



LUCILLE BALL, STARRING IN "MEET THE PEOPLE"
A METRO-GOLDWYN-MAYER PICTURE



CHAPTER ELEVEN

The West and the Cold War

In a 1946 speech, former British prime minister Winston Churchill (1874–1965) described an “iron curtain” dividing Europe; this seemed to come true in 1948, when the city of Berlin was cut off from the West by Soviet occupation forces, and supplies had to be airlifted to the city. Later, the Berlin Wall, built in August 1961, effectively isolated East Germany and the eastern European nations from the West.

The ravaged condition of the European nations, and the surprisingly deep economic downturn of the postwar British economy, helped make the United States a superpower. America's exclusive possession of atomic weapons confirmed her position. In addition, the United States was the only postwar nation sufficiently prosperous to consider direct military and economic confrontation with communist countries. Fear of communism increased with the 1949 victory of Mao Zedong (1893–1976) in China, and mixed with nuclear fear when the Soviets exploded their first atomic bomb in 1949.

The threat of nuclear warfare hung over the war in Korea (1950–53), which was the outcome of festering economic and political discontent in North Korea about the Allies' postwar decision to divide the country in two along the 38th parallel. Soviet- and Chinese-supported North Korean troops battled South Korean and United Nations forces, composed of fifteen nations, including the United States. In contrast to the patriotic photographic coverage of World War II (see p. 337), newspapers and magazines heightened public fear of nuclear warfare and stirred doubt about the war's goals, using anti-heroic images of ordinary soldiers enduring danger far from home. Battle-toughened photographers such as Harry Burrows (1926–1971), Carl Mydans (1907–2004),

and David Douglas Duncan (b. 1916) sent back close-up photographs of ordinary soldiers suffering cold, privation, and the death of friends. Duncan's photo-essay for *Life's* 1950 Christmas issue undermined cozy assumptions about what a Christmas essay should contain. Entitled “There Was a Christmas,” it showed an image of a young Marine more as victim than victor, his youthful freckles replaced by frostbite and mud (Fig. 11.2). Reflecting on his Korean images, Duncan concluded that “war is in the eyes.”

The Korean War ended in 1953, but international tensions continued to rise. In 1955, the Soviet Union and the eastern European nations of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Albania, and East Germany signed the Warsaw Pact, a mutual defense agreement. In November 1956, a Hungarian revolt against Soviet occupation was suppressed.

In October 1957, the Soviets gained the world stage with the launch of the space satellite Sputnik 1, proving the superiority of its long-range rockets. In the United States, anti-communist hysteria led to fear that “reds” were infiltrating the nation's institutions. Federal employees were asked to sign loyalty oaths. Senator Joseph McCarthy still zealously headed the powerful House Committee on Un-American Activities (H.U.A.C.), which had subpoenaed prominent entertainers as suspected communists in 1947 and 1951.

The livelihood of many within the arts community was seriously threatened by these investigations. In 1954, McCarthy set out to locate communists in the U.S. Army, a campaign that led to his downfall. After more than a decade of highly visible political photography during the New Deal and World War II, artists and photographers left the fray, having been harassed by the government or discouraged by the slowness of social change. Recalling the 1950s, photographer Lisette Model (see p. 351) exclaimed, “It was



11.2
DAVID DOUGLAS DUNCAN, *Untitled*, cover of *Life* magazine, December 25, 1950.

terrible. You didn't know what to photograph."¹ Disgusted with politics and angered by the shallow materialism of what economist John Kenneth Galbraith famously called "the affluent society" in his 1958 book of the same name, many artists, writers, and photographers turned to the inner world of private contemplation.

ANNIHILATION, ALIENATION, ABSTRACTION: AMERICA

As writer Tom Englehardt observed, "from 1945 to 1975 victory culture ended in America."² The "heroic war ethos" of 1945 gave way to fear, insecurity, and societal disillusionment. America's inability to end the nightmarish spiral of the arms race slowly undermined the logic of mutually assured atomic destruction and confidence in the nation's place in the world. The national mood was captured in a best-selling book by the sociologist David Riesman. First published in 1950, *The Lonely Crowd* leapt to prominence in a paperback edition of 1955 that sold 1.4 million copies.³ It warned of a major shift in the American character, a turning away from guidance by an inner compass, toward seeking direction from others. Riesman substantiated readers' worries about the American postwar future. Artist and photographer Ben Shahn (1898–1969), who had made images for the Farm Security Administration, summed up the parallel changes in photographic practice: "during the thirties art had been swept by mass ideas, so during the forties there took place a mass movement toward abstraction. Not only was the social dream rejected, but any dream at all."⁴

Perhaps the best example of the shift from social documentary to abstraction is provided by Aaron Siskind's work. An active member of the Photo League, and promoter of its famous *Harlem Document* (see Fig. 9.20), Siskind began experimenting in the 1940s with abstract qualities in nature and the built environment. He photographed sites where humans had left their marks, but not the human figure, unless isolated and contorted into an unusual shape. At the same time, he eliminated any hint of narrative content, and worked against the camera's construction of deep perspective, flattening the photographic image as if it were an ABSTRACT EXPRESSIONIST canvas by an American painter such as Franz Kline (1910–1962), Mark Rothko (1903–1970), or Willem de Kooning (1904–1997), whom he knew and whose artwork he photographed. One of his images was hung at the Ninth Street Show (1951) in New York City, an exhibit that was instrumental in bringing Abstract Expressionism to a wider audience.

As Siskind put it, "the so-called documentary picture left me wanting something." However much close-ups of peeling paint might look like an abstract painting (Fig. 11.3), Siskind insisted that this sort of work was not "a compromise with reality. The objects are rendered sharp, fully textured, and undistorted (my documentary training!)." Siskind described

the instant of finding his subjects in the world of visual experience as "emotional," "psychological," and "utterly personal." He concluded that "the inner drama is the meaning of the exterior event." Like many artists in the 1950s, he sought to begin anew in primal experience or, as he put it, to unlearn socially educated responses so as "to see the world clean and fresh and alive, as primitive things are clean and fresh and alive."⁵

While Siskind turned to exploring the inner world, other artists and writers looked to indigenous peoples for lessons on living outside the tainted modern world. John Collier, Sr., who served from 1934 to 1945 as President Franklin Roosevelt's commissioner of Indian affairs, helped arrange the landmark exhibit "Indian Art of the United States" at the Museum of Modern Art in New York (1941). The tone for postwar appreciation of Native Americans was set at that exhibit, when its organizer René d'Harnoncourt dismissed the notion of primitivism as a backward stage of early



11.3
AARON SISKIND, *Jerome, Arizona*, 1949. Gelatin silver print. Aaron Siskind Foundation. Nelson-Atkins Museum Collection.

By coming in close to what appears to be peeling paint, Siskind isolated a composition with a central, if abstract figure, balanced by an array of shapes in the upper and lower parts of the picture. The photograph may owe to Siskind's close relationship with Abstract Expressionist painters, who employed thick slashes of paint on their canvases.



11.4
LOTTE JACOBI, *Photogenic*, c. 1950. Vintage gelatin silver print. Lotte Jacobi Archives, Dimond Library, University of New Hampshire, Durham, New Hampshire. The Nelson-Atkins Museum of Art, Gift of Hallmark Cards, Inc., Kansas, MO.

civilization, and underscored the moral weight of Indian culture.⁶ John Collier, Jr. (1913–1992), the commissioner’s son, made extensive and generally unromanticized photographs among the Navajo people and among Peru’s indigenous peoples. Similarly, Laura Gilpin (1891–1979), who spent the greater part of her career photographing among Native Americans in the southwest, ardently studied Navajo history and life for her 1968 book *The Enduring Navajo*.

Detached from their origins in Europe between the world wars, Surrealism and abstraction became international visual languages, not only in advertising but also for a younger generation of artists. To escape persecution in Nazi Germany, Lotte Jacobi (1896–1990) had to leave 90 per cent of her work behind. After arriving in the United States in 1935, Jacobi set about combining a career in portrait photography with the production of abstractions she called “photogenics.” These resulted from drawing with a light source, such as a pen light, on photographically sensitive paper (Fig. 11.4). Working in Arizona for more than fifty years, Italian-born Frederick Sommer (1905–1999) blended Surrealism and abstraction in psychologically disturbing images. He photographed still lifes made from the desiccated corpses of desert animals, fusing formal beauty with frightening decay. Like his friend the Surrealist Max Ernst, Sommer experimented with de-forming

the photograph’s realism. He superimposed images, created *CLICHÉS VERRES*, and constructed negatives from oil paint sandwiched between sheets of cellophane. Even his straight photographs look like altered images (Fig. 11.5). Like Siskind, with whom he photographed in 1949, Sommer favored blocking out the horizon line and focusing on surface texture and flatness.⁷ Just as Abstract Expressionists such as Jackson Pollock (1912–1956) brought to center stage the physical process of making art, so Sommer emphasized technique at the expense of realistic description.

As happened in Europe, American Surrealist photography gradually lost its sense of outrage and estrangement, becoming more a means of psychic inquiry and fanciful imaginings. Even though American Jerry Uelsmann (b. 1934) claims that his seamless separate realities draw on what he calls “the darker side of myself,”⁸ there are no horrific scenes in his work. A student of Minor White (1908–1976), Uelsmann creates illusionistic images that seem to capture a parallel world, where elements recombine in unexpected, but not repugnant ways (Fig. 11.7). In one print he showed himself in the bathtub as Oscar Rejlander and as Henry Peach Robinson, a reference to the nineteenth-century combination-printmakers and their efforts to insert visual information into the photograph that the camera was incapable of recording.

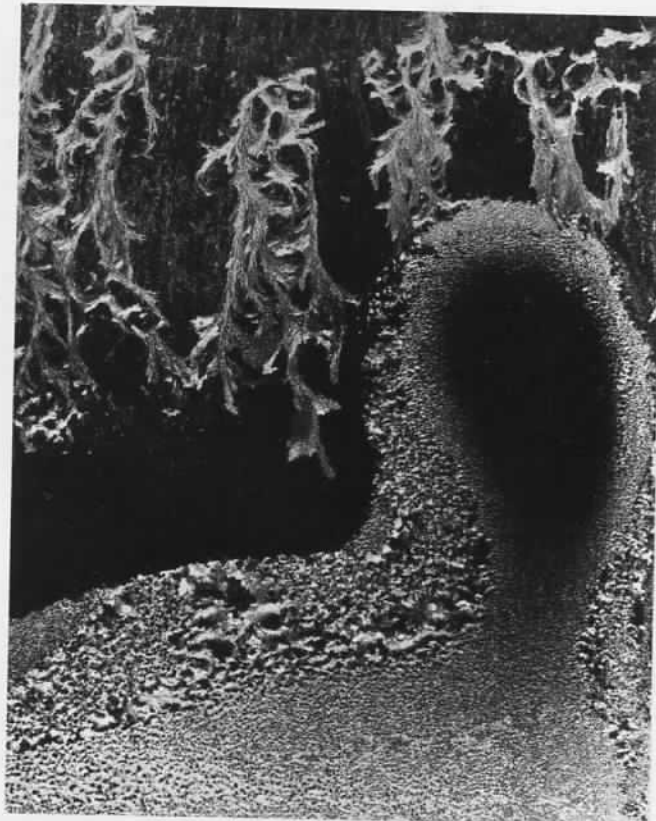
Surrealism and abstraction were among a number of strategies for contesting the notions that photography must record the external world, or that it was obliged to support the humanitarian task of social betterment. Minor White, a photographer who sought spiritual insights in poetry, psychological theory, myth, and religion, did not so much reject the material realm as reconfigure it. White thought of photography as a process wherein the visual world was rediscovered as a font of spiritual illumination for those



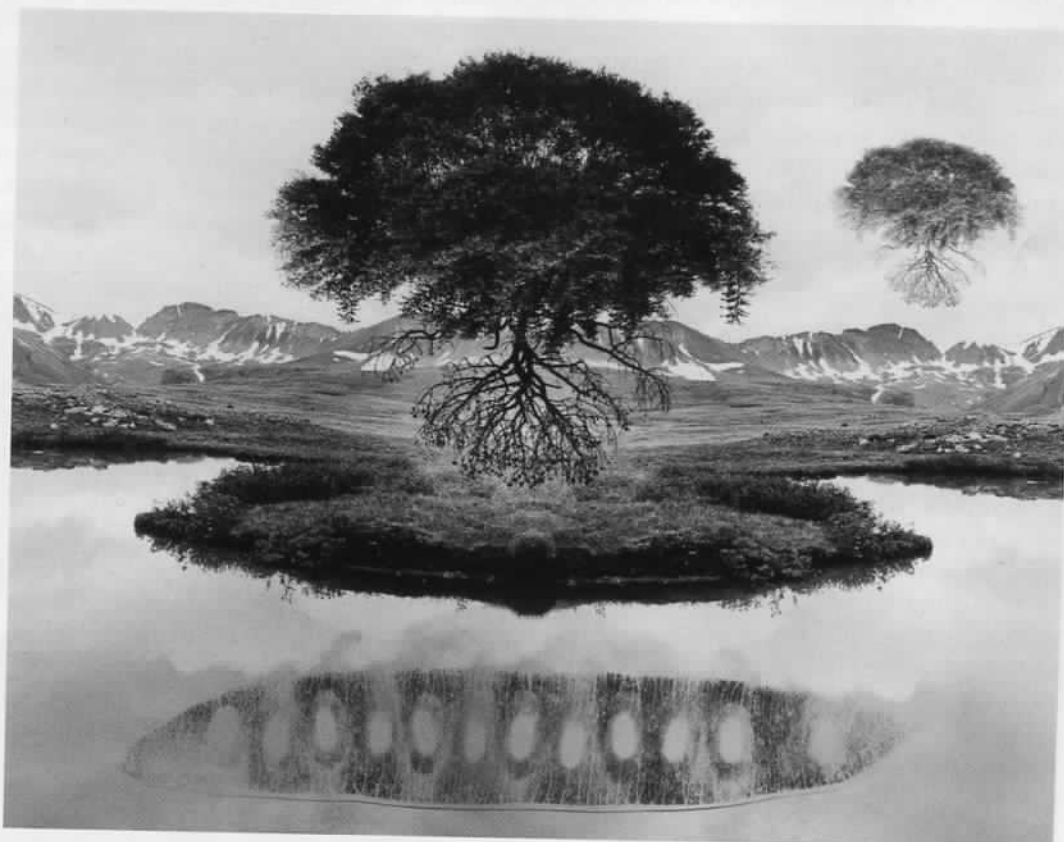
11.5
FREDERICK SOMMER, *Arizona Landscape*, 1943. Gelatin silver print. Center for Creative Photography, Tucson, Arizona.

willing to look. Widely seen as a mystic, White nonetheless stressed that the poet-photographer must move beyond self-discovery to communication. Writing to a person seeking his advice, White counseled: "Your photographs are still mirrors of yourself. In other words your images are raw, the emotions naked. These are private images not public ones. They are 'expressive' meaning a direct mirror of yourself rather than 'creative' meaning so converted as to affect others as mirrors of themselves."⁹

White much admired Stieglitz's photographs, especially the series known as *Equivalents* (see Fig. 6.27), in which he used cloud shots to intimate inner states. Like Stieglitz, White insisted that photographs could be much more than literal transcriptions of optical reality, and he preferred to work in series of images arranged to form complex poetic meanings. He began making "sequences" soon after returning from service in World War II, and this "cinema of stills" became his basic unit.¹⁰ Wanting a more interactive interpretation of his work, White often spoke of "reading" photographs, not merely glimpsing them. In the 1940s, he was already numbering his sequences, some of which were personal explorations of homoerotic desire that were never publicly exhibited during his lifetime. The order of individual photographs within a sequence was not fixed, but changed from time to time. Certain themes recur in his work, such as the fleeting performances of natural phenomena. Ordinary doors and windows open on to unanticipated glimpses of fantastic yet momentary illumination (Fig. 11.6).



11.6
MINOR WHITE, *Empty Head*, from sequence 14 of *Sound of One Hand Clapping*, 1962. Gelatin silver print. Minor White Archive. Princeton Art Museum, Princeton, New Jersey.



HARRY UELSMANN, *Untitled*
(Landscape with a floating tree), 1969.
Tate and Albert Museum, London.

Uelmann's precise combination-
ing techniques allow him to invent
ative worlds in which nature
esses in ways contrary to its habits
ark.

At the end of the nineteenth century, White might have been a Pictorialist, locating spirituality in suggestive haziness. Instead, he looked to the intensely detailed views and vigilant printing methods of Ansel Adams and Edward Weston, and to their use of the straight photograph to convey metaphysical meaning. In the postwar period, when social reform efforts were too often misconstrued as communist ventures, White became a spiritual activist. His teaching at institutions on the East and West coasts, and curatorial position at George Eastman House in Rochester, New York, allowed him to encourage personal insight and spirituality among photographers, and to promote the use of photography as metaphor or symbol. In 1952, White became editor of *Aperture*, a magazine devoted to art photography, which he founded along with others, including Dorothea Lange and Ansel Adams. Although his work was criticized by Postmodernists in the late twentieth century as “mystical trivia,”¹¹ White’s influence on photography endures in the meditative fine printing of his students, such as Paul Caponigro (b. 1932) and Jerry Uelsmann, as well as the independence of Eugene Richards (see p. 419).

THE AMERICANS

Minor White’s spiritualism was not the only personal approach to photography to have a lasting impact on the medium. The photographs of Swiss-born photographer Robert Frank (b. 1924) induced many young photographers to cruise the streets and highways of America looking for pictures. A commercial and fashion photographer when he came to the United States, Frank also made his own work, which came to Steichen’s attention while he was selecting images for “The Family of Man” exhibition.

Encouraged by his friend and mentor Walker Evans, Frank began the first of several road trips around the United States, where he made pictures that would unravel the certitude of documentary photography as practiced by the F.S.A. photographers and the picture press. Where Depression-era documentarians witnessed a troubled yet resilient America, summed up in such images as Lange’s *Migrant Mother* (see Fig. 9.3), Frank saw a soul-damaged population, fluctuating between violence, ignorance, and despair. In the collection of these images called *The Americans* (French edition, 1958; American edition, 1959), first published in France because no American publishing house would issue it, Frank transformed tokens of American postwar material prosperity, such as automobiles and television sets, casting them as conduits of an insidious commercialism that was profoundly alienating individuals from each other and from the wider society. In this way, he can be seen as part of a wider artistic resistance movement, which included the Beat poets and novelists, engaged in the struggle to find alternatives to the power of consensus-based art forms. Despite Frank’s recurrent images of motion and communication, such as highways or telephones, the people in *The Americans* seem stuck in one place: the loneliness of their own psyches. As

Peter C. Mazio observed, “The only mobile person in Robert Frank’s *The Americans* is the artist himself.”¹² In his book, American flags sometimes fly in the faces of observers, obscuring their vision, and people seldom find eye-contact with each other (Fig. 11.8).

Rather than the clear, detailed pictures of photojournalism and the documentary tradition, Frank’s prints are often gritty, tilted, and blurred. Shot with a 35mm camera, which allowed him to take pictures quickly and secretly, they have an unpremeditated look that—like the action paintings of Jackson Pollock—combines great intensity with a free, risky handling. *The Americans* does not progress through a legible visual narrative, but consists of fragmented “indecisive” moments experienced by the photographer. For some viewers, Frank’s concentration on ragtag Americans and his apathetic attitude toward the craft of photography were tantamount to “un-American” behavior of the kind persecuted by McCarthy’s committee.

With the wider circulation of a 1960s’ American edition, and subsequent republications that kept the book in print, Frank’s photographs gained a wide intellectual presence as a protest against numbing mass culture, materialism, and social conformity. The preface to this United States printing was written by Beat generation writer Jack Kerouac (1922–1969), whose jittery romantic novel of the American highways *On the Road* was published in 1957 and featured Frank as one of its characters. Kerouac’s hipster language, reeled off in streams of association, like a poem by Allen Ginsberg (1926–1997), located the authenticity of the pictures in their apparently impromptu nature, reminiscent of Beat-generation poetry and jazz improvisation.

Kerouac also drew Frank—and photography—into the sphere of American existentialism and Beat generation hauteur, with its emphasis on cool, self-absorbed rebelliousness in the face of narrow social conformity. In effect, Kerouac suggested that Frank’s photographs could be savored like serious avant-garde literature, which assailed the deeply rooted American tradition of rural innocence and integrity, and prophesied the coming of shabby morality and self-delusion to the American heartland. Like Walker Evans, whose *American Photographs* (1938) pictured automobiles, graveyards, and luncheonettes as signposts of American feeling, Frank became a photographer-hero, both for his vision and for his lifestyle, which reflected personal discoveries. Evans had, in fact, helped to obtain for Frank

11.8 (opposite)

ROBERT FRANK, *Drug Store*, Detroit, 1955, plate 147 from his book *The Americans*, 1959. Gelatin silver print. Courtesy Pace McGill Gallery, New York. © the artist.

The Americans captures the sense of unfulfilled lives and spiritually vacant environments of the post-World War II period. Whether by accident or design, contemporary issues sometimes intrude on Frank’s work, as in this view of a lunch counter where white men are served by African-American women, who would not be welcome to eat at the counter they serve.





11.9
HARRY CALLAHAN, *Chicago*, 1961. Gelatin silver print.

the Guggenheim Fellowship that allowed him to make the trips on which *The Americans* was based.

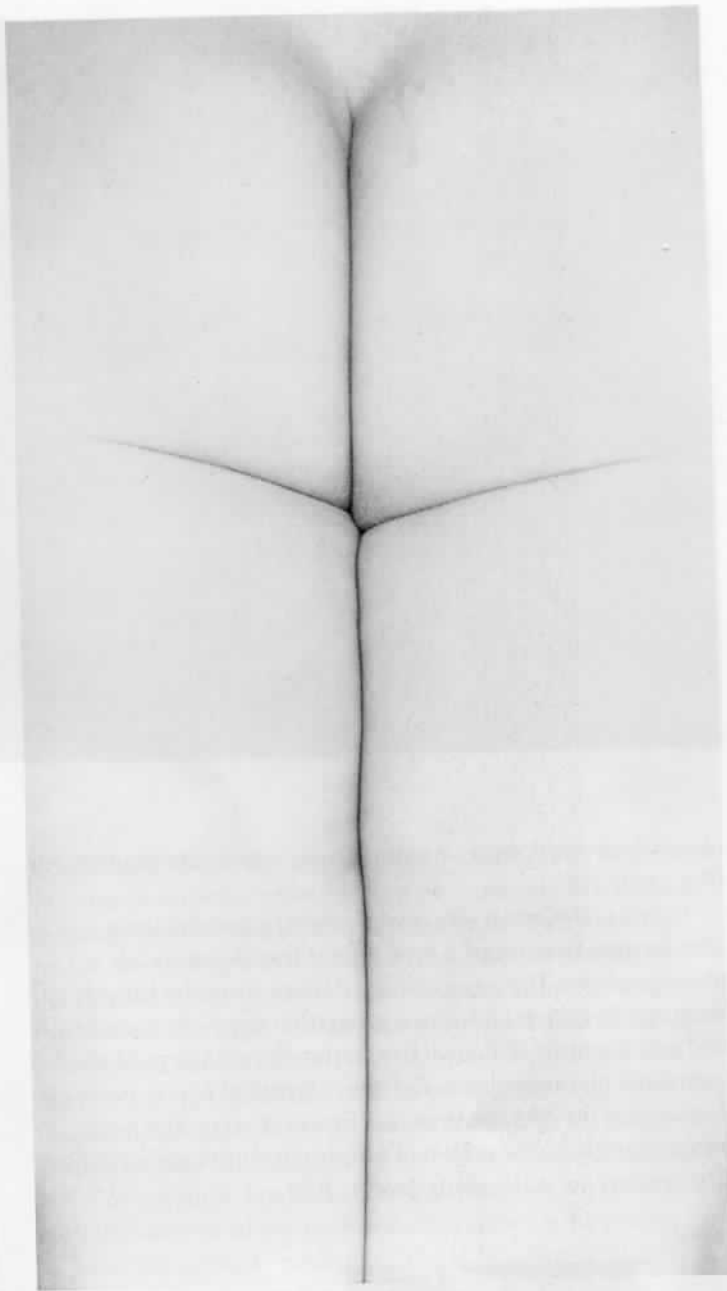
In 1962, Frank remarked that “photography is a solitary journey. That is the only course open to the creative photographer. There is no compromise: only a few photographers accept this fact.”¹³ Taking a cue from the New York Abstract Expressionist painters and Beat generation poets, among whom he lived and worked in the 1940s and 1950s, Frank believed that anti-authoritarianism was a basic form of political resistance. How one lived was far more consequential than overt political action. In the 1960s, he moved away from photography to filmmaking. Ultimately he left the United States for a remote area of Nova Scotia, Canada, where he made photographs and films. Today he lives and works in Manhattan and Nova Scotia.

ON THE STREETS

Street photography is as old as the medium itself; one of Daguerre’s early images shows a Paris boulevard (see Fig. 1.15). But in the postwar period, street photography was increasingly practiced by art photographers who discovered in the shifting crowds on America’s city streets countless images that expressed the photographer’s inner feelings or evinced the seedy materialism of postwar American culture. Harry Callahan (1912–1999), Siskind’s colleague at the Chicago Institute of Design, found fresh material on the streets through what he called “seeing photographically.”¹⁴ Callahan’s brooding street photographs are crammed with stark contrasts of black and white, allowing few middle gray tones (Fig. 11.9). While he viewed the city as tense and inhospitable, he could shift outlooks to savor lyrical flashes of beauty in humble tufts of grass, elegant lines drawn by utility wires against the sky, or the graceful features of his wife’s form (Fig. 11.10).

Although Callahan’s influence was felt throughout American photography, street photographers were generally more enchanted with what became known as the “snapshot aesthetic,” an apparently uncomposed everyday subject, illuminated only with available light, and taken in a way that mimics instantaneous sight. Although the trend toward making these seemingly casual and unprepared, sometimes blurry, and often deliberately imperfect pictures owes to the influence of Frank’s *The Americans*, several photographers had earlier explored the snapshot aesthetic.

For example, when Roy DeCarava (b. 1919) worked on the photographs for the book *The Sweet Flypaper of Life* (1955), with a text by poet and writer Langston Hughes, he balanced posed portraits with unrehearsed scenes on Harlem’s streets and in people’s homes. Neither Hughes nor DeCarava attempted to make a sociological report or to advocate reform measures. Each insisted on rendering Harlem artistically.¹⁵ Thickly shadowed or blurred images alternate with studies of sharply delineated light and shade. In DeCarava’s work, the snapshot aesthetic merged with Cartier-Bresson’s “decisive moment.” The mixture is apparent in a shot showing an



11.10
HARRY CALLAHAN, *Eleanor*, 1947. Gelatin silver print.



11.11
ROY DECARAVA, *Graduation*, 1949, from his book *The Sweet Flypaper of Life*, 1955. George Eastman House, Rochester, New York.

Some of DeCarava's photographs are so thick with shadow that forms are barely visible. In this image, however, the girl's pleasure on the way to a graduation is highlighted in a wedge of light that pierces the desolation of the empty lot. The billboard does double duty, as a caption for the girl's achievement, and as an ironic contrast with its surroundings.

elegantly dressed young woman on the way to her graduation (Fig. 11.11).

In 1963, DeCarava was one of several photographers who formed Kamoinge, a forum for African-American photographers. The name, which derives from the Kikuyu language in Kenya, signifies a group that supports members and acts together. Still an active center, Kamoinge published members' photographs in *The Sweet Breath of Life: A Poetic Narrative of the African-American Family* (2004). The book adopted an inclusive notion of family current in early twenty-first century social thinking (see p. 462).



11.12
WILLIAM KLEIN, *Swing and Boy and Girl*, New York, 1954. © William Klein. Gelatin silver print. Howard Greenberg Gallery, New York.

The former painter William Klein (b. 1928), who spent most of his career abroad, had begun to snatch cheerless images along New York City's streets before Frank published *The Americans*. Klein conceived his early work in book form, where he would have greater control over the printing and arrangement of his images, as in his self-published *Life is Good and Good for You in New York: William Klein Trance Witness Revels* (1956). Less well known than Frank, Klein was even more experimental in his camerawork. He distorted the image, overexposing with a flash, or deliberately using wide-angle lenses for close-ups, in order to blur or stretch shapes (Fig. 11.12). Self-taught, Klein bypassed prescribed methods of taking pictures and looked to the tabloids. "My aesthetics was the *New York Daily News*," he wrote. "I saw the book I wanted to do as a tabloid gone berserk, gross, grainy, over-inked, with a brutal layout, bull-horn headlines."¹⁶

The impertinent tabloid photographs Klein enjoyed may have been made by Weegee—the nickname of Arthur Fellig (1899–1968)—who sold his specialty, raw crime-scene photography to many New York newspapers. His well-deserved moniker derived either from the squeegee he used in one of his first jobs as a darkroom assistant, or from the ouija board, a device used at séances to contact the dead. With a short-wave radio in his car and home, Weegee monitored police broadcasts and arrived so quickly on the scene that he seemed able to anticipate the crime. Weegee's New York is a place of barely submerged brutality, fear, and confusion (Fig. 11.13). Weegee became an art-world celebrity, who exhibited and lectured at the Museum of Modern Art in New York. His sensational images of crime and violent death,

1113
WEEGEE (ARTHUR FELLIG), *Their First Murder*, October 9, 1941. Gelatin silver print. Weegee photographed murder and mayhem for tabloid newspapers.

His signature style often included an array of human reactions, from shock and grief, to excitement about the chance of getting one's picture in the newspaper. He liked to include bystanders, who—in their ability to ignore death and human suffering, and become ghoulish voyeurs—acted as surrogates for newspaper readers.



rendered in the harsh light of the exploding flash, were not unique, however. The ubiquitous tabloid newspapers established a stylish visual vocabulary and cast of urban characters (corpse, cop, and criminal) that encouraged films such as *Murder, My Sweet* and *Double Indemnity*, both released in 1944, and *The Naked City*, adapted from Weegee's 1945 collection of photographs with the same title.¹⁷

THE SOCIAL LANDSCAPE

The appearance of a new photographic trend, indifferent to social reform but acutely focused on the qualities of camera vision, was recognized in 1966, at the Brandeis University exhibition "Twelve Photographers of the American Social Landscape." The show gave the style its name, and was quickly followed by another compendium at George Eastman House, Rochester, New York (now the International Museum of Photography at George Eastman House, IMP/GEH) where curator Nathan Lyons opened "Toward a Social Landscape" (1966). Soon after, the Museum of Modern Art mounted its exhibition "New Documents" (1967). In these presentations, Lee Friedlander (b. 1934) emerged as a major figure. Friedlander was impressed by Frank's *The Americans*, and made his own road trip around the United States, shooting cemetery stones and memorial statues for an elegiac project called *The American Monument* (1976). Friedlander admired Weegee's hardheaded urban dramas and André Kertész's grasp of visual coincidence. He balked at supplying viewers with clear visual clues with which to decipher his work. Whether picturing the jumble of signs and traffic on the street, or layers of reflections in the glass of storefronts,

Friedlander obscurely hinted at a story, only to fall back on an exercise in camera vision. He saw photography as a picture-making system with rules as peculiar to itself as painting. Just as the painter's brush leaves marks on the canvas, so the camera leaves marks of its rectangular framing device, the kind of lens used, and the chemistry of the film and processing. In *New Orleans* (1968), Friedlander toyed with the photographic tradition of deep perspective (Fig. 11.14). He frequently includes his reflection or shadow in his work, not to indicate that the image is a personal metaphor for a state of mind or emotion, but to demonstrate that it is a picture made with the camera whose outlines often show in the print.

More blunt than Friedlander, Garry Winogrand (1928–1984) was also among the new social landscape image-makers. Like Friedlander, he did a stint as a photojournalist for the picture press. One of his images, an uncomplicated view of a couple frisking in the water at a bathing beach, was included in "The Family of Man." It did not give an inkling of the psychologically complex and tense series of street photographs that he would begin in the 1960s. With funding from a Guggenheim grant, Winogrand set out in 1964 to tour America, as Walker Evans and Robert Frank had done before him. But Winogrand had a particular agenda; he wanted to photograph the United States in the wake of the 1963 assassination of President John F. Kennedy.

Winogrand is often quoted as saying "I photograph to find out what the world looks like photographed."¹⁸ Where Friedlander's work resembles fortuitously found collages, Winogrand's pictures homed in on human gestures and body stances that indicate interpersonal tension and inner turmoil.



11.14
LEE FRIEDLANDER, *New Orleans*, 1968. Gelatin silver print.



11.15
GARRY WINOGRAND, *American Legion Convention, Dallas, Texas*, 1964. Gelatin silver print. Museum of Modern Art, New York.



11.16
LISETTE MODEL, *Albert-Alberta, Hubert's Forty-Second Street Flea Circus*, New York, c. 1945. Gelatin silver print. National Gallery of Canada/Musée des Beaux-Arts du Canada, Ottawa.

Sometimes his caustic view of human nature is echoed in abrupt cropping of the image, or in shots where the camera has been tilted.

Winogrand asserted that the photograph was not simply a window on the world but a new fact. His fear that the subject matter of the street might overwhelm his investigation of photography's unique picture-making qualities was well founded.¹⁹ In his image of a man with multiple amputations (Fig. 11.15), the chance arrangement of figures, oddly reminiscent of a *tableau vivant*, is not so compelling as to blunt the tense human implications of the scene.

Comparing the work of Friedlander and Winogrand to European street photographers such as Kertész, one can see that the American work tips the balance between form and narrative toward form, and tilts the scales between individual expression and neutrality toward neutral vision, or disinterested irony. What remains personal in much social landscape photography is the selection of the picture, especially because Friedlander and Winogrand both exposed many rolls of film and picked the picture from contact sheets.

The influence of the social landscape photographers was felt throughout the 1960s, but it did not completely obliterate

the work of street photographers with a greater interest in content and personal point of view. For example, when Austrian-born photographer Lisette Model (1901–1983) emigrated to the United States in 1938, she had already polished her observation of human foibles and vanities. In France, where she had lived since 1926, Model's lens recorded the self-delusions of the rich and fashionable as they lounged in the fancy resort area of Nice. In New York, she showed her work at the Photo League, and continued to be fascinated by those who are infatuated by glamour, including people on the margins of society (Fig. 11.16). Because she was not able to make a living from her art and freelance fashion work, Model turned to teaching in 1949, eventually becoming one of New York City's leading photo-educators.

Among her students was Diane Arbus (1923–1971), who took private lessons from Model, and also studied with her at the New School for Social Research. Arbus responded to what she saw as Model's hard-boiled audacity and courage to confront extremes in human situations. In addition, Arbus sharpened her nerve when she accompanied famed New York tabloid ace Weegee on his assignments to photograph murders. Included with Friedlander and Winogrand in the



STEPHEN FRANK, *Untitled* (Diane Arbus with her photo of a boy holding a toy grenade in Central Park, New York), 1970.

1967 “New Documents” exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art, Arbus’s work was more personal, transforming the social world into a visual terrain to be mined for metaphors resonating with her inner feelings.

Arbus turned normalcy on its head, making the ordinary bizarre and naturalizing the unusual. In her photographs of people, many of them made while she roamed the streets of New York, clothes and cosmetics are futile efforts to camouflage psychic emptiness or damage. When Arbus photographed children, she revealed them as little versions of bad-tempered, mean-spirited adults (Fig. 11.17). On the other hand, her photographs of people at the margins of society, such as female impersonators, show them to be more virtuous for having unmasked their subjective inclinations. For Arbus, marginal people were symbols of her own psychological fragility and trauma.

During the postwar period in American photography, Arbus was not alone in undermining sentimental ideas of the innocence of childhood. Ralph Eugene Meatyard (1925–1972) coaxed children to wear weird masks that did not so



11.18 (above)
RALPH EUGENE MEATYARD, *Romance (N)* from *Ambrose Bierce, No. 3*, 1962. Gelatin silver print. George Eastman House, Rochester, New York.



11.19
BRUCE DAVIDSON, *Untitled*, from his book *East 100th Street*, New York, 1966–68.

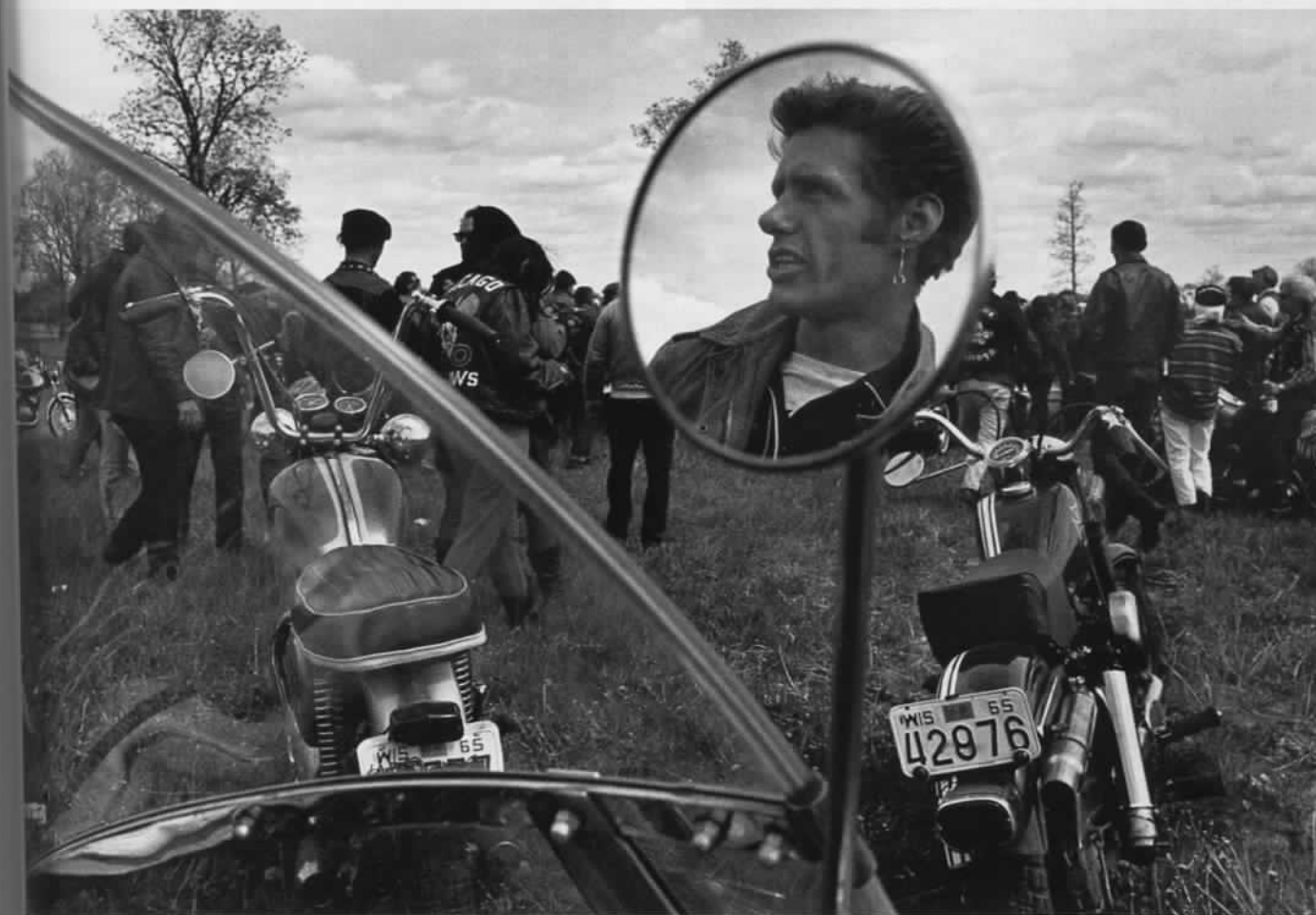
Davidson was one of the few photographers adept at blending the dark outlook of postwar photography with the attentive humanism of the Depression era. Using a large-format view camera and a flash, he spent two years photographing life on East 100th Street in New York City, where he balanced scenes of hardship with those of hope and endurance.

much conceal their innocence as reveal their strangeness (Fig. 11.18). Teenage life became a regular subject in the work of many street photographers, including Bruce Davidson (b. 1933). He spent two years chronicling the lives of a Brooklyn gang called the Jokers, and two years photographing the homes of families living on New York City's East 100th Street (Fig. 11.19). Like many photographers of his generation, Davidson was inspired by Frank's *The Americans*: "in it I saw an America that diminished the dream and replaced it with piercing truth. It was hard for me to endure those bitter, beautiful photographs, for I had still within me the dream of hope and sympathy that I had found in the widow, the dwarf, and the gang."²⁰

Davidson's resilient empathy reveals itself in his New York City photographs, which fix on the strong community and family relationships that persist in the face of deprivation. His approach stands in sharp contrast to that of other photographers who prowled American streets to expose living symbols of alienation and despair. As historian Jonathan Green observed, "the icons of the sixties have few redeeming

features: the dwarf, the freak, the prostitute, the disenfranchised, the outlaw motorcyclists, the drug addict, the insane, the retarded, the prisoner, the napalmed child, the brutal cop, the assassin's assassin."²¹ Danny Lyon (b. 1942), who assisted Robert Frank with filmmaking, chronicled motorcycle gangs in his own work, and in 1968 he published *The Bikeriders*, the chronicle of a Midwestern motorcycle club. Lyon presented these young people as rebels whose choice to live outside middle-class social values paid off in strong bonds of companionship (Fig. 11.20).

Perhaps the most disturbing images of teenagers were rendered by Larry Clark (b. 1943), who gained fresh notoriety for his 1995 film *Kids*, which features explicit scenes of underage drug use and sex. His 1971 book *Tulsa* covered similar territory: it is a first-hand account of the time he spent among drug-users, some of whom were his friends (Fig. 11.21). While postwar photographers, such as Lyon, spent extensive time among their subjects, Clark personally sampled the drug culture he imaged. His candid photographs provoked negative reactions, in part, as critic Joseph Marshall



120
DANNY LYON, *Cal, Eikhorn, Wisconsin*, 1966. Gelatin silver print.



11.21

LARRY CLARK, *Tulsa Portfolio*, 1972. Gelatin silver print.

Clark's photographs of the deteriorating lives lived by drug dealers and users in Tulsa, Oklahoma, assailed the bright humanism of Depression-era documentary photography. In this image, in which a man lies in pain from an accidental gunshot wound, the viewer's sympathies are pulled in different directions.



11.22

HELEN LEVITT, *New York*, c. 1940. Gelatin silver print.

11.23 (opposite)

DUANE MICHALS, *The Bogeyman*, 1973. Gelatin silver print.

observed, because "Clark implied what [Robert] Frank didn't say ... that getting high, despite its social costs and its dangers, is an appropriate response to the banal meaningfulness of American life."²² Compared to this abrasive nihilism, Helen Levitt's (1913–2009) sometimes whimsical, always compassionate, street photographs of children (Fig. 11.22) are exceptional in their amiable, bemused observations, an attitude more familiar in the work of European photographers.

Many postwar photographers worked in extensive series based on life experiences, be they road trips or observations gained through insight and meditation. The scope of these series, dramatized by the photographer's unique perspective on how to order the images, propelled the photographic book into prominence. The rhythm, connections, and contradictions of form and subject generated by sequenced images had a lasting impact on contemporary photographic practice. In the work of Duane Michals (b. 1932), the photographic sequence blended with two other postwar trends, the deliberate staging of scenes to be photographed, and the addition of text, not as an explanatory caption but as an integral part of the work. A successful advertising photographer, Michals developed a signature blend of photography and the film frame during the late 1960s. His book *Sequences* (1970) contains arrangements of images that narrate appearances of spirits and passages between life and death. Like many postwar photographers, Michals favored a palette of dense black, hazy grays, and form-dissolving light (Fig. 11.23).

SUBURBIA

Postwar prosperity fueled the migration of Americans from the cities to the suburbs, where the prospect of green space and domestic comforts was underwritten by the larger

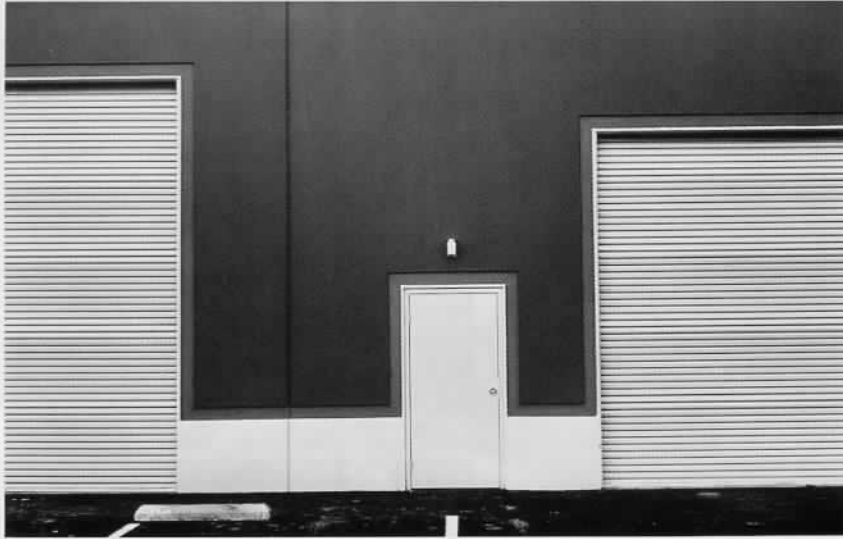
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11.24
LEWIS BALTZ, *Southwest Wall, Ware, Malcom, & Garner*, from *The New Industrial Parks Near Irvine, California*, 1974. Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/Canadian Center for Architecture, Montreal, Canada.



11.25
ROBERT ADAMS, *Newly Occupied Tract Houses*, Colorado Springs, Colorado, 1969.

Many American suburbs were built in the decade following World War II. Their rapid appearance in isolated clumps surrounded by open landscape attracted photographers, who implicitly contrasted the open and vacant suburban terrain with the congested urban environment.

hope of rising to a higher social class. As historian David Halberstam wrote, many in the freshly minted middle class "were children of people who never owned a home and who had rented cold-water flats in the years before the war."²³ In the American West, long a symbol-laden landscape in art and photography, the spectacular banality of regularized suburban houses suddenly springing up in formerly open expanses caught the critical eye of photographers such as Lewis Baltz (b. 1945) (Fig. 11.24) and Robert Adams (b. 1937), who preferred the distanced view and a seemingly neutral style, the visual analog of their prosaic subjects (Fig. 11.25).

This approach to landscape photography was reported in an influential 1975 exhibition, "New Topographics: Photographs of a Man-Altered Landscape," at Eastman House in Rochester. The drab, dispassionate images in this show rebutted the sometimes lush, sometimes sublime attitude toward the land expressed in a photographic tradition derived from nineteenth-century images of the American West. In addition, the neutral vision that framed "New Topographics" linked photography with the international art movement called Conceptualism (see p. 376), and helped accelerate the acceptance of camerawork in academia and the art world.

In a series of photographs published in the book *Suburbia* (1972, 1999), Bill Owens (b. 1938), a photographer for a small

newspaper in Livermore, near the Bay Area of California, portrayed not only the look of the suburbs but also the dreams, longings, and discontents of the residents. Owens admired the visual sociology of the F.S.A. photographs, and his work is replete with small, telling details.²⁴ Ungroomed nature is threatening: one photograph shows a teenager straddling the branches of a small tree, shaking off all the leaves to be raked by a second lad below. In another picture, a couple sit in a garage crammed with motorcycles and other vehicles. In the quotation accompanying the photograph they mellowly remark, "We enjoy having these things." When Owens moved inside suburban homes, he found the focus of the modern living-room to be the television set, mostly left on and disgorging advertisements, football, old movies, space launches, and occasional glimpses of a grimly determined President Richard Nixon (1913–1994). Owens captured not only the tackiness of furnishing and omnipresent polyester clothing but also the dissent and dislocation of suburbanites, whom he does not patronize or stereotype. An African-American woman notes that her children are growing up without an anchor in black culture; a Chinese-American family cannot find Asian groceries nearby. Teenagers grumble that there is nothing to do in the suburbs. The impact of the national mood is caught in women's complaints about staying home and taking care of children (Fig. 11.26).



11.26

BILL OWENS, *Untitled*, from his book *Suburbia*, 1972, 1999.

TECHNOLOGY AND MEDIA IN POSTWAR AMERICA

COLOR PHOTOGRAPHY AND THE POLAROID PROCESS

The concluding segment of Steichen's "The Family of Man" exhibition disrupted the long chain of black-and-white photographs with a large color transparency of a hydrogen bomb explosion. Before the war, the Farm Security Administration photographers sometimes used color film, and in the decade after the conflict, magazines such as

National Geographic used color transparencies. Magazine advertising occasionally appeared in color, and fashion photographers leapt at the chance to use color to depict clothing and to glamorize settings. Horst P. Horst, Paul Outerbridge, Richard Avedon (1923–2004) (Fig. 11.27), and Avedon's student Japanese-born photographer Hiro (b. 1930) (Fig. 11.28) electrified the pages of large-format fashion magazines with strong color accents. Soon color slipped the bonds of description and was used by image-makers such as photographer and art director Bert Stern (b. 1929) to contrive

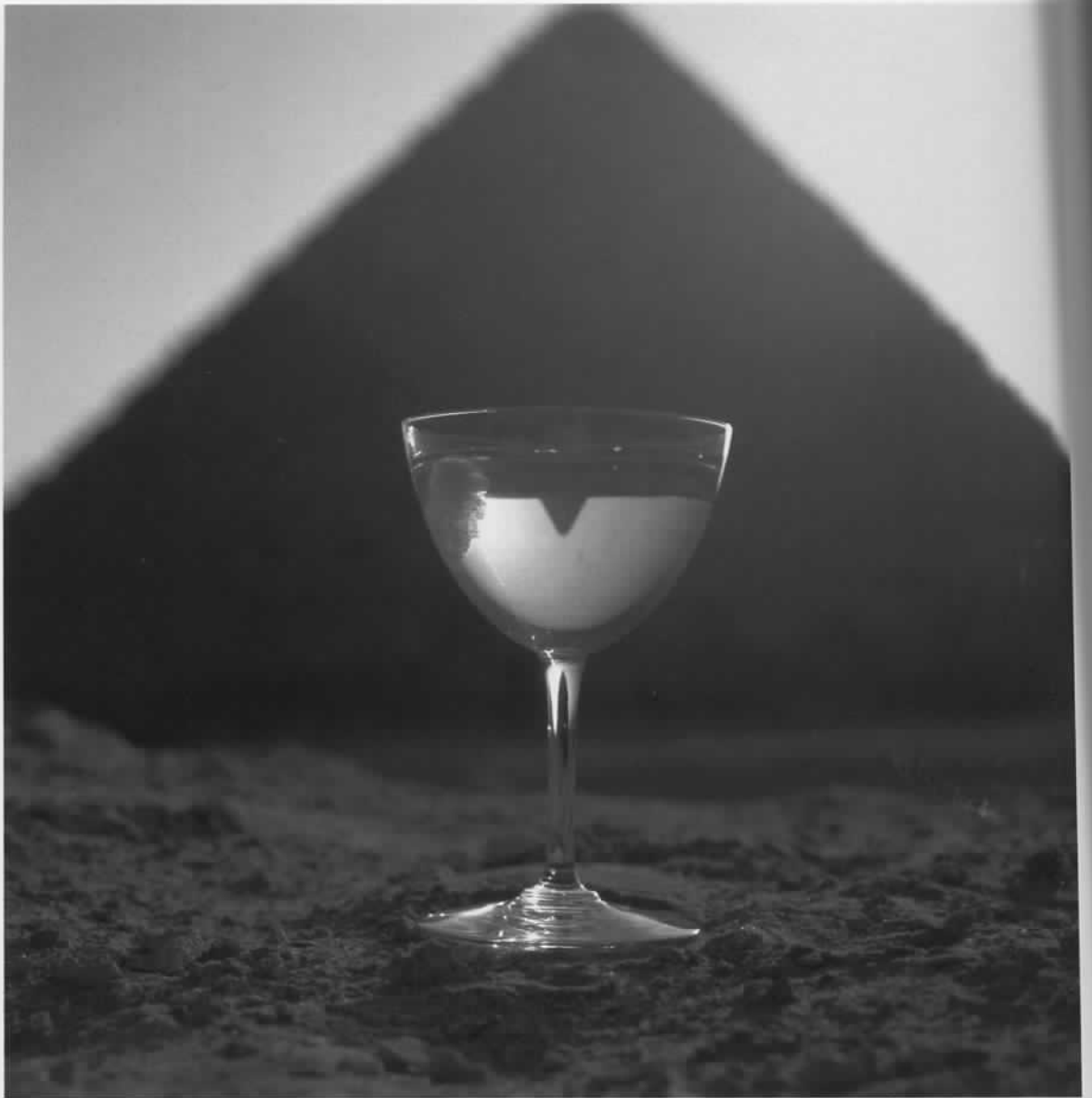


11.27
RICHARD AVEDON, Cover of *Harper's Bazaar*, April 1965.



11.28
HIRO, *Tilly Tizzani with a Blue Scarf, Antigua, 1963*, from cover of *Harper's Bazaar*, May 1963. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

Post-World War II magazine advertising quickly embraced color reproduction. In his fashion photography, Hiro tended to isolate figures and accentuate deeply saturated colors, all of which served to remove models from the real world.



11.29
BERT STERN, *Martini and Pyramid*, 1955. Dye-transfer print.

Necessity was the mother of Stern's inventive treatment of a cocktail made with Russian vodka. During the Cold War, Russian products seemed un-American. Stern's solution was to make the vodka seem un-Russian, by photographing chic, exotic settings.

seductive advertisements in which bright color saturates the whole environment (Fig. 11.29). Later, Stern became famous for having made numerous photographs of Marilyn Monroe six weeks before she died. During the 1970s, Deborah Turbeville (b. 1937) created her own distinctive cool-toned colors and dusky atmosphere for fashion shoots, and contrived scenarios for the models to perform (Fig. 11.30).

Natural light and hues seemed particularly suited to color work. Radiant pops of chromatic light were rendered in transparencies by Minor White, who even planned programs of dual-screen projection for his work. Eliot Porter (1901–1990), who used color transparencies and the cumbersome but more permanent DYE-TRANSFER system, collected his

nature views in the book *In Wildness is the Preservation of the World* (1962) (Fig. 11.31), and in large-size or “exhibition format” prints, both of which were sponsored by the Sierra Club. The Sierra Club fostered wilderness photography, owing to the active participation of photographers such as Ansel Adams, Eliot Porter, and Minor White. The club's landmark exhibition of photographs and text, called “This is the American Earth,” opened in San Francisco in 1955, traveled around the United States and Europe, and eventually became a book, edited by Adams and Nancy Newhall.

Despite color's intermittent successes, in the 1950s and early 1960s most magazines continued to run black-and-white images, which were less expensive and less time



11.30
DEBORAH TURBEVILLE, *The Bath House*, 1975.

October 3, 1858

Standing on the railroad I look across the pond to Pine Hill, where the outside trees and the shrubs scattered generally through the wood glow through the green, yellow, and scarlet, like fairs just kindled at the base of the trees.—a general conflagration just fairly under way, soon to envelop every tree. The hillside forest is all aglow along its edge and in all its cracks and fissures, and soon the flames will leap upwards to the tops of the tallest trees.



consuming to produce. In 1955, the year of “The Family of Man,” color film that a photographer could process had been available for less than a decade. To promote the use of color film, the Kodak company then attempted to persuade leading photographers such as Ansel Adams, Paul Strand, Charles Sheeler, and Edward Weston to try it by commissioning images from them. When the firm wrote to photographer Weston, asking if he would make an 8- by 10-inch Kodachrome print, Weston reluctantly agreed, saying that he loved the landscape around Point Lobos in California so much that he would have abhorred seeing “it murdered in color by an ‘outsider.’”²⁵ Weston accepted an offer from Kodak to revisit some of his favorite spots, where he rendered images that showed a visible tension between the descriptive powers of color and the expressive qualities of line (Fig. 11.32).

Weston’s anxiety about color film was grounded in what he perceived as its greater realism—that is, its more comprehensive resemblance to the world of experience.

Walker Evans remained resistant to the process throughout the 1960s. He railed against “screeching hues” and the “bebop of electric blues, furious reds, and poison greens,” and asserted that “there are four simple words which must be whispered: color photography is vulgar.”²⁶ Like other art photographers, Evans thought that color was too embedded in commercial culture to be used by serious artists.

Despite these reservations, Evans did experiment with color. During his postwar years as a photographer with *Fortune* magazine, he issued portfolios of photographs that he hand tinted so as to control the selection and strength of the color. In the early 1970s, Evans began to try Polaroid film



11.32
EDWARD WESTON, *Waterfront, Monterey*, 1946. Silver dye bleach print (Cibachrome). Center for Creative Photography, University of Arizona, Tucson, Arizona.

The black-and-white linear elements of this image, like the masts and lines, set off the color of the boat and the water. Nevertheless, Weston was skeptical about color photography, holding that, “as a creative medium, black and white photography has, at the start, an advantage over color in that it is already a step removed from a factual rendition of the scene.”²⁷



1133
WALKER EVANS, *Untitled (Crushed beer can)*, 1973–74.
Polaroid print. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

and cameras. Invented in 1947 by Edwin H. Land (1909–1991), the Polaroid process originally generated monochromatic prints. By the 1970s, the method had improved to yield so-called instantaneous color prints—that is, pictures developed on the spot. Evans worked with the Polaroid SX-70 system, a fully automatic method that timed the film's development inside the camera and expelled a final print for which the photographer made no contribution to the color scheme. Using the somewhat subdued colors of Polaroid's SX-70 system, Evans returned to making pictures of

American signs and lettering, themes he began in his youth and which he carried out in his work for the Farm Security Administration. He praised the Polaroid quick payback process, saying that it encouraged sudden inspiration. As he had in his earlier work, Evans conceived Polaroid images in series. Importantly, he challenged the tenacious complaint that color needlessly prettified photographs. In such prints as the one depicting a crushed beer can (Fig. 11.33), Evans integrated color and form; despite the small (3½ by 3½ inch) format of the print, the scene has a puzzling monumentality.

In spite of the efforts of Kodak and Polaroid to convince artists to work with the new techniques, the biases against color photography expressed by Weston and Evans permeated the world of serious art photography. Notwithstanding the occasional museum exhibition of color work, art photography persisted mostly as a black and white medium. This attitude put it at odds with commercial photography and photojournalism, both of which adapted more quickly to the possibilities of color to promote products or to interest readers. The art photographers' preference for black-and-white sharply contrasted with the adoption of color film by amateurs, who happily moved from black-and-white snapshots to color pictures. The proliferation of color in commercial photography transformed the experience of the average person. The reality effect—the sense of authenticity and honesty—passed from black-and-white film to color. Millions of people gazed up at the Kodak-sponsored 18- by 60-foot color transparencies called *Colorama* hung on the east balcony of the Grand Central Terminal in New York City²⁸ (Fig. 11.34). Ansel Adams, who occasionally worked on the Kodak projects, nevertheless calculated that these displays



1134
RALPH AMDURSKY, *Colorama (Blue "Woody" Stationwagon in Front of Summer Cottage)*, n.d. Kodak print. Eastman Kodak, Rochester, New York.

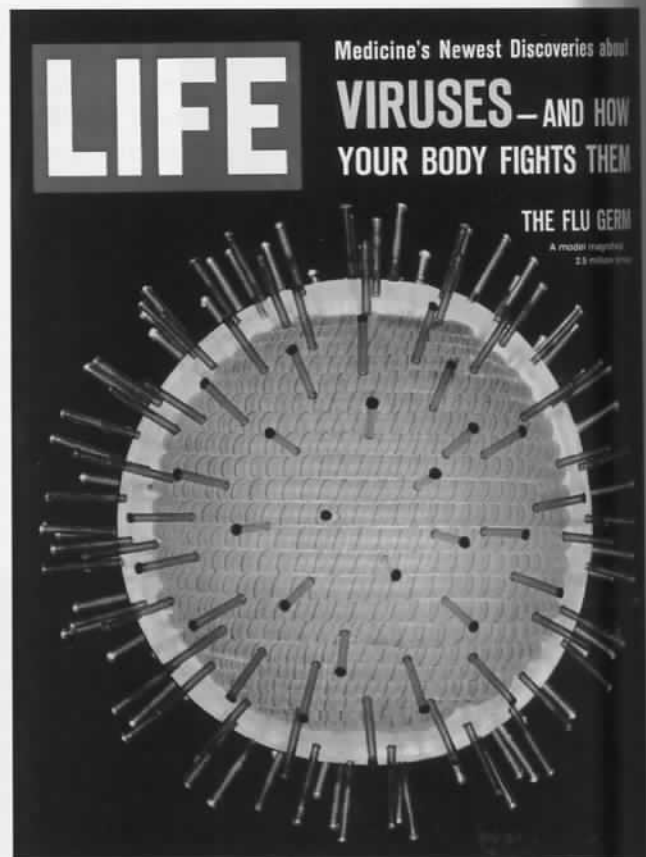
were “aesthetically inconsequential but technically remarkable.”

Curiously Adams, a consummate technician, did not seem to realize that technically remarkable images, such as pictures from space, have their own aesthetic of the marvelous. In fact, the public came to expect that photography would keep up with other kinds of technological advances. In 1969, Apollo 11’s pictures of the far side of the moon needed to be as accomplished as the mission was successful (Fig. 11.35). As space exploration continued, audiences took it for granted that the picture magazines would render views of the earth from space in color. Similarly, advances in science have been accompanied by parallel accomplishments in scientific imaging. Pictures of a human fetus’s development in the womb, patterns observed by particle physicists, and the hypnotic beauty of small viruses were issued in color for audiences to enjoy as scientific and aesthetic wonders (Fig. 11.36).

Color motion pictures, costly to produce before World War II, became less expensive and more common after the 1950s period of *film noir*, with its deeply shadowed, highly stylized ambience. Television, too, began the transformation from black and white to color. In 1955, *Howdy Doody*, the children’s television show, switched from black and white to color broadcasting. The show’s popularity helped sell color television sets, which began being marketed in the mid-1950s. By the mid-1960s, color television sets became more affordable and so their sales increased.



11.35
APOLLO 11, *Untitled* (The far side of the moon), Apollo 11 mission, July 1969.



11.36
PHOTOGRAPHER UNKNOWN, Cover of *Life* magazine, February 18, 1966.

TELEVISION, PHOTOJOURNALISM, AND NATIONAL EVENTS

Despite increased sales of television sets by the mid-1960s, national television news did not surpass newspapers and picture magazines as the public’s major source of current events information until the early 1970s. By that time, television news programs progressed from fifteen-minute readings of the news, accompanied by a few still photographs, to nightly half-hour broadcasts, with reports from news bureaus around the world, supplemented by film, videotape, and occasional live coverage. In effect, television seized the market for instantaneous images, the previous domain of newspapers, and, to some extent, news magazines. Images of the disastrous mercury poisonings at Minamata, Japan, were presented in magazines, newspapers, and films, and on television. The public’s shift from print media to television was signaled by the demise of *Life* magazine’s weekly publication in 1972, owing to declining advertising revenues, as clients switched to purchasing television commercials. Increasingly, photographers such as Diane Arbus, Robert Frank, Lee Friedlander, and Bill Owens photographed television sets glowing unattended in bars and living rooms.



11.37
ATS SATELLITE, *Earth, as Viewed from ATS Satellite*, November 1967.

Public events, such as the assassination of President John F. Kennedy (1917–1963) and its aftermath, entered the public memory through a blend of photography, radio, film, and television broadcasts. Pictures obtained from the space exploration, which began in the late 1950s, were all photographs, until astronauts sent back a live television broadcast from the moon in 1969. Arresting in themselves, photographs of the earth from space graphically demonstrated the interdependence of earth's natural systems (Fig. 11.37).²⁹

Americans also learned about the post World War II Civil Rights movement, which started in the late 1950s to protest racial segregation in the South and to secure voting rights for African-Americans, from a mix of photography and other media. A disturbing image of the disfigured body of Emmett Till, a Chicago teenager killed in 1955 while visiting kin in Mississippi, began circulating in *Jet* magazine, and national

photo-based magazines like *Look* carried the story. The photograph and story of Emmett Till sparked protests, and were memorialized in the literature and art of the 1960s. Historian David Halberstam characterized the lynching of Emmett Till in Mississippi during the summer of 1955 as the first powerful media event of the Civil Rights movement. Photographs taken by David Jackson (1922–1966) were published in the African-American press, but not in mainstream media. They showed Till in an open coffin, one to which his mother had taped pictures of him as a vibrant youngster. The contrast between his youthful image and his abused corpse galvanized African-Americans across the United States, and the photographs remain indelible symbols of racial strife. Because the criminal investigation of the Till case has gone on for more than fifty years, the image of Emmett Till continues to resonate. For example,



11.38
ERNEST WITHERS, *Workers Assembling for a Solidarity March, Memphis, Tennessee, 1968.*

Withers took his picture from a spot in which the individual identities of the marchers were somewhat obscured, in effect, replacing faces with the repeating signs declaring, "I am a man." This strike by Memphis sanitation workers brought Civil Rights leader Martin Luther King (1929–1968) to the city, where he was assassinated.



11.39
CHARLES MOORE, *Birmingham, 1963.*

photographer Demetrius Oliver (b. 1975) chillingly recalled the image in a self-portrait in which he covered his face with chocolate frosting, to give it the appearance of disintegrating.

In the early 1960s, photographers such as Bruce Davidson and Danny Lyon traveled through the South, picturing events and confrontations. In fact, Lyon joined the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (S.N.C.C.), where he helped to produce posters and other organizational materials. Civil Rights organizers knew how to use the media to gain publicity, and how to craft events with visual appeal for the nightly television news shots. Ernest Withers (1922–2007), the first African-American police officer hired in Memphis, Tennessee, also worked as a photographer, and expressed his support with a memorable image of the famous march on Memphis by sanitation workers (Fig. 11.38). Photographer Charles Moore (b. 1931) caught members of the Birmingham, Alabama, Fire Department as they turned high-pressure hoses on protesters (Fig. 11.39).

From 1955 to 1975, television and photography combined to disseminate images of war and conflict. When the forces of the Warsaw Pact invaded Czechoslovakia during the month of August 1968, in an attempt to put down democratic reforms, Josef Koudelka (b. 1938) photographed civilian resistance as

tanks rumbled through Prague's main streets and squares. His negatives were smuggled out of the country, picked up by the Magnum photo agency, and published worldwide on the one-year anniversary of the invasion, with a by-line reading "P. P."—that is, Prague Photographer (Fig. 11.40).

While *Life* magazine's photographs never approached the patriotic fervor expressed in Joe Rosenthal's images of the flag-raising on Iwo Jima during World War II (see Fig. 9.37), they did repeatedly communicate the average person's experience of the war, an approach pioneered by W. Eugene Smith. That theme was prominent in the June 27, 1969, issue of *Life*, which displayed "The Faces of the American Dead in Vietnam," in what resembled a high-school yearbook of the perished.³⁰ Feature stories concentrated on the experience of individual soldiers, as Smith had done in World War II.

For example, the April 16, 1965, edition of *Life* published twenty-two black-and-white pictures by British photographer Larry Burrows, who chronicled the war experiences of a twenty-one-year-old soldier. Burrows, who later died in a helicopter crash, mounted a camera on the airborne machine gun the soldier used during battle so as to record the gunner's facial expressions. But it was the pungency of his color work that transformed the battlefield's ankle-deep mud into an



ANNIVERSARY

This week is the anniversary of the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia, the occasion when the Soviet Union confirmed its control of a small country it had never been in much danger of losing, and thereby lost control of the minds of millions throughout the communist world. It was the occasion when Western Communists, who had defended Russia so often in endless arguments in dusty

rooms, saw their Revolution betrayed again. It was the occasion when the barbs of the Cold War were uplifted and the doves of co-existence were cast down. We mark that anniversary today with these pictures, taken by a Prague photographer a year ago and newly smuggled out. Above: the crowd had been willing to reason; they got nowhere. Frustrated they plead, scream, jere. But the machine is the ultimate argument, and the man in the machine is immovable. If he ever listened he has stopped listening now.

This image
of a suspect
sympathetic
in the Uni
summary
by a Vietn



11.41
LARRY BURROWS, *At a First-Aid Center During Operation Prairie, 1966.*
Dye-transfer print. Spencer Museum of Art, University of Kansas, Missouri.

emblem for America's futile involvement in Vietnam (Fig. 11.41). David Douglas Duncan, who saw the ordinary soldier in Korea as a reluctant aggressor (see Fig. 11.2), was soured by the wanton violence of Vietnam. The pictures he shot there were gathered in his book *War without Heroes* (1970). Philip Jones Griffiths (1936–2008), who would later write and illustrate *Vietnam, Inc.*, a scalding indictment of the war as big business, photographed the conflict for three years, mostly as it was experienced by the Vietnamese peasants (Fig. 11.42). The image of a South Vietnamese general executing a handcuffed Vietcong suspect was captured by photographer Eddie Adams (1933–2004) (Fig. 11.43). During his more than twenty-five trips to Vietnam after the war, Griffiths photographed a widow holding a copy of the newspaper photograph of her husband, who was killed in Adams's famous photograph.

Some lasting images of the war experience were created only in photography. For example, when President Richard Nixon ordered the bombing of enemy camps in Cambodia, student protests arose around the country. Photography student John Paul Filo (b. 1948) caught the outcry of a young woman as she knelt beside the body of a Kent State University student shot dead by a member of the Ohio National Guard (Fig. 11.44). Vietnamese photographer Huynh Cong (Nick) Ut



11.42
PHILIP JONES GRIFFITHS, *Napalm Victim, Vietnam, 1967.* Gelatin silver print.

11-43
EDDIE ADAMS, *General Loan
Executing a Vietcong Suspect,*
February 1, 1968. Gelatin silver print.

This image, recording the execution
of a suspected Communist
sympathizer, roused national anger
in the United States against the
summary street justice administered
by a Vietnamese general.



11-44
JOHN PAUL FILO, *Untitled (Kent State: girl screaming over dead body),* May 4, 1970.



11.45
HUYNH CONG (NICK) UT, *Children Fleeing a Napalm Strike*, June 8, 1972.

(b. 1951) provided the lasting document of terrified and injured children running from an accidental napalm attack on a building where non-combatants had taken cover (Fig. 11.45). Motion-picture and video equipment were absent when Ron Haeberle (b. 1941), an army photographer, recorded the massacre of civilians in the Vietnamese village of My Lai by a United States Army company. Haeberle submitted the black-and-white pictures he took to the army, but kept the color film, which he began showing in the United States when he was demobilized. An image published in the Cleveland (Ohio) *Plain Dealer* soon traveled around the world. Working together, staff from the Museum of Modern Art, New York, and members of the Art Workers' Coalition used the image to create a gripping anti-war poster, which the museum later refused to sanction. With the question and answer, "Q: And babies? A: And babies," derived from a

television interview with a soldier who had witnessed the massacre, the poster became a rallying point against the war (Fig. 11.46).

Yet it was Eddie Adams's still image (see Fig. 11.43) that became an acclaimed symbol of the war's injustice and its cold-blooded attitude toward the loss of life. More than twenty-five years after the war ended in 1975, photographs taken by North Vietnamese civilian and military photographers were published through the efforts of British photographer Tim Page (b. 1944), who had photographed the war in the south. Page discovered that North Vietnamese photographers such as Vo Anh Khanh (b. 1939) (Fig. 11.47) used mostly inexpensive black-and-white film and relied on the jungle night to create an outdoor darkroom. They seldom photographed the dead, but set out to inspire their embattled viewers with scenes of endurance and patriotism.

VON HAEBERLE AND PETER BRANT,
Q. And Babies? A. And Babies, 1970. Offset
 lithograph, printed in color. Museum of
 Modern Art, New York.

The photograph taken by Haeberle, then a
 U.S. Army photographer, showing the result of
 deliberate killing of civilians, became the most
 famous anti-Vietnam poster in the United
 States and around the world.



BINH KHANH, *U Minh Forest, Ca Mau*,
 December 15, 1970.

...ing what they called "The American War,"
 ...er and military photographers from North
 ...arm rode bicycles to the front to capture
 ...ies of suffering and courage. Vo's image
 ...mosquito-netted operating room located
 ...swamp to avoid detection is all the
 ...startling because its subjects seem so
 ...lled in their improbable setting. The
 ...was a guerrilla wounded by American
 ...ing