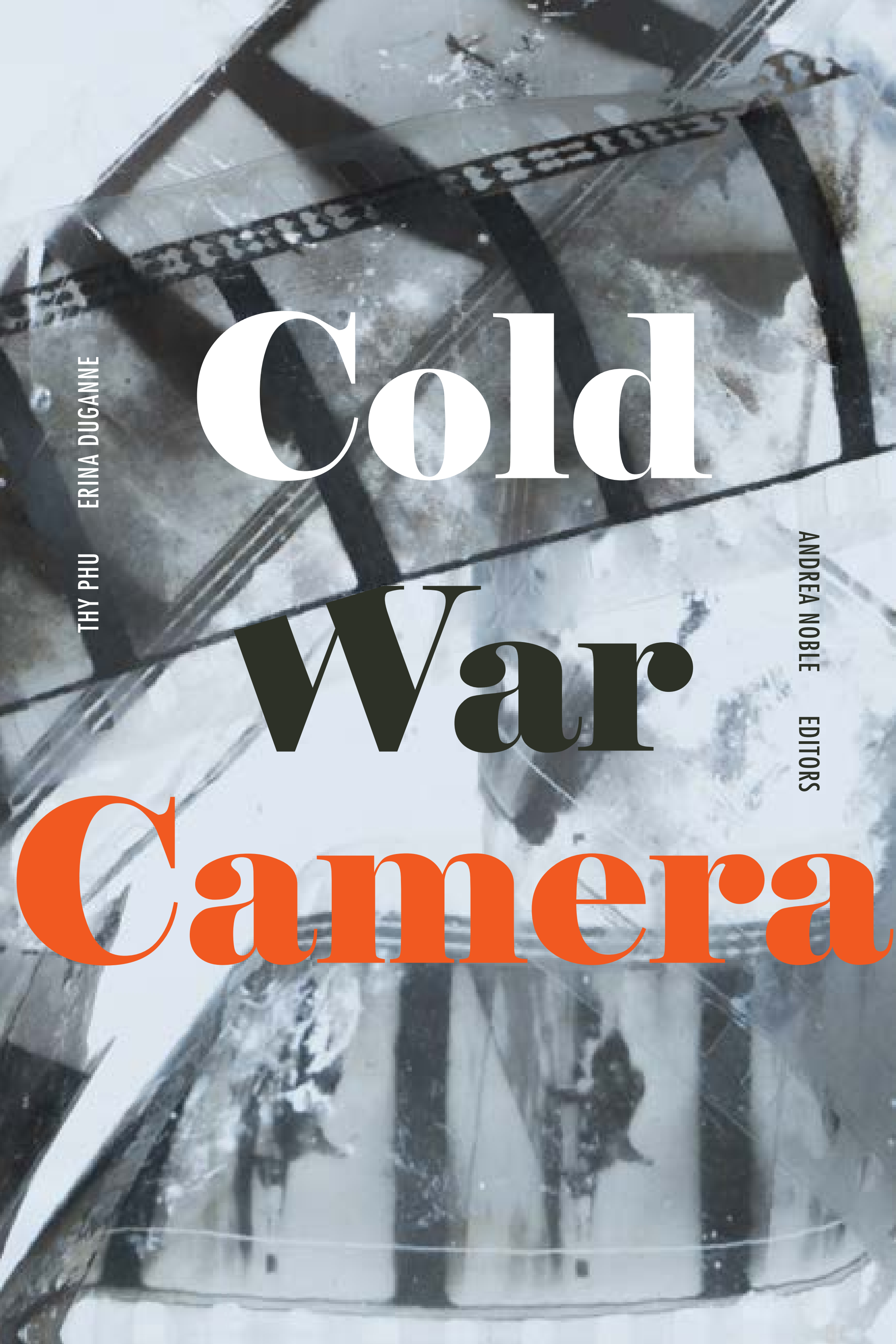

Cold
War
Camera
THY PHU
ERINA DUGANNE
ANDREA NOBLE
EDITORS

Cold War Camera

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Cold War Camera

THY PHU ANDREA NOBLE ERINA DUGANNE EDITORS

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For Andrea

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THY PHU ANDREA NOBLE ERINA DUGANNE

Cold War Camera

AN INTRODUCTION

In 1970, Bui Cong Tuong, communist chief of Propaganda, Culture, Education, and Training, surrendered to US officials in South Vietnam. Included among the sensitive documents he delivered to his handlers was a set of photographs. One of them depicts soldiers evicting a peasant from his hut, and a second shows other soldiers watching over a funeral. While not all the images depict war in an obvious way—a third shows a Catholic pastor marching with villagers in a religious procession—still, as Tuong explained, communists produced and disseminated photographs as weapons against American advisers and their South Vietnamese allies. The people in the photographs, he said, were members of a theater troupe who acted out scenes for the camera, which were meant to depict the injustice of the enemy's pacification programs, the cruelty of surveillance, and religious freedom under communism. In his debriefing, Tuong repudiated his role in "telling lies to the people" and provided instructions on how to decode what was visible—and discern what was disguised—in the photographs (figure I.1). In short, his debriefing reveals the pivotal role that photography played in the global Cold War, the broader context in which the Vietnam conflict unfolded.[1] His instructions show that images, whether spectacular or mundane, whether "objective" or staged, were used to win hearts and minds.

Cold War Camera explores photography as integral to the cultural practices of this prolonged conflict. The chapters collected here contribute to an emerging body of work on Cold War cultural politics, which, as Eric Zolov

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states in relation to the Global Sixties, aims "to expand the narrower notion of the 'political' to include the terrain of culture and everyday life, carefully seeking to map out and make sense of the complex ideological threads that bind culture and politics together in this period."[2] The cultural turn in Cold War scholarship has revealed the impact of opera, jazz, art, and literature in promoting ideological positions.[3] However, photography's function in the global Cold War has yet to be fully investigated. With the exception of the extensive critiques and reassessments of *The Family of Man* exhibition as a Cold War phenomenon (which we discuss briefly below), and, more recently, Martha Langford and John Langford's reflections on the visual bridging of war and tourism, commentary is limited.[4] This oversight is due, perhaps, to photography's diffuse operation over multiple sites, which poses a challenge for a single scholar or single study to trace, or which leads to a tendency to view photography as simply illustrating rather than playing an active role in this conflict. As the opening discussion of Bui Cong Tuong suggests, to grasp photography's meanings one must not only take account of the image object, but also consider the full range of photography as cultural practice, including the conditions of production, the actors who participate in this process, the

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Figure I.1. Bui Cong Tuong contemplates a photograph that he had orchestrated when he served as communist Chief of Propaganda, Culture, Education and Training in Ben Tre Province, South Vietnam. Photographer unknown. Robert F. Turner Collection, 74040-10 A.V, 1970, Envelope S., Hoover Institution, Stanford University.

ways that images are remediated, the dispersed sites of circulation, and the cultural work that images undertake.

To address this challenge, we adopt a multifaceted approach, examining photography as a practice and a diffuse medium that is integral to prosecuting war across far-flung regions. In so doing, we take up the call made by John Lewis Gaddis and Odd Arne Westad, among others, to attend to subjects and sites marginalized in the debates in Cold War studies, which tend to focus exclusively on the bipolar struggle between the superpowers, the United States and the USSR, or on the European "long peace." Specifically, the Cold War is often understood as beginning in 1947, unraveling in 1989 (with the fall of the Berlin Wall), and ending in 1991 (with the dissolution of the Soviet Union). This periodization has reinforced a bipolar framework, by bracketing, at one pole, the ascendance of the two superpowers after World War II, and at the other pole, the triumph of the United States. While the influence of this framework is undeniable, it is limited because it forecloses analysis of the global scope of the Cold War. Significantly, the superpower struggle unfolded on multiple fronts across Africa, Asia, Latin America, and beyond. As Greg Grandin, Gilbert Joseph, and Daniela Spenser have observed, there was nothing cold about it, particularly in locations across the global South, where it played out in vicious civil wars and terror on "an almost inconceivable scale,"[5] in a process that reconfigured geopolitical boundaries. Moreover, the discovery of archives in Guatemala, Cambodia, and beyond, contest accounts that emphasize the linear, progressive trajectories of the global Cold War, which highlight 1947 and 1991 as watershed moments.[6] Indeed, Joseph

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suggests a longer genealogy that stretches before World War II, when Latin America served as training ground where the United States "studied how to execute imperial violence through proxies,"[7] which, after 1945, morphed into the violent containment of communist threats.

So, while we neither dispute the importance of the US-USSR rivalry nor disregard the East-West axis, this book reorients criticism to include the function of photography along the frequently disregarded North-South axis. Whereas an emphasis on the East-West axis underscores just how cold this prolonged conflict was, our critical expansion, in highlighting the North-South axis where violent proxy wars took place, lays bare its hotness. Just as importantly, attending to the visual networks that link these axes helps to reveal the impact of decolonization, or "decoloniality," as Walter Mignolo puts it in the case of Latin America, in these geopolitical reconfigurations.[8] Or, it helps to reveal a "decolonizing Pacific," as Simeon Man conceptualizes it, wherein anticolonial movements in the United States, Asia, and the Pacific converged with US imperial ambitions.[9] Decolonization, as these critics contend, did not just occur coincidentally with, and as a backdrop to, the global Cold War; rather, they must be understood and reckoned with as crucial to and inseparable from this prolonged conflict. Accordingly, *Cold War Camera* highlights the significance of photography from parts of the global South—including West and South Africa, Vietnam, China, Central America, and Chile—in exploring possible decolonized futures, in establishing affinities and solidarities, and in supporting efforts toward transitional justice in reckoning with the violence of proxy conflict. In particular, we build on the work of critics who have reexamined how metaphors of the Iron and Bamboo Curtains construct a false sense of fixity that belies vibrant cultural exchanges within and between ideological blocs.[10] As Michael David-Fox observes, the Iron Curtain functioned more as a "semipermeable membrane" than an opaque boundary.[11] As our contributors show, visual exchanges provided ways of envisioning political life beyond the bipolar imaginary; indeed they support a vision more attuned to the aspirations of, say, the Non-Aligned Movement, which under the leadership of India's first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, Indonesia's Sukarno, Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser, and Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah, sought to envision a new world order.[12]

We contend that photography is crucial to these expanded investigations for it enables us to reexamine what can be seen and known. In this regard, the phenomenon of covert operations is instructive, particularly when it comes to the prosecution of the global Cold War along the North-South axis,

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where it heated up in Latin America's "dirty war" or *guerra sucia*.[13] The purpose of covert operations in a dirty war is to obscure collusion between state and nonstate actors in counterinsurgency operations. Covert operations are noteworthy in part because they give rise to "percepticide," Diana Taylor's phrase for the compulsory collective blindness produced by state terrorism, whereby spectators know and plainly see atrocity and yet are forced to avert their gaze.[14] How might photographic practices of the global Cold War selectively and strategically render subjects visible as well as invisible? What has been obscured and what remains unrecognized?

Through the development of a comparative analytic, we address these questions. This book examines how the camera, as a set of cultural practices, has been productive and generative, variously employed by states, media, and individuals to promulgate visions of socialist utopias, to advance capitalist desires, to give form to nonaligned political affinities and communities, and to portray quotidian experiences that unfold alongside, while also in contrast to imperial discourses that persist despite decolonization. At the same time, we consider the ways that the camera has exerted a repressive and destructive force, as the logic of percepticide potently demonstrates. We argue that photography was not only crucial to the conduct of the global Cold War and its aftermath but also central to our understanding of it.

LOOKING AWAY: PHOTOGRAPHY CRITIQUE AND THE COLD WAR

Although some of the most influential ways of seeing and understanding photography were shaped in response to the global Cold War, strangely enough, they have not been fully grasped as such. Consider, for example, Roland Barthes's revered *Camera Lucida*. In this book, Barthes introduces the much-cited concepts of *studium*, the cultural, linguistic, or political elements of interpretation, which he contrasts with *punctum*, an image's capacity to wound, which is crucial for his affectively charged and personal approach to criticism.[15] However, as Erina Duganne argues in her chapter for this volume, Barthes developed his theory of the inextricably linked *punctum* and *studium* in the course of his brief musings on a specific image: a 1978 photograph, made by Dutch photojournalist Koen Wessing, of the conflict in Nicaragua, a major proxy battleground of the Cold War (figure I.2). The significance of

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Figure I.2. Koen Wessing, *Nicaragua*, 1978. Collection Stedelijk Museum Amsterdam.

Barthes's attention to and ultimate disregard for the full significance of Wessing's photograph can best be understood in terms of *Camera Lucida*'s peculiarly selective focus.

Sensitive readers of Barthes have expounded on the importance of the numerous photographs included—and not included—in *Camera Lucida*, most famously the cherished Winter Garden photograph of his mother as a young girl.[16] In an essay published in *Photography and the Optical Unconscious*, Laura Wexler provides a way of explaining this oversight, positing that the Winter Garden photograph is important precisely because its absence from, yet discursive prominence in, *Camera Lucida* disowns the troubling legacy of Barthes's grandfather, Louis-Gustave Binger, who was a powerful colonial administrator in Côte d'Ivoire.[17] That is, this act of visual negation obscures Barthes's own family ties to France's legacy of colonialism, a history he invoked more explicitly (though without touching on his connections to this history) in an earlier book, *Mythologies*. Published in 1957, *Mythologies* introduced a semiotic method of ideology critique that invoked France's crumbling empire during the turmoil of decolonization in Africa and Indochina.[18] In contrast, however, to *Mythologies*' analytic method, *Camera Lucida*'s personal approach more clearly withdraws from context and history. While we do not suggest *Camera Lucida* links decolonization directly with the global Cold War, its deflections are suggestive.

Notably, obfuscation can be discerned at two key moments. As observed above, obfuscation takes a negative form; specifically, by refusing to withhold the Winter Garden photograph, the book obscures Barthes's personal linkage to the family's role in French colonialism. At the same time, obfuscation operates in what might be described as a positive or productive way, through the showing of Wessing's image from the Nicaragua conflict. That is, the inclusion of Wessing's image to exemplify the mutual influence of studium and punctum, context and feeling, in a manner that glosses over the precise context that produced the image, suggests Barthes's—and readers'—recognition yet simultaneous repression of photography as a global Cold War practice. The inclusion of Wessing's photograph reveals the ways that *Camera Lucida*

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invokes the global Cold War only to disavow its importance for grasping how photography functions visually as a political force within it.

Susan Sontag is even more clearly conflicted in her perspective on photography, which was shaped in response to two excursions to Hanoi, North Vietnam, in 1968 and 1972, as part of a contingent of antiwar activists participating in "radical tourism" during the global Cold War.[19] Her landmark 1977 book, *On Photography*, is striking for wholly excluding images. In a world that Sontag described as increasingly "image-choked," the excessive circulation of images, she worried, diminished their political usefulness.[20] In *Trip to Hanoi*, her 1969 memoir about her experiences, Sontag confessed that photographs of this Cold War conflict formed preconceptions that distorted her view of Vietnam. As Franny Nudelman has pointed out, Sontag's lessons from these trips convinced her that an image-choked world would captivate, not liberate, viewers from the thrall of ideology.[21] In 1973, after Sontag's re-

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turn to the United States from her second trip to Hanoi, the set of essays expressing her ambivalence about photography's political efficacy appeared in the *New York Review of Books*; they would eventually be published in *On Photography*.

Sontag was not alone in harboring suspicion about the image world. As one of the principal architects of a Euro-American tradition of critique, Sontag shared with her contemporaries, Roland Barthes, Guy DeBord, Victor Burgin, Allan Sekula, and John Tagg, among others, a Leftist, even Marxist intellectual orientation, marked for its misgivings about images.[22] Despite their diverse concerns, these critics questioned images as dangerous spectacles, seductive commodities, beguiling agents of ideology, and forceful state apparatuses. Their shared critical approach evinces, in other words, a "hermeneutics of suspicion," to invoke Paul Ricoeur's term to describe the practice of reading texts against the grain to uncover their concealed meanings. This hermeneutics of suspicion is by no means a Cold War phenomenon but rather part of a broader philosophical tradition that includes the works of Karl Marx, Friedrich Nietzsche, and Sigmund Freud.[23] However, distrust formed a distinctive mode of response from the 1950s to the 1980s, the period that saw the emergence of the paradigms in critique that we have been describing.

Our point in sketching this historiography, which is well known, is to underscore its Cold War connection, which is less often recognized. The foundations of contemporary photography criticism not only were laid at the height of the global Cold War but also form and are largely informed by a commitment to Marxist methodologies, which are rooted in a hermeneutics of suspicion and a corresponding concern with excavating hidden ideologies. Given how generative this Cold War hermeneutics has been in exposing photography's implication with institutional power structures, the continuing influence of this critical approach is hardly surprising. Indeed, Cold War photography criticism has helpfully drawn attention to propaganda as a visual form and has provided a useful method of unmasking disguised messages. However, as Xiaobing Tang observes in his study of Chinese visual culture, critics assume that the production and dissemination of images is predicated on a capitalist political economy whose masked motivations need to be revealed.[24] In contrast, they disregard socialist infrastructures and their attendant motivations, objectives, and modes of expression, which, unlike their capitalist counterparts, might declare rather than obscure ideologies. Take, for example, the New Museum's 1984 exhibition, *The Nicaragua Media Project*. Organized by a group of New York–based photographers and critics,

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the exhibition interrogated how photography fostered public support of US interventionist policies in Nicaragua. Yet, when it came to the region's own newspapers, including the news daily *Barricada*, these images were largely assumed to stand on their own.[25] Though this assumption of codelessness likely arose from organizers' naive set of relations of rescue politics, nevertheless, its effect was to miss the ways that these images from Nicaragua functioned outside an oppositional us/them framework. Scholarship adhering to a hermeneutics of suspicion provides limited guidance when it comes to images that blatantly proclaim rather than conceal their status as propaganda, foreclosing the opportunity to address other functions, particularly photography's potential to forge international solidarity in visual terms. As Sabine Kriebel observes in the context of Weimar Republic agitprop photography, critics have yet to grapple fully with the multifarious functions and effects of propaganda. Simply labeling images as propaganda, Kriebel asserts, forecloses rather than prompts scholarly inquiry.[26] *Cold War Camera* expands on foundational critical approaches by attending to propaganda's visual tropes and by taking seriously their cultural function. Just as importantly, close examination of the varied practices of photography provides alternative ways of understanding the broader parameters of the Cold War, and desires that extend beyond suspicion and paranoia.

During the global Cold War, propaganda operated most obviously through visual manipulation, which served as a technique that not only captured momentous occasions but also disappeared events—and people—from history. Beginning in the early twentieth-century and continuing until his death in 1953, Josef Stalin demanded that retouchers erase from official records the figures of former allies, whom he had purged from the Communist Party as state enemies. The Soviet empire asserted its power through ruthless management of the visual field so that when leaders set their sights on nonaligned African nations, they sought to enforce their authority by controlling visual production.[27] In Ethiopia, for example, to prevent their power from being threatened by rival Marxist-Leninist groups, the Derg prohibited the production of photography outside government sanctioned studios.[28] Eric Gottesman's photographic series, *The Preservation of Terror*, a selection of which appears in this volume, includes images that families collected and saved during this turbulent period, which the artist then rephotographed. Together, these images constitute a counterarchive that attests to quotidian ways of resisting the repressive late-1970s period known as Qey Shabir, or the Ethiopian Red Terror.[29] Likewise, in Poland during the Cold War, the state regulated visual production to support and promote a vision of its ostensible successes.[30] Yet,

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Figure I.3. Tong Lam, *#B1*, from *Lost Emulsion* series, 2019. Courtesy of the artist.

as the chapter by Gil Pasternak and Marta Ziętkiewicz in this volume shows, domestic images of Polish Jews during this period contested the Soviet empire's metanarrative of national cohesion, which disavowed the existence of ethnic difference.[31] Meanwhile, in China, figures who threatened Mao's star status in the photographic frame could be eliminated as readily as Stalin's enemies.[32]

The practice of manipulation was particularly commonplace during China's Cultural Revolution, as Laura Wexler's, Karintha Lowe's, and Guigui Yao's chapters in this volume also detail. The Cultural Revolution demanded such steadfast loyalty to the state that seemingly inoffensive domestic images became dangerous as they threatened to expose ideologically suspect affiliations and unacceptably bourgeois tastes. Careful examination of family photographs that survived the purge provides, according to Wexler, Lowe, and Yao, a means of reckoning with the impact of this suppression. And yet, communists also produced photographs under trying conditions of war, with limited resources, to give form to socialist ideals and to recruit supporters, locally and globally, to their cause.[33] These are just some of the ways that communists delineated the contours of what could and could not be seen, drawing on photography both to conjure and destroy. Tracing the practices of photography during the global Cold War accordingly requires that we account for the missing and the disappeared, to look beyond what is visible, beyond, that is, the image. Here we follow the insightful work of scholars such as Elizabeth Edwards and, especially, James Hevia, who call on critics to expand paradigms of photography beyond the image, to take account of what Hevia describes as the "photography complex," which is shaped by a confluence of forces and histories.[34] This book emphasizes the Cold War *camera* to acknowledge an intricate material and ideological apparatus, that is, the photography complex, wherein the workings of power are manifest in what can be perceived, in the repression of sites and subjects from the visual field, and in the production and preservation of images that circumvent these operations.[35] An image, from a series titled *Lost Emulsion* by historian and pho-

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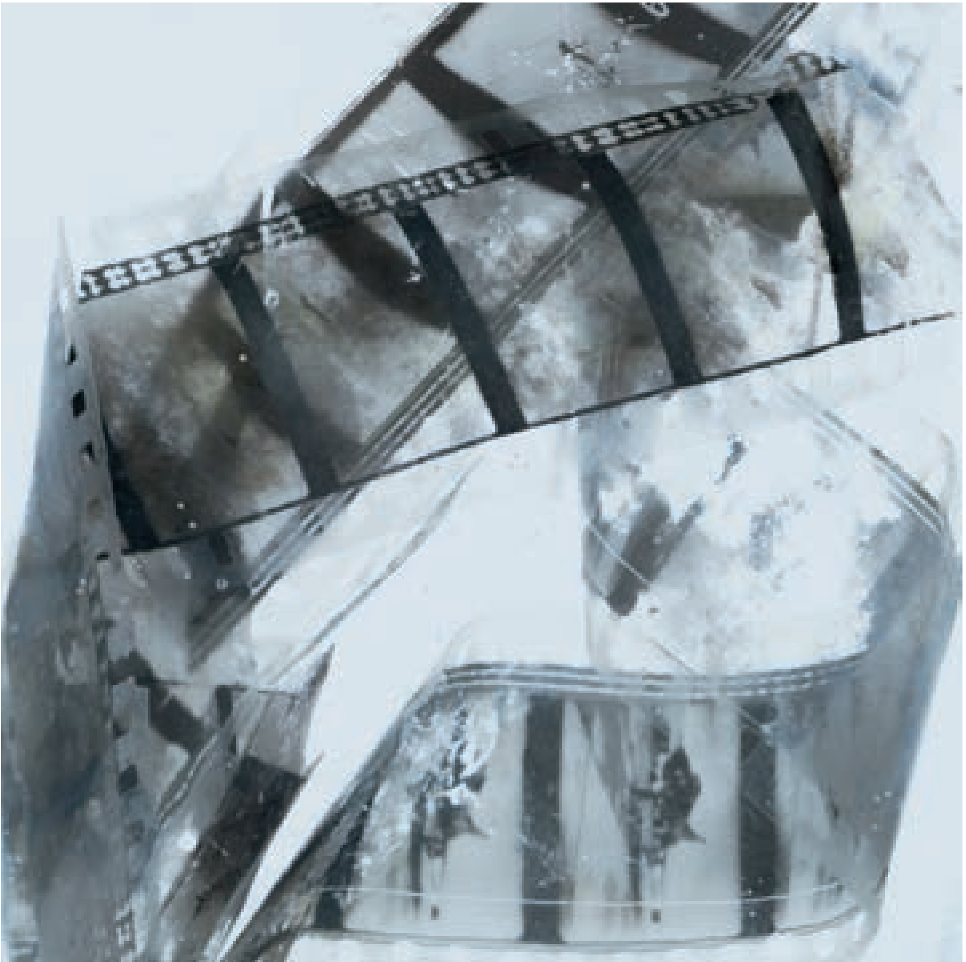

tographer Tong Lam that also serves as the cover of this book, exemplifies this entanglement (figure I.3). Describing the series, which depicts a former Soviet long-range bomber base in eastern Kazakhstan more than two decades after it had been decommissioned, Lam notes that, even though missing information on damaged film might be irrecoverable, "analog residuals are reminders of the continuing perils of self-annihilation and mutual destruction as new geopolitical rivalries have been exacerbated by weaponized digital infrastructures."[36] The images of these "analog residuals" expose the political unconscious of the global Cold War's visual regimes.

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Even as photography was used to repress during the global Cold War, it also offered ways of constructing transnational visual alliances. Visual alliances take manifold forms, including exhibitions, which, as Susan Reid shows in her work on the culture of the communist bloc, provided venues for painters and photographers to showcase their work and share ideas on the relationship between politics and aesthetics.[37] Visual alliances also materialized through circuits for the exchange of photographic equipment and technical knowledge. As Thy Phu points out elsewhere, the development of "socialist ways of seeing" in North Vietnam depended on East German training and on Soviet cameras and rolls of film sent through Hong Kong and China, the same routes that images were sent out for exhibitions.[38] Crucially, then, we invoke visual alliances to denote affinities, collaborations, and solidarities that circuits of production, remediation, and circulation—crisscrossing East to West as well as North to South and vice versa—were meant to conjure and the futurities and political formations these solidarities sought to bring into fruition.

As an example of the photographic activation of alternative political formations we need only look to the 1955 exhibition, *The Family of Man*. This well-known show has inspired voluminous commentary, initially in the form of objections against the universal humanism deployed through the domestic trope of "family," which according to critics, denoted a sentimental form of belonging that masked the exhibition's corporate sponsorship and ideological collaboration. Critics further charged that, by invoking the idea of family, this exhibition mobilized domesticity as a means of advancing US hegemony.[39] However, recent reassessments have drawn attention to how this universal humanism conjured alternative possibilities, that is, other ways to imagine forms of belonging and to conceptualize futurities beyond conventional metanarratives of linearity and progress.[40] As numerous critics have observed, *The Family of Man* was not only on exhibit at the Museum of Modern Art in New York City but also circulated internationally by the United States Information Agency (USIA), in the form of five replicas, which toured as many as forty-eight countries, stretching from Europe to Latin America, from India to Africa, and from the Middle East to Japan.[41] Significantly, visitors at many of these international venues responded in ways that did not align with the USIA's imperialist intentions and ideological expectations.[42] For instance, when the exhibition toured West Berlin, during a time when East Germans were able to cross the border more freely than after the con-

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struction of the Berlin Wall, observers from the German Democratic Republic were surprised, remarking that the vision of unity promoted by *The Family of Man* aligned with socialist ideals, or, in other words, with a political formation completely outside the USIA's scope.[43] We draw inspiration from this important recent work but are also keenly aware of how the robust attention given to this exhibition has obfuscated the ways that other organizations, including the UN and the World Health Organization, have likewise harnessed the medium in the service of a "critical photographic futurism."[44]

In addition to forging unlikely visual alliances, *The Family of Man* also challenged modern conceptions of historical time. Critics such as Monique Berlier have interpreted the exhibition in ways that emphasize linear progress, namely, as constituting a post–World War II politics of reconciliation through the foregrounding of themes such as reconstruction, liberation from economic and military domination, and the end of colonial rule.[45] However, *The Family of Man*'s innovative design and creative juxtapositions provided a rejoinder to this metanarrative of linearity.[46] That is, the exhibition, by providing a limited amount of text, and especially by juxtaposing a multiplicity of quotidian photographs of birth, love, labor, hunger, and death, dislodged the supposed fixity of individual photographs and opened them up to the reconsideration of modern historical time. Juxtaposition, in other words, made possible the visualization of forms of countertemporality that helped unhinge teleological notions of linearity, homogeneity, and progress.

In addition to unsettling chronological time, *Cold War Camera* also attends to time as "conspicuous" or "out-of-joint" with history's progressive unfolding of past-present-future. In his exploration of temporality and political action, David Scott ruminates on how, in the wake of the tragic collapse of the Grenada Revolution (1979–83) and the emancipatory future that it anticipated, "time had found itself *betrayed* by history."[47] More precisely, he observes that, because revolutions are often conceived as chronological in time, their failure, whether in the case of Grenada or in the case of potential political configurations like the Bandung project, disrupts this chronology, resulting in a sense of disjointedness. We believe that the camera is especially suited to Scott's "demand for a new sensitivity of time" and, following his lead, reckon with the "aftermaths" and "afterness" of the global Cold War and its foreclosed revolutionary potentials by considering how photography might help destabilize chronological or historical time.[48]

As an index or a trace, photography is fundamentally a temporal medium; it represents something in the past that is seen in the present. But this "now time," as Walter Benjamin famously argues, is not the past "cast[ing]

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Figure I.4. Florencio López Osuna beaten and detained during the Tlatelolco massacre, 2 October 1968. Photograph by Manuel Gutiérrez Paredes. iisue/ahunam, Colección Manuel Gutiérrez Paredes, mgp-3079.

its light on what is present or what is present cast[ing] its light on what is past." Rather, Benjamin continues, it is "that in which the Then and the Now come together, in a flash of lightning, into a constellation."[49] The meaning of a photograph, in other words, is never finished but exceeds the moment of its taking, or even exists despite the fact that an image might never be produced or be preserved. Moreover, this moment is subject to contingency and therefore has the potential to enact further encounters, as is the case when photography supports calls for transitional justice or serves as forensic evidence of atrocity.

For a glimpse of how temporalities become conflated and why they need to be pried apart, consider an example from Mexico. Although this nation-state is not usually associated with the bipolar politics of the global Cold War, nevertheless, the circulation and remediation of select icons there offer lessons on how discrete histories of violence are repeated and fused together.[50] One such photograph depicts the brutalized, seminaked body of student leader Florencio López Osuna, beaten and detained (figure I.4). Concealed from view for over three decades by the state, the photograph is an icon of the Tlatelolco Massacre (October 2, 1968), an event at which socialist student leaders were brutally crushed by the state. This massacre, which has come to be seen in Mexico as a watershed moment in the global Cold War, has gone on to symbolize other violent events, as is evident in the photograph's prominent display in the 2015 exhibition, *The Lessons of 68: Why Should October 2 Not Be Forgotten?*, at Mexico City's Museo de la Memoria y Tolerancia (Museum of Memory and Tolerance).[51] In the exhibition, visitors had first to pass a series of photographs of the 1968 Tlatelolco victims before ending up at a set of empty chairs adorned only with posters that included identification photos of the forty-three student teachers murdered in 2014 as part of Mexico's drug wars. Through this juxtaposition of Tlatelolco 1968 and what is now known

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as Ayotzinapa's 43, the exhibition visually connected two moments and two massacres. Significantly, the insertion of the Ayotzinapa case into this larger linear narrative provides a convenient way for the police to avoid being held accountable. Indeed, police handed over the students to the cartel, and the Governor of Guerrero (the state where the students were taken, tortured, and disappeared). In other words, this juxtaposition helps to perpetuate the practice of "seeing red," whereby the image of the largely socialist-leaning members of the student movement in 1968 provides a cultural shorthand to grapple with the deaths of the forty-three disappeared student teachers, who were misrecognized by their kidnappers as members of Rojos (or Reds), a rival gang. On the one hand, recent remediations of the Tlatelelco photo-

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graph help highlight the ways that covert operations during the global Cold War have directly contributed to the clandestine global narcotics industry, escalating the drug wars in Mexico.[52] On the other hand, these remediations conceal the Mexican state's own complicity in drug-related violence. In short, the icon of Tlatelelco operates as a screen memory for Ayotzinopa, wherein a highly visible image serves as a means of repression, enabling the state to perpetrate violence.

Reflecting critically on visual juxtapositions enables us not only to disrupt the linearity of Cold War chronological time but also to perceive more clearly the concerns and aspirations that brought together disparate sites outside the bipolar geopolitics of the Cold War. In art history, for instance, the Bandung Conference, held in Indonesia in 1955, and seen by many as the beginnings of the Non-Aligned Movement, is notably absent from the discipline's reconsideration of the Cold War's impact on the visual arts. Instead, as Saloni Mathur points out, "its account of cold-war culture continues to privilege the art-historical divide between a dominant prewar France and American hegemony after the war."[53] Yet, some recent projects are beginning to elucidate the potential of other visual exchanges.[54] For example, Bojana Piškur has examined cultural exchanges between the newly emerging postcolonial states in Latin America, Asia, and Africa, which sought independence outside the major power blocs.[55] Moreover, as the collaborative project *Red Africa* further suggests, cross-cultural exchanges between Africa and the Soviet Union helped build a politics of "affective community," a network of affinity and friendship.[56] *Cold War Camera* contributes to the critical conversations sparked by this exciting recent work.

STRUCTURES OF SEEING: THE COLD WAR CAMERA

Another key component of our book is photography's enlistment in structuring ways of seeing war. Here we invoke and respond to the theoretical insights of John Berger's concept of "ways of seeing," which highlights the unsettled relationship between what we see and what we know, as well as Raymond Williams's notion of "structures of feeling," which denotes that not all thought processes can be described in terms of conscious and fully formulated ideas and attitudes, nor do they wholly align with dominant ideologies or worldviews.[57] Tuong's visual pedagogy, as shown in the photographs with which we began, provides another instructive approach to structures of seeing. Af-

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ter all, his debriefing demonstrated an object lesson in how to see, a moment that brings together theory and practice. *Cold War Camera*, then, establishes the conditions through which war is made visible—a process that, conversely, entails ensuring that components of this act of waging war remain invisible.

We invoke the term Cold War *camera*, then, in order to emphasize how the history of photography is enmeshed in war, whether in heavy-handed or more subtle ways. Shortly after the inception of photography in 1839, the first cameras were taken onto the battlefield to document the Mexican-American War (1846–48). Experiments in battlefield photography continued on the ground in subsequent conflicts, including the Crimean War (1853–56) and American Civil War (1861–65).[58] However, the limitations of early cameras, posed by slow shutter speed and cumbersome equipment, made it all but impossible to capture combat instantaneously and with immediacy. The visual idiom of war changed dramatically with the invention of the "vestpocket" Kodak, which soldiers took into the field, and the development of the Leica camera, which was lighter and more compact than earlier equipment, thereby making it discreet or, at times, even unseen. As a genre, war photography is generally characterized by these up-close and gritty depictions of combat by photojournalists with Leicas or similarly small, handheld cameras. Its images, then, implicitly present themselves as an authentic record of a moment of conflict, unaffected by any photographer's bias. Even today, objectivity and immediacy are valued when it comes to spot news reporting of war.

The concept of the Cold War camera enriches our understanding of war photography beyond a generic category that, with some notable exceptions, is still largely defined by expectations of authenticity and associated with visual tropes that tend to linger on the devastation of battle, the glorification of soldiers, and the suffering of civilians. However, the task of reckoning with the global Cold War, which, as noted above, was experienced as hot proxy conflicts in the global South *and* as "the long peace," requires us to grapple with war's visual conventions in a more expansive way. The hotness of the global Cold War, our contributors show, is visible not just through violent spectacle. In addition to combat, war photography includes the repressive reach of state censorship; the subtle and ham-fisted rhetoric of propaganda; the lull between battle; the erasure of images; the desire to make and preserve images in the face of violence; the seemingly mundane pleasures of leisurely consumption; the depiction of everyday life; the resilience of survival; and the struggle for justice.

When it comes to the global Cold War, the practice of photography developed in a manner that extended a long-standing concern with vertical-

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ity, the view from above, which Nicholas Mirzoeff elsewhere associates with the "overseer."[59] This preoccupation with verticality, as Caren Kaplan and other critics note, dates back to nineteenth-century surveillance expeditions. Undertaken in tandem with, and as part of, colonial expansion, these expeditions evinced a desire to render territory intelligible and thereby impose dominion over it. Verticality supported and advanced military objectives, starting with the colonial wars of the nineteenth-century and continuing throughout the twentieth-century. Initially, experiments with photographic elevation began with the mounting of cameras on hot air balloons for aerial surveys. Subsequently, the enlistment of the camera for the purposes of war became unmistakable when photographic equipment was brought on board the very planes that carried munitions and dropped bombs.[60] Hackneyed or not, the camera-as-gun analogy is hard to dismiss.[61] In the case of World War I aerial reconnaissance missions, the limited load of planes meant that cameramen doubled as gunners.[62] By the start of the global Cold War, engineers had not only solved such technological limitations, they also went on to test drones in the Vietnam conflict to amplify the scope of the visual field. Widely considered a milestone in visual history because of the rise of television news reporting, the Vietnam conflict also marked the first helicopter war, with the heavily armed UH-1 "Huey" transporting photojournalists to battlefields, often on the way to military missions.[63]

Perhaps the most potent example of verticality is also the most recognizable Cold War icon: the mushroom cloud of nuclear annihilation. Taken from above, the mushroom cloud helped construct what amounts to a nuclear optic, or what Joseph Masco describes as a discourse that lingers on the sublimity of the abstract view from unfathomable heights by obscuring ground-level devastation.[64] The view from above also served the ends of state surveillance, when US aerial photographs taken from U-2 spy-planes played a key role during the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis by providing evidence of USSR ballistic missile deployment near the coast of Florida, bringing the superpowers to the brink of nuclear confrontation. As these examples illustrate, the producers of the most well-known Cold War images often adopted an aerial perspective wherein, as Paula Amad has argued, invocation of a biblical "God's-eye view" helped them assert territorial mastery.[65] And yet, viewers had to be shown what and how to see. The claim of territorial mastery was not convincing when images mounted in its support were fuzzy. The sheer volume of surveillance photographs, not to mention their abstract content, required teams of specialists, so-called imagery analysts, to decipher their meanings.[66] Notably,

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Figure I.5. John Hughes, deputy director of the Defense Intelligence Agency, uses a slide of a reconnaissance photo to support Reagan administration claims that Nicaragua has engaged in a major military buildup. This slide, shown during a State Department News Conference Tuesday, March 9, 1982, in Washington, DC, purports to show a Soviet-style training area and obstacle course in Managua, Nicaragua. AP Photo by Ira Schwarz.

John T. Hughes, perhaps the most famous of these experts, was called upon to interpret aerial reconnaissance photos during the Cuban Missile Crisis and, again in the 1980s, as part of the monitoring by the United States of alleged Soviet military support to Nicaragua (figure I.5).[67]

At the same time, it was not only verticality, nor for that matter spectacular icons, that structured ways of seeing the global Cold War.[68] Just as important is what might be described as a horizontal perspective, the ground-level view at a more human scale. To provide a fuller understanding of the

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concern with global Cold War photography's "dimensionality," Rebecca Adelman's term for the preoccupation, on the part of state and nonstate viewers, with the scope and scale of visual warfare, we also highlight the importance of horizontal perspectives.[69] We began this introduction with Tuong's photographs, which are unremarkable in form and mundane in content, to highlight how the quotidian might shape what could and could not be seen, an influence often overshadowed by spectacles and icons of war. When it comes to the relationship between verticality and horizontality, as Sarah Parsons shows in her contribution to this book, aerial surveillance did not sufficiently delineate the High Arctic's territorial boundaries. Photographs of Inuit people taken on the ground and on a human scale provided the Canadian state with a paternalistic means of appropriating indigeneity and thus authenticating their sovereignty against competing claims. By drawing attention to the significance of horizontal structures of seeing, this book complements studies that have illuminated the importance of verticality, while also taking heed of Caren Kaplan's reminder that verticality and horizontality are by no means binary modes of operation but instead work in tandem to reveal and obscure.

Our contributors also consider the significance of horizontal perspectives as they unfold in domestic images, taking seriously the quotidian as a means of resilience. Domestic images, they show, activate the potential for a "positive" contrast to the negating abstractions of state surveillance and provide a visual form for imagining other ways of living. Through reexamination of the contexts for the production and preservation of family photographs, our contributors also reckon with the impact of domesticity as a discourse that links the seemingly discrete sphere of the home to a broader, often more overtly violent theater of operations.[70] The famous 1959 "kitchen debate" between US vice president Richard Nixon and Soviet premier Nikita Khrushchev, set against the kitchen of a Long Island modular house at Sokolniki Park in Moscow so as to showcase the triumphs of capitalism over the so-called backwardness of Soviet communism, foregrounds how domesticity functioned as principal organizing feature of the global Cold War.[71] That is, though domestic images may be made for personal reasons, they are by no means fixed at any one site but rather, as our contributors show, move between personal and public spheres, even as the latter has historically set the terms for what can be photographed and shown. As Gillian Rose has argued, following Marianne Hirsch and others on the circuits that indelibly bind the personal and the public, domestic images operate in ways that expand beyond what she describes as a "familial practice," especially as they intersect with mass media.[72] And yet, without denying the ways that domestic images were operationalized

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for the assertion of soft power, we assess how they might also offer a means of envisioning alternative modes of belonging and relationality, particularly when situated within a broader global Cold War context that politicized the concept of family.[73] *Cold War Camera* examines family photographs, then, as exemplars of horizontality that not only served the ends of US hegemony but also expressed aspirations for survival and remembrance. At the same time, we acknowledge the limits of our subject positions as critics based in the global North, whose training—and ways of seeing—are shaped by the very structures we call into question here. Our attempts to engage in transnational research, we recognize, are also limited by language; this book's composition and publication in English delineates a particular way of seeing and risks confirming the hegemony of what is known as global English. We hope that by drawing attention to structures of seeing, including our own, this book will inspire critics to further widen frameworks for seeing the global Cold War.

CHAPTER OUTLINES

This book explores photography as a cultural practice that can both facilitate and impede global interconnectedness in the long Cold War. Attending to photography in an expansive way requires a multidisciplinary approach, which is why this book includes visual artists in addition to photography scholars, historians, and literary critics from fields that range from American to Latin American studies, from transpacific and literary critique to art history. The first section, "Visual Alliances," explains how photography brokered Cold War solidarities between diverse and dispersed groups and considers the contexts in which it enabled nonaligned communities to form. The section begins with Darren Newbury's chapter, which explores continuities and discontinuities of the global Cold War through the tangled visual histories of apartheid South Africa and the United States. Focusing on the unlikely alliance that Ernest Cole, a black South African photographer, made with the USIA, Newbury examines contradictions that pulsed through international racial solidarity and conduits through which photography, here understood in terms of a politicized social biography, traveled.

In their collaborative chapter, Thy Phu, Evyn Lê Espiritu Gandhi, and Donya Ziaee show that the icon of the revolutionary Vietnamese woman provided a means for solidarity across multiple liberation movements. By tracing the photographic circulation of this contested figure within Vietnam, Pales-

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tine, and Iran, the authors argue that the icon called into being, if only temporarily, a vexed form of solidarity, taking visual form through juxtaposition or "parallelism," which nevertheless needed to grapple with the internal and external political rifts associated with the intertwined causes of decolonization, women's emancipation, and national liberation. Erina Duganne meditates further on how "visual solidarities" are constructed, focusing on the activist work of New York City–based artist collective Group Material and their 1982 exhibition *¡LUCHAR! An Exhibition for the People of Central America*. Rather than promoting commonalities and acts of identification, Duganne proposes that visual solidarities also create misrecognitions and contingencies, which demand a reconsideration of the temporalities of the global Cold War. Ángeles Donoso Macaya also takes up US–Latin American solidarity networks in her chapter on the book *Chile from Within* (1990), edited by Chilean photographers in collaboration with Magnum photographer Susan Meiselas. Produced in the wake of Augusto Pinochet's military regime, this book, as Macaya argues, is the product of a "situated visuality," or a partial and incomplete perspective, which disrupts the bipolar framework of the Cold War by providing a means of historical reckoning with US intervention in the region. In her chapter, Jennifer Bajorek takes us backward in time. Though cautioning against the "lure of redemptive narratives" that would negate the recolonizing realities of so-called decolonization, Bajorek considers how newly discovered archives might provide a means of tracing an alternative world order based on the principles of African solidarity and unity, and a resource for reckoning with notions of futurity that have been foreclosed.

We connect the two sections with an interlude that features two photo-essays. Tong Lam's photo-essay meditates on Cold War aftermaths by juxtaposing a set of paired images of Cold War ruins from often overlooked locales to establish unexpected parallels between them. In so doing, Lam's work pries apart superpower binaries. Eric Gottesman's photo-essay examines how domestic images might form a counterarchive in the context of Ethiopia's communist government, known as the Derg, which prohibited public photography during the Ethiopian Red Terror. His deployment of domestic images contests discourses about the nuclear family and constructs visual kinships.

The second section, "Structures of Seeing," traces some less familiar and, in certain cases, familial ways that photography was used to structure what could be seen and known during the global Cold War and, conversely, what remained hidden and unknown. The section opens with a chapter by Ariella Aïsha Azoulay, which examines the theoretical implications of the emergence of a new world order, at the end of World War II, under the auspices of the

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United Nations. Although Azoulay's approach diverges from the contextually grounded and archivally based methodologies employed elsewhere in this volume, the chapter provides a provocative framework for understanding which histories become documented and which icons become recognizable—and which scenes of violence and repression remain unseen. At a moment when the world was violently divided into two blocs, Azoulay reflects on how photographs became didactic tools to preserve a system of differential sovereignty, which flattened complex subject positions between victims, perpetrators, and spectators and rendered certain catastrophes unrecognizable as a violation of rights. Meanwhile, Sarah Parsons's chapter situates the forced relocation of Inuit families within a global Cold War context of competing claims to Arctic territory and its abundant natural resources; she argues that the Canadian state produced photographic evidence of the presence of Indigenous peoples through the deployment of a horizontal perspective. Laura Wexler, Karintha Lowe, and Guigui Yao also explore horizontality as manifest in the politicization of family in China, evident through the production and preservation of family photographs during the global Cold War.

Oksana Sarkisova and Olga Shevchenko further examine horizontality through a series of visual tropes as they emerge in family photography archives, which facilitate the traversal and unification of far-flung Soviet sites. We conclude the volume with a chapter by Gil Pasternak and Marta Ziętkiewicz, which provides a counterintuitive analysis of the potential of photographs not just to look back on Cold War histories but also to re-narrate these histories and their legacies. Whereas the work of Sarkisova and Shevchenko attests to the lasting power of travel photography to appropriate space and mark it as generically Soviet, even while asserting nominal differences, Pasternak and Ziętkiewicz consider how the family album in Poland was used to expose ethnic differences—the presence of Jewish subjects—as a means of contesting Soviet discourses that disavowed these differences.

While no single volume can be comprehensive or exhaustive in covering global Cold War photography, this book suggests new directions in Cold War cultural criticism and reveals how photography as a practice provides a means of tracing the circuits through which visual alliances were brokered and a means of delineating the complexities of structures of seeing. In shifting the focus to take account of cold *and* hot entanglements along a North-South axis, *Cold War Camera* offers new insights on the visual rhetoric of seeing and not seeing, resistance and struggle, solidarity and collaboration. The critical reorientation we develop here also approaches photography as a practice about the future, regardless of whether these aspirations were ever

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realized, and helps disrupt the linearity and homogeneity of metanarratives about the global Cold War by drawing attention to the political formations and imaginaries that serve as alternatives to the superpower paradigms. Though the book emphasizes the hotness of proxy battlegrounds in the global South, in adopting this approach we do not mean to suggest that temporal disruptions are limited to this region. Rather, these disruptions, as Erina Duganne's chapter shows, reverberate more widely along the North-South axis. In these ways, *Cold War Camera* contributes to an emerging groundswell of scholarship that questions the boundaries of this conflict and suggests ways of understanding how photography delineated, navigated, and stretched the spatiotemporal parameters of the global Cold War.

Notes

1 The war in Vietnam was a conflict that involved more players than just the United States in alliance with the South Vietnamese government against communists from North Vietnam. Through Lyndon B. Johnson's "More Flags" campaign, Filipino and South Korean mercenaries joined the fighting and assisted in the logistics of warfare. Moreover, the war spilled over to Laos and Cambodia, when covert bombing campaigns were authorized in those countries in an effort to destroy the Ho Chi Minh Trail, which wound through the mountainous jungle border. See Blackburn, *Mercenaries and Lyndon Johnson's "More Flags."*

2 Zolov, "Introduction: Latin America in the Global Sixties," 353. Serge Guilbaut's seminal work on the political utility of Abstract Expressionism during the Cold War pioneered the cultural turn in Cold War studies. See Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art*. For even earlier interventions, see Cockcroft, "Abstract Expressionism"; and Ashton, *New York School*.

3 The scholarship on Cold War cultural studies is too voluminous to survey fully. Some representative influential studies include May, *Recasting America*; Von Eschen, *Satchmo Blows Up the World*; Shaw, *Hollywood's Cold*; Falk, *Upstaging the Cold War*; C. F. Fox, *Making Art Panamerican*; Saunders, *The Cultural Cold War*; Barnhisel, *Cold War Modernists*; Bradley and Werner, *We Gotta Get Out of This Place*; Fosler-Lussier, *Music in America's Cold War Diplomacy*; Kodat, *Don't Act, Just Dance*; Iber, *Neither Peace nor Freedom*; and Wulf, *U.S. International Exhibitions*.

4 See Langford and Langford, *A Cold War Tourist*. See also Bassnett, Noble, and Phu, "Cold War Visual Alliances"; and Hamilton and O'Gorman, *Lookout America!*

5 Grandin, "Living in Revolutionary Time," 2. See also McMahon, *The Cold War in the Third World*. In addition, there is a groundswell of soon-to-be published books taking up similar questions around expanding both the chronological and geographic boundaries of the Cold War. Peter Kalliney's *Bandung Generation: Decolo-*

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nization and the Aesthetic Cold War is among these forthcoming monographs and edited collections.

6 For example, Stephen G. Rabe seems to insist on this rigid periodization when he opens his concise interpretive history, *The Killing Zone*, with the bold statement: "The Cold War is over" (xxv).

7 Grandin, *Empire's Workshop*, 4.

8 For a general overview of the analytic and practice of decoloniality, including its relationship to modernity/coloniality, see Mignolo and Walsh, *On Decoloniality*.

9 See Man, *Soldiering through Empire*.

10 See Yale, *Cultural Exchange and the Cold War*. Sarah E. James has also detailed how the internationally touring exhibition *The Family of Man* impacted a divided Germany during the global Cold War in her book *Common Ground*.

11 See David-Fox, "The Iron Curtain as Semipermeable Membrane," 14–39.

12 The Non-Aligned Movement included twenty-nine newly liberated countries of Asia and Africa, the self-declared "underdogs of the human race," as Richard Wright called them. Wright wrote one the first substantial and, in many ways, still the most seminal account of the Bandung conference and its role in the foundation of the Non-Aligned Movement in 1961. See Wright, *The Color Curtain*. More recent publications include Lee, *Making a World after Empire*, as well as special issues of the journals *Australian Journal of International Affairs* 70, no. 4 (2016); and *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 17, no. 1 (2016). For a visual exploration of the residue of as well as contradictions within the Non-Aligned Movement, see Naeem Mohaiemen, *Two Meetings and a Funeral* (2017), a three-channel digital video installation, which premiered at documenta 14.

13 Though the term *dirty war* derives from the French phrase *la sale guerre*, where it was used by French leftist intellectuals to describe the First Indochina War, it subsequently came to be associated with state repression, first as part of the Algerian conflict of 1954 to 1962, and then, most notably, in Argentina from 1976 to 1983, during which some ten thousand persons were disappeared by the military junta. For a discussion of the etymology and shifting meanings of dirty war, see Smith and Rogers, "War in Gray," 377–98.

14 See D. Taylor, *Disappearing Acts*.

15 See Barthes, *Camera Lucida*.

16 Many scholars guess at what the actual Winter Garden photo looks like and question whether it even exists; they posit that, if it does exist, it may not be as Barthes describes. See, for example, Olin, "Touching Photographs." See also the essays included in Batchen, *Photography Degree Zero*.

17 See Wexler, "The Purloined Image," 264–79. See also *Vita Nova* (dir. Vincent Meessen, 2009), a film that returns to Barthes's engagement with French colonialism.

18 See Barthes, *Mythologies*.

19 See Wu, *Radicals on the Road*.

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20 See Sontag, *On Photography*.

21 See Nudelman, "Against Photography."

22 See, for example, Sekula, "The Traffic in Photographs"; Burgin, *Thinking Photography*; Tagg, *The Burden of Representation*; Sekula, "The Body and the Archive"; and Jay, *Downcast Eyes*.

23 See Ricoeur, *Freud and Philosophy*. In "Suspicious Minds," Felski suggests that suspicious reading has an even longer provenance, dating back to medieval witch-hunts. Morris Reich also argues for the importance of a hermeneutics of suspicion to racist deployments of photography in the 1920s and 1930s. See Reich, *Race and Photography*.

24 See Tang, *Visual Culture in Contemporary China*.

25 For a more detailed discussion of this exhibition, see Duganne, "*The Nicaragua Media Project*."

26 See Kriebel, "Photomontage in the Year 1932." Likewise, Fred Turner has argued that reading *The Family of Man* as "an act of instrumental Cold War propaganda" is to miss the transformative potential of the exhibition. See Turner, "*The Family of Man*."

27 See, for example, King, *The Commissar Vanishes*; and Dickerman, "Socialist Realism in the Shadow of Photography."

28. Drew Thompson sheds light on the ways that visual repression operated in Mozambique in his "AIM, FOCUS, SHOOT."

29 The full series is published in Eric Gottesman, "The Preservation of Terror," *Callaloo* 33, no. 1 (2010): 155–64.

30 The extent of these guidelines and censored materials is found in a set of documents smuggled out of the country in 1977, by defector Tomasz Strzyżewski, and subsequently published as *The Polish Black Book of Censorship*. See Laszczuk, "The Visual Politics of Success and Solidarity."

31 Jung Joon Lee advances a similar argument for the case of Korea, contending that the absence of war icons and the dearth of images of civilian casualties in Korean photography reinforced this conflict as the "forgotten war." See Lee, "No End to the Image War."

32 See Yu and Chu, "Photographic Manipulation in China."

33 Phu, "Vietnamese Photography." See also Phu, *Warring Visions: Photography and Vietnam*.

34 Critics who call for an examination of photography beyond the visual include, among others: Hevia, "The Photography Complex"; Edwards and Hart, *Photographs, Objects, Histories*; Azoulay, *The Civil Imagination*; and Campt, *Listening to Images*.

35 In *Photography and the Optical Unconscious*, Shawn Michelle Smith and Sharon Sliwinski show invisibility as a core part of the camera's operation; photography, they contend, encompasses the unseen as well as the seen. See also S. M. Smith, *At the Edge of Sight*.

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36 Tong Lam, email correspondence with Thy Phu, September 2, 2019.

37 See Reid, "(Socialist) Realism Unbound." For a good overview of the material and visual world of the Socialist Bloc from the late 1940s to the late 1960s, see Crowley, *Style and Socialism*.

38 See Phu, "Vietnamese Photography," xxx.

39 See, for example, Roland Barthes, "The Great Family of Man"; Sekula, "The Traffic in Photographs"; Hirsch, *Family Frames*; and Solomon-Godeau, "'The Family of Man.'"

40 The most notable of these reassessments can be found in Sandeen, *Picturing an Exhibition*; Back and Schmidt-Linsenhoff, *The Family of Man*; and Hurm et. al, *The Family of Man Revisited*.

41 For a discussion of the exhibition's world tour in relation to Cold War politics, see Sandeen, *Picturing an Exhibition*.

42 See Garb, "Rethinking Sekula." For other ways that photography has been employed in the struggle for human rights, especially in Latin America during the Cold War, see Noble, "Travelling Theories of Family." Mary Dudziak has likewise shown how the Cold War profoundly influenced the Civil Rights movement in the United States, which was previously seen only as a domestic concern. See Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*.

43 Of the approximately 44,000 people who visited *The Family of Man* in West Berlin, one quarter to a third of those visitors came from East Germany. See James, *Common Ground*; and Kuehn, *Caught*.

44 Vokes and Newbury, "Photography and African Futures." See also Rodogno and David, "All the World Loves a Picture."

45 See Berlier, "*The Family of Man.*"

46 Fred Turner has convincingly argued that this design, which activated a participatory potential built extensively on the ideas of Bauhaus refugee designer Herbert Bayer. See Turner, "*The Family of Man.*" Turner's persuasive account of the significance of this design has influenced numerous critics, who have drawn on his argument to underpin their reclaiming of a more positive view of the exhibition's potential. See, especially, Zamir, "Structures of Rhyme."

47 D. Scott, *Omens of Adversity*, 2.

48 D. Scott, *Omens of Adversity*, 10.

49 Benjamin, "N [Theoretics of Knowledge; Theory of Progress]," in G. Smith, *Benjamin: Philosophy, Aesthetics, History*, 50–51. See also Cadava, *Theses on the Photography of History*; and Assubuji and Hayes, "The Political Sublime."

50 See Blacker, "Cold War in the Countryside." See also Pensado, *Rebel Mexico*.

51 In 2001, the image, which has since become an icon of the Mexican student movement, reappeared as one of a series of thirty-five photographs, published over two consecutive issues of *Proceso* (#1311 and #1312), at a pivotal moment in Mexico's democratic transition. For more on this set of photographs, see Noble, "Recognizing Historical Injustice."

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52 For more on the global drug war, see Scott, *American War Machine*; and Bergen-Cico, *War and Drugs*.

53 Mathur, "Charles and Ray Eames in India," 40. This oversight extends to scholarship on *The Family of Man*, which opened in India only months after the Bandung Conference. Because the United States viewed Bandung as a threat (as did the USSR), USIA believed the exhibition could woo India from this new alliance of "third" or "non-aligned" nations. However, according to critic and novelist Mulk Raj Anand, Indian audiences were indifferent to the political framing of this exhibition, suggesting that the ideological vision of USIA did not always come across as the agency intended. See Anand, "Photography as an Art Form," 2–3, which is cited in Gupta, "Belatedness and Simultaneity."

54 The growing body of work on Afro-Asian encounters in the interdisciplinary field of Asian American studies can be traced back to a desire to engage with this moment/movement. See, for example, Onishi, *Transpacific Antiracism*. Scholars are also reconsidering the broader impact of Bandung and NAM. See Acharya and Tan, *Bandung Revisited*; and Lee, *Making a World after Empire*.

55 See Piškur, "Solidarity in Arts and Culture."

56 *Red Africa* was a series of seminars and events, including the exhibition *Things Fall Apart*, held at London's Calvert 22 in 2016. For more on this project, see Nash, *Red Africa*. For an historical analysis of the cultural connections and disconnections between Africa and the Soviet Union, see Katsakioris, "The Soviet-South Encounter"; and Vucetic and Betts, *Tito in Africa*.

57 See J. Berger, *Ways of Seeing*; and Williams, "Structures of Feelings."

58 The historiography of war photography is immense, but some seminal overviews include Brothers, *War and Photography*; Tucker, *War/Photography*; Rosenheim, *Photography and the American Civil War*; and Kennedy and Patrick, *The Violence of the Image*. See also Oldfield, *Photography and War.* On the politics of aesthetics when it comes to war photography, see Reinhardt et al., *Beautiful Suffering*.

59 See Mirzoeff, *The Right to Look*.

60 For an excellent cultural history of aerial imagery, beginning in the eighteenth century, see Kaplan, *Aerial Aftermaths*.

61 The analogy was established most influentially by Sontag in *On Photography*. The conflict in Vietnam also produced an iconic photograph that exemplified the camera-as-gun analogy: Eddie Adams's award-winning 1968 photograph of a Saigon execution. Adams managed to capture the decisive moment when two shots—that of the camera and gun—coincided.

62 The most famous of these was Edward Steichen, who commanded the aerial photographic operations of the American Expeditionary Force in France during the first World War. For more on Steichen and the problematic authorship of reconnaissance photography, see Sekula, "The Instrumental Image"; and Hardesty, *Camera Aloft*.

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63 Paul Virilio perhaps put this most memorably when he posited the existence of a military entertainment complex, which enmeshes war's conduct with the suspect pleasures of spectatorship. See Virilio, *War and Cinema*.

64 See Masco, *The Theater of Operations*. For more on photography and the atomic age, see also O'Brian, *Camera Atomica*; and MacLear, *Beclouded Visions*.

65 See Amad, "From God's-Eye to Camera-Eye."

66 For more on the role played by imagery analysis during the Cold War, see Lindgren, *Trust but Verify*.

67 For a general overview of John T. Hughes, see Elder, "Faces of Defense Intelligence: John T. Hughes."

68 Aerial surveillance photography even helped usher in an appreciation for abstraction, a defining feature of modernist sensibility. In *A Conspiracy of Images*, John J. Curley situates contemporary art within the Cold War context.

69 See Adelman, *Beyond the Checkpoint*.

70 In her influential book on the "tender violence" of US imperialism, Laura Wexler argues that domestic ideologies provide a means of projecting a "peace that keeps the peace." See Wexler, *Tender Violence*.

71 For more on how the kitchen was deployed as a recurring motif in the ideological and propaganda battles of the Cold War, see Baldwin, *The Racial Imaginary*.

72 See Rose, *Doing Family Photography*.

73 Evidence of the practice of familial politicization is found in the popular characterization of communist leader Ho Chi Minh as the benevolent Uncle and leader of the national family of Vietnam in its struggle against imperial invaders as well as in the US invocation of what Elaine Tyler May calls "domestic containment." See May, *Homeward Bound*.

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