

Unearthling Traces

Dismantling imperialist entanglements of archives, landscapes, and the built environment

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“Il n’y a pas de hors texte.”¹
Jacques Derrida

Prologue

May 7, 1952. Ernst Haas (1921–1986), an Austrian-born photojournalist soon to be naturalized as an American citizen, took a series of black and white (B&W) photographs for the European Recovery Program (ERP), also known as the Marshall Plan. Shot in Marseille, this photographic documentary narrated the working day of a “typical Marseille docker” including his leisure time after hours at home with his family. Filed as “[Marseille Docker—Nicholas Derybolsky (Magazine Unit Negs)]” at the National Archives and Records of the United States (NARA), the documentary is composed of 68 B&W photographs.²

On May 10, 1952, Haas took another series of B&W photographs in the port of Marseille, this time depicting a “typical” day at the port with dockers, cranes, and ships unloading and assembling food, raw materials, goods, and machinery imported from the United States as part of the Marshall Plan. This record, filed as “[The Sleepless

Port’—(Magazine Unit)]” at the NARA, is composed of 165 B&W photographs.³

Both series, which I discovered in the NARA’s archival records, seem to have been commissioned by the “Magazine Unit” of the Economic Cooperation Administration (ECA) in Paris to advertise the Marshall Plan’s activity in France. It is hard to know exactly how much time Ernst Haas spent in Marseille taking hundreds of photographs documenting the postwar everyday life of dockers in the port and in their homes. His two series of Marseille photographs from May 1952, however, evoke an overlooked yet fruitful cooperation agenda of the Marshall Plan for US postwar imperialism and anti-communist propaganda—although further knowledge on the “RMVH Magazine Unit,” addressed in the caption index file, still needs to be unearthed.

“History decays into images, not into stories.”⁴
Walter Benjamin

This text, accompanied by a “gospel” that I made by *montaging* the US-recorded captions, is an attempt to re-narrate the Marshall Plan’s discourse on the working class—the so-called “free labor” of the United States against the “communist labor” of the “Soviet threat.”⁵ I use gospel writing as a form of critical analysis to unearth the US doctrine on the “good life” of the postwar labor force. My purpose is to deconstruct how the postwar economic, political, and cultural imperialism of the United States was embodied in time, space, body, and mind of postwar labor, reporting from the “peacetime” operational field by hiring “independent” reporters from the war front. On the one hand, the article attempts a forensic analysis of US-narrated postwar documentary photography and journalism; and on the other, it aims to reveal the extent of the Cold War US practice of disseminating its anti-communist ideology on postwar labor from text to image, from time to space, and from body to mind.

Visual and textual records of photographs taken in Marseille in 1952 after the official ending of the Marshall Plan are the primary source of data analyzed in this text. This data itself serves as critique and counter-argument to reveal the postwar “soft power” discourse and practice of the United States in Marshall Plan countries. Yet, this text is not about visuality or photography, it is rather about textuality and text, that is,

about textual records accompanying photographs for filing and publicizing the Marshall Plan in the “soft” war front and home front. For this purpose, it uses captions, referred to as “picture stories” by the NARA, as evidence instead of Haas’s photographs, and analyzes captions as a means of historiographical practice for the deconstruction of the publicized and archived discourse of US postwar ideology.⁶

The “gospel” of the Marseille Docker—Nicholas Derybolsky from 1952, as I made and entitled it, is a collage composed of these “picture stories” dating May 7, 1952. The captions, written either for record descriptions or as propaganda guides to accompany Haas’s photos, guide the *decoupling*. I analyze repeated words and word groups that appear in the captions, and via rhythmic deconstruction of these, I form figurative statements in order to re-narrate the Marshall Plan’s discourse on “free labor” over the original “picture stories.” In the end, it is not the image or photo-essay but the text—caption, picture story, or gospel—which through different statements repeatedly recounts the good day of a “typical Marseille docker” of the Marshall Plan. You will find the gospel toward the end of this text.

“The object does not await in limbo the order that will free it and enable it to become embodied in a visible and prolix objectivity; it does not pre-exist itself, held back by some obstacle at the first edges of light. It exists under the positive conditions of a complex group of relations.”⁷

Michel Foucault

Applied by the US Department of State between 1948 and 1952, yet continued through US transnational institutions after its official ending in 1952, the Marshall Plan was the United States’ postwar foreign policy “to protect peace in the world” against the “Soviet threat.”⁸ In 1948, the US government founded the ECA in Paris to lead the correlation with the United States and participating countries on the amount of economic aid and field of technical assistance for European reconstruction. Next to the ECA, the United States set up an “ambassador” agency, the United States Special Representative in Europe (SRE) in order to represent the US government, with the aim “to apprise Europeans of American efforts in promoting economic recovery and to garner European support for American aid programs, especially the Marshall Plan.”⁹

The SRE, located at the Office of the Special Representative (ECA/OSR) in Paris, was indeed a propaganda machine acting through its Division of Information (SREDI) which had three branches. The first of these was the Special Media Staff, which “*dealt* with publishers and representatives of European magazines, radio, and motion pictures in order to encourage favorable treatment of ECA and [its successor Mutual Security Agency] MSA activities, as well as developing plans for special informational projects such as fair exhibits, pamphlets, and posters.”¹⁰ The second was the News and Writing Staff responsible for collecting and distributing news and organizing press releases, conferences, and special reports on the Marshall Plan. The last, but not the least, was the Labor Information Division, which “prepared and distributed to labor unions in ECA countries factual information about American aid programs, established contact with leaders of non-communist unions as a means of increasing support for American aid programs, and reported to ECA and MSA missions on labor meetings throughout Europe.”¹¹

It cannot be a mere coincidence that the “Magazine Unit” of the Office of the Special Representative (ECA/OSR) of the US government in Paris decided to commission Haas to photograph the “typical” Marseille Docker and the “Sleepless Port” in May 1952. Dock workers at the port of Marseille had been striking since 1950. Most of the USD 2 million subsidies reserved for trade union activities of the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) had been spent on preventing strikes by dock workers against the Marshall Plan shipments.¹² The postwar development boom relied on labor productivity, but the poor living conditions of the working class was resulting in strikes, seen by the US as posing a “communist threat” among workers. Through the “anti-communist Mediterranean Port Committee,” Irving Brown, the director of the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), and the Marseille unionist Pierre Ferri-Pisani were trying to organize dockers in *Force Ouvrière* (FO), the so-called “socialist” but anti-communist federation of labor unions assisted by the US, and weaken the influence of communist dockers belonging to the *Confédération Générale du Travail* (CGT) during the dockers’ strike of March-April 1950.¹³

In 1950 again, a travelling exhibition entitled *D’homme à homme* was organized by the Labor Information Division of the OCR/ECA in Paris, which also displayed

sponsorship by *Force Ouvrière* (FO), the *Confédération française des travailleurs chrétiens* (CFTC), and the Organization for European Economic Co-operation (OEEC).¹⁴ The exhibition travelled across mining regions and industrial cities in France to advertise the productivity and welfare achieved under the Marshall Plan. There was also an attempt to promote anti-communist labor unions (under the name “trade union”) through magazines, including *Bulletin Syndical*.¹⁵ The exhibition visited a total of thirty-four cities across France before finally arriving in Marseille in 1952 after “violent confrontations” between CGT guided by the *Parti communiste français* and anti-communist labor unions guided by FO and the CFTC. These “confrontations” resulted in FO membership decreasing to become a minority among unionized dockers.¹⁶ In this sense, the 1952 commissioning of Haas cannot be a mere coincidence to “document” the “sleepless” Marseille Port and its “typical” dockers but a intentional campaign to advertise the economic and social benefits of the Marshall Plan. Le Corbusier’s *Unité d’Habitation*, which was constructed with the assistance of Marshall Plan dollars, was also finished by 1952, representing the “official” ending of the Marshall Plan.

Haas began his career as a photojournalist working for magazines in Austria, initially for *Heute* in 1949. He was also working as a still and motion photographer documenting movie sets. *The Third Man*, a cult British *film-noir* from 1949 depicting the shady life of the immediate postwar period in a divided Vienna, was probably the first of these movie series. He photographed the cast and crew, as well as the shooting between 1947 and 1948.¹⁷

In addition to documenting the filming of *The Third Man*, Haas also produced an important exhibition in the American Red Cross Headquarters in Vienna in 1947. Following which, in 1949, he produced a photo documentary on the prisoners of war arriving in Vienna. After the original publication of Haas’s series in the photo-essay “Homecoming Prisoners” in *Heute*, the series was republished by the US magazine *Life*, bringing him to the attention of Robert Capa (1913–1954) of Magnum, the photography cooperative co-founded by Capa in Paris in 1947. Haas documented postwar Marseille not only as a documentary photographer but also as a shareholder of Magnum after joining it upon the invitation of Capa in 1949; he became Vice-President of Magnum’s American operations in New York in 1951.¹⁸

While earning a reputation as one of the pioneers of color photography and opening his first color photography exhibition at the Museum of Modern Art (MoMA) in New York, Haas kept documenting the postwar US “soft” propaganda against the “Soviet threat.” He published his photographs in *Life*, *Vogue*, and other magazines, and exhibited in several US-assisted exhibitions. In 1951, Haas was once again commissioned by the ECA, this time to photograph Matera, Italy, which was a propaganda site used to justify and glorify the success of the Marshall Plan in southern Italy. His photographs were exhibited, next to those of other *Magnum* photographers, as part of the US government-funded exhibition *Family of Man*, organized by the United States Information Agency (USIA) in 1955 in collaboration with Edward Steichen, the director of MoMA’s Department of Photography. The exhibition was later exhibited in sixty-one countries as part of US postwar propaganda.¹⁹ *Family of Man* was only one of the numerous exhibitions organized by the United States as part of its anti-communist campaign in participating countries of the Marshall Plan, in addition to its dissemination of propaganda brochures, educational booklets, news, and articles, as well as films about the Marshall Plan.²⁰

“I photograph fiction / as you can’t find
what I found.”²¹
Ernst Haas

Haas’s 1952 photo-essay starts with a portrait of a “typical Marseille docker” called Nicolas Derybolsky.²² Although described as a “typical docker,” Nicolas is a foreman—an “executive” worker heading a team of workers and responsible for hiring them and overseeing their labor. In Haas’s photographs, we follow Nicolas as the protagonist in his workplace, the port of Marseille fully reconstructed by US dollars, overseeing eight workers, six of them Black. We witness Nicolas hiring a worker for the day in the early morning, then starting the workday with his team, unloading the “Marshall Aid” goods from a ship with brand-new cranes in the background, freshly arrived from the United States. We see him having coffee and lunch breaks, enjoying table football in a dockside cafe, smoking, posing for the camera, and finally, arriving home where he lives with his wife Odette, his seven-year-old son, and a dog. On the way home, we see Nicolas with his team of workers, encountering soldiers as well as the “bombed sites cleared for the building of huge flats” and Le Corbusier’s

“experimental” apartment block, the *Unité d’Habitation*. His “little” “2-room rental” home is perhaps not yet considered experimental, but the 20,000 francs he earns in a “good month” may soon help him and his family move to one of these “experimental” “huge flats.” Still, his “tiny” “2-room apartment” seems “peaceful” enough, with his wife cooking the evening meal for him, his son waiting for his help with homework, and a moment of relaxation playing the *balalaika*. Unsurprisingly, Nicolas is an *émigré* from the Soviet Union who has been living in France for the last twenty years. Through Haas’s photographs, we see Nicolas reading the newspaper and having a short nap after dinner, while his wife Odette tidies the home for the next day and looks after her son.

However, Nicolas’s leisurely evening is not the final stage in a typical day of the Marseille docker; suddenly, the Marseille docker’s peaceful day is interrupted by communist and anti-communist “at war” poster campaigns, followed by the hammer and sickle of the Soviet Union versus the cross of Lorraine of Charles de Gaulle on a warehouse window. These two final photographs are the only images without people in them, thus forming the main theme of the Gospel of the Marseille Docker—Nicholas Derybolsky from 1952.

Fig. 1: Gospel of the Marseille Docker from 1952. Collage by Sila Karataş made of decoupling, re-assembling and re-narrating archival captions, aka "picture stories", written to describe photographs taken on May 7, 1952, by Ernst Haas.

GOSPEL

CHAPTER I.

FRANCEPIX FILE
Marseilles port
FRA 3958 thru 4019

- § I. *Marshall Aid means more work for him.*
- FRA 3958
3959
3960
- 1 - First and second LEADS
2 A typical Marseilles docker, 40-year-old Nicolas Derybalsky waits for a ship - and work. The rebuilt docks and flow of ships bringing Marshall Aid to Europe have meant more work for him in the past few years.
- [FRA MD1952 I: 1-2]
- § II. *Two-room apartment costs them 1,000 francs a month.*
- FRA 3996
3997
4000
4009
4010
4014
4015
4016
3998
3999
4000
- 3 LEAD: *one & two*
4 This typical docker, 40-year-old Nicolas Derybalsky, emigrated from Russia in his youth and has now lived in France for more than twenty years. The tiny two-room apartment he shares with his wife and son costs them 1,000 francs a month out of the 20,000 frs. he earns in a good month.
5 Docker Nicolas Derybalsky pays 1,000 francs a month for two rooms in this little house.
- [FRA MD1952 II: 3-5]
- § III. *His monthly wage is 20,000 francs during a good month.*
- FRA 3967
3969
thru
3972
4003
4004
4009
4009
4010
3996
3997
4005
4006
- 6 Docker Nicolas Derybalsky is Chef d'Equipe in the Port of Marseille which is the hub of traffic - both freight and passenger - for the entire Mediterranean, and an important center for shipbuilding, oil-refining, chemical manufacture.
7 - LEAD: *one & two*
8 This docker, Nicolas Derybalsky, earns 20,000 francs during a good month with Marshall Plan. A docker's average daily wage is 1,135 francs (3 dollars).
9 His ~~weekly~~ monthly wage is around 20,000 francs during a good month, of which he pays 1,000 frs. for his two-roomed apartment he shares with his wife and son.
- [FRA MD1952 III: 6-9]
- § IV. *Strikes mean no work, Marshall Plan means more work.*
- FRA 3958
thru 4019
- 10 Second Lead
11 In 1945 Marseilles was a mass of ruins. Allied bombing dynamited miles of dockfront - of 300 cranes, all but 12 were useless.
12 Marshall Plan counterpart funds ~~amounting to~~ ^{contributed} 100,493,000 francs contributed to the repair of industry and commerce in the port.
13 In 1945 Communism was rife amongst the Marseilles dockers and there were many Communist-inspired strikes.
14 But strikes mean no work.
15 Ships loaded with Marshall Plan goods have meant more work for Marseille dockers who work on a day-by-day basis.
- [FRA MD1952 IV: 10-15]
- § V. *Recovery of Marseilles started in 1948, Communism is less powerful today.*
- FRA 3958
thru 4019
4017
3958
thru 4019
- 16 The real recovery of Marseilles started in 1948.
17 Marseilles today is again France's first port, bigger, and more modern.
18 Communists propaganda is to be found all over Marseille but Communism is less powerful than it was a few years ago. From the ruins of yesterday rises a new port, bustling with activity, the final project will cost more than \$40,000,000.
19 This has meant work for Marseilles' 6000 dockers and for 7000 workers in the port's many industries.
20 There have been less strikes as the dockers realized that the ships bringing Marshall Aid to Europe not only bring material aid but work as well.
- [FRA MD1952 V: 16-21]
- § VI. *This huge block of flats is the most spectacular of Marseilles' housing projects.*
- FRA 3992
3993
3994
3958
thru 4019
3995
- 22 LEAD: *only only*
23 Reconstruction is going on apace both inside and outside the port. Here/bombed sites ~~are~~ cleared for the building of huge blocks of flats.
24 Marshall Plan counterpart funds ~~amounting to~~ ^{contributed} 100,493,000 francs (\$287,100) contributed to the repair of industry and commerce in the town and port, and 1,011,803,000 francs (\$2,890,866) to rebuilding the damaged housing.
25 This huge block of flats, called "The Radiant City" and designed by the famous French architect Le Corbusier, is the most spectacular of Marseilles' housing projects.
26 More than 399 million francs were contributed towards it in counterpart funds. (\$1,140,000)
- [FRA MD1952 VI: 22-26]

OF THE MARSEILLE DOCKER FROM 1952

7th May 1952
RMVH Magazine Unit
ERNST HAAS pix

CHAPTER II.

§ VII. *Marshall Plan keeps the port busy.*

- FRA 3961 - FIRST LEAD ONLY
3962 27 Dockside scene showing a recently re-constructed warehouse and
FRA 3975 28 a new crane. Marseille's warehouses were among
thru the first buildings to be reconstructed after the war.
3978 29 The one shown here is one of the largest in Europe.
30 It stores dry goods from America and North Africa.
FRA 3958 31 But as important at the time was the Marshall Plan
thru 4019 share in keeping the port busy.
FRA 3982 32 Incoming Marshall Aid goods, prominently marked with the
3983 Marshall Plan emblem, are checked on arrival at Marseille.
3984 [FRA MD1952 VII: 27-32]

§ VIII. *A docker's average daily wage is 1,135 francs; his unemployment benefit is only 400 francs.*

- FRA 3963 33 The Port Labor Exchange is in a warehouse that is still
3964 34 being reconstructed in 1951. Dockers assemble here every
morning at 5.45 am to be allotted work.
FRA 3965 35 Dockers who have been unable to find work line up for their
400 francs unemployment benefit.
36 Dockers are hired by the day by dock foremen. Here a
37 docker discusses the day's work with his Chef d'Equipe
FRA 3967 38 (left) who has hired him. A docker's average daily
wage is 1,135 francs (3 dollars). [FRA MD1952 VIII: 33-38]

§ IX. *Dockers amuse themselves during their lunch break, relax on a holiday with lads.*

- FRA 3966 39 Dockers snatch a quick aperitif or coffee in a nearby
cafe before starting work.
FRA 3968 40A ~~fixxxx~~ foreman and his crew start off for the ship Here a docker
FRA 3985 41they are to unload. pauses ~~wik~~ for a chat with two off-duty guards, who are
FRA 3979 African members of the French Army.
3979A 42 A crew of dockers unload a cargo of oranges at Marseille.
3979B 43 Some of the Marseilles dockers take their midday meal
thru in one of the many small dockside cafes.
3981A 44 Marseille's dockers amuse themselves with a pin table
FRA 3988 45 football machine in one of the many dockside cafes during
3988A their lunch break.
FRA 3989 45 One a docker relaxes on a holiday by playing football with
3989A ~~neighboringxxxxixxxx~~ the local lads. [FRA MD1952 IX: 39-45]
3989B
FRA 4001
4002 01

§ X. *Docker's wife prepares the evening meal, docker plays the balalaika after the dinner.*

- FRA 3998 46 Docker Nicolas Derybalsky pays 1,000 francs a month for
3999 two rooms in this little house, out of his average monthly
4000 wage of 20,000 francs. This docker's wife prepares the evening meal in the
FRA 4003 47 living room of their two-room apartment for which they
4004 pay 1,000 frs. a month out of the 20,000 francs earned
by her husband in a good month.
FRA 4005 48 Docker Nicolas Deryblansky settles down to read a paper
4006 after dinner.
FRA 4009 49 This docker, Nicolas Deryblansky, emigrated from
4009 Russia in his youth. Here he plays the balalaika he learnt to play in Russia
4010 and sings songs for his seven-year old son. [FRA MD1952 X: 46-50]

§ XI. *Docker takes a quick nap on the sofa while docker's wife tidies her sun up before bed.*

- FRA 4011 51 Docker's wife Odette Derybalsky tidies her son up before
4012 52 he goes out. Rent for their tiny two-room apartment is
4013 1,000 francs a month, and the rest of the 20,000 francs
her husband earns in a good month goes on food and clothing.
FRA 4014 53 Docker Nicolas Deryblansky takes a quick nap on the sofa
4015 54 after a hard day's work. The tiny two-room apartment
4016 he shares with his wife and son costs them 1,000 francs
a month out of the 20,000 frs. he earns in a good month.
FRA 4007 55 Not much of this docker's earnings can be spared for toys
but enough was saved to buy his son this engine for Christmas.
[FRA MD1952 XI: 51-55]

§ XII. *Communist and anti-communist propaganda is constantly at war in Marseille.*

- FRA 4017 56 - LEAD ~~me ?~~
56 Communist propaganda is to be found all over Marseille
FRA 4018 57 but Communism is less powerful than it was a few years
ago. The Communist and anti-Communist posters campaigns are
FRA 4019 58 constantly at war in Marseille.
58 Communist and anti-Communist propaganda can be found
59 everywhere in Marseille. Roughly drawn on this
warehouse window in the port are (left) the Hammer and
Sickle and (right) General de Gaulle's Cross of Lorraine. [FRA MD1952 XII: 56-59]

Every dialectically present historical circumstance polarizes itself and becomes a force field in which the confrontation between its fore-history and after-history is played out.²³

Adorno's article "The Essay as Form" opens with an excerpt from Goethe: "Destined to see what is illuminated, not the light."²⁴ As an unconscious intellectual experience, an essay does not aim at a theoretical statement or propose a finished thesis but illuminates the subject through a flow of concepts which weave a theoretical texture.²⁵ For Adorno, the critical essay rejects the theoretical statement of deduction on the one hand; and on the other, is related to theory "by virtue of the concepts that appear in it," forming a theoretical context.²⁶

As Walter Benjamin elaborates in his seminal work *Arcades Project*, what is the "historical object" in this narration of the US postwar economic, political, and cultural hegemony strategy: is it the caption or the photograph, the picture stories or the photo-essay, the text or the image? Is it the author of the Gospel who writes "picture stories" or photographs for the Gospel, or is it the historian re-narrating the story recorded in the archives? According to Benjamin, for an image to be a source of objectivity it must be seen from a dialectical—or even interpretive, by the nature of narration—perspective to be historical.²⁷ As a narrator of archival captions from a "specific historical interest whose legitimacy it is up to the materialist historian to establish," am I just depicting the found material or unearthing the Gospel of the Marseille Docker—the "non-communist free labor" doctrine of the Marshall Plan?²⁸ If the caption is sufficient to allow us to read the "objective image," what is the role of the historian?

Gospel of the Marseille Docker—Nicholas Derybolsky from 1952 is an attempt to add a "materialist presentation of history"—with Benjamin's conceptualization—to what has already been recorded (photographed, written, published, and archived) for the historical object to be the dialectical image.²⁹ My humble wish is to achieve a re-documentation or a dialectical recording of this strategically guided and publicized US doctrine against the so-called "Soviet threat" in Europe, as rough but as elaborate as possible, just like Honoré de Balzac (aka the Genius) was to ordinary but subtle details of the everyday. Now I invite you, dear "readers," to once again enjoy the Gospel of the Marseille Docker, to not

only re-analyze the postwar US campaign at the war and home front but also to dialectically deconstruct the “archive in action” during “peacetime” in the world, for a “historical awakening.”

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- 1 Jacques Derrida, *De la grammatologie* (Paris: Les éditions de Minuit, 1967), 227.
- 2 The full name of the file unit is "[Marseille Docker—Nicholas Derybolsky (Magazine Unit Negs)] - [FRA-3958 through FRA-4019], 1948—1967" archived under the series "Photographs of Marshall Plan Programs, Exhibits, and Personnel, 1948—1967." The caption index file notes the record as "War Battered Marseilles Again Hums with Activity" with the header indicating "FRANCE PIX FILE, RMVH Magazine Unit and ERNST HAAS pix" next to the date of the photographs. For more information, see item 286-MP-FRA-3958_4019, Photographs of Marshall Plan Programs, Exhibits, and Personnel, 1948—1967, National Archives at College Park—Still Pictures (RDSS), College Park, MD and item 286-MP-France-1-8881-reduced.pdf, Index to the Marshall Plan Programs, Exhibits, and Personnel, 1961—1967, National Archives at College Park - Still Pictures (RDSS), College Park, MD.
- 3 The full name of the file unit is "[The Sleepless Port"—(Magazine Unit)] - [FRA-4020 through FRA-4189]" archived under the same series mentioned in footnote 2. For more information, see item 286-MP-FRA-4020_4189, Photographs of Marshall Plan Programs, Exhibits, and Personnel, 1948—1967, National Archives at College Park—Still Pictures (RDSS), College Park, MD.
- 4 Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project* (Cambridge and London: Belknap Press, 1999), 476.
- 5 Anon., "Truman Doctrine," in *Our Documents: 100 Milestone Documents from the National Archives*, eds. Christine Compston and Rachel Filene Seidman (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), 195.
- 6 "Each subject listing is comprised of major picture story titles, listed in the order in which they are gathered into their respective files." See item 286-MP-France-1-8881-reduced.pdf, Index to the Marshall Plan Programs, Exhibits, and Personnel, 1961—1967, National Archives at College Park—Textual Records, College Park, MD.
- 7 Michel Foucault, *The Archeology of Knowledge* (London: Routledge, 2002), 49.
- 8 Anon., "Marshall Plan," in *Our Documents*, eds. Compston and Seidman, 199.
- 9 Kenneth Heger, "Publicizing the Marshall Plan: Records of the U.S. Special Representative in Europe, 1948—50," *The Record*, September 1998, Newsletter of the National Archives and Records Administration, www.archives.gov/publications/record/1998/09/marshall-plan.html (accessed July 30, 2021).
- 10 Ibid.
- 11 Ibid.
- 12 Irwin M. Wall, *The United States and the Making of Postwar France, 1945—1954* (Massachusetts, MA: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 108.
- 13 Ibid. See also Jean-Marie Pernot, "Les relations internationales et les débuts de la CGT-FO," in *La Naissance de Force Ouvrière*, eds. Michel Dreyfus, Gérard Gautron, Jean-Louis Robert (Rennes: Presses universitaires de Rennes, 2003), 199—213.
- 14 The OEEC was founded in 1948 to guide the application of the Marshall Plan in Europe. It was renamed the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in 1961. For more information see Anon., "Organisation for European Economic Co-operation," OECD, www.oecd.org/general/organisationforeuropeaneconomicco-operation.htm (accessed July 30, 2021).
- 15 Brian A. McKenzie, *Remaking France: Americanization, Public Diplomacy, and the Marshall Plan* (New York: Berghahn, 2007), 155—60.
- 16 Ibid.
- 17 For more information and photographs of Haas on the set of *The Third Man*, see Koraljka Suton, "Carol Reed's 'The Third Man': How Orson Welles Stole a Show He Was Barely In," cinephiliabeyond.org/the-third-man/ (accessed July 30, 2021).
- 18 Anon., "Chronology," Ernst Haas Estate, ernst-haas.com/chronology/ (accessed July 28, 2021). Haas was introduced to Capa by Werner Bischof (1916—1954), a war photojournalist from Switzerland who was working for *du*, a photography and art magazine headed by Arnold Kübler (1890—1983). In 1949, Bischof was the first new photographer to join Magnum after the founding members, and thanks to his introduction, Haas became the second. Bischof was also involved in the Marshall Plan, documenting Sardinia for two weeks for the ECA as well as Iceland in 1950. Anon., "1950 Europe," wernerbischof.com/europe-in-the-aftermath-of-wwii/1950-europe/ and Anon., "Glossary," wernerbischof.com/glossary-2/ (accessed July 28, 2021).
- 19 Anon., "Chronology, Ernst Haas Estate, ernst-haas.com/chronology/ (accessed July 28, 2021). Co-founding members of Magnum such as Capa, Cartier-Bresson, and Seymour also took part in the exhibition, as well as Werner Bischof. For Bischof's work for the ECA in Iceland discussed alongside the work of George Rodger in Africa and Ernst Haas in Matera, see *Æsa Sigurjónsdóttir*, "'Hot Spots in the Cold War,' Scripts, Visual Agendas, and Relocated Narratives in Cold War Photography," in *On Display: Visual Politics, Material Culture, and Education*, eds. Karin Priem and Kerstin te Heesen (Münster: Waxmann Verlag, 2016), 145—66. For a not-so-neutral review of Family of Man, see Alona Pardo, "Humanism, Magnum, and the Family of Man," www.magnumphotos.com/arts-culture/society-arts-culture/humanism-magnum-family-of-man-alona-pardo-david-seymour-edward-steichen-henri-cartier-bresson-moma-new-york/ (accessed July 30, 2021). See also "The Family of Man," Jan 24—May 8, 1955, MoMA, www.moma.org/calendar/exhibitions/2429 (accessed July 30, 2021). For a critique of the ideology of the exhibition that took place in Paris in 1956, see Roland Barthes, "La grande famille des hommes," in *Mythologies* (Paris: Le Seuil, 1970).
- 20 On the "Exhibition Program" of the Marshall Plan, see Julio Garnica, "Peter Harnden. Between the Cold War and the Mediterranean tradition," *FAM - Festival dell'Architettura Magazine* 47 (2018): 12—30, www.famagazine.it/index.php/famagazine/article/view/233/1000#2 (accessed June 16, 2022). On propaganda films of the Marshall Plan, see David W. Ellwood, *Rebuilding Europe: Western Europe, America and Postwar Reconstruction* (New York: Routledge, 1992), Evan S. Noble, "Marshall Plan Films and Americanization" (unpublished master's thesis, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, 2006), Paola Bonifazio, *Schooling in Modernity: The Politics of Sponsored Films in Postwar Italy* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014). For a comprehensive list of the films, see also Sandra Schulberg, "Selling Democracy: Films of The Marshall Plan, 1948—53," www.sellingdemocracy.org (accessed July 30, 2021).
- 21 Ernst Haas quoted in A. D. Coleman, "A Painter in a Hurry: The Photography of Ernst Haas," ernst-haas.com/essays-on-haas/#painterinahurry (accessed August 15, 2021).
- 22 Although the record's title mentions "Nicholas Derybolsky" on the caption index file of the NARA, the "picture story" about the "Marseilles Port" always refers to the protagonist as "Nicolas." In this section, all wordings in quotation marks are direct citations from the caption index file at the NARA. For more information, see item 286-MP-France-1-8881-reduced.pdf, Index to the Marshall Plan Programs, Exhibits, and Personnel, 1961—1967, National Archives at College Park—Textual Records, College Park, MD.
- 23 Ernst Haas quoted in A. D. Coleman, "A Painter in a Hurry: The Photography of Ernst Haas," ernst-haas.com/essays-on-haas/#painterinahurry (accessed August 15, 2021).
- 24 Theodor W. Adorno, *Notes to Literature, Volume One* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1991), 3.
- 25 Ibid., 12—13.
- 26 Ibid., 18.
- 27 Walter Benjamin, *The Arcades Project* (Cambridge and London: Belknap Press, 1999), 463.
- 28 Ibid., 363.
- 29 Ibid., 475.

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Is There
a Postcolonial?

Architecture, Coloniality,
and the Archives: Reimagining
heritage, its materialities,
and speech acts

Critical Fabulations,
Imagined Records... Paths
toward anti-imperialist archival
relations and gestures

Archival power, silences, and absences profoundly shape and structure postcolonial landscapes, spaces, and urban environments by controlling bodies, histories, and interactions. This book explores pathways to dismantle these imperial entanglements by developing methodologies and plural epistemologies through an interdisciplinary dialog between history, memory politics, critical theory, and archival practice together with the fields of the built environment, landscape, urban studies, architecture, and the arts. Unearthing traces catalyzes critical discussions that not only challenge the objectivity and dismantle the neutrality surrounding current archival practices and archival institutions, but also question what constitutes the archive itself. The book unearths potential histories and minor narratives buried by the imperial production of pasts and silences. The diverse range of contributions in the book offers original research, discussions, positions, and tools and provides a critical resource for scholars, architects, artists, activists, and archivists who want to engage with landscapes and built environments in a critical and postcolonial perspective in relation to archival materials and practices.



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