

Fotograf kao društveni čimbenik

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■ **KNIN** — Među prvima su u oslobođeni kraljevski Knin ušli i novinari Slobodne Dalmacije Joško Dadić, Matko Biljak i Siniša Sunara. Bilo im je kao da su iznenada prešli preko rijeke, s onu stranu zrcala, u zemlju čudesa, pa je Matko poželio promjenu: stati s druge strane objektiva. Bit će vremena i za snimanje veselja drugih

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Photographer as a social actor

Od 90-ih godina 20. stoljeća s omasovljenjem digitalne fotografije intenzivirala se javna debata o istinitosti medija, iako fotografija, kako piše Janne Seppänen: „... nikada nije bila epistemološki nevin i prirodan prikaz stvarnosti. Ona je oduvijek bila dijelom društvenih funkcija i njima bliskim definicijama istine.“¹¹ Suvremeni fotožurnalizam bori se da zadrži vjerodostojnost kao relevantni izvor informacija u digitalnom dobu, a rasprave o etici najčešće su usmjerene na pitanja tehnologije. World Press Photo, organizacija koja dodjeljuje jednu od najvažnijih svjetskih nagrada za dokumentarnu fotografiju, u studenome 2015. objavila je etički kodeks, prvi put u svojoj šezdesetogodišnjoj povijesti, nakon što je na prošlogodišnjem natječaju diskvalificirano čak dvadeset posto prijava zbog nedopuštene digitalne manipulacije. Ipak, ovdje neću raspravljati o kraju vjerovanja u istinitost fotografske slike koja se bazira na netaknutoj materijalnosti slike, jer ne dijelim vjerovanje 19. stoljeća da kredibilitet medija počiva na fotografskoj tehnici, već smatram da je produkt cijelog niza diskurzivnih, društvenih i kulturno uvjetovanih praksi.

U ovom tekstu bavit ću se ulogom fotografa kao svjedoka jer je upravo prisutnost na mjestu i u trenutku događaja ključni element dokumentarne i ratne fotografije, a većina fotografa ulogu svjedoka i svoje svjedočenje važnim povijesnim događajima ističe kao glavnu komponentu svojeg rada i osnovnu motivaciju. Vidljivo je to i iz sljedećih primjera: James Nachtwey na naslovnici svoje

mrežne stranice ističe: „Bio sam svjedokom i ove fotografije moje su svjedočenje.“¹² Tod Stoddart svoju je knjigu ratnih fotografija nazvao *I-Witness (Svjedočim)*. Uloga svjedoka i svjedočenje o nekom događaju sugeriraju nepristranu i objektivnu poziciju. No Alan Sekula u svojoj poznatoj knjizi eseja *Photography against the Grain* zapisao je: „... fotograf je već društveni čimbenik, nije nikada posve nevin i objektivni promatrač.“¹³

Tu ću njegovu tvrdnju ilustrirati s nekoliko primjera iz ratova u Hrvatskoj i Bosni i Hercegovini.

U svojoj knjizi *Rat slikama – suvremena ratna fotografija* istražila sam kako je fotografija upotrebljavana s namjerom da proizvede željeno značenje i analizirala ratne fotografije iz 90-ih godina 20. stoljeća u hrvatskim i srpskim medijima koji su potaknuli eskalaciju političkog sukoba u rat, sustavno radili na dehumanizaciji suprotstavljene strane i pojačavanju ratne psihoze. Tijekom istraživanja razgovarala sam s mnogo domaćih i stranih fotografa kako bih što bolje shvatila njihovo razmišljanje, uvjete u kojima su radili i ograničenja s kojima su se susretali. Posebno me zanimala pozicija lokalnih fotografa jer su fotografije koje su objavljivali u lokalnim medijima imale najveći utjecaj na javno mnijenje zemalja u konfliktu, kako tada tako i danas, kada oblikuju kolektivno sjećanje. Veliki se broj domaćih fotografa obreo u ulozi ratnih reportera bez svjesne odluke i bez potrebnih priprema za ono što ih je čekalo kako na bojnem tako i na

FOTOGRAF SLOBODNE DALMACIJE SLAVI ULAZAK HRVATSKE VOJSKE U KNIN,
SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, KOLOVOZ 1995.

PHOTOGRAPHER OF SLOBODNA DALMACIJA CELEBRATS THE ENTERING OF
CROATIAN ARMY IN KNIN, SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, AUGUST 1995

Since the 1990s, with mass popularization of digital photography the public debate about the truthfulness of the medium has intensified, even though Janne Seppänen notes that photography: “...was never an epistemologically innocent and natural depiction of reality. It has always been a part of social functions and definitions of truth connected with them.”¹¹ Contemporary photojournalism is struggling to retain its credibility as a relevant source of information in the digital age, with discussions about ethics mostly revolving around the issue of technology. For the first time in its sixty year-long history, World Press Photo, the organisation which awards one of the most important documentary photography awards worldwide, published its code of ethics in November 2015, after as much as twenty percent of submissions to the last year’s competition had been disqualified due to the forbidden use of digital manipulation. However, I shall not discuss the end of trust in the realism of the photographic image based on the intact materiality of the photograph since I do not share the 19th century belief that the credibility of the medium is based on the photographic technique, but I shall rather consider it as a product of a series of discursive, socially and culturally conditioned practices.

In this paper, I examine the role of the photographer as a witness, since being present at the time and space of events is an essential element of documentary and war photography. Most

photographers point to their role of witnesses and witnessing of important historic events as key components of their work and their prime motivation. This fact can be observed on the following examples: at the homepage of his website, James Nachtwey says: “I have been a witness, and these pictures are my testimony.”¹² Tod Stoddart called his book of war photographs *I-Witness*. The role of the witness and the witnessing of an event suggest an unbiased and objective stance. However, Alan Sekula notes in his famous book of essays, *Photography Against the Grain*, that: “...the photographer is already a social actor, never a completely innocent or objective bystander.”¹³ I will illustrate his statement with several examples from the wars in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. In my new book *Rat slikama – suvremena ratna fotografija (War with Images – Contemporary War Photography)* I analysed how photography was used in the 1990s Croatian and Serbian media to produce a desired meaning and facilitate the escalation of a political conflict into war, systematically dehumanizing the opposed side, and intensifying the war psychosis. During my research I spoke to many local and foreign photographers in order to gain the best possible understanding of their reasoning, the conditions under which they worked and the limitations they encountered. I was especially interested in the position of local photographers since the photographs which were published in the local media had the strongest influence on public opinion in the conflicted

propagandnom polju. Dojučerašnji fotografi lokalnih dnevnika koji su snimali gradske vinjete i malonogometne utakmice najednom su postali ratni izvjestitelji sa svom težinom dramatične situacije. Svi fotografi iz zemalja u konfliktu mogli su izvještavati samo s jedne – „svoje” strane, što je u pitanje dovodilo osnovni postulat novinarstva o neutralnom izvještavanju. Osim toga, morali su se nositi sa svojim patriotskim osjećajima koji su nepobitno utjecali na način na koji su reprezentirali događaje na svojim fotografijama. Također su bili emotivno uključeni ako su im bližnji bili ugroženi ili stradali, a i sami su bili izloženi ratnom djelovanju dok su obilazili bojište snimajući, ali i nakon povratka kućama ako su dolazili s ratom zahvaćenih područja. Bili su u prednosti u odnosu na strane fotoreportere jer su dobro poznavali situaciju na terenu i zbog svojih lokalnih kontakata imali mnogo bolji pristup informacijama. Strani su fotografi često dolazili bez osnovnih saznanja o uzrocima i tijeku sukoba, gotovo kao na fotosafari, jer je bojište usred Europe bilo lako dostupno svakom tko je žudio za uspješnom fotografskom karijerom. No čak i za iskusnije reportere rad je bio otežan jer su bili ograničeni na prevoditelje i informacije koje su oni smatrali vrijednima dijeljenja, a sukob je postajao sve kompliciraniji kada su dojučerašnji saveznici u Bosni i Hercegovini postali neprijatelji. U prednosti nad lokalnim fotografima bili su zbog mogućnosti da sukob sagledaju s različitih pozicija, budući da je za njih bilo moguće

izvještavati sa svih zaraćenih strana. Nadalje, nisu automatski bili i emotivno uključeni, premda je s trajanjem rata bilo sve manje onih koji nisu odabrali stranu.

Poziciju lokalnih fotografa na svim zaraćenim stranama dobro ilustrira fotografija objavljena u Slobodnoj Dalmaciji u kolovozu 1995. Prikazuje njihova redakcijskog fotografa kako s uzdignutim rukama u kojima drži naopako okrenute kninske registarske tablice slavi ulazak hrvatske vojske u Knin neposredno nakon vojno-redarstvene akcije Oluja. Otvoreno slavi i podržava jednu stranu u sukobu i time ističe ne samo vlastitu poziciju koja nikako nije ona nepristranog svjedoka već i poziciju svojeg uredništva, koje je objavom ove fotografije istaknulo svoju političku agendu. Fotografije slavlja hrvatskih trupa nakon osvajanja područja Srpske Krajine preplavile su sve *mainstream* hrvatske medije u to vrijeme, dok su vijesti o, primjerice, kamenovanju kolone srpskih izbjeglica od strane hrvatskih građana objavljivane na zadnjoj stranici i bez fotografija. Vijesti o zločinima hrvatskih vojnika u selu Grubori u kojem su spaljene kuće i ubijeno petero nemoćnih staraca Slobodna Dalmacija nastoji demantirati reportažom o posjetu generala Čermaka Gruborima. Reportaža je opremljena fotografijama idilične seoske vinjete starica na klupi dok u prvom planu pozira seoski pas i izjavama seljana o dobrom vladanju hrvatske vojske. Iako su primarni izvor informacija i propagande bile nacionalne

countries back then and even today as they shape the collective memory. A large number of local photographers found themselves in the role of war reporters without originally intending to do it and without sufficient preparation for what was awaiting them, both in the battlefield and in the field of propaganda. Photographers who were recording city vignettes, indoor soccer matches for local TV stations the day before, found themselves as war correspondents with all the gravity of the dramatic situation. All of the photographers from the countries in conflict could only document the events from one particular side, namely “their own”, which put into question the basic journalistic mandate of neutral reporting. Furthermore, they had to cope with their own patriotic feelings which undoubtedly influenced the way they portrayed events in their photographs. They were also emotionally involved if people close to them were in danger, injured or dead. They were influenced by the effects of war both when they were taking photographs in the battlefield and when they returned home. Their knowledge of the situation on the battlefield gave them an advantage over foreign reporters due to their local contacts that enabled easier access to information. Foreign photographers, many of whom had come without knowing much about the causes or the evolution of the conflict, approached it as a photo safari, since the battlefield in the midst of Europe was easily accessible to anyone who wanted to launch a successful career in

photojournalism. However, even the more experienced reporters found their work to be difficult since they had to rely on translators and the information they deemed worthy of conveying, and the conflict became even more complicated as previous allies in Bosnia and Herzegovina became enemies. The advantage they had over the local reporters was their ability to view the conflict from different perspectives since they could report from any of the conflicted sides. Furthermore, they were not automatically emotionally engaged, although, as the war continued to wage on, there were fewer and fewer those who did not chose a side.

The position of local photographers on all sides of the conflict is perfectly illustrated by a photograph published in the daily newspaper Slobodna Dalmacija in August 1995. It shows their photojournalist celebrating the entry of the Croatian army into Knin, following Operation Storm, as he holds a license plate from Knin upside down. He is openly celebrating and supporting one side of the conflict which conveys not only his position, which is no longer that of an unbiased witness, but also the position of his newspaper that disclosed its political agenda by publishing the photograph. Celebratory photographs of Croatian soldiers after conquering areas of Serbian Krajina flooded the *mainstream* media in Croatia, while news about, for instance, the stoning of a group of Serbian refugees by Croatian citizens was published on the last page, without photographs to support it. Slobodna

televizije zaraćenih zemalja, primijetila sam tijekom istraživanja da je fotografija imala vrlo važnu ulogu upravo u konstruiranju slike herojskog vojnika u tiskanim medijima. Fotografije vojnika u hrvatskim i srpskim medijima reflektirale su vrijednosti koje su nastojali promovirati. Hrvatska je željela biti percipirana kao moderna i progresivna demokratska nova država, što dalje od socijalističke Jugoslavije. Tako je izgled hrvatskih vojnika nastao pod utjecajem pop-kulture, dok je srpski baziran na repliciranju povijesnih herojskih modela. Hrvatski su se branitelji ugledali na vijetnamske heroje iz američkih filmova, a hrvatski su fotografi i mediji potencirali taj trend. Nasuprot tome, srpski vojnici bili su vjerni autentičnom žanru jugoslavenskih partizanskih filmova. No na obje strane njihovi vlastiti vojnici percipirani su kao hrabri, časni borci za pravu stvar i upravo su ih tako fotografi prikazivali. Takva izrazito afirmativna reprezentacija vojnika bila je ključna za pozitivan prikaz rata i utjecaj na javno mnijenje koje je trebalo ratu osigurati potporu. Slika herojskog vojnika konstruirana tijekom rata duboko je implementirana u nacionalni identitet i čini veliku prepreku suočavanju s ratnim zločinima koje su počinili vojnici svih zaraćenih strana.

Razgovarajući s lokalnim fotografima došla sam do saznanja da većina njih, čak i ako je vidjela problematično ponašanje „svojih“ vojnika, uglavnom nije fotografirala takve situacije. Razlozi su bili razni: od straha za vlastitu sigurnost, svijesti da takve fotografije

neće biti objavljene, pa sve do vlastitih patriotskih osjećaja koji su rezultirali autocenzurom. Kada je Saša Kralj snimio položaj HVO-a kod Mostara, bila je to prva fotografija koja je dokazivala involviranost hrvatske vojske u rat u Bosni i Hercegovini, što su hrvatski političari konstantno poricali. Za fotografa je snimiti i poslati stranoj agenciji za koju je radio takvu fotografiju značilo suočiti se s etiketom „izdajnika“. Hrvoje Polan, fotograf tjednika Feral Tribune, u kolovozu 1995. snimio je fotografiju koja prikazuje pljačku u kninskoj robnoj kući nakon ulaska hrvatske vojske. Ta je fotografija objavljena u Feral Tribuneu, a fotograf se s verbalnim napadima i prijetnjama susreo tada, jednako kao i prošle godine kada je uz godišnjicu Oluje na društvenoj mreži podijelio ovu fotografiju i svoju priču o organiziranom vlaku kojim su hrvatski građani s kninskog područja mogli besplatno putovati i posjetiti svoju imovinu koja im je do tada zbog okupacije bila nedostupna, a među kojima je bilo i onih koji su na put krenuli zapravo zbog pljačke napuštenih srpskih kuća i trgovina. Fotograf je zasut negativnim komentarima svojih kolega i drugih, a fotografija je prijavljena kao nepoćudna administratorima društvene mreže te je ubrzo bez znanja autora uklonjena. Nakon što je Žalbeno vijeće Međunarodnog suda za ratne zločine na području bivše Jugoslavije poništilo osuđujuće presude generalima Anti Gotovini i Mladenu Markaču 16. studenoga 2012. Hrvatsku je zahvatila nacionalistička euforija u kojoj je danima slavila „ispiranje ljage“

Dalmacija attempted to refute the news about the crimes of Croatian soldiers in Grubori village, where houses were burnt down and five defenceless elderly people killed, by publishing a report about general Čermak's visit to Grubori village. The report was accompanied by photographs of an idyllic village scene depicting old women sitting on a bench, the village dog posing in the foreground, as well as by statements from the villagers about the commendable behaviour of the Croatian army. Even though the primary source of information and propaganda were the national televisions of the warring countries, during my research I noticed that photography had a very important role in constructing the image of the heroic soldier in the printed media. Photographs of soldiers in the Croatian and Serbian media reflected the values which were supposed to be promoted. Croatia wanted to be perceived as a new, modern and progressive democratic country, as distinct from the socialist Yugoslavia as possible. This resulted in an image of Croatian soldiers influenced by pop-culture, while the Serbian image was based on replicating historical heroic models. The Croatian soldiers modelled themselves on Vietnam heroes from American movies, and Croatian photographers and the media encouraged that trend. On the other hand, Serbian soldiers were faithful to the authentic genre of Yugoslav partisan movies. Still, the soldiers on both sides were perceived as brave honourable fighters for a just

cause, and were presented as such by the photographers. Such a strong affirmative representation of soldiers was crucial for a positive representation of the war and mobilizing public support. The image of the heroic soldier constructed during the war is deeply embedded into the national identity and it presents a major hindrance for coming to terms with the war crimes committed by soldiers from all sides of the conflict.

When I was talking to local photographers, I came to realize that most of them, even if they had witnessed problematic behaviour exhibited by "their" soldiers, did not photograph such instances. The reasons varied: fear for their own safety, the knowledge that such photographs would not be published, even patriotic feelings resulting in self-censorship. When Saša Kralj took a photograph of HVO (Croatian Defence Council) at Mostar, it was the first photograph that proved the involvement of Croatian forces in the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the fact which Croatian politicians had invariably denied. For the photographer, taking and sending such a photograph to a foreign agency he worked for meant being labelled as "a traitor". Hrvoje Polan, the photographer for the weekly magazine Feral Tribune, took a photograph showing a robbery of a department store in Knin in August 1995 after the Croatian army had already taken control of the city. The photo was published in Feral Tribune and the photographer endured verbal attacks and threats at that time, as well as last year on the

s Domovinskog rata. U Večernjem listu tako se mogla naći na slavljeničkom posteru generala Gotovine i fotografija hrvatskog branitelja kojem starica ljubi ruku, dok opis fotografije kaže: „Oluja 1995. Srpske izbjeglice u koloni nakon ulaska Hrvatske vojske. Vojnik pomaže starici.” Obrasci afirmativnog prikaza vojnika ustanovljeni tijekom rata nastavljaju se, dok se izolirani kritički istupi fotografa cenzuriraju i ignoriraju.

Fotografi su na temelju vlastitih uvjerenja, a nikako kao neutralni promatrači, sudjelovali i u tzv. „propagandi zvjerstvima”,⁴ kako pokazuje primjer srpskog fotografa Gorana Mikića. On je nakon pada Vukovara snimao vrlo eksplicitne fotografije leševa identificirajući sve žrtve kao Srbe koje su masakrirali hrvatski vojnici, a te su fotografije sve do prije nekoliko godina bile objavljene i na njegovoj mrežnoj stranici. No ono zbog čega je postao često citiran u svjetskim medijima u studenome 1991. bilo je usmeno svjedočenje o 41 masakriranom srpskom djetetu koje je vidio u Borovu selu. Nije imao fotografije kojima bi to dokazao jer je tvrdio da mu srpska vojska nije dopustila fotografiranje, ali je njegovu priču potvrdila i jedna talijanska novinarka koje je također u to vrijeme bila u Vukovaru. Vijest je odjeknula u svjetskim medijima nakon što ju je distribuirao Reuters, a srpski mediji danima su izvještavali o detaljima. Hrvatska strana demantirala je vijest i tek nakon opetovanih pritisaka da se podastru neki dokazi za tu grozomornu vijest Mikić je priznao da

zapravo nije vidio leševe mrtve djece. Iako fotografija izmišljenog događaja nije postojala, na temelju njegova svjedočenja imaginarna fotografija usadila se u srpskoj kolektivnoj svijesti pa su tako mnogi srpski dobrovoljci krenuli u rat upravo navodeći tu vijest kao glavnu motivaciju.

Mnogi lokalni fotografi radili su za strane fotografske agencije i njihove su fotografije često objavljivane u međunarodnom tisku. Bila je to čast i potvrda njihova talenta i sposobnosti, a uz to je bilo i lukrativno. Neki od fotografa motivaciju za ratno izvještavanje našli su u želji za uspjehom, slavom i zaradom. Mladi srpski fotograf Bojan Stojanović bio je posebno uspješan jer je za svoju fotografiju snimljenu u Brčkom nagrađen prestižnom nagradom organizacije World Press Photo u kategoriji Spot news za 1992. godinu. Fotografija prikazuje egzekuciju i zapravo je jedan izdvojeni *frame* iz cijele sekvencije koja prikazuje muškarca u plavoj policijskoj uniformi u fazama ubijanja jednog civila u pokrajnjoj ulici u Brčkom u svibnju 1992. Cijela je sekvencija vrlo uznemirujuća, a ono što je posebno upečatljivo, osim strašnog sadržaja slika, jest pozicija fotografa koji se nalazi vrlo blizu ubojici i snima širokokutnim objektivom. Fotograf[®] je hodao zajedno s dva naoružana muškarca u uniformama i dva civila sve do mjesta egzekucije i cijelo vrijeme fotografirao. Iz onoga što vidimo na fotografijama stječemo dojam da je fotograf pozvan da sudjeluje i dokumentira čin ubojstva. U Beogradu sam

BOJAN STOJANOVIĆ, EGZEKUCIJA U BRČKOM, 1992.,
LJUBAZNOŠĆU MEĐUNARODNOG KRIVIKOŽNOG SUDA
ZA BIVŠU JUGOSLAVIJU

BOJAN STOJANOVIĆ, EXECUTION IN BRČKO, 1992,
BY PERMISSION OF INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL
FOR THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA

anniversary of Oluja, when he shared this photograph on social media, together with his story about an organised train by which Croatian citizens from the Kinin area could visit their property which was out of their reach until then due to the occupation. Amongst them, there were those who in fact took the train to loot the abandoned Serbian houses and stores. The photographer was awash with negative comments from both his colleagues and others, and the photograph was reported as inappropriate to the administrators of the social network and soon after removed without the author's knowledge. After the Appeal Chamber of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia annulled the verdict against generals Ante Gotovina and Mladen Markač on 16 November 2012, Croatia was engulfed in a nationalist euphoria, celebrating for days “the removing of tarnish” from the Croatian War of Independence. Večernji List published a celebratory poster of general Gotovina and a photograph of an old lady kissing the hand of a Croatian soldier, with the caption under the photograph: “Oluja, 1995. A column of Serbian refugees after the arrival of the Croatian army. A soldier helping an old lady”. The models of affirmative representations of soldiers created during the war have endured, while the isolated critical counterpoints by photographers have been censored and ignored.

The photographers have on the basis of their own beliefs, not as neutral observers, participated in the so called “atrocities

propaganda”,⁴ as shown by the example of the Serbian photographer Goran Mikić. After the fall of Vukovar, he took very explicit photographs of corpses, identifying all the victims as Serbs massacred by Croatian soldiers, and these photographs were made available on his website until a few years ago. What made him often referred to in the world media in November 1991, was his verbal testimony about 41 massacred children he saw in Borovo village. He had no photographs to support this claim and said that the Serbian army would not permit him to take photographs, but his story was confirmed by an Italian journalist who was also in Vukovar at that time. The news spread across the international media after it was published by Reuters, and the Serbian media spent days reporting on the details. The Croatian side refuted the story and it took numerous appeals to present any evidence about this horrible story before Mikić finally admitted that he did not in fact see the corpses of children. Even though the photograph of the fabricated event never existed, his testimony created an imaginary photograph which ingrained itself into the Serbian collective consciousness, prompting many Serbian volunteers to join the war, citing that story as their main motivation. Many local photographers were working for foreign photographic agencies and their photographs were often published in international press. It was an honour and an acknowledgement of their talents and abilities, in addition to being very lucrative.

razgovarala s nekolicinom fotografa⁶ i svi su mi potvrdili da je riječ o ubojstvu koje je organizirano da bi bilo snimljeno, na temelju priče samog fotografa Stojanovića nakon povratka s fotografijama u Beograd. Tvrdili su ne samo da je egzekucija organizirana zbog snimanja već i da je fotograf za to platio petsto njemačkih maraka. Za takvu tvrdnju nisam pronašla dokaze, ali sam se pozabavila istraživanjem pozadine tih fotografija. Pretražila sam, u potrazi za više informacija o situaciji koja je dovela do snimanja navedenih fotografija, stotine stranica transkripata sa suđenja Goranu Jelisiću zvanom Adolf na Međunarodnom kaznenom

sudu u Haagu, koji je identificiran kao ubojica s fotografija i osuđen na 40 godina zatvora za zločine koje je počinio kao zapovjednik logora Luka u Brčkom. U tim sam transkriptima našla i njegovo svjedočenje u kojem tvrdi da je ubojstvo i fotografiranje organizirano s namjerom da posluže kao propaganda, tj. da se ubijeni prikažu kao Srbi koje ubijaju Muslimani.⁷ S fotografom koji je te fotografije snimio, Bojanom Stojanovićem, nisam razgovarala jer nije reagirao na moje pokušaje da uspostavam kontakt. Međutim, na temelju onoga što je vidljivo na fotografijama, kao i na temelju navoda kolega fotografa kojima se Stojanović u



Some of the photographers found their motivation for war photography in a desire for success, fame and money. A young Serbian photographer, Bojan Stojanović, was especially successful because his photograph taken in Brčko earned him a prestigious World Press Photo award in the category Spot News in 1992. The photograph shows an execution, and is, in fact, one *frame* singled out from a sequence showing a man in a blue police uniform in different phases of murdering a civilian on a street in Brčko, in May 1992. The entire series is very disturbing, and the especially notable thing, apart from the horrific content of the photograph, is the position of the photographer – very close to the killer, using a wide-angle lens. The photographer⁸ was walking with two armed men in uniforms and two civilians all the way to the spot of the execution, taking photographs the entire time.

From what we can see in the photographs, we get the impression that the photographer was invited to participate and document the murder. I spoke to several photographers⁹ in Belgrade and all of them confirmed that the murder had been organized with the purpose of being photographed, based on the story told by the photographer Stojanović himself after his return to Belgrade with the photographs. They claimed that the execution was not organised simply to be photographed but also because the photographer paid the soldiers five hundred Deutsche Marks. I never found any proof to corroborate this claim, but I did conduct research into the story behind these photographs. While trying to find more information about the circumstances which led to the aforementioned photographs, I went through hundreds of pages of transcripts from Goran Jelisić's trial, nicknamed Adolf, at the

vrijeme nakon snimanja fotografija hvalio detaljima i na temelju Jelisićeva svjedočenja, nedvojbeno je da je ovdje riječ o ubojstvu koje je organizirano za fotografiranje, iako sve okolnosti i uloga fotografa nisu posve jasni. Je li fotograf bio unajmljen da dokumentira zločin, je li snimao pod prijetnjom ili je riječ o mladom ambicioznom fotografu bez ikakvih moralnih načela koji je bio inicijator zločina kako bi ga fotografirao i osvojio neku od svjetskih nagrada po uzoru na, primjerice, fotografiju Eddieja Adamsa iz 1968.? To ostaje i dalje nepoznanica, no dosadašnja saznanja trebala bi biti dovoljna da se Stojanoviću oduzme dodijeljena nagrada WPP-a. Upravo takav upit organizaciji World Press Photo uputio je bosanskohercegovački fotograf Zijah Gafić nakon objave ovih informacija u knjizi *Rat slikama*, no do danas nije dobio službeno očitovanje organizacije koja se obvezala da slučaj istraži.

U posljednjih desetak godina sve više lokalnih fotografa izvještava za međunarodne news agencije s ratom zahvaćenih područja kao što su Irak, Afganistan, Libanon i Sirija. Zbog toga smatram da su primjeri iz rata u bivšoj Jugoslaviji sasvim relevantni i danas. Tehnologija se od tada drastično promijenila, ali razmišljanja fotografa – onih koji svjedoče, i dalje su ista, podložna istim izazovima, ograničenjima i osobnim ambicijama, sputana strahovima i osjećajima pripadnosti. Slučaj mladoga sirijskog fotografa Molhema Barakata potaknula je neke diskusije⁹ u

svjetskim medijima, ali tek nakon što je poginuo u prosincu 2013. Imao je samo osamnaest godina, a već je barem godinu dana surađivao s agencijom Reuters. Rasprava je bila koncentrirana na pitanje odgovornosti svjetskih agencija za eksploataciju lokalnih fotografa koje angažiraju za mnogo nižu cijenu i uz mnogo manje brige za njihovu sigurnost nego što je to slučaj sa zapadnjačkim fotografima. Molhem Barakat uz to je bio i maloljetan. No debata je uključivala i pitanje neutralnosti i objektivnosti Barakatova izvještavanja s obzirom na to da je poznata činjenica da se, prije nego što je postao fotograf, planirao pridružiti Al Qaeda. Molhem Barakat bio je povezan sa Slobodnom sirijskom vojskom čiji je pripadnik bio i njegov brat te je imao pristup i redovito dokumentirao njihove akcije i svakodnevi život. Izvještavao je samo s te strane bez pristupa suprotstavljenim trupama. Reuters je 2006. okončao desetogodišnju suradnju s libanonskim fotografom Adnanom Hajjom nakon što je otkriveno da je digitalnom manipulacijom pokušao prikazati napad izraelske vojske na Bejrut mnogo dramatičnijim nego što je u tom trenutku bio, dodajući na svojim fotografijama više dima iznad napadnutog grada i više projektila koje je avion ispalio. Osim za lokalne fotografe, i za strane fotografe sam princip *embeddinga* koji podrazumijeva pridruživanje fotoreportera savezničkim trupama kakav je bio na snazi u Iraku i Afganistanu nužno čini izvještavanje jednostranim, kao što je to bilo za domaće fotografe za vrijeme

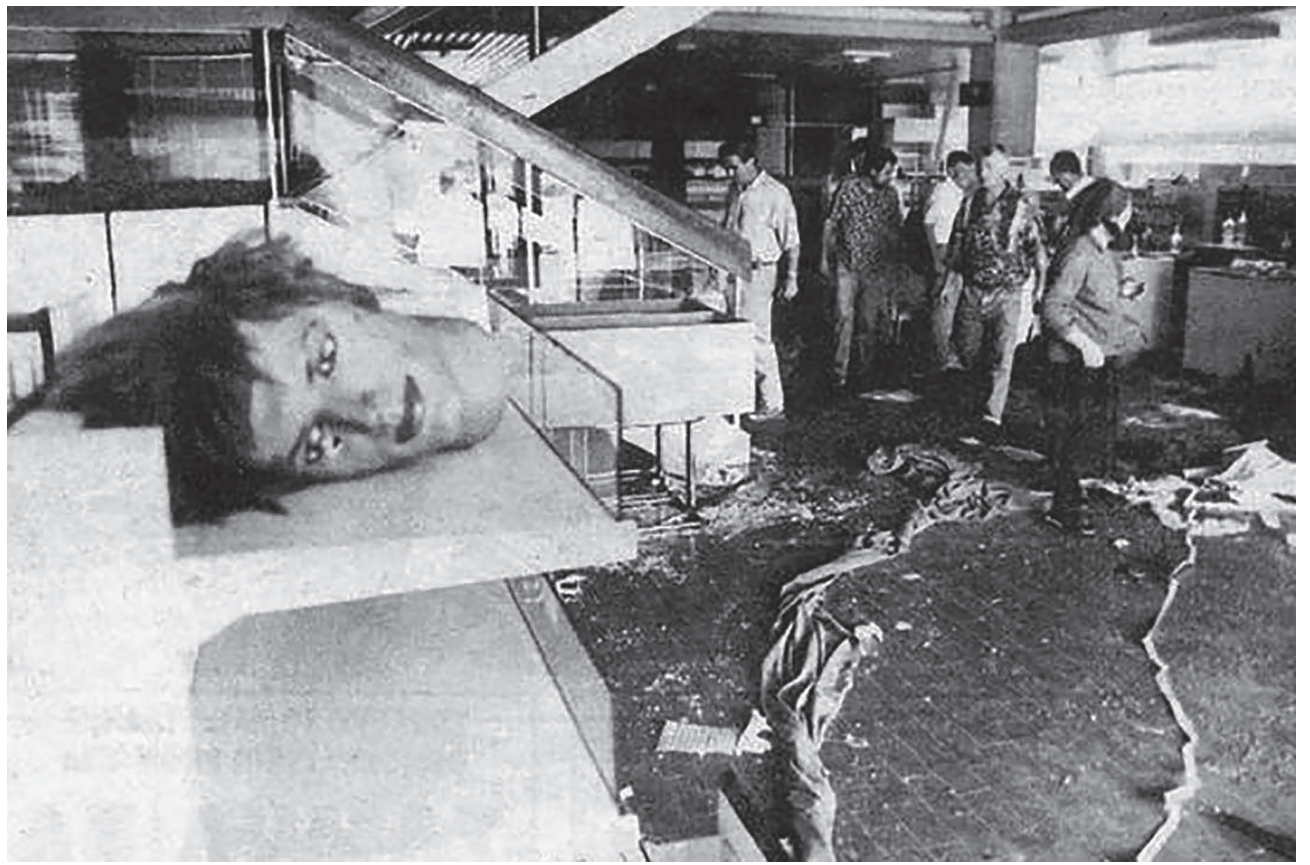
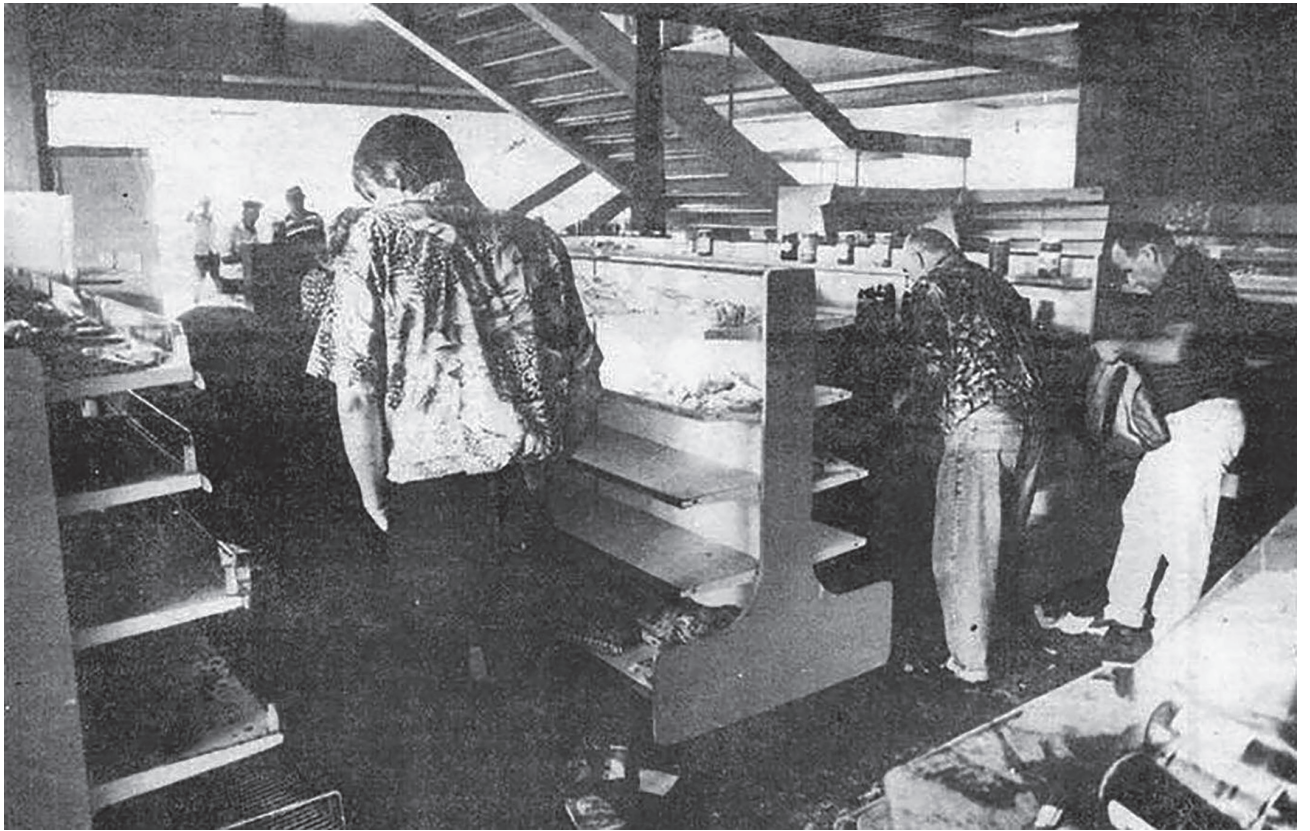
HRVOJE POLAN, PLJAČKA ROBNJE KUĆE, KNIN, KOLOVOZ 1995., FERAL TRIBUNE, 21. 8. 1995.

HRVOJE POLAN, ROBBERY OF DEPARTMENT STORE IN KNIN, AUGUST 1995, FERAL TRIBUNE, 21ST AUGUST, 1995

International Criminal Court in the Hague, who was identified as the killer from the photographs and sentenced to 40 years in prison for crimes he had committed as the commander of camp Luka in Brčko. In those transcripts, I found his testimony in which he states that the execution and the photographs were organized with the intent to use them for propaganda, that is, to show the executed as Serbs being killed by Muslims.⁷ I could not talk to Bojan Stojanović, the photographer himself, since he never responded to any of my attempts to contact him. However, based on what can be seen on the photographs, and taking into account what Stojanović told his colleagues while bragging about it in detail, along with Jelisić's testimony, there isn't any doubt that the execution was organised to be photographed, even if all the circumstances and the role of the photographer are not completely clear. Was the photographer hired to document the crime, did he take the photographs under duress or was he an ambitious young photographer without any moral principles who enticed a crime so he could photograph it and win an international award, inspired by, for instance, the photograph by Eddie Adams from 1968? This we cannot know for sure, yet everything else that is known about this photograph should be enough to revoke the WPP award. After this information was published in the book *Rat slikama*, such a demand was sent to World Press Photo by a photographer from Bosnia and Herzegovina, Zijah Gafić, but he has not as yet received an official

response from the organisation which has promised to look into the matter.

During the last ten years or so, a growing number of local photographers started reporting for international news agencies from war-affected areas, such as Iraq, Afghanistan, Lebanon and Syria. This is why I believe that the examples from the war in former Yugoslavia are as relevant today as they were before. Technology has changed drastically since then, but the deliberations of the photographers – the ones who witness – are still the same, burdened by the same challenges, limitations, personal ambitions, inhibited by the same fears and feelings of belonging. The case of a young Syrian photographer, Molhem Barakat, sparked discussions⁹ in international media, but only after his death in December 2013. He was only 18 and had already spent at least a year working for the Reuters news agency. The discussion revolved around the issue of responsibility on the part of international media agencies for their exploitation of local photographers, whom they hire for much less money and with much less concern for their safety than for the Western photographers. In addition, Molhem Barakat was also underage. This debate also addressed the issue of neutrality and objectivity of Barakat's reports, since it was known that before he became a photographer, he had planned on joining Al Qaeda. Molhem Barakat was also connected with the Free Syrian Army through his brother who was their member, thereby gaining regular



ratova na području bivše Jugoslavije 90-ih. *Embeddingom* se kontrolira pristup informacijama, a potiče se i zbližavanje fotoreportera s vojnicima s kojima provode sve svoje vrijeme i koji su zaduženi za njihovu sigurnost, što rezultira osjećajem pripadnosti i mogućom autocenzurom. Osim kontrole na takav način, američka vojska, primjerice, zapošljava i velik broj vojnih fotografa koji proizvode isti tip propagandnih fotografija s afirmativnom i romantiziranom reprezentacijom svojih vojnika kakve smo viđali u hrvatskim i srpskim medijima za vrijeme rata. No, da sumiram, kakvo je značenje te sintagme – fotograf kao društveni čimbenik – to znači da fotograf zauzima određenu društvenu poziciju i dolazi iz određenoga društvenog okruženja. Od njega se očekuje da ispunjava svoju društvenu ulogu na određeni način. To znači i da fotograf poduzima određenu akciju i njegovi izbori utječu na njegovo neposredno okruženje u trenutku snimanja, ali imaju i širi društveni utjecaj putem fotografija koje objavljuje. Današnju populaciju fotoreportera čini osamdeset pet posto muškaraca, kako je pokazalo istraživanje organizacije World Press Photo provedeno 2015. godine na temelju 1556 fotografa iz 100 zemalja koji su ispunili njihov upitnik.⁹ Povlaštenu ulogu „svjedoka” u većini slučajeva zauzima bijeli muškarac iz zapadnog razvijenog svijeta i kroz tu činjenicu možemo razmišljati o tome kakvu reprezentaciju svijeta dobivamo, koje se priče i događaji smatraju važnima, a koji su potpuno marginalizirani.

Kako piše Sekula:

Na drugoj razini značenja, estetizirana dokumentaristička čitanja ratnih fotografija ljudski doživljaj rata najčešće lociraju u osobi fotografa, koja je obično muškarac. Fotograf tako postaje jedini subjekt, figura patnje, onaj koji se izlaže riziku i koji predstavlja herojsko utjelovljenje hrabrosti i moralne zgroženosti. U okviru tog mita, fotograf u svom radu nadilazi umiješanost i politiku; njegova empatija je univerzalna. Vrednuje se svojevrsni transcendentelni manirizam „pod paljbom”. Promičući ratnog fotografa kao „zabrinutog” i „nevinog” svjedoka, liberalna ideologija promovira sliku vlastitog lažnog humanizma, istovremeno negirajući činjenicu da su i same informacije mobilizirane.¹⁰

Fotograf nije nepristrani promatrač, već aktivni čimbenik događaja i njihove reprezentacije uvjetovan svojim spolom, rodnom, etnicitetom, kulturološkom pozadinom, svojim životnim i političkim uvjerenjima, svojim strahovima i ambicijama. Sve su to temeljni ljudski impulsi, isti oni kojima se vodi i svaki građanin sa *smartphoneom*. U samoj biti fotografije nalazi se želja za prijenosom izravnog iskustva, no danas, sa sve većom upotrebom pametnih telefona u svakom dijelu svijeta, to izravno prenošenje stvarnosti više ne ovisi o fotoreporterima, već ga s milijunskim auditorijem dijele sami protagonisti – vojnici, građani, teroristi koji snimaju i objavljuju vlastite egzekucije. Stoga od fotoreportera ne

and unobstructed access, documenting their actions and everyday life. His reports were one-sided, without having access to the opposing forces.

In 2006, Reuters terminated a decade-long collaboration with a Lebanese photographer Adnan Hajj, after it was discovered that he used digital manipulation in an attempt to portray the Israeli attack on Beirut as being much more dramatic than it was at that moment, adding more smoke above the city under siege, as well as adding more air projectiles to his photographs. Not only in the case of local but also foreign photographers, the practice of *embedding*, which entails photojournalists joining allied troops, which was a common practice in Iraq and Afghanistan, necessarily generates one-sided reports, like those made by local photographers in the former Yugoslavia during the 1990s. *Embedding* controls information access and fosters connections between photojournalists and soldiers with whom they spend their time and who are responsible for their security, which, in the end, evokes a feeling of belonging and possibly self-censorship. Aside from that type of control, the American army, for example, hires a large number of military photographers who produce the same type of propaganda photographs with an affirmative and romanticised representation of their soldiers, the likes of which we had seen in the Croatian and Serbian media during the war. So, to sum up the meaning of the phrase – the photographer as

a social actor – it means that the photographer occupies a certain social position and comes from a certain social background. He is expected to fulfil his social role in a certain way. It also means that the photographer takes certain actions and his choices influence the environment within which he is photographing, and thereby also wields a wider social influence through the photographs he publishes. The population of photojournalists is today comprised of 85% men, as shown by a research conducted by the World Press Photo organisation in 2015, based on a sample of 1556 photographers from 100 countries who filled out their questionnaire.⁹ The privileged role of a “witness” is in most cases reserved for a white male from a developed Western country and that fact enables us to question what kind of a representation of the world we are being presented, which stories and events are deemed important and which are completely marginalised. As Sekula notes:

On another level of meaning, aestheticized documentary readings of war photographs tend to localize the human experience of war in the person of the photographer, who is usually male. The photographer becomes the sole subject, the exemplary sufferer, the risk taker, the heroic embodiment of courage and moral outrage. Within this myth, the photographer, in his work, transcends complicity and politics; his sympathies are universal. What is valued

očekujem samo pasivno „svjedočenje” o nečemu što se zateklo ispred njegova fotoaparata već njegov informiran i osviješten pogled na danu situaciju.

Nije mi cilj ovim tekstom diskreditirati fotografe, već propitati njihovu ulogu u reprezentiranju događaja i izazvati na ponovno promišljanje uvjerenja u vlastitu neutralnost. Većina fotografa s kojima sam razgovarala o njihovoj ulozi tijekom ratnih 90-ih i dalje vjeruje da su bili objektivni i neutralni svjedoci događaja i ne vide svoj doprinos ratnoj propagandi jer je ona odražavala i njihove stavove. Smatram da treba napustiti ideju o fotografima kao „neutralnim svjedocima” jer je to samo relikv nekakvih prošlih vremena kada se vjerovalo u mit o fotografskoj istini temeljenoj na mehaničkoj prirodi fotografije (zapis strojem), prisutnosti referenta i kemijsko-fizikalnom principu bilježenja slike. Iako se digitalna fotografija temelji na autoritetu analogne slike, uzrokovala je propitivanje pojma fotografske istine ne samo u digitalnom dobu već i tijekom cijele povijesti fotografije. Digitalna fotografija nepovratno je prekinula optičku vezu sa stvarnošću jer je računalni senzor zamijenio optički zapis svjetlosti računalnim procesom koji se koristi samo jednom trećinom dostupnih fotona, dok je finalna slika konvertirana iz RAW datoteke u JPG ili TIFF rezultat digitalne interpolacije čak dvije trećine piksela.¹¹ Digitalna fotografija zapravo samo imitira izgled analogne fotografije naslanjajući se na njezinu gotovo dvjestogodišnju povijest.

Novi pojam i najsuvremenija tehnologija računalne fotografije (*computational photography*) označava tranziciju od upotrebe kamere za snimanje slika prema njezinoj uporabi za prikupljanje podataka, kako piše komentator digitalnih medija Kevin Connor.¹² Mnogo fotografa primjenjuje HDR¹³ način snimanja ili aplikacije za kreiranje panoramskih fotografija što je oblik računalne fotografije koji nakon prikupljanja velike količine podataka kreira finalnu sliku koja nadilazi mogućnosti klasične analogne ili digitalne fotografije. Svaki pametni telefon danas se koristi mogućnostima računalne fotografije i mnoštvom senzora – za otkrivanje vlage, ambijentalno svjetlo, udaljenost, pokret itd. Suvremenu „kameru” opremljenu tehnologijom za povezivanje (Wi-Fi, Bluetooth...) i pristupom mreži informacija ne možemo gledati samo kao stroj sa senzorom slike i objektivom, već je ona kombinacija svih navedenih senzora i aplikacija povezanih preko operativnih sustava koji se konstantno nadograđuju.¹⁴ Slika, stoga, umjesto samo vizualne informacije potencijalno može sadržavati cijeli niz drugih informacija koji govore o stvarnosti i tako kreiraju reprezentaciju koja može biti točnija iako je nastala nizom računalnih procesa. Ignoriranjem svih tih mogućnosti, kako čini suvremeni fotožurnalizam¹⁵ grčevito se držeći zastarjele definicije fotografske istine, nastoji se obraniti i zadržati obrazac dokumentarne fotografije ustanovljene u 30-im i 40-im godinama 20. stoljeća. I dok se svi bave etikom digitalne manipulacije i računalnih procesa, zaboravljaju na ulogu

is a kind of transcendental mannerism under fire. By promoting the war photographer as a “concerned” and “innocent” witness, liberal ideology promotes an image of its own bogus humanism, while denying the fact that information, too, has been mobilized.¹⁰

Photographers are not unbiased observers but rather active actors in the events and their representations, influenced by their sex, gender, ethnicity, cultural background, their moral and political beliefs, their fears and ambitions. These are all basic human impulses, the same that drive any citizen with a smartphone. The very foundation of photography is built upon the desire for representing direct experiences, but today, with a growing use of smartphones worldwide, the direct representation of reality is no longer in the hands of photojournalists. It is now shared with millions of spectators by the protagonists themselves – soldiers, citizens, terrorists who record and publish the executions they have committed. Therefore, photojournalists are not expected to just passively “witness” something happening in front of their cameras – they are expected to provide an informed and enlightened view of a given situation.

It is not my intent to discredit photographers in this paper, but rather to question their role in representing events and urge them to reconsider their conviction in their own neutrality. Most photographers I spoke to about their role during wartime in the

1990s still believe that they were objective and neutral witnesses of events that transpired, and do not realize that they contributed to war propaganda since it was complementary to their personal beliefs. I believe that the idea of photographers as “neutral witnesses” needs to be abandoned, since it is nothing more than a relic of some past time when the myth of photographic truth, based on the mechanical nature of photography (a mechanical record), the presence of referents and a chemical-physical principle of recording an image, was still maintained. Even though digital photography is based on the authority of analogue photography, it prompted questions about the concept of photographic truth, not only in the digital age but throughout the history of photography. Digital photography has permanently severed the optical connection with reality because the computational sensor took the place of the optical recording of light through a computerised process which uses only one third of the available photons, while the final image, when converted from a RAW file into JPG or TIFF, is a result of a digital interpolation of as much as two thirds of pixels.¹¹ In fact, digital photography only imitates the appearance of analogue photography, leaning heavily on its almost two hundred year history. The new notion and contemporary technology of *computational photography* represents a shift from using a camera as a picture-making device to using it as a data-collection device, as Kevin Connor, the digital media consultant, notes.¹²

onoga tko kamerom operira, pa tako i ubojstvo za fotografiju ostaje legitiman postupak, kako smo vidjeli na primjeru Bojana Stojanovića i njegove nagrađene fotografije.

Ovim sam tekstom nastojala ukazati na činjenicu da je objektivno i neutralno izvještavanje mnogo kompleksnije pitanje koje se često svodi samo na pitanje tehnologije, a zanemaruje se uloga fotografa kao autora.

Smatram da je pitanje kredibiliteta fotografije nužno pomaknuti s autoriteta fotografske slike prema autoritetu autora i njegovoj viziji i reprezentaciji događaja koja nikako nije i ne može biti neutralna i objektivna, već je njezina vrijednost upravo u informiranom, promišljenom i osobnom pogledu na stvarnost u vremenu u kojem informacija nije singularna, u vremenu hiperfotografije¹⁶. Fred Ritchin fotografe budućnosti vidi kao „komunikatore“ koji će biti tako temeljito povezani s mnoštvom medija, i kao primatelji i kao proizvođači, da bilo kakva komunikacija postaje važnija nego singularnost fotografske vizije.¹⁷

¹ Janne Seppänen, „Istinite laži, fotografska istina – na čemu se temelji?“, u *Nordic Cut – helsinška škola fotografije*, katalog izložbe, Hrvatski fotosavez, 2006., 16.

² James Nachtwey, <http://www.jamesnachtwey.com/> (pristupljeno 30. ožujka 2016.)

³ Allan Sekula, *Photography Against the Grain*, The Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, Halifax, 1984., IX.

⁴ „Propaganda zvjerstvima“ izraz je koji se odnosi na namjerno širenje izmišljotina ili pretjerivanja o zločinima koje su počinile neprijateljske snage s namjerom da se isprovocira ili opravda reakcija. U povijesti ratovanja to je dobro poznat i često primjenjivan propagandni alat.

⁵ Na mjestu događaja bila su dva fotografa, ali je samo jedan od njih objavio fotografije. Detaljnije vidi u Sandra Vitaljić, *Rat slikama – Suvremena ratna fotografija*, Algoritam, Zagreb, 2013., 135 i 136.

⁶ Razgovori s fotografima mogu se pročitati u ibid.

⁷ Vidi detaljnije u ibid.

⁸ Vidi npr. Greg Marinovich, „Molhem Barakat: Death of a teenage lensman raises ethical concerns of war photography“, *Daily Maverick* Online, 30. prosinca 2013., <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2013-12-30-molhem-barakat-death-of-a-teenage-lensman-raises-ethical-concerns-of-war-photography/#.Vwu8B3DfPug> (pristupljeno 6. travnja 2016.)

⁹ A. Hadland, D. Campbell, P. Lambert, *The State of News Photography: The Lives and Livelihoods of Photojournalists in the Digital Age*, <https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/The%20State%20of%20News%20Photography.pdf> (pristupljeno 6. travnja 2016.)

¹⁰ Allan Sekula, *Photography Against the Grain*, The Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, Halifax, 1984., 45–46. (prijevod: Tihana Bertek)

¹¹ Stephen Mayes, „The Next Revolution in Photography is Coming“, *Time* online, 25. kolovoza 2015., <http://time.com/4003527/future-of-photography/> (pristupljeno 6. travnja 2016.)

¹² Kevin Connor, „Photojournalism Ethics on Shifting Technological Ground“, *Four and Six*, 13. veljače, 2012., <http://www.fourandsix.com/blog/2012/2/13/>

Many photographers use either the HDR¹³ form of computational photography or applications for creating panoramic photographs — this is a form of computational photography which, after gathering large amounts of data, creates an end image which surpasses the abilities of classic analogue or digital photography. Nowadays, every smartphone takes advantage of possibilities offered by computational photography and uses numerous sensors – humidity detection, ambient light, distance, movement sensors, etc. The contemporary “camera” furnished with connection technology (Wi-Fi, Bluetooth...) and access to the Internet cannot be viewed simply as a machine with an image sensor and a lens, rather, it is a combination of all the aforementioned sensors and applications connected through operating systems which are constantly being updated and upgraded.¹⁴ A photograph, therefore, can potentially hold not only visual information but also numerous other information which speak about reality, thereby creating a representation which can be even more accurate if it is created by numerous computational processes. Disregarding all these possibilities, as it is done in contemporary photojournalism¹⁵, is an attempt to cling onto the outdated definitions of photographic truth by defending and preserving the form of documentary photography set up in the 1930s and 1940s. And while everyone is dealing with the ethics of digital manipulation and computational processes, they are forgetting the role of the person behind the

camera, and because of that staging a murder for a photograph remains a legitimate act, as seen in the example of Bojan Stojanović and his award-winning photograph.

In this paper, I tried to point to the fact that objective and neutral reporting is a very complex issue which is often reduced to the simple question of technology while ignoring the role of the photographer as the author. I believe that the question of credibility in photography must be shifted from the authority of the photographic image towards the authority of the author and his vision and representation of events, which is in no way, nor can it be, neutral and objective, but finds its worth precisely in the well-thought out and personal view of reality in an age in which information is not singular, in the age of hyperphotography.¹⁶ Fred Ritchin sees the photographers of the future as “communicators” who will be so deeply connected with numerous media, both as consumers and producers, that any communication will become more important than the singularity of the photographic vision.¹⁷

Translation from Croatian: Dunja Opatić

¹ Janne Seppänen, *Istinite laži, fotografska istina – na čemu se temelji?*, in: *Nordic Cut – helsinška škola fotografije*, exhibition catalogue, Hrvatski fotosavez, 2006., 16.

² James Nachtwey, <http://www.jamesnachtwey.com/> (last accessed: 30 March 2016.)

photojournalism-ethics-on-shifting-technological-ground.html (pristupljeno 6. travnja 2016.)

¹³ *High dynamic range* – visoki dinamički raspon. HDR označava tehniku u digitalnoj fotografiji kojom se nastoji reproducirati veći dinamički raspon osvjettljenja fotografirane scene nego što je moguće klasičnom analognom u digitalnom fotografijom. Finalna fotografija dobiva se spajanjem nekoliko različito eksponiranih fotografija, tj. riječ je o kompozitnoj fotografiji.

¹⁴ Taylor Davidson, „Software is Eating the Camera”, <http://taylordavidson.com/2014/camera> (pristupljeno 6. travnja 2016.)

¹⁵ U suvremenom fotožurnalizmu široko je prihvaćena forma multimedije u kojoj se fotograf često koristi zvukovima s lokacije i vlastitom naracijom uz statične ili pokretne slike koje je snimio. Nije dozvoljena kompozitna fotografija, što je, primjerice, HDR fotografija, ni bilo kakva manipulacija koja bi uključivala pomicanje piksela. Dozvoljeno je manipuliranje tonovima i kontrastom na način sličan dodavanju i oduzimanju svjetla u tamnoj komori iz vremena analogne fotografije. No usprkos tome što se ograničavanjem upotrebe dostupnih tehničkih mogućnosti nastoji zadržati vjerodostojnost fotografije, fotografija je podložna mnogim manipulacijama sa sadržajem slike, od onoga što fotograf isključuje iz kadra, odnosa subjekata/objekata u kadru, inscenacije, kontekstualizacija tekstem...

¹⁶ Fred Ritchin novu paradigmu naziva hiperfotografijom jer smatra da je odnos digitalne fotografije prema prostoru, vremenu, svjetlu, autorstvu i drugim medijima u biti različit u odnosu na analognu fotografiju. „Za digitalnu fotografiju može se reći da reprezentira izdvojeni trenutak, ali taj se trenutak lako može produžiti i proširiti pridružujući ga drugim trenucima putem različitih oblika hiperlinkova i hibridnih medija, uključujući i proširenje na pokretnu sliku.” Fred Ritchin, *After Photography*, W.W. Norton & Company, New York, 2008., 141, 142.

¹⁷ Ibid. 145–146.

³ Allan Sekula, *Photography Against the Grain*, The Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, Halifax, 1984, IX.

⁴ „Atrocity propaganda” is a term referring to the spreading of deliberate fabrications or exaggerations about the crimes committed by an enemy, with intent to provoke or defend a reaction. It is a well-known and often used propaganda tool in the history of war.

⁵ Two photographers were present on the scene but only one published the photographs. Details in: Sandra Vitaljić, *Rat slikama – Suvremena ratna fotografija*, Algoritam, Zagreb, 2013, 135, 136.

⁶ Conversations with the photographers can be found in *ibid*.

⁷ More details in *ibid*.

⁸ See: Greg Marinovich, “Molhem Barakat: Death of a teenage lensman raises ethical concerns of war photography”, *Daily Maverick Online*, 6 December 2013, <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/article/2013-12-30-molhem-barakat-death-of-a-teenage-lensman-raises-ethical-concerns-of-war-photography/#.Vwu8B3DfPug> (last accessed: 6 April 2016.)

⁹ A. Hadland, D. Campbell, P. Lambert, *The State of News Photography: The Lives and Livelihoods of Photojournalists in the Digital Age*, <https://reutersinstitute.politics.ox.ac.uk/sites/default/files/The%20State%20of%20News%20Photography.pdf> (last accessed: 6 April 2016)

¹⁰ Allan Sekula, *Photography Against the Grain*, The Press of the Nova Scotia College of Art and Design, Halifax, 1984, 45–46.

¹¹ Stephen Mayes, “The Next Revolution in Photography is Coming”, *Time online*, 25 August 2015, <http://time.com/4003527/future-of-photography/> (last accessed: 6 April 2016)

¹² Kevin Connor, “Photojournalism Ethics on Shifting Technological Ground”, *Four and Six*, 13 February 2012, <http://www.fourandsix.com/blog/2012/2/13/photojournalism-ethics-on-shifting-technological-ground.html> (last accessed: 6 April 2016)

¹³ *High dynamic range* – HDR denotes a technique in digital photography which produces a higher dynamic range of light of the photographed scene than it

is possible to achieve with classic analogue and digital photography. The end photograph is created by combining several differently exposed photographs, that is, it is a composite photograph.

¹⁴ Davidson, Taylor, “Software is Eating the Camera”, <http://taylordavidson.com/2014/camera> (last accessed: 6 April 2016)

¹⁵ Contemporary photojournalism has widely accepted a multimedia form in which the photographer often uses sounds from the location and his own narration along with static or moving images he has recorded. No form of composite photography is allowed, such as, for example, HDR photography, nor any manipulation which would include moving pixels. Manipulating saturation and contrast in a way similar to adding or reducing light in a dark room from the age of analogue photography is allowed. However, despite the restrictions on using available technical abilities in an attempt to retain the authenticity of the photograph, the photograph is subject to many manipulations with the content of the image, from what the photographer keeps out of the frame, the relation subject/object in the frame, staging, contextualizing through text...

¹⁶ Fred Ritchin calls the new paradigm hyperphotography since he believes that the relationship of digital photography towards, space, time, light, authorship and other media is in fact different from analogue photography. “The digital photograph also can be said to represent a single moment, but one that can be easily lengthened and amplified by joining it to many other moments through various forms of hyperlinks and hybrid media, including extending it as a movie.” Fred Ritchin, *After Photography*, W.W. Norton & Company, New York, 2008, 141, 142.

¹⁷ Ibid. 145–146.