* (Paris: Arthaud, 1955); and Plécy, *La France à livre ouvert* (Paris: P. Seghers, 1965). In this regard, succeeding anti-aesthetic photo-books—especially on America—by provocative young photographers, such as William Klein's *Life is Good and Good for you in America: Trance Witness Reveals* (Paris: Seuil, 1956), and Robert Frank's *The Americans* (New York: Grove Press, 1958), were a reaction to this wave of sentimental nostalgia.

¹⁹² Albert Gilou, "La photographie, témoin des angoisses et des aspirations de notre temps," *Réalités* 158 (Mars, 1959): 110.

¹⁹³ The Family of Man exhibition greatly contributed to emphasizing the defining elements of the humanist paradigm. See: Edward Steichen et al., *The Family of Man* (New York: Early Edition, 1955).

In the following chapters, I examine how a new generation of photographers, who operated in very different historical circumstances, employed an alternative mode of visual documentation, suited for capturing the fundamental gaps between the French republican worldview and contemporary reality. The next chapter examines how, during the Algerian War, young photographers' belief in France's claim to embody republican values was undermined as they witnessed the state's extra-legal repression of French-Algerian Muslims on both sides of the Mediterranean. Disillusioned with their government, these photographers employed the medium as a political weapon in order to expose the state's hypocrisy and make contemporaries see that their government(s) had betrayed France's (universalist) republican heritage. The Algerian War thus opened up a visible fissure in the nation's republican self-perception. Throughout the 1960s, the work of reportage photographers made this fissure progressively apparent until it ultimately brought about the demise of France's "discreet [humanist] hegemony."

CHAPTER TWO

Photography as a Weapon:**Two Militant Photographers Unmask State Repression during the Algerian War**

“[In Algeria] I came to know the inner workings of subversive warfare. To fight this enemy, clandestinity is necessary. Though this requirement is impossible to meet in a country like ours, where all actions are accountable before the court of law, I believe that in the very least we need to carry out our operations with some discretion.”

Maurice Papon, *Bulletin municipale official* (Paris),
Conseil général de la Seine, March 1961¹

“If one day there were a new Nuremberg trial, we would all be guilty: Oradours – we are committing the very same crimes every day.”

Comité de Résistance Spirituelle, *Des rappelés témoignent*, 1957²

On February 7, 1962, the life of four-and-a-half-year-old Delphine Renard changed forever. While the caretaker’s daughter was playing in her room in a residential building in the Parisian suburb of Boulogne, a bomb went off on the second floor, next to the residence of André Malraux, France’s *Ministère de la Culture*. Though the assassination attempt on the absent minister by OAS terrorists failed, Delphine was gravely injured and lost her eyesight. The extensive media coverage of the event turned her overnight into a public figure. On the cover of *Libération*, for instance, the photograph of the girl’s blood-covered face was printed next to her portrait before the attack above the title: “[H]ere is what the OAS did to a little girl” [fig. 2.1].³ France’s largest illustrated magazine, *Paris Match*, also contrasted the

¹ *Bulletin municipale official, Conseil général de la Seine*, 17-18 March 1961, 132. Quoted from (and translated by) Jim House and Neil Macmaster, *Paris 1961: Algerians, State Terror, and Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009), 60.

² Comité de Résistance Spirituelle, *Des rappelés témoignent* (Paris: 1957), 23.

³ “Voilà ce que l’O.A.S. a fait d’une enfant,” *Libération* (February 9, 1962): 1. The newspaper republished the two photos the following weekend.

graphic image, printed on a full page, next to an idyllic photo of the young girl in a field of flowers.⁴ The publication of the sensational image of the innocent young victim of terrorism profoundly shocked French public opinion several months before the war ended.

Several months later, in early June 1962, *Paris Match* published on its cover probably the conflict's most famous photograph, which symbolized its definitive ending [fig. 2.2]. The magazine's most experienced staff photographer, Maurice Jarnoux, took the picture in late May for a "grand reportage" on the "repatriates from Algeria."⁵ In the midst of a dramatic and somewhat unexpected exodus of European Algerians into metropolitan France following the Évian Agreement, Jarnoux's photograph dramatically visualized a national coda of the long, bloody, and undeclared war. In the frame, a young couple is holding a baby on board a ship. The pretty young woman is seen from the back as she gazes in tears into the maritime horizon. Her tall and elegant husband, seen in profile, looks in the same direction with a firm and quiet composure as he holds their baby (facing the lens), who carries a doll in her little hand. Jarnoux's composition juxtaposed the family with nature in a dramatic humanist setting. The image embodied the nobility and atemporality of parenthood and the family as human institution in the face of migration, danger, and agony.⁶ The caption subjected the photograph's Universalist symbolism to a metropolitan-oriented national narrative, which constructed a new dichotomy between French (European Algerians) versus un-French (Muslim Algerians). The parents, reported *Paris Match*, were teachers from the Mitidja Plain who dedicated themselves to educating Muslim children, but decided to leave Algeria when none of their pupils showed up for school. *Paris Match* chose their story as a synecdoche for European Algerians, who were arriving en masse to the shores of metropolitan France, as soon as Algerian independence became a given fact.

⁴ "L'heure du plasticage pour une enfant: La France ne veut plus de cela," *Paris Match* 670 (10 February, 1962): 36-7.

⁵ Dominique Lapierre and Maurice Jarnoux, "Avec les passagers d'un nouvel exodus," *Paris Match* 686 (2 June, 1962): 101-09.

⁶ Ibid.

The two iconic photographs were clearly different in terms of content, specific political message, and aesthetic qualities. The former, published several months after the OAS's failed attempt to assassinate De Gaulle, articulated the danger that the terrorist organization posed to the nation as a whole. The shock at the sight of little Delphine's disfigured face expressed broad national support for the government in the upcoming negotiations (the following month in Évian) with the Algerian Provisional Government. Once a peace accord was successfully concluded and the threat of OAS terrorism largely contained, *Paris Match* used Jarnoux's photograph of the Tissot family to re-create an image of national unity. The illustrated magazine did so, explains historian Todd Shepard, by undermining the identification that had been established between the *pieds noirs* community and the OAS towards the war's end. He argues that the conservative popular magazine reinserted the family into "classic, conforming, and hierarchized gender relations," in order to distinguish the mass of refugees (labeled as "repatriates") from the small minority of OAS terrorists.⁷ More importantly, I argue that the illustrated magazine redefined European-Algerian "repatriates" as quintessentially French citizens by presenting the Tissots as the embodiment of state policies in Algeria during the war, namely pacification and integration. Not surprisingly, the title on the magazine cover, "Does France Still Love Us?" accentuates the altruistic Jacqueline and François Tissot as quintessentially decent French citizens.⁸ Aesthetically, the two photographs were complete opposites. The sole value of the picture of Delphine was its existence as the most significant raw footage from the OAS terrorist attack, whereas Jarnoux's image was a carefully composed symbol, rooted in a hegemonic representational paradigm, of an important national event.

⁷ Todd Shepard, *The invention of Decolonization: The Algerian War and the Remaking of France* (Ithaca: Cornell University press, 2006), 224-26.

⁸ *Paris Match* 686: 104-6. To complete their assimilation among French citizens in the metropole, *Paris Match* emphasized the distinction between the *pieds noirs* and the terrorists, declaring in the same cover (in bold font) of photos from the courtroom of OAS leader, Raoul Salan.

In terms of the images' larger political message, however, the two icons were fully complementary with the aims of de Gaulle's government at the last stage of the war. Jarnoux's icon of the "repatriates" as the epitome of the French family—in contrast to Muslim Algerians, who rejected French nationality—was an integral component in the magazine's unequivocal support of the President's solution to the Algerian crisis. The two photographic icons, moreover, were equally telling in terms of what they did not show. Both seem odd as means of representation of the Algerian War. One wonders how an image of an incidental victim of terrorism in a western suburb of Paris or of a *pied noir* couple arriving to the port of Marseille could characterize one of the longest and bloodiest wars of decolonization in the twentieth century. Nothing in them even remotely alludes to the actual fighting or the majority of the population that was seeking independence: Muslim Algerians.⁹ The making of these photographic icons, I contend, was largely a product of the government's complementing *censorship* and *propaganda* tactics. Government control of information, which determined how the French media covered the so-called "events in Algeria," was a crucial factor in legitimating French national sovereignty south of the Mediterranean during the conflict. French political leadership believed that public opinion—of the population directly involved (Algerian) or indirectly implicated (metropolitan and international)—was an integral component in the country's capacity to win a "counter-revolutionary war" against Algerian nationalism.¹⁰ As I show in the following pages, the

⁹ During the final months of the war, government officials and influential public figures constructed a national narrative of decolonization on the basis of ethnicity, argues Shepard. This innovation, he explains erased France's race-blind legal history in Algeria since the mid-nineteenth century under several republican regimes. Shepard, *The Invention of Decolonization*, 269-72.

¹⁰ The "revolutionary war" doctrine, explain House and Macmaster, was "an apocalyptic world view that perceived Western civilization as under siege from global Communism that was prepared to harness the elemental force of 'race wars,' the discontents of 'inferior' peoples undergoing rapid demographic growth and deepening impoverishment, by channeling their energies into new forms of revolutionary guerilla warfare and terrorism. It was the perceived and deadly and terminal nature of this challenge to the West the legitimized an abandonment of the normal rules of domestic and international law . . ." Jim House and Neil Macmaster, *Paris 1961*, 26. During the war in Indochina, senior French commanders argued that the army had to adopt the methods of the adversary: to be ruthless and fight for political objectives. Martin Evans, *Algeria: France's Undeclared War*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 134.

nation's gatekeepers used photography as a political instrument—drawing on humanist iconography—to convince the public that state actions in Algeria were both effective and fully coherent with republicanism. To achieve this goal, the repressive measures taken by the armed forces against Muslim Algerians had to remain hidden from view.¹¹

The Algerian War, I argue in this chapter, was a major factor in the emergence of independent, civil-oriented photojournalism in late-1960s France. The inconceivable gap between what was happening on the ground and what the press was showing the public was the defining experience for a new generation of photographers who came to maturation during this decade. As I show in the following chapters, the proximity of conscripts to controversial state actions that did not coincide with—and oftentimes contradicted—republican values determined their rejection of humanist iconography (and ideology) when they emerged, years later, as a new generation of photographers. This chapter focuses on young, engaged photographers, who witnessed the extra-legal repression of Muslims Algerians, legally defined as French citizens under the 1958 constitution of the Fifth Republic. Coming upon the state's collective repression of Muslim Algerians on both sides of the Mediterranean, these young photographers used the camera as a political weapon against the state in general and the Gaullist government in particular. In other words, they relied on the medium's *documentary* capacity to produce incriminating evidence in order to create counter-propaganda in support of Algerian independence (under FLN leadership). By producing anti-state propaganda, the medium's practitioners undermined the humanist paradigm in three different ways. First, they used their images as unequivocal proof that the nature of French sovereignty in Algeria—legally defined as an integral part of France since the mid-nineteenth century—was colonialist. In accordance with postwar political standards, these photographers emphasized the contradiction between collective punishment and

¹¹ In addition to radio and television, which were already subjected to the authority of the *Ministère de l'Information*, the state sought to use the (free) press to promote pacification propaganda.

republican values.¹² Second, they adopted the ideology of the New Left, which was centered on a North-South (global) colonial axis instead of an East-West continental one promoted by the Socialist and Communist parties (and supported by the majority of humanist photographers).¹³ Finally, unlike humanistic photographers, for whom France embodied civilized values and resistance to oppression, young photographers denounced the nation as a colonial oppressor, making direct parallels with Nazi Germany.

Given the fact that the war took place on Algerian soil, this chapter centers primarily on Marc Garanger, who served there as a military photographer in 1960-62. As I contend, the combination of personal skepticism, military status as a conscript, and the reality he witnessed in the region where his unit was stationed, led to his utter discrediting of the military during the conflict.¹⁴ Yet, it was the unrestricted access he was awarded as an *unofficial* regiment photographer that enabled him to extensively document the consequences of France's undeclared war in Algeria. However, given the censorship restrictions, in effect due to the Special Powers' Act in Algeria, Garanger could not publish his images in the French press during the conflict. As a result, his images became publicly known only in its aftermath, first in Switzerland and then in France, largely because Garanger won the prestigious Niépce prize in 1966.

The second case study this chapter explores is the coverage by freelance press photographer Élie Kagan of the massacre of Muslim Algerian demonstrators by the French

¹² French colonialism was not perceived as contradictory to republicanism between the mid-nineteenth century and the interwar period. France's "civilizing mission," historian Alice Conklin shows, was a central policy of the Third Republic. Alice Conklin shows in *A Mission to Civilize*, as well as Gary Wilder in *The French Imperial Nation-State: Negritude and Colonial Humanism between the Two World Wars*. However, in the aftermath of the Second World War, colonialism was discredited by the United Nations. For this reason, France promoted the "French Union" on the basis of a narrative of cooperation and modernization, as I have shown in the previous chapter.

¹³ On the shift from East-West continental axis to a North-South colonial one, see: Matthew Connolley "Taking off the Cold War Lens: Visions of North-South Conflict during the Algerian War for Independence," *The American Historical Review*, Vol. 105 (June 2000): 739-769; Dan Diner, "Memory Displaced: Re-reading Jean Améry 'Torture'," *Eurozine*, (May 2012): 1-2.

¹⁴ The military's conscription policy during the Algerian War—unlike the Indochina War—explains why Garanger's photographs were so different from those of professional soldiers, such as Marc Flament, who were committed to glorifying the army and its commanding officers.

police in Paris on October 17, 1961. Kagan's engagement in favor of Algerian independence, as well as his precarious professional status, prompted him to cover the demonstration. However, it was the event's unexpected unfolding into a massacre, my analysis shows, that defined his commitment to making contemporaries see, literally, how the government violated fundamental republican values. The fact that the carnage took place in metropolitan France enabled Kagan to take advantage of the relatively lenient censorship laws in comparison to those operative in Algerian territory. Thanks to this circumstance, Kagan (unlike Garanger) was able to publish most of his images in anti-colonialist French reviews. My analysis of Kagan's work builds on Jim House and Neil MacMaster's masterful study, which shows that France's fight against Algerian nationalism within the metropole was intimately related to the repression mechanisms set in Algeria.¹⁵

Neither Garanger nor Kagan produced iconic images of the sort discussed at the start of this chapter. Their work is nonetheless historically significant because they systematically made visible the gap between the state's justification of its actions under the guise of republican legality and a reality in which French security forces violated the basic human rights of Muslim Algerians. France's gravest political crisis since the Liberation thus serves as a propitious framework for investigating the advantages and limitations of reportage photography, being that its practitioners—always eager to get a scoop—operated on the fault line between a republican self-perception and a reality that constantly challenged it. In this regard, the Algerian War marks a significant turning point not only in France's national and political history, but also in this genealogy of reportage photography. As I show in this chapter, Garanger and Kagan's work marked the decline of humanist photography, while also heralding the emergence of the more documentary-oriented reportage photography in 1960s France. In light of news photographers' failure to render the Algerian War sufficiently visible

¹⁵ Jim House and Neil MacMaster, *Paris 1961*.

for the French public, it is not surprising that in the following years photographers fought to emancipate themselves from various state restrictions holding them back. By the late 1960s, prominent French photojournalists who were veterans of the Algerian War, notably Gilles Caron and Raymond Depardon, were selling images of violent conflicts—such as the Six Days War, Vietnam, Biafra, and Northern Ireland—to magazines all over the world.¹⁶

Censorship and Propaganda during the Algerian War

The main reason why media reports failed to produce critical or momentous war images in Algeria was strict state *censorship*. The state sought to control the documentation that reached the broad public by regularly feeding national (and international) media with *propaganda* images that favorably portrayed France's pacification policy.¹⁷ Consequently, this limited iconography constrained the French press in general, and the anti-war magazines, such as *L'Express*, *France-observateur*, and *Témoignage chrétien*, in particular. The effects of censorship were especially weighty during the last two years of the war, when media coverage played a decisive role in preparing public opinion for accepting the conflict's approaching political solution.¹⁸

The contrasting media policies the French and American governments adopted during the wars in Algeria and Vietnam explain why the Vietnam War became a reference point in

¹⁶ On the impact of the war on the two leading Gamma photographers, see: Raymond Depardon, *Un aller pour Alger* (Paris: Éditions Points, 2010), and Gilles Caron, *J'ai voulu voir: lettres d'Algérie* (Paris: Calmann Lévy, 2012).

¹⁷ French diplomatic campaigns were aimed to counter those of Algerian nationalists, as well as international condemnation at the United Nations' headquarters in New York. As part of its strategy to appeal to public opinion, the French government produced numerous illustrated brochures that graphically depicted the brutal violence of the FLN. One prominent example is: *Union Française Nord Africaine "Le Martyr de l'Algérie française: le massacre d'El-Alia 20 août 1955"* (Algiers: Prestiger Français, 1955). For a comprehensive discussion of French diplomacy during the war, see: Matthew Connelly, *A Diplomatic Revolution: Algeria's Fight for Independence and the Origins of the Post-Cold War Era* (New York, Oxford University Press, 2003) and Irwin M. Wall, *France, the United States, and the Algerian War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

¹⁸ The mediatized trial of the members of *Réseau Jeanson* marked the beginning of a relatively cohesive (although small) opposition to the Algerian War. Martin Evans, *The Memory of Resistance: French Opposition to the Algerian War, 1954-1962* (New York: Berg, 1997), 180-3; 207.

the history of photojournalism whereas the former was ignored altogether. The American government regarded free media coverage as means of boosting public support for its foreign policy at the height of the Cold War – a strategy that in reality achieved the exact opposite. The French government, on the other hand, censored the media as part of its overall strategy in the fight against Algerian nationalism.¹⁹ The state's denial that a civil war was taking place in Algeria was a cornerstone for the French government during the entire length of the conflict due to the fact that Algeria was legally defined as part of national territory.²⁰ Hence the military operation in Algeria was labeled as a police “order-maintaining operation in the French departments” against “outlaws.”²¹ The more France intensified its military involvement in Algeria in 1955-56, the more it had to extend its censorship of its national media. Though a war was never officially declared, the French parliament nevertheless passed a series of laws that allowed the government to restrict the liberty of the press. The decrees of April 3, 1955 and March 17, 1956, as well as article 16 from the 1958 constitution worked in tandem with pre-existing laws from the First World War to strictly control media coverage in Algeria.²²

¹⁹ Fabrice d'Almeida and Christian Delporte, *Histoire des médias en France: de la Grande Guerre à nos jours* (Paris: Flammarion, 2003), 172-4.

²⁰ As a geopolitical bridge to increase French influence in Africa (via the French Union), Algeria, with its large settlers' lobby, embodied France's hopes to regain its former status as a global superpower during the height of the Cold War. Evans, *Algeria: France's Undeclared War*, 85-188. In light of the structural inequality between the Muslim and European communities in Algeria, the government sought to reduce the deep political gap between them with socio-economic reforms. Paradoxically, these reforms only accentuated the political status quo between the country's hostile communities. As the conflict intensified, state officials responded to the challenge of Algerian nationalism with even more robust socio-economic initiatives intended to bring the Muslim population under direct French sovereignty, while labeling the nationalist rebellion as a criminal conspiracy.

²¹ The official terminology in the French media portrayed the FLN as small minority of fanatic pan-Arab “outlaws,” who committed “terrorist attacks” against peaceful French Algerians, European and Muslim alike.

²² During the first years of the war, the government exerted legal restrictions on the national press. Article 10 from the Criminal Code was most used among previous censorship legislation, for example the laws of August 5, 1914. But there were also the laws of May 24, 1834 and article number 80 from the Penal Code on cessations propaganda. Christophe Barthélémy, “Les saisies de journaux en 1958,” in Laurent Gervereau, Jean-Pierre Rioux and Benjamin Stora, eds., *La France en Guerre d'Algérie* (Nanterre: BDIC, 1992), 122-26. During the war, censorship therefore increased pre-existing government restrictions on the French media, which were put in place after the bloody repression of Muslim Algerians in Sétif in May 1945 (and Madagascar in 1947).

State censorship in Algeria, backed by the Special Powers' Act of March 1956, severely limited the ability of journalists and photographers to freely provide on-scene reports. The army's sealing of the Tunisian and Moroccan borders enabled the state to restrict journalists, who had to apply for special permission (*carte de correspondance de presse*) from both civilian *and* military authorities in Algeria. During their stay there, journalists were also under surveillance by the police (*Police des Renseignements Généraux*) with risk of expulsion.²³ Moreover, they depended on the cooperation of the army to safely reach hot spots across Algeria's vast interior. This last factor was especially damaging for photographers, whose work depended on direct access in real time, as the case of the Melouza massacre showed.²⁴ Of course, supervision of photographers by army press officers (*officiers de presse*) further limited photographers' already negligible ability to critically document the conflict.²⁵ In a letter to the commander of the French army in Algeria, Raoul Salan, Algeria's Governor General Robert Lacoste stated the guidelines for media control:

. . . [The media must] do everything to avoid daily enumeration of a multitude of [disturbing] minor facts (exaction or harassment, clashes, listing of fallen soldiers . . .), which obscures, in the eyes of metropolitan and international opinion, the intense social and economic activity that elevates this country thanks to the substantial achievements of continual pacification and reforms. . . . We will not tolerate the idea, suggested by trivial information solely concerned with the sensational and gaining ground among certain minds, that we are leading [in Algeria] a war of extermination [*sic*].²⁶

The arrest of French journalists on the one hand, and the state's unsystematic policy for seizing journals on the other hand, led each journal to censor its own publications.

²³ Marie Chominot, "Guerre des images, guerre sans images?" (PhD diss., University Paris-VIII, 2008), 49. Both civilian and military authorities in Algeria had press bureaus, which followed closely the publications in the press, and categorized journalists according to the favorability of their reports.

²⁴ The Melouza massacre, one of the war's major media highlights, shows how army monopoly on documentation served state propaganda. In May 1957, 374 villagers were killed by the FLN for their support of the opposing Algerian nationalist group: *Mouvement national algérien*. The French government, though, used the massacre for a PR campaign against FLN savagery perpetrated against "loyal" French Muslim Algerians. Evans, *Algeria: France's Undeclared War*, 217-20.

²⁵ D'Almeida and Delporte, *Histoire des médias en France*, 178.

²⁶ [A letter by Robert Lacoste to the Algeria's prefects and general Raoul Salan in July 1957 Archives SHD/DAT, 1H 2469/1]. My translation from Chominot, "Guerre des images," 266.

Journalist Robert Barrat, for instance, was arrested after the publication of an interview with FLN fighters (that included their photos) in *France-Observateur*, which was itself seized.²⁷ The state's censorship tactic was highly effective, explains Christophe Barthélémy, due to the economic fragility of the press.²⁸ These measures, media historians Fabrice d'Almeida and Christian Delporte argue, resulted in journalists' refraining from harsh criticism of the army in Algeria.²⁹ Even though photography does not seem to have been the primary cause for censorship in the press because its primary role was to illustrate texts, journals nevertheless avoided publishing images that could potentially provoke censorship, notes photography historian Françoise Denoyelle.³⁰ The episode that revealed early in the conflict the danger photography posed to national policy in Algeria was the December 1955 publication by Jean Daniel in *L'Express* of a series of images that show a summary execution of a defenseless prisoner by a gendarme [fig. 2.3].³¹ It is therefore not surprising that even the PCF-affiliated journal *L'Humanité* refused to publish photographs by conscript Bernard Gibaud, who

²⁷ Claude Bourdet, Roger Stéphane, and Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber were also prosecuted for their publications during the war. D'Almeida and Delporte, *Ibid.*, 179-80; Evans, *Algeria*, 142-3.

²⁸ In 1958 alone, notes Barthélémy, there were hundreds of seized newspapers, mostly due to their anti-war leftist political orientation (*L'Express*, *France-observateur*, *Tribune du peuple*, *Les temps modernes*). The reasons for seizing journals, however, varied across time and space; whereas until 1957 almost all seized journals had a leftist orientation, from 1959—following de Gaulle's speech on Algeria's "auto-determination"—journals on the Right (especially far Right) were seized as well. In total, there were 269 seizures of journals in the metropole, and 536 in Algeria. Barthélémy, "Les saisies de journaux en 1958," 125.

²⁹ D'Almeida and Delporte *Histoire des médias en France*, 172-74. For more information about censorship of the press, see: Laurent Martin "Une censure qui n'ose pas dire son nom. Les saisies des journaux pendant la guerre d'Algérie," in *La censure de l'imprimé* by Pascal Durand, Pierre Hébert *et al.*, eds., (Montreal: Nota Bene, 2006), 284-305

⁴² Denoyelle discusses ambiguous cases of photographic censorship in the newspaper *L'Humanité*, which was seized 27 times during the war. Françoise Denoyelle, "Censure et photographie," in Pascal Ory, ed., *La Censure en France à l'ère démocratique* (Bruxelles: Editions Complexe, 1997), 201-11.

³¹ Jean Daniel, "Des faits terribles qu'il faut connaître," *L'Express* (December 29, 1955): 8-9. What was especially powerful in this series, which appeared three months earlier in *Life* magazine, was that it recorded an actual execution. The photos, which documented the retaliation to the ALN offensive in August 1955 in North Constantine in which 70 Europeans died, were published four months later. The series of five images originated from a Fox Movietone news film recorded by cameraman Georges Chassagne. Daniel published these images because they were already available for American audiences. Stora *et al.*, *Photographier la guerre d'Algérie*, 120-24 ; Chominot, "Guerre des images", 64. As Evans points out, the impact of such publications on the public was limited before reservists and conscripts could testify once demobilized. Evans, *Algeria*, 210.

documented the army's war crimes.³² Probably the most enlightening example of self-imposed censorship was the case of photographer Jean-Philippe Charbonnier from *Réalités*. Though Charbonnier was the *only* press photographer who caught on film a torture scene during the war—in 1957, when the subject of torture was bitterly debated—both the photographer and the magazine preferred not to take the risk [fig. 2.4].³³ Even *Paris Match*'s frequent “scoops” were largely a product of the magazine's symbiotic relations with the army's public relations office.³⁴

Self-censorship was prevalent in photo agencies as well. Even the world-renowned Magnum photo agency killed an exclusive reportage on the ALN in August 1957 by Dutch photographer Kryn Taconis for fear of retribution by the government. Although Magnum was a photographers' cooperative, President Henri Cartier-Bresson nonetheless instructed Executive Editor John G. Morris to censor Taconis's reportage. As the correspondence between them shows, the agency feared the “slow strangulation of the [Paris] office, not through any overt action but through controls that the government is known to use in such cases.”³⁵ What was so menacing for the French government was that Taconis' portrayal of

³² Gibaud's photos documented army unit using native villagers as human shields, as well as another photo (in poor quality) that showed the use of napalm by the French air force. Stora *et al.*, *Photographier la guerre d'Algérie*, 70.

³³ Jean Philippe Carbonnier, “Kabylie, arabe torturé par les soldats français, 1957”, *Département des Estampes et de la photographie* (BNF, Richelieu): EP-58-BOITE FOL. Interview with Agathe Gaillard, the photographer's former wife: Paris, March 2012.

³⁴ As historians Martin S. Alexander, Martin Evans, and J. F. V. Keiger note, “*Paris Match* worked closely with the army's public relations office, the SIRPA, and photographic bureau, the ECPA. Commonplace illustrations included famous generals decorating infantrymen after action, presentations of new weapons and colors to Muslim auxiliaries, squads of heroic-looking soldiers (often atop rugged mountainous terrain), French superior technology in operation (typically helicopters) and the idealistic young SAS pacification officer surrounded by ‘his villagers.’” *The Algerian War and the French Army* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), 25. For more information on *Paris Match* during the Algerian War, see: Thomas Michael Gunther, “Le choc des images de Paris-Match,” in *La France en guerre d'Algérie*, 228-31. Chominot, “Guerre des images,” 106-36. Since many of the magazine's photographers had previously served as military photographers—and had contracts with the popular magazine during their active service in combat units—the magazine cooperated with the army. From the beginning of the conflict until the drafting of conscripts and the Palestro (mediatized) gorge ambush in 1956, the magazine's iconography was suggestive of a military operation in Algeria, which somewhat contradicted the no-war official narrative. After the famous incident, in which 21 young conscripts from the Paris region were killed, *Paris Match* followed the official pacification policy and supported de Gaulle until the end of the war.

³⁵ In a letter to Cornell Capa, Taconis voiced his disappointment at the agency's decision: “I don't know of any Arab countries which do not support the FLN's fight for independence. Because Magnum is afraid of *raison d'être* [sic] of the French government I am put in a very delicate position. Undoubtedly, the FLN will find out

the ALN as an organized national army, with its own flag, uniform, weapons, and strong support from the local population, tarnished the French taboo of nationalists as “outlaws.”³⁶ From the French government’s perspective, Taconis’ reportage served FLN propaganda.

In tandem with censorship, the French government sought to shape the image of the military operation in Algeria, namely its official pacification policy, according to republican values. Under the authority of the SAPI/DN (*Service d’Action Psychologique et d’Information de la Défense Nationale*), army unit SCA (*Service Cinématographique des Armées*) was in charge of producing still and moving documentation of pacification propaganda during the war in Algeria. One of its main functions, as can be seen in the SCA’s archive at Fort d’Ivry, was to convince public opinion that France was mainly providing administrative, social, and educational services to Algeria’s civilian (Muslim) population. For instance, one of the army pacification images from October 1956 shows Muslim school children official welcoming of the Prefect of Constantine Maurice Papon arriving to inspect the village of Tarfat [fig. 2.5]. Other images of pacification show how the French army protected the Muslim population in Algeria’s poor countryside and attended to its need for medical treatment, education, and food [figs. 2.6, 2.7, 2.8 & 2.9]. The *Établissement cinématographique et photographique des armées*, in charge of the SCA, supplied all branches of the national media (press, television, and newsreels), as well as the *Ministère des Affaires étrangères*, with photo-essays on Algeria’s socio-economic modernization.³⁷ These

that the story has been killed, they will look for the results of my trip. It would be foolish to show my face in Egypt, Tunis, or Algeria in the coming months. . . . Magnum has limited its ways of world coverage.” In a letter to the Executive committee on October 7, 1957, Morris wrote: “[T]here was a general agreement [among Magnum members] that if this trend was to continue, Magnum would find life in France intolerable. We tried to find parallels in the discussion of past cases, some hypothetical, of stories on McCarthy, Korea, Indo-China . . . , red China etc.” The “Taconis Algeria incident” from the papers of John G. Morris, the Special Collections Research Center at the University of Chicago Library. I would like to thank my colleague Nadya Bair for bringing these documents to my attention.

³⁶ Russell Miller, *Magnum: Fifty Years on the Front line of History* (New York: Grove Press, 1997), 163-66; 245.

³⁷ Chominot, “Guerre des images,” 109-45. D’Almeida and Delporte, *Histoire des médias*, 179.

images, explains Chominot, were designated to reach their respective target audiences, whether metropolitans, international media, Muslim Algerians, or French conscripts.³⁸

Debunking French Pacification in Algeria

By the time Garanger was drafted into the French army in November 1959, he already opposed France's military operation in Algeria. Born in 1935, Garanger spent his childhood, which was marked by the Occupation, in Ézy-sur-Eure (Haute Normandie). Ideologically, he perceived himself as a "crypto-communist," meaning, in his case, a Catholic from a petit bourgeois background who found interest in Marxism without adhering to the PCF. As a university student in Lyon, where France's largest protest of reservists occurred, Garanger became acutely aware of the extent of opposition to the war among his generation.³⁹ The government decree in August 1959 revoking the temporary exemption of students from military service (*sursis d'incorporation*) then radicalized university students, placing them in growing tension not only with the authorities but also with the Socialist and Communist parties.⁴⁰ Moreover, media reports in anti-colonial reviews, such as *Témoignage chrétien*, only increased skepticism about the conflict among leftist Catholics like Garanger.⁴¹ But it was the famous communist writer Roger Vailland who most influenced the young man's understanding of the Algerian conflict. "Forget about the [Communist] party," said the charismatic novelist and journalist to his young protégé, "something else must to be done. The principal question at the moment is the colonial one. What is happening in Algeria is not

³⁸ Chominot, "Guerre des images," 190-91

³⁹ The opposition to the Algerian War received little public attention before the trial of the Jeanson Network (*Réseau Jeanson*) in September 1960.

⁴⁰ Eitan Orkibi, *Les étudiants de France et la guerre d'Algérie* (Paris: Syllepse, 2012).

⁴¹ On the opposition of Catholics to the Algerian War, see: Darcie Fontaine, *Decolonizing Christianity: Religion and the End of Empire in France and Algeria* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016). The vociferous opposition of *Témoignage chrétien* to the war included military disobedience based on the testimony of a Catholic reservist known as the "dossier Jean Müller."

about ‘maintaining order,’ but a classical colonial war . . . destined to fail.”⁴² Garanger’s profile, in this regard, was not too different from those who actively opposed the war. Their predominant characteristics, explains historian Martin Evans, were “left-wing” political orientation, “middle class” affiliation, “moral and intellectual outrage,” and “the memory of anti-fascist resistance.”⁴³

As a politicized conscript with deep mistrust towards the so-called “order maintaining operation,” Garanger was clearly not the ideal choice to produce pacification propaganda for the army. Yet for the commanders of the Second Infantry Regiment in the desert border zone of Aumale (today’s Sour El Ghazlane) between the Third (Kabylia) and Sixth (South) *Wilayas*, a soldier with deep photographic expertise was a rare commodity. Shortly after Garanger’s arrival in March 1960, battalion commander Henri Amédor de Mollans informally nominated him as “regimental photographer” alongside his clerical assignments at the commanding battalion. What De Mollans in fact did was to follow the trend set by senior officers in the French army, such as General Jacques Massu and Colonel Marcel Bigeard, who appointed (professional) soldiers as photographers so that glorifying images could be distributed to the French press.⁴⁴ By assigning a position at the unit level to a conscript whose

⁴² Sylvain Cypel, Marc Garanger, *Retour en Algérie* (Biarritz: Atlantica, 2007), 6. Vailland’s insistence that the Algerian crisis was in fact a colonial war reflected a paradigm shift among French intellectuals, who had profound influence on the young post-war generation regarding the Algerian War. Until 1956, even Left-wing intellectuals rejected Algerian independence. However, against the background of escalating violence in Algeria from 1957, historian James Le Sueur shows how intellectuals from the far Left to the right-of-center gradually refrained from calling for Franco-Algerian reconciliation. Disenchanted with the universalistic conception of French culture, they gradually came to support national separation based on the philosophical concept of the “Other,” which legitimized a new political narrative of identity politics that excluded Muslim Algerians from the French nation. James D. Le Sueur, *Uncivil War: Intellectuals and Identity Politics during the Decolonization of Algeria* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2001).

⁴³ Martin Evans, *The Memory of Resistance*, 232-3.

⁴⁴ Colonel Bigeard’s personal photographer was professional soldier Marc Flament, who published numerous photos (including of his commanding officer) in *Paris Match*, as well as several photo-books, which glorified the army during the war. The most famous was *Aucune Bête au monde* (Paris, Éditions de la Pensée modern, 1959), prefaced by Marcel Bigeard. Garanger admitted being outraged by Flament’s images in *Paris Match* before arriving to Algeria. As to commander de Mollans, before the Algerian War he participated in the liberation of Laval, and was sent to Indochina between 1946 and 1949, then to Cambodia (under king Sihanouk between 1953 and 1955). Similar to other military officers in Algeria, his worldview was shaped by his engagement with the Free French Forces, the Cold War, and the defeat in Indochina. However, in contrast to

opinions and inclinations remained unknown, De Mollans in fact made it possible for his photographer to escape the army censorship net.⁴⁵

Garanger's assignment was to produce various kinds of local pacification propaganda within the region of Aumale. For the army, photography served as an auxiliary instrument for winning the hearts and minds of the local Muslim population of the interior through a complementing carrot and stick tactic. On the one hand, this iconography was aimed at indoctrinating the civilian Muslim population with the notion of the benefits of French (superior) administration.⁴⁶ On the other hand, the army also used it for psychological warfare (*action psychologique*) in order to terrorize this target group and to discourage it from assisting the FLN. Photographs of captured nationalist "rebels"—whether dead or alive—served as the most common psychological-warfare tactic. CHPT (*compagnies de haut-parleurs et tracts*) units were in charge of spreading these oppositional yet complementing types of propaganda throughout Algeria's vast interior. The unit's small squads operated in secluded rural areas in order to use *local* intelligence to target more effectively the country's illiterate community via audio-visual means.⁴⁷ De Mollans' decision to name Garanger as photographer was therefore intended to make an important source accessible, since CHPT teams were not available at all times. And indeed, Garanger was commissioned to produce propaganda images that were shown to the civilian population accompanied by audio announcements. Within centers of the resettlement camps around Aumale, these photos showed their coerced inhabitants the benefits of pacification in general

signor officers who endorsed the generals' putsch in April 1961, de Mollans remained loyal to de Gaulle. On the mentality of French military commanders in Algeria, see: Evans, *Algeria*, 134.

⁴⁵ Garanger's photographic material was funded by money confiscated from dead ALN fighters, and he alone developed the negatives at the laboratory in Aumale, choosing what to show his superiors.

⁴⁶ Although de Gaulle's policy in Algeria included some minor modifications to his predecessors' tactics, he still followed Guy Mollet's twin-track strategy of "pacification," with a determined (counter-revolutionary) fighting against nationalist "rebels." Evans, *Algeria*, 241-43. De Gaulle's government adopted new terminology: building a "new Algeria" (*Algérie nouvelle*) instead of the Fourth Republic's "French-Algeria" (*Algérie française*).

⁴⁷ These mobile squads toured the country to show the rural Muslim population, via itinerary exhibitions and tracts, the benefits of French rule, as well as the dangers of subverting it. Similar to the SCA, the CHPT units were strictly censored by a central authority. See: Marie Chominot, *Guerre des images*, 449-502.

and of the Constantine Plan (for economic and social development) in particular. These images included the ceremonial inauguration of new roads and homes, the distribution of grain to veterans' families, medical treatment, the decoration of self-defense groups, and the giving out of prizes to school children in which de Mollans often played a leading role [figs. 2.10 & 2.11]. The goal of this iconography was to convey to Muslim Algerians that they benefitted, as equal citizens, from the advantages of belonging to the French Republic (as an imperial nation-state). Garanger, however, took advantage of his position as propaganda producer to secretly subvert France's official depiction of the pacification policy.

Garanger used photography as *political weapon* to discredit the government's pacification policy in Algeria, I argue, by revealing the army's systematic illegal repression of enfranchised Muslim Algerians. While the written testimonies of reservists and conscripts, as well as of journalists and intellectuals, failed to outrage the numerous supporters of the Left, photography had the potential to succeed in achieving this goal. The popular resonance of the medium, the common belief in its ability to document reality "objectively," and its aesthetic ability to trigger emotional response from viewers could help anti-war activists discredit the government's policies in the eyes of the public. Moreover, Garanger sought to strengthen his images by highlighting parallels between the army's extra-legal repression of Muslim Algerians and the Nazi Occupation of France. Of course, intellectuals, journalists, and anti-colonial militants had previously made this comparison,⁴⁸ but as a photographer, Garanger drew from the visual testimonies of Nazi war crimes that became public by the Allies during the Nuremberg trials.⁴⁹ In a recent interview, Garanger admitted how his

⁴⁸ This analogy was common among intellectuals on the Left, such as Pierre Vidal Naquet, Jean-Paul Sartre, and André Mandouze, among others. Le Sueur, *Uncivil War*, 155-60. It was also common among anti-colonial journals, such as *Témoignage Chrétien* and *France Observateur*, especially towards the war's end.

⁴⁹ During the Nuremberg Trials, the Allies introduced two major innovations to court procedure. The prosecution projected film footage and newsreels shot by British, Soviet, and American soldiers as they liberated Nazi concentration and death camps. These images, presented as human testimony and material evidence, were instrumental in naming and prosecuting war crimes. At the same time, the Nuremberg tribunal was filmed so that the memory of "the greatest trial in history" would remain strong among future generations. On the use of photography and film in testifying against state crimes since the Nuremberg trials, see: Christian

obligatory service in Algeria motivated him to uncover the realities that were concealed from ordinary citizens in metropolitan France:

It was my life's project. I told myself from the very first moment [of arrival to Algeria] that because France forced me to do this military service, which was a dirty trick [*saloperie*], [the French people] are going to see what it was really like I had this urge right from the start to photograph what I saw and everything that happened to prove it was a dirty, bloody war No other photographer did the same work as me . . . having as I did this will to testify I totally empathized with [the Algerians], who were tortured and assassinated by the French bastards.⁵⁰

Whereas Garanger retrospectively conceives of his photographic stance with regard to the war as a priori critical, I argue that it was his encounter with France's actual warfare tactics in Algeria that drove him (a posteriori) to visually portray pacification as a concealment mechanism. And indeed, the photographer used the adjective "shocking" to describe the impression that his first participation in a battle, witnessed in late March 1960 had upon him. This experience became his reference point for his entire documentation of the war. In a fire-fight with a scattered ALN force in the sector's No-Go Zone (*zone interdite*) on March 19, 1960, FLN political commissar Saïd Bouakli was caught alive in Bordj Okriss after being shot in the left leg. Shortly afterwards, Garanger decided to photograph the *wounded* POW at the interrogation bureau, where torture was practiced [fig. 2.12]. Two weeks later, he was horrified at the discrepancy between the actual sight of the prisoner's corpse and the forged report—signed by de Mollans, the *harki* chief, and the military doctor—concerning the latter's death. Garanger's photograph of Bouakli clearly refuted the report, which stated that the deceased "was shot twice in the thorax and once in the head"

Delage, *Caught on Camera: Film in the courtroom from the Nuremberg trials to the trials of the Khmer Rouge*, edited and translated by Ralph Schoolcraft and Mary Byrd Kelly (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013).

⁵⁰ Marc Garanger, Interview with author. Lamblore (Normandy): December 2011.

during battle in attempt to cover up torture.⁵¹ During the same operation, Garanger also documented a summary execution of an Algerian fighter. At the request of his commander, the young conscript photographed the corpse of Bouakli's bodyguard, Ouail Mohammed [fig. 2.13]. For the army, a picture of a dead body of FLN personnel could serve either as a standard procedure of the intelligence report for tracking FLN personnel or as psychological warfare.⁵² For civil purposes, however, the photograph (showing a wound to the heart caused by a single bullet) suggested that the bodyguard had in fact been executed. Clearly, in the hands of the press, both photographs could be used to cast blame on the army and the government, thus serving the anti-war opposition.

Garanger's photos of FLN captives also show how anti-colonial political engagement helped one cross the thin line between army and FLN propaganda. The image of the capturing of ALN commander Ahmed Ben-Chérif in late October 1960 shows how a



Illustration 2: Marc Garanger, self-portrait, Aïn Terzine, March 1960.

⁵¹ The document is at Garanger's private archive, but cannot be reproduced without authorization from the Ministère de la Défense. Marc Garanger's archive, Lamblore (Normandy). Another reference to the military document can be found in Marc Garanger, *Retour en Algérie*, 46-7.

⁵² The practice of photographing the dead originated from Bertillon's identification system that broadened to the French judicial police, which had systematically documented all corpses in the morgue from 1874 onward. Jean-Marc Berlière and Pierre Fournié, eds. *Fichés?: Photographie et identification 1850-1960* (Paris: Librairie Académique Perrin, 2011), 40. On French army use of photographic documentation of enemy corpses during the Algerian War, see: Chominot, "Guerre des images," 413-22.

commissioned photo, originally intended for psychological warfare, could, with minor adjustments, serve the adversary [fig. 2.14]. The regimental commander instructed Garanger in November 1960 to photograph the head of the first zone of the Fourth *Wilaya* (north of Aumale) in order to distribute a tract in the nearby “villages” (i.e. resettlement camps). The regiment’s psychological bureau gave the photographer the text, in French and Arabic, to which the photograph should be attached [fig. 2.15]:

The failures of the FLN continue

The self-proclaimed commander BEN CHÉRIF of the ALN was caught in turn in his hideout on October 25, 1960 in SEHANINE. Whereas [former] leaders of Zone 1 of Wilaya 4 were killed in battle, he surrendered without a fight by using his underwear, tied to his rifle, for a white flag. All those who attempt to go underground will be captured, like him, one by one. ALN fighters [*Djounoud*], do not prolong your unbearable life in the djebels. Do not wait until you are forced to wave your own underwear like the self-proclaimed ALN commander BEN CHÉRIF. Be dignified and stop this senseless fighting.

“COME WITH US”⁵³

Unlike in Garanger’s previous assignments, the regimental commander perceived a contradiction between the text and the image, and eventually decided not to use the images of Ben-Chérif from the prison in Aumale. Garanger’s sympathy for Algerian independence explains why he allowed the handcuffed prisoner to fashion his own image. The resolute expression of Ben-Chérif, his cuffed fists clenched in defiance, was more suitable for FLN propaganda. In another photograph of a POW, Garanger constructed his image as a religious (Christian) martyr [fig. 2.16]. Part of a series, the portrait occupies the entire square frame of a medium format 6X6 camera with a few small and blurry figures (French soldiers) in the far background. In light of the army’s official taboo on photographic representation of FLN fighters, such a close-up on an enemy soldier was clearly forbidden.⁵⁴ The image of the aloof

⁵³ Marc Garanger’s archive: “*Algérie vitage*” box.

⁵⁴ In a military letter from May 1955 on the control of the press, Colonel Schoen addressed the subject of photographing POW’s: “[P]hotographing *maquisards*, especially if they look well-fed, properly-equipped,

yet direct gaze of the POW, whose face was bleeding, also embodied FLN propaganda because it represented an anonymous icon of the Algerian warrior: the martyr (*chahid*) fighting a holy war (*jihad*).⁵⁵ Not surprisingly, the portrait was published on the cover of *Al-Moudjahid*, the FLN official journal, legitimizing the organization's political monopoly in independent Algeria.⁵⁶ Ironically, both portraits of FLN prisoners echo the iconographic martyrdom of the French *résistance*, whose heroic and hopeless struggle against the occupier was greatly celebrated in the French media after the Liberation.⁵⁷

The army itself takes central stage in Garanger's testimony of France's violation of republican values. In the national media, the army was constructed in the image of its SAS units (*sections administratives spécialisées*), which administered Algeria's rural Muslim population. These units became so mediatized during the conflict precisely because they embodied the peaceful ethos of pacification: protecting, administering, constructing, nursing, and educating.⁵⁸ Garanger's documentation, by contrast, blamed the army for being the conflict's real perpetrator due to the brutal and arbitrarily repression of defenseless civilian majority in Algeria. In his account, though, the photographer attributed most of the army's negative attributes—the spirit of ruthless vengeance and racism—to career soldiers. A portrait of professional soldiers from Commando 13 at Borj Okriss in May 1961 clearly counters the image of soldiers that was prevalent in the press [fig. 2.17]. They felt sufficiently

happy and proud, cannot but incites other youngsters [*garçons*] to join the rebellion [*maquis*]." Letter by Colonel Schoen on controlling the press, May 31 1955, Archives SHD/DAT, 1H 1130/1. My translation from Chominot, "*Guerre des images*," 591.

⁵⁵ A similar analogy between Algerian suffering and religious martyrdom was constructed in the opening sequence of Gillo Pontecorvo's *La bataille d'Alger* (1966). J. S. Bach's opening from the Mattheus Passion was playing in the background of the scene in which a naked, tortured Arab man tried to commit suicide after giving Ali La Pointe's hideout place to Massu's paratroopers. The winner of the Venice Film Prize, explains Evans, adopted Fanon's theory of decolonized Algeria for his cinematic masterpiece. Evans, *Algeria*, 344.

⁵⁶ *Al-Moudjahid* (9 November 1964) no page. The photograph was reframed in order to crop the French soldiers.

⁵⁷ The French Left, and in particular the PCF that branded itself as "*le parti des 75,000 fusillés*," elaborated the image of martyrdom of the resistance to the Nazi Occupation.

⁵⁸ On the SAS, see: Alain Maillard de la Morandais, "Les SAS", in *La France en guerre d'Algérie*, 100-03; and Jennifer Johnson Onyedum, "Humanizing Warfare: The Politics of Medicine, Health Care, and International Humanitarian Intervention in Algeria, 1954-62" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2010), 21-63.

at ease in front of a fellow soldier's camera to act naturally. In an interview, Garanger noted that the men proudly admitted being "murderers of the first degree" and declared repeatedly: "in Indo[china] we killed Viets [kong], now we came for some rebels [*fells*]." ⁵⁹ The menacing facial expression of the conscript (on the left), hyperbolically aping the obliviously smiling sergeants to his right, offers by way of caricature a glimpse at their inveterate belligerence. In another photograph of a professional soldier, taken around at the same time and place, Granger's subtext about the army is stated even more explicitly. The blurry element in the photo, a technique pioneered at the time by photographers William Klein and Ernst Haas (who did it in color), created an effect of duplicating the face of the shouting commander. This visual effect renders his roar faceless, which gives the figure of the professional soldier an aura of ruthless cruelty. The two easily recognizable elements in the photo, the cap and the paratrooper wings, are the ones that designate the military figure as a career soldier [fig. 2.18].

Garanger complemented this aspect of the army with the record of the daily lives of conscripts, whom he presented as victims who were forced to fight a dirty war. From the conscript-photographer's point of view, the difference between the two groups of soldiers was crucial. In his book on French soldiers during the Algerian War, historian Benjamin Stora characterizes military life as a macho culture in which relief from fear, boredom, and anxiety was found in heavy drinking, masturbation, nonsensical competitions, and occasional visits to brothels. Garanger thus dwells on moments in which the conscripts express their vulnerability, for instance through the celebration of their last hundred days in active service (*père cent*) with heavy drinking and castration jokes [fig. 2.19]. ⁶⁰ The gesture of castration, explains Iain Mossman, draws on publicized accounts of atrocities committed against French

⁵⁹ Garanger, Interview with author. Lamblore, Normandy, December 2011.

⁶⁰ Stora, *Appelés en guerre d'Algérie* (Paris: Gallimard, 1997), 76-87.

soldiers by the FLN that French propaganda used in order to discredit the organization.⁶¹ In another photo, Garanger dwelled on melancholic feelings shared by conscripts, known in military slang since the Great War as *le cafard* [fig. 2.20].⁶² Against his commander's intention, Garanger's portrayal of the French army was neither heroic nor pacifying.

The Muslim auxiliary force, the *Harkis*, was integral to Garanger's discrediting of the army's republican credentials. Pacification propaganda portrayed the Muslim Algerian soldier, who "volunteered" to fight against nationalist "outlaws," as the cornerstone of France's higher aim: turning Muslim Algerians into French citizens. But rather than symbolizing equality in the army, Garanger's testimony showed the *Harkis* as republican mythology that covered up a reality of brutal and cynical occupation. His images in fact strongly suggest that the *Harkis* joined the army due to the inescapable pauperization of the Algerian peasantry. In the photo "A *Harki* Contemplates the Ruins of the Village O'bara" [fig. 2.21] from October 1960, Granger draws attention to the army's scorched earth policy, which caused the dependency of the rural population on state assistance. Through a micro perspective of a single anonymous *Harki*, the image ties the army's systematic forced migration of villagers and nomads—two million, by the end of the war—to the drafting of men among the uprooted.⁶³ The army's systematic destruction of villages within the

⁶¹ In official publication of brochures by the government, such as *Le Martyr de l'Algérie française: le massacre d'El-Alia 20 août 1955* mentioned earlier, there was a systematic use of lurid photographs of dead French soldiers, whose bodies were brutalized. For more on the mimicking of Garanger's photo on the act of castration, see: Iain J. Mossman, "Constructions of the Algerian War: Appelés in French Cultural Memory" (PhD diss., Cardiff University, 2013), 146.

⁶² For more information about the *cafard*, see: Jean-Charles Jauffret, "The War Culture of French Combatants in the Algerian Conflict," in *The Algerian War and the French Army*, 109-10.

⁶³ The history of the *Harki*, explains Stora, was inseparable from "the fate suffered by the Algerian peasantry during the Algerian War." Stora, *Algeria, 1830-2000: A Short History* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001), 102. As a result of the complete dependency of the dislocated rural population on the French army, *Harki* auxiliary corps rose to 60,000 men during the grand offensive in 1959-1960 (the Challe Plan). On the total dependence of the relocated population in the resettlement camps, see: Michel Rocard, *Rapport sur les camps de regroupement et autres textes sur la guerre d'Algérie* (Paris: Mille et une nuits, 2003), 123-32. As manpower for the French army dramatically increased from 1956 onwards, France increased the draft among Algeria's native Muslim population. In addition to Muslim Algerians who were regularly drafted into the French army, known as *soldats français de souche nord-africaine*, it created additional auxiliary units of Muslim Algerians, which included "self-defense groups," *moghazins* (who protected SAS units), and the *Harki* units known officially as "mobile groups for rural protection." Stora, *Appelés en guerre d'Algérie*, 108-11.

“Operation Zone” and the “No-Go Zone” was intended to prevent the ALN from receiving any assistance from the local population. This policy of collective punishment, Garanger’s pictures show, was used to put the inhabitants of Algeria’s interior in an unbearable position that would leave them no other option but to join the French army.

Garanger’s account of the army’s manipulation of Algeria’s local population, which it claimed to protect, into a fratricidal war thus echoed France’s recent historical trauma: the Occupation. The series of images of an “interrogation of a shepherd at a point of a rifle” by *harkis* conveys this analogy [fig. 2.22].⁶⁴ Taken during “operation H[é]loporté” in October 1960, this sequence unveils the routine of a “counter-revolutionary war” as ongoing violence that the army perpetrated against civilian population. It goes without saying that taking photographs that showed any hostility—let alone violence—between the army and Algeria’s civilian population was strictly forbidden.⁶⁵ Yet the opening image, which showed a peasant holding his hands in the air as he protects his young son in front of a soldier who aim a rifle at them, went further than that. The army’s strong emphasis on civilian victimhood made the parallel with the Nazi Occupation almost inevitable. The following image, which freezes the split second the *harki* was delivering his blow—“the decisive moment,” in the words of Henri Cartier-Bresson—clearly undermined the image of a heroic army fighting against terrorists.

To substantiate evidence of destruction caused by the army’s forced migration policy as being objective, Garanger relied on aerial photography. Throughout the war, explains Chominot, the army relied heavily on this photographic method for intelligence gathering and geographic reconnaissance missions, which were intended to give its ground units an advantage over the adversary’s guerilla forces, which were more familiar with the terrain. Starting in the First World War, France made use of this photographic category, also known

⁶⁴ This series in contact sheet number 3249 contains 6 medium-format exposures. It starts with an *harki*, shown from the back, pointing his rifle at an unarmed shepherd who lifts his hands in the air and whose son stands behind him. The following documents an identification inspection by the soldiers, and concludes with photos of the interrogation.

⁶⁵ Chominot, “Guerre des images,” 223.

as “geographic photography,” to map space, whether for military purposes or civilian purposes, such as urbanism.⁶⁶ During the Algerian War, aerial photography was a military strategy of dividing the country into three separate zones.⁶⁷ The state’s controlling view from above was instrumental in promoting pacification propaganda because of its exclusive focus on flagship modernization projects, whether in housing or industry. Similar to the *Documentation française*, this iconography erased all disturbing elements—which could be seen *only* from below—that countered the narrative of pacification as beneficial for Muslim Algerians. In the sector of Aumale, de Mollans used his remaining “helicopter hours” to commission propaganda images of his battalion’s contribution to “the glory of France:” the construction of “new villages.” This opportunity, in turn, enabled the young conscript to promote counter-propaganda by documenting the “the crimes of France” with equal credibility. Garanger’s aerial photos showed the devastation of entire rural villages, which were leveled by the army in the “No-Go Zone” [fig. 2.23]. Facing harsh criticism by intellectuals, journalists, and some politicians, the army was determined to conceal from the public any information about the scale of destruction it used against the Muslim civilian population in Algeria. Garanger’s photos, worse still, suggested another disturbing parallel with the Occupation: that of France’s “martyred village,” Oradour-sur-Glane, which became the foremost commemoration site in the postwar era.⁶⁸

In the pacification zone, Garanger’s aerial photos of the resettlement camps complemented his images of destroyed village(s) in the “No-Go Zone.” The photo of Mezdour, a trapezoid-shaped camp built around an army post, accentuates the theme of direct

⁶⁶ On the use of aerial photography in mapping space since the First World War, see: Jeanne, *The View from Above: The Science of Social Space*. On this practice as documentary genre, see: Olivier Lughon, *Le Style documentaire*, 89-91.

⁶⁷ Chominot, “guerre des images,” 308-49.

⁶⁸ On Oradour as symbol of the Occupation and French martyrdom during the post-war period, see: Sarah Farmer, *Martyred Village: Commemorating the 1944 Massacre at Oradour-sur-Glane* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000).

military surveillance of the resettled civilian Muslim population [fig. 2.24].⁶⁹ The photographer's caption strengthens this interpretation by referring to "Vauban," the military engineer under Louis XIV who revolutionized fortifications. The emphasis in Garanger's photographic testimony on strict military surveillance—rather than on defense—was clearly intended to refute the basic premise of pacification, namely the willingness of Muslim Algerians to become French citizens. At the same time, the image can also be interpreted in a diametrically opposed way. Whereas for anti-colonial activists the example of Mezdour was yet another evidence of illegal repression; from the state's point of view, Mezdour represented the army's commitment to protect Algerian civilians. Yet, given the critical accounts of the resettlement camps that were published in the French press following Michel Rocard's official state report on the subject in early 1959, the aerial view of Mezdour was potentially damaging for the government.⁷⁰ Garanger's aerial images in fact accused de Gaulle's government of erecting *concentration camps* in Algeria. And indeed, historian Sylvie Thénault explains that in formal documents, including Rocard's own report, government officials consciously avoided the use of the politically charged term "camps," and replaced it with "centers" or "villages."⁷¹

Given the immense significance awarded to the figure of the Muslim Algerian in pacification propaganda, Garanger showed from the ground how the army systematically violated basic civil liberties of those living in the resettlement camps. Though historians

⁶⁹ The image caption confirms that the resettlement camp was built as a military fort constructed "à la Vauban." In addition to the caption on the back of the contact sheet, Garanger referred to it in his *La Guerre d'Algérie vue par un appelé du contingent* (Paris: Seuil, 1984), 50-1. The photographer's emphasis on the geometric element, rather than more typical resettlement camps, in this famous photo was because the "streets" were in fact facing machine-gun posts. Garanger supplanted his aerial photos with images taken on the ground that show the dislocated peasants rebuilding their new homes, at no cost to the army.

⁷⁰ Michel Rocard handed his critical report on the resettlement camps to Algeria's General Governor under de Gaulle, as well as the *Ministère de la Justice*. Though the sections of it appeared in *Le Monde* in mid-April 1959 (followed by the international commission's report on the internment camps in Algeria in early January 1960) stirred public criticism, the subject remained largely unknown to the broad public.

⁷¹ Sylvie Thénault, "Rappels historiques sur les camps de regroupement de la guerre d'Algérie," in Michel Rocard, *Rapport sur les camps de regroupement*, 237-38. The (euphemistic) military term for this policy was "tightening" (*resserrement*), and Rocard employed the term "centers." Ibid., 116; 120. Not surprisingly, the new edition of Rocard's text was mostly illustrated with Garanger's photos.

today consider the forced migration of a quarter of Algeria's population during the conflict to be a "failure with incalculable human consequences," state propaganda presented this highly contested initiative as part of a grand project that successfully integrated Muslims.⁷² In an official photographically illustrated brochure from late 1960, "Algeria: The Birth of a Thousand Villages," the author claimed that the "villages [have] open[ed] their inhabitants' to the modern world."⁷³ Several examples illustrate how Garanger delegitimized the army's mistreatment of the civilian population to increase criticism against the government—initially raised by Rocard—in order to promote Algerian independence.⁷⁴

In May 1960, Garanger photographed from medium range a protest of the inhabitants of *Ain Terzine* shortly before being halted by an armored vehicle (carrying a machine gun), which blocked the road [fig. 2.25]. Garanger's own caption emphasizes the army's repressive act against civilians: "[A]fter the commander's decision to move the inhabitants of the village [*douar*] of Rouabas to the "resettlement village" of Meghanine, the men launched a protest. The commander sends a half-track to stop them."⁷⁵ Interestingly, the site of conflict between

⁷² Thénault, *Ibid.*, 237-38.

⁷³ In a paternalistic tone, the brochure explained how under-administrated rural Muslim communities started to catch up with fellow Frenchmen after they were transferred to the resettlement camps: "[D]ue to fear for their security, and in order to isolate the rebellion, thousands of people had been uprooted, and then moved into resettlement centers . . . in spite of the tireless efforts of soldiers, officers, administrators, doctors, and social workers to handle the most urgent cases and prevent a catastrophe. But something else was needed. New villages . . . with new structures, equipped with resources, close to formerly cultivated fields, and possessing rich enough water sources. This necessity was recognized, accepted, and eventually materialized, as Algeria's physiognomy transformed little by little. . . . Every day, numerous difficulties were met to erect, give prominence to [*mettre en valeur*], and multiply the sources of progress and the means for existence . . . Every day, thousands of Frenchmen—military personnel and civilians—have struggled so that the inhabitants of these villages could . . . improve their condition and open up to the modern world." General governor of Algeria, *Algérie: Naissance de mille villages* (Algiers: Baconnier, 1961), 3-4.

⁷⁴ In the segments published in the press in mid-April 1959, Rocard addressed the main hardships of the camps' residents. These included the need to rebuild their new homes without state assistance, inaccessibility to their former lands (pasture and agriculture). But worst of all, noted Rocard, were the severe lack of food and proper sanitation that caused an extremely high mortality rate among children: "It is important to address the problem on its own terms: in continuation to the pacification of a million men, women and children, these people are practically under threat of hunger. Traditional administrative methods are totally maladjusted to confront such a problem." Rocard, *Rapport sur les camps de regroupement et autres textes sur la guerre d'Algérie*, 140. This news, of course, stirred public criticism against the government. Thénault, *ibid.*, 227-9. After the publication of the international commission's report on the internment camps in *Le Monde* on January 5, 1960, public criticism was again on the rise. Stora, *Algeria, 1830-2000: A Short History*, 75.

⁷⁵ The caption of the photo in Garanger's private archive is attached to contact sheet number AL3871. The photo appears on the cover of Michel Rocard, *Ibid.*

the local population and the military took place on a road, which was a key republican pacification theme, including in Garanger's own commissioned photos.⁷⁶ In this regard, Garanger's composition shows that state propaganda was void because the army used its power and authority in Algeria to force its will upon that of the native population. In another photograph of a resettlement camp near Aumale, Garanger gives a close-up of the villagers' protest. The (male) notables of the village Rouabas explain to de Mollans that they cannot abandon their lands, which were their commune's sole source of livelihood [fig. 2.26]. Here again, his composition emphasizes the antagonistic relation between the army and the civilian population. Whereas the representative of French authority is faceless—de Mollans is shown from the back (the military rank, officers' cap, and unit symbol are the only recognizable elements)—the village notables occupy the forefront of the frame. Moreover, the freezing of their expressive gestures, especially the village chief's (*Mukhtar*) hands while rejecting the army's draconian measures, accentuated the contrast with the faceless military commander.

Probably the most powerful denunciation of pacification in the resettlement camp of Taguedide is the photograph of an old Berber woman protesting, in tears, the military command in Aumale [fig. 2.27]. The photographer's caption is essential to decoding the scene; it explains that French soldiers raped the woman's daughter. Though there is nothing in the picture to tell that directly to the viewer, the fact that a woman went to complain was exceptional. The two previous examples showed, only male representatives protested to the military authorities. Hence, there was not a single woman in the frames discussed above. The picture therefore alludes to a gender-specific mistreatment of the civilian population by the French army. Rape, clearly, was even a greater taboo than torture in the French media during the Algerian War, explains historian Raphaëlle Branche. "In addition to the silence of

⁷⁶ As historian Eugen Weber powerfully argued in *Peasants into Frenchmen*, the road was a key proponent for consolidating national identity under the Third Republic by linking the countryside to the urban centers in metropolitan France. Eugen Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976), 195-220.

Algerians,” write Branche, “officers were not always in a hurry to punish the rapists serving under them.”⁷⁷ In Garanger’s photograph, moreover, the sobbing old Berber lady stands against the background of a school door sign. The school, to a greater degree than the road in republican worldview, was fundamental to forming autonomous and moral French citizens. The juxtaposition between the female victim and the school sign in the frame served to thoroughly delegitimize any pretense to pacify and “integrate” Muslim Algerians.⁷⁸ Whereas previous photos of the resettlement camps could have been justified as unavoidable urgent measures, rape unequivocally condemned pacification as brutal colonial abuse.

Ironically, what eventually granted Garanger aesthetic recognition as an eminent photographer originated from the most “non-artistic” type of documentary photography: the identity card. It was the issuing of “census certificates” (*certificats de recensement*) to the inhabitants of the resettlement camps around Aumale that ultimately drove Garanger to turn the “pacifying” gaze of the state against itself. Garanger did so by fusing the expressiveness of his subjects within this legal photographic *document* par excellence in order to conceive it as collective portraiture of resistance to French sovereignty.⁷⁹ In other words, the incorporation of an *aesthetic* style into an especially rigid category of documentary photography created a powerful contrast, which strongly articulated the rejection of pacification by the “pacified.”

⁷⁷ Though the number of rapes during the Challe offensive was especially high, sex violence was not perpetrated systematically, argues Branche. In the virile culture of the French military during the late 1950s according to which gender identities were perceived in Manichean terms, male sexuality—often conceptualized as “uncontrollable”—was channeled to hurt women. By extension, rape was also intended to humiliate their social environments. Raphaëlle Branche, “Sexual Violence During the Algerian War,” in *Brutality and Desire: War and Sexuality in Europe’s Twentieth century* by Dagmar Herzog, ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 251.

⁷⁸ Eugen Weber also designates in *Peasants into Frenchmen* the school as one of the main agencies of tuning patois-speaking peasants into French citizens. Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen*, 303-38. During the Algerian War, education was one of the cornerstones of pacification policy.

⁷⁹ Lughon, *Le Style documentaire*, 20-50; 162-64. On the use of photography for identification purposes by the French police and the *Ministère de la Justice* and *Ministère de l’intérieur*, see: Jean-Marc Berlière and Pierre Fournié *Fichés?*, 53-102.

The official decision to issue “census certificates” to Muslim Algerians living in the country’s interior during the war embodied the tension between standard state control, on the one hand, and surveillance, on the other. From a legal standpoint, though the decision to issue census certificates was related to the introduction of an identity card in the metropole in 1956, it was applied exclusively to Algeria.⁸⁰ Under the civil authority of the *Ministère de l’intérieur*, this initiative started in early 1957. The *Direction de la Sûreté Nationale d’Algérie*, charged with handling police matters, directed this procedure administratively. The requirement to include fingerprints alongside the identification photo—according to strict criteria—shows that the certificate was preconceived primarily for policing purposes. As pacification was put into effect during the conflict, the military surveillance tactics gained the upper hand. The Special Powers’ Act gave the army the mandate to undermine civil liberties as a means of defeating the nationalist rebellion. The census certificate was therefore put to use as means of distinguishing the rebels from the civilian population, rather than for civil purposes, argues Chominot.⁸¹ The new intelligence and surveillance tactics initiated during the Battle of Algiers between January and September 1957 shaped how the certificate was used in practice.⁸² Specifically, the army introduced an integrated network of identification documentation to create an extensive auto-surveillance system according to which Algerian society policed itself. Throughout Algerian territory, the certificate was an identification tool

⁸⁰ This initiative of the *Ministère de l’intérieur* was directly related to the decision to issue the national identity card in metropolitan France in early 1956. As historian Pierre Piazza and sociologist Alexis Spire argue, the state sought to increase surveillance of the segregated community of Muslim Algerian workers within the metropole. Pierre Piazza, *Histoire de la carte nationale d’identité*. Paris: Odile Jacob, 2004, 289. Alexis Spire, “Semblables et pourtant différents: La citoyenneté paradoxale des ‘Français musulmans d’Algérie’ en métropole,” *Genèses* 53 (2003/4): 61. This tendency accentuated much further with the introduction of new policing and intelligence gathering by the Seine police Prefect since 1958. For more information, see: Emmanuel Blanchard “Le fichage des émigrés d’Algérie (1925-1962),” in *Fichés? Photographie et identification 1850-1960*, 235-50.

⁸¹ Chominot, “Guerre des images,” 399.

⁸² *Ibid.*, 350-400. During the battle of Algiers, Colonel Roger Trinquier developed this elaborate surveillance system of index cards, which was supplemented by a network of informers present in each street of the Casbah. This intelligence network enabled the army to know exactly about each individual who moved in and out of the capital. Evans, *Algeria*, 205.

that served the army for its *quadrillage* tactic of isolation and control.⁸³ Hence, when civilians was relocated into resettlement camps, it automatically received census certificates, which indicated all the information the army needed to inquire about each suspect in a given region of the country [fig. 2.28]. Not surprisingly, many of Garanger's pictures of "ratissage" operations included the inspection of identification paper [fig. 2.29].

"I had no illusions about these photo IDs . . . I knew it was an aggression," stated Garanger in a recent interview about the thousands of relocated Berber inhabitants around Aumale he photographed between October and December 1960.⁸⁴ Because there was no civilian photographer available in the area, Garanger was ordered to assist SAS officers with the registration of the resettled population in the camps of *Aïn Terzine*, *Bodj Okriss*, *Le Mezdour*, *Le Meghnine*, and *Souk El Knemis*. Yet whether or not Garanger simply followed orders in the process, it was ultimately the gazes reflected back at him through the lens—primarily by women, the vast majority of the population within the resettlement camps—that made him definitively realize the population's rejection of French pacification.⁸⁵ His post factum depiction of the photographic setting confirms his recognition that it was a *coercive* colonialist act used against the local population:⁸⁶

In each village, inhabitants are assembled by a military commander, and then they have to sit on a low stool, outdoors, against a white clay-wall. The facial expressions of the photographed people are most severe, especially those of women stripped of their veils, whose faces are frozen and stiff, furious, desperate, and terrified. They are posing for the camera for the first time ever in order to be issued identity cards by the French state.⁸⁷

⁸³ Chominot, "Guerre des images," 392.

⁸⁴ Garanger, interview with author, December 2011.

⁸⁵ For a discussion of France's civilizing mission during the Algerian War as modernization narrative, see: Matthew Connolly, *A Diplomatic Revolution*, 27; 177.

⁸⁶ On France's identification mechanism as means of dominating Algerian society through categorization during the war, see: Gérard Noiriel, "L'identification des personnes," in Xavier Crettiez and Pierre Piazza, eds., *Du papier à la biométrie : Identifier les individus* (Paris: Les Presses de Sciences Po, 2006), 32.

⁸⁷ Christèle Noulet, "Entre le pire et le mieux: les fiches du recensement (Algérie 1959-1960)," in *Fichés?*, 244.

Interestingly, Garanger used the term “French state” (*l'état français*), which alludes to the Vichy regime that employed it in antithetical way to the word “Republic.”

The portraits of Berber women in the resettlement camps turned out to be the most evocative symbol of Algerian resistance to French sovereignty in Garanger's entire record of the war [figs. 2.30, 2.31 & 2.32]. Deeply influenced by American photographer Eduard Curtis, Garanger framed the images of the Berber inhabitants in the most dignified manner as *portraits* rather than identification photos. Instead of focusing exclusively on their faces, in accord with the strict identification directives of the DSNA, Garanger included the white background and carefully orchestrated light and subject position.⁸⁸ However, it was the expressive quality of the women who were forced to unveil themselves that led the photographer to conceptualize the images as emblems of colonial war against Algeria's native population. The defying glances, silent rage or even sense of vulnerability of the naked faces of the women in the frame were so evocative also due to the contemporary conception that women could only resist French sovereignty passively.⁸⁹ In this regard, the photographer and contemporary viewers interpreted them primarily from a national perspective rather than from a gender-centered one. These portraits revealed the fundamental contradiction between colonialism and republicanism, because pacification propaganda constructed the act of *unveiling*, both literal and figurative, of Muslim women—oftentimes by European women—as an act of liberation. This gesture was the symbol of the initiation of the former into French universal values, namely secularism, in the name of Franco-Muslim “fraternization.”⁹⁰ Pacification propaganda presented the reforms of French authority as liberating women from religious oppression. Among propaganda films that directly appealed to women—and

⁸⁸ The images that appeared in the actual census certificates were cropped around the subjects' faces.

⁸⁹ Interview with the author, *ibid.* On the participation of women in the ranks of the FLN, see: Evans, *Algeria*, 125-26; 173-75; 205-06; 330; 343.

⁹⁰ Shepard, *The Invention of Decolonization*, 188.

accelerated since the launching of the Constantine Plan—were *The Falling Veil*, *The Arab Women of the Bled*, and *Women, Blessing of God*.⁹¹

Garanger's portraits, which were eventually published in the summer of 1962, gained precedence over the rest of his documentation of the war. As soon as the conscript returned for vacation in April 1961, he tried to publish his visual testimony of the war in *Témoignage Chrétien*. Towards the end of the war, when national debate about Algeria was extremely charged, Garanger sought to supply documentary evidence that would help the opposition pressure de Gaulle's government to accept Algerian independence. However, after Garanger showed a collection of a few dozen images to Robert Barrat from *Témoignage Chrétien*, the latter explained to him that no French journal would risk publishing them. Barrat, who had been active in intellectuals' antiwar groups and arrested in September 1955, knew what he was taking about.⁹² He understood that *Témoignage Chrétien*, which was confiscated on more occasions than any other journal, could not risk being seized or closed altogether. Taking Barrat's advice, Garanger crossed the border in civilian clothes to Switzerland in an attempt to publish his images in the famous photo-magazine *L'Illustré Suisse* in Lausanne. The magazine editors, though, preferred to be cautious and waited for the publication of the article on the theme of the liberation of Algerian woman written by journalist Charles-Henri Favrod, an engaged *tiersmondiste* and fervent FLN supporter.⁹³

Favrod, who was ignorant of the context in which Garanger produced his portraits, altered their original meaning, using them as an illustrative device of *tiersmondiste* ideology.

⁹¹ Evans, *Ibid*, 249. This iconography could also be found in the media, for instance the *Paris Match* reportage on the May 1958 *coup* in the forum of Algiers showed photos of unveiled Muslim women as a moment of liberation. For a comprehensive discussion of the theme of unveiling, see: Neil Macmaster: *Burning the veil: the Algerian war and the 'emancipation' of Muslim women, 1954-62* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009).

⁹² Robert Barrat, "Un journaliste chez les hors-la-loi Algériens", *France-Observateur* (15 September, 1955). On the journalist wartime experience, see: Robert Barrat, *Un journaliste au coeur de la guerre d'Algérie, 1954-1962* (Paris : Editions de l'Aube, 2001).

⁹³ Charles Henri Favrod not only met with Ferhat Abbas in Tunis, but also published a series of third-worldist books. Charles-Henri Favrod, *Le poids de l'Afrique* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1958); *La révolution algérienne* (Paris: Plon, 1959); *Le FLN et l'Algérie* (Plon, 1962).

Specifically, the Swiss journalist relied heavily on Franz Fanon's theory of war as a moment of liberation for Algerian women as part of the Algerian Revolution.⁹⁴ The six portraits of Algerian women by Garanger were accordingly printed alongside a text that completely obscured their original meaning, construing them as emblems of the radical social changes—triggered by the war—that had led to a substantial improvement in the status of women in newly independent Algeria:

To manifest their emancipation, [Algerian women] have renounced the symbol of the veil By courageously rejecting the colonial order, they have also combatted the backward order of pleasing lord [*seigneur*] and master. They are now citizens, and the [Algerian] Republic will have to take into consideration these young women, these Djamilas [Bouhired], whose name has become a symbol and whose face incarnates the demand of the militant [subject], not the silence of the object.⁹⁵

The portraits of unveiled women, explained the caption, revealed their condemnation of *traditional* Algerian society that had tattooed their faces to designate them as property in a patriarchal society [fig. 2.33]. The propaganda in favor of the FLN in the photo-essay “[T]he Algerians behind the Veil” not only disregarded the local Berber identity of the Kabilyi women – it also bore striking similarities to pacification propaganda. The Algerian illustrated magazine, *Al Djazaïri*, published some of Garanger's photos—originally commissioned by the French military to promote the Constantine Plan—to illustrate the successful implementation of socialism in independent Algeria under Ben Bella's regime [fig. 2.34].⁹⁶ These examples show that in the early 1960s the media continued to use photography to illustrate texts rather than take full advantage of its potential as a journalistic document in its own right.

⁹⁴ In the article “Algeria Unveiled” from his book *L'An cinq de la Révolution Algérienne* (1959), Franz Fanon argued that the forced unveiling of Algerian women by the French occupier motivated them to harness it as a weapon against the French, and to the dawn of a new age in decolonized Algeria.

⁹⁵ Charles-Henri Favrod and Marc Garanger, “Les Algérienne derrière la voile,” *L'illustré Suisse* 45 (8 November, 1962): 32-3. Paradoxically, independent Algeria at the time was undergoing aggressive Arabisation under Ahmed Ben Bella's regime, which was repressive to Berbers and women alike.

⁹⁶ *Al Djazaïri* 9 (18 May, 1964): 12. Garanger also published photos in the publication of the FLN-affiliated organization in France: *L'amicale des algériens en France*.

Garanger's images were also part of the construction of the unofficial memory of the Algerian war in the 1960s and 1970s, and, to a much greater extent, since the 1980s. Garanger's photos in the aftermath of the war, unlike those of Kagan, were presented in milieus of photography enthusiasts after the young veteran started a career as a professional photographer. For the occasion of his winning the *Prix Niépce* in 1966, granted by the Albert Plécy's association *Gens d'images*, a segment of his oeuvre, presented at the Nicéphore Niépce Museum in Chalon-sur-Saône, was dedicated to the Algerian War. Also as guest in the television show dedicated to photography, *La chambre noire*, by Albert Plécy and Michel Tournier, Garanger's portrait series of Algerian women took center stage in his account of the war. In exhibitions during the 1960s and 1970s, including the collective portraiture exhibition at the BN in 1972, Garanger's portraits were described as showing "faces devoid of happiness, often worried, rebellious, or hermetic, whose dark accusing gaze weighs heavily [on the spectator]." ⁹⁷



Illustration 3: Marc Garanger receiving the Niépce prize (Albert Plécy in the far background), Chalon-sur-Saône, 1966.

⁹⁷ "[Garanger's] discomfort as a European, acting in terms of an "occupier"... facing the looks that do not hide their definite hostility." "Au Bar-Club de la M.C.H. jusqu'à la fin du janvier les photographies de Marc Garanger: Femme Algériennes," *Le Havre* (16 January, 1970).

Yet Garanger's photographs acquired critical political resonance in the early 1980s from the twentieth anniversary of the war's end. In light of the interest in Garanger's work from the war in the international photographic festival at Arles, the book *Femmes Algériennes 1960* was published in 1982. On this occasion, the photographer responded to his critics, who accused him of abusing Algerian women, by restating his role as a witness rather than as a portraitist during the war: "I . . . was the first witness to their silent, violent protestation. I want to pay them homage."⁹⁸ Two years later, Garanger succeeded to publish *La guerre d'Algérie vue par un appelé du contingent*, prefaced by none other than Francis Jeanson, former leader of *Réseau Jeanson*.⁹⁹ The unmistakable tone of this book is acerbically critical of France's "order-maintaining operation" in Algeria:

The Algerian War was a trap into which I had fallen like hundreds of thousands of my generation. . . . I was a provisionally exempted conscript, and from one deferment to the next I thought of escaping this war Never had I felt so manipulated The first encounter I had with the reality of that war was [the death of] Saïd Bouakli. What a shock! Reality, it's a lie, an atrocity No one was surprised to see me taking pictures: it was my occupation as a soldier My revolt was the result of the horrors I had witnessed. I [now] republish these images for all those who lived through this war, so as to lift the veil of silence that has been covering it.¹⁰⁰

The proliferation of collective exhibitions, as well as the publication of photobooks on the war, rendered Garanger's documentation a central reference point in the critical discourse concerning the war, whose existence the French government continued to deny until the late 1990s. The reception of Garanger's photographs of the Algerian War, in this regard, reflects not only the politics of the war's commemoration but also the changes that occurred in the status of photography in postwar France.¹⁰¹

⁹⁸ Garanger, *Femmes Algériennes 1960* (Paris: Contrejour, 1982), 2.

⁹⁹ For a comprehensive discussion of Francis Jeanson, see: Marie-Pierre Ulloa, *Francis Jeanson: A Dissident Intellectual from the French Resistance to the Algerian War*, trans. by Jane Todd (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2010), 206-33; 269.

¹⁰⁰ Garanger, *La guerre d'Algérie*, 12-3.

¹⁰¹ Benjamin Stora, *La grangène et l'oubli: la mémoire de la guerre d'Algérie* (Paris: Ed. la Découverte, 1991), 54.

Exposing the October 17, 1961 Massacre

The scope of repression by state mechanisms in metropolitan France during the Algerian War has only recently become the subject of serious scholarly investigation.¹⁰² As historians Jim House and Neil Macmaster explain in their masterful study *Paris 1961, Algerians, State Terror, and Memory*, the fight against Algerian nationalism revolved around three major axes: the influence of nationalist groups within the Muslim workers' community, terrorism, and the FLN's money transfer system, which funded the ALN. To attain these goals, Seine police prefect Maurice Papon and Minister of Interior Roger Frey introduced security forces with new methods of repression, which were used on the other side of the Mediterranean and relied on a robust administrative system of surveillance.¹⁰³ Paradoxically, notes historian Joshua Cole, the result of these initiatives was that Papon's police could "arrest, detain without charge, and torture the very people who were being assisted by the Constantine Plan."¹⁰⁴ The implications of these actions by the French security forces and the administration were that the Muslim community living in the metropole was segregated from the rest of French society.

Media reports on the repression campaign against Algerian nationalism within the workers' enclaves in the capital's industrial suburbs were indeed scarce. The lack of interest by the broad public on the one hand and censorship (due to secrecy) on the other resulted in the unawareness of most French to the extent of police surveillance and repression to which

¹⁰² See: Raphaëlle Branche and Sylvie Thenault, eds., *La France en guerre, 1954-1962. Expériences métropolitaines de la guerre d'indépendance algérienne* (Paris: Autrement, 2008). Linda Amiri, *La Bataille de France: La guerre d'Algérie en métropole* (Paris: Laffont, 2004).

¹⁰³ The platform of the assistance services under the authority of the *Ministère de l'intérieur* —the CTAM (*conseillers techniques pour les affaires musulmanes*) and the SATFMA (*Service d'assistance technique aux français musulmans d'Algérie*)—was used to collect information in order to track down Algerian nationalists. The fact that these services were not subject to the respective ministries as the rest of French society accentuates the encroachment of the civil liberties of "French Muslims from Algeria," who had been enfranchised in the metropole since 1946. Moreover, the extensive identification apparatus initiated by Papon enabled the police to concentrate the information Identification Center in Vincennes (CIV), which the police prefect introduced.

¹⁰⁴ Joshua Cole, "Remembering the Battle of Paris," *French Politics, Culture & Society* 21, (Fall 2003): 39.

the Muslim population as a whole was subjected. The few highly exceptional publications that accused the internal security forces of committing illegal acts were immediately seized by the police. Among them was the first-hand testimony of Bachir Boumaza and four other Algerian students who were detained in June 1958 by the counter-espionage service *Direction du surveillance du territoire*. In this book, titled *La Gangrène*, they claimed to have been tortured at the organization's headquarters in des Saussaies Street. An even greater scandal was caused by the publication of accounts of torture by the FPA (*Force de police auxiliaire*), also known as the Paris *Harkis*, whom Papon introduced into the police force—and was not subjected to standard legal procedures—in order to repress Algerian nationalism more effectively. The articles in early March 1961 by journalist Madeleine Riffaud for *L'Humanité* (reprinted the following month in *Vérité-Liberté*), followed by Paulette Péju's *Les Harkis*, reported on the torture of FLN suspects at the FPA headquarters in the 18th and 13th *arrondissements*.¹⁰⁵ Such publications raised to a very limited degree the awareness in the press and opposition groups to the legal abuses by Papon's police. For obvious reasons, reports on police violence in workers' shanty towns in general and of torture in particular relied to a very limited extent on photographic evidence.¹⁰⁶ The coverage of the fight against the FLN in the metropole by the mass media focused primarily on terrorism and internal violence between Algerian nationalist factions. Throughout the war, the public thus remained largely unaware of the repression of Muslim Algerians in the metropole and exhibited hostility toward this segregated community.¹⁰⁷

The October 17, 1961 massacre was the peak of the escalating encroachment of civil liberties and extra-legal repression of Muslim Algerian workers in the metropole during the

¹⁰⁵ Paulette Péju, *Les harkis à Paris* (Paris: F. Maspero, 1961).

¹⁰⁶ For a comprehensive account of existing photographic evidence on the repression of the Algerian community living in the metropole, see: Anne Tristan, *Le silence du fleuve* (Bezons: Au nom de la mémoire, 1991).

¹⁰⁷ House and Macmaster, *Paris 1961*, 61-112.

war, argue House and Macmaster.¹⁰⁸ At the same time, they emphasize that the massacre itself was *unplanned*. In a climate of increasing clashes between the French police and the FLN, which resulted in mounting death tolls in both camps, they explain, Papon's police responded disproportionately to the unprecedented challenge of a mass FLN demonstration in central Paris.¹⁰⁹ The FLN federation in France had originally organized a *pacifist* demonstration as a PR campaign, intended for both French and international audiences, against the illegal night curfew (initiated on October 5), which targeted *all* "French Muslims from Algeria" living in Paris and the suburbs.¹¹⁰ The launching of a mass demonstration was also intended to refute governmental portrayal of Algerian nationalists as a minority of "outlaws." The planners' aim was therefore to increase pressure on de Gaulle's government to make concessions in the upcoming negotiations with the Provisional Government of the Algerian Republic.¹¹¹ The French media in general, and especially the few engaged reporters—among them Kagan, who was informed in advance by a member of *Réseau Jeanson*—were supposed to ensure that the demonstrators' slogans would be heard across France and beyond.¹¹²

To understand Kagan's decision to cover the October 17 demonstration in general, and his drive to record at all cost its unexpected development in particular, we should pay attention to his background. The root of Kagan's political conviction lies in his personal

¹⁰⁸ The two historians define the event as "the bloodiest act of state repression of street protest in Western Europe in modern history." House and Macmaster, "'Une journée portée disparue': The Paris Massacre of 1961 and Memory," in *Crisis and Renewal in France, 1918-1962*, Kenneth Mouré and Martin S. Alexander eds., (New York: Berghahn Books, 2002), 272.

¹⁰⁹ For a comprehensive analysis of the motivations (and miscalculations) of the FLN federation in France, as well as the problematic handling of this challenge by Papon, see: Jim House and Neil Macmaster, *Paris 1961*, 88-161. The intensification of police repression in the weeks prior to the massacre resulted in more frequent roundups, violent attacks in the ghettos, as well as the introduction of a night curfew, which served as a golden opportunity to orchestrate a mass political protest.

¹¹⁰ The direct borrowing of protest tactics from the French Left was planned to appeal more effectively to public opinion. "Public ceremony and spectacle," argues historian Rosemary Wakeman "were ways of claiming civic life and citizenship – they were political instrument." *The Heroic City*, 7; 18.

¹¹¹ At that point, the question of citizenship for Muslim Algerians living in the metropole was still unsettled (as well as the status of the Sahara desert). Shepard, *The Invention of Decolonization*, 55-81.

¹¹² Interview with Marguerite Langiert, the photographer's wife at the time. Paris, April 2012.

trauma as a persecuted Jew at the time of the Occupation. Kagan was the son of Polish Jews who had immigrated to France in 1925, three years before he was born. During the Second World War, both of his parents were captured by the Parisian police (in the raid of July 1942), and only his mother survived. Fortunately, young Kagan managed to cross the demarcation line around Angoulême in the early days of the Occupation, though he had to wear a yellow star during his stay at Praz-sur-Arly (Haute-Savoie).¹¹³ Not surprisingly, soon after the Liberation Kagan joined the PCF but was expelled in 1957 due to misbehavior. Being an unqualified young man suffering from bipolar disorder, Kagan could hardly keep a regular job. In this regard, becoming a photographer was a relatively easy way for him to make a living. He made his first steps in the profession in the early 1950s, working irregularly as a paparazzo of celebrities such as Roger Vadim, Brigitte Bardot, and intellectuals like Simone de Beauvoir.¹¹⁴ In addition to accommodating his personal limitations, his work as a *freelance* photographer gave him greater autonomy than he would have had as a regularly-employed press photographer.¹¹⁵ At the same time, being a non-conformist Jewish photographer, Kagan fit the profile of FLN supporters during the Algerian War.¹¹⁶ Toward the end of the war, as the conflict was bleeding into the hexagon and so became a primary concern for the public, Kagan's personal background and his chosen profession came together.

¹¹³ Luckily for Kagan, he was not circumcised. This allowed him to pass an inspection by German soldiers before crossing the demarcation line. Élie Kagan and Patrick Rotman, *Le Reporter Engagé: Trente ans d'Instantanés* (Paris: Métailié, 1989), 10-1.

¹¹⁴ His first images of an unpublished reportage of PCF demonstration in late May 1952 against the supreme American general of the Allies in Europe, Mathew B. Ridway. Five years later, he sold photographs of a students' demonstration in the Latin Quarter to Louis Aragon's *Les lettres françaises*. See: Thérèse Blondet-Bisch, "Élie Kagan, Graver les traces," in Oliver Le Cour Grandmaison *et al.*, eds., *Le 17 octobre, un crime d'État à Paris* (Paris: la Dispute, 2001).

¹¹⁵ Indeed, Kagan's first reportage that was directly related to the Algerian War was his coverage of the preparation of the defense of the *Ministère de l'Intérieur* during the generals' putsch in April 1961. Fonds Élie Kagan, BDIC (Hôtel des Invalides).

¹¹⁶ Evans, *The Memory of Resistance*, 32-40.



Illustrations 4-5: (left) Élie Kagan self-portrait, c. 1960; (right) Élie Kagan's ANJRP membership card.

When the peaceful demonstration on October 17 turned into a specter of violence, Kagan seized the moment to document its unfolding.¹¹⁷ In light of police restrictions on media coverage of the event, notably with the confiscation of rolls of film from photographers, Kagan's documentation of police repression throughout the city's main sites was unprecedented (especially due to the need to use flash, which facilitated the tracking of press photographers by the security forces).¹¹⁸ Even Magnum photographers from the Paris office did not manage to take any photos of the demonstration. Kagan's photographs were thus critical for the anti-war opposition not only due to the censorship of photographers by their respective journals, such as the case of *France-Soir*, but also to counter the government's attempt to cover up the massacre.¹¹⁹

The first pictures Kagan took of the police repression on the night of October 17 were at the métro Concorde. Below the place de la Concorde, the monumental historical site of

¹¹⁷ The Jeanson Network (*Réseau Jeanson*), named after its Paris ringleader, philosopher Francis Jeanson. It recruited opponents of colonialism throughout the country since October 1957 to assist FLN. The group had between 500-1000 members who were known as "suitcases carriers" (*porteurs de valises*). Evans, *ibid.*, 277-79.

¹¹⁸ Jean-Luc Einaudi, *Le bataille de Paris*, 117 ; House and Macmaster, *Paris 1961*, 137.

¹¹⁹ *France-Soir*, which kept records of the event in the journal's archive, is a case in point.

French republicanism, Kagan recorded how armed Parisian policemen forcefully prevented “French Muslims from Algeria” from protesting. Specifically, the police collectively arrested without probable cause *all* the demonstrators who came from the poor ghettos and shantytowns in the Western suburbs of Paris. Kagan photographed this scene in haste from the opposite side of the tracks to avoid police detection [fig. 2.35].¹²⁰ There is clearly a sense of irony in the scene due to the contrast between the setting of the métro, a modern symbol of social integration and spatial mobility for the benefit of *all* Parisians, and what unfolded on the platform. From there, Kagan continued to the nearby station of Solférino, where he photographed demonstrators who attended the procession at the Latin Quarter and sought refuge from the police. The exposures on Kagan’s contact sheet from métro Solférino record wounded demonstrators and acts of solidarity by local residents helping them to escape the police. The photos of a wounded, elegantly-dressed fifty-year-old man suggest that the demonstrators were in fact attacked by the police. The most disturbing photograph of the wounded is of a man shot in the arm—only one stop from the *Assemblée Nationale*—clear evidence that the press could not ignore [fig. 2.36].¹²¹

From the Latin Quarter, Kagan drove on his Vespa to the Neuilly Bridge. There, accompanied by journalist René Dazy from *Libération*, Kagan complemented his account from the métro. The first theme he recorded was the vast fleet of police vehicles, which were designated to transport those arrested towards detention centers across Paris. The second theme Kagan focused on was the presence of Algerian detainees inside *public* buses of the city’s transportation company, the RATP (*Régie autonome des transports parisiens*), that the Parisian police confiscated to maximize the number of arrests. The photo of the detainees holding their hands on their heads presents them as victims of a violent police roundup,

¹²⁰ Jean-Luc Einaudi and Elie Kagan, *17 octobre 1961* (Paris: Actes Sud, 2001), 13-4.

¹²¹ On contact sheet number 51, Kagan’s photos clearly show that he sought the most striking images of police violence. Therefore, the frame of the man shot in the arm was not only chosen, as the marker sign shows, but was reframed in a way that would accentuate the focus of the viewer on the wounded man.

known in French as *ratonnade*, a racist term derived from the word “young rat” and applied to Arabs from North Africa [fig. 2.37]. More than any of Kagan’s October 17 photographs, this particular image suggests a direct parallel with the roundup of Jews carried out by the Parisian police in July 1942. Kagan himself was aware of this analogy, as a poem from his private journal clearly shows.¹²² A comparison with a similar photo, published on the cover of *Paris Match* on October 28, illustrates the difference between the official state narrative of October 17 and the counter-narrative of the opposition [figs. 2.38 & 2.39]. The magazine juxtaposed the title “A Night of Agitation in Paris” with a photograph that implied the direct involvement—and responsibility—of the detainees inside the bus in the strife that unfolded in front of it (and remained invisible to the viewer). Their positions, moreover, undermined the physical menace to which they were given; almost none of the detainees held his hands over the head.

The last segment of Kagan’s coverage of the night of October 17 had an especially destructive potential for the government in general and the police in particular. In the shantytown of Nanterre, unlike in the previous sites, Kagan managed to photograph several dead bodies at de Pâquerettes Street before they were taken away [fig. 2.40]. Kagan’s photographs could therefore serve as evidence against the Parisian police in two ways. First, the images could prove that there were more than two Algerians killed, as Papon and Frey

¹²² ...*Moi qui ai la mémoire et des noms et des dates/ Laissez-moi vous conter cette petite histoire, laissez-moi vous conter/ 17 octobre 1961/ Plus tard on appellera cette chaude journée Ratonnades à Paris/ Des arabes par milliers, Concorde, Solférino, Rue de Lille, hommes casqués/ Ma peur, qui me reprend/ Octobre 61/ Juillet 42/ Octobre 61/ Juillet 42/ Métro, wagons bondés, Français, nez contre vitre, indifférents/ On tire, on tue, et puis on efface vite/ Et moi seul, tout seul avec ma peur au ventre/ Qui fait mon métier d’homme et fixe pour toujours le crime, l’assassinat, la mort des innocents// En espèrent, naïf que mes images réveilleront les autres/ Amorphes, endormis, égoïstes...ou pourris// Sur le quai du métro je photographie un arabe qui souffre/ Une balle dans l’épaule, il est là grimaçant, pleurant/ Une femme s’approche casquette galonnée et me dit:/ Savez-vous qu’il est interdit de prendre des photo sur le quai du métro.// Alors je me retiens plus et lui hurle comment. Des hommes pleurent, souffrent et vous me dites à moi/ qui fait mon métier d’homme qu’il est INTERDIT/ Mais qui donc êtes-vous créature insensible/ Chrétienne ?/ Syndiquée ? Communiste, c.g.t?/ Tout à l’heure quand les flics poursuivaient ces malheureux, vous n’avez même pas pensé à leur dire que c’était interdit de tuer des hommes, de les poursuivre jusque dans le métro. Et puis je l’ai giflée/ Des souvenirs qui m’assaillent/ 16 juillet 42, le Vel d’Hiv plein de juifs/ Français indifférents/ et partent puis meurent au loin, innocent, innocents/ Et moi j’ai survécu, j’ai étudié, j’ai lu/ Réussite/ Faire ce que je veux, faire ce que je dois. Élie Kagan, “Le petit livre gris d’Elie Kagan,” 1969. Judith Kagan’s private archive.*

initially declared.¹²³ Second, the location of the unreported deaths strongly suggests that the men killed in Nanterre—rather than Neuilly Avenue, where the official deaths were reported—were not terrorists, since this shantytown was an Algerian worker ghetto. Since the number of deaths and government responsibility for them were of greatest interest to the press right after the massacre, Kagan's photos from Nanterre could substantiate accusations promoted by the media. And indeed, Kagan's contact sheet not only proves the accusations to be true but its' images' composition poignantly highlights the violence of the scene by placing such images as bodies lying in a puddle of blood in the frame's center [fig. 2.41].

Looking at how anti-government news magazines affiliated with the New Left incorporated Kagan's October 17 images into their issues, reveals that these publications failed to exploit the full potential of photography as a powerful journalistic weapon. Kagan's photographs were therefore used a means of illustrating testimonies given by Algerians who were present at the scene. The first publication of Kagan's photos on the cover of *L'Express* (October 19) selectively featured images giving a softened account of the event [fig. 2.42]. The editors' choice of images reflects the cautious use of photography of the otherwise critical line of the elite-oriented publication on the government's Algerian policy. The gap between text and image in *L'Express* is especially intriguing given its editors' (Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, François Mauriac, and Jean Daniel) denunciation of state extrajudicial repression.¹²⁴ The magazine cover features a young man leading an injured Algerian through the metro corridors. The Algerian, a middle-aged man wearing a suit, has a terrified look on his face. Though it is not entirely clear whether the younger man in the foreground is himself an Algerian or a local resident, the caption wrongly presents the two men escaping the police as "arrested Algerians demonstrators." The lack of clarity was further accentuated by the

¹²³ The widely distributed newspaper *Le Parisien libéré*, for instance, reported on the incident in which policemen "under threat...shot at an armed man (Afour Belkacemi), who was instantly killed." *Le Parisien libéré* (October 20, 1961): 2.

¹²⁴ Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, *Lieutenant en Algérie* (Paris: R. Julliard, 1957).

magazine's title: "[T]he FLN in Paris." That being said, journalist Claude Krief unequivocally condemned the police for its brutal repression:

The well-known drill of repression has gradually undermined all other alternatives, whether of a political, economic, or social nature Instead of being a racism-free safe haven for liberty, as it has always been, France is becoming for them [Muslim Algerians] an extension of the pacification zone [in Algeria].¹²⁵

In the same issue, Jacques Derogy's report casts further doubt on police handling of the demonstration. Whereas the men, women, and children who attended the demonstration "carried neither flags nor knives nor clubs," he reported that the police had opened fire first. At the same time, though, Derogy did not reject the police's official account of the event altogether, due to some degree of uncertainty about the incident at that point in time. From his standpoint, it seemed as though a panic-stricken driver of a police car shot "twice in the air . . . followed by about twenty more rounds by other policemen." As to the occurrences at the Neuilly Bridge, he stated that an *Harki* "shot to death a fifteen year-old boy."¹²⁶ The report was illustrated by a photo of an orderly procession of demonstrators marching on a boulevard, taken by photographer Guy Aguiraud, a veteran of the Algerian War. The distance of roughly twenty meters between the photographer and the demonstration emphasized the lack of clarity. Whereas Aguiraud's photograph strengthens the author's claim of a strictly controlled procession by the FLN, the readers cannot determine with certainty whether the demonstrators might have endangered the public or the police force in some way. Though the magazine tendentiously reported on the repercussions of the event, *L'Express* relied relatively little on the photographic medium in comparison to more militant anti-war publications, whose editors were directly involved with the opposition.¹²⁷

¹²⁵ Claude Krief, "Du terrorisme à la politique," *L'Express* 540 (19 October 1961): 7.

¹²⁶ Jacques Derogy, "*La manifestation*," *ibid.*, 8.

¹²⁷ The following volume included both a highly critical commentary by editor Françoise Giroud, as well as an extensive reportage by Jean Cau (similar to other journals that went to the slums of Nanterre etc') in order to record testimonies of Algerians who participated in the demonstration, as well as informing public opinion about their living conditions. The cover photo of Cau's reportage was once again by Aguiraud. Françoise

Kagan's images received more attention from the militant anti-war *Témoignage Chrétien*, which regularly published his photos. But even this anti-colonial news magazine did not give Kagan's photographs more than brief, inaccurate captions. For instance, the cover photo of the October 26 issue showing a fatally wounded Algerian in Nanterre held by a journalist was captioned: "a journalist coming to the rescue of an Algerian" [fig. 2.43]. Inside the volume, Kagan's photograph from the Concorde metro station was used to illustrate an anonymous testimony of a member of the army medical corps on the internment facility at porte de Versailles, which forbade entrance to journalists. Kagan's uncaptioned photograph was thus loosely related to the actual testimony. In the article "Why did They Demonstrate?" illustrated by Kagan's photograph of the man shot in the arm (captioned "bullet to the arm"), author Jean Carta restated the review's condemnation of the diminishing civil liberties of Muslim Algerians in the metropole:

Nothing extraordinary happened Tuesday evening in Paris: there were beatings and shootings. The only extraordinary fact is that this time the beating occurred before our very eyes, in the heart of the capital, because the Algerians had decided to bring out into the open what they had been going through in the peripheral districts, where no one could hear their cries. . . . We can draw two conclusions from their testimonies: (1) The Algerians demonstrated peacefully. None of them carried any weapons and Mr. Papon has not announced the number of agents and CRS policemen [supposedly] wounded and shot. (2) The repression was brutal and bloody. . . . Nothing can explain, or justify, violence against the defenseless [*violences « à froid »*].¹²⁸

Giroud, "Notes politiques"; Jean Cau, "Chez les ratons [sic]", *L'Express* 541 (October 26): 10-13. In addition to other articles that relate to the Algerian War and the Algerian community in France, in early November *L'Express* dedicated an extremely critical volume to the Minister of Interior, Roger Frey. In addition to the acerbic condemnation of Frey by Jules Roy, titled "[T]he outlaw minister [*un ministère hors la loi*]", Socialist deputy Gaston Defferre published an article about the Senate inquiry he issued the police methods that were used to repress the demonstration. Defferre, "Y avez-vous pensé?", *L'Express* 543 (9 November, 1961). In late November, another article by Jean Cau denounced the "passivity and latent racism" of the population in general and the French workers in particular was illustrated by Kagan's famous photo of the man shot in the arm, captioned "October 17 in the metro." Cau, "Les clandestine d'Alger", *L'Express* 545 (23 November, 1961): 14. Goncourt award-winning Cau also reports on December 21 on the police violence used against anti-war demonstrators two days before. The report includes two photos by Aguiraud of wounded man, as well as demonstrators carrying banners of "OAS murderers" and "Peace in Algeria."

¹²⁸ Jean Carta, "Pourquoi ont-ils manifesté," *Témoignage Chrétien* 903 (27 October, 1961): 3-4.

Carta went further than the earlier report in *L'Express* in blaming the police. After mentioning that one of his friends, who was present at the Grands Boulevards, “counted (and verified) five corpses,” the author asked whether in the Meudon forest “nearly thirty Algerians were hanged by CRS policemen.” Editor Hervé Bourges, who had worked with former Justice Minister Edmond Michelet, did not spare words in condemning state repression of the demonstration, stating that “. . . our country is being Nazified little by little.”¹²⁹ Moreover, in the weeks after the massacre Bourges collected incriminating material against Papon for Socialist Senate deputy Gaston Defferre, but there was not a single photograph in his dossier.¹³⁰ In this regard, photography played only a minor auxiliary role in testimonies and news reports as a means of condemning extra-legal state repression in the anti-Gaullist press.

The New Left magazine *France-Observateur* relied most extensively on photographic documentation of the October 17 massacre as evidence of a state crime. Its innovative approach, I argue, was the result of the editors’ direct involvement in opposition to Frey’s and Papon’s excessive actions against Muslim Algerians. In particular, Claude Bourdet, a member of Paris’s municipal board, used the magazine as a platform to alert the public about the urgent need to thoroughly investigate the legality of Papon’s methods of repression. Hence, on October 19, *France-Observateur* promised to deliver “[T]he truth about the FLN demonstration.” In a co-written editorial, two senior editors addressed the role of censorship in the repression apparatus:

In the face of these events, a primary question presents itself. As democratic journalists writing in a country that is theoretically a Republic, can we speak? . . . [S]ay what we believe to be the truth? . . . [F]irstly we must tell our readers and all our foreign colleagues in a grave voice that we are not free, and that no other French journal is free to tell the whole truth. We cannot, and neither can any journal, pay the cost of multiple confiscations, as the government well knows. . . . [Yet] we demand the complete

¹²⁹ Hervé Bourges, “Le temps de Tartuffe,” *ibid.*, 3

¹³⁰ Gaston Defferre papers, Marseille depot. I would like to thank my colleagues Jim House and Neil Macmaster for bringing this information to my attention.

termination of arbitrary arrests, scandalous interrogations, and unimaginable violence by means of which the humiliating curfew was enforced so that Algerians in France would have the right for their own organizations and their own means of expression.¹³¹

This article was illustrated by Aguiraud's photograph, which, like the one he published the same day in *L'Express*, showed demonstrators marching on the boulevard. In this image (captioned "a political outlet"), however, the women and stewards ordering the procession can be seen more clearly.

As the magazine assembled numerous testimonies the week following the massacre—including from policemen—*France-Observateur* promoted the initiation of an official inquiry into the massacre. On the cover was Kagan's uncredited photograph of the demonstrator shot in the arm, below the large title: "[Y]ou can no longer ignore this . . ." [fig. 2.44]. Below the picture, the editorial column directly accused the police prefect of being for "many more deaths than the police admitted to." In the middle of the volume, a two-page article declared: "[N]o Frenchmen can ignore this!" in which the editor declared:

. . . I have been receiving at the journal's offices several police officers, all former members in the resistance, who spontaneously came to recount the events they had seen in the past week. What they tell, is horrendous to the point of being inconceivable. . . . Our information thus permits us to publicly pose the following questions: (1) Is it true that for several weeks the police has been falsely imputing the disappearance of Algerians to the settling of scores between the FLN and the MNA? (2) Is it true that certain Parisian police stations have become similar to police headquarters in Algiers during the time of Massu? (3) Is it true that the death toll of the police repression last week has reached 25 . . . ? (4) Why were journalists refused access to the detention centers at Vincennes and Palais des Sports?¹³²

Next to Bourdet's editorial, as well as A. Delacoix, Eve Dessarre and Henri Kréa's articles that assembled testimonies, were two photos [photo 2.45]. The large photo by Kagan is a close-up of an elegantly dressed man who was bleeding from the head and lying in a pool of

¹³¹ Claude Bourdet and Gilles Martinet, "Pourquoi ils manifestent," *France-Observateur* 598 (October 19, 1961): 5-6.

¹³² Claude Bourdet, Editorial, *France-Observateur* 599 (26 October, 1961), 1; 14.

blood.¹³³ Interestingly, the second photograph was taken in the Orly airport during the mediatized campaign of the expulsion of detainees to prisons in Algeria that was orchestrated by Papon and Frey to contain the increasing condemnation of their actions after the demonstration. In most journals, this propaganda screen aimed to present the police in a positive light, as its professional workforce treated the detainees with dignity and respect. *France-Observateur*, however, constructed this scene in a diametrically opposed way, which emphasized parallels between Papon's police and the Nazi Occupation. The policeman's back in a Gestapo-style raincoat with a machine gun ready for use were shown in the forefront, against the background of detainees in formation alongside a police car. Not surprisingly, the article made a clear reference to the Occupation: "Algerians at the Palais des Sports. Doesn't it remind you of anything?"¹³⁴ The final photo by the Dalmas agency further supported the critical line of the magazine. Though journalists were forbidden to enter the detention centers, this image—taken from a distance with a large zoom lens—was the only piece of visual evidence of a detention center that attested to the deplorable conditions in which the detainees were held. Specifically, it showed the conditions of overcrowding and lack of medical treatment, which the police hid from the media.

In the following volumes of *France-Observateur*, the editors persisted in their efforts to discredit Frey, and especially Papon. In his article, titled "[T]he Silences of Mr. Papon," Bourdet printed the hard questions he posed—as the representative of the *Union de la gauche socialiste*—to the police prefect at the Paris municipality. Drawing the readers' attention to Papon's culpability, Bourdet called to launch an official investigation of the prefect's handling of the event:

¹³³ As Einaudi notes, the man in the photo died the same night at Nanterre hospital. Jean-Luc Einaude and Elie Kagan, *17 Octobre 1961*, 22-3.

¹³⁴ Henri Kréa, "Le racisme est collectif, la solidarité individuelle..." *Témoignage Chrétien* 903 (October 27, 1961): 15-16. A significantly more explicit example of the "Vichy syndrome" appeared in the following volume, whose cover juxtaposed a photograph of two female Algerian workers and another photograph of an old lady wearing a yellow star.

First, is it true that during this night there were no policemen wounded from firearms? Is it true that the police radio announced ten men of the task-force dead at the beginning of the demonstration? For this reason I want an investigation to be launched Is it true that at the police court [*cour d'isolement*] of la Cité, about fifty of the demonstrators arrested at the vicinity of Saint Michel Boulevard were killed? . . . And here's my question: is it true that in September and October, in talks you gave to members of the Parisian police, you have confirmed on several occasions that once the Minister of Justice was replaced the police would be "covered," and that you had the support of the government?¹³⁵

Kagan's photograph from the Solférino metro station, captioned "Boulevard Saint Michel. A student assisting a wounded Algerian," illustrated Bourdet's article. The concluding part of the caption drew the political conclusion: "a solidarity is beginning to assert itself." In this regard, the editors of *France-Observateur*, which supported the PSU (*Parti Socialiste unifié*), used photography most extensively to promote anti-Gaullist propaganda. Bourdet himself was the co-founder of the PSU, the only political party that publicly supported Algerian independence. It is therefore not surprising that the magazine published Kagan's images, which appeared *only* in news magazines of the Left.

The political debate between the government and the opposition regarding the launching of an official inquiry explains why Kagan was equally committed to documenting the repercussions of October 17. When the anti-war opposition launched a press campaign against the government's handling of the events, Kagan was present to cover small anti-war protests, which were mostly ignored by the mainstream press. Seeking to accentuate the political momentum against de Gaulle's regime, Kagan constructed his images as a political weapon by playing on the sensitive heart strings of the disjointed French Left: the violation of essential republican values. Specifically, he systematically documented anti-war demonstrations and composed them as a grassroots wave of *civil* protest. On November 1, Kagan photographed a silent rally of three hundred people at Place Maubert, led by Jean-Paul

¹³⁵ Claude Bourdet, "Les silences de M. Papon," *France-Observateur* 600 (November 2, 1961): 6.

Sartre, the Audin Committee, *Témoignage et documents*, and *Vérité-liberté* [fig. 2.46].¹³⁶

These protests were aimed at convincing the public that police violence was *collective*, orchestrated by the Seine police Prefect and the Minister of Interior, in contrast to most press reports, which portrayed them as exceptional incidents committed by a few rotten apples.

Kagan's images presented PSU activists as the vanguard of an emerging wave of popular anti-war (and anti-OAS) demonstrations, which embodied the new axis around which the opposition to de Gaulle's government could unite. Given the fact that the PSU did not shy away from the Algerian conundrum, Kagan portrayed the party as increasing its political appeal, thus offering an alternative to the institutionalized political Left.¹³⁷ His photos of the PSU demonstration on November 1 show how he sought the most evocative visual symbols, such as the commemoration wreath of the massacre left by former Minister of Justice Edmond Michelet in front of Rex Cinema, or activists carrying banners against racism [fig. 2.47].¹³⁸ Many images of this nature were published in *Témoignage Chrétien* and politically aligned publications from early November.¹³⁹ For instance, the first issue of the PSU youth review, *Jeunesse Action*, published a two-page photograph by Kagan of a demonstration of 10,000 Parisian students calling for "peace in Algeria" on November 18

¹³⁶ This photo was published in the review of *Témoignage et documents* on December first. A parallel publication from mid-December published two images by Kagan that present another initiative, this time by MRAP (*Mouvement contre le racism et l'antisemitisme et pour la paix*) members, denouncing police racism: "[A]fter the tragic events of October 17, as well as the following days, the anti-racists had to condemn, publicly and unequivocally, the discrimination and violence perpetrated against Muslim Algerian. It must be known that French from all affiliations have decided to proclaim their steadfast attachment to the respect for human rights, to our traditions of fraternity, humanity, and democracy..." The first photo shows members of the organization sitting behind a table bearing the banner "[D]own with racism," and the second illustrative photo shows traces of police violence: a bicycle, a working class symbol that became synonymous with Algerian workers, next to pieces of clothing. *Droit et Liberté* 203 (November 15–December 15, 1961): 5-8.

¹³⁷ Evans, *Algeria*, 224. This series contains photos of students holding banners against racism, as well as the symbolic deposition of flowers by former Minister of Justice Edouard Depreux in memory of the victims in front of Rex Cinema at the Bonne-Nouvelle Boulevard.

¹³⁸ Fond Élie Kagan: "Manifestations contre la les violences du 17 octobre 1961," BDIC (Hôtel des Invalides).

¹³⁹ Editorial, *Témoignage Chrétien* 904 (November 3, 1961). This editorial denounced Maurice Papon, whose photo was attached to it. Another variation of demonstrators carrying a banner calling for an "[I]mmediate peace in Algeria" appeared following month (for a volume dedicated Georges Bidault involvement in the OAS), above the caption: "[P]eace demonstrators. The weight of public opinion." "Le vrai préalable à la négociation: réduire le poids de l'OAS," *Témoignage Chrétien* 909 (December 8, 1961): 4.

[fig. 2.48]. Alongside the image where Sartre and de Beauvoir can be spotted in the crowd, author Emile Copferann delivered readers the following political message:

The unitary peace demonstrations in Algeria are multiplying: popular pressure must be enhanced. Peace with Algeria, solidarity with Algerian workers! Following the demonstration on November 15 . . . , the PSU calls its militant supporters to be more energetic in protesting against accusations made against the leaders of the [party's] youth organization who had led the protest on November 18.¹⁴⁰

Kagan's support for Algerian independence also encompassed the small protest launched by the FLN federation in France. The demonstration of Algerian women in front of La santé Prison on November 10 is a case in point. The photographer's choice of frames from his contact sheet indicates that he was seeking out the moments when French policemen arrested women – yet another echo of the “Vichy syndrome” [fig. 2.49]. Politically, this incident was inseparable from the debate between the opposition and the government. After the protest of a thousand Algerian women on October 20-21, state officials harnessed the opportunity to launch another propaganda campaign. Journalists were therefore invited to take pictures of Algerian women and children receiving blankets and warm meals in reception centers before they were released [fig. 2.50].¹⁴¹ News magazines that supported the opposition, such as *Témoignage Chrétien*, of course published Kagan's photos alongside articles that denounced Prime Minister Michel Debré for the regime's ill treatment of Algerian prisoners in France. In addition to portraying the mistreatment of a peaceful women's protest, Kagan's images reiterated the support for the FLN among the Algerian community that the government was trying to deny. “It was November 10,” went the caption,

¹⁴⁰ Emile Copferann, *Jeunesse Action: mensuel des jeunes socialiste unifiés* 1 (December 1, 1961).

¹⁴¹ The case of *L'Aurore* newspaper illustrates how this reporting was used to attain a political goal: “The FLN have failed to convince women and children to go out and demonstrate. ‘I prefer to go with you,’ says a Muslim woman carrying a baby in her arms to the police officer. . . . She was forced to go to the streets.” The photo captions, moreover, were intended to disperse any fog of suspicion about the incident: “[A]t noon the Muslim women and their children are being taken towards reception centers... at 14 o'clock social workers come and distribute blankets. A meal was served.” *L'Aurore* (October 21, 1961): 3. On October 20, *L'Aurore* also reproduced segments of Frey's speech from the day before (that was also broadcasted on national television) at the national assembly, in which the Minister of Interior stated the official account of the October 17 demonstration and justified the course of action of the police.

“the Algerian women show their solidarity with the Djamilla [Bouhired], Ben Bella and their companions.”¹⁴²

The press campaign against high state officials responsible for the October 17 massacre failed due to the defeat of the opposition in the Parliament, Senate, and Paris municipal council. Though the French press had substantially more leeway to report on events taking place in the metropole than those occurring in Algeria, most mainstream publications either supported the government or were reluctant to face the mishandling of the event by the police.¹⁴³ The biggest newspapers, among them *L'Aurore*, *Le Parisien Libéré*, and *France-Soir*, echoed the reports of state-controlled radio and television, which reproduced the government's official version of the event. As incriminating testimonies started to accumulate in the week following the October 17 massacre, reported in centrist and even in a right-of-center journals *Le Figaro* and *France-Soir*, most of the national press remained cautious, ascribing any account of wrongdoing to the misjudgment of individuals. The photographic reportage by *Paris Match* on October 28 therefore reveals the limits of the French press. Ten days after the fact, editor Raymond Cartier restated the magazine's commitment to de Gaulle's centrist line, denouncing both FLN and OAS violence.¹⁴⁴ The fact that even the visit of Persian princess Farah received more attention than an event of such political magnitude taking place in Paris clearly shows that *Paris Match* preferred to avoid handling this hot potato. The magazine used exclusively the images of its staff photographers, Georges Menager and Raymond Darolle. In other words, the magazine known for obtaining dramatic scoops avoided publishing any explicit images of police violence, such as those by Kagan, Georges Azenstarck (from *Humanité*) or the Dalmas photo

¹⁴² “Courrier de la colère: Bravo M. Debré!,” *Témoignage Chrétien* 906 (November 17, 1961): 4-5. This was the second article on Algerian prisoners from the previous week that was also illustrated by Kagan's photo (of the prison building). On the cover of this volume was a photograph of Ben Bella.

¹⁴³ Sylvie Thénault, “La presse silencieuse? Un préjugé,” *Carnet d'échange* 1 (1999): 23-8.

¹⁴⁴ Raymond Cartier, “La violence appelle à la violence,” *Paris Match* (November 28, 1961), 15.

agency. The *Paris Match* photo-essay itself, moreover, implied that the demonstrators were responsible for disturbing the public peace, leaving the police no choice but to use force:

Pursuing FLN orders, the demonstrators, accompanied by women and children, protest en masse against this measure [night curfew] Fear and violence render the café terraces deserted. The Muslims chant slogans orchestrated by FLN leaders. In order to prevent them from regrouping in the center of Paris, the police try to disperse them. The tension is rising, shop windows are breaking, drivers find themselves blocked in front of a sea of menacing [Algerian] faces.¹⁴⁵

Whether it was the “threatening [Algerian] Faces” or the description of the demonstrators as a dark force surging from beneath the ground (i.e., metro), the photo essay had clear racist undertones, note Edward Welch and Joseph McGonagle.¹⁴⁶ And indeed, most photographs accentuate acts of vandalism by Algerians and the threat they posed to ordinary Parisians.

The failure of the opposition to bring to justice the high officials held accountable for the massacre, as well as the secondary role photography played in the press, only drew Kagan further toward the Algerian cause in the war’s aftermath. In the summer of 1962, the photographer relocated to newly independent Algeria to work for the Third-Worldist, FLN-affiliated magazine *Révolution africaine*, a topic that I will discuss in the next chapter. In France, however, his images helped several civil groups to unofficially commemorate the war and the October 17 massacre. For the occasion of the seizing of Jacques Panijel’s 1962 film *Octobre à Paris*, which included images by Kagan, the review *Droit et Liberté* used his photograph to mark the massacre’s first anniversary, organized by the MRAP (*Mouvement contre le Racisme l’Antisémitisme et pour la Paix*) [figs. 2.51 & 2.52]:¹⁴⁷

Do you recall, it all happened a year ago on October 17. During that night, a photographer took this delirious image: an overturned bicycle, cast-off shoes, torn clothes . . . not far from there puddles of blood, a few dead, and many dying. The exact

¹⁴⁵ “Le drame arrive en metro,” *Paris Match* (November 28, 1961): 38-47.

¹⁴⁶ Edward Welch and Joseph McGonagle, “Out of the Shadows: The Visual Career of October 1961,” in *Contesting Views: The Visual Economy of France and Algeria* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2013), 79-80.

¹⁴⁷ *Octobre à Paris*, Jacques Panijel (Paris : Éd. Monparnasse, 2013).

account from that day has never been officially provided. Though bodies of Algerians were being pulled-out from the Seine for several days . . . families did not receive the slightest shred of information from the police concerning the disappearance of their loved ones. Concentration camps were founded on the outskirts of Paris, as in Vincennes We remember the numerous protests these monstrosities had provoked, especially those in which the M.R.A.P. expressed its solidarity with the victims of this horrendous night.¹⁴⁸

More than six years later, in May '68, Parisian students used the organization's commemoration of October 17 to portray themselves as victims of excessive police violence. In the article "[T]he Ardent Month of May," the author drew visual and textual parallels between the two incidents of police repression. In the article, Kagan's photo of a student beaten by a policeman from May '68 was juxtaposed with his famous photo of the unconscious wounded Algerian lying in a puddle of blood. The captions accentuated this analogy most explicitly: "Nearly seven years ago, the bloody 'roundups' [*ratonnades*] in Paris and the suburbs the Algerian workers underwent. In May 1968, Paris had its new 'young-rats' [*ratons*], the students, who were subjected to brutal police violence."¹⁴⁹

With photojournalism having come to define reportage photography, and with growing calls to commemorate the Algerian War, Kagan's testimony gained increasing recognition from the mid-1980s. The cover of the first historical account on October 17, by Michel Levine in 1985, *Ratonnades d'octobre: meurtre collectif à Paris en 1961*, was illustrated by two of Kagan's photographs.¹⁵⁰ The thirtieth anniversary of the massacre, in a climate of the rising political influence of the xenophobic National Front, marked a turning point towards a comprehensive public acknowledgment of the massacre. This shift in public opinion thus granted Kagan's photographic account of the massacre a key role. It occupied a central role in a photographic account published in 1991: Anne Tristan's book *Le silence du*

¹⁴⁸ *Droit et Liberté* 213 (October 15–November 15, 1962): 3.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, 274 (June, 1968).

¹⁵⁰ Michel Levine, *Ratonnades d'octobre: meurtre collectif à Paris en 1961* (Paris : Ramsay, 1985).

fleuve published the commemoration association *Au nom de la mémoire*. More important, the publication of Jean-Luc Einaudi's highly influential historical account from that year, *La Bataille de Paris: 17 octobre 1961*, legitimized Kagan's images as the official authentic record of the October 17 massacre.¹⁵¹ Furthermore, following Papon's mediatized trial, which both Einaudi and Kagan witnessed, further increased the resonance of Kagan's photos in the French media [figs. 2.53, 2.54 & 2.55]. This tendency only increased with the celebration of the end of Kagan's career with the books *Le Reporter engagé* and *Dix sept Octobre 1961*, documentary films such as *Les années Kagan*, and the government official recognition of the Algerian War in 1999.¹⁵²

This chapter explored the Algerian War as a litmus test for French reportage photography in the late 1950s and early 1960s. Being the major political crisis in postwar France, the coverage of the War gives a reliable indication of the limits imposed on press photography as it attempted to document, critically and independently, highly contested national events. As we have seen, whether for political and economic constraints or due to its disregard for reportage photography, the French media largely failed to use the medium as a critical tool for uncovering legal violations perpetrated by the state against an underprivileged group of French citizens. Moreover, during the Algerian War, nearly all humanist photographers looked the other way, turning their cameras elsewhere. As a result, the most important photographic work of the period was created outside the genre's orbit. It is perhaps not surprising that the only humanist photographer who took a direct stand against the war was Dominique Darbois, who had been held for two years at the Drancy internment camp during the Second World War. Interestingly, Darbois chose to oppose the war as an active member

¹⁵¹ Jean-Luc Einaudi, *La Bataille de Paris*.

¹⁵² Patrick Rotman and Élie Kagan, *Le Reporter engagé : Trente ans d'instantanés*. Paris: Métailié, 1989. Jean-Luc Einaudi & Élie Kagan, *Dix sept octobre 1961*, Nanterre: Actes Sud (BDIC), 2001. *Les années Kagan*, Jean-Pierre Krief (Saint Denis: Totem vidéo, 1991).

of *Réseau Jeanson* rather than as a photographer. Darbois indeed published with journalist Philippe Vigneau in Italy during 1961 a book that contained testimonies and photographic evidence of the French army's excessive repression in Algeria.¹⁵³ However, the poor quality of most featured photographs suggests that they originated from the FLN, rather than produced by Darbois herself. Consequently, Darbois and Vigneau's visual account of the War was not as poignant as Garanger's and Kagan's. Hence, even though the Algerian War preoccupied other photographers as well, Garanger and Kagan were virtually the only photoactivists who produced a powerful visual testimony to its inequities.

The counter-pacification photoactivism of these young, self-appointed, documenters produced the most significant revelation of the Algerian War, which, however, remained hidden from the broad public. Witnessing firsthand the intolerable contradiction between the state's declared dedication to republicanism and its systemic oppression of French Muslims from Algeria, Garanger and Kagan sought to expose the country's violation of republican values. For this purpose, they employed a strict documentary approach, producing reliable visual evidence that could be used to expose the unjust actions perpetrated by the French security forces.

During the War, Garanger's and Kagan's visual outcry fell on deaf ears, as even media campaigns of groups opposed to the state's presence in Algeria proved largely unfruitful, in part because of their ineffective use of photographic documentation. Still, Garanger's and Kagan's photoactivism heralded the beginning of a new era for reportage photography. In the next chapter I show that in the aftermath of the Algerian War France saw the emergence of a more rigorous and autonomous form of reportage photography, which was to set the tone in the French press. During the turbulent 1960s, this new generation of photoactivists—the most notable of whom were veterans of the Algerian War—followed in

¹⁵³ Dominique Darbois and Philippe Vigneau, *Les Algériens en guerre* (Milan: Feltrinelli, 1961).

Garanger's and Kagan's footsteps. Promoting a civic and independent form of visual inquiry in the French media, they were the pioneers of French photojournalism.

CHAPTER THREE

Photography Vs. the State during the “1968 Years”¹

In the aftermath of the Algerian War, the humanist paradigm ceased to define French reportage photography. Following the successful conclusion of national reconstruction and the Algerian crisis, various state branches harnessed photography's *documentary* potential as a privileged means of promoting a radiant vision of accelerated modernization in 1960s France. This official representation of contemporary reality in Gaullist France, which had a decisive impact on the main illustrated news magazines, brings to light the limited capacity of reportage photography to expose realities that contradicted the nation's republican self-perception. This chapter will therefore trace the main loci of friction, where inclusive and exclusive visions of fast-paced modernization drove scoop-seeking reportage photographers to adopt different forms of engagement before May '68. My analysis shows that, situated at the crossroads between expectation and reality, photographers challenged the narrative of national grandeur primarily on cultural, political and civil grounds. All three axes were primarily guided by a documentary-oriented photoactivism, whose objective was to bring hard visual evidence to the public's attention in order to authenticate controversial printed texts, which casted doubt over various state policies.

The two antithetical threads that accompany the entire chapter are the state's visualization of accelerated modernization on the one hand, and civil society's photoactivism, which cast doubt over its actions and policies on the other. The chapter's first segment shows how *Clarté*, the communist students' monthly journal, used photography to consolidate their socio-cultural worldview, which pitted an independent and modern youth culture against the conservative mores of the adult world and assigned to the young the burden of national

¹ This term is borrowed from G. Dreyfus-Armand, R. Frank, M. F. Lévy and M. Zanacarini-Fournel, eds., *Les Années 68: Les Temps de la contestation* (Brussels: Complex, 2000).

rejuvenation. Next, I analyze how Third-Worldist francophone magazines used reportage photography to tarnish France's official "foreign" policy in its former African colonies (*Françafrique*) as "neocolonialism." The chapter's closing segment discusses the civil campaign launched by France's national association of news photographers (*Association Nationale des Journalistes Reporters Photographes*), whose objective was to promote photojournalism as a professional practice and guarantee a free press able to resist the authorities who sought to restrict it.

The aesthetic marginality of photography in 1960s France led current historians of photography to ignore the significant role the genre of reportage played during this decade in the mass media. In a recent talk at the *École normale supérieure Louis Lumière*, former photographer and photography historian Jean-Claude Gautrand argued that photography received no artistic recognition during the 1960s. By the beginning of the decade, he notes, the yearly SNP ceased its activity, and photography now concerned the *Cabinet des Estampes* to a lesser extent. None of the capital's fifty-four museums were dedicated to photography, which remained unrecognized by France's *Ministère de la Culture*, where it was seen as nothing more than an artisanal, mechanically reproduced, middlebrow art.² The decade's aesthetic developments, concluded Gautrand, were limited to a few local initiatives, such as the *Groupe Libre Expression* (of which he himself was a member), the Parisian professional club *Les 30 X 40*, the television show *La chambre noire* by Albert Plécy and Michel Tournier, as well as the short radio show at *France Culture* radio. Yet, what such monographs as the ones written by Claude Nori and Jean-Claude Gautrand fail to take into account is that their exclusive artistic focus prevented them from noticing the substantial

² Jean-Claude Gautrand, "La photographie dans les années 1960," a talk at *École normale supérieure Louis Lumière* on April 3, 2014. The unwillingness of the *Ministère de la Culture* to recognize photography's aesthetic qualities explains why the medium was put under the institutional responsibility of the *Ministère de la Jeunesse et des Sports*. Réattu museum in Marseilles was the only French museum in the 1960s that owned photographic prints in its permanent collection.

changes that took place in the less obviously aestheticized genre of reportage photography.³ Moreover, even the monograph by Jacques Bourgé and Nicolas Viasnoff dedicated to French reportage photography failed to address the paradigm shift from humanist photography to photojournalism that occurred during the 1960s.⁴ Monographs on French reportage photography during the *Trente Glorieuses* treated the two currents separately.⁵

Photography historians' emphasis on aesthetic developments at the expense of the medium's active participation in political discourse explains why they have shied away from giving a satisfying explanation as to when exactly humanist photography became obsolete. The two major monographs on the movement not only give different temporal ending points, but also fail to explain why it became irrelevant during the turbulent 1960s. Marie de Thézy traced the era of humanist photography between 1930 and 1960, whereas the more recent volume edited by Laure Beaumont-Maillet, Françoise Denoyelle and Dominique Versavel placed the movement between the Liberation and May '68. By the same token, photojournalism, which overshadowed the humanist paradigm and dominated the mass media from the late 1960s to the late 1980s, is treated as an autonomous entity, whose rise to prominence needs no explanation. If photojournalism ever had a history, according to the literature, it could be understood in (non-historical) terms of the professional biographies of eminent reportage photographers from Robert Capa in the Spanish Civil War to Gilles Caron in Vietnam and May '68. The following pages thus seek to fill the gap in scholarly literature by exploring the decline of humanist photography after the Algerian War. The negative

³ Claude Nori, *La photographie en France: des origines à nos jours* (Paris: Flammarion, 2008). Jean-Claude Gautrand, *150 ans de reportage* (Paris: Paul Montel, 197[?]).

⁴ Jacques Bourgé and Nicolas Viasnoff, *Histoire de la photo de reportage* (Paris: F. Nathan, 1982).

⁵ On the chronological framing of humanist photography, see Marie de Thézy, *La photographie humaniste: 1930-1960, histoire d'un mouvement en France* (Paris: Contrejour, 1992). Laure Beaumont-Maillet, Françoise Denoyelle and Dominique Versavel, eds., *La photographie humaniste, 1945-1968: Autour d'Izis, Boubat, Brassai, Doisneau, Ronis...* (Paris: BNF, 2006). The lack of explicative framework for the decline of the humanist paradigm radiates on the historical study of photojournalism, which was explored as a monolithic visual paradigm. Michel Guerrin, *Profession photoreporter*, (Paris: Gallimard, 1988); Hubert Henrotte, *Le monde dans les yeux: Gamma-Sygma, l'âge d'or du photojournalisme*, (Paris: Hachette, 2005); Michel Setboune and Marie Cousin, *40 ans de photojournalisme: generation agencies*, 3 vols. (Paris: la Martinière, 2014).

effects of censorship and propaganda during the Algerian War, this chapter shows, prompted the recalibration of reportage photography as an integral journalistic practice in 1960s France.

Photographers' decentralized forms of *engagement*, I argue in this chapter, explain the paradigm shift in reportage photography from humanism to photojournalism in 1960s France. In the book *Engaged Observers*, Brett Abbott contends that the phenomenon of a “concerned, independently minded, and critically engaged form of [reportage] photography began to gather momentum after World War II.” Abbott traces the highlight of photographers’ “self-assigned form of reporting” through an evocative and informative series of images designated to increase public awareness of controversial social and political problems such as The Civil Rights Movement and the Vietnam War during the 1960s.⁶ From this perspective, it seems as though French reportage photography from the Liberation to the late 1960s was marked by continuity rather than rupture. However, when photographers’ increasing willingness during the 1960s to question France’s fragile political consensus is taken into account, the fundamental difference between 1960s photoactivism and the preceding humanist approach becomes immediately apparent. As part of the postwar generation that experienced the discrepancies between official republicanism and the actual war in Algeria, young photographers were less interested in *personal* and *aesthetic* depictions of an idealized reality, which conveyed a cohesive, popular, and heroic image of France. The identification of humanistic iconography with state-led republican propaganda led photographers, who sought to challenge national political consensus during the 1960s, to use the medium as a privileged means for gathering evidence.⁷ Hence, the increasing emphasis on reportage

⁶ As Abbott notes, the earliest pioneers of this approach, such as Jacob Riis (“How the other half lives”), originated towards the end of the 19th century. Yet engaged photography started to link itself with “new journalism” only after the Second World War, reaching prominence in the press during the postwar era. The Magnum photo agency, which granted its members the autonomy to choose and work on subjects they were deeply committed to, according to Abbott, embodied this approach during the postwar era. Brett Abbott, *Engaged Observers: Documentary Photography since the 1960s* (Los Angeles, CA: J. Paul Getty Museum, 2010), 1-35.

⁷ Michael Kelly, *The Cultural and Intellectual Rebuilding of France*, 153-54.

photography's documentary value in the 1960s, unlike its aesthetic-oriented predecessor in the 1920s and 1930s, was designated to redefine the medium as a primary tool for news reporting. In order to achieve this aim, 1960s photoactivism was willing to forego the medium's aesthetic potential and subject itself to the authority of the text so that, in return, it would be recognized as news stories' primary authenticator. During the 1960s, photographic aesthetic was therefore secondary to the content of the image.

The three most important forms of photoactivism in 1960s France, I argue, were cultural, political and civil. Even though the three were not directly related to one another, each challenged the Gaullist regime with respect to the period's most crucial issue: France's accelerated modernization. Long before May '68, *Clarté*, the most widely distributed student magazine, vociferously articulated youth's socio-cultural concerns, aspirations, and anxieties. More than any other mainstream commercial publication designed for youth, *Clarté* constructed the most elaborate interpretation of modernization, which directly concerned students' daily lives vis-à-vis the cultural conservatism of the adult world, including its patron: the PCF. To better understand what the students were rebelling against, this chapter opens with a short discussion of state publications' use of documentary iconography. As I argue, these official publications employed the documentary mode to construct a glorifying narrative of the nation's commercial progress while assigning the French youth a supporting role in its story of national rejuvenation.

In the realm of political photoactivism, Third-Worldist *Révolution africaine* and *Jeune Afrique* responded to the state's "cooperation" narrative with France's former African colonies by constructing an equally elaborate counter-narrative. Whereas the state promoted a narrative in which France was portrayed as the beneficent leader of Third-World countries, the counter-narrative purported to expose *Françafrique* as a policy of domination and exploitation in disguise. After demonstrating the importance of cultural and political

photoactivism in 1960s France, the chapter concludes with a discussion of the *civil* photoactivism practiced by the vast majority of photographers working for the French media. Given the fact that modernization required the uninterrupted flow of information—partly because its restriction would be fatal for press publications operating in the highly competitive national news market—the ANJRP condemned censorship attempts by the authorities.

Framing France's Economic Modernization:

Though the French cultural establishment did not recognize photography as an art form during the 1960s, various state bureaus harnessed its documentary capacity to bring into public view the nation's accelerated modernization. The monthly review *Les Cahiers français*, launched by the *Documentation française* in the late 1950s, is a classic example of this use. After the Liberation, the state bureau distributed national propaganda through various constituencies, such as the *Ministère de l'Education nationale*, as my analysis of the review has shown. With the conclusion of national reconstruction, the government agency then reoriented its focus from the late 1950s onward to supplying the broad public with more extensive and precise information on social, economic and political matters in France and abroad. The agency's broadening list of publications thus addressed these issues from the state's vantage point. In cooperation with Marcel Koch's vice-director, Jean-Louis Crémieux Brilhac, editor Paul Martinet styled *Les Cahiers français* after *L'Express* news magazine as a review of "current affairs" (*documents d'actualité*) aimed at the general educated public. Martinet, who also issued the multilingual book *France* whenever de Gaulle visited a foreign country, chose the format of the critical article, which examined from national, economic and

social perspectives contemporary aspects of economic modernization.⁸ Several representative subjects—primarily urbanism, consumerism, and technology—reveal how the periodical used *documentary*-oriented photography to encourage a positive view of France's accelerated economic progress.

The state's official iconography in the early 1960s, my analysis shows, undermined most of the attributes of humanist photography. The focus shifted from the people to France's commercial exploits. The photographs accentuated the statuesque qualities of new *grands ensembles*, such as Le Mirail in Toulouse and the Parisian suburb of Sarcelles, the CNIT (*Centre de nouvelles industries et technologies*) urban project in La Défense district on the capital's western outskirts, and supermarkets in newly inaugurated shopping centers. Such modern manifestations were not construed in a futuristic way per se. Rather, I contend that they were celebrated as the incarnation of France's (postwar) moral consensus. *Les Cahiers français* construed its narrative of modernization as interdependent with republicanism and, for this reason, as beneficial for the French people.

A close reading of the theme of urbanism in *Les Cahiers français* sheds light on how the *Documentation française*—under the authority of Prime Minister Georges Pompidou—harnessed photography to promote Europeanized economic modernization in the 1960s. Following the critique by the press of *grand ensemble* projects built in the decade following the Second World War, *Les Cahiers français* proclaimed that the new gargantuan suburban residency complexes were the key to successfully solving France's housing shortage. Hence Le Mirail in Toulouse and the Parisian suburb of Sarcelles were depicted as the crown jewels of French contemporary urbanism, offering their residents first-rate municipal services, higher living standards and a convenient transportation network.⁹ The review invited

⁸ Jean Jenger, *1945-1995: La documentation française a 50 ans*, 48-9.

⁹ For discussion of French urban planning during the 1960s, especially in regards to the city of Toulouse, see Rosemary Wakeman, *Modernizing the Provincial City: Toulouse, 1945-1975* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1997), 111-45.

renowned architect Georges Candilis, who planned Le Mirail and “kindly agreed” to explain to the public the nature of new urban projects across France. Using humanist discourse, Candilis denounced in his article “In the House of Men,” the reckless “demagogical” critique against the new urban planning he was associated with. His general, somewhat vague statements were designated to reassure the public that the new massive urban constructions combined profound sensibility for the “real” needs of “families” while taking into account France’s “economic constraints.”¹⁰ Furthermore, to substantiate the state’s robust and highly centralized urban planning, the photographs illustrated from above, from the ground level, and from within the advantages that the new *grand ensemble* offered to contemporary society. Aerial views of the housing complexes, which embodied the state and the planners’ perspectives, focalized exclusively on the abundance of apartments, broad streets, schools, and parking [fig. 3.1].¹¹ The view from the ground level accentuated the effectiveness of the *rue dalle*, which, according to Candilis, allowed urban space to regain the social function it had lost due to automobile traffic. The view from the interior of an apartment complemented the peaceful street’s “lush greenness,” bathed in natural light. The caption, reminiscent of advertisements, exaltedly declared: the “neighborhood, the building, and the apartment, for the ‘joy of living.’” Moreover, the periodical insisted that projects like Sarcelles merited public appreciation because they set higher standards that would soon concern “half of French society” in the following decades. To show how contemporary urbanism could fit the nation’s socio-political texture, the narrative focused on the residents’ councils as an exemplary grassroots democratic institution that established a fruitful dialogue between residents and owner in the new *grand ensemble* [figs. 3.2, 3.3, & 3.4].

¹⁰ Georges Candilis, “La maison des hommes,” *Les Cahiers français* 102 (March 1965): 3-4.

¹¹ On the relations between aerial photography and the policies of the *Ministère de la Reconstruction et de l’Urbanisme*, see: Jeanne Haffner, *The View from Above*.

The CNIT flagship project shows how *Les Cahiers français* constructed a narrative that tied together contemporary architecture, economic modernization and republican self-perception. Besides being recognized as the world's largest exposition hall "worthy of French industry," the CNIT was the focal point of the capital's western district of La Défense. This new business center near the "heart of Paris" (Place de l'Étoile) allowed Paris to expand westward as far as Saint-Germain-en-Laye [fig. 3.5]. Yet precisely because the CNIT was a product of private investment, the review accentuated its constructive role for French society. It is not surprising given its vast and ultra-modern interior that the CNIT was chosen to host the Household Arts Show (*Salon des arts ménagers*), the nation's primary institution for the construction of the citizen-consumer, in 1963. Using the platform of this Salon, women, as heads of their households, exerted political power through consumer groups, explains historian Rebecca Pulju. It is therefore not surprising that Janine Niépce's close-up shot of a visitor was featured a woman [figs. 3.6, & 3.7].¹² Though her work gravitated from humanism to feminism since the mid-1960s, in the context of *Les Cahiers français*'s campaign for state modernization, Niépce's image coincided with the state's official portrayal of women as the household's primary consumers.

The emphasis on women as household consumers was equally present in France's most notable new shopping institution in the 1960s: the supermarket. *Les Cahiers français* dedicated numerous publications to examine various aspects related to "the civilization of consumption," whether in relation to the average household budget or to broader social, demographic and commercial changes taking place during the decade. A close reading of Paul Almasy's cover photo of the volume dedicated to the supermarket demonstrates how the shopping center was constructed as France's new paradise for the citizen consumer [fig. 3.8]. Occupying the entire frame, the impressive open compound of the commercial center hosts

¹² Rebecca J. Pulju, *Women and Mass Consumer Society in Postwar France* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

the French family—especially women—as they concentrate their household shopping into one location. The banner on the roofed part of the commercial compound boasts: “the supermarket: all consumption in one place.” Almasy’s wide-angle shot renders the woman citizen-consumer in the center of the frame larger, while the overall composition makes her smaller in comparison to the much larger modern architectural shape of the new mall. The play between the symmetric shapes, whether the massive oval roofed area or the circular patterns on the ground surrounding the statue in the very center of the mall’s open space, which is itself surrounded by residential houses, essentially aestheticizes commercial functionality. Zooming further in, additional images within the same volume suggest that the supermarket gives French consumers an easier, more effective, and more democratic way to buy food. The household consumer can find *all* the ingredients, choose them herself, and buy them fresh, thanks to innovative refrigeration techniques [fig. 3.9].

Though French society was not the primary focus of photographic illustrations by state bureaus during the 1960s, it remained inseparable from France’s grand narrative of economic modernization. Through the platform of the AFAA (*Association française d’action artistique*), under the patronage of the *Ministère des Affaires étrangères*, Janine Niépce presented five photographic exhibitions during the 1960s, most of which were dedicated to French society.¹³ Between 1963 and 1964, her exhibition “Image of the French” circulated

¹³ In light of the conceptualization of photography as a documentary medium, it remained a low priority for the AFAA, which dedicated most of its resources to purely aesthetic mediums, such as music, theater and painting. Secondary to any other plastic art, namely sculpture, engraving, tapestry and ceramics, photography was presented as an auxiliary of the graphic arts. Yet, precisely due to its documentary characteristics, photography illustrated commercial subjects, such as architecture and interior design. In Poland, for instance, the association published catalogues that celebrated the merits of French architecture and (industrial) applied arts. Photography played a major role in these by rendering flagship urban projects, such as the CNIT and the *grand ensemble* at Pentin, as well as France’s the UK’s major technological achievement: the Concorde supersonic aircraft, aesthetically monumental. 5554INVA/1590, the archive of the *Ministère des Affaires étrangères* (La Courneuve). For a comprehensive discussion on AFAA’s postwar policy, see Bernard Piniau and Ramon Tio Bellido, *L’action artistique de la France dans le monde: histoire de l’Association française d’action artistique de 1922 à nos jours* (Paris: l’Harmattan, 1998), 75-126; Guy Lacroix and Benjamin Bibas, *Artistes sans frontières: une histoire de l’AFAA* (Paris: AFAA, 2002).

throughout the world.¹⁴ Though it was impossible to trace the catalogues of her exhibitions at the archives of the *Ministère des Affaires étrangères* in La Courneuve, there is little doubt that her portrayal of French society suited the agenda of Gaullist cultural diplomacy.¹⁵ Moreover, other humanist photographers, among them Willy Ronis, exhibited their work abroad in cooperation with the AFAA.¹⁶ Broadly speaking, as can be seen from the association's exhibitions in Eastern Europe from 1965, documentary photography was the main tool for promoting a radiant image of French technology for commercial reasons [figs. 3.10, 3.11, & 3.12].¹⁷

As far as French society was concerned, the portrayal of the nation's youth became its most emblematic illustration in state publications during the 1960s, notably those of the *Documentation française* and the *Ministère des Affaires étrangères*. Books such as *The Young Face of France* (1959) and *France and the Rising Generation* (1965) used photography extensively to construct a youthful image of French society, whose rejuvenation was encoded as the motor of economic modernization.¹⁸ The narrative in these publications sought to convince American readers that French postwar social engineering was building a vital body of citizenry, whose competence and dynamism would enable France to regain its geopolitical dominance. The text and images in *The Young Face of France*, taken by humanist photographers from Rapho photo agency, celebrated the nation's educational system as the ultimate embodiment of republicanism and as a global model of democracy:

¹⁴ The four other exhibitions by Niépce were on "French Youth," "French Women," as well as "Cognac" and "Burgundy." Janine Niépce, *Images d'une vie* (Paris: La Martinière, 1995), 61. The list of counties and the dates of the exhibitions can be found at the photographer's private archive, kept by her daughter Hélène Jaeger-Defaix in Chablis (Burgundy).

¹⁵ The AFAA collection contains above 1,600 boxes, yet no photographic exhibition is mentioned in its limited inventory. With a limit of six boxes per day, it was impossible to find the catalogues of the AFAA's few photographic exhibitions.

¹⁶ Françoise Denoyelle, *Le siècle de Willy Ronis*, 115. In 1968, Ronis held three exhibitions abroad: "Paris picturesque," "Provence and its Mountains," and "Alsace."

¹⁷ INVA554/1590, Archives of the *Ministère des Affaires étrangères*, La Courneuve (Paris).

¹⁸ La Documentation française, *The Young Face of France* (Paris: La Documentation française, 1959); *France and the Rising Generation* (New York: French Embassy, press and information service, 1965).

. . . while presenting its humanist tradition, the French educational system has gradually become adapted to new living standards. Plans for the immediate future include making school attendance compulsory until the age of 16, setting up middle schools for children between the ages of 11 and 13, taking social measures designed to make education more democratic, and effecting an increase in the number of institutions offering adults the opportunity to continue their education.¹⁹

The images thus presented a broad spectrum of benefits enjoyed by students, including new educational facilities [figs. 3.13, 3.14 & 3.15]. The iconography of French youth hence crystalized the Gaullist vision of national grandeur. According to *France and the Rising Generation*, it was the government that enabled “young adults” realize de Gaulle’s ambitious program:

[Today’s young adults] differ from the preceding generation in that they are firmer advocates of teamwork, are less inclined to believe in class distinctions and favor increased social mobility. . . . These young adults want to help make the decisions that will allow France to adapt to the changing world. They advocate evolution, not revolution, and they believe the solutions reached should serve both the community and the individual. Although most of them favor free enterprise, they consider economic planning essential for the full use of the nation’s resources.²⁰

Whether shown outdoors, in the classroom, or at the workshop, youth was represented as a cross-class social category that benefited from new opportunities made possible by economic modernization, which rendered “class distinction” obsolete [figs. 3.16, 17, & 18]. As a third way between American capitalism and Soviet communism, *France and the Rising Generation* suggested that French republicanism was the ideal formula to successfully combine “free enterprise” with state “economic planning” and best “serve both the community and the individual.”²¹

In postwar France, youth was a key sociocultural concept, which symbolized the nation’s social, political, and economic recovery. From the Liberation well into the second half of the 1960s, argues historian Ivan Jobs, French policy makers projected the role of

¹⁹ *The Young Face of France*, 18.

²⁰ *France and the Rising Generation*, 43.

²¹ *Ibid.*

cultural reconstruction and social rejuvenation onto the concept of youth. “Because youth served as a common denominator that crossed boundaries of class, gender, race and religion,” he writes, “it provided a convenient prism through which adult France could think about the past, the present, and the future; . . . about nationality, cultural identity, and citizenship.”²² And since the ideal of youth was more represented than self-actualized, it became a potent symbol of fear and anxiety when it did not meet the expectations of the adult world. The case study of *Clarté* thus sheds light on photography’s auxiliary role in constructing a vibrantly *modern* youth culture, set in opposition to the adult world’s *conservative* conception of the role youth was to play in 1960s France.

Sex, Jazz, and Suicide: Annette Léna, *Clarté* and the Students’ Cultural Battle:

“The ‘up-to-dateness’ of youth therefore consists in their being closer to the ‘present’ problems (as a result of their ‘potentially fresh contact’), and in the fact that they are dramatically aware of the process of destabilization and take sides in it. All this while the older generation cling to the reorientation that had been the drama of their youth.”

Karl Mannheim, *The Sociological Problem of Generations*, 1923.²³

“We can challenge bourgeois society in different ways. Some of them concern the struggle against militarism, while others refer to the emergence of a cultural battle. *Clarté* must be capable of presenting the most multifaceted image of communism . . .”

Alain Forner, 6th UEC congress, Châtillon-sous-Bagneux, February 1963.

Between the end of the Algerian War and the closing of *Clarté* magazine in March 1965, the journal of the *Union des Étudiants Communistes* bitterly contested the dominant cultural values in Gaullist France. During the first half of the 1960s *Clarté* produced a modern-oriented cultural discourse, which redefined students as a distinctive cross-class social

²² Ivan Richard Jobs, *Riding the New Wave*, 272.

²³ Karl Mannheim, “The Sociological Problem of Generations,” in *Essays on the Sociology of Knowledge*, P. Kecskemeti, ed. (New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1952), 179.

category in order to promote their distinctive needs and desires vis-à-vis the oppressive adult world. The anti-institutional critique of the nation's largest students' review, moreover, went so far as to condemn the cultural and ideological conservatism of PCF (notably the Thorez-Vermeersch couple), which controlled the UEC. Photography played a key role in the construction of students' militant counter-culture by focusing on socio-cultural taboos, such as sexuality, that concerned their daily lives directly. Annette Léna, the review's staff photographer, showed the breaking of these taboos in order to refute the moralizing official discourse on youth in early 1960s France. In contrast to the humanist photographers, Léna's images stirred controversy and provocation, accentuating the essays that developed students' critical view of a society undergoing rapid modernization.

There is hardly any literature examining the role photography played in *Clarté* magazine. The major secondary literature written on the UEC, Hervé Hamon and Patrick Rotman's monumental *Génération*, Philippe Robrieux's account on the Communist postwar generation, and Jacques Varin's article on the UEC, discuss the ideological agendas of different factions within the communist student association.²⁴ The only analysis that is specifically dedicated to photography in *Clarté* is Sara Darmayan's master's thesis on Annette Léna, which explores the photographer's work as a representative case study of 1960s radicalism.²⁵ Darmayan's study, however, does not determine Léna's place in the historiography of reportage photography, labeling it as humanist, documentary, and photojournalistic at the same time. My study, in contrast, labels Léna as one of France's most important photoactivists of the 1960s, challenging the humanist paradigm by focalizing on highly controversial subjects, introducing more rigorous documentary and, later, photojournalistic standards.

²⁴ Hervé Hamon and Patrick Rotman, *Génération*, 2 Vols. (Paris: Seuil, 1988); Philippe Robrieux, *Notre Génération communiste* (Paris: Robert Laffont, 1977); Jacques Varin, "Les étudiants communistes, des origines à la veille de Mai 1968," *Matériaux pour l'histoire de notre temps* 74 (Spring 2004): 37-49.

²⁵ Sara Darmayan, "L'Utopie révolutionnaire des années soixante à travers le regard d'Annette Léna, jeune photographe de l'Union des Étudiants Communistes" (MA thesis, Sorbonne-IV, 2006).

To understand the anti-institutional worldview that characterized the members of *Clarté*'s editorial staff in the early 1960s, it is important to take into account the radicalizing effect that the Algerian War had on students. The UEC was launched as an auxiliary of the *Mouvement des jeunes communistes de France* by the PCF on its fourteenth congress in July 1956 as part of the Party's adoption of a comprehensive policy towards youth.²⁶ The UEC, which held its own yearly congress and elections, favored institutional independence from its political patron. This relative autonomy explains why, during the war in Algeria, it eventually adopted a stance that openly defied the Party's official policy. The longer France's undeclared war went on, the more the UEC was pressured by students and the *Union nationale des étudiants de France* to adopt a firm anti-war stance, especially after the government annulled its deferral policy in August 1959. The growing clash with the PCF leadership reached a tipping point when UEC activists joined the first large anti-war demonstration, organized by the UNEF and PSU, on October 27, 1960 at Mutualité conference hall.²⁷ The Party's reaction, which resulted in the purging of officials who publicly opposed the war—including UEC general secretary Philippe Robrieux—further alienated the communist students. Yet for Robrieux's successor, Jean Piel, the price of the UEC's self-critique was worth paying in return for maintaining the students' grip on the association.

The strong influence of the chairman of the Italian Communist Party, Palmiro Togliatti, who advocated de-Stalinization and polycentrism, on the UEC's leadership

²⁶ Varin, "Les étudiants communistes, des origines à la veille de Mai 1968," 37-42. The UEC was initially founded in academic year 1938-39, but as a result of government banning of the PCF and the outbreak of World War Two, the UEC, which was fused with the organization of communist high school pupils: the *Union des étudiants et lycéens communistes de France*, went underground. In the aftermath of Liberation, the UEC developed from local cells active during the Occupation. Its structure thus sheds light on its strong ethos of autonomy vis-à-vis the Party. In 1956, the Party decided that the UEC would absorb the Parisian communist students' organization, and launch its own journal: *Clarté* (named after its bi-monthly predecessor).

²⁷ Hervé Hamon and Patrick Rotman, *Génération: les années de rêve*, 58-70. On the relations between the UEC and the PCF during the Algerian War, see Danièle Joly, *The French Communist Party and the Algerian War*, 119-29.

revealed how independent and distant the students had grown from the PCF. UEC general secretaries Alain Forner (1962-64) and Pierre Kahn (1964-65) not only continued their predecessors' policy of favoring student-related concerns over working-class doctrine, but also challenged the Party on cultural and political grounds. Under the influence of independent Marxist-oriented thinkers, such as Jean-Paul Sartre, Henri Lefebvre, Herbert Marcuse and Antonio Gramsci (among others), the UEC's Political Bureau that ran *Clarté* from the Latin Quarter promoted a critical *cultural* discourse by addressing key aspects of students' daily lives.²⁸ In this regard the UEC's agenda not only stood in sharp contrast to the moralizing adult world, but also bitterly opposed the Party, whose ideological referents were rooted in the interwar period and Stalinism. As sociologist Karl Mannheim (quoted above) powerfully argued, accelerated socio-cultural transformation can lead the younger generation to attain "fresh contact" with the present of "dynamic destabilization" that creates a radically different "stratification of experience" (*Erlebnisschichtung*).²⁹ Forner's proclamation at the sixth congress in 1963 (also quoted above) attests that engaged *Sorbonnards* perceived themselves as leaders of a liberation front against alienating individualism, materialism, hypocrisy, nationalism, war and racism.³⁰ All of these negative attributes, which for young UEC radicals represented contemporary society in Gaullist France, were also associated with the PCF. The UEC's autonomous admission policy hence explains why so many figures who played an active role in May '68, including Alain Krivine, Bernard Kouchner, and Serge July, were members of *Clarté*'s review board in the early 1960s.³¹ The "Italian" faction that

²⁸ The review owned numerous Marxist works, which including those of Antonio Gramsci and Palmiro Togliatti, *Les temps modernes* and the publications of François Maspero. Jacques Derogy, "Les étudiants engloutis," *L'Express* (March 15-21, 1965): 26-7.

²⁹ Mannheim, "The Sociological Problem of Generations," 163-95.

³⁰ Alain Forner, "VI congress de l'UEC," *Clarté* 49 (March 1963).

³¹ The UEC's firm stance against the war in Algeria helps explain why so many Jews, who were especially sensitive to human rights violations and extra-judicial violations by security forces, joined it and became senior members (unlike the somewhat anti-Semitic PCF), among them Pierre Kahn, Jean Schalit, André Sénik, Bernard Kouchner, Michèle Firk, Alain Krivine and Pierre Goldman. Hamon and Rotman, *Génération: les années de rêve*.

dominated the UEC's leadership, of course, infuriated the PCF leadership, who cultivated workers' resentment by presenting them as members of an excluded "ethno class," to use Gino Raymond's definition.³² The axis of generational cultural contestation thus revolved around the opposition between modernity and conservatism.

For the editorial staff of *Clarté*, culture was the key to achieve a critical understanding of contemporary society. Culture, according to the UEC's leadership, could not only draw potential students but also radicalize them more effectively. As the UEC internal records show, culture was neither distinct from nor secondary to politics.³³ The monthly's dedication of its main articles to cultural subjects sheds light on the reasons for the students' belief that *Clarté* was "the only journal that approached cultural challenges in a young and modern manner."³⁴ To make the magazine more appealing to students' tastes, photography, painting, and innovative graphic design—printed in the new polychrome technique—took central stage in the monthly's page-layout. Though growth of student populations was partly responsible, the changes in the form and content of *Clarté* nevertheless largely contributed to the remarkable rise in the print run, from 6000-7000 in late 1959 to the record number of 30,000 in 1964.³⁵ By then, *Clarté* became the most widely distributed student magazine, surpassing even the UNEF's *l'Étudiant de France*.

As part of the rejuvenation of *Clarté*'s editorial line, Annette Léna was admitted as *Clarté*'s first staff photographer in 1962. Being one of the few women who worked at the UEC's Political Bureau, Léna's job was to vitalize the review's renovated platform with a fresh outlook. This position launched her professional trajectory, merging her interest in

³² Varin, "Les étudiants communistes, des origines à la veille de Mai 1968," 43-6. The three main political currents within the UEC were the pro-Italian, pro-Party and various *gauchistes* groups, primarily Trotskyists. On Maurice Thorez and Jeannette Vermeersch's policy, see: Annette Wieviorka's biography: *Maurice et Jeannette: Biographie du couple Thorez* (Paris: Fayard, 2010); Gino G. Raymond, *The French Communist Party during the Fifth Republic: A Crisis of Leadership and Ideology* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

³³ "Tractes intérieurs, *Dossier UEC*, 1958, Box 1. BDIC (Nanterre).

³⁴ "Courrier des lecteurs," *Clarté* 31 (December 1960).

³⁵ Philippe Roubrieux, *Notre Génération communiste*, 248.

photography and political culture with concerns from her personal life.³⁶ Léna (nee Cornier) was born in 1939 to a family of a provincial petty bourgeoisie and attended the Parisian Vaugirard Photography School after earning her high school diploma. Yet the detachment from contemporary reality of this technically-oriented and conservative professional institution—a subject I discuss in the chapter’s last segment—explains why she soon decided to complement her education with a bachelor’s degree in sociology at the nearby Sorbonne. Similar to other radical sixty-eighters, notably Daniel Cohn-Bendit, the study of sociology became a radicalization vector. In addition, her engagement clearly had deep personal roots. By 1962, the 23-year-old photographer was divorced from the husband, racing driver Claude Ballot-Léna, whom she had married not long before. Excluded from her own family due to her divorce, Léna gave up the daughter she had given birth to during her short-lived marriage to be raised by her alienated family. This episode in Léna’s life placed her in a status directly opposed to persisting conservative values. Furthermore, being of a multiracial descent, Léna’s looks also set her apart. Whether or not her appearance might have intensified her sense of alienation in Gaullist France, there is little doubt that the ongoing war in Algeria had an impact on her. As her sister noted in a recent interview, the two used to devour towards the war’s end the militant publications of François Maspero, who also published Kagan’s photographs of the October 17 massacre, at his bookstore in the Latin Quarter.³⁷ Clearly, Léna’s gender-related distress, marginal profession, and the tense political climate only strengthened her engagement with the UEC.

Illustrated reports on the ending of the Algerian War in *Clarté* reveal the interplay between documentary photography (as a political weapon) and humanist iconography. Before the monthly had its own staff photographer, Élie Kagan supplied it with images of extra-legal

³⁶ Darmayan, “L’Utopie révolutionnaire des années soixante à travers le regard d’Annette Léna,” 33. The students’ anti-institutional platform suited the young Parisian photographer, one of very few women who worked in a dynamic, ambitious and masculine environment of the UEC’s Political Bureau.

³⁷ Ibid., 12-7, 33.

police repression, as well as students' anti-war activity. Following the October 17 massacre, UEC general secretary Jean Piel declared that the political resistance of Algerians uncovered for French students the real threat of a civil war:

. . . [T]he dignified Algerian people did the French a huge favor. . . showing them who their real enemies were. . . Democratic students, watch out: it is fascism and civil war that we have been facing before, during, and, unfortunately, after October 17. Following the army, the police, another essential force of the state apparatus, now uses such methods [of extralegal repression] with the government's consent. . . The fierce battle . . . has begun. . . [F]or the sake of the friendship between France and Algeria, let us organize in active committees for peace and anti-fascist vigilance.³⁸

As we saw in the previous chapter, Kagan's photograph of a well-dressed Algerian victim lying in a pool of blood served as irrefutable evidence of the massacre of peaceful demonstrators by the police [fig. 3.19].³⁹ Following October 17, *Clarté* featured additional images by Kagan in its reports to engage as many students as possible in anti-war activism. These images portrayed student demonstrations across the country, and especially the student actions against the OAS through the *Front Universitaire Antifasciste* [figs. 3.20, 3.21, & 3.22]. According to *Clarté*, students had to defend their respective sectors "without any political distinction" by joining the FUA, whose actions comprised an "apprenticeship in democracy." A caption distills the sentiment of Kagan's photograph of a group of male students: "We do not want to be [led] like sheep."⁴⁰

But when *Clarté* covered the situation in Algeria on the eve of independence, Léna chose a humanist iconography to frame the newly decolonized African nation. In the following section of this chapter, I explain why the Third-Worldist francophone press used the humanist paradigm in the aftermath of Algerian independence. Suffice it to say, though,

³⁸ Jean Piel, "Clarté-Flash: Les choses en étant arrivées là," *Clarté* 38 (November 1961): 11.

³⁹ The same subtext was reiterated in another article, which featured an image of Algerian protestors in the capital's boulevards that was contrasted by those of deserted streets of Colombes shantytown and of an Algerian mother holding a child. "Algériens..." *ibid.*: 12; 21.

⁴⁰ Jean Schalit, "OAS assassins," *Clarté* 39 (December 1961): 11; P. Lifer, "FUA: unité et perspectives," *ibid.*, 41 (February 1962): 12-3; Jean Schalit, "Mort au fascisme," *ibid.*, 42 (March 1962): 11; "FUA: sept mille adhérents," 12-3. Piel insisted on supporting the FUA against PCF leadership.

that Léna and *Clarté* sought to substantiate a claim that, in contrast to the emerging socialist regime in North Africa, Gaullist France was an authoritarian and repressive capitalist state. The reportage by Léna and Jean-Claude Polack portrayed Algeria similarly to the way *Regards* represented France after the Liberation. Like the portrayal of dire misery in France in the late 1940s, their story presented the heroic and destitute Algerian people who “for the first time could make [their] voices heard [and begin their] democratic apprenticeship,” even in the remotest rural areas of the country [figs. 3.23, 3.24, & 3.25]. For Clarté, the glorifying depiction of Algerian independence was inseparable from students’ political engagement as the real representatives of the French Left:

In France, a certain desperate Left [Communist and Socialist Parties], which hasn’t been able to find an Algeria that corresponds with its illusions since the first months of peace, thinks it can walk away, renouncing all solidarity and handing this matter over to other forces [the government] that are the least generous and often the least democratic of all, and so they pave the way toward “cooperation.” But Algeria concerns us. The laws and circumstances remain a strong bond between this new country and ours. It is up to us to make sure that these relations become neither oppressive nor restrictive.⁴¹

The use of the term “cooperation” is not incidental in this regard. In contrast to the aura of de Gaulle’s new *Ministère de la Coopération*, which officially coordinated relations between France and its former colonies, the students used Algeria as a vantage point to criticize the regime, as well as the entire political establishment. Quoting an “anonymous high [FLN] official,” the author explained that Algerians expected the French Left to pressure de Gaulle to agree to alter certain clauses in the Evian Accords that would allow Ben Bella’s government to confiscate agricultural lands *pieds noirs* had left behind. But students’ engagement in Algerian independence, explains Pierre Kahn in an article from May, was directly related to their daily lives within France. During the war, “the real nature of the Gaullist regime” went the text, made students “recognize the political and economic

⁴¹ Jean-Claude Polack and Annette Léna-Ballot, “L’Algérie année zero,” *Clarté* 45 (July 1962): 4-9.

monopolies that threatened the liberty of the university.”⁴² The use of documentary photography as political weapon on the one hand and humanist iconography on the other was therefore complementary.

In the war’s aftermath, Léna introduced to *Clarté* a comprehensive photoactivist documentary aesthetic, which critically addressed students’ distinctive socioeconomic problems. Beginning in early 1963, Léna explored the hardships students faced as victims of mass consumer society. Léna’s background in sociology introduced her to innovative contemporary thinkers, especially Henri Lefebvre, whose critique of daily life was integral to the construction of her inquisitive documentary aesthetic.⁴³ Her images thus presented students as those who paid the highest price for France’s accelerated modernization (after Algerian workers), enabling *Clarté* to proclaim the UEC as the vanguard of a new revolutionary social class: the educated youth.⁴⁴

Léna’s reportage on the students’ residence in the suburb of Antony in early 1963 exemplifies *Clarté*’s tactic of attempting to radicalize students by focusing on their everyday hardships.⁴⁵ Shortly after the defiance of dormitory rules, followed by rent strikes at the Parisian student residence in late 1962, *Clarté* immediately broached the subject head on. Sixty percent of those studying away from their parents’ household, noted Polack, could not achieve “residential autonomy” because of state failure to meet the booming demand.⁴⁶ Even

⁴² Pierre Kahn, “Alger, Oran où vas-t-on?,” *Clarté* 43 (May 1962): 10.

⁴³ Henri Lefebvre, *Critique de la vie quotidienne: Introduction* (Paris: B. Grasset, 1947); Henri Lefebvre, *Critique de la vie quotidienne II: Fondements d’une sociologie de la quotidienneté* (Paris: l’Arche, 1962).

⁴⁴ Darmayan, “L’Utopie révolutionnaire des années soixante à travers le regard d’Annette Léna,” 71-2. Other examples included student labor (February 1963) and the disfavoring educational policy (May, 1963). The temporary imprisonment of several staff members from *Clarté*, among them Léna, Yves Buin and Sylvain Romette in Spain during a reportage in an underground Communist cell in early 1963 sheds light on the radical atmosphere among the review board.

⁴⁵ On the student turmoil at the residences of Antony and Nanterre between 1962 and 1968, see Michael Seidman, *The Imaginary Revolution: Parisian Students and Workers in 1968* (New York: Berghan Books, 2004), 17-52.

⁴⁶ As a result of the state’s difficulty to meet the high demand to build university dorms, French students were obliged to reside with their parents. Consequently, they had to spend hours traveling, could not have “normal sex lives,” and were subjected to “ideological conflicts as a result of the generation gap.” Jean-Claude Polack and Annette Léna, “250,000 étudiants à loger: les chambres éclatent,” *Clarté* 48 (February 1963), 12-4, 42.

the fortunate ten percent of those who managed—or could afford—to rent a room at the university dorm, explained the author, felt alienated by the “unending corridors, enumerated doors, and train station refectory.”⁴⁷ The disenchanted, critical perspective of Léna’s images moved beyond standard illustrations of the poor housing conditions such as Doisneau’s images from the 1950s [fig. 3.26]. Léna’s photographs of the new functionalist residences represented the facilities as utterly unsuitable for granting students even a basic habitat to assert their independence as young adults [figs. 3.27, & 3.28]. Hence, in contrast to the parallel image in *The Young Face of France*, Léna’s shot from below the modernized walkway shows the human element fused into the gloomy Brutalist architectural background. Moreover, Léna purposefully excluded the radiant walkway from the photo frame of the student residence.⁴⁸ Her symmetrical, anti-aesthetic and sterile images from Antony and Nanterre, where, to the students’ resentment, the new social sciences facility was constructed, portrayed these sites as technocratic wastelands. As the photo-essay made clear, the bourgeois mores that governed the student residence were repressive in light of their function in French consumer society of the early 1960s, namely to form a mass of (mediocre) mid-level *cadres*. The students’ silent cry in the form of graffiti at Antony, according to Léna’s photograph, was an authentic expression of their outright rejection of government and administration policies [figs. 3.29, 3.30, & 3.31]. In late 1965, a photo by Léna was featured in an article in *Le nouvel observateur* that criticized the Minister of Education for restricting students’ “sexual liberty” following the construction of observation lodges to supervise gender segregation in Antony. This was several years before the issue became a trigger for the students’ revolt in May ’68 [fig. 3.32].

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Fond Annette Léna, *Département des estampes et de la photographie*, BNF (Richelieu): EP- 2417. As Léna’s photographic records shows, the editor cropped the latter image in order to remove the solitary student walking with baby carriage in a gloomy environment.

Most of the articles in *Clarté*, though, were dedicated to contemporary culture, which Léna and her associates explored by privileging the baby boomers' point of view. As part of the review's agenda of unveiling the underlying conservatism of French society, notably that of the PCF, Léna's photographs presented artists and intellectuals in an informal setting during interviews as they expressed their non-conformist views on various subjects, such as art, humanism, love and death. The article on Russian poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko's visit to Paris is a case in point. Three years after Khrushchev's visit to France in March 1960, which was favorably covered by *Clarté*, the UEC embraced the Thaw's cultural ambassador, who unequivocally condemned Stalinism, a worldview that continued to guide the PCF's leadership during the 1960s. *Clarté*'s cover, named after Yevtushenko's iconic poem "The Heirs of Stalin," demonstrates just how dramatic was the poet's reading in front of a student audience at *Mutualité*. The UEC, which organized the event, used the visit of the Soviet poet to denounce the PCF leadership for its outdated Stalinism, taking advantage of the Party's tight spot vis-à-vis the present Soviet leadership. "Yevtushenko's victory" in front of a large ecstatic student crowd, wrote the author of the featured article, marked a new dawn for the Soviet "socialist regime" in general and its young art in particular:

. . . [F]or the leader of young Soviet poetry, it was completely out of the question to think of dealing with personal problems discreetly [His poetry] has the taste of sacrilege, of romanticism [striving for] full realization, a quality lost in our country for so long This [sensibility] helped us better understand his explicit political pieces, and [especially] Yevtushenko's hatred for everything related to the "cult of personality" . . . [and to Stalin's] lack of confidence in men, [specifically] his fear of the people. . . . [T]he new generation [of artists] presents . . . a Soviet Union brimming with activity, where the young do not question their merits.⁴⁹

Young Soviet poetry thus served French communist students as an aesthetic means to provoke the adult world. It not only uncovered conservative mores in contemporary France, but also exposed them within the PCF leadership. Léna's cinematic series of Yevtushenko's

⁴⁹ Laurent Leroux and Annette Léna, "Evtouchenko," *Clarté* 51 (November 1963): 21-2.

reading produced an authentic representation of a prolific, innovative and charismatic poet, whom *Clarté* praised for his apotheosis of “interior liberty” [fig. 3.33]. The photo essay complemented this sequence with a more evocative image of the poet on stage; his young body facing the camera embodied the youthful dynamism of new Soviet art [fig. 3.34]. As such, Yevtushenko was shown as the antithesis of the older faces of the (conformist) French artists whom the PCF embraced.

In another photo-essay, Léna and her new companion from *Clarté*, the writer Yves Buin, interviewed Jean-Paul Sartre on the interplay between art and Marxist interpretation. As the title “Sartre Talks” on the cover of the 1964 March-April publication suggests, the choice of France’s leading intellectual (who had quit the PCF in 1956) provoked the Party’s cultural agenda [fig. 3.35].⁵⁰ And indeed, from the beginning of the interview, Sartre shredded to pieces the Party’s dogmatic materialist criticism of art. In reply to Buin’s leading question: “can art be both realist and socialist at the same time?” Sartre argued that socialist realism, both as an artistic and as a critical approach, was an “error” because it failed to address the complexities of myth and the “social imaginary.” Drawing parallels with the Party’s criticism of his own existentialist philosophy, Sartre accused communist orthodox criticism of impoverishing Marxist interpretation instead of enriching it.⁵¹ Léna’s series of portraits of Sartre speaking openly and informally from his writing desk at home next to his interviewer thus accentuated the frankness of his bold statements [fig. 3.36]. Léna’s photos were no doubt inspired by Leon Herschtritt’s images of Sartre’s interview with Jean Daniel in May 1961 for *France-Observateur*. Her photographs accentuated the raw and spontaneous quality of innovative cultural figures, producing an alternative to the reigning portrait iconography prevalent at the SNP, as well as among PCF leadership, notably in Maurice Thorez’s personality cult.

⁵⁰ David Drake, *Intellectuals and Politics in Post-war France*, (New York: Plgrave Macmillan, 2002), 1-127.

⁵¹ Yves Buin and Annette Léna, “Sartre Parle,” *Clarté* 55 (March-April, 1964): 42-6.

Buin and Léna's interview of Roger Vailland for the then upcoming publication of his 1964 novel, *La truite*, became a platform for undermining the relevance of humanist ideology.⁵² As we have seen in the previous chapter, Vailland, who also quit the PCF in 1956, was a major influence on Garanger. The influential author of the *Nouveau Roman* agreed with his interviewer that rather than "rally[ing] with the working class [represented exclusively by the PCF], intellectuals belong . . . to a revolutionary movement [which is based on] their [sense of] liberty."⁵³ In the atomized, contemporary consumer-oriented society, the intellectual became an outsider. Vailland met this challenge by converting the "morose socialist humanism of most . . . contemporaries" into vigorous "singular humanism." Vailland's model of "moral progress," wrote Buin, opened the path for a different "revolutionary humanism" based on the individual's deeper understanding of his selfhood through psychological insights, such as "repression and sexual deviation as troubling alienation effects of daily life."⁵⁴ Based on autobiographical references between Vailland and his non-conformist protagonist Milan, the novelist celebrated the ultimate antihero [fig. 3.37].

Léna used an informal and natural style of portraiture that construed the young and provocative artists as the living embodiments of the cultural trends they pioneered. Serge July, who joined the March 22 Movement in 1968 and founded the influential daily newspaper *Libération* in 1973, interviewed new wave filmmaker Louis Malle for the release of his 1963 film: *Le feu follet*.⁵⁵ The theme of the film and the interview is a classic example of *Clarté*'s prioritization of a contemporary culture. This orientation of concerns struck a sensitive cord among students' modern sensibilities over doctrinaire political matters. July,

⁵² On this occasion Léna met Marc Garanger, who donated her archive to the BNF after her suicide in 1972.

⁵³ Yves Buin and Annette Léna, "Vailland: homme du XVIII^e ou écrivain du XXI^e siècle?," *Clarté* 54 (February 1964): 28-31.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ *Le feu follet*, Louis Malle (New York: Yanus Films, 1963).

who mentioned several times throughout the article that “34 year-old Malle [is] a man of our time,” praised his courage for being the first filmmaker to address the conflicts in Indochina and Algeria. Furthermore, because Malle saw himself primarily as a “witness . . . of the contemporary world,” explains July, he also broke taboos about love and sexuality, which concerned students directly. Yet *Clarté*’s biggest provocation of all in the eyes of the PCF was to grant a laudatory interview to a “bourgeois” director whose script was based on a novel by an author who had been sentenced to death for *collaboration*: Pierre Drieu la Rochelle. The interview, moreover, connected the film’s underlying (“decadent”) theme of *suicide* to the filmmaker’s personal anxieties due to the “incapacity to reach out to life freely and independently.” This theme of individual autonomy underlined by Malle no doubt strongly resonated among students. Léna’s photographs only accentuated the parallels between Malle and his protagonist Alain Leroy (played by Maurice Ronet), an alcoholic veteran officer of the Algerian War who committed suicide after a final return to meet his former Parisian (intellectual) friends [fig. 3.38]. The location chosen for the interview, not surprisingly, was a brasserie in the Latin Quarter, near *Café de Flore* (regularly frequented by bohemian intellectuals such as Sartre and de Beauvoir), where the most famous scene of *Le feu follet* took place. In addition, Léna’s snapshot portrait of young Malle appeared next to a still image of an iconic scene of Leroy in his clinic room, where he eventually took his own life. The title of the interview in *Clarté*, “Louis Malle told me that if I kill myself one day, it’s because of this film,” confirms this message.⁵⁶ Beyond its references to this specific film, Léna’s photographs also reverberated with the conscious decision of new wave filmmakers to leave the studio—unlike the directors of poetic realism—for the streets. This interview is just

⁵⁶ Serge July and Annette Léna, “Louis Malle m’a dit si un jour je me tue c’est à cause de ce film,” *Clarté* 51 (November 1963): 37-42.

one example of a series of articles dedicated to the new wave, such as the interview with Macha Méril, the heroine of Jean-Luc Godard's provocative 1964 film: *Une femme mariée*.⁵⁷

Just as the *Nouvelle Vague* became emblematic of contemporary cinema for *Clarté*, so did jazz of music. Jazz, with its strong Afro-American influences, was perceived by the adult world in postwar France not only as a threat to the Frenchness of the country's youth, but also a threat of national degeneration.⁵⁸ The communist youth review *Nous les garçons et les filles*, which showed working class youth as strong, vital and heroic, stigmatized those who attended jazz clubs (located at Saint-Germain-des-Près) as decadent bourgeois.⁵⁹ By introducing jazz to students as the "music of the future," *Clarté* accentuated the anxieties of the adult world, and the conservative PCF in particular, concerning youth. Léna and Buin's photo-essays constructed contemporary Afro-American jazzmen like Thelonious Monk and John Coltrane as contemporary musical pioneers.⁶⁰ Léna's images of Monk and Coltrane on stage presented them as solitary avant-garde artists who refused to abide by restraining musical conventions as they became one with their music and instrument – piano and saxophone, respectively [fig. 3.39]. According to Buin, Monk's music was no less than a jazz revolution; similar to atonal revolution in classical music by Arnold Schoenberg in the 1920s, the "personal research" of the jazzman created a remarkable balance between "symmetry, asymmetry, discontinuity and unity."⁶¹ In the Coltrane interview Buin asked, "Would you describe yourself as an 'angry young man?'" This question, among others, demonstrates an attempt to provoke the musician to make bold statements about the radical future direction of Occidental music.⁶² Coltrane, however, replied that it was his African heritage that defined his music. Like other artists, Léna photographed Coltrane in a formal setting wearing a

⁵⁷ J. Tiffou, "Accusé levez-vous!," *Clarté* 55 (March-April, 1964), 24-7.

⁵⁸ Ivan Jobs, *Riding the New Wave*, 10, 272-74.

⁵⁹ Rosemary Wakman, *The Heroic City*, 258-59.

⁶⁰ Léna also published photographs of Afro-American musicians for the musical review: *Jazz Hot*.

⁶¹ Buin and Léna, "Thelonious Monk," *Clarté* 45 (May 1963): 26.

⁶² Buin and Léna, "Coltrane," *Clarté* 46 (December 1962): 33-4.

dressings gown and smoking a cigar at his hotel room [fig. 3.40]. These snapshots embodied a documentary aesthetic of informality that was antithetical to the mainstream images of musician-performers in suits and ties.

Negative responses to students' use of culture for self-definition against the moralistic projections of society and the political establishment stirred most of the criticism directed against *Clarté*. The journal's addressing of the controversial subject of students' sexuality certainly aggravated the protective, conservative and paternalistic discourse about youth that was dominant in postwar France. Indeed, the article "The New Sentimental Education" by Buin and Léna used testimonies of students from the Latin Quarter to *publically* discuss their love lives from an open and progressive point of view.⁶³ Rather than treating the discourse of sexuality as a *private* matter which concerned married couples exclusively, Buin and Léna used the psychological premise that "everybody flirts, consciously or unconsciously" to redefine flirting (*draguer*) as a "systematic search for a partner." From this fresh perspective, both young men and women shared the same "aspiration to escape solitude," even though each gender had its distinctive motivations. This new tendency among the young, concluded the text, was an expression of a "legitimate exigency of liberty . . . , which inspired a new kind of human relations."⁶⁴ Léna's photographs hence encoded the written claim by showing how systematic and omnipresent were the courting rituals among the young in the Latin Quarter. Her camera left the campuses to follow students to Saint-Michel Boulevard "where [they] dominated," the Odéon Square where "everything begins," and the area between the Luxembourg Gardens and Saint-Michel metro station. In the cover photo, the modern and chic young women turn the heads of the article's imagined Flaubertian protagonist, the "new Frédéric," along with the head of another young solitary passerby [fig. 3.41]. As the article explains, the "solitary womanizer spots a girl and follows her for a while until he finds the

⁶³ Hamon and Rotman, *Génération*, 177-78

⁶⁴ Buin, Léna *et al*, "La nouvelle education sentimental," *Clarté* 47 (February 1963): 14-20.

courage to approach her.” Léna’s photograph of a group of stylish, modern young women seen from the back thus imitates the womanizer’s perspective [fig. 3.42]. Its caption confirms this interpretation by explaining that a “certain ‘look’” of young women indicated their inclination towards flirting. Specifically, this look implied a tendency to “walk nonchalantly from one shop window to the other, smile without hesitating and look men in the eyes.”⁶⁵ In addition to substantiating the authors’ bold claim about the sexuality of the young—notably by entertaining the popular image of what historian Susan Weiner termed as “the bad girl”—Léna’s images turned the capital’s heroic streets into a space of frivolous bohemian flirtation.⁶⁶

Clarté and Léna took a step further in addressing a taboo even greater than youth sexuality: abortions in France. The article “A Night Watch at the Hospital” raised the utmost burning national issue as emblematic of conservative social mores towards women in general and the young in particular. Abortions were so pervasive in France, opened the text, that it “nearly matched that of childbirth.”⁶⁷ Given the scale of the problem, continued the author, “it would be superfluous to delve into its moral gravity solely from a standpoint of national interests.” To give readers a more concrete sense of this major public grievance, the text delved into the “insignificant story” of two young women who lived in a society in which “discovering pregnancy was easy, but deciding whether or not to pursue it was impossible.” The article thus focalized on the series of humiliations the two women encountered upon their arrival to the emergency room (due to the absence of birth control). Several years before *Le manifeste des 343* that appeared on *Le Nouvel Observateur* on early April 1971,

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ On the popular imagery of female adolescents in the mainstream media, see: Susan Weiner, *Enfant terrible: Youth and Femininity in the Mass Media in France, 1945-1968* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001).

⁶⁷ H. Dreux and Annette Léna, “Une nuit de garde à l’hôpital,” *Clarté* 51 (November 1963): 20-1.

Clarté unequivocally condemned France's official policy towards unwanted pregnancy as utterly repressive.⁶⁸

The article's cover photo, a product of Léna's multiple visits to hospitals in a northern Parisian suburb during fall 1963, sums up all the main characteristics of her documentary aesthetic [fig. 3.43]. The choice of subject reveals the photographer's determination to confront even a consensual matter. It had a growing impact on French young women, notably Léna herself, who had undergone the same procedure shortly before.⁶⁹ Her photographic representation distilled several youth-related silenced topics that had been systematically excluded from discourse and brought them into the public realm. The fact that the woman in the frame is holding the bed sheets between her legs implies sexuality, yet the covering of her face with her hand also conveys a sense of victimhood: the abuse of her body. The image makes it very clear that the ultimate victims of government policy were mostly young women. The choice of perspective places the viewer in the position of the doctor and gives him or her the role of a judge, who must answer for the double standard towards women in Gaullist France. To be sure, the title "*Clarté* accuses," in bold font, complements the textual evidence about the absurdity of leaving a crucial public debate to medical "experts" (*le conseil national de l'ordre des médecins*). Here *Clarté* illuminates how existing discourse and the resultant set of medical practices led to numerous cases of women's self-mutilation, as if it were a purely technocratic matter. Compared to the existing standards in French reportage photography, Léna's provocation was unparalleled; even Janine Niépce, who had been committed to the women's cause since the mid-1960s, did not dare treat such an explosive subject.⁷⁰

⁶⁸ Simone de Beauvoir, "La liste des 343 françaises qui ont le courage de signer le manifeste 'Je me suis fait avorter,'" *Le Nouvel Observateur* 334 (April 5, 1971).

⁶⁹ Darmayan, "L'Utopie révolutionnaire des années soixante à travers le regard d'Annette Léna," 62.

⁷⁰ Janine Niépce's most pioneering work in this regard was published in the 1965 book by Évelyne Sullerot, cofounder of *Mouvement français pour le planning familial*. Her images showed women in different daily situations that were particular to their gender, including two photographs of women giving birth in delivery

The controversial publications and the translated article (from *Rinascita*) by Togliatti in *Clarté* were the straw that broke the camel's back.⁷¹ The PCF leadership had worked tirelessly since the UEC's 7th congress in 1964 to remove the nonconformist "Italian" faction from the National Bureau that issued *Clarté* (using the printing presses of *L'Humanité*). The Party finally achieved this goal at the following congress, held in March 1965, after it expanded the ranks of UEC representatives with newcomers from provincial towns.⁷² Léna's



Illustration 6: Annette Léna and Yves Buin at Palmiro Togliatti's funeral, Rome, August 1964.

photographs of the stormy congress--few of which were published in *L'Express*—show Alain Forner and Pierre Kahn during the heated voting, which led to the demise of the UEC leadership [fig. 3.44]. Soon after the members of the Italian faction—many of whom would play a leading role in May '68—were purged from the UEC, *Le nouveau Clarté* was launched with a completely new editorial board, which cooperated more closely with the PCF

rooms. Évelyne Sullerot, *La vie des femmes* (Paris: Gonthier, 1965). My interpretation of Niépce's iconography thus refutes the argument of art historian Claude Cookman, who ignored the fact that gender controversy undermined the cohesive humanist vision of French society. Claude Cookman, "Janine Niépce's coverage of French women's lives and struggle for equal rights," *Visual Communication Quarterly* 13, 4 (2006): 202-23.

⁷¹ Palmiro Togliatti, "Un défi que nous acceptons," *Clarté* 53 (January 1964): 26-8.

⁷² As journalist Jacques Derogy noted, the students who did not take part in discussions on Budapest and the Algerian War bought the Party's revolutionary rhetoric. Jacques Derogy, "Les étudiants engloutis," *L'Express* (March 15-21, 1965): 26-7.

leadership. Léna's disillusionment with the conservative PCF led her to adopt a more radical stance, pursuing a short career on the other side of the Mediterranean as photojournalist for the Third-Worldist francophone magazine *Jeune Afrique*. Following a brief discussion of the state's official iconography of Franco-African alliance by the *Ministère de la Coopération*, the next section of this chapter will address the impact of *tiersemondiste* photoactivism on French reportage photography.

Pictures at an Exhibition:

If a single photograph could sum up the official iconography of France's renewed relations with its former African colonies during the 1960s, it would probably be Léon Herschtritt's image of children in a nomad school at the Chadian desert region of Fort-Archambault (Sarh) [fig. 3.45]. Herschtritt, a freelance reportage photographer who served in the SCA and won the Niépce prize in 1960, took this photograph during a commissioned assignment for the *Ministère de la Coopération* in 1963, in which he was joined by photographers Philippe Billère and Henri de Chatillon.⁷³ The image shows a row of barefoot young girls reading a textbook in French. Behind them stands a row of young boys waiting their turn to read. This image, which created a clear contrast between extreme poverty and the existence of a school (that cherished the nomadic heritage of the people of Chad), visually distilled the essence of Franco-African cultural cooperation. It not only made it to the final selection of the 108 photographs exhibited at the *Musée de l'homme* in Paris between March and June 1964, but was chosen as one of the show's most iconic images.⁷⁴ The exhibition was commissioned by

⁷³ Herschtritt worked for *Réalités*, *France-Observateur* and *La vie catholique illustrée*.

⁷⁴ "Impression 64: Afrique Madagascar," *Terre d'images* 2 (March-April 1964): 200-08. For more information on the history of the museum, see Alice L. Conklin, *In the Museum of Man: Race, Anthropology, and Empire in France, 1850-1950* (Ithaca: Cornell University School, 2013).

France's newly created *Ministère de la Coopération*, which issued the book *France, Afrique, Madagascar: un bilan culturel* for the occasion.⁷⁵

As an integral component of the *Ministère de la Coopération*'s public relation apparatus, photography served state propaganda by focusing on Franco-African *cultural* affinity.⁷⁶ Specifically, this iconography was designated to serve as a credible façade for covering up de Gaulle's unofficial clientele networks of appointed African dictators, orchestrated by the President's *éminence grise* for African affairs: Jacques Foccart.⁷⁷ The goal of France's "foreign" policy in Africa was to ensure the country's strategic interests through international backing in the United Nations (especially at the Security Council), as well as to maintain privileged access to crucial energy resources, primarily petrol and uranium.⁷⁸ The policy known as *Françafrique* was a cornerstone of de Gaulle's plan for modernizing France into a globally dominant "Europeanized" nation-state.

The cornerstone of the photographic propaganda by the *Ministère de la Coopération*, as Herschtritt's image suggests, was that Franco-African cultural cooperation worked in favor of *all* Africans. According to *France, Afrique, Madagascar*, French assistance in education (taught in French and recognized by French universities with which new African universities cooperated) helped create favorable conditions that enabled "independent" African nations to modernize. Over half of the book was therefore dedicated to assessing the achievements of French investments in African educational institutions since the Liberation in general and the

⁷⁵ Ministère de la Coopération, *France, Afrique, Madagascar: un bilan culturel* (Paris: Ministère de la Coopération, 1963).

⁷⁶ For an historical analysis of the policy of the *Ministère de la Coopération* during its existence between 1959 and 1999, see Franck Petiteville, "Quatre décennies de 'Coopération Franco-Africaine': usage et usure d'un clientélisme," *Études internationales* 27, 3 (1996): 571-601.

⁷⁷ For a comprehensive account of Foccart's system in West Africa, see: Jean-Pierre Bat, *Le syndrome Foccart: la politique française en Afrique, de 1959 à nos jours* (Paris: Gallimard, 2012). See also Nicolas Bancel, "La voie étroite: la sélection des dirigeants africains lors de la transition vers la décolonisation" ; François Xavier Verschave, "Nappes de pétrole et d'argent sale: trois aspects de la Mafrafrique," *Mouvements*, 21-2 (2002-3): 28-40; 41-53. Robert Gildea, *France since 1945* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 265-68.

⁷⁸ Franck Petiteville, "Quatre décennies de 'Coopération Franco-Africaine,'" 576-78.

wave of independences in 1960 in particular. The remaining part of the book suggests that photography was also instrumental in making French culture accessible to Africans:

Cultural centers, schools, associations, and missions can also enable French language and culture to penetrate into environments where they haven't been solidly established so far, especially in desert regions and African quarters in big urban centers. . . . In every republic, the *Ministère de l'Information* opens new [cultural centers] each year. New notice boards are set up in every public place, even in the remotest village. Nothing is more charming than seeing, on market days, a group of African peasants staring at posted photographs comparing their lives to those of French peasants The French cultural services . . . supply these organizations with source materials. This is how, in the first month of 1962, the *Ministère de la Coopération* has put at the disposal of the cultural centers audio-visual materials, photographic exhibitions, easily communicable brochures, . . . as well as a pinup journal edited in France, which features photographs of the main news events concerning Africa and France.⁷⁹

Though an exhaustive study on the use of photography by the *Ministère de la Coopération* in Africa during the 1960s is beyond the scope of this research, suffice it to say that the images by Herschtritt and his associates were based on official postwar iconography. As we have seen before, during the late 1940s and 1950s the *Documentation française* commissioned from humanist photographers images of Franco-African association. The exhibition at the *Musée de l'homme* further elaborated France's postwar modernization narrative, which contrasted a pristine African past, rooted in nature, with a modern present achieved through "cooperation" with France. The underlying tension between the temporal dimensions is evident in the clear contrast between a photograph of a half-naked woman in Senegal by de Chatillon versus Herschtritt's image of two young women in the Congolese countryside whose appearances were styled after that of French starlet Brigitte Bardot [figs. 3.46, & 3.47]. A similar analogy can be found in an aerial image by de Chatillon of a secluded autochthonous village in Mauritania versus Billère's photo of a journalist in Dahomey using a linotype [figs. 3.48, & 3.49]. The latter is a concrete example of France's

⁷⁹ Ministère de la Coopération, *France, Afrique, Madagascar: un bilan culturel*, 46.

role in introducing modernity to Africans, notably through model academic institutions such as Dakar University [fig. 3.50].

Seeing the Third World: From Humanist Iconography to Engaged Photojournalism

“During the 1960s, ‘politically engaged’ students at Dakar University, myself included, were willingly reading, when having the means, two pan-African weeklies: *Afrique Action* [*Jeune Afrique*] . . . and *Révolution africaine*. These two offered something beyond the pure national propaganda of the daily newspapers of our respective countries.”

Ibrahima Signaté, “Mon club formateur”⁸⁰

This segment explores how a group of French photoactivists advocated *Tiers-mondisme*. According to this political worldview, based on a north-south global axis, France’s ongoing involvement in Africa constituted a new—and hidden—form of western capitalist exploitation: “neocolonialism.” This ideology motivated French journalists and photographers to found an autonomous African press, which would politicize the African educated urban classes. Their photoactivism was rooted in a documentary aesthetic that authenticated the “higher” ideological goal articulated by the printed word. The case studies of the two leading francophone news magazines that promoted Third-Worldist ideology, *Révolution Africaine* in Algiers and *Jeune Afrique* in Tunis, enable us to examine how their iconography challenged France’s republican self-perception. Political discourse was therefore inseparable from photographic representation. In the early 1960s, French photographers harnessed humanist iconography to consolidate national identity in decolonized Algeria and represent the young country as a model of popular socialism. From the mid-1960s, however, the growing emphasis on visual evidence led reportage photographers to adopt

⁸⁰ Jean-Louis Gouraud and Dominique Mataillet, eds., *Jeune Afrique: 50 ans, une histoire de l’Afrique* (Paris: La Martinière, 2013), 56.

photojournalism as a more suitable means of news coverage. The reason for this was twofold. First, in the aftermath of decolonization in Africa an inquisitive documentary mode was more suitable for unmasking western “neocolonialism” in the continent, as well as in France’s overseas territories. Second, achieving immediate media coverage of contemporary events could help engage African elites to support attempts by African and Arab nations to coordinate their policies against the capitalist West.

But what exactly is Third-Worldism? Given the term’s broad scope, my discussion will be strictly limited to its ideological construction in francophone media during the 1960s. Etymologically, the term *tiers-monde* was coined in 1952 by French demographer Alfred Sauvy, who coined it in an article for *l’Observateur* Abbé Sieyès’s concept of the “Third-Estate” to the “non-aligned, under-developed states.” Its etymological roots thus reveal Sauvy’s republican terminology, which he projected onto a group of “ignored, exploited [and] despised” states. The usage of the term thus preceded the Cold War concepts of first (capitalist) and second (communist) global blocs.⁸¹ As an increasingly cohesive ideology and political program, however, Third Worldism gradually developed following the 1955 Bandung conference, in which Asian, African and Yugoslav representatives unequivocally condemned colonialism and called to establish among themselves cultural, economic and diplomatic ties.⁸² Bandung, moreover, set the institutional framework to the attempt to form a distinctive “third” bloc in 1961 by the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries that opposed (unsuccessfully) Cold-War polarization. In the francophone world, *Révolution africaine* and *Jeune Afrique* were the main platforms where leading French thinkers, African leaders and

⁸¹ Alfred Sauvy, “Trois mondes, une planète,” *L’Observateur* (August 14, 1952).

⁸² Robert J. C. Young, *Postcolonialism: An Historical Introduction*, (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2001), 191-92. For a more comprehensive discussion on the Bandung Conference and its impact, see Christopher J. Lee, ed., *Making a World after Empire: The Bandung Moment and its Political Afterlives* (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2010). On Third-Worldism as political project, see Vijay Pashad, *The Darker Nations: A People’s History of the Third World* (New York: The New Press, 2007).

political activists proclaimed Africa as a united political and economic front.⁸³ In other words, they sought to dismiss the validity and legitimacy of French “cooperation” with the newly independent African countries. In a powerful condemnation of the policy of *françafrique*, French journalist Albert-Paul Lentin called to alter certain clauses in the Evian Accords in order to limit the number of French military bases, economic interference, and the spreading of propaganda in Africa. “French [neocolonialist] presence” he concluded, *de facto* failed the *Union Africaine et Malgache*.⁸⁴

No scholarly work has ever explored the role of reportage photography in promoting Third-Worldist ideology in the francophone world. Not a single history of photography in postwar France has mentioned, even in passing, the contribution of reportage photographers who worked for the leading *tiers-mondistes* news magazines. Magnum photographer Cornell Capa in his two-volume book, *The Concerned Photographer*, published in 1968 and 1972, mentioned none of the photoactivists in this chapter.⁸⁵ Even the series of interviews that the BDIC staff conducted with the four leading figures in *Révolution africaine* did not include a single question concerning the role of photography in the illustrated magazine.⁸⁶ Finally, Darmayan, who studied Léna’s work for *Jeune Afrique*, did not assess the photographer’s contribution to the medium she practiced with such devotion. In light of the lack of attention to the contributions of reportage photography in this time and place, the following pages will

⁸³ Among them were French economist René Dumont, intellectual André Mandouze and Charles Bettelheim, political figures like Congolese Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba, Ghanaian leader Kwame Nkrumah, Moroccan political activist Mehdi Ben-Barka, Amílcar Cabral, and Mobido Keita.

⁸⁴ Albert Paul Lentin, “L’UAM et la présence française,” *Révolution africaine* 10 (April 7, 1963), 10-2. See also the editorial “Face à la nouvelle stratégie de l’impérialisme,” *Révolution africaine* 5 (March 3, 1963): 3.

⁸⁵ Cornell Capa, Robert Sagalyn and Judith Friedberg, *The Concerned photographer: the photographs of Werner Bischof, Robert Capa, David Seymour (“Chim”), André Kertész, Leonard Freed, Dan Weiner* (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1968); Cornell Capa and Michael Edelson, *The Concerned photographer 2: The photographs of Marc Riboud, Roman Vishniac, Bruce Davidson, Gordon Parks, Ernst Haas, Hiroshi Hamaya, Donald McCullin, W. Eugene Smith* (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1972).

⁸⁶ See interviews of Jacques Vergès, his assistant Gérard Chaliand, Juliette Minces, and Georges Chatain by Rosa Olmos and Tramor Quemeneur, BDIC: DV-0266, DV-0264, DV-0267, 2010.

explore the making of politically engaged photojournalism, which by the mid-1960s rendered humanist photography obsolete.

The defining role of ideology in both *Révolution africaine* and *Jeune Afrique*—notably their affiliation with radical currents of the French New Left—sheds light on the auxiliary journalistic function of reportage photography vis-à-vis the printed word. Yet its documentary role in *authenticating* news texts was nonetheless a step forward in rendering it an integral component of news coverage. In the first editorial of *Révolution Africaine*, titled “[W]hy We Appear,” the author proclaimed that the “affordable” review “wishes to offer its readers . . . a quality material in which the illustration, whether a photograph or cartoon, plays an important role.”⁸⁷ Given the dominance of humanist photography until the late 1950s, it is perhaps not surprising that engaged French reportage photographers who worked for the two news magazines chose this aesthetic to render Algeria’s decolonization and reconstruction heroic. But in the aftermath of independence and the media climate of the 1960s, Third-Worldist ideology encouraged reportage photography should increasingly to gradually adopt more inquisitive methods. This meant that photographers had to be omnipresent in order to unveil hidden western capitalist “exploitation” within Africa, as well as to bring evidence to popular resistance to such attempts. Specifically, militant French photographers sought to debunk the official narrative of Franco-African “cooperation” by de Gaulle’s government as deceptive “neocolonialism.” Furthermore, they sought to refute the claim that prominent French journals such as *Paris Match* promoted, namely presenting Gaullist France as the legitimate leader of the Third World [figs. 3.51, & 3.52].⁸⁸

In the first editorial of *Afrique action* (*Jeune Afrique* from November 1961) on October 1960, titled “Renaissance,” publisher and editor Bashir Ben-Yahmed explained that

⁸⁷ Editorial: “Pourquoi nous paraissions,” *Révolution africaine* 1 (February 1, 1963).

⁸⁸ See, for example, Jean Ferran and Raymond Cartier, “De Gaulle à la tête du tiers-monde,” *Paris Match* 774 (February 8, 1964): 4-5; 20-2.

the objective of his journal was to achieve, through “calculated moderation . . . and French contributors . . . a dialogue” that would impact French public opinion. In its first big story, Algerian independence, *Afrique action* celebrated the emergence of a victorious Third Worldism by relying extensively on humanist iconography. When the journal was first launched, however, it had no staff photographers. Most of its images were bought from Magnum photo agency, whose members were associated with the French Left covering news stories about decolonization since the end of the Second World War.⁸⁹ French photographer Marc Riboud, whose work was characterized by the humanist aesthetic since he joined Magnum in 1953, constructed Algerian independence as a foundational myth of authentic national expression.⁹⁰ For instance, his iconic image of a large crowd cheering for a column marching ALN soldiers, captioned by the Algerian national anthem, illustrated Ben-Yahmed’s claim that the army and people would bring about the Algerian revolution [fig. 3.53]:

It was important that a people who struggled and suffered together to gain independence attain its objective through an act that freely and equally engaged each of its members. . . . In a few years’ time, we’ll be speaking in Africa of the Algerian miracle in terms similar to those we use to describe the German miracle in postwar Europe. The rebuilding of Algeria will foster the unification of the Maghreb and the African community just as the German rebuilding made the European Union possible.⁹¹

It should be noted that what Riboud’s image suggested, a victory for the Algerian army and its embodiment of national consensus, was very far from the truth.

⁸⁹ Henri Cartier-Bresson and Jean-Paul Sartre, *D’une Chine à l’autre* (Paris: R. Delpire, 1954). Among Magnum’s most iconic photo essays were on decolonization, primarily by Henri Cartier-Bresson on India, Bali, and China.

⁹⁰ Clearly, Riboud’s reportage was constructed differently in *Afrique action* than *Paris Match*, which focalized on the exodus of the *pièdes noirs*. As art historian Nadya Bair argues in her study on Magnum, the collective, idealistic and transatlantic enterprise of the founders gave way to an individualist auteur-oriented, economically and culturally pragmatic visual imagery designated for specific national audiences. Bair notes, furthermore, that between 1947 and 1962, the agency was the primary driving force for American photojournalism the result of its collaborative effort—in specific political and cultural historical contexts—between photographers and news editors, publishers, as well as curators. Nadya Bair, *The World in Pictures: Magnum Photos and American Photojournalism, 1947-1962* (PhD diss., USC, 2016).

⁹¹ Béchir Ben Yahmed, “Sept jours pour sept ans,” *Jeune Afrique* 91 (July 2-8, 1962): 6-7.

The main component of Riboud's humanist iconography was the profound commitment of independent Algeria to democratic legality. This primarily concerned the security and rights of the *pieds noirs* minority community, the real driving force behind the nation's economy. The Evian Accords had guaranteed these rights to the European community as equal citizens in sovereign Algeria. In an exclusive photo essay titled "The Forgiveness Scene," Riboud's images show GPRA Vice-president Belkacem Krim personally securing the safety of several *pieds noirs* suspects [fig. 3.54]. The first caption explained that the three were authors of "numerous terrorist attacks against Muslims," and were taken to a mountainous area near Sétif after being "caught transporting explosives." The following caption accentuated the scene's dramatic element:

We are not given precise reported as to what the former guerrilla fighter (*maquisard*) and the three *pieds noirs* (a teacher, a mechanic, and an ex-policeman) said to each other. But does it really matter? This photo has conserved the essential quality of the conversation through the expression of unwavering defiance on their face.⁹²

The dramatic crescendo of the piece was designed to emphasize the last image, which showed the benevolent gesture of the Algerian leader liberating his captives. The last caption even stated explicitly that Krim's act was an early manifestation of "the future of Algeria." Clearly, Riboud's fraternal vision of independent Algeria lacked any evidence of the violence the FLN perpetrated against its political rivals, such as the massacre of *Harkis* or the executions of *pieds noirs*. Rather than reliable journalistic evidence, Riboud constructed evocative national icons, which gave Algerian independence a clear sense of heroically grandiose closure. Probably the most emblematic of these was the photograph of soldiers, men, women and children waving the Algerian flag against the background of the capital's Monument for the [European] Dead, the foremost symbol of French Algeria [fig. 3.55]. Riboud's image thus crystalized the definitive end of over a century of French colonization.

⁹² "La scene du pardon," *ibid.*, 10-1.

Révolution africaine also relied extensively on humanist imagery to propagate President Ben Bella's socialist vision of the Algerian revolution. With FLN funding, 26-year-old attorney Jacques Vergès founded *Révolution africaine* with a team of young *pieds rouges* based in Algiers since summer 1962.⁹³ Using the (confiscated) advanced facilities of the largest *pieds noirs* daily, *l'Echo d'Alger*, the illustrated news magazine became, since its launching the following February, the flagship publication of the Algerian (nationalized) press. The magazine aimed to operate as a platform for Algeria's future press, notably with the formation of Algerian journalists and photographers. The lyrical illusion that characterized the work of the French militant journalists in devastated and under-administered Algeria bears striking parallels to the French Communist review *Regards* after the Liberation. *Révolution africaine* relied on humanist iconography (and discourse) because its journalists were familiar with this available formula, which had already proved itself in liberated France.⁹⁴ Filling the immense void left by the French administration and the *pieds noirs*, these amateur French journalists faced the challenging task of indoctrinating a largely analphabet public. Clearly, in a state-controlled press, *Révolution africaine* addressed only those topics chosen and authorized by the FLN.

Children and youth, by far society's largest group, quickly became the litmus test of Algeria's successful national reconstruction. An emblem of rejuvenation in a ruined and destitute country, their representation was based on two intertwined components that

⁹³ A lawyer during the war, Vergès founded the lawyers' association in defense of the FLN (*collectif de defense des avocats du FLN*) and defended FLN activists, using French courts as debate podium over French public opinion. He also published several pamphlets in defense of FLN at *Editions de Minuit*. Vergès recruited anti-war militants for the new magazine, including Jeanson Network member and editor of the anti-war revue *Partisans* by publisher François Maspero, Gérard Chaliand; Juliette Minces, who translated Che Gevara's *Guerilla Warfare*. Chatain attended the cultural rubric after arriving from *France-Observateur*; Robert Naima was the page editor before joining *Le nouvel Observateur* in 1964; and Maurice Sinet (Siné), the monumental caricaturist, made there his debut.

⁹⁴ The launching of *Révolution africaine* was in fact part of a broader wave of French *pieds rouges* journalists who started the operation of the new Algerian press, and the country's new news agency, *Algérie Press Service*—often under Algerian names—until Boumediene's coup in June 1965. French journalists were part of 13,000 *pieds rouges*, who ran nearly all crucial sectors in independent Algeria, notably medicine. Catherine Simon, *Algérie, Les années pieds-rouges: des rêves de l'indépendance au désenchantement, 1962-68* (Paris: La Découverte, 2009), 86.

characterized humanist photography: misery and the premise of constant improvement (itself borrowed from Soviet socialist realism).⁹⁵ One of the first reportage titles, “Algeria straightforward” (*l’Algérie sans fard*) by Juliette Minces, was consecrated to the shoeshine boys of Algiers. Alongside their heartbreaking stories of poverty and unemployment that led them to “support their families,” the caption of Kagan’s photograph of three of them buying lunch at a food-stand stated the article’s main concern: “[T]he street, it’s freedom,’ but the little shoe shiners of Algiers prefer another freedom: that of learning a profession and building their future” [fig. 3.56]. Minces’ text reassured the readers that these children had a good chance to make their dreams come true thanks to government subsidies for new “educational centers” proclaimed by Ben Bella “in the presence of all the capital’s shoe shiners” [fig. 3.57].⁹⁶ The magazine cover photo, which showed a boy carrying a baguette against the background of massive modern buildings (built under the Constantine Plan), suggested that the fate of children entirely depended on national reconstruction [fig. 3.58]. If they were saved, according to this logic, so was Algeria.

The photo-essay “The Home of Tenderness” by Minces and Kagan on an orphanage of the sons and daughters of “martyrs” in Cherchell concretizes the abstract concept of the new Algerian nation. It presented the saving of helpless children, embodiments of Algeria’s future, thanks to the endless devotion of model state institution workers who attended to all of their material and emotional needs. “[B]ut they’re no longer alone,” proclaimed the text, “[T]hey know that they are the children of Algeria in its entirety; soon, they will discover that they have rights . . . , but also that these rights entail duties . . . for

⁹⁵ On socialist realism, see Evgenii Aleksandrovich Dobrenko. *Political Economy of Socialist Realism*, translated by Jesse M. Savage (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007). And on the genre’s influences on photography in France since the late 1930s, see Simon Dell, “On the Metaphor and Practice of Photography: Socialist Realism, the Popular Front in France, and the Dynamics of Cultural Unity,” *The History of Photography* 25, 1 (winter 2001): 52-60.

⁹⁶ Juliette Minces and Mohamed Bekouche, “Les soutiens de familles,” *Révolution africaine* 3 (February 16, 1963): 6-7. In Kagan’s archive, there is an image of the Algerian President delivering a talk against the blurry background of young children, however it was not published eventually. *Petits cireurs* folder: *Algérie 1963*, Fonds Élie Kagan, BDIC Museum (Hôtel des Invalides).

each citizen of new Algeria for which died their fathers.”⁹⁷ The photographs of children laughing, playing, and eating to their full were evidence of the effectiveness of the measures taken by Ben Bella’s regime.

Paradoxically, the iconography of the most pressing aspects of Algerian reconstruction, notably education, health, and housing, bore striking a resemblance to French pacification propaganda during the war. Instead of depicting successful integration of Muslims, though, these somewhat similar images—from which the element of French tutelage was removed—published in *Révolution africaine* embodied the achievements of independent Algeria. Kagan’s photograph of a pupil studying an illustrated article by French Marxist economist Charles Bettelheim, who stressed the role of education in creating an industry-based economy [fig. 3.59].⁹⁸ This vision of an effective educational system in Algeria was also counter-propaganda to that of France’s *Ministère de la Coopération*. By the same token, the photo essay by Kagan and Chatain—signed with an Algerian name—celebrated the successful construction of the town of Oued Ouchayah by unemployed workers. “Illiterates,” devoid of professional training, who acquired skills “on-site” with “undeniable success,” and even participated in the project’s technical management, were other examples of Third-Worldist propaganda [fig. 3.60].⁹⁹ In this case too, the images served as undeniable proof of the optimistic views expressed in the magazine’s articles.

⁹⁷ Juliette Minces and Élie Kagan, “Les maisons de la tendresse,” *Révolution africaine* 9 (March 30, 1963): 12-3. This humanist iconography of young children in the magazine was also used for fund-raising by orphanages, ran by FLN activists by Djamila Bouhired and Zohara Drif, across the country.

⁹⁸ Bettelheim emphasized the importance of education to form competent mid-level executives (*cadres*) for the industry. Charles Bettelheim, “La faucille ou le marteau?,” *Révolution africaine* 1 (February 9, 1963): 16-7.

⁹⁹ Sadok Djebar (Georges Chatain) and Elie Kagan, “L’Algérie sans fard: 2000 chômeurs construisent leur ville,” *Révolution africaine* 6 (March 16, 1963): 6-7. The review also addressed the alarming topic of health in similar terms. Minces’ reportage on “The Exemplary Devotion of Five Nurses from the Desert” in her weekly column celebrated the heroic devotion of a progressive model of the Algerian women. Though the number of doctors throughout the country was extremely low, thirty-one year old Madame Mébareche was so admirable because although a mother of six children she succeeded to operate the Charon medical center. Although she was just a nurse, she ran the center at a distant desert region, which doctors preferred to avoid, and in which the local population was completely helpless. Juliette Minces and Mohamed Behkouche, “L’Algérie sans fard: l’exemplaire dévouement de 5 infirmiers du Bled,” *Révolution africaine* 21 (June 22, 1963): 18-9.

The highlight of Algerian counter-propaganda was the photograph that illustrated Ben Bella's decree for the confiscation of the *pieds noirs*' so-called "vacant goods"—in violation of the Evian Accords—as a successful socialist initiative. *Révolution africaine* showcased "Operation Labor" and "Operation Reconstruction" as national projects in agriculture and industry, in which the masses actively participated through self-management (*autogestion*) committees.¹⁰⁰ In the photo-essay "Blinda Year One," Mince reported on Algeria's first triumphant cooperative, quoting a representative of the city's self-management committee: "[W]e created this cooperative [of Aïssat Idir] because the party and the UGTA (*Union Générale des Travailleurs Algériens*) helped us. They authorized us to take most of the vacant goods after we presented our project to them."¹⁰¹ American staff photographer Don Steffens's cover photo of a tractor driver, who comradely salutes the camera, articulates the ambiance of fraternity and efficacy of the cooperative's agricultural sector. The photographer's image of the cooperative's factory is more impressive aesthetically. The high-angle shot, the hallmark of industrial photography since the New Vision in the late 1920s, thus monumentalized factory work [figs. 3.61, & 3.62].

Humanist iconography of the reconstruction of decolonized Algeria also elaborated an aestheticized national portrait, which illustrated Algerians as an "imagined community."¹⁰²

The large portraits of ordinary Algerians on the magazine covers were especially appropriate

¹⁰⁰ On professional formation in the industry, see Chatain and Kagan's reportage on the reopening the elite Polytechnic School: "[T]he engineers' school at the Square House is one of the very rare elite African schools capable of forming engineers and technicians as capable as those formed by the leading European scientific schools; that's why its success, and the future expansion of its activities, is highly important for Africa. Its current 72 students are all Algerians, but registration applications come from all across the Maghreb, and even from tropical Africa. Few years from now it might become the elite African Polytechnic School." Kagan photos depicting governmental efforts to match those of French administration, which "never destined to form Algerian executives," were very similar to those Doisneau or Ronis did for the *Documentation Française*. Sadok Djebbar (Georges Chatain), "Une école polytechnique algérienne", *ibid.* 8 (March 23, 1963): 14-5.

¹⁰¹ "This cooperative has touched all sectors from factories... [to] the fields and homes; it has entirely conditioned economic life in Blinda; it does not contend with managing what the colonists have left; it plans and builds. Its directors have plenty other projects: [building] schools, and workers' neighborhoods, model farms, and increasing production in all domains [than under French rule]. A great task was accomplished, regardless the shortage of technical managers From everywhere people come to see how it is operating." Juliette Minces and Mohamed Bekkouche, "L'Algérie sans fard: Blinda an 1," *Ibid.* 4 (February 23, 1963): 6-7.

¹⁰² On the press as agency in creating national consciousness, see: Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*. New York: Verso, 2006 (third edition), 37-46; 67-82.

for composing the mosaic of the nation's people. The tender close up of the faces of Algeria's generic social figures, shown for the first time outside the orbit of "French Muslims," was no doubt an exhilarating novelty designed to draw new readers. The image of a wrinkled old man by Don Steffens symbolized Algerian national essence, still bearing the traces of colonialism [fig. 3.63]. The image of cooperation between agricultural (male) workers embodied the founding myth of a heroic, popular, and fraternal nation [fig. 3.64]. Given the strict gender division in Algerian society, women they were assigned the representative role of the mother, bearing happily and heroically the onerous task of child-rearing while men were building the country [fig. 3.65]. In like manner, the cover photo of a woman residing in Northern France articulated the theme of fundamental national unity spanning both sides of the Mediterranean [fig. 3.66].

The photographic hallmark of the Third World's presumed socialist ardor was the portrayal of Algiers as the new revolutionary capital (replacing Cuba). Kagan, who was primarily a photographer of demonstrations and political rallies, constructed workers' processions as authentic expressions of the masses' ideological fervor. Similar to *Regards* of the late 1940s, Kagan shot marching crowds on May First carrying banners (in French), such as "revolutionary vigilance" and "death to capital," that served as evidence of the masses' commitment to its popular socialist government [figs. 3.67, & 3.68]. *Révolution africaine*, moreover, published photographs (by Kagan) that attested to the people's commitment to Ben Bella's revolutionary values, such as the commemorative procession in honor of the late Congolese Prime Minister Patrice Lumumba. The red background of the photo implied not only of the culpability of western petroleum corporations—notably of the French public petroleum company: ELF—for Lumumba's assassination, but also of the masses' desire to avenge his death [fig. 3.69]. Yet, decolonization remained the foundational reference point of Third Worldism. Gamal Abdel Nasser's visit to Algiers, covered by Kagan, was thus a

grandiose festival that constructed an image of a united revolutionary Arabo-African front against “neocolonialism.” The procession was a huge photo-op for the apotheosis of the two leaders in front of ecstatic masses, who celebrated their nations’ joint (diplomatic) “victory” in the war against France, England, and Israel during the Suez Crisis in 1956 [fig. 3.70]. As a Jew, Kagan felt deeply offended by the warm welcome given to the anti-Zionist Egyptian leader, and by late 1963 decided to return to France. The remaining *pieds rouges* journalists in *Révolution africaine* followed suit by Boumédiène’s coup in June 1965, except for the new editor, Mohammed Harbi, who was imprisoned.

In contrast to the censored media in Algeria, photojournalistic records of contemporary events taking place outside the country set higher standards for reportage photography. *Révolution africaine*, which claimed to speak for the “wretched of the earth” in Africa and the Middle East, did not have the means or capacity to send reporters abroad, let alone on a regular basis, and so bought images from international photo-agencies. These included records of violent racist and colonialist repression in Angola, Mozambique, Portuguese Guinea and South Africa.¹⁰³ The image of the Sharpsville massacre in South Africa in March 1960, for instance, were published on the front cover of *Révolution africaine* three years after the fact [fig. 3.71]. Another updated cover photo, taken by Eli Weinberg, an affiliate of Nelson Mandela’s African National Congress, served as definitive evidence of the ongoing racist subjugation in South Africa that the neighboring African countries had to resist [fig. 3.72].¹⁰⁴ And on a broader global scale, the photo essay on the escalating violence in Vietnam by Associated Press photographers in *Révolution africaine* gave readers proof—the Marines’ helicopter—of growing American involvement in South-East Asia [fig. 3.73].

¹⁰³ For this reason, Kagan’s coverage of women’s demonstration was censored, and there was no evidence to the repression of the uprising in Kabylia, fighting between FLN factions, or seizing of confiscated *pieds noirs*’ property (*biens vacants*) by a small nomenclature of state servants.

¹⁰⁴ *Révolution africaine* 6 (March 4, 1963).

Ultimately, the leading Third-Worldist francophone review, *Jeune Afrique*, set new photojournalistic standards through the work of photoactivists who systematically covered contemporary news events. According to the editor, *Jeune Afrique* successfully combined political engagement with a deep commitment to the liberty of the press, thus setting an example for the nascent media in Africa and the Middle East.¹⁰⁵ As part of this programmatic synthesis, the hiring of Léna as staff photographer in 1965 marked a visual turn from humanist iconography towards engaged photojournalism. After political independence in Africa was attained for the most part, *Jeune Afrique* applied higher journalistic standards of reportage photography in order to uncover the negative impact of Western capitalism on the continent. This explains Léna's determination to use photography primarily as a news *document* in order to optimally promote the magazine's political agenda: Afro-Arab unification against western capitalism. Her coverage of contemporary events was thus based on a Manichean conflict between Western neocolonialism, notably that of France, and the destitute but determined masses of the Third World. In this regard, the work by photoactivists such as Léna significantly supplemented the limited selection of images by international photo agencies.

Léna's coverage of Boumédiène's military coup in Algeria between 19 and 25 of June 1965 is an enlightening example of her photojournalistic reflexes, which suited *Jeune Afrique*'s independent editorial line. Originally placed in Algiers to cover the Afro-Asian conference, Léna photographed security forces taking hold of strategic points throughout the capital from rooftops due to the night curfew. Among her most notable images was the takeover of Ben Bella's residence in Villa Joly [fig. 3.74]. The caption emphasized the citizens' resistance to the military insurrection: "[T]he military believed that citizens would remain still. They were wrong." Léna's images thus substantiated Ben-Yahmed's critique,

¹⁰⁵ Ben-Yahmed, editorial, *Afrique action* 1 (October 17, 1960): 4.

which held Boumédiène accountable for two military coups in three years, as well as the failing of an Afro-Asian conference to consecrate his military dictatorship.¹⁰⁶ At the same time, the magazine softened Boumédiène's condemnation of Algeria's new dictator in hopes that the latter could effectively resist Western capitalism. This explains why *Jeune Afrique* refrained from publishing Léna's more critical images, which attested to overt popular discontent, such as that of a graffiti slogan "[L]ong live Ben Bella – Down with Boumédiène" in Algiers [fig. 3.75]. Instead, the images that were eventually chosen emphasized a gradual return to daily life. A few months later, the magazine went even further, publishing a carefully orchestrated propaganda campaign by the new Algerian regime: Boumédiène's bringing the ashes of Emir Abd el-Kader, the founding father of Algerian nationalism, to burial [fig. 3.76].¹⁰⁷

A large portion of Léna's routine work for *Jeune Afrique* was dedicated to covering international conferences, official meetings and photo-ops of political leaders from African and Middle Eastern counties. Since the UN was one of the main platforms on which to coordinate international initiatives by Third World nations, engaged photojournalists were present to record their diplomatic summits.¹⁰⁸ Beyond mere protocol reporting of meetings between Arab and African politicians, their constant visual echoing was designated to convince readers that African and Arab unification was both necessary and possible. A quick glimpse at *Paris Match* from the mid-1960s sheds light on why this was such a burning issue

¹⁰⁶ Ben-Yahmed, "Les trois coups," *Jeune Afrique* 238 (July 1965): 8.

¹⁰⁷ The heavy symbolic apotheosis of the resistant to the French military annexation of Algeria between 1832 and 1848 constructed a national continuum through direct correlation between the two men as devout Muslims and great military commanders. In Léna's reportage on the trajectory of Abd el-Kader's coffin from Damascus to Algiers' Martyr cemetery, two images of Boumediene stand out. In the main photo, he carried the coffin against the background of the airplane, whereas the second he shook hands with the Emir's grandson. Ironically, as Minister of Defense in August 1963, Boumediene commanded the brutal repression of the Maoist underground group led by one of the Emir's descendants, Abderrezak Abd el-Kader, in northern Kabylia. Catherine Simon, *Algérie, les années pieds-rouges*, 107-31.

¹⁰⁸ The UN was the main platform through which Third World countries promoted economic initiatives, such as the New International Economic Order and the Group of 77 (nations). Moreover, they also promoted political initiatives primarily through diplomatic means, such as 1966 Havana Conference. It is therefore not surprising why diplomacy turned into propaganda.

for a francophone illustrated magazine like *Jeune Afrique*. Various photo essays in France's most widely distributed illustrated news magazine were aimed to convince the French public that their nation, as a global superpower, merited leading the Third World. One example was the ecstatic reception of de Gaulle in Mexico and the Antilles. Another example was French paratroopers' effective restoration to power of de Gaulle's close ally, Gabonese ruler Léon M'ba, following the latter's attempted dethronement by "rebels" [figs. 3.77, 3.78, & 3.79].¹⁰⁹ Thus, for the conference of the Organization of African Unity in Accra on November 1965, *Jeune Afrique* arranged a team of journalists, Léna among them, who extensively reported on the event as a major step in the "evolution . . . towards united Africa" after two failed attempts. Léna's photo-essay thus celebrated the architectural monumentality of the complex that hosted the talks as an African equivalent to the UN headquarters in New York [fig. 3.80].

Léna's images of deliberating African leaders, along with their captions, highlighted the conference's political potential. Next to the photograph of the delegates from Congo-Brazzaville and Congo-Kinshassa, the caption added that although "separated by a river, the OUA brought them together." Yet the most important visual attribute of the conference, as the cover photo suggested, was the "popular fervor" that "transformed the Ghanaian capital into an immense sanctuary of African unity" [fig. 3.81]. The image of archetypal figures of Africa sitting together on a bench behind the written slogan "[U]nited Africa" thus constructed the "masses" as strongly backing their President's ambitious political attempt to unite the continent. And finally, the image that closed the photo essay showed two children against the background of banners proclaiming in French, English, and Arabic that the

¹⁰⁹ "Mexico Accueille de Gaulle dans un délire de confetti," *Paris Match* 781 (March 28, 1964); "Le voyage de la fraternité," *Paris Match* 782 (4 April, 1964); "Le retour de 'Papa' M'ba," *Paris Match* 778 (7 March, 1964).

“united government of Africa is inevitable” [fig. 3.82].¹¹⁰ As can be seen from Léna’s contact sheet, the right part of the frame was cropped in order to emphasize the symbolic message concerning the future of an independent and united Africa.

As a militant photojournalist, Léna was especially determined to unmask *Françafrique* as a secretive system of exploitation, which persisted since the early days of French colonialism. This explains why she was almost the sole photographer to cover elections in Djibouti—following a UN resolution—on March 1967, seven months after the violent demonstrations in demand of independence. With the renewal of hostilities once the results were known, Léna was present to obtain her scoop. *Paris Match* bought Léna’s photographs to report “exclusively” thanks to its “special envoys from the heart of the riot in Djibouti” [fig. 3.83]. However, the journal edited the dramatic photographs to produce an interpretation of the events that was diametrically opposed to that of Léna and *Jeune Afrique*. The insurgents, explained *Paris Match*, resented a perfectly legal sixty percent majority in favor of maintaining Djibouti under direct French sovereignty. The author of the photo-essay concluded that the tragic consequences of the riot, notably the death of locals (photographed by Léna), were the result of stray bullets shot by the rioters themselves. This explains why most of the images and captions in the article depicted the events in a way that presented French security forces trying to peacefully contain the violent mob [figs. 3.84, 3.85, & 3.86]. Not surprisingly, Gökşin Sipahioğlu’s photograph of French security forces aiming their weapons towards his camera, was refused by *Paris Match* [fig. 3.87].¹¹¹ In an article Léna wrote simultaneously in *Jeune Afrique*, she blamed the French authorities of election fraud.¹¹²

¹¹⁰ Justin Vieyra and Germain M’ba, “Tout sure la conference d’Accra,” *Jeune Afrique* 254 (November 7, 1965). The third Arab Summit in Casablanca, also covered by Léna, also underlined a very similar coverage by *Jeune Afrique*.

¹¹¹ Michel Guerrin, *Profession Photoreporter*, 40.

¹¹² “[Before the elections] Djibouti... [was] in siege. On the walls of the African neighborhoods was written in large letters: “no to France.”... [on the river] We only encounter boats transporting Afars from Tadjoura who came to vote for the second time in Djibouti. Voters presented themselves multiple times in the same polling

Moreover, she accused French security forces of provoking the local inhabitants, as well as for their brutal armed repression: “[A] column of gendarmes with assault rifles ferociously attack the Issas. What unfolded in the main avenue was a man hunt [*ratissage*].”¹¹³

Léna’s archive contains extensive denunciatory images against Gaullism as a fundamentally exploitative and repressive regime in France’s overseas departments. Specifically, her photographs sought to unmask the regime’s ongoing violation of the social, economic and political rights of the native inhabitants—legally defined as French citizens—living outside the hexagon. The photographer’s broad coverage of Economy and Finance Minister Michel Debré’s 1967 electoral campaign at Reunion Island is a case in point. Léna, who did the assignment for the new Gamma photo agency, thoroughly delegitimized Debré’s pretense to represent the island. She did so in sharp contrast to *Paris Match*’s portrayal of Debré as a benevolent and cherished representative of a fervently Gaullist French Island [figs. 3.88 & 3.89]. Debré ardently supported French Algeria and expanding the nation’s sphere of influence. By freezing the senior politician’s facial expression of duress while surveying a guard of honor from a balcony, Léna depicted Debré as a cynical and ruthless politician, whose authority derived solely from coercion [fig. 3.90].¹¹⁴ In a diametrically opposed way, Léna portrayed the local Communist representative, Paul Vergès (a relative of Jacques Vergès), as the Island’s authentic and charismatic political leader [fig. 3.91]. Her close collaborator from *Jeune Afrique*, engaged reporter Ania Francos, focused on the French authorities’ use of fraud tactics to determine the island’s elections in favor of the UNR (*Union pour la nouvelle République*) Gaullist party.¹¹⁵ In one of Léna’s most representative

stations to accomplish their electoral duty under different identities.” Annette Léna, “Un ‘oui’ qui est un surcis, un ‘non’ avec du sang,” *Jeune Afrique* (April 1967), 24-5.

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Dominique Capierre and Maurice Jarnoux, “Le député du 10,000^e kilomètre,” *Paris Match* 736 (May 18, 1963): 60-5.

¹¹⁵ Ania Francos, “La Réunion: sucre amer,” *Jeune Afrique*, 17. For a more comprehensive discussion of Debré’s policies at the Reunion Island, see Heloise C. Finch, “Governing Rights in La Réunion: Social Legislation, Landholding, Housing and the Making of France in the Indian Ocean, 1946-2009” (PhD diss., The

images, she documented anti-riot CRS police preventing a poor, old, local peasant from reaching the polling booth [fig. 3.92]. Yet, behind the heavily guarded passage leading to the ballot box, the viewer can easily spot an elegantly dressed *réunionais* who is granted access. The latter image should be read as part of a sequence, which includes an image of a wounded local peasant beaten by CRS police agents in the course of their violent break up of a political rally (headed by Paul Vergès), and an image of a local supporter carrying banners against electoral fraud [figs. 3.93, & 3.94].

The ideological thread of Léna's iconography can be summarized as a Manichean worldview, which is neatly divided between Western exploiters and innocent indigenous victims. Similar to her photographs from Reunion, Léna's images from Martinique portrayed wealthy metropolitan entrepreneurs as the island's new ruling elite. Léna's photographic style in portraying the destitute native inhabitants of the French Caribbean clearly differed from humanist iconography [fig. 3.95]. Whereas humanist photographers such as Diosneau and Ronis celebrated the heroism of the poor, Léna's 1960s photoactivism underscored their *victimization* by a repressive foreign regime [figs. 3.96 & 3.97]. To be sure, her work was not exclusively limited to France. In her coverage of the Biafra War, Léna was among the first to expose the effects of famine on the civilian population [fig. 3.98]. As soon as the powerful images of Gamma photographers started promoting the humanitarian narrative of Biafran "genocide" in the media (which suited well the interests of the French government),¹¹⁶ Léna focused on evidence that tied Western counties to the conflict. As her images from Nigeria suggest, petroleum corporations in the west, backed by arms manufacturers, were real driving forces behind their governments' involvement in triggering the conflict in Africa [figs. 3.99 & 3.100].

University of Michigan, 2010), 187-278.

¹¹⁶ Floris de Bonneville and Gilles Caron, *La mort du Biafra* (Paris, R. Solar, 1968.)

Léna's evolving political beliefs, as well as to the turmoil in her personal life, shaped her career as a photoactivist. After she explored students' daily lives for *Clarté* in the early 1960s, her growing alienation from the political establishment in France drove her to North Africa. Third Worldism offered her new ways of uncovering what she perceived as the root cause of French political repression, while working outside the hexagon facilitated a more effective unveiling of its mechanisms. As the decade came to a close, her work, just like her political convictions, gained increasingly global resonance. Three years prior to her suicide at the Ville Evrard psychiatric hospital in North-Eastern Paris, following what seemed to be an abusive relationship, Léna elaborated in her 1969 autobiographical book *Le matin des noirs* on her self-perception as a black woman and on her motivations to join the Black Panthers after an assignment on the group for *Jeune Afrique*.¹¹⁷ Though Léna's trajectory was no doubt unique, her professional career brings to light the historical significance of photoactivism, which revitalize reportage photography in 1960s France. Through the platform of militant news magazines, Léna's proto-photojournalistic aesthetic aimed to expose readers across the francophone world to the relevance of *tiersmondiste* ideology. Along with *Clarté*, these magazines challenged, more than any other illustrated news magazine within the Hexagon, France's idealized republican self-perception as the nation was accelerating its modernization. Following in Léna's footsteps, other photographers used the same ideology to challenge France's humanist "discreet hegemony" in the 1960s and 1970s. Photographer and filmmaker William Klein, whom I will discuss in greater detail in the next chapter, used Third-Worldist ideology, counter-cultural attitude, and *Nouvelle Vague* aesthetic in his documentary films to undermine the sense of moral righteousness of both the United States and France as exemplary liberal democracies.¹¹⁸

¹¹⁷ Annette Léna, *Le Matin des Noirs* (Paris: Julliard, 1969).

¹¹⁸ *Festival panafricain d'Alger*, William Klein (Issy-les-Moulineaux: Arté vidéo, 1969). Klein's film, which included archival documentary footage on the struggle of national liberation movements in Africa, as well as doctrinaire *tiers-mondiste* speech by Boumediene. Klein continued this line with *Eldridge Cleaver, Black*

The ANJRP and the Remaking of Photojournalism in 1960s France

So far, this chapter has discussed how cultural and political photoactivism challenged France's grand narrative of robust modernization through militant publications on the margins of the press. This closing section focuses on civil photoactivism, around which the vast majority of French news photographers during the 1960s united in their campaign for higher professional standards in the press that would allow them to conduct thorough journalistic inquiries. While the French press was losing readers and faced growing competition, especially from state-controlled television and radio, the ANJRP took the opportunity to launch a national campaign that proclaimed photographers as fully-fledged journalists. As the sole representative organization of news photographers, thanks to its new platform that transcended the old trade union structure, the ANJRP thoroughly addressed the profession's lacunas through legal and administrative measures. As the association gained momentum, its spokesmen insisted that state-led *censorship*, whether direct or indirect, was the main barrier that prevented setting proper photojournalistic standards in France. To allow news photography to operate as an essential, public-oriented component of an autonomous and critical press, the ANJRP insisted that the authorities must cease operating as the sole gatekeepers of information. The fact that this campaign took place at the end of the Algerian War, which was characterized by extensive censorship, was not, in my view, incidental. The May '68 events further consolidated the association's demands into a fully-fledged anti-institutional civil photoactivism. The ANJRP thus set the stage for the global dominance of the three big French photojournalistic agencies between the late 1960s and the early 1990s: Gamma, Sygma, and Sipa. To demonstrate the ANJRP's historical contribution—a subject that remains to this day utterly unexplored—my analysis will incorporate some pertinent contextual background.

Panthers (1970), as well as more directly critical film of American society and international and economic politics, such as *Far from Vietnam* (1967), *Cassius le grand* (1964), and *Mr. Freedom* (1969).

The ANJRP started as a local initiative of three photographers from South-East France who decided to systematically address photographers' working conditions through a series of legal and administrative means. All three photographers worked for the widely distributed regional daily *La Daupiné libéré*. At their first meeting in November 1961 at a private residence in Claude Debussy Street in the town of Grenoble, association president George Richard, treasurer Robert Bruyère, and secretary Aimé Mollar launched a comprehensive legal study of the professional status of press photographers. Their aim was to establish a *regional* association that would solve photographers' core professional problems, beyond "purely wage-related issues."¹¹⁹ At their next reunion in the town of Montélimar the following January (along with twelve other photographers from the region), they decided that the deplorable conditions of press photographers across the country demanded the association's expansion to the rest of France. At the first General Assembly held the following April in Lyon, the three founders invited press photographers from across the country (except the capital), to launch a *national* association of photographers working for the regional press. The participants voted on sixteen articles to define the association's administrative structure and agenda. Two articles from the resulting legal code merit special attention. Article no. 4 proclaimed that the ANJRP would "study the social, economic and professional subjects in order to solve them by any legal means in the best interest of all members . . . [and] use all means authorized by law to promote professional development, [and] professional consciousness." Article no. 5 suggested to advance the association through "conferences, . . . prizes, information brochures and periodical publications."¹²⁰

The ANJRP's innovative structure centralized the profession more effectively than the preexisting trade unions. Its effective tactics enabled it to quickly become the *sole*

¹¹⁹ ANJRP's archive: 2-3 (January 10, 1962). The archive is currently kept by journalist Michel Puech, Issy-les-Moulineaux.

¹²⁰ Ibid., 21-24 bis (November 2, 1964).

representative of photographers working for the French press. In a meeting on November 1962, president Richard convinced Parisian representatives that a joint *depoliticized* association would better promote the professional interests of press photographers than the four existing trade unions, which were ultimately absorbed by the ANJRP. Two prominent Parisian figures in particular, Hubert Henrotte from *Le Figaro* (who later directed Gamma agency) and freelance photographer Roger Pic, realized that a combined association could transcend syndical, ideological and professional boundaries, and thus exert more pressure in order to improve photographers' precarious working conditions. Ironically, the ANJRP's national ascendancy opened the way for the Paris bureau, with its "large membership" and proximity to the "administrative and commercial" center of power, to lead the association.¹²¹ There are several additional indications of the ANJRP's nation-wide success. It opened ten bureaus in France's major cities, (including one at the Champs-Élysées); each covered a different region.¹²² Renowned photographers from the leading agencies, among them Robert Doisneau, Willy Ronis and Janine Nièpce from Rapho and Marc Riboud from Magnum, all joined as official ANJRP representatives. The association's humble *bulletin d'informations* was reissued in early 1964 as an elegant trimestral review titled *Journalistes Reporters Photographes*. Roughly one thousand copies were distributed to news photographers across France as well as key figures in journalistic associations and the press.¹²³

The ANJRP sought to promote the issue of photographers' salaries and working conditions as a means of engaging the latter in the association's civil campaign to define the professional standards of French photojournalism. Logistical matters such as insurance for vehicles and photographic material, special parking authorizations, and a reduced catering tariff were designated to facilitate photographers' assignments while setting homogenous

¹²¹ Ibid., 19-20 (October 20, 1964).

¹²² The centers of these regions were: Lille, Rennes, Bordeaux, Toulouse, Strasbourg, Dijon, Lyon, Marseille and Tours.

¹²³ The bulletin mentioned was lost, and is therefore not included in the association's archive.

working criteria for the profession.¹²⁴ One of the association's high priorities was the issuing of a single press card for all officially recognized press photographers on the basis of the CAP (*cérificat d'aptitude professionnel*) qualification. As photographer Jean-Louis Swiners from *Réalités* and the association's review board noted in a recent interview, the primary motivation behind the press card was to alleviate photographers' economic distress through tax deductions due to the title of journalist.¹²⁵ Another economic benefit was the prevention of competition from unprofessional (local or foreign) photographers.¹²⁶ In its March 1965 editorial, the association harshly denounced the "anarchic" state of affairs in which "every person with a Leica" could easily be hired for professional journalistic assignments.¹²⁷ The December 1964 editorial was even more critical of hiring foreign photographers:

We have succeeded in helping our comrades understand that the times of personal privilege . . . are over. The [age of] "little secrets" [is] in decline, while the esteem for the uninterrupted flow of information is on the rise We believe we succeeded in drawing the attention of the authorities to the abnormal situation of the profession. On March 1, we alerted the Minister of Labor of about twelve cases in which foreign photographers were caught without a working permit or a press card . . . [having been] hired by magazine managements . . . , [and this] when in the Paris region alone there are 35 unemployed photographers. We insist that it is not a matter of xenophobia on our part. Yet the photographer-journalist abides by the same legal obligations that hold for French citizens. . . .¹²⁸

As can be seen in the above-quoted excerpt, the association relied on republican terminology to legitimize its civil campaign for the issuing of "a single press card" (via the *Commission de la carte d'identité des journalistes professionnels*).

¹²⁴ Ibid., 11-2 (April 30, 1963).

¹²⁵ Interview with Jean-Louis Swiners (Paris, April 2013).

¹²⁶ ANJRP's archive, 11-2 (April 30, 1963). The association also deplored the existing "practice of press editors and writers taking photos."

¹²⁷ "There are actually thirty different "cards" on which appears the word PRESS Such confusion does not only constitute a threat for those who want to live decently from their trade: it entirely degrades the profession in the eyes of the public...and employers. It required vigilance on the part of the ANJRP that [a single] PROFESSIONAL CARD FOR JOURNALISTES will be become obligatory on official reportages." Editorial, *Journalistes reporters photographes* 5 (March 1965): 3.

¹²⁸ Ibid. 4 (December 1964): 3.

Another major working conditions battle that the ANJRP undertook was over the application of the Authors' Rights Law. It is important to take into account that in the postwar French press, only acclaimed photographers such as Henri Cartier-Bresson, Doisneau and Ronis managed to have their names signed beneath their images. Even in the largest illustrated news magazines, *Paris Match* and *Réalités*, photographers' names were printed in miniscule font at the end of a photo-essay (or publication), which made it very difficult for the viewer to tell which image was shot by whom. Another reason why the signature of the photographer's name was important was, again, economic. Thanks to this credit, a photographer could receive payment from authorship rights (in addition to revenue from reproductions), make a name for himself and gain greater professional mobility.¹²⁹ The association addressed this crucial problem using two key legal reference points: the inclusion of photography in the Authors' Rights Law from March 11, 1957, which recognized *documentary* and aesthetic photographs as integral to the oeuvre of their author.¹³⁰ The ANJRP relied on both clauses for its statement that "the news-photographer's goal [was] to inform readers through images of the events of the day, [meant to] accomplish a document."¹³¹ The association explained to photographers with different professional statuses the proper measures they needed to take in order to maintain authorship rights over their images. "Never," warns the association's review, "should an independent photographer commit the imprudent act of conveying the original copy of his work due to the high risk of loss." To photographers employed by a magazine or an agency, it explained that the "Anglo-Saxon" practice of giving-up authorship rights to their respective employers contradicted French law, which recognized the "hired photographer as the first proprietor . . . over images taken on assignment." Consequently, "no journal has any excuse for omitting the

¹²⁹ The reason for this is that since the photographer's name was never published, when he leaves a journal or agency he remains without any professional recognition.

¹³⁰ "Le droit d'auteur du journaliste reporter photographe," *Ibid.* 8 (December 1965): 13-7. These two aspects are based on the first and third articles of the law.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*, 13.

photographer's name below the reproduction of his oeuvre. Under the reproduction of a photo by an agency, the user must mention the photographer's name *before* that of the photographic agency."¹³²

As the association successfully established itself throughout France, from 1964 on it could bring its agenda to the foreground: advancing news photographers' commitment to rigorous journalistic standards equal to those of their peers. One of the main criteria the ANJRP addressed was France's poor professional formation for press photographers. The December 1965 editorial denounced the scarcity of professional schools, and in particular their lack of a specialized training program for news photographers:

In the United States in 1964[,] 268 universities and colleges teach courses on photography and photojournalism . . . to 14,000 students. 25 photography schools in the UK. 10 photography schools in Belgium! And in France? We have only two: The technical [Vaugirard] school of photography and cinema, founded in 1926 . . . [with] 150 pupils; [and] the French Photography Institute, a private school, preparing 250 pupils for the CAP. None of these schools prepares its students for photographic journalism As to the professional training centers for journalists in Paris and Lille, they settle for giving their students only basic general concepts and nothing else. This situation testifies to the state of photography in France.¹³³

This text relied on Pierre Bourdieu's disqualification of the two schools as representative of France's flawed educational system. Specifically, the review relied on the sociologist's critique raised in his 1965 book, *Un art moyen*, of the privileging of technical expertise (and linguistics) at the expense of learning abstraction skills that could be applied to culture in general and photographic creativity in particular.¹³⁴ To set higher professional standards for French photographers, the ANJRP campaigned for creating a new graduate program for mass

¹³² Ibid., 17.

¹³³ Ibid., 8, 3. "Et la formation professionnelle?", The archaic and conservative nature of professional formation for photographers was also addressed in Albert Plécy television show, *La chambre noire*, on fashion photographer Jeanloup Sieff, who chose to study in Switzerland.

¹³⁴ Pierre Bourdieu, Luc Boltanski *et al*, *Un art moyen: essai sur les usages sociaux de la photographie* (Paris: Éditions de Minuit, 1965), 278.

communication, in which broad photographic training would be an integral part of the curriculum.¹³⁵

In the meantime, the ANJRP decided to inform its readers about photojournalism through a series of articles. Among them were those dedicated to the example set by the world's leading reportage photographers, among them Eugene Smith, whose uncompromising commitment to the truth came at the price of quitting his dream job at a highly successful illustrated magazine. The ANJRP also celebrated the achievements of exemplary photographers such as Robert Capa and Jean-Philippe Charbonnier, as well as the hazardous contemporary work of French photographers who documented the Vietnam War [figs. 3.101, 3.102, & 3.103]. The role of photojournalism, argued Swiners, who received the Niépce prize in 1962, was to harness the evocative power of photography to visually inform—as well as educate—the public in a democratic society.¹³⁶ Deploring the state of the French press, Swiners contended that illustrated news magazines said “a whole lot about nothing” by producing “banal” and “mediocre” images, which essentially reiterated what had already been stated in the text. Caught in the tension between motivation to sell and an overly cautious public stance, he argued, illustrated news magazines failed to address socio-cultural taboos like drug addiction or homosexuality.¹³⁷ The root of the problem, according to Swiners, was that the French press was subjected to criteria that were set by “television under government control.” To solve it, the press needed to take advantage of photography's distinctive spatial and temporal characteristics, and apply them as analytical visuals too (i.e. photojournalism) to uncover socio-cultural lacunas for the public. In another article, freelance photographer Loïk Prat added that French journalists were unqualified to properly integrate photojournalistic evidence in news reports. Whether caused by reporters' and editors' over-

¹³⁵ Ibid.

¹³⁶ Jean-Louis Swiners, “Tribune Libre: pourquoi des photographes?,” *Journalistes reporters photographes* 6 (June, 1965): 7.

¹³⁷ Pierre Bourdieu, *Un art moyen*, 185-88.

reliance on the written text or by the incompetence of artistic directors, wrote Prat, “visual information barely [found] its place” in the page layout. This “false photographic culture,” according to him, was the product of the “Sorbonne” mentality that reigned in the French press. Prat shared Swiners’ conclusion that the public saw merely “‘pseudo-events’ mounted by [press] impresarios, [instead of] original photo essays.”¹³⁸

The ANJRP also promoted photojournalism by informing its readers about photo exhibitions and conferences. To propagate higher documentary and aesthetic standards among news photographers, the association covered the international competition of World Press Photos—the “barometer” of European photojournalism since 1955—held in the Dutch city of La Haye. Its aim, clearly stated, was to increase the participation of French news photographers at the prestigious competition:

In 1963, 54 countries presented 2,157 photos. The first prize that year went to a Vietnamese photographer for the extraordinary document of a Buddhist monk being burnt alive. In 1964, it was an English photographer, Donald McCullin, who won first prize for a photo taken in Cyprus. Whereas English, German, Russians, and Americans showed over one hundred photos per country, submissions from France that year totaled at thirty-three.¹³⁹

The publication of McCullin’s photograph, which won him the 1964 grand prize, thus served as a model for aspiring French photojournalists [fig. 3.104]. In a similar manner, the ANJRP review reported on the exhibition “Six Photographers and Paris” held at the Parisian Museum of Decorative Arts, where representatives Roger Pic, Robert Doisneau and Janine Niépce, among others, participated. On the same occasion, the association announced its initiative to launch a yearly exhibition: “Grand Reportages from the End of the Globe and News Photography,” to be held at Orly Airport [fig. 3.105]. Complementing these photographic exhibitions that would serve as a model for French photographers, the ANJRP also initiated a

¹³⁸ Loïk Prat, “Le photojournalisme,” *Journalistes reporters photographes* 16 (December 1968): 14.

¹³⁹ The association thus praised French photographers who participated at the competition the following year, however it continued to emphasize their small number of participants. Eric Schwab, “WORLD PRESS PHOTO 1965,” *Ibid.* 9 (March 1966): 4-5.

series of workshops in collaboration with the new *Centre de Perfectionnement des Journalistes* that were dedicated exclusively to photojournalism.¹⁴⁰

Photojournalism remained the first priority of the ANJRP's campaign. The association's spokesmen insisted that high-quality photojournalism was the precondition for a well-functioning national press. In cooperation with other journalists' associations, the ANJRP labeled private monopolies on the one hand and government control on the other hand as the two primary threats to independent journalism. The association thus joined the campaign against managers' unions to increase "economic efficiency" as a means of further concentrating the ownership of the press market.¹⁴¹ In the editorial "A Liberty that Costs Us Dearly," the association discussed the failed launching of the illustrated weekly magazine *Voici* in April 1967 as a warning sign for the French press. In particular, it condemned the power of press baron Jean Prouvost, owner of *Paris Match* and *Marie Claire* among others, to veto the initiative by threatening Hachette's journal distribution cooperation. According to the editorial, the result for the press (and photographers) was disastrous:

This time, it was not Versailles, but Munich. *VOICI* was treated the same way as Czechoslovakia, abandoned by its allies: everything evaporated under the weight of the millions of copies published by the Prouvost group. . . . Order [now] reigns in the Parisian press; nothing threatens the monopolies anymore, whether it is the morning or evening dailies, the women's illustrated weekly, or the only [remaining] news magazine, "Paris Match." Are these journals in any way better as a result? Certainly not! Everybody knows that competition is the engine of growth; if the reader can choose between various publications, the ambition of each of them would be to better inform [the public] . . . Otherwise, journalists become timid: we no longer conquer but conserve. Too bad if the reader ends up fleeing. So don't [you photographers] address burning issues, and instead

¹⁴⁰ Louis Guery, "Le centre de perfectionnement des journalistes et l'a.n.j.r.p.c.," *Journalistes Reporters Photographes et Cineastes* 18 (December 1969); Guery, "3 journées en couleurs," *Ibid.* 23 (June 1972): 8. While the ANJRP presented a photo exhibition on photojournalism at the CPJ in February and March 1969, several-day conference was dedicated to an in-depth study of "the culture of the image," which was broadened the following year to the question of photojournalism in color.

¹⁴¹ Editorial, "Une liberté qui coûte cher," *Journalistes Reporters Photographes* 13 (September 1967); Editorial, "Presse achetée – Presse gratuite – Presse vendue," *Ibid.* 16 (December 1968); Crepitus, "La grève du 'Figaro'," *Ibid.* 17 (June 1969).

use well-tested formulas: the cult of “personality,” the celebrity or pseudo-celebrity; no analysis whatsoever . . . ¹⁴²

The historical reference to failed European diplomacy prior to the Second World War was not coincidental. The association harnessed the public consensus regarding the reforms made in the French press after the Liberation to discredit economic monopolies in the media.¹⁴³ The lack of competition in the press, according to the association, damaged professional journalism, resulting in the growing influence of the genre known in France as *people* (i.e. celebrity) photography.¹⁴⁴ Moreover, the September 1966 editorial denounced the existing practice in “all the journals [to] crop, reframe,” and, worse still, manipulate photographs to the point of “distorting reality.”¹⁴⁵ Such dubious journalistic practices (to which Prat alluded earlier), warned the ANJRP, reduced the photographer’s professional status from that of a public witness to that of an untrustworthy voyeur.

The ANJRP’s foremost concern was given to the authorities’ direct and indirect restrictions of news photographers’ work. In the article titled “Forbidden to Photographers,” association representative Jean Calmus argued that there was hardly anything left for photographers to shoot in 1965. He accused an authoritarian, rigid and conservative administration of severely limiting press photographers in fulfilling their professional duty: “[T]he principal characteristic of . . . the administration in France is being iconophobic . . . For the Homo Administratis . . . it is [a matter of national emergency, similar to] Alsace and Lorraine.” It would be best, concluded Calmus, if photographers played the “tourists, spies or

¹⁴² Roger Pic, “La presse, demain . . .,” *Ibid.*, 5-6; Interview with Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, “Les journalistes sauront-ils devenir des industriels ?,” *ibid.* 14 (March 1968); Editorial, “Une liberté qui coûte cher,” *Ibid.*

¹⁴³ Loïk Prat, “Noblesse Oblige,” *Ibid.* 14 (March 1968): 7. Not surprisingly, concluded Loïk Prat in an op-ed from March 1968, the “spirit of the *résistance*” among prominent journalistic entrepreneurs who received generous economic assistance from the state, “is no longer common in the mediocre press of our time.”

¹⁴⁴ On paparazzi photography in postwar France, see Vanessa Schwartz’s article, “Wide Angle at the Beach: The Origins of the Paparazzi and the Cannes Film Festival,” *Études photographiques* 26 (November 2010).

¹⁴⁵ Editorial: “En toute objectivité,” *Journalistes Reporters Photographes* 11 (September 1966): 3.

idiots” in case they had any intention to work at standard public places, such as train stations or even gardens. Taking his argument a step further, he delegitimized state censorship by comparing French officials to the Nazi Occupier: “[L]et our gardens and our stations remain better guarded from our lenses than the Maginot Line in 1940 Gardens . . . , squares . . . , here is another taboo terrain – *verboten* grass”¹⁴⁶ Calmus also made another historical reference, this time to the Fourth Republic, to contest the screening of news photographers by the Gaullist regime. Whereas in the past, news photographers could gain access to the presidential holidays of René Coty, the only thing facing the photographer’s objective was a “police squadron.” The photographers’ press card, he concluded, was therefore useless as a means of guaranteeing the “liberty of the press.”¹⁴⁷ In the following publication, photographer Jean-Jacques Levy from Associated Press used a civil argument—planted in republican political culture—to contest state monopoly over information:

If the editor is the public ear, the photographer is the eye. The public has the right to see just as it has the right to hear. The photographer is aware of this, accepts this serious responsibility and understands his duties toward readers. . . . [H]e’s not a petty crook who violates the intimacy . . . of the other. . . . [H]e is a man for whom photography opens a door unto contemporary reality. . . . It is lamentable that in a [democratic] country such as ours, which prides itself on being renowned for its liberty, we still find . . . certain interdictions to photograph in the metro or in train stations The ANJRP . . . has filed all its grievances [*doléances*] to the Press Federation.¹⁴⁸

One of these “grievances”—a heavily charged term in republican political culture since the French Revolution—according to a report from June 1965, concerned the use of excessive force by the police. During, a demonstration against the Vietnam War in Marseille, four news photographers were injured by policemen. This incident occurred only a month after policemen had assaulted three photographers in another incident in Paris. The ANJRP thus

¹⁴⁶ Jean Calmus, “Interdit aux... photographes,” *Ibid.* 8 (December, 1965). As he noted, train and metro stations were not off-limits for press photographers only when it came to publicity.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

stated that photographers still “await the explanations of the Minister of Interior.” And in reply to Roger Frey’s response, which essentially backed the police, the association announced its concern that the Minister’s “words did not diminish the fear of the four reporters from Marseille who confirmed wearing [press] badges during the assault.”¹⁴⁹

But what made the menace of the authorities to news photographers especially grave, insisted the ANJRP, was that they backed private press monopolies as a means of strengthening state control over information. At a time of economic crisis in the press, which resulted in the gradual loss of readers and titles, the association condemned the government’s decision to allow publicity in radio and television. As Swiners suggested earlier, government favoring of *state-controlled* radio and television, which widely expanded their spectatorship during the 1960s, was aimed to create a *subservient* French media.¹⁵⁰ Specifically, the problem manifested itself to news photographers in the privileging of ORTF television crews, which received, at the photographers’ expense, immediate access to news sites:

Whatever the reason for the decrease in press circulation, the issue of **the right to information** poses itself with greater acuity. It would be pointless to deny that television constitutes a modern and effective means of expression. . . . Yet it seems that the authorities seek to establish a televised monopoly of information. The abusive and arbitrary interference of the establishment not only presents a grave danger from the point of view of journalistic objectivity, but it also exacerbates the public’s disaffection with written or photographic information.¹⁵¹

To further substantiate the claim quoted above, the article included photographs of police agents forcefully preventing photographers from documenting even a mundane event such as sports game [fig. 3.106].

Rather than discussing the coverage of politically contested events, the ANJRP’s tactics focused on news photographer’s difficulties in covering even standard news events. The association’s civil agenda was aimed to facilitate cooperation between news

¹⁴⁹ “Notre courrier,” *Ibid.* 7 (September 1965): 11.

¹⁵⁰ “La presse face au monopole de la télévision,” *Ibid.* 5 (March 1965): 8.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.*, boldface in the original text.

photographers with different ideological worldviews and professional affiliations. For instance, on the occasion of de Gaulle's participation at the commemoration "Mass for the deported" on April 25, 1965, the ANJRP protested against blocking news photographers' access while television crews broadcasted the event live. The photograph of de Gaulle leading a cortege in uniform past a group of "photographers with their hands crossed" and cameras on the pavement powerfully demonstrated the theme of government control of information [fig. 3.107].¹⁵² On a symbolic level, the photograph, which was set against a Parisian background that embodied republican space of freedom and liberty, implied a causal relation between the figure of the President (in uniform) and the passive photographers. By the same token, on March 1968, ANJRP President Robert Fogliani reported on a new form of photographer censorship that he encountered on a mission for his journal *République du Var* (Toulon). As Fogliani's photograph shows, the journalists covering the official commemoration of the recent drowning of Minerve submarine at the coastal town of Toulon were crammed on a small podium located *behind* the crowd [fig. 3.108]. This highly inconvenient platform, which unfortunately constituted a "new form of reportage" according to Fogliani, prevented photographers from doing real journalistic covering:¹⁵³

[At the end of the ceremony,] [t]he [press] podium was surrounded by [CRS] gendarmes who prevented the journalists from leaving it (in other words, from accomplishing their assignment). Protests, yelling, nothing helped. . . . [T]he only state-related organizations that could film the "Eurydice" [submarine] going under at Toulon . . . were the [state-controlled] ORTF and AFP, at whose disposal the naval forces put a helicopter.¹⁵⁴

The May-June "events" helped boost the association's civil campaign into a full-fledged militant struggle against censorship. The impact of May '68 on French society and

¹⁵² The placement of this report next to the one on police brutality against photographers mentioned above was not incidental.

¹⁵³ Robert Fogliani, "10 coups de garcette à la Royale," *Ibid.* 14 (March 1968): 9.

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

the media strengthened news photographers' self-affirmation as assertive, public-serving professional journalists. According to the association's June editorial, the presence of photographers at the heart of demonstrations played a "determining role" in delivering authentic testimonies to the public.¹⁵⁵ Photographers' physical presence at demonstrations hence enabled them to transgress the editorial line of their respective journals, and thus directly satisfy the public's "right to know":

The unexpected momentum of the events challenged reflection [to the point of] excluding rigorous analysis. During these days, the uncontestable veracity of the direct [photographic] document immediately impacted reality, challenging taboos and upsetting conventions within certain obsolete editing committees. This way of living the event through the image and the direct commentary of the spoken press has rendered these media "engaged," whereas in other circumstances they would have remained . . . more "removed," [adopting] an "interpretative" point of view. The less immediate, yet more lasting impact [that covering the events had] on news-photographers was that they . . . finally took part in a press conscious of its social role of providing information . . . without being controlled or influenced. . . . [Other] media, who were subjected to disguised methods of state control and intervention [*dirigisme*] under a paternalist mantle, suddenly became involved. . . . as ORTF journalists went on strike, revealing the extent to which their organization was stifled by government control. In a unique episode in the history of the French press, the entire [photographic] profession rose up to guarantee the liberty of expression and [the public's] right to information.¹⁵⁶

Photographers' civil photoactivism, which resulted in their accumulation of high-quality, unedited, raw footage from the streets, thus enabled the press to assert its freedom and serve the public directly and without interference by the state or the government. And as the image of Gamma photographer Jean-Pierre Rey suggests, photographers were subjected to police violence while trying to fulfill their journalistic duty [fig. 3.109]. May '68 only strengthened the ANJRP's determination and rendered its civil agenda more cohesive. Prior to May '68 the association advocated for reforms in photographers' professional formations, but in its aftermath the association insisted on to create a clean slate. Influenced by the discourse of

¹⁵⁵ Editorial: "Ces témoins impertinents..." *Ibid.* 15 (June 1968): 1.

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

May '68, publication director Robert Doisneau and Gamma photographer Jean Lattès argued in the article “Where Goes the French Press?” that employed news photographers should henceforth participate in the “self-management” (*autogestion*) of their respective journals. The authors also claimed that the gathering of 2000 journalists at the ORTF seat on June 7 (i.e. *opération Jericho*) was a turning point in the history of the French press because it revealed the profession’s extent of resistance to “government propaganda.”¹⁵⁷ It is perhaps not surprising that the association’s review celebrated with republican pathos the anti-institutional iconographic peaks of May '68 [fig. 3.110].¹⁵⁸

To summarize, this chapter addressed the significance of cultural, political and civil photoactivism for French reportage photography during the 1960s. In order to properly assess the photoactivism’s impact, my analysis presented a dialectical account of its formation between the poles of state and civil society. My discussion of France’s postwar grand narrative of economic modernization and social rejuvenation shed light on *Clarté*’s diametrically opposed cultural narrative, which labeled the adult world as conservative versus the modern youth. In a similar way, the francophone *tiersmondiste* press used photography as an auxiliary means to printed texts in order to expose the “cooperation” between France and its former African colonies as a façade concealing relations of dependency and exploitation. The fact that Annette Léna worked for *Jeune Afrique* after *Clarté* was closed reveals the interconnection between the two loosely-related anti-institutional forms of photoactivism, as

¹⁵⁷ Roger Pic, “Le droit à l’information et la protection de la vie privée,” *Ibid.*, 2-3. The author insisted in his analysis of articles 1, 2, and clauses 368-372 of the law threatened photographers’ capacity to inform the public, and that the association was always critical of “voyeurism” and sensationalist “scandal-press.” And finally, the association’s new platform, henceforth included cameramen (*cinéastes*) owning a press card—as well as its call for members to subscribe in one of the four trade unions for journalists—was designated to increase the organization’s pressuring force. On state control of the ORTF under the Fifth Republic, see: Aude Vassallo, *La télévision sous de Gaulle: Le contrôle gouvernemental de l’information* (Paris: De Boeck, 2005).

¹⁵⁸ The exceptionally numerous photographs that decorated the publication originated from the exhibition “Paris May 1968,” which I discuss in the following chapter, presented at the Latin Quarter, in which presented photographers such as Henri Cartier-Bresson, Jean-Philippe Charonnier, Marc Garanger, Elie Kagan Janine Niépce and many others a comprehensive corpus of 3000 images. Paul Oury, “Contrainte à la fermeture, l’exposition ‘Paris mai 68’ poursuivra son existence en province,” *Ibid.* 15, 7.

the images from *France and the Rising Generation* reveal [fig. 3.111]. The chapter's closing segment may be seen as a synthesis of the two previously antithetical case studies. As a national association that campaigned against censorship restrictions by the authorities while seeking to represent *all* French press photographers, the ANJRP's photoactivism had to orient itself primarily toward civil matters that did not presuppose unequivocally taking this or that political side. At the same time, it showed the progress French photojournalism had made since the Liberation in general and the Algerian War in particular.

Photojournalism, of course, existed in France in undeveloped form even before the 1960s. Reportage photographers from *Paris Match*, for instance, covered the popular insurrection against the soviet regime in Budapest in 1956. Yet as the examination of the country's largest illustrated magazine shows, when tension existed between the photographer's motivation to get a scoop and the authorities' determination to remain the ultimate republican gatekeepers over information, the latter always came at the expense of the former. This is why it was crucial to trace the roots of civil engagement that have redefined photojournalism in 1960s France. As we have seen, this form of photoactivism had been consolidated by the mid-1960s, and reached full maturation in May '68. It is therefore not surprising that France's foremost scoop-driven photojournalistic agency, Gamma, formed in 1967, was headed by the man who had until then run the Paris bureau of the ANJRP: Hubert Henrotte.

CHAPTER FOUR

Flash-Back, Flash-Forward:**The Photojournalistic (un)Covering of May '68**

“This gradual crumbling, which does not change the physiognomy of the whole, is broken by the rising day which, in a flash, outlines the features of the new world.”

Georg Wilhelm Fredrich Hegel, *Preface to the Phenomenology of Spirit*¹

Reportage photography played a decisive role in the French media coverage of May '68. Given the state's control over television and radio broadcasting, the work of photojournalists was utterly indispensable in giving the public visual scoops of the contested events as they rapidly unfolded in the heart of France. Unlike the case of the Algerian War, news photographers' coverage of May '68 succeeded in catching the eye and the interest of key sectors in French society. Rather than treating their craft merely as a documentary tool for gathering visual evidence, photojournalists actively *uncovered* the underlying significance of controversial events. In this regard, the word “uncovering,” central to this chapter's argument, carries a dual meaning. First, it designates photojournalists' presenting the public with exclusive images right from the midst of the unraveling scene. Less obviously, it also designates photojournalists' disclosure, by means of visual symbolism, of the deeper political significance of May '68. Framing the events around demonstrators' conscious reenactment of (or “dialogue” with) the nation's political memory, I contend, photojournalists used visual emblems of France's political history to construe May '68 as a founding “republican moment.”²

¹ Georg Wilhelm Fredrich Hegel, *Preface to the Phenomenology of Spirit*, translation and running commentary by Yirmiyahu Yovel (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 84.

² The quoted term is borrowed from Philip Nord, *The Republican Moment: Struggles for Democracy in Nineteenth-Century France* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998).

As I show in what follows, in order to maximize the resonance of their images, photojournalists framed May '68 as a sudden moment of *revelation*, providing historical (dis)closure to the entire postwar era. Under the naked light of their flash, images of nightly skirmishes, police repression, protest, and contestation exposed the internal conflicts underlying French society since the Liberation, though hitherto veiled and subdued by France's "discreet [humanist] hegemony."³ Their photographs thus definitively shattered the image of the state as the sole guarantor of republicanism. On the level of the medium's own evolution, May '68 clearly marked the birth of a new, anti-institutional conception of reportage photography. Though the press extensively featured images produced by photojournalists, the innovative iconography of some of the nation's leading photographers was itself of less interest to mainstream news media. Luckily, these photographers found an additional platform for presenting their unique coverage of May '68 in the Parisian professional photographic association, *Les 30x40*. The new photographic aesthetic that emerged from the coverage of May '68 was characterized by the *photoreporter's* detached and disillusioned gaze and thus ran counter to the humanist iconography dominating preceding decades. One of the major advancements photojournalism effected in the medium's perception, as it first entered galleries and museum halls toward the close of the 1970s, was the unequivocal elevation of photography's cultural status to a fully-fledged form of art. This broad cultural recognition of the photographer as "auteur" was instrumental in promoting a depoliticized discourse around the May '68 in the decades that followed.

From a historical perspective, there is a seeming discrepancy between the limited challenge the May '68 movement actually posed to the political and social institutions of the Fifth Republic, and its performative import for French political discourse and national self-perception. As historian Michael Seidman convincingly argues in *The Imaginary Revolution*,

³ The term is quoted from Michael Kelly's *The Cultural and Intellectual Rebuilding of France after the Second World War*, 120-26.

“May 68, although linked to the international wave of 1960s agitation, was basically a French episode with modest consequences.”⁴ Although culturally significant and meaningful for contemporaries’ private lives, Seidman’s analysis shows that May ’68 ultimately failed to undermine the persistence of the political and social forces that dominated France during the 1960s. This interpretation thus contradicts Kristin Ross’s diametrically opposed conclusion that a joint grassroots movement of students and workers created a successfully coherent political program against “capitalism, American imperialism, and Gaullism.”⁵ The interpretative gap between Seidman and Ross, I would argue, stems from their studies’ divergent focal points. Whereas the former considers what was concretely accomplished, the latter attributes the greatest significance to the performative aspects of May ’68 in shaping contemporaries’ political consciousness.

Historians, however, do manage to find common ground when it comes to analyzing the movement’s undermining impact on state-controlled mass media. Though the regime’s authority remained intact, notes Seidman, protestors were successful in destabilizing government control over the mass media, in particular the ORTF (*Office de la Radio, Télévision française*). Protest against the ORTF as the propaganda branch of the Gaullist regime motivated student leaders Jacques Sauvageot and Alain Geismar to march on the seat of the state’s wireless media branch. As a result, the police mobilized to protect ORTF bureaus and transmission towers, most notably during de Gaulle’s speech on May 30. More importantly, a significant portion of ORTF employees decided to join the strike, which resulted in the paralysis of French television until late May. In June, new Minister of Information Yves Guéna took a series of assertive actions to reclaim strict state control over the national broadcasting network, including the purge of disobedient personnel who demanded greater autonomy. It should be noted in this regard that the ANJRP changed its

⁴ Michael Seidman, *The Imaginary Revolution*, 282.

⁵ Kristin Ross, *May ’68 and its Afterlives* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 8.

name to ANJRPC shortly after 1968 in order to incorporate among its ranks cameramen from the ORTF.

Given the extremely tense climate in the French mass media, the press took advantage of its autonomy to report, freely and extensively, during the May-June events. And indeed, as long as the workers who operated the printing presses worked, which was until late May, press sales skyrocketed.⁶ Photography clearly helped increase press appeal among information-thirsty public vis-à-vis its (paralyzed) televised and radio competitors, especially after the state blocked short-term waves to peripheral radio stations on May 22.⁷ Clearly, the highly portable 35mm camera enabled photojournalists to report effectively in nearly all conditions, escaping state control to which television crews were subjected. Without any competitors from television, the daily and magazine press could rely extensively on photography's evocative and technical advantages, such as freezing the most dramatic instant, as well as visualize events in color. Photojournalism thus benefitted from its allure as an objective news-reporting device to feed the press, which softened its political tone—especially in affiliation to political parties—during the late 1950s and the 1960s.⁸

Surprisingly, there is hardly any research that broadly explores the role photojournalism played during May '68. While numerous commercial publications celebrated the work of eminent photographers, mostly on the occasion of the event's decennial anniversaries, very few academic studies explored the subject, and then only to a limited extent. Margaret Attack's study of representations of May '68, for instance, is limited to film and literature.⁹ As to historical research proper, none of the twenty-six articles in the edited volume, *May 68: Rethinking France's Last Revolution*, explored the medium that,

⁶ Seidman, *The Imaginary Revolution*, 130.

⁷ Ibid., 179-80.

⁸ Fabrice d'Almeida and Christian Delporte, *Histoire des médias en France*, 192-242. The general political crisis in May '68, the authors argue, has placed the freedom of information at the heart of media debate.

⁹ Margaret Attack, *May 68 in French Fiction & Film: Rethinking Society, Rethinking Representation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

according to its editor Julian Jackson, produced the most “enduring” and “iconic” symbol of May ’68. This was, of course, Gilles Caron’s image of student leader Daniel Cohn-Bendit facing a policeman at the entrance to the Sorbonne on May 6 [fig. 4.1].¹⁰ Perhaps even more surprising is the lack of consideration of May ’68 in Karine Taveaux-Grandpierre and Joëlle Beurrier’s edited volume on photojournalism in France since the 1930s.¹¹ Moreover, recent studies that examine photojournalism during May ’68 are limited to isolated case studies. Arian Sarah Richards’ dissertation is exclusively dedicated to photography’s contribution to the construction of the cultural memory of May ’68 in France.¹² Claude Cookman’s article on Caron’s iconic images—most of which were recognized as such decades later—gives only a narrow insight on the event’s coverage by press photographers.¹³ Audrey Leblanc’s essay on the color iconography by *Paris Match*, although shedding light on a key element of the story, lacks a comprehensive argument about the historical significance of photojournalism during May ’68.¹⁴ Given the character of existing scholarly work on the subject, I believe the thematic and temporal scope of my study fills a scholarly lacuna by assessing the impact of May ’68 within the framework of the paradigm shift in reportage photography from postwar humanist iconography to the golden age of photojournalism since the late 1960s.

The argument of this chapter is that May ’68 was a founding moment for French photojournalism. More than any other news event during the 1960s, May ’68 marked the birth of the French *photoreporter*, whose capacity to cast doubt over state policies was no

¹⁰ Julian Jackson, Anna-Louise Milne and James S. Williams, eds., *May 68: Rethinking France’s Last Revolution* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011).

¹¹ Karine Taveaux-Grandpierre, Joëlle Beurrier and Jean-Pierre Bacot, eds., *Le photojournalisme des années 1930 à nos jours : Structures, culture et public* (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2014).

¹² Ariane Sarah Richards, *Mai 68 : L’Evolution de la mémoire culturelle et des icônes à travers la photographie* (Ph.D dissertation, Durham University, 2013).

¹³ Claude Cookman, “Gilles Caron and the May 1968 Rebellion in Paris,” *History of Photography* 31, 3 (October, 2007): 239-59.

¹⁴ Audrey Leblanc, “La couleur de Mai 1968: *Paris Match* face aux événements de mai et juin 1968,” *Études photographiques* 26 (November 2010), <<https://etudesphotographiques.revues.org/3121>>, last accessed: August 19, 2015. Regrettably, Leblanc’s recently completed dissertation on this very topic is not yet communicable to scholars: “L’image de Mai 68, du journalisme à l’histoire” (PhD diss., EHESS, November 2015).

longer inhibited by the authorities. In this regard, the May-June events enabled photojournalists to set new standards for visual news coverage. As previously shown, the state systematically censored photographers during the Algerian War. In the war's aftermath, moreover, the state continued to pursue some degree of indirect control, which resulted in self-censorship in all major news magazines, such as *Paris Match*, whenever a particular event questioned the state's commitment to republican values. In such cases, existing photographs either remained unpublished or were thoroughly re-edited. In May '68, while the regime's viability seemed relatively fragile, press editors who faced severe competition from with the rest of the media sought raw, high-quality news images to augment sales. May '68 therefore created the platform which enabled photojournalists assert their autonomy as journalists working for the French press.¹⁵ And photojournalists indeed embraced May '68 as a professional moment of truth to extensively report about a burning national event. As such, news photographers thus never joined the strike, and worked non-stop even when newspapers and magazines ceased to be printed in late May. They were clearly determined to show the public every scoop, notably the government's mishandling of the event, which produced extensive evidence of large-scale police repression. Their professional commitment explains why a decade later the review *Photo* inaccurately proclaimed that "most photographers were on the side of the demonstrators."¹⁶ To understand why news photographers worked tirelessly—oftentimes risking their own safety—to generate images, it is important to take into account the ANJRP's civil campaign after the Algerian War. As we have seen, the ANJRP identified the authorities' restrictions of news photographers as the main barrier for the application of rigorous professional standards. Yet, as much as the ANJRP promoted photojournalism in theory, what raised the professional bar in practice was the launching of

¹⁵ The capacity of the authorities to restrict the work of photographers during May '68 was significantly smaller, and their indirect influence over editors at a time of crisis was highly limited. Clearly, the campaign of the ANJRP also assisted in fending off state control.

¹⁶ *Photo* 128 (January 1978), 44-5.

Gamma photo agency in January 1967. It is perhaps not surprising that its young director, Hubert Henrotte, was the ANJRP's general secretary and the head of the Parisian branch.¹⁷

The pages that follow explore the main photojournalistic venues during May '68. The first section explores how major national news magazines, including *Paris Match*, *L'Express*, and *Le Nouvel observateur* used photography throughout the events. In light of the general strike that paralyzed the press towards late May, this section also analyzes the flood of news magazines and book publications with the return to order by early to mid-June. My analysis in this section reconstructs the news photographer's point of view by closely examining the contact sheets of Gilles Caron, France's leading photojournalist in the late 1960s. The chapter's following section traces May '68 as photography's new aesthetic reference point. As it shows, photographers such as Claude-Raymond Dytivon, Bruno Barbey, Henri Cartier-Bresson and Gilles Caron among others pioneered a photojournalistic, anti-institutional aesthetic that was in many ways *antithetical* to humanist photography. The chapter concludes with a brief discussion on how photographers who sought to promote their status as artists contributed to de-politicize the historical memory of May '68.

Photojournalism and the Media during May '68:

Prior to analyzing the actual iconography of May '68, a brief discussion of the photographic agencies' mode of operation in providing daily and magazine press with still footage is in order. In light of the chapter's limited scope, my examination will focus primarily on Gamma, which since May '68 has dominated the French media due to its uncompromising photojournalistic standards. Beyond covering the event more extensively than any other photographic agency, Gamma also served as a model for a new generation of

¹⁷ Hubert Henrotte, *Le monde dans les yeux: Gamma-Sygma, l'âge d'or du photojournalisme* (Paris: Hachette, 2005), 14-20.

photojournalistic agencies, including Sipa in 1969 and Sygma (launched as a result of schism within Gamma) in 1973. Gamma's mode of operation, according to *Le Monde* journalist Michel Guerrin, can be summarized to several improvements over the working methods of the four major agencies that dominated the market until the late 1960s: Reporters Associés, Europress, APIS and Dalmas – all of which had disappeared by the early 1970s.¹⁸ Modeled after Magnum agency, Hubert Henrotte launched Gamma with news photographer Raymond Depardon from Dalmas, show business and cinema photographers Hugues Vassal from *France-Dimanche* and Léonard de Raemy from *Reporters Associés*, as an egalitarian photographers' corporative. This group of young, talented and ambitious professionals applied their knowledge of the profession, acquired at the ranks of the ANJRP, to found an agency that would best serve photographers' interests. Gamma's economic *modus operandi* was tailored accordingly. In addition to the 50-50 in costs and payment formula between the enterprise and the photographer, which existed in Reporters Associés, Gamma introduced full transparency to its employees. Its photographers, who maintained their rights over the images they produced, therefore knew exactly what their respective sales were and the agency's grand total. This flexible economic model gave Gamma photographers the peace of mind to focus exclusively on their journalistic assignments. Gamma's "system" also institutionalized the practice of sending photographers on a speculative basis to cover news events without making prearrangements or receiving guarantees from news magazines.¹⁹ Though Dalmas agency pioneered this tactic primarily for paparazzi purposes, Gamma ultimately applied it for photojournalistic assignments. Consequently, under the supervision of young journalist Floris de Bonneville, who left Dalmas in early 1968 to coordinate Gamma's operation room, their photographers responded faster than their competitors. Gamma, moreover, strengthened its rank of senior associates with rising news photographer Gilles Caron from APIS, as well

¹⁸ Michel Guerrin, *Profession photoreporter*, 29-31. APIS stands for *Agence parisienne d'informations sociales*.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 23-33.

as esteemed photography salesman Jean Monteux from *Reporters Associés*. After a few months, during which Vassal and de Raemy had balanced the agency's budget, Gamma's first major news success arrived with Caron's exclusive images of the Six Day War in early June 1967.

If Gamma was the spirit of French photojournalism since the late 1960s, Gilles Caron embodied its *photoreporter's* utter commitment—if not engagement—to cutting-edge news coverage. Delving into his personal background can therefore shed some light on his professional inclination as the leading photojournalist to cover May '68, among other news events. Born in 1939 to a bourgeois family in the wealthy Parisian suburb of Neuilly-sur-Seine, Caron went through the main intersections this dissertation discussed in the previous chapters. While studying journalism at the *École des Hautes Études Internationales* in the Latin Quarter between 1958 and 1959, Caron joined *Clarté* magazine as trainee reporter. His military service as paratrooper in Algeria between late 1959 and April 1962, though, remained his most formative experience. Caron's deep reservations about the war—including his own trauma due to the killing of an Algerian fighter—led him to disobey his superiors' orders during the Generals' coup in April 1961. Henceforth, Caron refused to participate in any military operations.²⁰ Consequently, Caron spent several months prior to his release in a military prison. As he wrote in a letter from early July 1961, “[B]eing French is truly something to be ashamed about these days.”²¹ According to his closest associate from Gamma, photographer Raymond Depardon, the “Algerian War” was the root cause of Caron's “anti-institutional rage.”²² It is perhaps not surprising that “France's undeclared war” consolidated Caron's political views as supporter of the PSU, the only party that publicly advocated Algerian independence. As soon as Caron started a professional career of a

²⁰ Fondation Gilles Caron, *Gilles Caron: Scrapbook* (Montreuil-sous-Bois: Éditions Lienart, 2012).

²¹ Gilles Caron, *J'ai voulu voir: Lettres d'Algérie* (Paris: Calmann-Lévy, 2012), 288-99.

²² Raymond Depardon and Christian Caujolle, *Raymond Depardon* (Paris: Édition André Frère, 2014), 14.

photographer in March 1965 at APIS agency, his remarkable talent immediately showed through his coverage of contemporary cultural themes, including Jean-Luc Godard's provocative *Weekend* (1967), musical duo Serge Gainsbourg and Jane Birkin, and British 1960s top model Twiggy.²³ His first news scoop in APIS was the exclusive image of the imprisoned French counter-espionage officer who was implicated in the kidnapping of Moroccan *tiersmondiste* opposition leader Mehdi Ben-Barka in October 1965.²⁴ By May '68, Caron was already a prominent French photojournalist with an impressive résumé, which included the Six Days War, Vietnam, and Biafra.

In late March 1968, while tension intensified at Nanterre University, Caron and other photojournalists were quick to respond to the spread of student radicalism and provocation on the new campus. As their images from the ultramodern academic facility in the capital's western outskirt showed, Nanterre turned out to be the opposite of what de Gaulle's government had intended. Their images in fact refuted the utopic vision of the exemplary ultra-modern educational institutions in official state publications, such as *France and the Rising Generation*, discussed previously. In the hectic weeks prior to the closing of the academic institution in early May, photographers' focused primarily on graffiti slogans on the walls of Nanterre. Both Kagan and Caron showed students and faculty members against the background of unauthorized writings, such as "[F]ascists who fled Dien Bien Phu, you'll not be able escape Nanterre," "[F]ascism to the dustbin of history," or "[P]rofessors, you are old, and so is your culture" [figs. 4.2, 4.3 & 4.4]. As their images and contact sheets indicate, both photographers focused primarily on female students, especially those with provocative, sexually implicit appearances. The focus on gender helped visually distill the issue of the *enragés* radicalism with their protest against restrictions on women's dormitory into a single

²³ After Caron left APIS in mid-1966, he worked several months photographing celebrities for Vizo agency, as well as the fashion agency Photographic Service, Fondation Gilles Caron, *Gilles Caron: Scrapbook*, 102.

²⁴ "C'est la promenade de Finville à la Santé," *France-Soir* (February 20-21, 1965) : 1.

image, which had a better chance to be published in the press. Further evidence suggesting how photographers attempted visualize Nanterre's dysfunctional state can be seen in Caron's emphasis on the contrast between the hyper modern campus and the nearby shantytown of Algerian workers [fig. 4.5]. Indeed, the bleak image of contemporary French University in *L'Express* was clearly in tune with the critique by influential intellectuals, notably Marxist thinker Henri Lefebvre, who taught in Nanterre.

When student unrest reached the Latin Quarter after classes were suspended in Nanterre in early May, photojournalists turned their lenses towards Daniel Cohn-Bendit. The threat of violence between Left and Right wing student groups within the Latin Quarter since May 3 intensified media interest in Cohn-Bendit's disciplinary hearing, held three days later at the Sorbonne. More than Jacques Sauvageot from the UNEF and Alain Geismar from the SNESup (*Syndicat national de l'enseignement supérieur*), Dany was the most obvious symbol of the students' anti-institutional radical energy. The *enragé* from Nanterre was not only responsible for the occupation of the girls' dormitory and provoking the Minister of Youth and Sports François Missoffe at the university swimming pool (that started Cohn-Bendit's media breakthrough);²⁵ he had also led the occupation of an administrative building on March 22. Dany's somewhat distinctive red hair—a French variation of Socialist German student leader Rudi Dutschke (who was nicknamed the Red)—helped visually concretize his image as the new face of student radicalism. Charismatic Cohn-Bendit, a Jew of German decent born in France but chose German nationality to avoid military service, stirred immense media hype precisely because he eloquently embodied the anxiety of the adult world, an excellent sales promoter. Consequently, when the media-savvy *enragé* approached with fellow *nanterrois* students the Sorbonne for the hearing, photographers and journalists immediately surrounded him [fig. 4.6]. The instant in which Cohn-Bendit provoked a CRS

²⁵ Seidman, *The Imaginary Revolution*, 60.

policeman by singing the Internationale at the entrance of France's prestigious, age-old university became the uncontested icon for the spreading of student revolt to the capital. It invited readers view the scene as synecdoche of French youth's heretical attitudes toward authority, labor, sexuality, politics and nationality. Photographers' fascinations with Cohn-Bendit explain why Caron spent two rolls of film on the scene, sparing only three shots for police prefect Maurice Grimaud walking nearby. Moreover, the violent eruption later that day between student groups and the police in the Latin Quarter encoded this minor, almost insignificant gesture with great symbolic meaning. Similar variations of this scene were widely published in press, such as the full-page color photo in *Paris Match* by staff photographer Georges Melet and Jacques Haillot's from APIS in *L'Express* [figs. 4.7 & 4.8]. Caron's now iconic image of the scene was published at the time only in much smaller publications.

The disturbing images that soon started arriving from the Latin Quarter revealed that the capital faced large-scale violence, which thoroughly tarnish its image as the "heroic city."²⁶ The double-page color image by *Paris Match* photographer Patrice Habans of Saint-Germain-des-près showed the events as the ultimate contrast of humanist iconography [fig. 4.9].²⁷ Habans' wide-angle view from above—and in color—showed one of the capital's most vibrant cultural locations full of debris and wounded lying on an intersection, where protestors had attempted to build a barricade. The gathering masses behind the crossroad, which appeared in the background of the frame, showed how worrisome the situation had become. If anything, the images of masses of young protestors in boulevard Saint-Germain were reminiscent of the urban turmoil in Algiers, whether of *Pieds Noirs* or Muslims, several years before. A closer look at the scene from below only accentuated the sense of national

²⁶ Rosemary Wakeman, *The Heroic City*.

²⁷ Caron's images of the protestors show them marching through many of the capital's central locations, such as Place de la Victoire, and avenue de l'Opéra. Gilles Caron, *mai 68*, Fondation Gilles Caron (Dijon).

emergency. The raw and slightly blurry photographs of students attacking police vehicles, which transported their peers, personify the threat of *enragés* turning the capital's student district into a specter of violence [fig. 4.10].

Even more daunting was the government's severe miscalculation, which resulted in extensive police repression of the students, who embodied the hopes and fears of French society concerning the future. With the aim of shocking its readers, *L'Express* chose Caron's image of an unconscious demonstrator lying with his face on the asphalt with a police squad, walking past him without paying attention to his medical condition [fig. 4.11]. As the following exposures in the photographer's contact sheet reveal, however, a medical team quickly evacuated the wounded. Yet Caron's iconic image of a CRS chasing a youth, published on a double-page of *Paris Match*, gave readers a more intimate glimpse at the dynamic of violent clashes between students and the forces of order in early May [fig. 4.12]. Caron's image was especially dramatic because it successfully froze the split-second in which a policeman, carrying a *pavé* in one hand and a club in the other, chased the youngster who probably threw it at him in the midst of a nightly pursuit. This close-up of the nightly skirmishes in the Latin Quarter certainly meets Henri Cartier-Bresson's criteria for the "decisive moment" in his 1952 *Images à la sauvette*.²⁸ In similar ways to Habans' color image, which was made possible by the use of Ektacrome X film, Caron's photo was achieved through the use of flash on the new Nikon F-series single lens reflex camera, another technical advancement that extended photojournalists' capacities to cover the news during nighttime. Rather than seeing pictures of injured demonstrators after the fact, by the late 1960s, press readers could witness the most dramatic instances almost firsthand.

²⁸ Henri Cartier-Bresson, *Images à la sauvette* (Paris: Éditions Verve, 1952), 6.



Illustration 7: Gilles Caron, May 30, 1968

As Caron's photograph suggests, the extent of photojournalistic coverage of police repression during May '68 was unparalleled. Presenting police violence by the mainstream press was unthinkable several years before. Yet precisely because dehumanizing images of police repression quickly became the most dominant photographic trope during the first weeks of May, public opinion grew increasingly hostile of the forces of order and in favor of the demonstrators. Throughout the twentieth century, explains Seidman, the policeman was for French society a despised figure, occupying a status similar to that of the priest during the nineteenth century.²⁹ Yet from an iconographic standpoint, May '68 opened new visual possibilities to represent police repression more bluntly than before. For instance, Doisneau's ironic image of a gendarme from the early 1950s pales in comparison to the brutal and violent representations of the forces of order in May '68 [fig. 4.13]. Clearly, photojournalists were drawn to the impersonal figure of the gendarme, often shown in a menacing or violent posture, like a magnet [figs. 4.14, 4.15, 4.16 & 4.17]. Photojournalists and the magazine press continuously contrasted faceless and fully armed policemen with victimized innocent

²⁹ Seidman, *The Imaginary Revolution*, 110.

civilians. The utmost embodiment of the policeman was, of course, the CRS with its long Gestapo-style black leather trench coat, distinctive helmet, goggles, metal shield and the eternal *matraque*.³⁰ Such critical views were not unique to Left-oriented news magazines. *Paris Match* published equally disturbing images of blind and excessive police brutality against demonstrators and innocent civilians alike by the same photojournalists. This visual saturation of police excessive use of force, I argue, went beyond depicting the government error and limited capacity to contain the grassroots protests. Photojournalists in fact implied possible thread connecting contemporary violence against innocent civilians with police cooperation during the Occupation, as well as its involvement in anti-legal repression during the Algerian War. In light of condemnatory visual evidence against the forces of order, prefect Grimaud issued a letter to his personnel in late May regarding “our reputation” due to “excesses in the use of force” that the “press, deplorably, cited separate incidents out of context to publically condemn the police.”³¹ Even though Grimaud’s letter did not refer directly to photographers or radio broadcasters, the prefect clearly expressed his deep concern about the impact of live coverage by journalists.

In contrast to state repression, photojournalists enhanced the demonstrators’ reenactment of their republican self-perception through iconic symbols from France’s revolutionary past. In their attempt to pinpoint the political meaning of an overwhelmingly swift and contingent grassroots wave of protest, news photographers molded contemporary sights into familiar patterns – metaphors the French live by, to paraphrase the title of George Lakoff and Mark Johnson famous book.³² The barricade, a longstanding tactic of urban warfare the people of Paris used since the 1830 and 1848 revolutions, through the Paris

³⁰ On the etymology of the word *matraque* since the Algerian War, see: Kristin Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies* (Cambridge, MA: MIT press, 1995), 79.

³¹ Maurice Grimaud, internal police letter from May 29, 1968, *Liaisons* [police review] (2008: special edition on May ’68): 6-7.

³² George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, *Metaphores We Live By* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1980).

Commune and the Liberation wherein protestors blocked streets with “barrels” (*barriques*) was a highly prominent republican symbol that photographers thoroughly documented during May ‘68.³³ Regardless of its military ineffectiveness—especially during the Liberation—photojournalists sought this well-known historical motif as emblem of a *repetitive* pattern of French political memory to emphasize the sense of national drama during May ‘68. Focusing on the symbol of the barricade, news photographers accentuated its political relevance to contemporary reality in late 1960s France. As the barricade image by Gamma photographer Jean-Pierre Bonnotte implies, after two decades of national reconstruction and rapid modernization, the accelerated changes in daily life under the Fifth Republic were turned upside down [figs. 4.18, 4.19, 4.20 & 4.21].³⁴ Bonnotte’s ironic framing features a barricade with a street-sign “pedestrians” pointing towards the people standing on the barricade. The barricade itself, moreover, was literally made from two highly symbolic elements in French postwar photography: cobblestones (*pavés*) and cars. As seen in the first chapter, the Parisian cobblestone symbolized a popular conception of republicanism. The car, however, was an emblem of reconstruction in general and consumer society in particular. Photojournalists therefore orchestrated the demonstrators’ choreography of republican signs and symbols, which also included the pike or a Phrygian cap that were used to delegitimize the state’s claim to embody republicanism exclusively [figs. 4.22 & 4.23].

Photojournalists constructed republican revolutionary icons even more actively during May ‘68 when it came to the symbol of the Republic: Marianne. The story of what became known as the “Marianne of May ‘68” by Gamma photographer Jean-Pierre Rey sheds light on how this strong visual image came into being [fig. 4.24]. Similar to Caron, the Algerian War was also the formative experience of twenty year-old Rey. To avoid military service in

³³ Seidmann, *The Imaginary Revolution*, 97.

³⁴ On the role of consumerism in ordering daily life in France during the 1950s and early 1960s, see Kristin Ross, *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies*, 126-56.

1956, the young Rey escaped to Sweden for 18 months, but was sent to Algeria in a disciplinary battalion shortly after his return to France. This episode elucidates the source of his critical perspective, which was attentive to the young demonstrators' anti-institutionalism. Scholars have previously noted the parallels between Eugène Delacroix's 1830 monumental painting, "Liberty Leading the People" (above a barricade), and Rey's photograph of a young woman carrying a flag on May 13.³⁵ Yet the image also reveals how the photojournalist used a pre-existing republican symbol, Marianne, to incorporate a contemporary international element: the Vietcong flag, which represented the *tiermondiste* political engagement of many of the young protestors. Three decades later, the woman in the frame, Caroline de Bendern, told *Paris Match* her version of the incident. Once aware of the presence of photographers, she noted, "[B]eing a model, I instinctively started playing a role. . . I even thought about the French Revolution."³⁶ There is no doubt that Rey himself was well aware of the image's symbolic meaning. He not only photographed the scene from different angles, as Audrey Leblanc shows, but also photographed another "Marianne" on the same *manif*.³⁷ This time, another young woman, also carried by a fellow demonstrator above the rest of the crowd, held a black flag. This image appeared in two different versions in *Le Nouvel observateur* and *Paris Match* [fig. 4.25]. Rey's Marianne clearly became the reference point for other photojournalists, among them Caron, who consistently sought parallels in the following demonstrations, including the Charléty stadium on May 27, the CGT on May 29, as well as the grand Gaullist march along the Champs Élysées the following day [fig. 4.26]. Given the proliferation of Marianne-related iconography, it is not surprising that *Paris Match* chose for

³⁵ Ariane Sarah Richards, *Mai 68: L'Evolution de la mémoire culturelle et des icônes à travers la photographie*, 235-36.

³⁶ *Paris Match* 2553 (January 13, 2000): 75.

³⁷ Audrey Leblanc, "De la photographie d'actualité à l'icône médiatique: 'La jeune fille au drapeau' devient 'la Marianne de 68'" (January, 2010), <<http://culturevisuelle.org/clindeloil/2010/01/06/de-la-photographie-dactualite-a-licone-mediastique-%C2%AB-la-jeune-fille-au-drapeau-%C2%BB-devient-%C2%AB-la-marianne-de-68-%C2%BB-12/>>, last accessed: August 19, 2015.

its cover of the June “historical” summary of the events, two side by side color variations, one carrying a red flag the other a tricolor [fig. 4. 27].

Photojournalism not only satisfied the public’s immense curiosity to see what actually occurred behind the gates of the occupied Sorbonne; it also inspired the students’ cultural battle. Immediately after students seized control of the Sorbonne on May 15, news photographers made visible how they transformed the “bourgeois” and “repressive” University into a “crucible of a cultural revolution,” to quote the subtitle of Katherina Clark’s famous book on Saint-Petersburg after the First World War.³⁸ The main technical device Gamma photographer François Rodicq used to represent this incident was the fish-eye super wide-angle lens, which created a distorting effect that de-familiarize the known sight of Sorbonne courtyard into something increasingly foreign [fig. 4.28].³⁹ Additional interior views of the courtyard delved into the striking contrasts between the institution’s monumental and monarchic décor, such as the columns and statues, with student contestation of authority and internationalist or *tiersmondiste* political radicalism. These contrasts were shown through graffiti slogans like “liberate speech” on Louis Pasteur’s statue or sticking a red flag on the famous sculpture of Victor Hugo, as well as stands with images of Chairman Mao, Che Guevara and Marx [figs. 4.29, 4.30 & 4.31]. To render the news from the Sorbonne more accessible for readers, however, photojournalists anchored their images in the context of French political culture. Addressing readers’ concern that the destruction of the Place Vendôme column by the Paris Commune in 1871 might repeat itself, news photographs proved uncontestably that the students’ aim was to defy order rather than to destroy it.⁴⁰ At the same time, the images by news photographers also inspired the artists at the *Atelier*

³⁸ Katherina Clark, *Petersburg: Crucible of a Cultural Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998).

³⁹ On “defamiliarization” as a key artistic device, see: Viktor Shklovsky, “Art as Technique,” in *Global Literary Theory: An Anthology*, Richard L. Jane, ed. (New York: Routledge, 2013), 5-9.

⁴⁰ On the destruction of the column of Place Vendôme by the Commune of Paris in 1871, see: Matt K. Matsuda, *The Memory of the Modern* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 19-40.

Populaire in the Beaux Arts School who created the iconic revolutionary posters during May '68 [figs. 4.32, 4.33, 4.34 & 4.35]. In a complementary way, photojournalists—among them twenty seven year-old Bruno Barbey from Magnum—took images of posters that could be seen only in limited areas of the capital, rendering one of May's most distinctive visual symbols accessible to the rest of French society [figs. 4.36 & 4.8]. As can be seen in the coverage of *Le Nouvel Observateur* photographer Serge Hambourg, the Sorbonne courtyard itself became a platform to exhibit photographs of the events during May '68 [fig. 4.37].

With the spreading of protest “against repression” to the Communist party and its affiliated trade union on May 13, and especially with the massive expansion of workers' strikes since May 20, photojournalists framed May '68 as grand Popular Front remake. On the CGT's mass demonstration in favor of “popular government” on May 29—when power vacuum seemed most acute—, Caron photographed the iconic image of protesting worker [fig. 4.38]. As we have seen, the gesture of the raised fist by an older militant demonstrator alluded to the Popular Front, an historical analogy that seemed plausible at that point in time. Photojournalists, moreover, used another iconographic parallel to the late 1930s, namely workers' sit down in the factories as means of discouraging the government from forcefully evacuating the premises [fig. 4.39]. Yet while visually referencing to the late 1930s, photojournalists created distinctive contemporary political icons. One of its most notable emblems was the image of a joint worker-student militancy during May '68, such as the *Paris Match* color photograph of a hanged effigy of a manager at the entrance to the Citroën car factory at the Javel Seine banks to a cheering young crowd [fig. 4.40]. *L'Express* staff photographer Manuel Bidermanas (son of humanist photographer Izis) and Barbey also photographed this somewhat iconic factory gate. Another example of photojournalists' dramatization of a potential student-worker alliance is a photo taken by Jean-Pierre Bonnotte (from Gamma) from the midst of the marching crowd towards the Renault factory in

Billancourt on May 17 [fig. 4.41]. At the same time, though, photojournalists remained committed to their duty to uncover what had happened, that is, to inform readers that the vast majority of factories remained closed for students, who were not allowed to enter and fraternize with the workers [fig. 4.42]. As their images showed, France's major workers' unions, although facing great difficulty, ultimately maintained their control over the workers, and the gates of the occupied factories as a result remained shut [fig. 4.43]. In this sense, news photographers during May '68 (unlike their predecessors from the late 1930s) did not limit their work to general illustrations of striking workers. Rather, they made sure to bare witness to the most important news instances in French labor history, such as when CGT union leaders Georges Séguy and Benoît Francon were unable to convince the rank and file of the Renault factory in Billancourt to accept the Grenelle Accord [fig. 4.44]. Consequently, the image by Gamma photographer Jean Lattès was published in all news magazines. By the same token, news photographers were also present where major violent clashes between student and workers with police forces in Flins on June 7, several days before Maoist high school student Gilles Tautin found his death [fig. 4.45].

The photojournalistic coverage of the spreading of both spontaneous and organized mass demonstrations to the rest of France's social and political sectors helped consolidate May '68 as postwar reenactment of the Popular Front.⁴¹ The iconographic rigidity in the communist press, which a quarter of newsreaders consumed, used photographic imagery reminiscent of Popular Front as means of legitimizing PCF claim to leadership of the protest movement. Maurice Cantacuzene's large—and sole—color photograph of the mass demonstration from May 13 in *l'Humanité Dimanche* reflected how *le peuple* was viewed as

⁴¹ On May '68 as founding historical event that consolidated the Franco-French conflict between catholic and monarchic Right and the Republican Left, see: Pierre Birnbaum, *The Idea of France*, trans. by M.B. DeBevoise (New York: Hill and Wang, 2001), 16-9.

obediently following the directives of the PCF and CGT [fig. 4.46].⁴² The image's perspective from above and overall framing enabled the viewer to observe from afar the disciplined masses carrying huge CGT banner alongside the monumental national statue at Place de la République. Photojournalists, however, also covered demonstrations that were not organized by political parties and trade unions. In the capital, for instance, Lattès and Barbey photographed the march by theater and cinema actors crossing the ORTF seat, while its striking employees expressed their solidarity [fig. 4.47]. Similar to the students, the marchers' raised fist sign undermined the authority of the PCF as an exclusive representative of socialism. On May 27, the Charléty meeting, on which *Le Nouvel observateur* reported extensively, was probably the largest and most significant grassroots demonstration during May '68 [fig. 4.48]. Photojournalists also covered anti-government protests and demonstrations by peasants, students and town dwellers in provincial towns. On this front too, Gamma photographers took the lead, whether the demonstrations took place in Le Mans, Redon, or Nantes [figs. 4.49, 4.50, 4.51 & 4.52].⁴³ Yet the ultimate mass demonstration that helped consolidate May '68 as national wave of spontaneous republicanism was the (orchestrated) pro-government *manif* following de Gaulle's (second) speech on May 30. Similar to the institutionalized Left, it took place in a well-chosen and highly symbolic location, featuring for the camera its own set of national icons: the tricolor, against the backdrop of the *Arc de Triomphe*, as Barbey's iconic photograph in *Paris Match* shows [fig. 4.53]. This broad framework of republican iconography explains why Caron's somewhat

⁴² On photography in the Communist press during May '68, see: Danielle Tartakowsky, *Mai 68: instantanés d'Humanité* (Bobigny: Conseil général de la Seine-Saint-Denis, 2008).

⁴³ For a historical discussion on events outside the capital see, Michelle Zancarini-Fournel, "The local, regional, and national in May-June 1968," in *May 68: Rethinking France's Last Revolution*, Julian Jackson *et al.*, eds., 178-87.

peripheral images of the demonstration featuring *Algérie française* militants, were not published in the major news magazines.⁴⁴

The inclusion of the nation's political leadership in the frame helped consolidate May '68 as France's foremost "republican moment" after the Second World War. Beyond standardized photo-op at the *conseil des ministres* for the daily and magazine press, photojournalists systematically recorded politicians taking active part in the events. This primarily concerned politicians' face-to-face encounter during rallies with the demonstrators they represented. For example, one of Caron's most famous images of politicians during May '68 is that of PSU representative Pierre Mendès France, who attended the Charléty meeting with Michel Rocard. Caron, who was in favor of Mendès France's leadership of the French Left, photographed the former Prime Minister surrounded by young supporters. Given the potential of the Charléty meeting to become a watershed-moment for the new French Left, a possibility that *Le Nouvel Observateur* strongly advocated, the magazine displayed Caron's image as the event's major icon [fig. 4.54]. Another notable political event Caron captured on film was the Gaullist demonstration on May 30, in the course of which he and his peers photographed eminent UDR figures as they were marching towards the *Arc de Triomphe* and leading their supporters towards the grave of the unknown soldier while chanting *la marseillaise* [fig. 4.55]. The prominent photojournalist was not only present at every important demonstration, including the mass communist manifestations on May 13 and 29. He also accompanied de Gaulle's hasty visit to Romania on May 14-17. Just as *Paris Match* exulted in the seeming spontaneity of Gaullists André Malraux and Michel Debré, *Le Nouvel Observateur* chose political images that best supported its editorial line. Whatever their ideological differences, both magazines published what was undoubtedly the greatest political scoop by photojournalist during May '68. During de Gaulle's "disappearance,"

⁴⁴ On the extreme Right during May '68, see: Todd Shepard, "Algerian Reveries on the Far Right: Thinking about Algeria to Change France in 1968," in *May 68: Rethinking France's Last Revolution*, 76-92.

Henri Bureau from Gamma photographed the President near his helicopter at Saint-Dizier (Haute-Marne). Regardless of possible interpretations of the image, its significance stems from its existence as the “only document of de Gaulle’s mysterious voyage,” according to *Paris Match*.⁴⁵ Bureau’s photograph was thus the sole publically available evidence of the President’s departure to meet with General Massu in Baden Baden, a dramatic incident that concretized the potential threat of military intervention in case violent protests continued [fig. 4.56]. Another scoop, although less dramatic, was the image of the opposition leader, François Mitterrand, on the verge of exchanging blows with a UDR representative at the National Assembly, which was to reach a tipping point several days later during the non-confidence vote on May 23 [fig. 4.57].

As much as France’s republican turmoil might have seemed invigorating at times, images of the nation’s paralysis remained profoundly daunting for public opinion. Photographs of the country coming to a grinding halt created a sharp dissonance with the dominant postwar iconography of national reconstruction in general and accelerated modernization in particular [figs. 4.58]. During May ’68, photojournalists created a powerful contrast between prevalent preexisting iconography of consumer society and contemporary images of a paralyzed French economy. Images of hopeless drivers with automobiles deprived of fuel are just one example. More importantly, in the midst of the Cold War, scenes of long queues of frustrated buyers in front of empty supermarkets were disturbingly reminiscent of the Communist Eastern bloc. Whereas humanist photographers celebrated the beauty of national monuments during the late 1940s and early 1950s, in May ’68 these were shown in a state of decay. Caron’s contact sheets reveals how photojournalists attempted to dramatize the gravity of the longest strike in European labor history through careful compositions of major national sites, such as the Eiffel Tower and the Opera, from a

⁴⁵ *Paris Match* 998 (15-22 June, 1968): 93.

perspective that featured them as inundated in garbage. In this regard, Caron's photograph of the Eiffel Tour is strikingly antithetical to that by humanist photographers, who celebrated the beauty of these national sites from the early 1950s [figs. 4.59 & 4.60]. Photojournalists, moreover, brought disturbing images of ethnic conflicts between Arabs and Jews at the working-class neighborhood of Belleville in early June, a year after the Six Days War [fig. 4.61]. While casting doubt on republican ideology's claims to race-blind (humanist) inclusivity, the incident ironically took place at a neighborhood favored by humanist photographers, notably Willy Ronis, whose famous 1954 photobook was titled *Belleville-Ménilmontant*.

Just as photojournalists uncovered the extent of heavy-handed police violence in early May, their images of protestors' largescale vandalism by late May prompted condemnation by an increasingly weary society. As French society in its entirety became progressively involved in the events, students, whose actions became more desperate and extreme following the Second Night of the Barricades, were gradually excluded from the national frame. Armed with slingshot or a paving stone, wearing a helmet or covered with a kerchief, images of the students became ever more dehumanized, in a vein similar to images of policemen in early May [figs. 4.62, 4.63 & 4.64]. In particular, the public's intolerance of damage to property does much to explain why images of ravaged municipal buildings further weakened the already loose anti-repression coalition.⁴⁶ Moreover, the images of burning cars—another striking contrast with a defining icon of reconstruction and modernization—infuriated even the members of the working class.⁴⁷ The dramatic nightly color photos of fires, and especially the attempt to burn the stock market helped consolidate public opinion against the protestors, which increasingly seemed to lack a coherent or even constructive political agenda [figs. 4.65, 4.66 & 4.67]. It would not be implausible therefore to assume

⁴⁶ Seidman, *The Imaginary Revolution*, 184-88.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

that the vivid images of fires and chaos from late May and early June stirred fear, especially outside the capital, and thus, paradoxically, ended up boosting support for the Gaullist party in the forthcoming elections in late June.

The spectacle of the reinstatement of order, as well as images scapegoating marginal and radical groups, served as the iconographic closure of May '68. Images of the police taking hold of the last bastions of the student revolt—the Sorbonne, the Odéon Theater, and the Beaux Arts School—signaled to the public that it could finally sigh in relief, having been assured that state tolerance to student occupation of public institutions had come to an end [figs. 4.68 & 4.69]. Images of the reinstatement of order, however, were only one side of the coin. The other side was the casting of blame onto small radical groups and foreign minorities as being responsible for the episode's excesses. Both types of imagery served the same goal: re-integrating core social groups, namely students and workers, back into society as decent, law-abiding French citizens. By mid-June, both *L'Express* and *Paris Match* framed Cohn-Bendit as the main promoter of dangerous anarchism in France [fig. 4.70]. The latter's variation was especially telling. The double-page closing image of the photo-essay presented the sociology student walking alone with a suitcase in the middle of the empty Unter den Linden against the background of the Brandenburg Gate. Similar to George Marchais' denunciation of the *enragé*, *Paris Match* delegitimized Cohn-Bendit as dangerous foreigner of "German nationality" who sought to "promote anarchy across Europe."⁴⁸ Another target was the so-called *Katangais* group of alleged "mercenaries" from Africa, as depicted by *Paris Match* and *L'Express*, caught by the lens of photojournalist Göksin Sipahioğlu (who launched Sipa agency in 1969). Sipahioğlu's exclusive photographs emphasized their misbehavior using familiar visual tropes related to young delinquency, such as *blousons noirs*

⁴⁸ *Paris Match* 998 (15-22 June, 1968); 999 (29 June, 1968). On Cohn-Bendit's European tour, see: Richard Ivan Jobs, "The Grand Tour of Daniel Cohn-Bendit and the Europeanism of 1968," in *May 68: Rethinking France's Last Revolution*, 231-44.

and sexual promiscuity. More importantly, his images of group members with improvised weapons appearing against the background of Castro's portrait enabled the French press to cast blame on the *Katangais* as responsible for the students' most dangerous actions [figs. 4.71, 4.72 & 4.73]. The coverage of their escape from the Sorbonne—after being chased away by the students—was therefore crucial to restore the latter's reputation in the mass media. On the workers camp, the widely distributed national weekly published images of African and Algerian workers provoking the forces of order in Flins in early June, even though foreigners remained largely inactive during May '68 [fig. 4.74]. The closing iconographic coda of May '68 thus helped setting the stage for the general elections with the return to order and conventional political life.

Photography remained central to the battle over narrative in the immediate aftermath of May '68, as a wave of popular "historical" publications sought to reframe the event in the media. Even prior to the general elections in late June, *Paris Match* had already "summarized" what had just happened from a standpoint that sharply differed from the magazine's editorial line in early May. Since the general strike that paralyzed France, the eminent news magazine no longer saw student protest as legitimate cause for reform of an outdated educational system. *Paris Match*'s visual "history" of May '68 hence rested on a broad nationalist denominator, which incorporated the main premises of both the institutionalized Left and the Right to condemn the students and workers who defied the establishment.⁴⁹ Having a large supply of images that had been collected over the course of the events, *Paris Match* used photographs, mainly in color, to construe a narrative that celebrated society's re-affirmation of pre-existing political culture and modernization in the face of threatening global challenges.⁵⁰ The country's largest daily newspaper, *France-Soir*, issued a special magazine edition, which

⁴⁹ *Paris Match* 999 (June 29, 1968); 1000 (July 6, 1968).

⁵⁰ Audrey Leblanc, "La couleur de Mai."

recounted “through images” the history of May ’68, adopting nearly identical editorial line as *Paris Match*.⁵¹ Especially telling in this regard is the opening pages of the edition, which contrasted a photograph of the “first student and workers’ *manif* against the Vietnam war in the Latin Quarter on April 21” with an image of an instruction note for preparing Molotov cocktail by the *Mouvement d’Action Universitaire* in Nanterre. The publication made a similar analogy by contrasting a photograph of the three student leaders during radio interview in the morning after the first night of the barricades next to an image of burned vehicles next to a graffiti by students [fig. 4.75]. The magazine concluded its chronological account with Sipahioglu’s double-page photograph of a Gaullist demonstrator waving the tricolor from the top of *Arc de Triomphe* [fig. 4.76].

Noir et Blanc, usually an illustrated magazine that featured images of celebrities, was more critical of the government in its special issue on the “May Days.” Though the editor stated his objective to “inform readers . . . by allowing them to judge for themselves . . . regardless of any bias,” his column nonetheless oriented them towards a set of condemnatory conclusions against de Gaulle’s government. Specifically, he criticized three major flaws the protest wave uncovered: the “fragility of over-confident government,” the “docility of consumer society,” and the danger of the President’s “personalized rule.”⁵² Among the photographs chosen from the main photographic agencies for the publication, Caron’s image of an *Algerie française* activist at the Gaullist mass demonstration was therefore instrumental to delegitimize Gaullism as authentic political representative of the entire nation [fig. 4.77]. Using a fragmentary view of a paramilitary extreme-Right activist, who stood in front of a block of pro-government demonstrators on May 30, the review thus cast doubt over the supporters and interests of the UDR party. Caron, as his contact sheets of the demonstration

⁵¹ “Les journées de mai,” *France Soir magazine* (special number: Augutst, 1968): 5-7.

⁵² “Les journées de mai,” *Noir et Blanc* (Special number: June, 1968): 3-5.

clearly show, was looking for the visual referents, which could illuminate the participants' heterogeneous ideological orientations [fig. 4.78].

Smaller and more politically engaged publications also relied on photojournalism to promote their own interpretations of May '68. On the far right, the satirical "non-conformist" periodical *Le Crapouillot* consecrated its summer publication to denounce the Fifth Republic's leading political figures, as well as the protesters [fig. 4.79]. In his editorial, polemicist writer Henri Jeanson condemned de Gaulle's, arguing that the "General costs us more than he delivers."⁵³ The juxtaposition of photographs and interpretative captions accentuated the regime's mishandling of the crisis on the one hand and the students' hollow claims on the other. For instance, below the image of CRS facing students at the entrance to the Sorbonne [fig. 4.68, the image on the right], the caption explains: "Pierrefitte's [Minister of Education] university lacks professors, Fouchet [Minister of Interior] sends him reinforcement." Another example is the photograph of de Gaulle drinking from a bottle, which was captioned: "[I]n Romania, de Gaulle lifts the morale by drinking local brandy." On the radical Left, the review *l'Événement* narrated May '68 from a *tiersmondiste* standpoint, using images by militant photographers, among them Élie Kagan and Annette Léna. Emmanuel d'Astier de La Vigerie, editor of the newspaper *Libération*, which attacked government policies during the Algerian War, praised youth protest during May '68. According to d'Astier, French youth "questioned the rules of the game, the established order, . . . sacred wars, the races, the inevitable famine of underdeveloped countries, social injustice, and the privileges of affluent counties."⁵⁴ Moreover, *l'Événement* insisted that the young have restored the true meaning of socialism, namely that of "participation, responsibility, self-management, soviet" after the French institutionalized Left—which cherished

⁵³ Henri Jeanson, "1958-1968: Les dix ans de malheur du Général Pétain," *Le Crapouillot* 3 (new series: Summer, 1968): 6.

⁵⁴ Emmanuel d'Astier, "Regard sur l'événement," *l'Evenement: Premiere histoire de la revolution de Mai* (June, 1968): 16-20.

“obedience” and the dichotomy between those “governing and the governed”—had distorted it.⁵⁵ It is perhaps not surprising that Kagan’s photograph of a policeman shooting tear gas horizontally, which was dangerous and forbidden, illustrated the review’s cover [fig. 4.80].

Individuals and organizations who were directly involved in the events obviously sought to use available photographic corpus to promote their own agendas about “what [exactly] happened” during May ’68. In June, the UNEF and the SNE Sup published *Le Livre noir des journées de mai*, which the police sued for libel. The book featured raw images of police brutality by amateur photographer Jean-Pierre Bauteloup, intended as a means of corroborating students’ testimonies, which were collected from the daily press [fig. 4.81]. The book’s objective was to bring back the focus on police repression in early May as a means of reclaiming for students the privileged status of victims they had lost later that month.⁵⁶ Probably the most notable example of a publication by a person who used photography extensively to justify his involvement in the events was senior ORTF journalist Philippe Labro. Soon after Labro was fired after police broke the strike, and Minister of Information Yves Guéna dismissed all personnel who participated in the work stoppage, he published *Les Barricades de Mai*.⁵⁷ Acutely aware of the advantages peripheral radio stations such as RTL and Europe One had over the ORTF, Labro harnessed photojournalism to give greater credibility to his interpretation of May ’68, producing a chronological “testimony through images.” For the news-magazine-based platform, he chose a hundred and thirty images by four Gamma photojournalists (Caron, Bureau, Bonotte and Lattès) to construct a Manichean account of old versus young France. Caron’s presently iconic image of the gendarmes in the Latin Quarter, which made its first appearance in this publication, was

⁵⁵ Ibid., 16-7.

⁵⁶ UNEF and SNE Sup, *Le Livre noir des journées de mai* (Paris: Éditions du Seuil, 1968). See also: René Backmann and Lucien Rioux, *L'Explosion de mai: 11 mai 1968, histoire complète des événements* (Paris: R. Laffon, 1969). Backmann and Rioux, engaged journalists from *Le Nouvel observateur* who were affiliates of the March 22 Movement, sought to denounce police infiltration *gauchistes* organizations, as well as denied accusations within these circles of a Maoist coup within the movement.

⁵⁷ Philippe Labro, *Les Barricades de Mai* (Paris: Solar, 1968), 6.

captioned by the author to fit his account of the events [fig. 4.82]: “There is no need for text to comment on this portrait of the forces of order that the young were facing for fifteen days as they got to know the taste of violence.”⁵⁸ By the same token, Labro cherished the “grand pacifist” meeting at Charléty stadium as a formative event that most probably resulted in the “birth of a new political party.”⁵⁹ As Kristin Ross argues in *May '68 and its Afterlives*, the “subsequent representations” of the events, especially by “ex-student leaders who have claimed monopoly on its memory,” have overtaken the event’s historical narrative.⁶⁰ For an event that was so hard to pinpoint, the broad photographic corpus was instrumental in boosting the public image of those directly involved. As Ariane Richards shows in her study on photography and cultural memory of May '68 in France from the 1970s to the present, such imagery was often used to advance their careers rather than promote political agendas such as feminism.⁶¹

May '68 as anti-institutional aesthetic moment:

As soon as one places side-by-side Sabine Weiss’ iconic humanist image from 1953, “Towards the Light,” and Jean Pottier’s photograph of a barricade from May 11, 1968, their antithetical nature becomes immediately apparent [figs. 4.83 & 4.84]. In the former, the symbolic contrast between light and shadow channels the viewer’s gaze towards the anonymous protagonist’s oblivious run towards the radiant sunlight on the Parisian cobblestones. This lyrical icon, which was reproduced in numerous book publications during the 1950s, eloquently articulated the hope and optimism of contemporaries during the era of national reconstruction. In a diametrically opposed way, Pottier’s bluntly lit scene exposes

⁵⁸ Ibid., 7-8,

⁵⁹ Ibid., 54.

⁶⁰ Kristin Ross, *May '68 and its afterlives*, 1.

⁶¹ Ariane Sarah Richards, *Mai 68: L'Evolution de la mémoire culturelle et des icônes à travers la photographie*, 114-66; 214-52.

the disturbing view of accumulated pile of removed cobblestones, which looks like a wall, behind which dark figures of armed policemen stand in line. Paradoxically, at time of great economic prosperity, the image powerfully encodes May '68 as moment of profound disillusionment *vis-à-vis* the state in general and the authorities in particular. It also shows Paris, the “heroic city,” in an entirely new light. Pottier’s anti-humanist icon was one of 250 images which were presented at the photographic exhibition by *Les 30x40*, the capital’s semi-professional photographic association, during the May-June events. Unlike the role photojournalism played in the press, namely to inform the public, this show promoted similar iconography to advance the recognition of photography’s *aesthetic* qualities, which have been neglected in the past decade.

In the spirit of *autogestion*, photographers’ grassroots initiative to present their view of the May-June events was the driving force behind the exhibition: “250 photos: Paris, May 1968.” After the First Night of the Barricades on May 10, affiliated members of *Les 30x40*, among them freelance photographer Jean Pottier, came to hang their prints at the association’s exhibition hall at the *Maison des jeunes et de la culture* at Mouffetard Street in the Latin Quarter. Within two days, about two thousand images by various photographers—including Bruno Barbey Marc Riboud and Henri Cartier-Bresson from Magnum, as well as Jean-Philippe Charbonnier, Claude-Raymond Dytivon, Marc Garanger, Janine Nièpce, and the apprentices of the Vaugirard Photography and Cinema School—were gathered. Going over this extensive visual reservoir, the members of the association chose 250 photographs to be exhibited between June 20 and late July [fig. 4.85]. In practice, the exhibition was open to the public by mid-May, attracting a large number of visitors, according to Jean-Claude Gautrand, an association member and one of the presenters at the show.⁶² By the second of

⁶² Jean-Claude Gautrand, “Les expositions photographiques: Mai 68,” *Jeune photographie* 59 (November-December 1968), 15-9. For more on the show’s early closing, see: Paul Oury, “Contrainte à la fermeture, l’exposition ‘Paris mai 68’ poursuivra son existence en province,” *Journalistes, Reporters, Photographes* 15 (June 1968): 7.

July, however, the growing agitation among Right wing militant groups in the Latin Quarter led to the early closing of the exhibition.⁶³ From there, it migrated for several months to Switzerland and Vienna, where it was published as a book (with Pottier's image on its cover), and continued—after the French police examined the prints—its journey to other parts of France.⁶⁴

The Parisian photographers' association was launched in 1952 by Roger Doloy as an alternative to the exclusive and aristocratic *Groupe des XV*. The club for professional and enthusiasts alike held weekly meetings, which enabled young photographers broaden their horizons of the medium through encounters with eminent French and international photographers. It also held critical discussions on photography.⁶⁵ To advocate its aesthetic recognition in France, the association issued between 1958 and 1976 the review *Jeune Photographie: Cahiers du Club photographique de Paris*. This goal ultimately led Doloy to closely cooperate with Albert Plécy, who presided the association *Gens d'Images*, which handed the prizes for photographer of the year (Niépce), as well as the year's best photo book (Nadar). *Les 30x40* (named after the standardized photographic prints size) indeed gained increased notoriety during the 1960s among Parisian professional photographers, as well as enthusiasts. In addition to humanist participants, such as Doisneau and Ronis, its membership also included still-life photographers Jean-Claude Gautrand and Jean Dieuzaide from the group *Libre Expression*, whose exploration of new forms of aesthetic creativity was deeply influenced by Otto Steinert's *Subjective fotografie*.⁶⁶

The exhibition on May '68 in the capital by *Les 30x40* featured a grand “sensational reportage” of a dramatic national event from photographers' point of view, regardless of the

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ *Paris mai 68: 250 Photographien Museum des 20 Jahrhunderts Schweizergarten* (Vienna: Museum des 20 Jahrhunderts Schweizergarten, 1968).

⁶⁵ Claude Nori, *La photographie en France: Des origins à nos jours* (Paris: Flammarion, 2008), 153.

⁶⁶ On *Libre Expression*, see: Claude Nori, *La photographie française*, 153-54. On Subjective fotografie, see: Otto Steinert and Franz Roh, *Subjektive Fotografie: Un recueil de photographies modernes* (Bonn, Munich: Auer Verlag, 1952).

demands of the national press. In the spirit of May '68, *Jeune photographie* presented the show as a grassroots endeavor, offering a “collective” testimony that was “both an analysis and a synthesis” of the event.⁶⁷ Through a series of visual “historical documents,” argued Gautrand, Parisian photographers were able to render a broad yet nuanced “objective” account of the event in its totality, unlike the “failure of the press to do so.”⁶⁸ They thus presented to the public an unflattering mirror that was both deeply disturbing and powerfully evocative. This experience, he added, gave the exhibiting photographers a taste of the difficult working conditions photojournalists had to endure, namely being subjected to “systematic clubbing” (*matraquage*), along with other forms of abuse, by “the ‘so-called’ forces of order.”⁶⁹

Though the exhibition’s content overlapped with photojournalism, the lack of news dictates enabled the participants to devote the show to a more aestheticized view of May '68. This was the case of freelance photographer Jacques Windenberger, who stood next to Jean-Pierre Rey while photographing Caroline de Bendern on May 13. Windenberger, though, focused exclusively on the model, set against the background of the flag and completely isolated from the rest of crowd [fig. 4.86]. Marc Riboud’s and Henri Cartier-Bresson’s views of the Sorbonne were not typical representations that were published by news magazine [figs. 4.87 & 4.88]. Instead, they had a more static and meditative quality, which invited viewers to interpret the contrasting elements in the frame as implicitly signifying a crisis of civilization. Young Claude-Raymond Dytivon, who used Marc Garanger’s press badge to independently cover the events, also chose an “eventless” moment—a nocturnal scene of a demonstrator smoking a cigarette next to a barricade—as means of conveying the unique ambience during

⁶⁷ Jean-Claude Gautrand, “Les expositions photographiques: Mai 68,” 15-9.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 15.

May '68 that fundamentally different from the daily routine in the capital [fig. 4.89].⁷⁰ At the same time, the show also included images that had an purely photojournalist quality, such as the unpublished photograph of policemen retrieving the body of Gilles Tautin from a lake near Flins on June 10 by Angel Muñes de Pablos [figs. 4.90 & 4.91]. Yet the show's main objective was to demonstrate the capacity of contemporary photographic style—notably of young talents like Dytivon—to show new sides to France's most compelling, and fraught episode of the late 1960s.

The exhibition represented women and workers more comprehensively than the press, which construed such images according to their (narrow) social functions. Whereas national news magazines visualized women as victims of police brutality or as symbolic emblem of Marianne, the exhibition granted female participants in May '68 much more agency. In ways similar to his image discussed above, Windenberger's profile shot of young female demonstrators leading the demonstration on May 13 focused on their radiant faces as they were leading the march [fig. 4.92]. Though cropping out the flags the female demonstrators were carrying, this image was in line with Windenberger's efforts to break media stereotype and advocate a more civil and participatory form of image taking, which he advanced in his 1965 book *La photographie, moyen d'expression et instrument de démocratie*.⁷¹

Yet it was Janine Nièpce who addressed the issue of gender most forcefully during May '68. As we have seen, Nièpce was never as prominent a humanist photoactivist as were Doisneau or Ronis, but her militant feminism from the mid-1960s drove her away from the hegemonic notion of "male humanism," to use Michael Kelly's concise definition.⁷² In her famous high-angle shot of demonstrators, Nièpce's composition not only emphasized the extent of female participation but also created a portrait of the radical *soixante-huitarde*. The

⁷⁰ "Le choc revelateur: Claude-Raymond Dytivon," *Photo 129* (January 1978) : 42; 127.

⁷¹ Jacques Windenberger, *La photographie, moyen d'expression et instrument de démocratie* (Paris: les Éditions ouvrières, 1965).

⁷² Michael Kelly, *The Cultural and Intellectual Rebuilding of France*, 120-26.

utter political and radical commitment expressed in the intense gaze of the captivating female protagonist (dressed after Chairman Mao or Che Guevara) towards the camera from the center of the frame constructed an active image for the female young demonstrator during the events [fig. 4.93]. Nièpce's deep concerns about gender were especially important in light of the marginalization of women by the student and protest movement.⁷³

In a similar vein, the show presented prints of factory workers irrespective of their image in the mass media, whether in subjection to trade unions or in historical parallels to the Popular Front. Marc Garanger's aesthetic portraits of rank-and-file employees at the floor level at the Renault factory in Billancourt during their political meeting thus accentuated the sense of agency of blue-color workers, who ultimately turned down the Grenelle Accord [fig. 4.94]. Such portrayal of French workers indeed reflected Garanger's tendency to focus on grassroots social groups during his entire career as a freelance photographer.

As a whole, the exhibition gave a much more comprehensive and intimate view of the student movement, one that transcended its narrow image in the press as either victim of police repression or as criminal-minded vandals. One of the show's most symbolic photographs was Riboud's image, in which a young demonstrator stared at a classic bust which lay on the ground next to a barricade in an unpaved street [fig. 4.95]. The "morning after" setting following the climatic clashes with the forces of order lent itself to a symbolic and reflexive reading of the photograph of the students' perceived rebellion against the authority of the adult world. Another icon of student contestation of authority is Riboud's interior view of artisanal poster production at the Atelier Populaire, which ironically paralleled photographs of the underground French press during the Occupation by humanist photographers such as Doisneau and Izis [fig. 4.96]. Edouard Boubat gave a quieter and more

⁷³ On the disfavoring of women during May '68, see Dorothy Kaufmann-McCall, "Politics of Difference: The Women's Movement in France from May 1968 to Mitterrand," *Signs* 9, 2 (Winter 1983): 282-93. Susan K. Foley, *Women in France since 1789: The Meaning of difference* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004), 233-65.

aestheticized view of the student rebellion against the political establishment in his image of the architecture hall at the Beaux Arts School [fig. 4.97]. The carefully composed, subtle image generated a dissonance between the foreground, in which two students nonchalantly read in the midst of empty chairs, and the background of posters that mock France's political leadership and the forces of order. Claude Palmer's nocturnal scene of a crowd of young protesters running together with a red flag creates a symbolic view of the baby boomers' marching towards to the future. The background of a nearby café, *Le Progès*, symbolically evokes the movement's challenge to contemporary society [fig. 4.98]. The exhibition also included more aggressive representations of young demonstrators' rejection of contemporary values and society. Michel Cabaud's aesthetic image of protestors setting fire of copies of *France-Soir* daily newspapers at Boulevard Sebastopol is clearly something the press refrained from showing [fig. 4.99].

Documentary aesthetic, which state agencies made extensive use of to glorify French modernization during the 1960s, was also central to the show's opposite depiction of May '68. Serge Hambourg's neatly assembled tear-gas grenades, for instance, were a silent synecdoche of the events, indicative of the photographer's inclination to depict major incidents through minor or peripheral elements [fig. 4.100].⁷⁴ Distinctive urban objects that were ubiquitous in the capital also caught photographers' eyes. Philippe Allemand's image of a pile of tree grills, on top of which lay a single cobblestone, shows how still-life photographic aesthetic, identified with the *Libre Expression* group, could make a powerful statement about France's current political crisis [fig. 4.101]. Another example is Maïa Lefevre's evocative image of revolutionary posters on a bus's commercial board [fig. 4.102]. Of course, records of the iconic posters by the Atelier Populaire discussed above were also part of the distinctive aesthetic of May '68. Yet in Lefevre's ironic composition, the posters

⁷⁴ Serge Hambourg, Thomas E. Crow, and Anne Sa'adah, *Protest in Paris 1968* (Hanover, New Hampshire: University Press of New England, 2006), 48.

served to poke fun at consumerism, and in particular to rebuke police collaboration during the Occupation as well as illegal repression during the Algerian War. In other words, she casted Gaullism as prolongation of Vichyite collaboration. And, similarly to Riboud's photo of the Sorbonne, Hambourg's iconic view of the distant Pantheon on the morning after the First Night of the Barricades—with scattered cobblestones in the foreground following—symbolically evoked the daunting question French grandeur [fig. 4.103].

Given the historical characteristics of May '68, it is perhaps not surprising that the exhibition's most powerful aesthetic evocation was dedicated to the theme of protest, urban chaos and violence. Specifically, the photographers who presented their works in the Latin Quarter smashed the humanist paradigm that had dominated and haunted the medium since the end of the Second World War. As the streets of Paris were reinvigorated as a site of revolutionary energy, they were no longer seen as mythical spaces of national heroism or grandeur. Parisians neither expressed their solidarity, warmth and compassion, nor celebrated the city's monumental, ultra-modern architectural complexes. Rather, during May '68 the daunting sights on the streets of the capital revealed the hidden depths of the conflict, evoking the sense of urban guerilla warfare and merciless repression. Cartier-Bresson's image of an anonymous cobblestone launcher, seen from the interior of an empty café terrace brilliantly articulated this pessimistic mood [fig. 4.104]. Dytivon's photograph that illustrated the exhibition constructed an even more chaotic view than Cartier-Bresson's. It presented dark nocturnal figures of demonstrators, as they protect themselves though improvised “medieval weapons” from tear gas grenades [figs. 4.105 & 4.106]. The heavy smog, tear gas and fire hoses, as another of Dityvon's photographs shows, aesthetically enhanced the sense of profound disillusionment among civil society during May '68. Of course, Dytivon and Cartier-Bresson's images were not fundamentally different from powerful instinctive views

by highly competent photojournalists. Gilles Caron's masterful choreography of protest and violence could easily fit this new symbolic iconography of May '68 [fig. 4.107].

At the same time, though, the views of violent protest were not deprived of irony, which was attentive to the demonstrators' own choreography of contestation and provocation. For instance, Lefvre constructed an analogy between the throwing of a cobblestone to a dance pirouette, similar to some of Caron's images [fig. 4.108].⁷⁵ Another humoristic thread of the show came through in photographers' observation and recording of the ways in which urban space took on completely new meanings in the context of the capital's disrupted routine. For instance, Bidermanas' photograph of CRS policemen firing tear gas over a road sign that warned drivers of crossing children produces an ironic dissonance that allowed viewers see characteristic views of May '68 from what might be considered as an "anti-establishment" aesthetic prism [fig. 4.109]. By the same token, Angel Muñes de Pablos creates a similar effect in his image of demonstrators running on the road in all directions while a traffic sign "end of one-way road" stands out in the center of the frame [fig. 4.110]. These bleak and carnivalesque views of May '68 was quite common among a large number of photographers who covered the events.

The major inspiration for the show's anti-humanist aesthetic, I argue, originated from the innovative work of photographer and filmmaker William Klein. In particular, Klein's portrait of what he perceived as a decaying, racist and greedy mid-1950s New York City in the photobook *Life is Good and Good for You in New York* created an alternative platform to humanist photography.⁷⁶ Imitating the sensationalist style of American tabloids, Klein in fact introduced a counter-intuitive photographic approach, using a set of technical and aesthetic devices, including intentional blur, grain, high contrast, strong black tonalities, and wide-

⁷⁵ Gilles Caron, *mai 68*, Fondation Gilles Caron.

⁷⁶ William Klein, *Life is Good & Good for You in New York: Trance Witness Revels* (Paris: Editions du Seuil, 1956).

angle aggressive views that presented New York City in an entirely “new way.”⁷⁷ Specifically, he broke aesthetic and technical taboos in order to de-automatize how contemporaries saw the city using powerful juxtapositions, accompanied by a pseudo ethnographic narration, which was modeled after the *New York Daily News*. Klein used black humor to underline his approach to “photograph a marriage like a raid and vice versa, a demonstration like a family portrait” [figs. 4.111, 4.112, 4.113 & 4.114].⁷⁸ An American Jew from New York who served two years in occupied Europe and settled thereafter in Paris, Klein was first introduced to some of these visual skills as aspiring painter at Fernand Leger’s studio in the late 1940s. In the early 1950s, he thoroughly elaborated them in his experimentations with kinetic light panels at Steinert’s *Subjective Fotografie* group and through his work as fashion photographer for (French) Vogue magazine, which covered the costs of his New York project. In *Life is Good and Good for You in New York*, Klein described his American hometown as humanity’s capital of alienation in the following words:

You often get the impression that New York stores up its fantastic energy for a glorious suicide, and then forgets about it, which amounts to the same thing. It does little really, to preserve itself, much for its ruin: it allows buildings to crumble, its trees to die, shrouds itself in soot and old newspapers, chokes on its traffic, eats garbage, works to death, and in general, drives everyone either mad or numb. Welcome to the capital of Masochism.⁷⁹

Probably the most significant visual trope in Klein’s New York was the typographic spell of omnipresent commercials, especially the one of the dollar neon sign.

It is important to take into account the impact of Klein’s photo book—published two years prior to Robert Frank’s *The Americans*—on French photographers during the 1960s.⁸⁰ The success of *Life is Good* in France was made possible thanks to photographer and filmmaker Chris Marker from *Éditions du Seuil* and Plécy’s association, *Gens d’images*,

⁷⁷ Klein, *Life is Good & Good for You in New York: Trance Witness Revels* (New York: Errate editions, 2010).

⁷⁸ Klein, *New York 54/55* (Paris: Atelier J. M. Bustamante-Bernard Saint-Genes, 1978), 4.

⁷⁹ Klein, *Life is Good* (1956), 130.

⁸⁰ Robert Frank’s photobook was published in France a year before its American edition.

which awarded it the Nadar Prize in 1957. Marker and Plécy clearly tolerated what American editors found offensive, namely the photographer's raw and aggressive style, as well as his extremely critical view of American society. On a more speculative note, I propose that even the young and open minded Marker—or Plécy for the matter—could not have endorsed a similar dehumanizing depiction of Paris by Klein during the mid-1950s. In light of the anti-Americanism prevalent among French cultural elites at the time, Marker and Plécy could embrace without difficulty Klein's innovative photographic approach.⁸¹ But even then, Klein's photobook was heavily criticized in France for its anti-humanism.⁸² Responding to the critique, he undertook in 1958—with the help of Marker and Alain Resnais—making a short color film, *Broadway by Light*, which further elaborated his distinctive visual style in general and his view of the city under the spell of commercial topography in particular.⁸³ In the 1960s, French photographers, who sought to critically address the negative effects of accelerated modernization in general and consumer society in particular, showed growing interest in Klein's crude portrayal of 1950s New York. It should be noted in this regard that during the 1960s, French society had a much better knowledge of American culture, notably with the immense success of *Le défi américain* by general editor of *L'Express*.⁸⁴ May '68 was therefore the ultimate setting to harness Klein's innovative photographic vision in order to visually construct a new image of Paris in accordance with the social, economic and political challenges the French capital was facing. During May '68, to be sure, Klein participated in

⁸¹ On anti-Americanism in postwar France, see: Richard Kuisel, *Seducing the French: the dilemma of Americanization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Kuisel, *The French way: how France embraced and rejected American values and power* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2012); Philippe Roger, *The American Enemy* (Chicago: University Of Chicago Press, 2006), 339-446; Sophie Meunier, "Anti-Americanisms in France," *French politics, Culture & Society*, 23. 2 (Summer 2005): 126-141.

⁸² Roméo E. Martinez, "William Klein: New York: 20 photos," *Camera 3* (March, 1957): 96; Alain Sayag, *Wilaim Klein: Pompidou Center exhibition catalogue* (Paris: Marval, 2005), 5.

⁸³ *Broadway by Light*, William Klein (Neuilly-sur-Seine: Argos Films, 1958).

⁸⁴ Richard Kuisel, *Seducing the French*, 103-231; Jean-Jacques Servan-Schreiber, *Le défi américain* (Paris: Denoël, 1967).

the exhibition by *Les 30x40*, presenting several surreal prints of burned cars in the Latin Quarter.

Klein's influence on a new generation of French photographers only made visible the latter's domination of the French media since May '68. When humanist photographer Willy Ronis visited the occupied Sorbonne with his friend, who later became photography historian, Françoise Denoyelle, he chose to do so without a camera. Doisneau, who suffered from a backache, hardly managed to photograph anything during the events. As we have seen, the main humanist photographer who played a more significant role during May '68 was Janine Niépce, whose iconography shattered the paradigm's main premises. Yet, the photographers who presented at the exhibition of *Les 30x40* and took the lead during the 1970s belonged to the same postwar generation as Garanger, Kagan, and Léna. Dytivon, Martine Franck, and Guy le Querrec, who founded in February 1972 Viva photo agency on the basis of the ideas of May '68, all presented at the exhibition. Together with several photographers from Vu agency—in which Klein was a member—they created a photographic collaboration that addressed various social taboos and elaborated the innovative aesthetic style Klein had pioneered. Viva thus consolidated May '68 as turning point in reportage photography towards an increasingly civil conception of the medium, which was more tolerant, detached, reflexive, and less judgmental towards society's margins.⁸⁵ On the main journalistic front, the new photojournalistic agencies, Gamma, Sipa, and Sygma uncontestedly dominated the national and international markets of hot news, as well as showbiz.

In the aftermath of May '68, the gradual aesthetic recognition of photography since the late 1970s created new opportunities for photographers to promote their work and status

⁸⁵ On Viva agency, see: Annie-Laure Wanaverbecq and Aurore Deligny, *Les années Viva: 1972-1982: une agence de photographes* (Paris: Marval, 2007). For the agency's manifesto, see: Alain Garnier, "Sept photographes pour une agence," *Le Nouveau Photocinéma* (June 1972): 42.

through collaborations with prominent public figures. Paradoxically, while television rapidly expanded its news coverage and enjoyed an increase in its audience, the aesthetic status of photojournalism was also on the rise. The *Rencontre de la photographie d'Arles* festival since 1970, the Château d'eau National Photographic Gallery in Toulouse since 1974, as well as state subvention for the *Fondation nationale de la photographie* two years later, prompted the official acknowledgement of photography's aesthetic qualities.⁸⁶ With this official recognition, including by the state, photographers found a more receptive public opinion to present their images of May '68 in collaboration with former student leaders, especially on the occasion of the event's decennial anniversaries. Among such publications, which offered readers popular photographic histories of May '68, were *Mai 68 ou l'imagination au pouvoir* by Magnum photographer Bruno Barbey; Daniel Cohn-Bendit and Jean Daniel's *Sous les pavés, la plage: Mai 68 vu par Gilles Caron*; Göksin Sipahioglu and Bernard Kouchner's book *Mai 68: histoire en photo*; Élie Kagan and Daniel Bensaïd's book *Le Mai d'un photographe*. All these were published in addition to photo books by photo agencies such as Gamma and Roger-Viollet, among others.⁸⁷ Generally speaking, these publications, which were part of a de-politicized public discourse on May '68, celebrated the event's anti-institutional iconography. This visual narrative of May '68 can be explained by photographers' motivations to promote their work through the French media in cooperation with ex-student leaders, who were building their public careers.

The study's final chapter has shown that May '68 was a culminating point for the practice of photojournalism in 1960s France. As such, this event sheds light both on the past and on the

⁸⁶ Annie-Laure Wanaverbecq and Aurore Deligny, *Les années Viva*, 169. See also: Gaëlle Morel, "La figure de l'auteur. L'accueil du photoreporter dans le champs culturel français (1981-1985)," *Études photographiques* 13 (May 2003): 35-55.

⁸⁷ Bruno Barbey *et al.*, *Mai 68 ou L'imagination au pouvoir* (Paris: Éd. de la Différence, 1998); Daniel Cohn-Bendit, Jean Daniel *et al.*, *Sous les pavés la plage: mai 68 vu par Gilles Caron* (Sèvres: la Sirène, 1993); François Siegel *et al.*, *Mai 68: histoire en photo* (Paris: Scali, 2008); Élie Kagan and Daniel Bensaïd, *Le Mai d'un photographe* (Paris: Editions du Layeur/BDIC, 2008).

(relative) future of the nation's visual press coverage. In the course of the May-June events, photographers tirelessly reported on every possible form of social contestation, as well as on authorities' handling and mishandling of the events. Photojournalists not only focused on present police repression but also imbued their images with symbolic meaning that radiated onto past twentieth-century events, whose full national significance had been hitherto unacknowledged by official political discourse. With the state's indirect censorship of photojournalism irrevocably undermined during May '68, a new era began in the national press. Since then, the French media has continually reaffirmed photojournalism's civil role of freely reporting on contemporary events without being subject to any form of restriction by the state. The event also marked the rise of French photojournalistic agencies, which gradually came to dominate the international media market. Finally, in aesthetic terms, May '68 consolidated an iconography of disillusionment, which resulted in the emergence of a more critically detached style of image taking. The career of Gilles Caron,⁸⁸ the most prominent photojournalist of the late 1960s, is a lasting testimony to the dramatic changes in the evolution of French reportage photography.

⁸⁸ Caron was killed in April 1970 while covering the war in Cambodia.

EPILOGUE

In the aftermath of May '68, Willy Ronis and Robert Doisneau became increasingly disenchanted with life in France in general and the state of reportage photography in particular. As eminent “humanist” observers of postwar national reconstruction, the two felt growingly alienated from mass consumer society during the 1970s and 1980s. The wondrously sentimental atmosphere with which the capital’s public space was imbued, wrote Ronis in 1980, “disappeared even before the destruction of Baltard’s Les Halles [in 1971].”¹ Doisneau, who systematically recorded the massive social and urban mutations that Paris and its suburbs were undergoing since the Liberation, was even harsher in his judgement.² He argued in the late 1970s that “what the [Nazi] commander of grand Paris did not dare to do in 1944, real estate speculation achieved without the uproar of explosives.”³ Not only that, noticed Doisneau, the capitals transformed topography was accompanied by a radical change in Parisians’ behavior:

And so the street has been emptied of idle walkers, motorists in their aquariums are now wearing long faces, and on the sidewalks we only encounter those going to or returning from the train station or the metro, always late and often aggressive. . . . It will have to take more than that to dissuade me [though]; I will be the last saunterer [*badaud*]. Even the word itself rings retro.⁴

In the materialistic and individualistic age that inherited the era of national reconstruction, complains Doisneau in his defiant lamentation, social solidarity among the people of Paris has been completely obliterated. This, he implies, accounts for their growing hostility toward

¹ Willy Ronis, *Sur le fil du hasard* (Paris: Contrejour, 1980), 26. Ronis won the Nadar award for this book in 1981.

² Blaise Cendrars and Robert Doisneau, *La banlieue de Paris* (Paris: P. Seghers, 1949); Robert Giraud and Robert Doisneau, *Le vin des rues* (Paris: Denoël, 1955); Doisneau, *Instantanés de Paris* (Paris: Artaud, 1955); *Les Parisiens tels qu’ils sont* (Paris: Robert Delpire, 1955); Jean Dongués and Robert Doisneau, *Gosses de Paris* (Paris: Jeheber, 1956); Elsa Triolet and Robert Doisneau, *Pour que Paris soit* (Paris: Éditions Cercle d’art, 1956); Jacques Yonnet and Robert Doisneau, *Enchantements sur Paris* (Paris: Denoël, 1957).

³ Robert Doisneau, *Trois secondes d’éternité* (Paris: Contrejour, 1979), 11.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 12.

the photographer, whose job is to bear witness to contemporary life in the rebuilt capital. In the past, says Doisneau, “photographing the absurd décor of the Parisian *banlieue* was at least a means to elevate [*mettre en valeur*] the human beings walking about in it.”⁵ Nowadays, he bemoans, this has become virtually impossible.

With the peak of their careers behind them, Ronis and Doisneau were anxious to leave their mark on the profession, which, as we have seen, had undergone great changes during the 1960s. This was perhaps a particularly urgent task for Ronis. In an interview for *Le Photographe* in 1975, Ronis admitted to Jean-Claude Guatrand that even if his “entire archive had gone up in flames, it wouldn’t have been such a big deal because photography was only a puny part of the plastic arts.”⁶ This remark was not purely hypothetical: greatly distressed by the financial tribulations that ultimately left him no choice but to leave the capital and resettle in Southern France, Ronis had actually destroyed most of his pre-World War Two records.⁷ Later, however, he felt compelled to channel his frustration to actively reaffirm his career as a leading reportage photographer bequeathing his legacy to posterity.

Doisneau too was eager to reclaim his photographic inheritance. In *Un certain Robert Doisneau* from the mid-1980s, the photographer insisted he was never the “fluttering flâneur” current critics presented him to be. This misconception, he explained, was the product of “some [art] scholars’ motivations to fuse the history of photography with art history” by projecting their own “classifications” onto his work. Attributing to him extremely careful premeditation before every shutter-release, he explained, missed the mark completely.⁸ As Doisneau insisted—implicitly voicing Ronis’ photographic sensibility as well—his method was “purely instinctive.” Thanks to his alertness, he could seize “a moment of happiness before it disappeared” and, by so doing, to “vividly capture [*retenir*] in the flight of time an

⁵ Ibid., 14.

⁶ Jean-Claude Guatrand, “Interview avec Willy Ronis,” *Le Photographe* 10 (September 1975): np.

⁷ Françoise Denoyelle, *Le siècle de Willy Ronis* (Paris: Éd. Terre bleue, 2012), 121-2.

⁸ Doisneau, *Un certain Robert Doisneau* (Paris: Éditions Chêne, 1986), 8-9.

image that would become a triumphant proof of the existence of its own unique world.”⁹ Doisneau, however, refrained from uniformly labeling his oeuvre, referring to it instead as a “mish-mash” of records, ultimately unclassifiable by any future historian.¹⁰ In this regard, he differed from Ronis, who admitted in retrospect that, in the past, while being entirely absorbed in daily assignments, he was oblivious to the fact that his images were part of the “so-called ‘humanist’ current” in photography.¹¹

Whether explicitly identifying themselves as humanist photographers or not, Ronis’ and Doisneau’s publications in effect apologetically defended this aesthetic as the medium’s defining feature. Becoming a photographer after the Liberation, noted Doisneau, meant joining a hired-hand profession. More importantly, it was a bold and unconventional career choice, which cast its practitioners on the margins of society and art alike. “Here I am,” he wrote, “a survivor of an era when photography was considered as nothing but a gewgaw, only good for distracting the people, and tolerated by the elite only as subservient to the fine-arts.”¹² Upon this career choice, explained Doisneau, he in fact sacrificed social status for a worthier cause, namely to “faithfully reproduce the skin of objects; discover the hidden treasures on which we walk every day; cut time into thin slices.”¹³ Along with their humanist peers, Ronis and Doisneau sought to authentically behold the “permanent spectacle offered by contemporaries.”¹⁴ In the present day, stated Doisneau with subtle irony, photography has become a “liberal,” well-respected profession. Though the elevation in photographers’ status was in and of itself welcome, Doisneau could not help but be wary of the negative effects it bore on the profession. In particular, he condemned those who were now practicing it in such

⁹ Doisneau, *Trois secondes d'éternité*, 5.

¹⁰ Doisneau, *A l'imparfait de l'objectif: Souvenirs et portraits* (Paris : P. Belfond, 1989), 13.

¹¹ Gautrand, “Interview avec Willy Ronis.”

¹² Doisneau, *A l'imparfait de l'objectif*, 182.

¹³ Doisneau, *Trois secondes d'éternité*, 7.

¹⁴ Doisneau, *A l'imparfait de l'objectif*, 11.

a way that turned photography, in his view, into a passive mirroring of materialistic and individualistic values.

Supplying the media's demand for "sterile" images, complained Doisneau, contemporary colleagues had given up the active engagement—which I have been designating as "photoactivism"—that characterized the profession in the heyday of humanist photography. Both Ronis and Doisneau criticized those who had entered the profession since the late 1960s for being infatuated with hollow trends, lacking a true understanding of their craft. One of the main errors of inexperienced photographers since 1968, explained Ronis, was their failure to identify the "revelatory instant." Influenced by "neo-dada" and "anti-art" attitudes, he argued, these photographers chose to accentuate the "insignificant" because of its false allure of "depth."¹⁵ As Ronis saw it, the abandonment of the elevated principle of photographic readability, was the byproduct of young professionals' "disengaged counter-cultural" views. Worse still, this new "indecipherable" style left people outside the frame because young photographers were "terrorized by the idea of missing the latest conceptual train."¹⁶ Doisneau, on his part, believed this attitude of aloof detachment accounted for contemporary photographers' uneasiness with the subject staring back at their lens.¹⁷ By detaching themselves from fellow human beings, he ruefully ruminated, professionals had forsaken the "mysterious power" of photography.¹⁸

Ronis' and Doisneau's nostalgic reaffirmation of the humanist worldview reveals their deep resistance to the paradigmatic shift in reportage photography during the 1960s. Though their observation that photojournalism was in tune with liberal, individualistic, and materialistic values of consumer-oriented society is correct, their mourning of the demise of photoactivism proves to be ill founded. For, while the form and content of reportage

¹⁵ Ronis, *Sur le fil du hasard*, 20-1.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 26-7.

¹⁷ Doisneau, *Trois secondes d'éternité*, 12.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 19.

photography had significantly changed in the course of the *Trente Glorieuses*, its practitioners' engagement did not diminish. As I have demonstrated in chapters two through four, the photoactivists who used the medium to cast doubt over state policies during the Algerian War and its aftermath; to condemn its social and economic policies; and to critically document the events of May '68, formed a new generation of reportage photographers deeply committed to political, socio-economic, and cultural causes. This study's close examination of the transmutations in reportage photography thus reveals that the increasing emphasis on the medium's documentary potential and, ultimately, photojournalism, were by no means less activist than humanist photography.

At the same time, Ronis' and Doisneau's idealized portrait of the postwar glory days fails to recognize that, just like the photojournalistic aesthetic they vehemently censured, their own humanist aesthetic too was to some degree a product of the political, cultural, and economic realities of their time. As I have shown in the first chapter, humanist photographers were to a large extent aligned with the official political discourse of the era of national reconstruction, putting themselves at the service of rebuilding the Republic. Just as importantly, the second chapter has shed unflattering light on the humanist photographers' silence and self-censorship at the Fourth Republic's most critical juncture: the colonial wars in Algeria (and, by extension, in Indochina). As the state adopted elements of humanist iconography for propaganda purposes, prominent practitioners of the genre did not voice their outrage at the misuse of the humanist aesthetic for purposes contradictory in spirit to the republican values it supposedly upheld. This is not to say that humanist photographers hypocritically blamed photojournalists for a complacency they were themselves guilty of. Rather, my goal in this study was to show that, in different historical circumstances, contemporaries practiced photography in direct correlation to present political dynamics between the state and civil society in order to advance their ad hoc goals more effectively. In

the era of national reconstruction, the medium's most urgent activist task was to bring the French people together by reasserting the viability of republicanism and social progress. Humanist photography thus idealized French society's republican vitality and solidarity in recently liberated France as the epitome of national identity. As the 1950s drew to a close, however, the task of reportage photography had changed, and it was now the new generation's civil mission to bring into public view the incongruities between France's officially propagated image as an effluent, modernized nation, and the actual predicaments and injustices of contemporary reality.

This project thus traced the historical process, spreading over the *Trente Glorieuses*, in the course of which reportage photography's role as an active participant in political culture shifted from reinforcing official state discourse to antagonistically undermining it from a stance of civil allegiance. The delineation of this trajectory raises important questions concerning our understanding of the significance of reportage photography as a political agent. In her important book, *The Civil Contract of Photography*, visual culture theorist Ariella Azoulay argues that photography is essentially a civil medium.¹⁹ According to Azoulay, the "photographic act" produces a "civil contract" between the photographer, the disenfranchised subject in the frame, and the viewer. This civil contract, according to her, enables those bound by it to redefine themselves as equal members of an autonomous community, which can resist the "repressive" authority of the state as it determines whom to grant full civil rights.²⁰ Though Azoulay's thesis rests primarily on the case of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, it purports to apply to reportage photography as such. Though her theory of photography's "civil contract" offers a welcome theoretical framework for the medium's critical analysis, it nonetheless overlooks the importance of rigorous historical research for a proper understanding of photography's political import. As a matter of fact, Azoulay's case is

¹⁹ Ariella Azoulay, *The Civil Contract of Photography* (New York: Zone Books, 2008).

²⁰ *Ibid.*, 29-175.

indicative of the fundamental discrepancy between the theory of photography, on the one hand, and the medium's actual practice and historical study, on the other hand. In this regard, one of my objectives in this study was to provide a historically founded, nuanced account of photographic practice in France so as to promote a more tenable view of the medium's internal and contextual logic.

As my research has shown, the transition of French reportage photography from identifying with the state's political worldview to adopting a society-oriented civil position was a highly contingent, contested, and complex process. In this study, I therefore set out to advance the view that though reportage photography undoubtedly plays an *active* political role in society, there is nothing essentially *civil* about it. Photoactivism may thus align itself with state (or state-related) institutions without necessarily foregoing its social and political commitment. The set of binary political concepts and premises that underpins Azoulay's theory does not leave much room for considering the multiple, at times conflicting, political configurations reportage photography may find itself in varying cultural contexts. As we have seen throughout the four chapters of this study, in different historical circumstances, photographers worked both with the state and against it. Moreover, in most cases of photographers' cooperation with state officials or other players in the public arena, both sides had manifold considerations, which were not limited to strictly political or ideological objectives, but were often of a purely economic nature. Utilizing an interdisciplinary methodology that brings together history, photography, and media studies, my research thus explicated the disparate forces and contingent contexts that shaped reportage photography in France, as well as the main strategies its practitioners had employed in order to actively participate in political discourse.

In retrospect, I would argue that one of the most significant changes French reportage photography had undergone in the course of its evolution was the rise of a more thoroughly

inclusive, or “republican,” activism. This new kind of photographic activism, whose clearest representative was the type of photojournalism promoted by Gamma agency, had a dual character. On the one hand, there was the photographer’s stubborn striving to (un)cover the truth of unfolding national events and, by shedding light on them, to bring these events to the public’s attention. At the same time, however, photojournalists like Gilles Caron did not wish to force their own ideological views on the events they witnessed through the lens. Rather, I argue, Caron’s framing of reality sought to create “second-hand” photoactivism, that is, to expand the viewers’ interpretive scope of the political sphere and to invite them to actively engage in making sense of the photographic scenes they were presented with. This view of Caron’s body of work stands in opposition to art historian Michel Poivert’s reading, which considers the photographer’s oeuvre as reflecting his “interior conflict” with regard to the practice of photojournalism.²¹ Rather than experiencing ambivalence toward his occupation, I contend that the ambiguity manifest in Caron’s outstandingly productive career was intended to allow contemporaries to view world-changing events, as they were unfolding, with wide open and highly discriminating eyes.

The rise of the professional *photoreporter* from the late 1960s onwards thus ushered in the actively critical media consumer. Following Barthes’ famous declaration at the ending of his iconic essay that “the birth of the reader must be ransomed by the death of the author,”²² we may conclude that in the case of photography photojournalism served to “overthrow [the] myth” of the humanist “author” and to give birth to the critical “reader,” or viewer. In this regard, the photojournalist may be said to have functioned as a midwife of sorts, occupying a midway position between the author and the reader, and thus facilitating the emergence of the modern viewer. Taking this analogy one step further, I would like to refer to another seminal text by this eminent theorist and critic. In *S/Z*, Barthes explains the

²¹ Michel Poivert, *Gilles Caron: Le conflit interieur* (Lausanne: Élysée museum, 2013), 15-27.

²² Roland Barthes, “The Death of the Author,” *Image, Music, Text*, trans. Stephen Heath (New York: Hill and Wang, 1977), 148.

difference between the writerly (*scriptible*) and the readerly (*lisible*) texts. As opposed to the readerly text,

[t]he writerly text is a perpetual present, upon which no *consequent* language (which would inevitably make it past) can be superimposed; the writerly text is *ourselves writing*, before the infinite play of the world . . . is traversed, intersected, stopped, plasticized by some singular system (Ideology, Genus, Criticism) which reduces the plurality of entrances, the opening of networks, the infinity of languages.²³

I would like to propose that we view humanist iconography as primarily a readerly text and photojournalism as primarily a writerly one: while the former locates the privilege of interpretation and the responsibility of political determination in the hands (and eyes) of the photographer, the latter summons the spectator to become an active observer in his or her own right.

²³ Roland Barthes, *S/Z*, trans. Richard Miller (New York: Hill and Wang, 1974), 5.

Photo Appendix: Chapter One



Figure 1: Willy Ronis, St. Antoine St., Paris, July 14, 1936.



Figure 2: Henri Cartier-Bresson, First Paid Vacations, 1936.

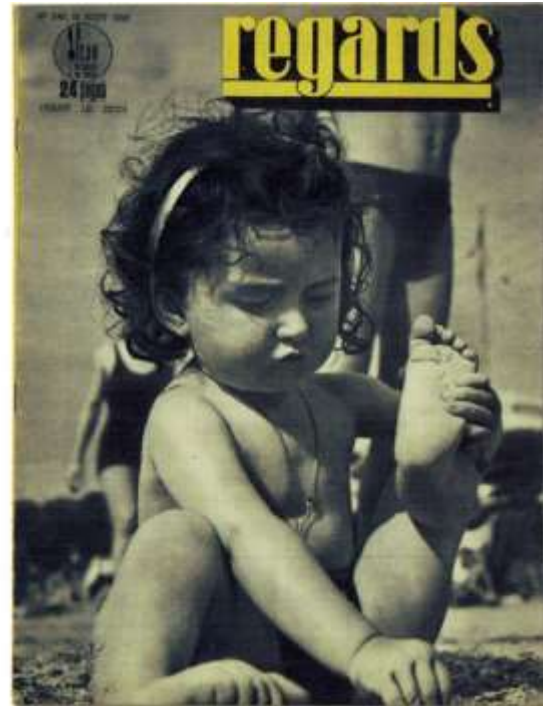
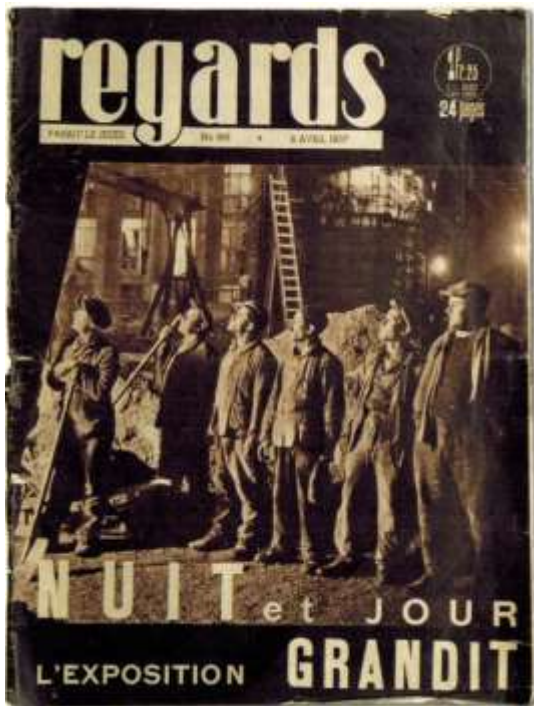


Figure 3: covers of the magazine *Regards* from April 8, 1937 and August 18, 1938, respectively (photographers unknown).



Figure 4: back cover of *Regards*, August 18, 1946, German officers captured by resistance fighters at the Opera sq. (photographer unknown).



Figure 5: *Regards*, June 20, 1946, barricades set up during the Liberation (photographer unknown).



Figure 6: *Regards* cover, February 1, 1945, French soldiers training.



Figure 7: *Regards*, January 23, 1948, Robert Doisneau, The railway men."



Figures 8 (left) and 9 (below): *Regards*, October, 1948, Willy Ronis, coal miners.





Figure 10: *Regards*, June 20, 1946, Robert Doisneau, communist demonstration, Châteaudun sq.



Figure 11: *Regards*, September 6, 1946, Robert Doisneau, Workers' assembly, Vélodrome d'hiver.



Figure 12: *Regards*, September 6, 1946, Robert Doisneau, a child's canvas shoes.



Figure 13: *Regards*, June 20, 1948,
Willy Ronis, children playing in Belleville.



Figure 14: *Regards*, August 15, 1945, Brassai, old couple sitting on the Pont des arts.



Figure 15: *Regards*, August, 1948, Robert Doisneau, "34° in the shade."



Figure 16: *Regards*, January 8, 1948, Robert Doisneau, “Doctor X.”



Figure 17: *Regards*, April, 1948, Willy Ronis & Henri Cartier-Bresson, “350 grams of white bread.”



Figure 18: *Point de vue, Image du Monde*, December 23, 1954, Janine Niépce, reportage on Abbé Pierre.



Figure 19: *Point de vue, Image du Monde*, December 23, 1954, Janine Niépce, reportage on Abbé Pierre.



Figure 20: *Point de vue, Image du Monde*, December 23, 1954, Janine Niépce, reportage on Abbé Pierre.



Figure 21: *Point de vue*, *Image du Monde*, June 17, 1954, Maurice Zalewski, reportage on the veterans of the Indochina War.



Figure 22: *Point de vue*, *Image du Monde*, June 17, 1954, Maurice Zalewski, reportage on the veterans of the Indochina War.



Figure 23: *Point de vue, Image du Monde*, June 17, 1954, Maurice Zalewski, reportage on the veterans of the Indochina War.



Figure 24: *Point de vue, Image du Monde*, June 17, 1954, Maurice Zalewski, reportage on the veterans of the Indochina War.



Figure 25: *Réalités*, August, 1954, Jean-Philippe Charbonnier, reportage on coal miners.



Figure 26: *Réalités*, January 1951, Jean-Philippe Charbonnier, reportage on a country doctor.



Figure 27: *Réalités*, December, 1952, Jean-Philippe Charbonnier, reportage on mal logés.



Figure 28: Entrance card to the first SNP, Jean Vallery Radot Archive, BNF.



Figure 29: Jean-Pierre Auradon, *The Groupe des XV*.



Figure 30: Mansart Gallery, SNP, 1946, Séeberger, *Département des Estampes et de la Photographie*, BNF.



Figure 31: SNP, 1946. Robert Doisneau : HLM. *Département des Estampes et de la Photographie*, BNF.



Figure 32: SNP, 1947, Lucien Lorelle, a poster for the Red Cross.



Figure 33: SNP, 1947, Robert Doisneau, little brothers carrying milk. *Département des Estampes et de la Photographie*, BNF.



Figure 34: SNP, 1948, Robert Doisneau: Concierge. *Département des Estampes et de la Photographie*, BNF.



Figure 35: SNP, 1948, Brassai, "A village drama," *Département des Estampes et de la Photographie*, BNF.



Figure 36: SNP, 1949, Willy Ronis, "Drama on the rails," *Département des Estampes et de la Photographie*, BNF.



Figure 37: SNP, 1950, Brassai,
The police superintendent's dog,
*Département des Estampes et de
la Photographie*, BNF.



Figure 38: SNP, 1950, Édouard Boubat,
little girl with dead leafs, *Département des
Estampes et de la Photographie*, BNF.



Figure 39: SNP, 1951, Izis, Jacques Prévert, *Département des Estampes et de la Photographie*, BNF.



Figure 40: SNP, 1947, Nora Dumas, “The life of peasants,” *Département des Estampes et de la Photographie*, BNF.



Figure 41: SNP, 1947, Nora Dumas, “The life of peasants,” *Département des Estampes et de la Photographie*, BNF.



Figure 42: SNP, 1951, Marcel Amson, “The village you cross,” *Département des Estampes et de la Photographie*, BNF.



Figure 43: SNP, 1951, Marcel Amson,
“The village you pass through,”
*Département des Estampes et de la
Photographie*, BNF.



Figure 44: SNP, 1951, André Garban, “The three friends,”
Département des Estampes et de la Photographie, BNF.



Figure 45: SNP, 1952, Paul Koruna,
“The folks of Montmartre,”
*Département des Estampes et de la
Photographie, BNF.*



Figure 46: SNP, 1952, Jean Michaud,
“Anonymous state servants,” *Département
des Estampes et de la Photographie, BNF.*



Figure 47: SNP, 1952, Jean Michaud,
“Anonymous state servants,”
*Département des Estampes et de la
Photographie*, BNF.



Figure 48: SNP, 1951, Marcel
Bovis, “The woman of Aurès,”
*Département des Estampes et
de la Photographie*, BNF.



Figure 49: SNP, 1956, André Garban, “The fisherman departure,”
Département des Estampes et de la Photographie, BNF.



Figure 50: *La documentation française illustrée*, January 1948, Ergy Landau.



Figure 51: DFI, January 1948, François Kollar.



Figure 52: DFI, July 1952, And  Papillion.



Figure 53: DFI, November 1954, Raymond Goursat.



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Figure 55: DFI, November 1954, Raymond Goursat.



Figure 56: DFI, November 1952, photo on the right by René Jacques.



Figure 57: DFI, November 1952, G. Baumann.



Figure 58: DFI, November 1957, Jean Dieuzaide.

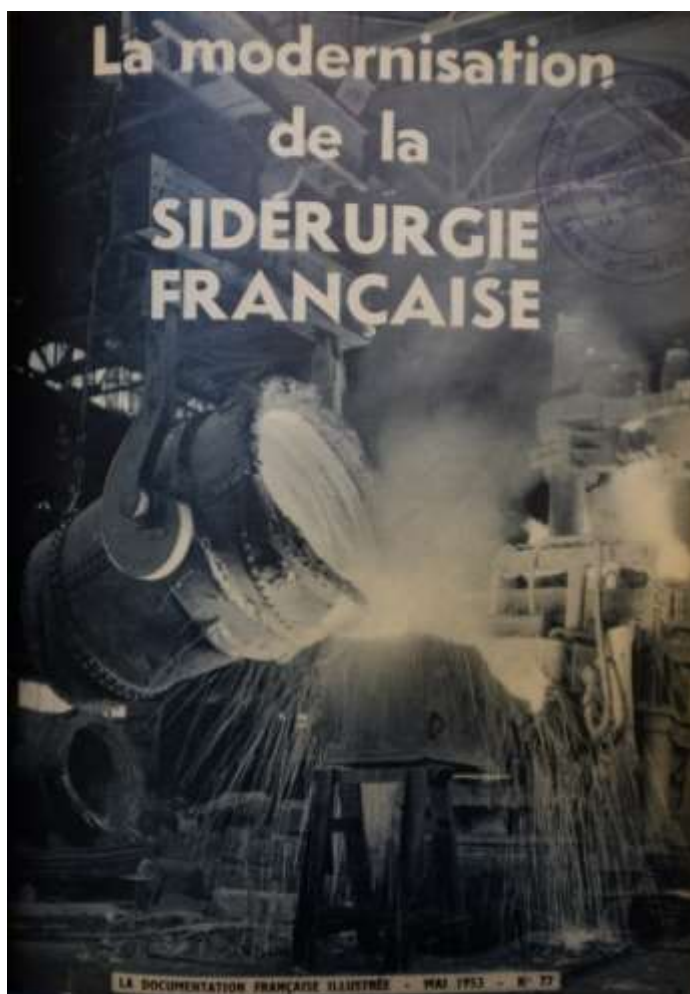


Figure 59: DFI, May 1953, René Jacques.

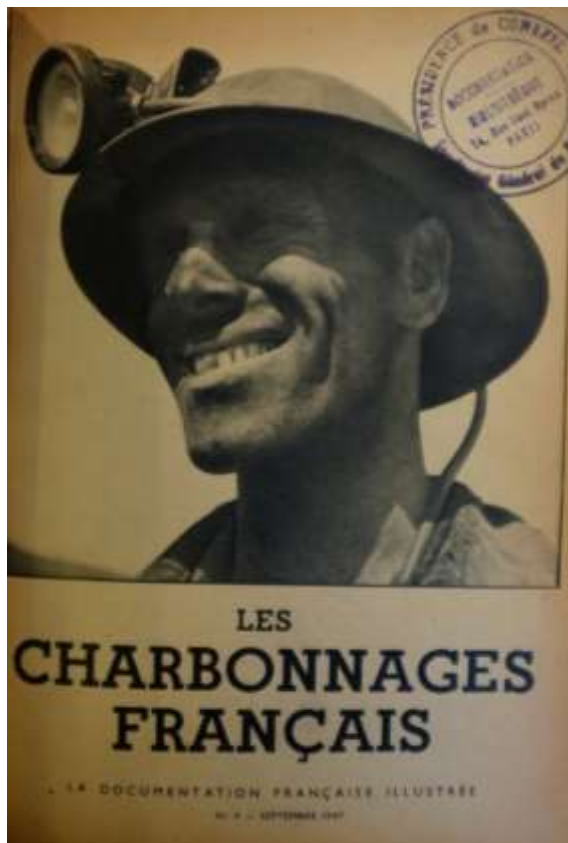


Figure 60: DFI, September 1947, photographer unknown.



Figure 61: DFI, November 1957, Willy Ronis.



Figure 62: DFI January-February 1953, Robert Doisneau.



Figure 63: DFI, October 1956, photographer unknown.



Figure 64: DFI, October 1956,
Robert Doisneau.



Figure 65: DFI
December, 1959,
photographer
unknown.



Figure 66: DFI, December 1959, Paul Almsay,

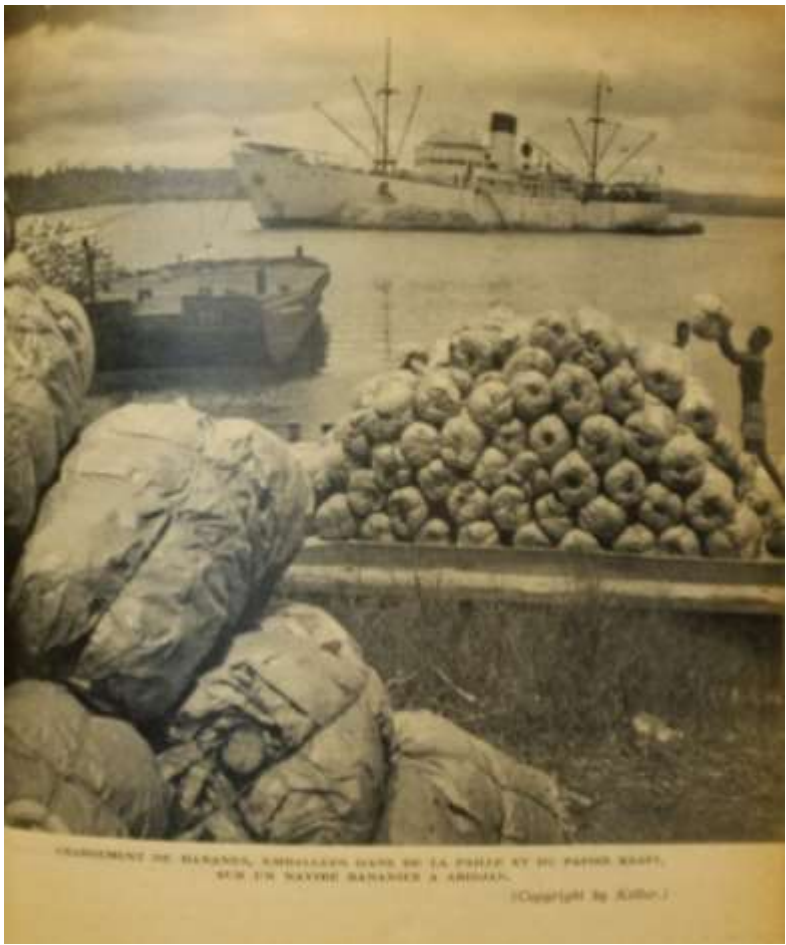


Figure 67: DFI July 1953, François Kollar



Figure 68: DFI, November 1955, Dominique Darbois.



Figure 69: DFI, November 1955, Dominique Darbois.



Figure 70: DFI, December 1954, Edourad Bélin.



Figure 71: DFI, December 1955, Lelièvre.



Figure 72: DFI, May 1954,
François Kollar.



Figure 73: DFI, May 1954,
INFOCAM.



Figure 74: DFI, May 1954, François Kollar.

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Figure 1: *Libération*, February 9, 1962.



Figure 2: Maurice Jarnaux, *Paris Match*, June 2, 1962.



Figure 3: l'Express, December 29, 1955.



Figure 4: BNF/EP- 58-BOITE FOL: Photograph by Jean-Philippe Charbonnier: Muslim Algerian tortured by French soldiers in Kabylia, 1957.



Figure 5: ECPAD/ALG 56-290 R21: (Pacification) Young Muslim school children welcome high official Maurice Papon in the village of Tarfat in Eastern Constantine, October 10, 1956.



Figure 6 : ECPAD/ALG 56-290 R25: (Pacification) Following Maurice Papon's speech at the village of Tarfat, a French soldier distributes sweet to the local children, October 10, 1956.



Figure 7: ECPAD/ALG 57-207 R18: (Pacification) Medical treatment of a young girl by a French military doctor at the village of Djebel Aougued, March 29, 1957.



Figure 8: ECPAD/ALG 56-290 R32: (Pacification) A French soldier overlooks the market of Bendaoud village, October 10, 1956.



Figure 9: ECPAD/ALG 57-207 R20: (Pacification) French soldier places pannel for a new clinic and school for Muslim Children at the village of Djebel Aougued, March 29, 1957.



Figure 10: Marc Garanger/AL386519: (Pacification) The inauguration of a road between Ouet and Tarfa: Aumale, April 1960.



Figure 11: Marc Garanger/ AL469756 (Pacification) : Harkis distributing food to an inhabitant of Oued Tarfa resettlement camp, October 1960.



Figure 12: Marc Garanger/AL38671: FLN political commissar Saïd Bouakli at the interrogation room (*bureau de l'officier de renseignements*) in Aïn Terzine, March, 1960.



Figure 13: Marc
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Ouail Mohammed (Bouakli's
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Figure 14: Marc
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ALN prisoner Ben Chérif
at his prison cell:
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Figure 15: Marc Garanger/Algeria vintage box: Army tract regarding Ben Chérif in French and Arabic.

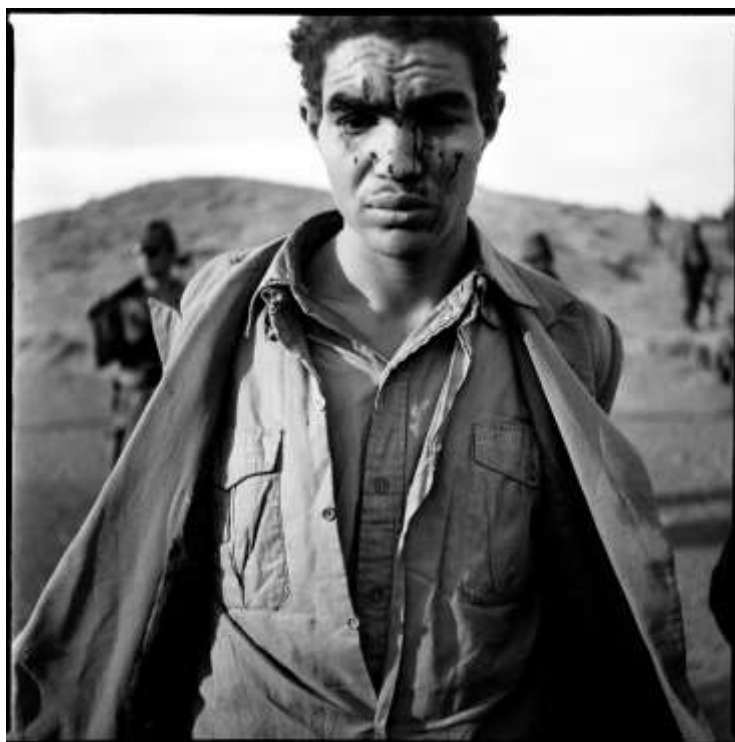


Figure 16: Marc Garanger/ AL34304: ALN prisoner during Operation H: Aumale, October 1960.



Figure 17: Marc Garanger/AL44448:
Professional soldiers from commando
unit 13 at Bordj Okriss, May 1961.



Figure18: Marc Garanger/AL428650: An officer at the military canteen at Bordj Okriss, May 1961.



Figure 19: Marc Garanger/AL363716: Conscrip celebrating their last hundred days left for their service (*Père Cent*) at Aïn Terzine, July 1960.



Figure 20: Marc Garanger/AL416113: Conscrips at Aïn Terzine, July 1960.



Figure 21: Marc Garanger/AL4100A36: *Harki* contemplating the ruins of the village S'Bara.



Figure 22: Marc Garanger/AL34292: *Harkis* interrogating a shepherd at the forbidden zone during Operation H, July, 1960.



Figure 23: Marc Garanger/AL34559: An aerial photo of the ruined secluded village (*douar*) at the forbidden zone near Aumale, October 1960.



Figure 24: Marc Garanger/AL341561: Aerial photo of the resettlement camp of Mezdour, October 1960.



Figure 25: Marc Garanger/AL387126: A military vehicle stopping the protest of the local inhabitants of Rouabas village, May 1960.



Figure 26: Marc Garanger/AL387775: The village notables of Rouabas complain to commander de Mollans that they cannot leave their lands, 1960.



Figure 27: Marc Garanger/AL469843: A woman from the resettlement camps of Tagudine complains to commander de Mollans that her daughter was raped by French soldiers, 1961.



Figure 28: ECPAD/ALG 56-195 R25: French soldier photographing an ingabitant of the resettlement camp of Sidi Djenil for a census, August 9, 1956.



Figure 29: Marc Garanger/AL437222: Inspection of identification papers of nomad berbers at Djebel el Kantara, March 1961.

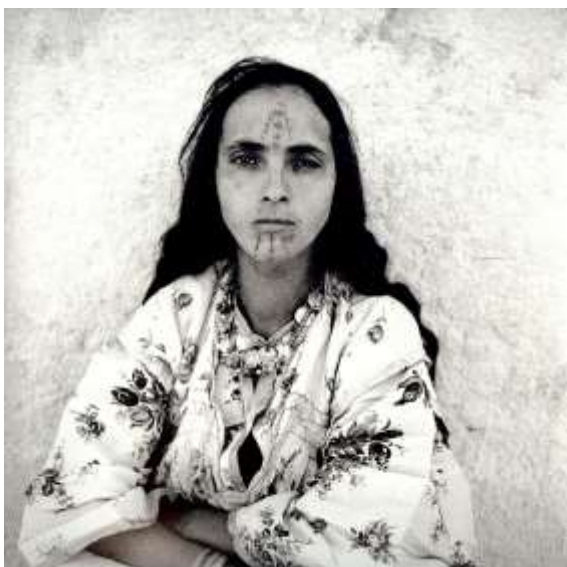


Figure 30: Marc Garanger/AL2832: An identification photo of a woman at the resettlement camp, October, 1960.



Figures 31-2: Marc Garanger/AL7871/AL73887: Identification photos from the resettlement camps near Aumale, October, 1960.



Figure 33: *Les Algérienne derrière la voile*, *L'illustré Suisse*, N° 45, November 8, 1962.



Figure 34: *Al Djazairi*, no. 9, May 18, 1964.



Figure 35: BDIC/Élie Kagan/1688N00006901: metro Concorde, 17 October 1961.



Figure 36: BDIC/Élie Kagan/PC51: 17 October 1961, metro Solférino.



Figure 37: BDIC/Élie Kagan/1688N000070, October 17, 1961, Neuilly Bridge.

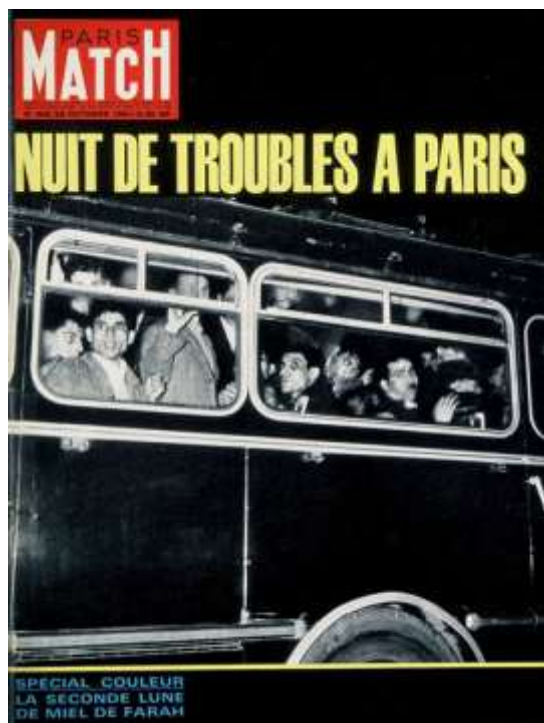


Figure 38: The cover of *Paris Match*, November 28, 1961.



Figure 39: BDIC/Élie Kagan/1688NOOOO6802, October 17, 1961, Neuilly Bridge.

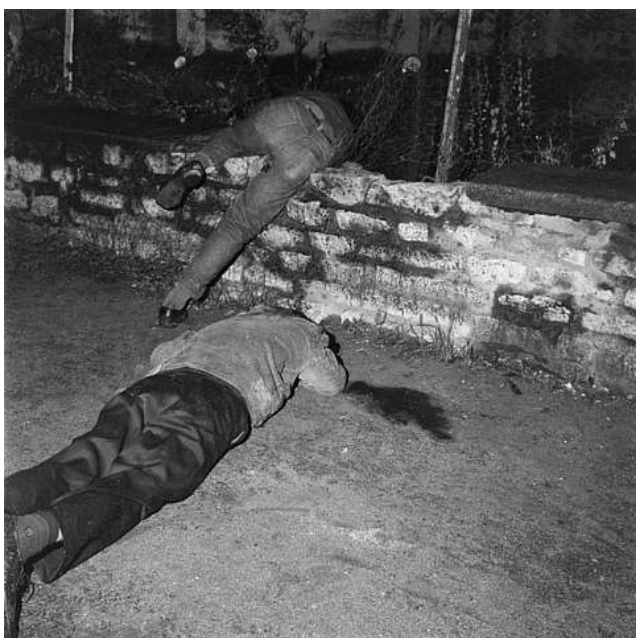


Figure 40: BDIC/Élie Kagan/1688N00006602, October 17, 1961, *Pâquerette* street, Nanterre.



Figure 41: BDIC/Élie Kagan/PC47, October 17, 1961, Nanterre.



Figure 42: l'Express, October 19, 1961.



Figure 43 : Témoignage Chrétien, October 27, 1961.



Figure 44-5: *France-Observateur*, October 19, 1961.



Figure 46: *Témoignage et documents*, December 1, 1961.



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Figure 48: *Jeunesse Action*, December 1, 1961.



Figure 49: BDIC/Élie Kagan/PC 46: La Santé prison, October 19, 1961.



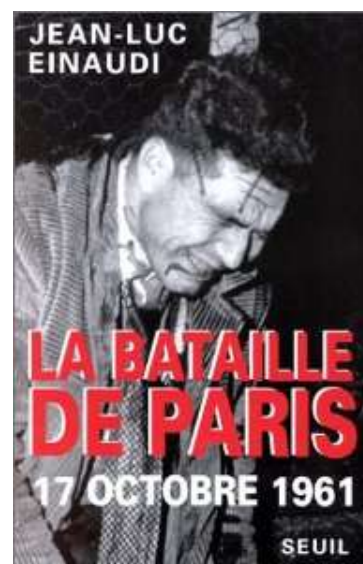
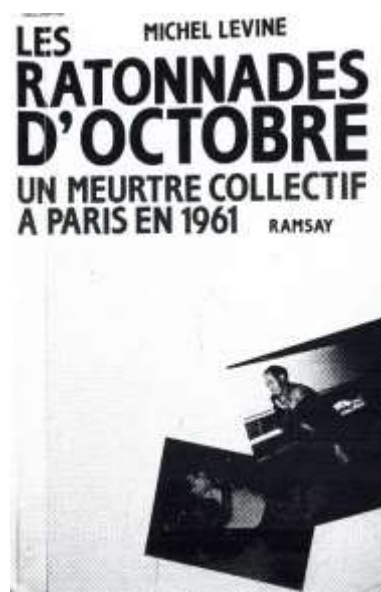
Figure 50: *Le Figaro*, December 21-22, 1961.



Figure 51: *Droit et Liberté*, October 15–November 15, 1962.



Figure 52: *Droit et Liberté*, June 1968.



Figures 53-5: *Les ratonnades d'octobre*, 1985; *Ratonnades à Paris*, 1961; *La bataille de Paris*, 1991.

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Figure 2: Ministry of Construction and Urbanism: Sarcelles, *Les cahiers français*, January 1963.



Figure 3: Pierre Allard: Le Mirail (Toulouse), *Les cahiers français*, March 1965.



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Figure 5: Jean Biaugeaud: CNIT, *Les cahiers français*, December 1963.



Figure 6: ABC – SIAM: Salon des Arts Ménagers, *Les cahiers français*, December 1963.



Figure 7: Janine Niépce, *Les cahiers français*, April 1965.

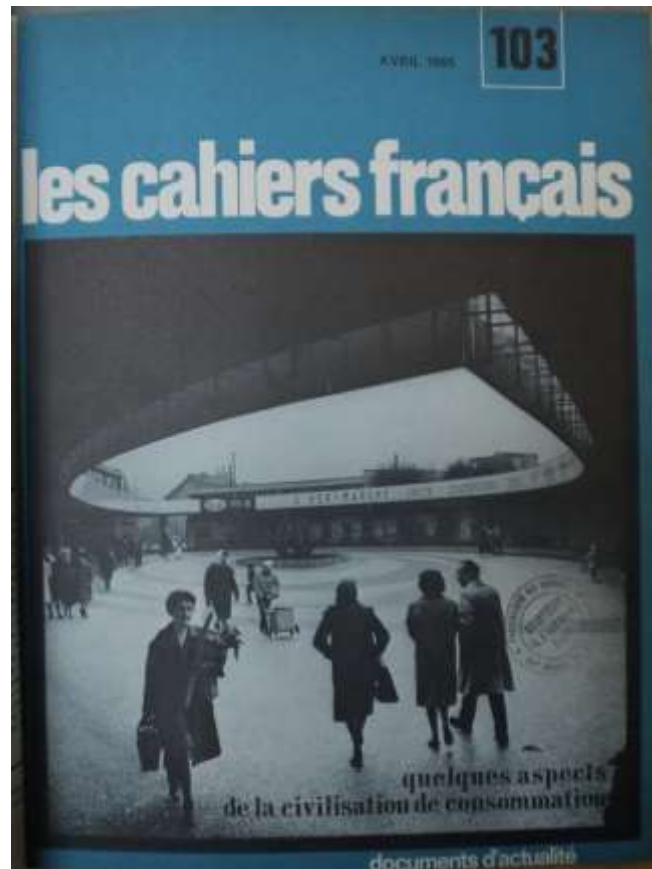


Figure 8: Paul Almary, *Les cahiers français*, April 1965.



Figure 9: Madec - Nantes, *Les cahiers français*, April 1965.

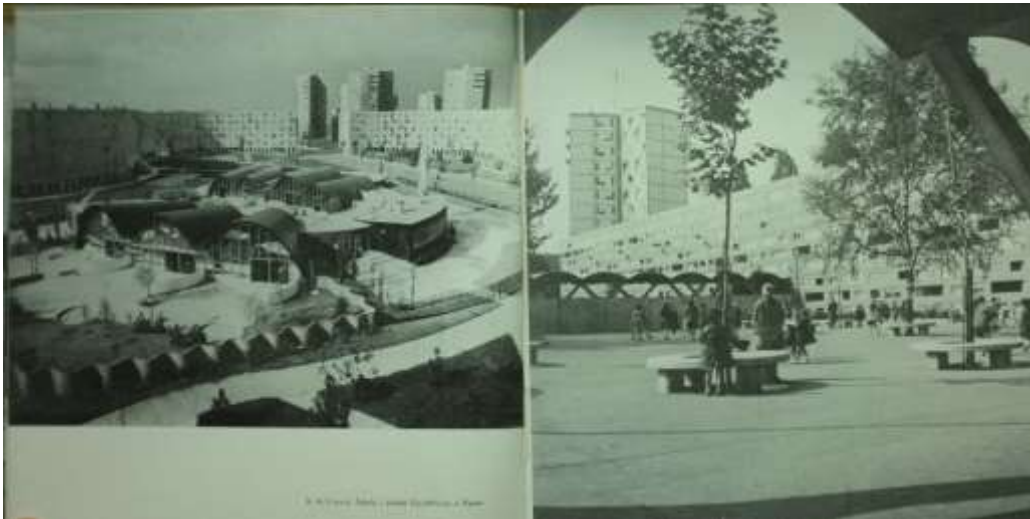


Figure 10: Pantin (Grand ensemble), AFFA catalogue, Poland 1965.



Figure 11: CNIT, AFFA catalogue, Poland 1965.



Figure 12: Concorde Aircraft, AFAA catalogue, Poland 1965.



Figure 13: *The Young Face of France*, 1959.



Figure 14: *The Young Face of France*, 1959.



Figure 15: Antony Students' Residence, *The Young Face of France*, 1959.



Figure 16: *France and the Rising Generation*, 1965.

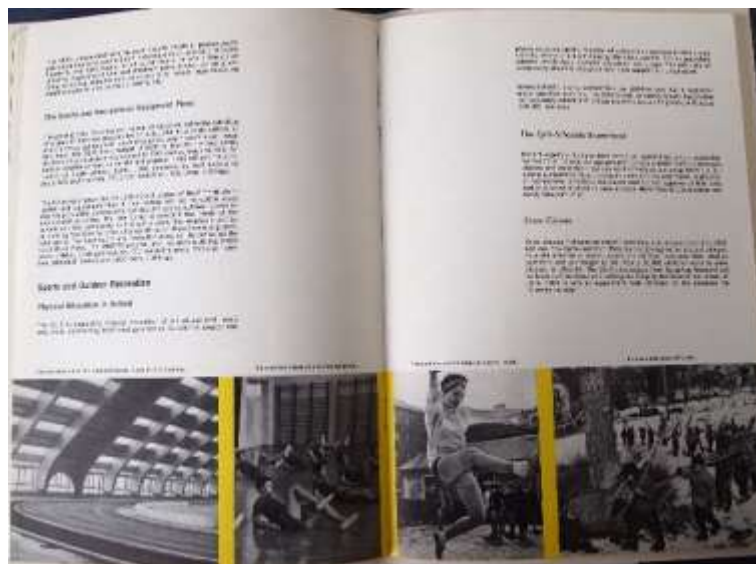


Figure 17: *France and the Rising Generation*, 1965.



Figure 18: *France and the Rising Generation*, 1965.



Figure 19: Élie Kagan, *Clarté*, November 1961.



Figure 20: Élie Kagan, *Clarté*, December 1961.



Figure 21: Élie Kagan, *Clarté*, February 1962.



Figure 22: Élie Kagan, *Clarté*, February 1961.



Figure 23: Annette Léna, *Clarté*, July 1962.



Figure 24: Annette Léna, *Clarté*, July 1962.



Figure 25: Annette Léna, *Clarté*, July 1962.

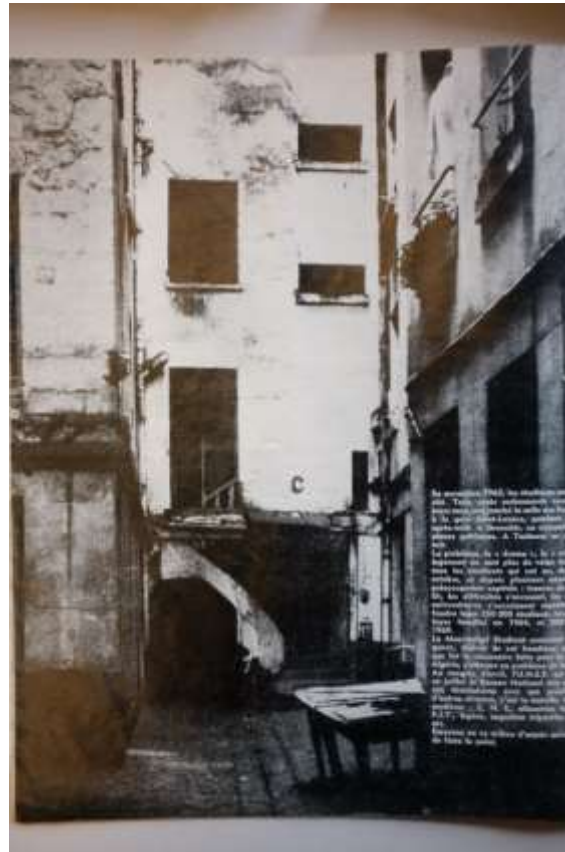


Figure 26: Annette Léna, *Clarté*, February 1963.



Figure 27: Annette Léna, *Clarté*, February 1963.



Figure 28: Annette Léna, Fonds Annette Léna, BNF, February 1963.



Figure 29: Annette Léna, Fonds Annette Léna, BNF, February 1963.



Figure 30: Annette Léna, Fonds Annette Léna, BNF, February 1963.



Figure 31: Annette Léna, Fonds Annette Léna, BNF, February 1963.



Figure 32: Annette Léna, *Le nouvel observateur*, 13 October, 1965.



Figure 33: Annette Léna, *Clarté*, November 1963.

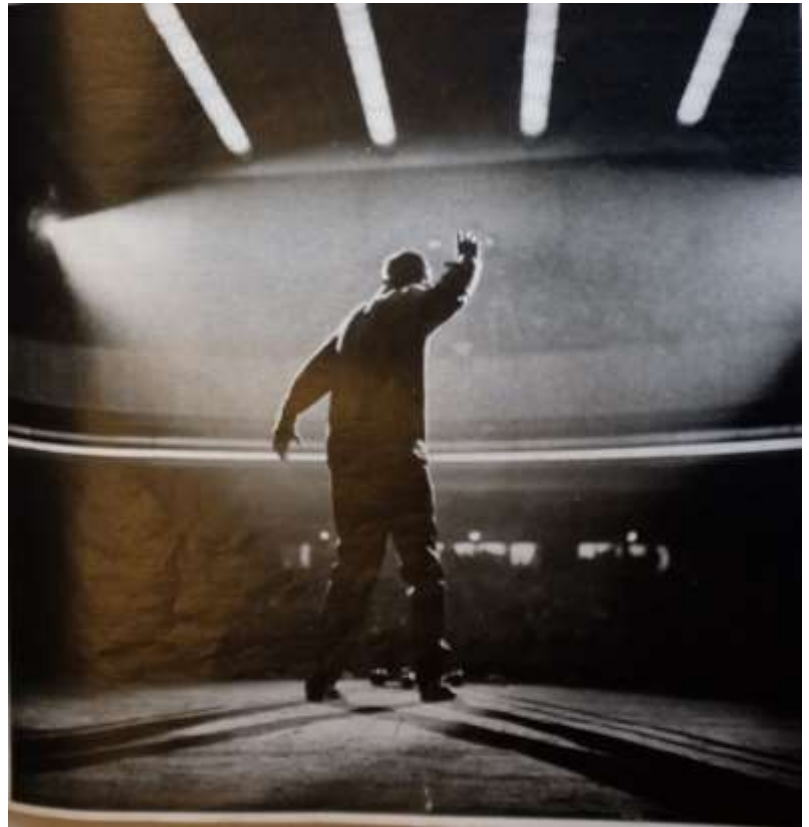


Figure 34: Annette Léna, *Clarté*, November 1963.



Figure 35: Annette Léna, *Clarté*, March-April 1964.



Figure 36: Annette Léna, *Clarté*, March-April 1964



Figure 37: Annette Léna, *Clarté*, February 1964.



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Figure 45: Leon Herschtritt, Nomad School in Sarh (Tchad), 1963.



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Figure 47: Leon Herschtritt: Young Congolese women in the countryside, 1963.



Figure 48: Henri de Chatillon : Aerial view of a Mauritian village, 1963.



Figure 49: Philippe Billère: Dohomeyan Journalist using a linotype machine, 1963.



Figure 50: *France, Afrique Madagascar: un bilan culturel*, 1963.



Figure 51: *Paris Match*, April 1964.



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Figure 53: Marc Riboud, *Jeune Afrique*, July 1962.



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Figure 55: Marc Riboud, *Jeune Afrique*, July 1962.



Figure 56: Élie Kagan, *Révolution Africaine* February 1963.



Figure 57: Élie Kagan, Fonds Élie Kagan, BDIC, February 1963.

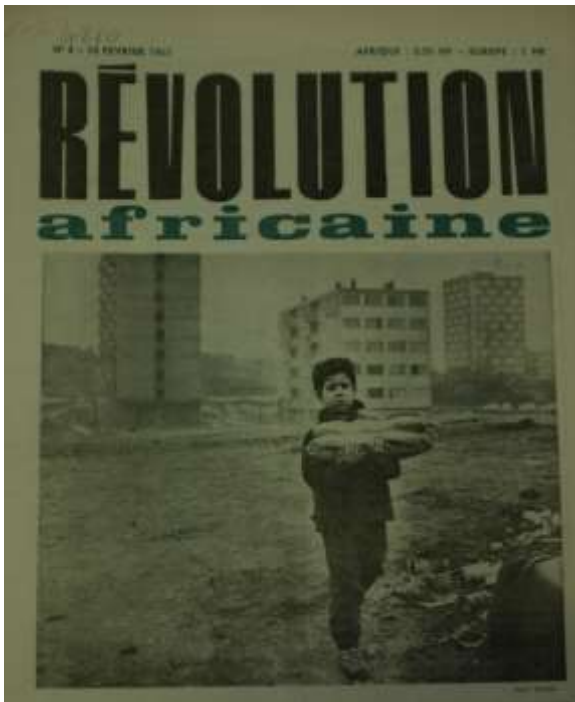


Figure 58: Henri Georges, *Révolution Africaine*, February 1963.



Figure 59: Élie Kagan, *Révolution Africaine*, February 1963.



Figure 60: Élie Kagan, *Révolution Africaine* March 1963.



Figure 61: Don Steffen, *Révolution Africaine* February 1963.

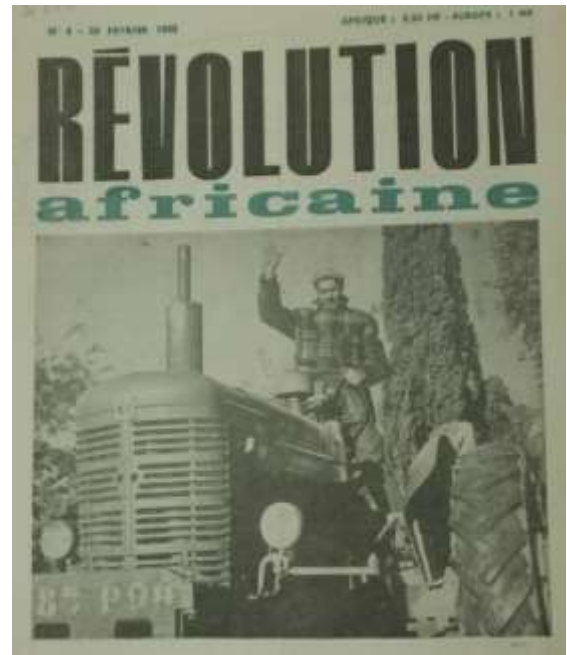


Figure 62: Don Steffen, *Révolution Africaine* February 1963.



Figure 63: Don Steffen, *Révolution Africaine*, November 1963.

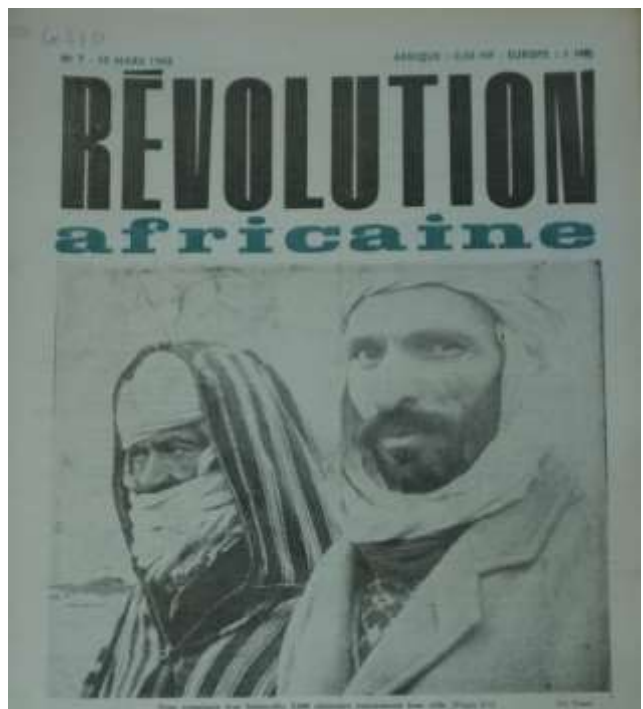


Figure 64: Élie Kagan, *Révolution Africaine*, March 1963.

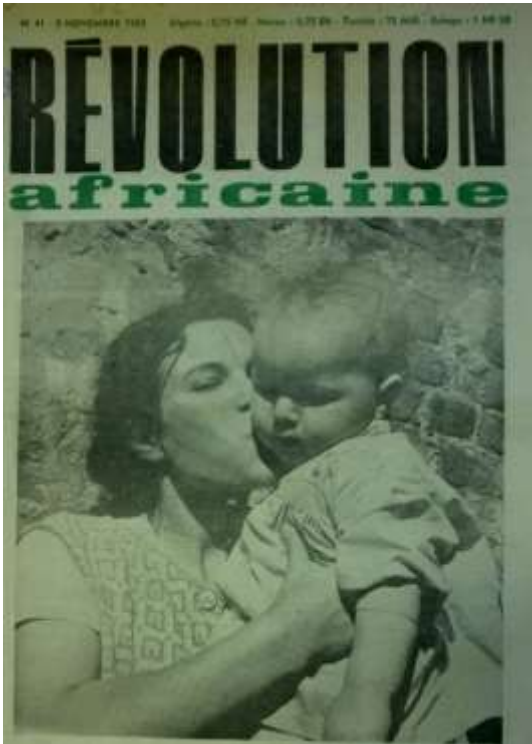


Figure 65: Henri Georges, *Révolution Africaine*, November 1963.

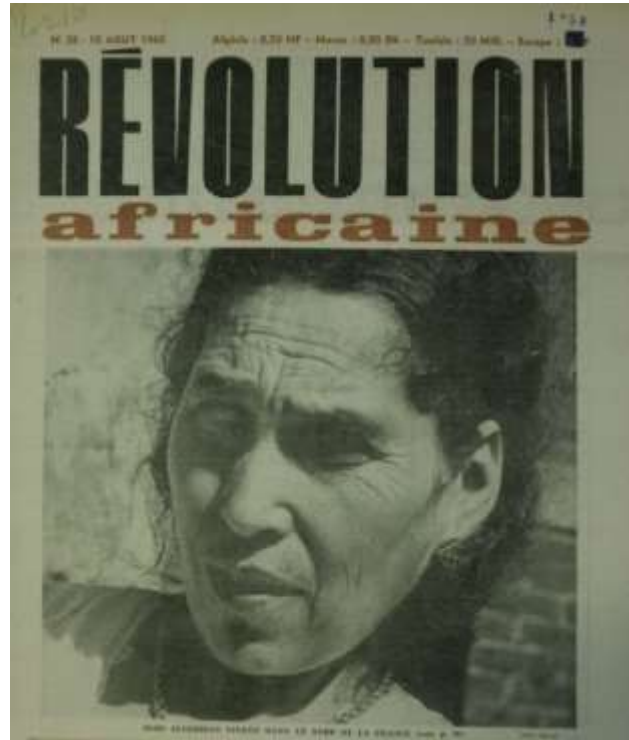


Figure 66: Henri Georges, *Révolution Africaine*, August 1963.

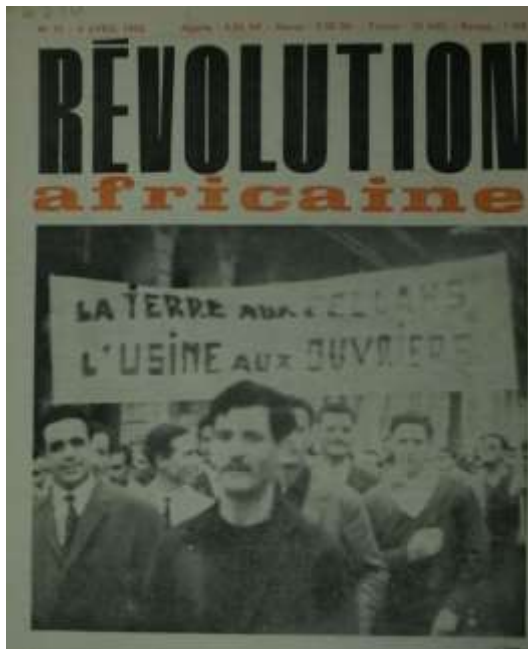


Figure 67: Élie Kagan, *Révolution Africaine*, April 1963.



Figure 68: Élie Kagan, Fonds Élie Kagan, BDIC April 1963.



Figure 69: Élie Kagan, *Révolution Africaine*, February 1963.



Figure 70: Élie Kagan, *Révolution Africaine*, May 1963.

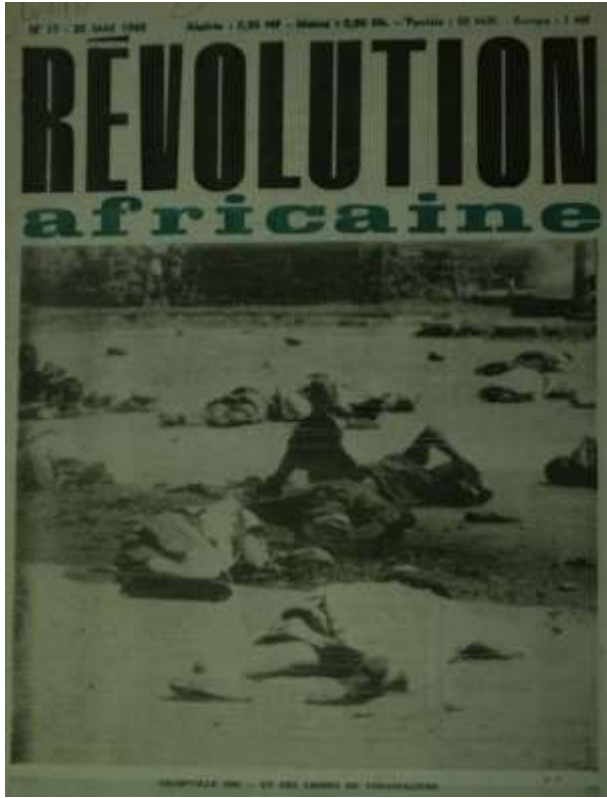


Figure 71: UP, *Révolution Africaine*, May 1963.



Figure 72: Eli Weinberg, *Révolution Africaine*, March 1963.



Figure 73: AP, *Révolution Africaine*, February 1963.



Figure 74: Annette Léna, *Jeune Afrique*, July 1963.



Figure 75: Annette Léna, Fonds Annette Léna, BNF, June 1965.



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Photo 77: Daniel Camus: Franco-Gabonese commanders who orchestrated M'ba's release, *Paris Match*, April 1964.



Photo 78: Daniel Camus: President of Gabon Léon M'ba after his release, *Paris Match*, April 1964.



Figure 79: Daniel Camus: Franco-Gabonese in church after the operation, *Paris Match*, April 1964.



Figure 80: Annette Léna, *Jeune Afrique*, November 1965.



Figure 81: Annette Léna, *Jeune Afrique*, November 1965.



Figure 82: Annette Léna, *Jeune Afrique*, November 1965.

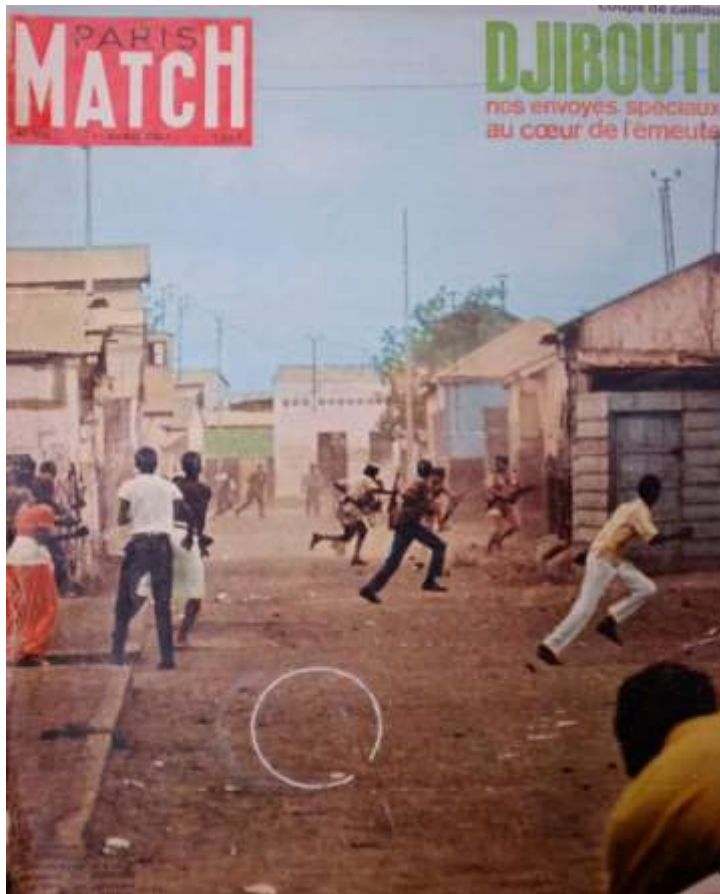


Figure 83: Annette Léna, *Paris Match*, April 1967.



Figure 84: Annette Léna, *Paris Match*, April 1967.



Figure 85: Annette Léna, *Paris Match*, April 1967.



Figure 86: Annette Léna, *Paris Match*, April 1967.



Figure 87: Göskin Sipahioglu, French military, Djibouti, April 1967.



Figure 88: Maurice Jarnoux: Reunion Island, *Paris Match*, May 1963

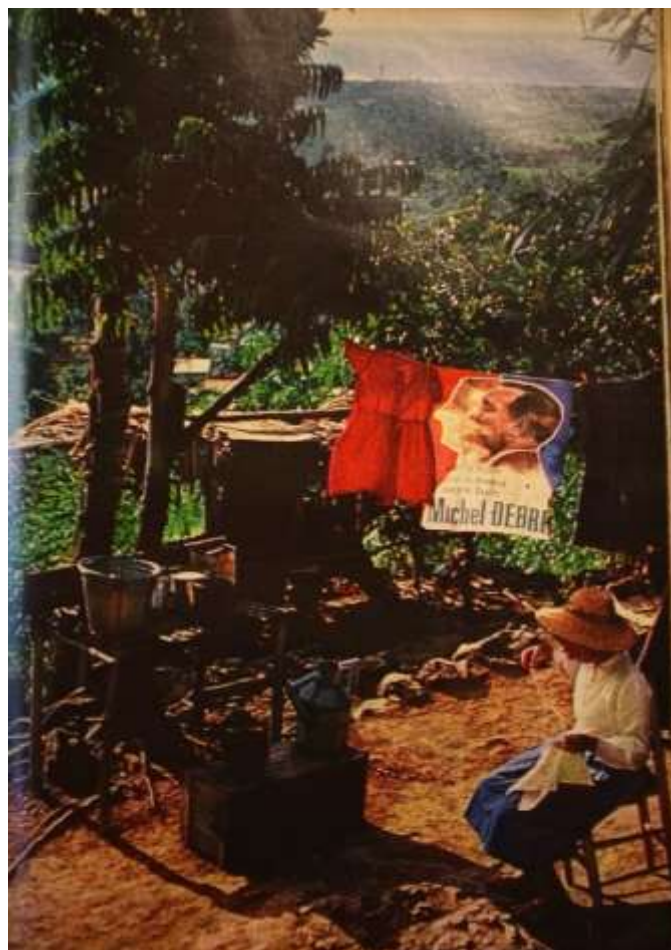


Figure 89: Maurice Jarnoux : Reunion Island, *Paris Match*, May 1963



Figure 90: Annette Léna, Fonds Annette Léna, BNF, 1967.



Figure 91: Annette Léna, Fonds Annette Léna, BNF, 1967.



Figure 92: Annette Léna, Fonds Annette Léna, BNF, 1967.



Figure 93: Annette Léna, Fonds Annette Léna, BNF, 1967.



Figure 94: Annette Léna, Fonds Annette Léna, BNF, 1967.



Figure 95: Annette Léna, Fonds Annette Léna, BNF, 1967.



Figure 96: Annette Léna, Fonds Annette Léna, BNF, 1967.



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Figure 98: Annette Léna : Biafra, Fonds Annette Léna, BNF, 1968.



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Figure 101: Robert Capa : Mothers of Naples (1943), *Journalistes reporters photographes*, September 1965.



Figure 102: Roger Pic: Vietnam War, *Journalistes reporters photographes*, March

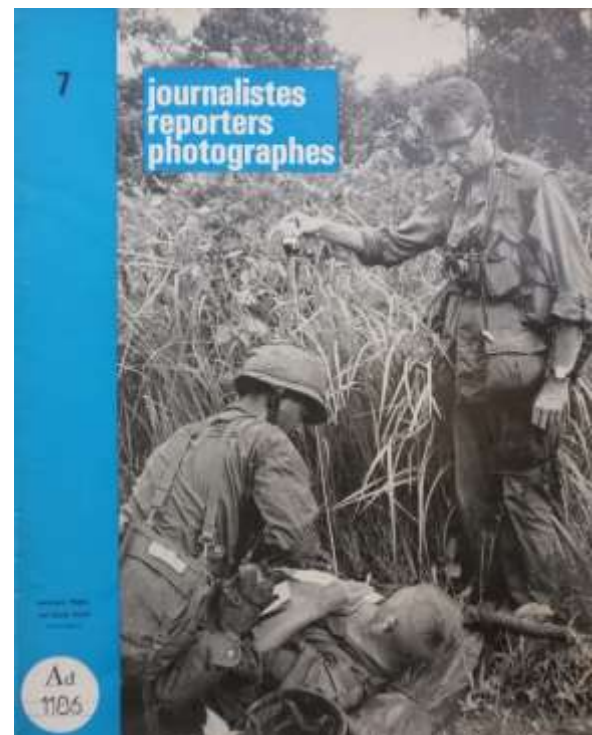


Figure 103: Jean-Claude Sauer: Vietnam War, *Journalistes reporters photographes*, September 1965.



Figure 104: Don McCullin: World Press Photo winner in 1964, *Journalistes reporters photographes*, March 1966.



Figure 105: *Journalistes reporters photographes*, March 1966.



Figure 106: Pierre Lelièvre, *Journalistes reporters photographes*, March 1965.



Figure 107: Jean-Pierre Biot : *Journalistes reporters photographes*, June 1965.

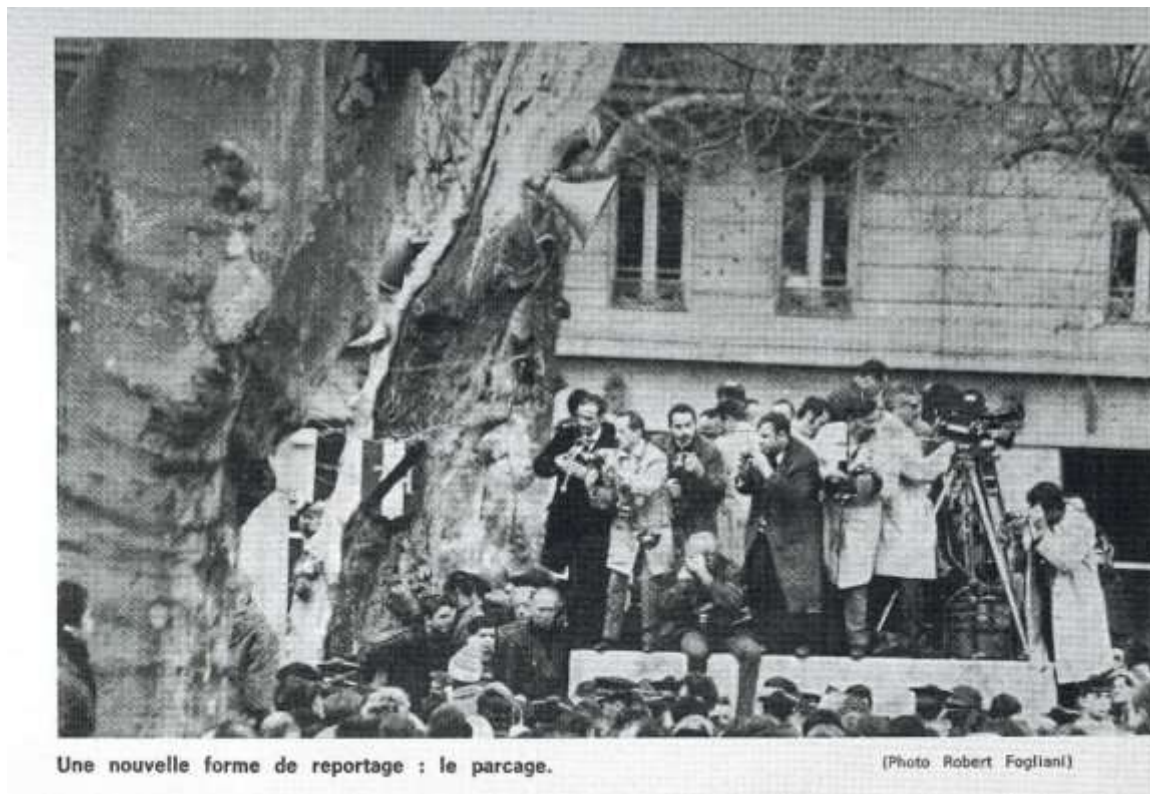


Figure 108: Robert Fogliani: *Journalistes reporters photographes*, March 1968.



Figure 109: Jean-Pierre Rey: *Journalistes reporters photographes*, June 1968.



Figure 110: Gilles Caron : *Journalistes reporters photographes*, June 1968.

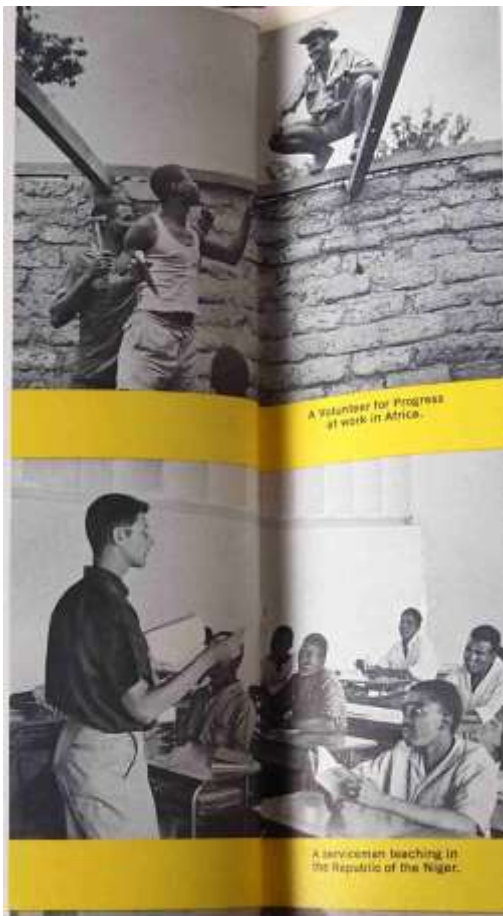


Figure 111: *France and the Rising Generation*, 1965.

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Figure 1: May 6, 1968, Gilles Caron, Daniel Cohn Bendit, *Fondation Gilles Caron*.



Figure 2: *L'Express*, April 29-May 5 1968, Gilles Caron, Nanterre University.



Figure 3: *L'Express*, May 6-12, 1968, Élie Kagan, Nanterre University.



Figure 4: April 1968, Gilles Caron, Nanterre University, *Fondation Gilles Caron*.



Figure 5: April 1968, Gilles Caron, Nanterre Shantytown, *Fondation Gilles Caron*.



Figure 6: May 6 1968, Gilles Caron, Daniel Cohn Bendit at the entrance to the Sorbonne University, *Fondation Gilles Caron*.



Figure 7: *Paris Match*, May 11, 1968, Georges Melet, Daniel Cohn Bendit.



Figure 8: *L'Express*, May 13-18, 1968, Jacques Haillot (Apis), Daniel Cohn Bendit.



Figure 9: *Paris Match*, May 18, 1968, Patrice Habans.



Figure 10: *Paris Match*, May 11, 1968, Photographer unknown.



Figure 11: *l'Express*, May 13-18, 1968, Gilles Caron.

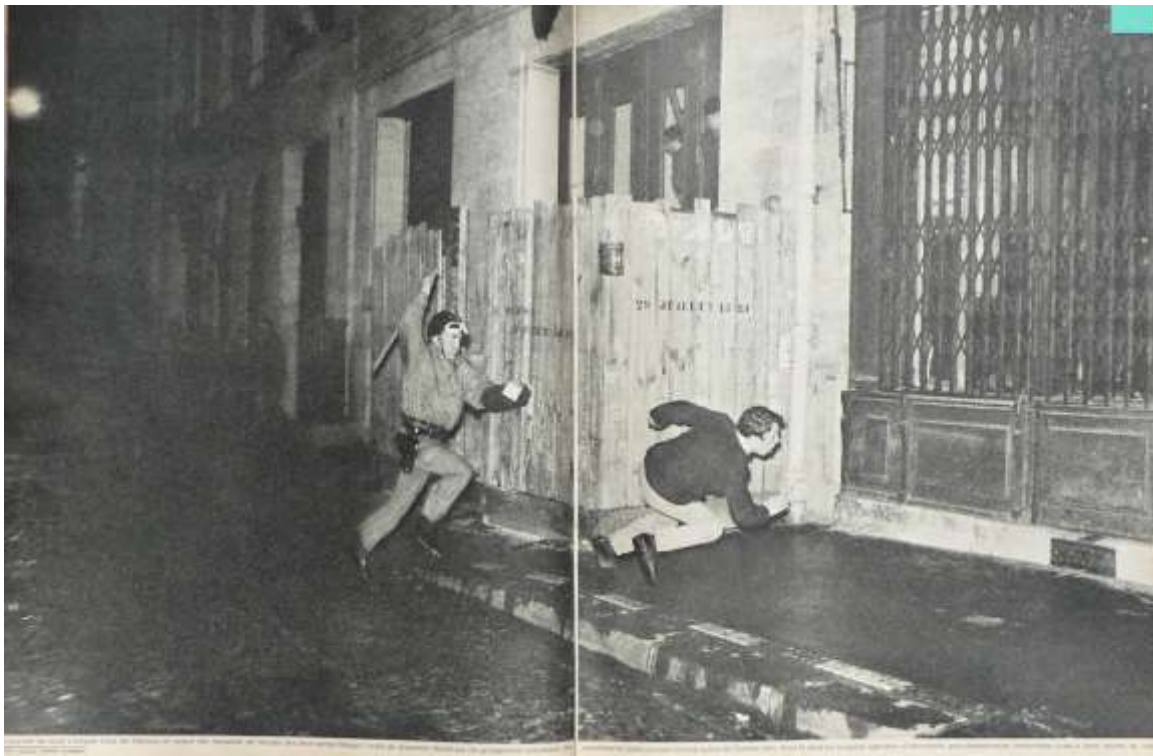


Figure 12: *Paris Match*, May 18, 1968, Gilles Caron.



Figure 13: 1952, Robert Doisneau, gendarme at Boulevard de Clichy.

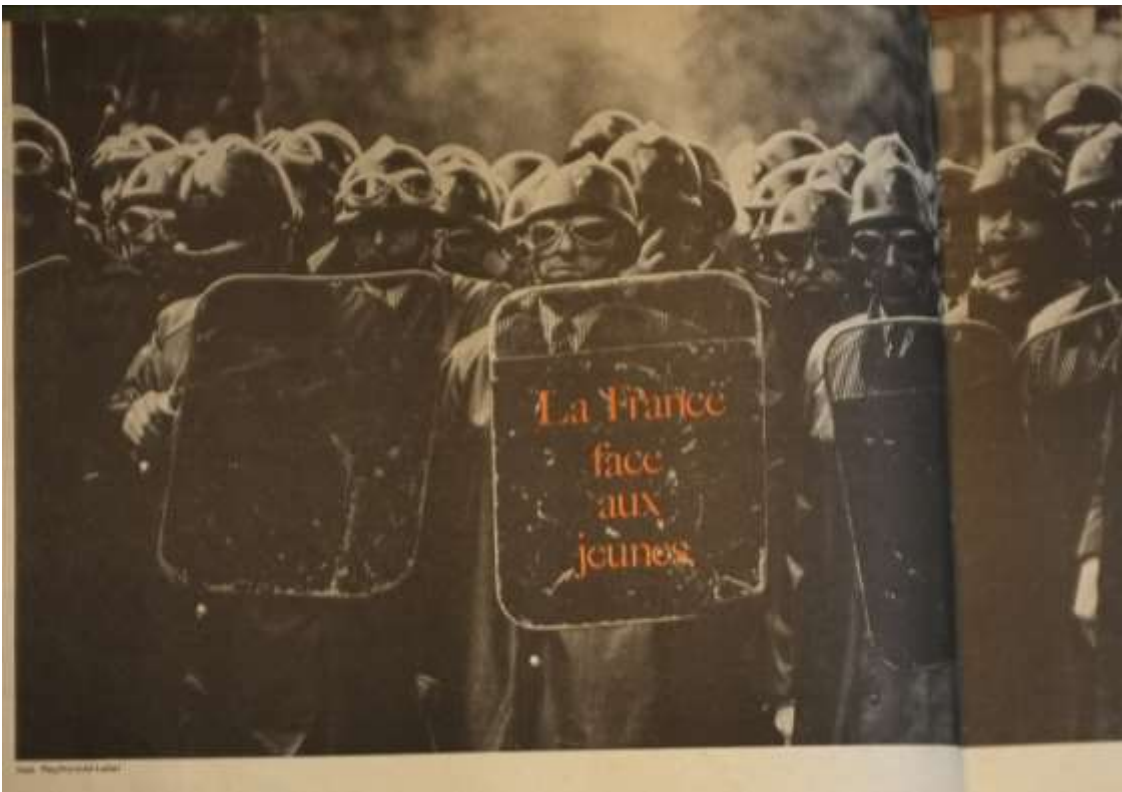


Figure 14: *Le Nouvel Observateur*, May 8-14, 1968, Jean-Pierre Rey (Gamma).



Figure 15: *Le Nouvel Observateur*, May 15-21 1968, Henri Bureau (Gamma).



Figure 16: *L'Express*, May 13-18, 1968, Gilles Caron.



Figure 17: *L'Express*, May 13-18, 1968, Gilles Caron.



Figure 18: *Noir et Blanc*, June 1968, Jean-Pierre Bonotte (Gamma).



Figure 19: *Paris Match*, June 15-22, 1968, Laurent Martin.



Figure 20: May 10-11, 1968, photographer unknown, first Night of the Barricades, Gamma archive.



Figure 21: *Paris Match*, June 15-22, 1968, Göksin Sipahioglu.



Figure 22: *Paris Match*, June 15-22, 1968, Gilles Caron.



Figure 23: *Noir et blanc*, June 1968, Gilles Caron.



Figure 24: *Paris Match*, May 18, 1968, Jean-Pierre Rey (Gamma).



Figure 25: *Paris Match*, June 15-22 1968, Jean-Pierre Rey (Gamma).



Figure 26: *L'Express*, special supplement in early June 1968, Gilles Caron.



Figure 27: *Paris Match*, June 29, 1968, photographer(s) unknown.



Figure 28: *Le Nouvel Observateur*, June 7, 1968, François Rodicq (Gamma).



Figure 29: May 1968, François Rodicq, Gamma archive.



Figure 30: *L'Express*, June 20-26, 1968, Manuel Bidermanas.



Figure 31: *Paris Match*, June 15-22, 1968, photographer(s) unknown.



Figure 32: May 1968, poster by the *Atelier Populaire*.



Figure 33: *Le Nouvel Observateur*, May 15-21, 1968, François Rodicq.



Figure 34: May 1968, poster by the *Atelier Populaire*.



Figure 35: *Paris Match*, May 18, 1968, photographer unknown.



Figure 36: May 1968, poster by the *Atelier Populaire*.



Figure 8: *L'Express*, May 13-18, 1968, Jacques Haillot.



Figure 37: May 1968, Serge Hambourg, The Sorbonne Court, *Protest in Paris, 1968* (Hambourg *et al*).



Figure 38: *Paris Match*, June 15-22, 1968, Gilles Caron.



Figure 39: *Paris Match*, June 15-22, 1968, photographer(s) unknown.



Figure 40: *Paris Match*, June 29, 1968, photographer unknown.



Figure 41: *Le Nouvel Observateur*, May 22-28, 1968, Jean-Pierre Bonnotte.



Figure 42: *Paris Match*, June 15-22, 1968, photographer unknown.



Figure 43: *L'Express*, May 20-26, 1968, Henri Bureau (Gamma).



Figure 44: *L'Express*, special supplement for late May, 1968, Jean Lattès (Gamma).



Figure 45: *Paris Match*, June 15-22, 1968, Jean-Pierre Rey.



Figure 46: *France Dimanche*, May 19, 1968, Maurice Cantacuzene.



Figure 47: *L'Express*, special supplement for late May, 1968, Jean Lattès (Gamma),

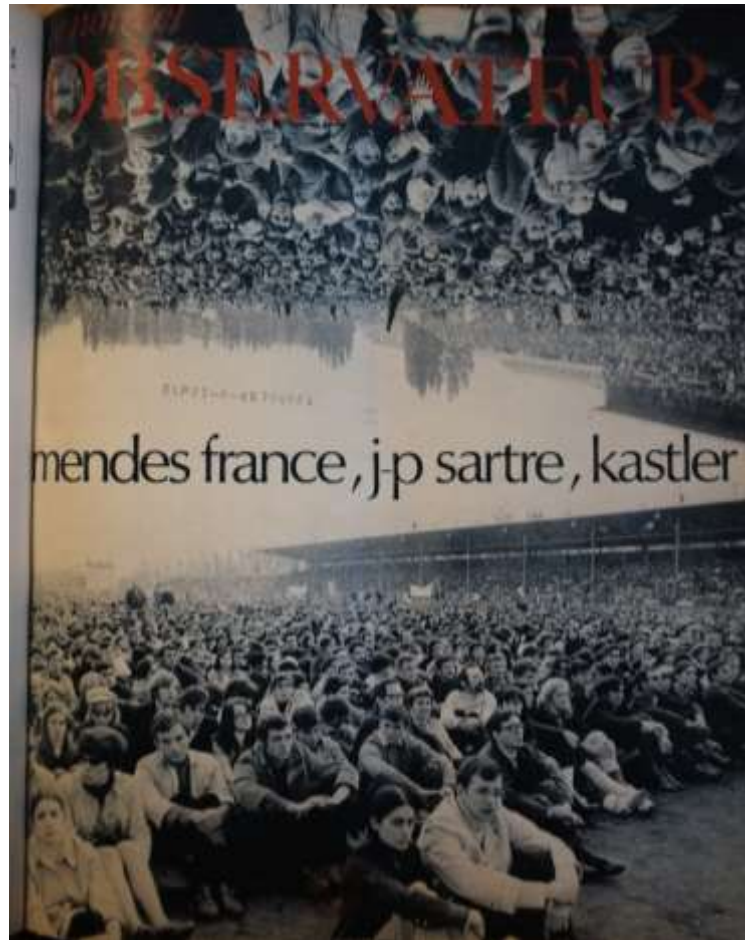


Figure 48: *Le Nouvel Observateur*, June 19-25, 1968, Gilles Caron.



Figure 49: Gamma archive, Jean-Pierre Bonnotte, a demonstration of peasants, workers, and students in Nantes on May 24, 1968.



Figure 50: Gamma archive, photographer unknown, pro-UNEF demonstration in Le Mans on May 13, 1968.



Figure 51: Gamma archive, Jean-Pierre Bonnotte, a demonstration of peasants, workers, and students in Nantes on May 24, 1968.



Figure 52: Gamma archive, photographer unknown, Reudon, May 8, 1968.



Figure 53: *Paris Match*, June 15-22, 1968, Bruno Barbey.



Figure 54: *Le Nouvel Observateur*, June 7, 1968, Gilles Caron.



Figure 55: *Paris Match*, June 15-22, 1968, Gilles Caron.



Figure 56: *Paris Match*, June 15-22, 1968, Henri Bureau.



Figure 57: *France-Soir*, May 16, 1968, photographer unknown (Apis).



Figure 58: *Paris Match*, June 15-22, 1968, photographer(s) unknown.



Figure 59: Late May, Gilles Caron, banks of the Seine river, *Fondation Gilles Caron*.



Figure 60: DFI, May 1952, Pierre Jahan.



Figure 61: *L'Express*, special supplement for early June 1968, photographer unknown (Apis).



Figure 62: *Paris Match*, June 15-22, 1968, Gilles Caron.



Figure 63: *L'Express*, special supplement for late May 1968, Manuel Bidermanas.



Figure 64: *Paris Match*, June 15-22, 1968, photographer(s) unknown.



Figure 65: May 24, 1968, Gilles Caron, interior of the stock market, *Fondation Gilles Caron*.



Figure 66: *Paris Match*, June 15-22, 1968, photographer(s) unknown.

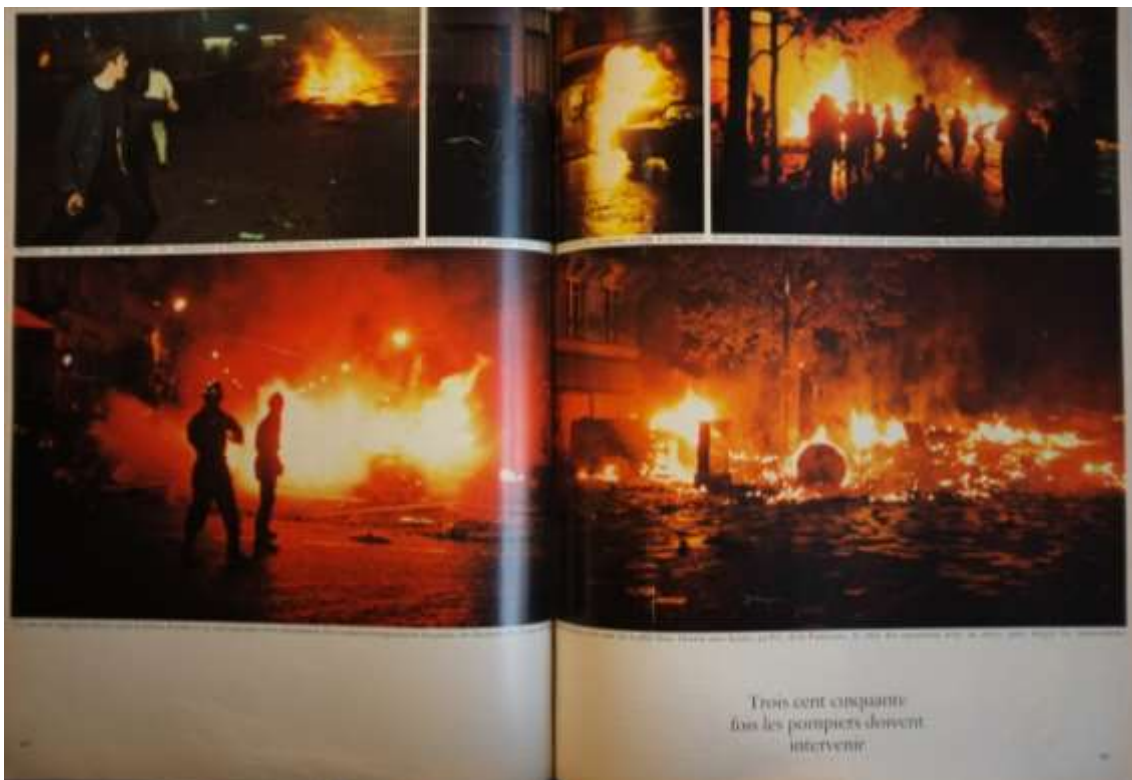


Figure 67: *Paris Match*, July 6, 1968, photographer(s) unknown.



Figure 68: *Le nouvel observateur*, June 19, 1968, photographer(s) unknown (Gamma).



Figure 69: *L'Express*, July 1-7, 1968, Manuel Bidermanas.



Figure 70: *Paris Match*, June 15-22, 1968, photographer unknown.



Figure 71: *France-Soir*, June 15, 1968, Göksin Sipahioglu.



Figure 72: Early June 1968, Katangais at the Sorbonne, Göksin Sipahioglu, *mai 68: historie en photos*.



Figure 73: *Paris Match*, July 7, 1968, Göksin Sipahioglu.



Figure 74: *Paris Match*, June 15-22, 1968, photographer(s) unknown.



Figure 75: *France-Soir*, June 1968, photographer(s) unknown.



Figure 76: *France-Soir* magazine, June 1968, Göksin Sipahioglu.



Figure 77: *Noir et Blanc*, June 1968, Gilles Caron.



Figure 78: May 30, 1968, Gilles Caron, *Fondation Gilles Caron*.



Figure 79: *Le Crapouillot*, Summer edition, 1968, Jacques Haillot.



Figure 80: *L'Événement*, June 1968, Élie Kagan.



Figure 81: *Le Livre Noir*, July 1968, Jean-Pierre Bauteloup.



Figure 82: *Les Barricades de mai*, 1968, Gilles Caron.



Figure 83: Sabine Weiss, "Towards the Light," Paris, 1953.



Figure 84: *SFP/Les 30x40/May '68*, Jean Pottier,



Figure 85: SFP/*Les 30x40*/May '68, Exhibition poster.



Figure 86: SFP/*Les 30x40*/May '68, Jacques Windenberger.



Figure 87: *SFP/Les 30x40/May '68*, Marc Riboud.



Figure 88: *SFP/Les 30x40/May '68*, Henri Cartier-Bresson.



Figure 89: SFP/*Les 30x40*/May '68, Claude Raymond Dytivon.



Figure 90: SFP/*Les 30x40*/May '68, Angel Muñes de Pablos.



Figure 91: SFP/*Les 30x40*/May '68, Angel Muñes de Pablos.



Figure 92: SFP/*Les 30x40*/May '68, Jacques Windenberger.



Figure 93:
SFP/*Les 30x40*/May '68,
Janine Niépce.



Figure 94: SFP/*Les 30x40*/May '68, Marc Garanger.



Figure 95: SFP/*Les 30x40*/May '68, Marc Riboud.

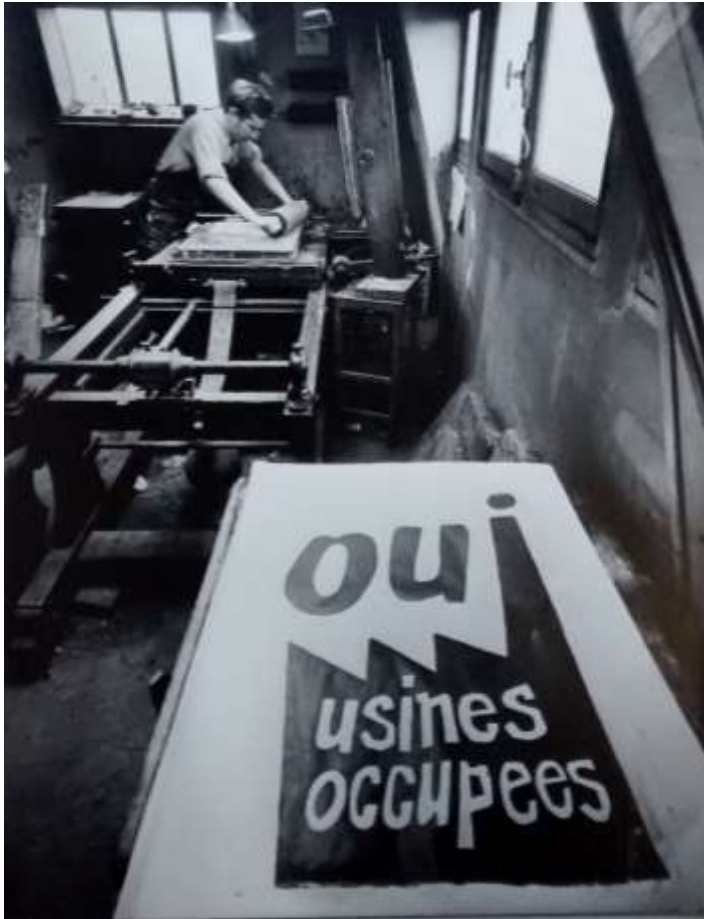


Figure 96: SFP/*Les 30x40*/May '68, Marc Riboud.



Figure 97: SFP/*Les 30x40*/May '68, Édouard Boubat.



Figure 98: SFP/*Les 30x40*/May '68, Claude Palmer.



Figure 99: SFP/*Les 30x40*/May '68, Michel Cabaud.



Figure 100: SFP/*Les 30x40*/May '68, Serge Hambourg.



Figure 101: SFP/*Les 30x40*/May '68, Philippe Allemand.



Figure 102: SFP/*Les 30x40*/May '68, Maïa Lefevre.



Figure 103: SFP/*Les 30x40*/May '68, Serge Hambourg.



Figure 104 : SFP/*Les 30x40*/May '68,
: Henri Cartier-Bresson,



Figure 105: SFP/*Les 30x40*/May '68,
Claude Raymond Dytivon



Figure 106: SFP/*Les 30x40*/May '68,
Claude Raymond Dytivon.



Figure 107: May 6, 1968,
Gilles Caron, *Fondation Gilles Caron*.



Figure 108: SFP/*Les 30x40*/May '68, Maïa Lefevre.



Figure 109: SFP/*Les 30x40*/May '68, Manuel Bidermanas.



Figure 110: SFP/*Les 30x40*/May '68, Angel Muñes de Pablos.



Figures 111 and 112: William Klein, *Life is Good and Good for You in New York*, 1956.



Figure 113: William Klein, *Life is Good and Good for You in New York*, 1956.



Figure 114: William Klein, *Life is Good and Good for You in New York*, 1956.

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Le Crapouillot

Le Figaro

Le Figaro littéraire

L'Époque

L'Evenement

Le Havre

Le Nouvel Observateur

Le Parisien libéré

Le photographe

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