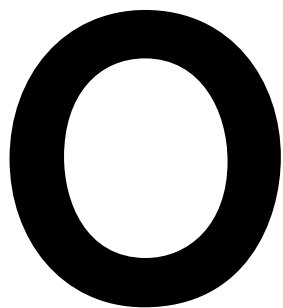# THE JUDGMENT OF ART: POSTWAR AND ARTISTIC WORLDLINESS

Okwui Enwezor

PROLOGUE

On April 30, 1945, soldiers of the American Seventh Army entered the bombarded, nearly destroyed, and deserted streets of Munich.[1] One day earlier, regiments of the army had liberated the Dachau concentration camp, just a few miles away on the outskirts of the city.[2] Among the many events auguring the collapse of the Nazi regime, Munich's capture was especially significant, as this was where the Nazi Party had been founded, in 1920, and it had served as the springboard for Adolf Hitler's murderous political ambition. In the early days, the city, known as "*Hauptstadt der Bewegung*" (Capital of the movement), had been the center of the party's ideological machinery and base to its many loyalists and brutal epigones.[3]

When American forces occupied the ruined city, the official capitulation of the German army was still over a week away.[4] And when the war's end was celebrated all across Europe on May 8, 1945, World War II as such was far from over: as Europe began the process of reconstruction, the war in the Pacific was still raging. The surrender of the Japanese imperial military would demand another three months of intense

Fig. 2. Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, General Douglas MacArthur, looks on as Umezu Yoshijiro, Chief of the Imperial Japanese Army General Staff, signs the Japanese Instrument of Surrender aboard USS Missouri in Tokyo Bay, September 2, 1945

earlier times important guests including Hitler, Benito Mussolini, the Aga Khan, and Edward, Duke of Windsor, had recorded their visits to the museum.[6] The soldiers' graffiti-like inscriptions marked the final chapter of the Haus der Deutschen Kunst before it hurtled, along with the rest of Germany, into the postwar era.

Fig. 1. Aerial view of Munich's city center after Allied air raids, c. 1945

fighting—including the relentless fire-bombing of Tokyo and other Japanese cities—before their dramatic conclusion: the detonation of two atomic bombs, respectively christened "Little Boy" and "Fat Man," in Hiroshima on August 6 and in Nagasaki on August 9.[5]

Meanwhile, in Munich, American forces had occupied the Haus der Deutschen Kunst, a miraculous survivor of the bombing that had leveled a great part of the city. The occupation of the building on May 5, 1945, was memorialized by the signatures of three American soldiers on the pages of the institution's *Goldenes Buch* (visitors book; fig. 3), where in

THE DISENCHANTMENT OF MODERN ART

It is a serendipitous bargain of history that the exhibition *Postwar: Art Between the Pacific and the Atlantic, 1945–1965* should be organized in Haus der Kunst, a building that in its former incarnation as the Haus der Deutschen Kunst completely abjured modern art and international exchange in the arts. While the exhibition is not commemorative, *Postwar* marks the seventieth anniversary of Haus der Kunst as a public institution under its current name (acquired within a year after the end of the war) and the revision of its critical perspective. Its past history of intolerance remains inextinguishable, though. Perhaps for this reason, Haus der Kunst exemplifies the deep contradictions of the postwar era.[7]

To reach a sense of why *Postwar* matters in this context, we must go beneath the building's skin to review the institution's earlier, antimodern understanding of art. In its former life as a Nazi cultural icon, the building was designed as a showcase, a triumphant work of architectural propaganda. For Hitler the Haus der Deutschen Kunst was not just any building: it was a "temple" of German art, conceived, designed, and constructed expressly for the purpose of exhibiting the timelessness and purity of Germany's national aesthetic spirit. This point was adumbrated in a speech Hitler gave on July 18, 1937, to mark the opening of the building and inaugurate the first edition of the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* (Great German Art Exhibition; fig. 4): "When, therefore, the cornerstone

of this building was laid, it was with the intention of constructing a temple, not for a so-called modern art, but for a true and everlasting German art, that is, better still, a House for the art of the German people, and not for any international art of the year 1937, '40, '50 or '60."[8] Describing Impressionism, Futurism, Cubism, and Dadaism as "insane and inane monstrosities," the speech underscored Hitler's fervent aesthetic ethnocentrism and overall disenchantment with modern art.[9] He denounced Jews in particular, accusing them of being the leading propagators of the fraud of modernism in museums and in the press:
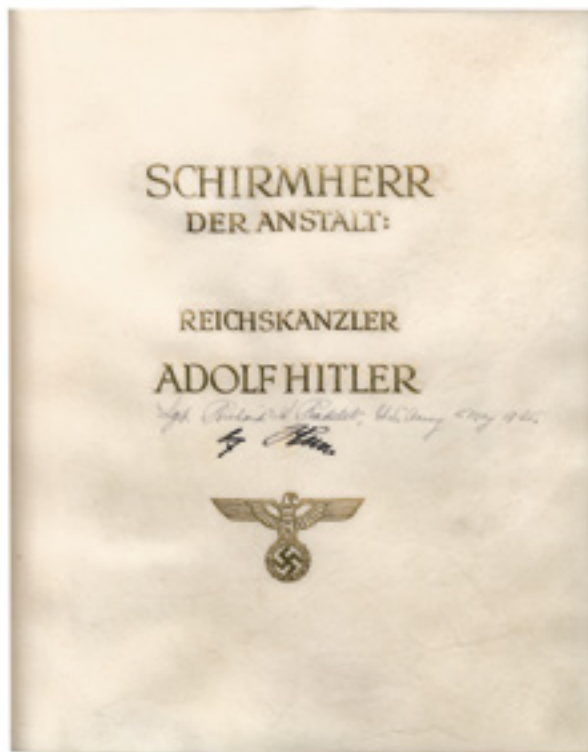

Fig. 3. Title page of the *Goldenes Buch* signed by Adolf Hitler and
U.S. Army Sergeant Richard S. Radelet, 1945

On these cultural grounds, more than on any others, Judaism had taken possession of those means and institutions of communication which form, and thus finally rule over public opinion. Judaism was very clever indeed, especially in employing its position in the press with the help of so-called art criticism and succeeding not only in confusing the natural concepts about the nature and scope of art as well as its goals, but above all in undermining and destroying the general wholesome feeling in this domain.[10]

A day after the speech, its verbal excoriation of modern art was escalated into a merciless public denunciation in the form of the exhibition *Entartete Kunst* (Degenerate Art; fig. 5), staged in the arcade galleries of a nearby building in the Hofgarten.[11] With modernist art thus condemned as degenerate, the leading lights of experimental modernism

were extinguished in Germany while museums were stripped of the works of modern art in their collections.[12]

In counterpoint to these condemnations of modern art and Jews, the resplendent white galleries of the new art "temple" provided the perfect backdrop for the grandiose type of work that Hitler and the Nazis saw as the true German art. It was in this building that eight editions of the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* were staged between 1937 and 1944. Their remit was to show the types of mimetic art (mostly idealized figurative, landscape, and genre paintings and monumental heroic sculptures), by regime-favored artists such as the painter Adolf Ziegler and the sculptor Arno Breker, that glorified the Nazi aesthetic position.[13] In this role the Haus der Deutschen Kunst not only signified the ideological strictures to which artists working in Nazi Germany had to conform, it also conveyed the corrosive ethos of identity discourse, thus putting in place the Führer's purifying vision of art:

Cubism, Dadaism, Futurism, Impressionism, etc., have nothing to do with our German people. For these concepts are neither old nor modern, but are only the artifactitious stammerings of men to whom God has denied the grace of a truly artistic talent, and in its place has awarded them the gift of jabbering or deception. I will therefore confess now, in this very hour, that I have come to the final inalterable decision to clean house, just as I have done in the domain of political confusion, and from now on rid the German art life of its phrase-mongering.

"Works of art" which cannot be understood in themselves but, for the justification of their existence, need those bombastic instructions for their use, finally reaching that intimidated soul, who is patiently willing to accept such stupid or impertinent nonsense—these works of art from now on will no longer find their way to the German people.[14]

For eight years of its existence the Haus der Deutschen Kunst fulfilled Hitler's vision of artistic purity in his "temple" of art. Despite the increasing battlefield losses of the German army and the near certainty of defeat, Hitler insisted that plans for the 1945 edition of the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung* should proceed. It was a delusional thought.

Fig. 4. Visitors at the
Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung, 1937

POSTWAR TRANSITIONS:
FROM HAUS DER DEUTSCHEN KUNST
TO HAUS DER KUNST

The aftermath of the war midwifed an atmosphere of great indeterminacy, a state of change. Germany entered an extensive phase of denazification. It was under this policy that the Haus der Deutschen Kunst became Haus der Kunst, thus shedding its ignominious past,[15] but it is not clear today how the removal of "*Deutschen*" from the museum's name took place or who gave the order.[16] The name change may have been made by the American military administration, which had control of the building;[17] that the initiative was German also seems plausible, given the ideology of the institution's original patron. In any case the name change signaled a new direction, an embrace of what had once been excluded, deemed filthy or degenerate, and the rehabilitation of modern art in the reconstituted institution.

Fig. 5. Installation view of *Entarte Kunst* at the Hofgarten Arcades, Munich, 1937

On January 17, 1946, after less than a year of closure, the building reopened to the public under its new name. The inaugural exhibition was *Ausstellung Bayerischer Gemälde des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts* (Fifteenth- and Sixteenth-Century Bavarian Paintings).[18] Presented in the vast galleries of the building's west wing, this major exhibition was a veritable blockbuster of masterpieces, including Albrecht Dürer's *Self-Portrait in Fur Coat* (1500) and *Four Apostles* (1526), Matthias Grünewald's *Saints Erasmus and Mauritius* (1523), Albrecht Altdorfer's *Battle of Alexander at Issus* (1529), and almost 200 more works.[19] An unsigned review of the exhibition in *The Bavarian,* the English-language newspaper catering to the American military and civilian population, described this important moment of the return of classical European painting to public view as their return from exile.[20]

There followed a series of exhibitions of modern art, ranging from *Moderne Französische Malerei* (Modern French Painting, 1946) to *Georges Braque* (1948) to *Die Maler am Bauhaus* (Bauhaus Painters, 1950).[21] In September 1949, five months after the partition of Germany into the

Fig. 6. Title page of the exhibition catalogue *Ausstellung Bayerischer Gemälde des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts* (Fifteenth and Sixteenth-Century Bavarian Paintings), 1946

German Democratic Republic (East Germany) and the Federal Republic of Germany (West Germany), Haus der Kunst staged the grand exhibition *Der Blaue Reiter München und die Kunst des 20. Jahrhunderts* (The Blue Rider in Munich and the Art of the Twentieth Century), showcasing works by Georges Braque, Robert Delaunay, André Derain, Vasily Kandinsky, Paul Klee, August Macke, Franz Marc, Henri Matisse, Pablo Picasso, Kees van Dongen, Maurice Vlaminck, Alexej von Jawlensky, and other artists who had been ostracized a dozen years earlier under the Nazi regime. In 1955 the museum staged a triumphant Picasso retrospective that brought together many major works of the artist's career up to that point, including half a dozen from New York's Museum of Modern Art and all fifteen paintings of the newly completed series "Women of Algiers"(1954–55).[22] The exhibition also included *Guernica* (1937), Picasso's great antiwar painting depicting the destruction of the Basque town by the German and Italian air forces on April 26, 1937—the first presentation of this work in Germany. Joining this most political of paintings was another antiwar work, *Massacre in Korea* (1951; plate 117), an addition to the rich trove of politically oriented works that Picasso pursued following *Guernica,* throughout and after the German Occupation.

The capstone of this period of Haus der Kunst's integration of modernism came with the twenty-fifth anniversary of *Entartete Kunst.* On October 25, 1962, the museum opened *Entartete Kunst. Bildersturm vor*

25 Jahren (Degenerate Art: The Iconoclasm Twenty-Five Years Ago),[23] an attempt to reconstruct the 1937 exhibition. That show had contained some 650 works of modern art, by 112 artists, that the Nazi regime had labeled degenerate and had seized from private and public collections. With the 1962 exhibition, which brought together works by such artists as Kandinsky, Max Beckmann, James Ensor, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Wilhelm Lehmbruck, August Marc, Emil Nolde, and many others, Haus der Kunst finally made a specific link between its past condemnation of these artists and their contemporary rehabilitation in the context of postwar Germany. In doing so it completed its journey into its own fractured history. Yet in all the intervening years, and indeed right up to the present day, not once did the museum organize any exhibition related to either the theme of the war or its aftermath.

A TIME OF RECKONING: REMAKING A SHATTERED WORLD

The conflicts of World War II had barely ebbed before the process started of reconfiguring, suturing, and repairing what had been broken and shattered. What would the postwar peace look like? Who would be responsible for overseeing it? What institutions would ensure that its terms were respected? Whether successful or not, as an attempt to consider the totality of the world as a single entity, the postwar planning process was one of the most complex and unprecedented undertakings in history. On January 1, 1942, the United States, the Soviet Union, China, and Great Britain signed the Declaration of the United Nations, a declaration joined a day later by twenty allied nations fighting the Axis powers and brought to fruition on October 24, 1945, when the United Nations was formally established as a global institution.[24] Around the same time as the Declaration of the United Nations, preparatory meetings were taking place for the Bretton Woods Conference of July 1944, which created the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund. The conference, which was planned in Washington, D.C., and held in Bretton Woods, New Hampshire, was initiated at the invitation of the United States; forty-four allied nations from six continents—Africa, Asia, Australia, Europe, North America, and South America—participated in shaping the final agreement, which reordered the international finance and banking systems that would be essential in financing the postwar reconstruction.[25]

Postwar planning, however, was not the province of the United States and the European powers alone. As the new great powers were reorganizing the affairs of the world, leaders in other regions were making their own plans for the end of the war. The League of Arab States (also known as the Arab League) was established in Cairo on March 22, 1945; in October of the same year, the Fifth Pan-African Congress, held in Manchester, England, gathered delegates from many African and West Indian countries to demand freedom and an end to colonial rule in Africa and the West Indies.[26] This was also the year of Korea's division into North and South, the foundation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, and the independence of Laos.

The process of recovery was not limited to the political and economic spheres. Moral insight into the atrocities and suffering of the war was just

Fig. 7. Participants at the Fifth Pan-African Congress in Manchester, November 10, 1945

as pressing. As a consequence, an enormous space of thinking fell open to art. After all, artists and art institutions had been involved in processing, transmitting, and translating reflections on the war for the public in various parts of the world. In the United States, The Museum of Modern Art had strongly supported the war effort, producing nearly forty related exhibitions.[27] It is important to note that the question of the means or approach by which art might address the urgent moral questions that arose from the harrowing experiences of the war pointed to the complex possibilities available to art and artists during this pivotal moment, beyond the conventional repertoire of recognizable imagery.

ANTHROPOLOGICAL MACHINES: BETWEEN HUMAN AND ANIMAL

In order to understand the gripping hold of World War II on the cultural, ethical, and moral imagination, it is necessary to underscore the war's scale and the toll it exacted. Any discussion of art and the postwar era must first come to terms with the effect of the war on the thinking of artists, intellectuals, and the general public alike. World War II was the most catastrophic and lethal conflict in human history. It was the ultimate killing field: in less than a decade, tens of millions of people were annihilated. Owing to technological advances

in weaponry and machinery, the sheer number of combatants, and the planetary scale of the conflict, the war produced casualties—wounded, maimed, and dead—in incalculable numbers beyond those of any other war.[28] World War II was in fact several wars, fought across continents and among countries and territories, among ideological and political beliefs.

The war stamped multiple enduring images on the global imagination. The extent of the horrors came into focus slowly, with photographs, films, and writings documenting the cities, towns, and countryside in ruin and desolation,[29] the grotesque concentration camps,[30] the industrial-scale annihilation of the Holocaust,[31] and finally the cataclysmic devastation of the atom bombs that vaporized Hiroshima and Nagasaki.[32] The growing awareness of what had happened introduced the sense of a new possibility: that humanity possessed the capability liter-

were already developed within the institutions of the colonial state, where early prototypes of concentration camps and mass killing were first conceived and tested.[35]

The acknowledgment of the dialectical relationship between colonialism and violence complicated any sense of the uniqueness of the Holocaust. In fact the logic of race and bureaucracy that the Nazis integrated in the planning of the Final Solution, and on which Arendt wrote so compellingly, operates through the blurring of the distinction between man and animal, whereby "it functions by excluding as not (yet) human an already human being from itself."[36] Writing at the height of the global struggle against colonialism, Aimé Césaire observed how in the colonial state, "colonization works to *decivilize* the colonizer."[37] In such a state, the colonizer is the victim of his own self-dehumanization;

Fig. 8. Yōsuke Yamahata. *Nagasaki Journey.* August 10, 1945.
Silver gelatin print on glossy fiber paper, 9.5 × 14.5 cm. Courtesy Daniel Blau, Munich

ally to destroy itself. With tens of millions dead and many more millions left homeless, displaced, and stateless, the aftermath of World War II demonstrated the crisis of humankind in extremis.[33]

World War II established a radical threshold between life and death. It unleashed a debate about the nature of humanity and confronted the entire global sphere with the dramatic misalignment of means and ends: the sublation of power by dangerous ideological systems into fearful anthropological machines, to use a term coined by Giorgio Agamben.[34] The Holocaust and the camps were natural consequences of the extensive development and deployment of the technologies of race, bureaucracy, and violence. As Hannah Arendt pointed out, these instruments

and colonization, Césaire insists, "dehumanizes even the most civilized man … the colonizer who in order to ease his conscience gets into the habit of seeing the other man as an *animal,* accustoms himself to treating him like an animal, and tends objectively to transform *himself* into an animal."[38] Here, colonial violence is a vital extension of the anthropological machine. For Agamben, the condition in which the human is reduced to the nonhuman level is the state of "bare life," a concept that enables the distinction between worthy and worthless lives to be posited and institutionally interpolated. He writes, "Nazism determines the bare life of *homo sacer* in a biological and eugenic key, making it into the site of an incessant decision on value and nonvalue."[39]

THE ART OF WAR

Even before World War II ended, artists were dealing with its repercussions. Many were exploring the possibilities of the war as subject matter. With the stench of death everywhere, painting too carried the acrid fumes of decay and the stains of decomposition. Picasso's *Charnel House* (1944–45; fig. 10), for example, its grisaille tonality suggesting black-and-white documentary images of the war and of the death camps, represented a coda to the artist's *Guernica,* of 1937. It depicts the rigid and contorted forms of a slain family, their bound and stiff bodies crammed beneath a simple wooden table in their own home.

Francis Bacon painted his breakthrough triptych *Three Studies for Figures at the Base of a Crucifixion* (1944; fig. 11) in London, a city devastated by German bombing raids. The work provided the pictorial model for a subsequent series of paintings on the theme of crucifixion, including *Fragment of a Crucifixion* (1950; plate 2). Against an orange-ocher background, figures with elongated necks and distended bodies show snaggletoothed mouths bellowing out of their heads. The forms are pallid and gray, as if dusted with ash; posed on a studio table and a sculptor's modeling plinth, they suggest monsters emanating from the abyss of torture and the agonies of death. Several years earlier in Paris, Jean Fautrier had explored the anatomy of executed prisoners: paintings such as *Sarah* (1943) and *La Juive* (The Jewess, 1943; plate 1) suggest the bodies of violated women and, through their titles, expose the entanglement of identity and race.[40] In the series *Otages* (Hostages, 1943–45), meanwhile, Fautrier used seriality to communicate a sense of the multiplicity of the Nazis' victims. With their built-up surfaces of plaster troweled onto canvas and coated with slick smears of oil, the paintings have a relief effect that fuses the abstract with the anthropomorphic. Made in the bleak years of the German Occupation, they come close to an art of witnessing, depicting bodies frozen in their own congealed fat, severed, tree-stump-like limbs, and splayed, grisly heads marked with the punctures and lesions left by blunt instruments.

With such images of the tortured and killed in circulation, and news from the concentration camps emerging in the press, the tense air was laden with grief-filled resonance. After the liberation of France on August 19, 1944, elation was mixed with revanchist passion, as if the veil of war had simultaneously dissolved and reappeared. The mood was both triumphant and anxious, laced with bitterness and vengefulness. Liberated France called for a thorough cleansing and demanded accounting from those who had betrayed the country. As Sarah Wilson writes, "The *epuration,* however, was far more bloody. ... It was a period of denunciation, revenge killings, the settling of scores, and jealousies, and above all of public trials with hastily assembled judicial apparatus."[41]

THE ANOMALOUS ARCHIVE

The trials and cleansings in France presented a clear idea of what awaited all occupied countries as the war ended. As images and accounts of the war became increasingly common after the Soviet army's liberation of Auschwitz on January 27, 1945, and the release of grisly scenes of Bergen-Belsen by the British Army Film and Photographic Unit,[42] it was no longer possible to deny the imperative of images to speak to what had initially been rendered obscure or invisible.[43] A growing debate in the immediate postwar years centered around the representation of the death camps and specifically on the notion of the Holocaust as "unrepresentable." Theodor Adorno's controversial statement from 1949 that "to write poetry after Auschwitz is barbaric" opened up debates around whether eschewing such representations made the Holocaust even more susceptible to opacity, almost to the point of being an anomaly.[44] It was still impossible, however, to interpret the afterlives of the images as mere evidence of the state's anaesthetized bureaucratic order—as the pictorial assembly of "the banality of evil," to borrow an incisive phrase of Arendt's.[45] The death camps had been reported on only sketchily during the war; now images of them appeared, conveying their horrendous scope and stupefying scale. Artists had to confront their anomalous status.[46]

In Germany, it was difficult for such images to find their way into art for at least a decade. When they did, it was in the form of allegory. Joseph Beuys, who during the war had been conscripted into the Luftwaffe as a pilot, was one of the very few artists to draw directly from his wartime experiences in the shaping of his artistic persona. His sculptural installation *Auschwitz Demonstration* (1956–64), composed of symbolic objects in a series of wood-and-glass vitrines, was the rare exception capable of invoking Auschwitz by name; an earlier tableau, *Hirschdenkmäler* (Monuments to the Stag, 1958/85; plates 5, 6), could only suggest it. While the dissonance of the war and its anesthetized memory remained issues for the postwar generation of German artists, explicit references to the camps, as well as the use of wartime experiences and imagery as subject matter, were not entirely absent. In the three-part environment *Das schwarze Zimmer* (The Black Room) Wolf Vostell brought together parts of three individual assemblages—*Deutscher Ausblick* (German View, 1958–59; plate 7), *Auschwitz Scheinwerfer* (Auschwitz Floodlight, 1958–59) and *Treblinka* (1958–59; fig. 12)—into one overarching system to deal with the atrocities of the war.[47]

Representations of the war and its devastation first appeared in Gerhard Richter's work as part of the vast archival resource *Atlas* (1962–), an open-ended databank of images placed in reserve, a pictorial cauldron liable to singe all who touch it. The camps did not appear in *Atlas* until 1963: panel 11 contains a single such image, nestled among generic and unrelated nature and wildlife scenes (fig. 9). The image is unmistakably gruesome: it shows a cluster of blackened, emaciated, and rotting corpses scattered across a narrow lane between two low buildings. A flock of vultures perch in a row on the roof of the building to the left, like sentries

watching over the macabre scene. Two years later, in 1967, Richter would add several more images of concentration camps in panels 16–20. No images of the camps have appeared since.

Atlas is collated in numbered panels, organized mostly chronologically (there are sometimes jumps in sequence) and according to idiosyncratic categories. Each panel contains multiple images derived from a variety of sources—newspapers, magazines, photo albums, books, snapshots. This arbitrary combination of pictorial genres sometimes defies any sense of standard or systematic organization, yet the sudden appearance of the photograph in panel 11 seems calculated rather than afterthought. It leads one to question whether Richter's delay in introducing pictures of the camps, as well as prewar images in which Jews are publicly shamed and humiliated, was a result of the traumatic violence contained within the fragile, yellowing paper of these newspaper cutouts and photographs. As some of his early work shows, his reticence in using war-related images to produce paintings was not categorical.[48]

Whatever compelled Richter's initial process of collocating and collectivizing images of calculated shock, in some senses Atlas responds to the very state of incommensurability into which photographs of Nazi atrocities were plunged after the war. As Benjamin H. D. Buchloh has observed, the first appearance of the concentration camps in the work ruptures "the overall banality of found photographs" that preceded that photograph in panel 11: "The puncturing suddenly positions the Atlas project within the dialectics of amnesia and memory."[49] But it also represents the challenge to artists to confront and demystify what was, in the early postwar period, the then evolving idea of the unrepresentability of the Holocaust, one corresponding to Adorno's remark about Auschwitz and poetry. In its relationship to the history of postwar Germany, Atlas represents an ongoing act of commentary on the anomalous status of the archive and on the traumatic relationship to contemporary German history provoked by images of the camps. As Buchloh notes,

Fig. 9. Gerhard Richter. *Newspaper & Album Photos* (Atlas Sheet 11). 1963. 14 b/w clippings, 2 b/w Photographs, 51.7 cm × 66.7 cm. Städtische Galerie im Lenbachhaus und Kunstbau München, Munich

Fig. 10. Pablo Picasso. *Le charnier* (The Charnel House). 1944–45. Oil and charcoal on canvas, 199.8 × 250.1 cm. New York, Museum of Modern Art (MoMA).
Mrs. Sam A. Lewisohn Bequest (by exchange) and Mrs. Marya Bernard Fund in memory of her husband Dr. Bernard Bernard and anonymous funds. Acc. n.: 93.1971

The first set of photographs of the victims of a concentration camp now functions as a sudden revelation, namely, that there is still one link that binds an image to its referent within the apparently empty barrage of photographic imagery and the universal production of sign exchange value: the trauma from which the compulsion to repress had originated. Paradoxically, it is at this very moment that the *Atlas* also yields its own secret as an image reservoir: a perpetual pendulum between the death of reality in the photograph and the reality of death in the mnemonic image.[50]

FIGURED AND DEFIGURED

Meanwhile, artists in Central and Eastern Europe found the concentration camps and the Holocaust far from unrepresentable: they drew openly from imagery of the destructions and killings perpetrated by German soldiers. Explicit references to these programmatic massacres appeared in the paintings of the young Andrzej Wróblewski, who, at barely twenty years old, painted some of the most startling narratives of the destruction of the Jews of Poland. The figure of the Gestapo executioner appears repeatedly in such works as *Executed Man, Execution with a Gestapo Man* (1949 ; plate 10). Beyond this sinister figure of terror, so indelibly sketched by Paul Celan in the searing poem "*Todes Fugue*" (Death Fugue, 1945),[51] Wróblewski also refers to the Warsaw ghetto in the double-sided painting *Liquidation of the Ghetto/Blue Chauffeur* (1949; plate 9). Another Polish artist, Alina Szapocznikow, explored the Holocaust in sculptures such as *Hand—Monument to the Heroes of the Warsaw Ghetto II* (1957; plate 8). In relation to Adorno's phrase about poetry and Auschwitz, it is interesting that Wróblewski's paintings are contemporary with Celan's poem, and with Boris Taslitzsky's depiction

of the concentration camp in *The Small Camp, Buchenwald* (1945; fig. 13). Olivier Messiaen's *Quartet for the End of Time,* written and performed by the composer in a Nazi prison camp in 1942, and Arnold Schoenberg's jarring composition *A Survivor from Warsaw* (1947) also share in the ceaseless explorations of the themes of death and survival inspired by the Holocaust.

At different turns in the first two decades after World War II, the war as subject matter or catalyst for artistic reflection was addressed through what could be called a "de-figured" representation. Mark Godfrey has written compellingly on the relationship of abstraction to representations of the Holocaust; his eloquent exploration considers whether abstract art, or a work without the figure, has the capacity to tackle genocide, which seems to call for an explicitly representational language rather than a symbolic one.[52] Among the examples he envisions as able to overcome the seeming limitations of a symbolic, abstract language are Frank Stella and Morris Louis—Stella in his breakthrough black geometric paintings *Die Fahne Hoch* and *Arbeit Macht Frei* (1958 ; plate 13), which explore the vision of the Nazi regime through the meaning of the paintings' titles; Louis in using the gestural vocabulary of Abstract Expressionism as a form of coded writing in *Untitled (Jewish Star)* and the series "Charred Journal: Firewritten" (both 1951; plates 14, 15).

OTHER ARCHIVES

Like many traumatic relics of the war, the archive, far from being an aide-memoire, addresses the implicit question, what is an image in relation to the event it references or depicts? The destruction caused by

Fig. 11. Francis Bacon. *Three Studies for Figures at the Base of a Crucifixion*. c. 1944. Oil paint on 3 boards, 94 × 73.7 cm (each).
TATE Collection, London. Presented by Eric Hall 1953

the atom bomb, and the number of people killed, did not fall into the category of the unrepresentable or unspeakable. Rather, the images of the atomic blasts produced by Japanese photographers were soon subjected to active censorship by the occupying forces of the American army. At first, Japanese newspapers widely published images of the enigmatic mushroom clouds that emerge from the ground zeroes of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, while the American media used such images to consolidate the U.S. status as the only superpower with a nuclear arsenal. However, as concern about the bombs and condemnation of their effects began to appear worldwide, photographs showing those effects, and the dead, were either restricted or outright suppressed.

The Japanese military photographer Yōsuke Yamahata arrived in Nagasaki on August 10, 1945, a day after the bomb was dropped, and photographed the aftermath extensively (plate 28). He was one of the earliest photographers to document the destruction of the city, and some of his images appeared ten days later in the August 21 issue of the Japanese newspaper *Mainichi Shinbun.* Upon Japan's surrender, on August 14, images of the aftermath were restricted by the occupying American military government until the restrictions were lifted in 1952.[53]

When the army successfully detonated a plutonium device in the New Mexico desert on July 16, 1945—a device similar in design and make-up to Fat Man, the bomb soon detonated over Nagasaki—the United States effectively won a new arms race, becoming the first country to acquire nuclear capabilities for military purposes. In destructive force and power, the atom bomb was unlike any weapon previously developed, let alone deployed for warfare. The implications were immediately apparent: not only did the atom bomb come to symbolize U.S. military superiority, it became the central animating military weapon in the search for a balance of power that led to the Cold War. The bomb also instilled the fear that the ensuing nuclear arms race would lead to unintended consequences.[54] Before long, however, the debates over radioactive nuclear fallout were counteracted by a growing interest in atomic power as a source of cheap, safe, clean energy. The dialectic of a dystopian and a utopian view of nuclear science was an important one in postwar public thought.

Artists throughout the world were not merely attuned to these nuclear debates, they weighed in on the various attributes of the technology—its ethical dimension, the fate to which it exposed civilization and humanity.[55] With the military doctrine of "Mutual Assured Destruction" (MAD) between the United States and the Soviet Union, the Cold War exacerbated existential doubts regarding the survival of humankind. Artists such as Maruki Iri and Maruki Toshi in *Hiroshima Panels* (1950–82; fig. 14, plates 26, 27), Isamu Noguchi in *Bell Tower for Hiroshima* (1950; plate 17) and *Atomic Man* (1952; plate 22), Karel Appel in *Hiroshima Child* (1958; plate 25), and Yves Klein in *Hiroshima* (1961) employed different representational strategies to engage with the effects of the bomb on Japanese civilians. In these works, Hiroshima, much like Auschwitz, becomes an emblem of annihilation. For artists such as Salvador Dalí, in *Atomic Idyll and Melancholic Uranium/Melancholic Atomic* (1945); László Moholy-Nagy, in *Nuclear I CH* (1945; fig. 15) and *Nuclear II* (1946); Weaver Hawkins, in

Atomic Power (1947; plate 29); Enrico Baj, in *Manifesto Nucleare BUM* (1951; plate 37); Henry Moore, in *Atom Piece* (1964–65; plate 39); Roy Lichtenstein, in *Atom Burst* (1965; plate 38); and Andy Warhol, in *Atomic Bomb* (1965), the iconography of the mushroom cloud served an allegorical function as a means by which to both address the actuality of a nuclear catastrophe and render its possibility unthinkable.[56]

The inquiry into the nature of the human had always been ambivalent, for the question is profoundly unanswerable and unknowable, under constant interrogation. It became all the more so after World War II, which produced devastating demonstrations of man as both victim and perpetrator of violence. Alberto Giacometti's shrunken, cadaverous figures tottering on spindly legs attest to these issues, as do the skeletal, distended figures in Ibrahim El Salahi's paintings. Both bodies of work respond to an ambivalence, and recall the photographs of the gaunt, emaciated inmates of the death camps staring out at the viewer with hollow, vacant eyes. The terrible images of violated bodies left to the postwar generations incessantly raised the question of what defines the human and sets it apart. Throughout *Postwar,* the figure is encountered in countless states of precarity: crushed, mutilated, flayed, dismembered, tortured, crucified, as in David Siqueiros's *Cain en los Estados Unidos* (Cain in the United States, 1947; plate 164), Magda Cordell's *Figure 59* (1958; plate 136), Colette Omogbai's *Agony* (1963; plate 171), and Jack Whitten's *Head IV* (1964; plate 148). In this procession of tormented figures and maimed bodies, Siquieros and Whitten introduce a new resonance in their treatments of the black body as it was subjected to racist violence in the United States during the postwar era.

"ANTI-RACIST RACISM": HUMANISM AND DECOLONIZATION

As the preoccupation with the human form in states of privation, degradation, desolation, and worry took hold in Europe, African, Asian, and African American artists lifted the body from its beleaguered and anguished state onto the historical stage as a figure of social agency. It was almost as if prior representations of existence through a collective leitmotif of suffering had been cast into doubt. Yes, suffering remained, and mattered; it seemed a mistake, though, to read the human predicament purely through the lens of the abjection of the white body. Certainly, when the topography of postwar art is scanned, an absence emerges, namely that of the colonized body whose trauma had constantly been erased to the point of expungement from the historical record. As Homi Bhabha notes, "It is as if the question of desire that emerged from the traumatic tradition of the oppressed has to be denied … to make way for an existentialist humanism that is as banal as it is beatific."[57]

Because of this absence of the colonized body, a philosophical combat was shaping up on the poverty of the Western discourse on "humanism."

Fig. 12. Wolf Vostell. *Treblinka from the environment "Das schwarze Zimmer"* (The Black Room). 1958–59.
Dé-Collage: motorcycle part, wood, film, and transistor radio, 180 × 141 × 31 cm. Berlinische Galerie, Berlin

Fig. 13. Boris Taslitzky. *Le petit camp à Buchenwald* (The Small Camp Buchenwald). 1945. Oil on canvas, 300 × 500 cm.
Paris, Centre Pompidou - Musée national d'art moderne - Centre de création industrielle

The tools were those of postcolonial battle. For postcolonial critics the target in Western humanism was not just its internal contradictions but its hypocrisy and complicity in maintaining the colonial state. Césaire confronts this question head-on in the opening lines of his *Discourse on Colonialism:* "The fact is that the so-called European civilization—'Western' civilization—as it has been shaped by two centuries of bourgeois rule, is incapable of solving two major problems to which its existence has given rise: the problem of the proletariat and the colonial problem."[58] In this context the absolution of colonial violence by philosophy and art was addressed with alacrity by many who knew otherwise. "I do not come with timeless truths,"[59] are the words Frantz Fanon used to set the stage of the combat. In his rhetorical query "What does a man want? What does the black man want?" Fanon asked that the question of man be considered, not in the language of universal abstraction, but in the concrete realm of a refigured blackness.

Blackness can be both figural and metaphoric in the works of post-colonial artists, as in Maqbool Fida Husain's *Man* (1951; plate 155), Gerard Sekoto's *Head of a Man* (1963; plate 169), El Salahi's *Self-Portrait of Suffering* (1961; plate 119), and Malangatana Valente Ngwenya's *To The Clandestine Maternity Home* (1961; fig. 16). On Kawara's *Thinking Man* (1952; plate 157) may not literally depict someone black, but the mottled brown skin of the diseased figure, standing slightly off-center in the frame, discloses itself as other. Certain works suggest blackness as constituting a resistance to an idealized and blinding whiteness.[60] This is made the more so by black-ness's need for intense acts of looking. In Francis Newton Souza's *Head of*

a Man Thinking (plate 153) and *Two Saints (After El Greco)* (plate 154), two of a series of dense black paintings that the artist produced in 1965, the figure melts into the background (fig. 17). Rather than one dominating the other, figure and ground hold the same pictorial valence, as if Souza were demanding of viewers that their gaze penetrate the materially compact-ed surface in order to make out the forms gouged deep into the caked crust. One looks, but can barely perceive the images in the thick, hatched impasto of black-on-black oil paint. Yet this makes the blackness still more luminous.

Postwar Paris may have been consumed by existentialism[61] but in cities like Algiers, Baghdad, Bombay, Cairo, Dakar, Jakarta, Lagos, Nairobi, New Delhi, Saigon, Tehran, and Tunis, the rights of the black and the brown, from the Sahara to the Himalayas and beyond, were dialectically jousting with the rights of the white/European, from New York to Paris and London. Decolonization and civil rights movements demanding in-dependence, equal rights, and an end to oppression, racism, segregation, and exclusion had revealed the hollowness of the high-minded discourse of humanism. These ideas also played out in the domain of art, producing different strands of pictorial effects.

In Africa, for example, there was the idea of cultural sovereignty and of the uniqueness of postcolonial African modernity, a theme derived from the *Négritude* movement. An exemplary work of this culturalist take is Ben Enwonwu's painting *Going* (1962; plate 289), a festival of forms, ob-jects, and figures in a pictorial pageant of post-independence Nigeria.[62] Graceful female figures float through a raucous landscape packed with

classical African masks and sculptures, suggesting the daily interaction among precolonial and postcolonial African cultures. Uche Okeke meanwhile sought similar results through different iconographic means and a concept of "natural synthesis,"[63] an attempt to harness both African and Western-modernist pictorial forms. Here, cultural sovereignty does not supersede individual autonomy; they are held in dialogic tension. In *Aba Revolt (Women's War)* (1965; plate 290) Okeke foregrounds the discursive relevance of the postcolonial experience against the expressionist exuberance that is a core trope of modernist painting. His imagery is drawn from a tradition of feminist militancy in Africa, where women may strip naked as a shaming tactic against an oppressor, their nudity thus becoming a sign of radical protest. Both Enwonwu and Okeke articulate the presentness of the battle for decolonization and independence, as well as foregrounding a discursive interplay among different cultural archives—among colonial and postcolonial memories, among African and European forms. The depiction of decolonization through the image of the nubile celebrant suggests the continuity of tradition within the changing space of postcolonial modernity, while independence is embodied by an engaged figure committed to defending the integrity of the African space from colonial injustice.

REFIGURING THE OTHER

The humanism articulated by European intellectuals in the postwar period was met with radical postcolonial doubt. As Césaire made clear, "What is serious is that 'Europe' is morally, spiritually indefensible."[64] The reasons for these repudiations of Europe—a term to be understood as including the United States—had to do with the fact that Western traditions of thought had constructed a civilizational scaffold that defined man through a hierarchical scheme, a "racial epidermal schema," in Fanon's phrase.[65] This scaffold set the European (white) "man" at the apex, the negated, deracinated figure of the black/brown, non-European other at the base.

In self-exile in Paris, James Baldwin wrote of this figure, "The black

man insists, by whatever means he finds at his disposal, that the white man cease to regard him as an exotic rarity and recognize him as a human being."[66] Invited by Léopold Sédar Senghor to write an introduction to an anthology of black and Malagasy poetry, Jean-Paul Sartre drew on the dialectic of race and racism as a route into the tension between humanism and colonialism.[67] To tackle that tension he articulated a recognition, "what I shall call the moment of separation or negativity: this antiracist racism is the only road that will lead to the abolition of racial differences."[68] The prescription, though troubling in its strange advocacy, is worth considering, especially in the context of the search on the part of the oppressed for an insurgent, radical, separatist, and militant subjectivity.[69]

Sartre's "moment of separation and negativity" was based precisely on the agenda of decolonization and the self-determination of the oppressed. Although the European powers initially failed to accept or recognize it, the postwar period marked the start of the collapse of empire and imperial rule in the search for justice, freedom, and an alternative global order of equality and self-determination among nations and peoples. This was the world envisaged by the Bandung Conference, organized by Sukarno in Indonesia in April 1955. The conference brought together a coalition of twenty-nine independent Asian and African countries—plus Yugoslavia, the one European participant—to discuss the postwar global order from the perspective of the colonized in the midst of the Cold War. In his opening address Sukarno requested vigilance among the gathered countries:

I beg of you, do not think of colonialism only in the classic form which we of Indonesia, and our brothers in different parts of Asia and Africa, knew. Colonialism has also its modern dress, in the form of economic control, intellectual control, actual physical control by a small but alien community within a nation. It is a skillful and determined enemy, and it appears in many guises. It does not give up its loot easily. Wherever, whenever and however it appears, colonialism is an evil thing, and one which must be eradicated from the earth.[70]

Fig. 14. Markui Iri and Toshi Maruki. *Water (Panel III)* from "Hiroshima Panels" (series of 15 panels), 1952. Indian ink on Japanese paper, 180 × 720 cm. Maruki Gallery for the Hiroshima Panels, Higashimatsuyama

Fig. 15. László Moholy-Nagy. *Nuclear I, CH*. 1945. Oil and graphite on canvas, 96.5 × 76.2 cm. Gift of Mary and Leigh Block 1947.40. The Art Institute of Chicago

The Bandung Conference was a landmark moment in the postwar period. It inspired a new international consciousness in the decolonization movements and laid the foundation for an incipient world picture. What would a world liberated from totalitarian tyranny and colonial rule and exploitation be? Who and what should oversee the control of human destiny?

Because of the nebulous alliances around which the battles were fought, the postwar arrangements that emerged after the war had the effect of producing atomized geopolitical spaces that were soon reconfigured into new battle fronts, from liberation wars to the Cold War. Nevertheless, the postwar period brought the business of European colonial empires to a crashing halt. As Tony Judt writes, the period entailed "Europe's reduction," for the Continent and its constituent states "could no longer aspire, after 1945, to international or imperial status."[71] In the aftermath of the war, decolonization and liberation struggles would fundamentally reshape the imperial mission of European colonialism. They would mark the attenuation of empire.[72] Even while the embers of imperialism still glowed across vassal states in Africa, Asia, and the Middle East, in the decades that followed the shrinking of Europe also witnessed, as Judt observes, "the withering away of the 'master narratives' of European history: the great nineteenth-century theories of history, with their models of progress and change, of revolution and transformation."[73]

The postwar period also accelerated the process of movement between the colonies and the colonial metropoles. Within a decade after the end of the war, as refugees and the displaced returned to their home countries or moved elsewhere to be resettled, former colonial subjects began a counter-movement to the European cities their countries had been affiliated with to study, seek opportunity, and live. These migrations and exilic movements, a flow of people that included many artists, expanded the cosmopolitan imaginary. The Europe of the immigrations, to paraphrase the subtitle of Sarat Maharaj's essay "The Congo Is Flooding the Acropolis," was being transformed into a scene of radical alterity. The Continent foregrounded what Maharaj describes as the "immigrant exile's portmanteau."[74] The narrator of V. S. Naipaul's autobiographical novel *The Enigma of Arrival* (1987) captures this epochal moment in a telling passage:

Because in 1950 in London I was at the beginning of that great movement of peoples that was to take place in the second half of the twentieth century—a movement and a cultural mixing greater than the peopling of the United States, which was essentially a movement of Europeans to the New World. This was a movement between all continents. … Cities like London were to change. They were to cease being more or less national cities; they were to become cities of the world, modern-day Romes, establishing the pattern of what great cities should be, in the eyes of islanders like myself and people even more remote in language and culture. They were to be cities visited for learning and elegant goods and manners and freedom by all the barbarian peoples of the globe, people of forest and desert, Arabs, Africans, Malays.[75]

This convergence of dark peoples in Europe's modern-day Romes signposts the colonial/postcolonial clash so succinctly captured in Maharaj's twinning of the Congo and the Acropolis. In his civilizational metaphor, the Congo essays backwardness while the Acropolis carries the stamp of all that is excellent, good, and enduring. In this scene, as Maharaj writes, "If the Congo evokes the swelling tide of the 'dark peoples,' the Acropolis signals Europe's domination which the colonised seek to shake off."[76]

BETWEEN THE PACIFIC AND THE ATLANTIC

Artworks never exist in time. They have entry points. — Redza Piyadasa[77]

Throughout this essay the term "postwar" is used to describe the historical period following the end of World War II. These years were marked on the one hand by reconstruction and rehabilitation and on the other by a fundamental program of taking stock, asking questions, and a flurry of institutional activities: the creation of new global bodies such as the United Nations, the first global courts of justice, tribunals for war crimes, the agencies arising out of Bretton Woods (the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, the World Trade Organization), UNESCO, the Commission on Human Rights, and other corporate devices for mediating relationships among nations, economies, and scientific projects. The building of the foundations of the postwar global order was accompanied by the drafting of key international documents such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the rise of global decolonization and nonaligned movements that would usher in and solidify postcolonial accounts of political and cultural sovereignty.

In the field of art, the postwar period marks a historical and cultural turning point, for it brought about a waning of the dominance of the Western European art capitals and the rise of the international presence and hegemony of contemporary American art, popular culture, and mass media.[78] If America liberated Western Europe from the scourge of Nazism, it also liberated itself from the artistic and cultural domination of Western Europe. This shift in fact mirrored the altered terms of geopolitical power, with defeated Europe acquiring and acquiescing to new patrons and protectors. As the Cold War divided the Continent into two spheres of influence, between the Warsaw Pact countries of Eastern and Central Europe, allied with the Soviet Union, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization countries of Western Europe, allied with the United States, the arts also created a distinct ideological relationship between communism and capitalism, socialism and liberal democracy. A crude binary for sure, but the ideological differences in the division of East and West posited abstraction and socialist realism into two moral equivalents: freedom and restriction.

It would be a mistake, however—one often made in the narratives of postwar history—to place the entire focus on the North Atlantic world and its Pacific corollary, as if the rest of Asia, Africa, the Middle East, and Latin America did not exist. Surveys of art history in the postwar period—"art since 1945"—are notorious for such exclusions and blind spots. Until recently, art-historical narratives have tended to stay on the safe ground of an exclusivist illusion in which all forms of artistic innovation

Fig. 16. Malangatana Valente Ngwenya. *To the Clandestine Maternity Home*. 1961. Oil on canvas, 84.5 × 97.8 cm. Iwalewahaus, Universität Bayreuth. Courtesy DEVA, Universität Bayreuth

begin and end in the dominant centers of North American and Western European spheres of influence. This geopolitical bias has often tilted to the advantage of the countries that emerged victorious in the war—in other words to the North Atlantic alliance, thus skewing the study of contemporary art.

While it is not our task to rewrite this narrative, it is nevertheless our purpose in this exhibition to present a new understanding of the actors and to raise substantial questions about the trajectories and genealogies of postwar art and its histories. In recent decades, a new art history has come to the fore that is neither exclusivist in its interests nor exclusionary in scholarship. New spaces of research are opening up, just as reconceived maps and networks of the flow of art and the assessment of its meaning are being constituted.[79] And the rise of interest in the construction of a new map of global art history coincides with the emergence of recent scholarship that understands the value of studying the uneven development of historical methodologies across art histories.

With this transformation in the optics of analysis, a vivid picture of postwar art is taking shape. Inevitably, such changes are attended by disputes that are at once methodological and historical, cultural and political. Yet these disputes not only engage and complicate the modernist narratives of art history, they have also produced insightful studies focused on regions, continents, countries, as well as individual artists. New

art-historical scholarship from across the world in Asia, Africa, South America, the Middle East, and the former Eastern Europe are expanding the study of postwar art. It is our hope that some of these issues will come into sharper relief through this exhibition.

Rather than being a map, *Postwar: Art Between the Pacific and the Atlantic, 1945–1965* is about networks. The project is also about the conundrums that have shaped the uneven exchange between the West and the Rest. On one hand it is a meditation, despite all doubts, on the creative vitality and potential of art, the ways in which the artists of the period engaged and experimented with forms and materials. This includes the transformations that occurred within aesthetic systems and within the logic of artistic production as new ideas and movements, technologies and techniques, emerged to redefine the subjects, strategies, and languages of contemporary art. At the same time, the postwar years mark a critical juncture in global art: the decline of the power of European art to set the agenda of global art discourse and the rise of American artistic hegemony. At the same time, an artistic worldliness emerged in which diasporic, transnational, and decolonized subjectivities charted new paths of artistic discourse. With this in mind, this exhibition is premised on the construction of a global picture of artistic production in the two decades that the project covers.

Following the arc of two oceans—the Pacific and the Atlantic—*Postwar* is a reflection and retracing of the spaces and conditions of artistic production. By navigating the broad sweep of these epic bodies of water, the exhibition straddles continents, nations, geopolitical structures, economic patterns, and institutional frameworks to map new cultural networks and aesthetic agendas. These include case studies on the emergence of new nation states, the partition of others (India and Pakistan, North and South Korea, China and Taiwan, Israel and Palestine, East and West Germany), and the remaking of old ones. The encounters and artistic dialogues among artists, their exchanges of ideas, lend insight into the development of postwar art. From the First World to the Second World and Third World, from liberation struggles and civil rights movements to decolonization and nonalignment, from revolutionary socialism to liberal democracy, from the atomic age to the space age, from mass communication to consumerism, this survey informs and frames the processes that attended the remaking and remodeling of the global order.

But which stories of art can this exhibition tell of the momentous events that shaped the world seventy years ago? Inevitably, a project of this scope and ambition faces vexing questions on multiple fronts. These include questions of interpretation, such as social versus formal art-historical methodology; of diachronic in contrast to synchronic curatorial approaches; of the criteria governing the inclusion and exclusion of artists and artworks; and of the balance between Western and non-Western art. At the same time, an exhibition such as this emerges from a long lineage of exhibitions and academic writing on art and artists of the period that this project covers. Against this backdrop, we must inevitably confront the weight of "canonical" art history, whose immense shadow falls on

Fig. 17. Francis Newton Souza. *Untitled (Head).* 1965. Oil on board,
73.7 × 58.4 cm. Courtesy Aicon Gallery, New York

the shoulder of historical accounts and aesthetic interpretations in the face of alternative narratives.

To soldier forth with this endeavor, the weight of "canonical" art history must first be shrugged off, let fall, gracefully, by the wayside. This does not necessarily mean casting it aside in toto, nor abandoning some of its many important insights. But it is part of this exhibition's mission to acknowledge and identify the persistent blind spots of that history, and the Eurocentric limits that it places on artistic activities outside Europe and North America. To whatever extent possible, *Postwar* seeks, even in abbreviated terms, to be global and expansive, so as to tell a different kind of story of postwar art since 1945. In many ways the exhibition is revisionist in the best possible sense: it aims to create a multivalent network of relationships and differences, affiliations and cultural solidarities, singularities and multiplicities. Most significantly, it seeks to bring into dialogue the work of artists from North and South, East and West, regional and metropolitan, national and transnational, cosmopolitan and diasporic. In doing so it reshapes unsustainable art-historical boundary-making, which for too long has sequestered artists (including Europeans) in ethnocentric corrals and has divided the art world into consolidated enclaves, while consigning many significant artists from outside Western Europe and North America to the margins of critical inquiry.

Postwar is a story that can only make sense on a broad canvas. It is neither a chronological narrative nor an episodic account of art movements; instead, the privileged mode of narration of this complex and complicated topoi is heterotemporal[80] and heterochronical.[81] In other words, there is neither a singular temporality nor one sole chronicle. One way to approach this task might be to "provincialize"[82] (to borrow Dipesh Chakrabarty's illuminating term) the postwar art-history industry—"Art since 1945"—in order to project what Terry Smith has called "the world-picture" of modern and contemporary art.[83] This clearly calls for a recasting of art history—an examination on a global scale, bearing in mind the work of artists across the world, in every continent, and of every shade.[84] It is our hope that *Postwar* not only reconceives the very syntax of artistic modernity but enlivens the multiplicity of the accounts that have come to shape it.

1   The first American forces to enter Munich were a small squad of soldiers under the command of twenty-seven-year-old, German-born Lieutenant Wolfgang F. Robinow. See Charles Hawley, "Remembering World War II: The US Soldier Who Liberated Munich Recalls Confronting the Nazi Enemy," *Spiegel Online,* April 29, 2005, available online at www.spiegel.de/international/remembering-world-war-ii-the-us-soldier-who-liberated-munich-recalls-confronting-the-nazi-enemy-a-354029.html (accessed June 2016).

2   Located just sixteen kilometers (ten miles) from Munich, Dachau was the Nazi regime's first concentration camp. It opened in March 1933, initially to house political prisoners opposing the regime, and was the model for all later concentration camps and subcamps built in Germany and German-occupied countries. See the website of the Dachau memorial at www.kz-gedenkstaette-dachau.de/index-e.html (accessed June 2016).

3   See Winfried Nerdinger, ed., *Munich and National Socialism,* trans. Jefferson Chase (Munich: C. H. Beck, 2015), p. 9.

4   V-E Day, the official end of the war, is commemorated on May 8 in Europe and on May 9 in the Soviet Union. Germany's capitulation had been announced two days earlier, on May 6, in Rheims, where General Dwight D. Eisenhower had accepted the German surrender. Celebrations were postponed until May 8, however, when the Allied and Soviet commands signed the document of surrender together in Berlin. See Ian Buruma, *Year Zero: A History of 1945* (New York: The Penguin Press, 2011), pp. 15–18.

5   See Sadao Asada, "The Shock of the Atomic Bomb and Japan's Decision to Surrender: A Reconsideration," in *The Pacific Historical Review* 67, no. 4 (November 1998): 477–512.

6   Like trophy hunters, American army officers added their signatures to the *Goldenes Buch* next to the names of august earlier visitors to the building. On the main and title page of the book, Sgt. Richard S. Radelet signed his name between the printed name and the signature of Adolf Hitler; Sgt. Eugene Johnson signed on the top page, above where Benito Mussolini and the Aga Khan had signed on September 25 and October 22, 1937; and 1st Lt. Robert E. Bishoff left his name below the signature of Edward, Duke of Windsor, who had visited on October 23, 1937. The guest book lies in the Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Munich.

7   On the complexity of the new geopolitical arrangements that followed the end of the war see Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe since 1945* (London: Penguin Books, 2005).

8   Hitler, "Speech Inaugurating the 'Great Exhibition of German Art,' Munich," in Herschel B. Chipp, ed., *Theories of Modern Art* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), p. 476.

9   Ibid.

10 Ibid., p. 475.

11 *Entartete Kunst* opened on July 19, 1937, one day after the inauguration of the new Haus der Deutschen Kunst. See *Entartete Kunst Ausstellungsführer,* exh. cat. (Berlin: Verlag für Kultur- und Wirtschaftswerbung, 1937).

12 On *Entartete Kunst* and its impact on artists and the avant-garde see Stephanie Barron, *"Degenerate Art": The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany,* exh. cat. (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1991).

13 After 1936, besides being one of Hitler's favorite painters, Adolf Ziegler also served as president of the Reichskulturkammer (Chamber of visual arts), a position that gave him the responsibility of coordinating the seizure of artworks deemed degenerate from museums throughout Germany. It was Ziegler who was responsible for the hasty organization of the *Entartete Kunst* exhibition, beginning in Munich and then touring the country's cities.

14 Hitler, "Speech Inaugurating the 'Great Exhibition of German Art,' Munich," p. 479.

15 The various testimonies presented in the course of the denazification of the Haus der Deutschen Kunst include a submission made by three Frenchmen who had been sent to work there during the war as forced labor. The letter, signed by a Mr. Armand, a Mr. Mesler, and a Mr. Petior Grolet, stated that during their time at the museum, Mr. H. Gräf, Mr. A. Kugler, Mr. Otto, Mr. K., and Mr. Koppauer had treated them correctly. The letter clearly implicates the museum in the use of forced labor. See M. Armand, M. Mesler, and M. Petior Grolet, denazification certification letter for Heinrich Gräf, May 1, 1945. Spk A K539 Gräf, Heinrich, Staatsarchiv München, Munich.

16 The earliest published document using the changed name is the title page of the book *Ausstellung Bayerischer Gemälde des 15. und 16 Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives, Office of the Military Government for Bavaria, 1946), the catalogue for an exhibition that opened on January 17, 1946.

17 The building seems to have remained identified as the Haus der Deutschen Kunst at least until late in 1945. A letter in the Haus der Kunst archives written on November 2, 1945, identifies the Officers' Club as located in the Haus der Deutschen Kunst through both the printed letterhead and writing in the letter itself. It is signed by the civilian personnel chief of the Officers' Mess and carries an identification stamp noting the same location.

18 See the exhibition catalogue *Ausstellung Bayerischer Gemälde des 15. und 16. Jahrhunderts.* The exhibition was the first, other than the *Grosse Deutsche Kunstausstellung,* to be staged in

the building since 1944. It contained works from the Bayerische Staatsgemälde-Sammlungen, the Bavarian state painting collection.

19 Because Munich's Alte Pinakothek had been damaged during the war, the paintings were exhibited at Haus der Kunst, where the collection remained until the 1950s.

20 *The Bavarian,* January 24, 1946, p. 8.

21 A review of the museum's rapid reorganization of its artistic program is available online at www.hausderkunst.de/en/research/history/historical-documentation/after-the-war/ (accessed June 2016).

22 The Pablo Picasso exhibition included 126 paintings, 34 sculptures, 25 drawings, 56 prints, and 13 ceramic works. It traveled to the Rheinisches Museum Köln-Deutz, Cologne, and to the Kunstverein and the Kunsthalle-Altbau, Hamburg. See *Picasso 1900–1955* (Munich: Austellungleitung München, e.V. Haus der Kunst, 1955).

23 See Jürgen Claus, *Entartete Kunst. Bildersturm vor 25 Jahren,* exh. cat. (Munich: Ausstellungsleitung München e.V. Haus der Kunst, 1962).

24 See Townsend Hoopes and Douglas Brinkley, *FDR and the Creation of the U.N.* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1997), p. 45.

25 See *Official Proceedings and Documents of United Nations Monetary and Financial Conference,* vols. 1 and 2, available online at https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/docs/publications/books/1948_state_bwood_v1.pdf and https://fraser.stlouisfed.org/docs/publications/books/1948_state_bwood_v2.pdf (accessed June 2016). See also Ben Steil, *The Battle of Bretton Woods: John Maynard Keynes, Harry Dexter White, and the Making of a New World Order* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).

26 The Pan-African Congress was organized by Kwame Nkrumah, who led Ghana (formerly the Gold Coast) to independence from Britain in 1957 and became its first prime minister, and the Trinidadian writer and trade unionist George Padmore. The congress, a postwar attempt to resuscitate W. E. B. Dubois's earlier Pan-African Congresses, brought together representatives of African and West Indian political, labor, and civic organizations who declared, "The delegates of the Fifth Pan-African Congress believe in peace. How could it be otherwise when for centuries the African peoples have been victims of violence and slavery. Yet if the Western world is still determined to rule mankind by force, then Africans, as a last resort, may have to appeal to force in the effort to achieve Freedom, even if force destroys them and the world." See Padmore, ed., *History of the Pan African Congress* (London: The Hammersmith Bookshop, 1947), p. 5.

27 "During the war years the museum modified its program, working in support of the war effort by preparing special programs, posters, films, and exhibitions for the government, the armed forces, and later on for veterans. The Museum executed thirty-eight contracts for various governmental agencies, including Office of War Information, the Library of Congress, and the Office of the Coordinator of Inter-American Affairs. Nineteen exhibitions were sent abroad and twenty-nine were shown on the premises, all related to the war and the problems and suffering it engendered." Sam Hunter, "The Museum of Modern Art: Introduction," in *The Museum of Modern Art, New York: The History and Collection* (New York: Harry N. Abrams and The Museum of Modern Art, 1984), pp. 20–21. In a bulletin from 1942, the Museum had this to say about its collection: "Though it does not so obviously bear upon the War, THE MUSEUM COLLECTION is a *symbol* of one of the four freedoms for which we are fighting—the *freedom of expression.* It is art that *Hitler hates* because it is *modern,* progressive, challenging (Hitler insists upon magazine cover realism or prettiness); because it is *international,* leading to understanding and tolerance among nations (Hitler despises the culture of all countries but his own); because it is *free,* the free expression of free men (Hitler insists upon the subjugation of art)." "The Museum and the War," *The Bulletin of the Museum of Modern Art* 10, no. 1 (October–November 1942): 19. Even in the postwar period, no museum was more directly involved than MoMA as an arbiter of "progressive" modernism and a promoter of American contemporary art. In 1952, the Museum's second director, René d'Harnoncourt, established its International Program (later succeed by its International Council) to promote modern art and contemporary American art through a global lending program and through traveling exhibitions sometimes organized in collaboration with U.S. government agencies. These collaborations were the subject of controversy, especially when they involved the CIA-financed Congress for Cultural Freedom. See Frances Stonor Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper?: The CIA and the Cultural Cold War* (London: Granta Books, 1999), pp. 267–74.

28 Worldwide statistics remain incomplete, but it is calculated that over 40 million died across the world. The Soviet Union alone incurred an estimated 20 million war dead. See Micheal Clodfelter, *Warfare and Armed Conflicts: A Statistical Encyclopedia of Casualty and Other Figures, 1494–2007,* 1992 (rev. ed. Jefferson, N.C.: McFarland, 2008), pp. 560–61.

29 Buruma recounts a chilling exchange during the German surrender to the Soviets. Field Marshal Wilhelm Keitel of Germany, Buruma writes, "told the Russians that he was horrified by the extent of the destruction wrought on the German capital. Whereupon a Russian officer asked Keitel whether he had been equally horrified when on his orders, thousands of Soviet villages and towns were obliterated, and millions of people, including many children, were buried under the ruins." See Buruma, *Year Zero,* p. 18. For a riveting recollection of the bombings

that laid many German cities to waste see W. G. Sebald, *On the Natural History of Destruction,* 1999, Eng. trans. Anthea Bell (New York: Random House, 2003).

30 After the end of the war, beyond the exhaustive reports of governmental and human-rights organizations on the nature of the death camps, a range of memoirs by survivors began to appear. One of the earliest accounts published, originally in 1947, was that of the Jewish-Italian chemist Primo Levi, who had survived internment in Auschwitz. See Levi, *If This Is a Man,* trans. Stuart Woolf (London: Orion Press, 1959). For a compelling elaboration of the meaning of Auschwitz and its moral and ethical implications see Giorgio Agamben, *Remnants of Auschwitz: The Witness and the Archive,* 1998, Eng. trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen (New York: Zone Books, 1999). Even camp administrators, including some of the most notorious ones, wrote memoirs; see Rudolph Höss, *Death Dealer: The Memoirs of the Kommandant at Auschwitz,* 1946–47, Eng. trans. Andrew Pollinger (Boston: Da Capo Press, 1996).

31 See Raul Hilberg, *The Destruction of the European Jews,* 1961 (rev. ed. New York: Holmes and Meier, 1985).

32 For many, World War II has come to signify and conjure two particular images of appalling horror: the Holocaust—the extermination of millions of European Jews—and the dropping of atom bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

33 See Hannah Arendt, *The Human Condition,* 1958 (reprint ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998).

34 See Agamben, *The Open: Man and Animal,* 2002, Eng. trans. Kevin Attell (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2002), pp. 33–38.

35 For Arendt, the convergence of the ideology of race and its management was "actually made on the Dark Continent. Race was the emergency explanation of human beings whom no European or civilized man could understand and whose humanity so frightened and humiliated the immigrants that they no longer cared to belong to the same human species." See Arendt, *The Origins of Totalitarianism,* 1951 (reprint ed. San Diego and New York: Harcourt, 1985), p. 185.

36 Ibid, p. 37.

37 Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism,* 1950, rev. 1955, Eng. trans. Joan Pinkham (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1972), p. 35.

38 Ibid., p. 41.

39 Agamben, *Homer Sacer: Sovereign Power and Bare Life,* 1995, Eng. trans. Daniel Heller-Roazen (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998), p. 153.

40 See Rachel E. Perry, "Jean Fautrier's Jolies Juive," *October* 108 (Spring 2004): 51–72.

41 Sarah Wilson, "Paris Post War: In Search of the Absolute," in Frances Morris, *Paris Post War: Art and Existentialism 1945–55,* exh. cat. (London: Tate Gallery, 1994), p. 27.

42 The British Army Film and Photographic Unit was a corps of trained photographers and cameramen established on October 24, 1941, to record military events in which the British Armed Forces were engaged. The No. 5 British Army Film and Photographic Unit entered the Belsen-Bergen concentration camp on April 17, 1945, two days after the camp had been liberated by British and Canadian Forces, although some of the unit's photographers had already entered the camp earlier. One year later, in 1946, the unit disbanded. See Mark Celinscak, *Distance from the Belsen Heap: Allied Forces and the Liberation of a Nazi Concentration Camp* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), p. 38.

43 On the question of what images can show about the Holocaust see Georges Didi-Huberman, *Images in Spite of All: Four Photographs from Auschwitz,* 2003, Eng. trans. Shane B. Lillis, 2008 (repr ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

44 At the end of the essay "Cultural Criticism and Society," 1951, Theodor Adorno, who spent the war years in Los Angeles, wrote that "cultural criticism finds itself faced with the final stage of the dialectic of culture and barbarism. To write poetry after Auschwitz is barbaric." See Adorno, *Prisms,* Eng. trans. Shiery Weber Nicholsen and Samuel Weber (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1983), p. 34.

45 This dictum came as the subtitle of "Eichmann in Jerusalem," an in-depth article on the trial of Adolf Eichmann that Arendt wrote on assignment for *The New Yorker,* which published it in February and March 1963. Arendt later revised and expanded the article into a book: *Eichmann in Jerusalem: A Report on the Banality of Evil* (New York: Viking, 1964).

46 Immediately after the war, with the onset of the Nuremberg trials and the denazification process, the German people were confronted with questions of their responsibility, or lack thereof, for the crimes of National Socialism. One of the first thinkers to grapple with the issue of guilt was the philosopher Karl Jaspers, who had been expelled by the Nazis from the University of Heidelberg in 1937 but had remained in Germany through the war, although he was strongly anti-Nazi. When he launched his inquiry into the idea of German guilt, then, in a series of public lectures delivered in the fall of 1945, just a few months after Germany's surrender, he had the authority to engage the most important moral dilemma faced by Germans of the postwar generation. See Jaspers, *Die Schuldfrage,* 1947, Eng. trans. as *The Question of German Guilt,* trans. E. B. Ashton (New York: Doubleday Broadway, 1948). Arendt, Wolfgang

Borchert, Alfred Döblin, and Eugen Kogon were among the important voices dealing with the issue of guilt within Germany immediately after the war.

47 See Claudia Mesch, *Modern Art at the Berlin Wall: Demarcating Culture in the Cold War Germanys* (London and New York: Tauris Academic Studies, 2008), p. 55.

48 Some of Gerhard Richter's early paintings, including *Hitler* (1962), *Bombers* (1963), *Uncle Rudi* (1965), *Herr Heyde* (1965), *Family by the Seaside* (1964), and others, address images, events, and individuals related to Nazism and the war. He recently completed a cycle of four large-scale abstract paintings based on grainy black-and-white photographs of Birkenau. It is intriguing that he chose abstraction as a way to engage this obviously difficult subject matter, after over fifty years without producing such a picture. See Helmut Friedl, *Gerhard Richter: Birkenau* (Cologne: Buchhandlung Walther König, 2015).

49 Benjamin H. D. Buchloh, "Gerhard Richter's *Atlas:* The Anomic Archive," *October* 88 (Spring 1999): 143.

50 Ibid., pp. 143–44.

51 For a careful translation and examination of Celan's great poem, which thematizes the necessary voicing of the Shoah, see Paul Celan, "Death Fugue," Eng. trans. John Felstiner, in Felstiner, *Paul Celan: Poet, Survivor, Jew* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001), pp. 31–32.

52 Mark Godfrey, *Abstraction and the Holocaust* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

53 After their initial appearance in *Mainichi Shinbun* in August 1945, Yōsuke Yamahata's photographs were proscribed and kept out of circulation. The ban was lifted in 1952, and the magazines *Asahi Graph* and *Life* soon published the photographs, respectively in the issues of August 6 and September 29, 1952. In 1955, Edward Steichen, curator of photography at New York's Museum of Modern Art, included some of the photographs in the Museum's influential exhibition *The Family of Man*. Similar censorship of images of the bomb also occurred in films. As Jerome F. Shapiro writes, "Recently, film historians have brought to light the extent to which the Supreme Command of Allied Powers (SCAP) censored references to Hiroshima and Nagasaki in films made during the Occupation years of Japan, and the extent to which the Japanese government itself also suppressed, and even now continues to suppress, culturally and historically important films about the atomic bombings." See Shapiro, *Atomic Bomb Cinema: The Apocalyptic Imagination in Film* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002), p. 6.

54 Bertrand Russell and Albert Einstein were among those alarmed about the consequences of the introduction of atomic weapons of mass destruction. On July 9, 1955, they called a press conference at Claxton Hall, London, where they released the Russell-Einstein Manifesto on nuclear disarmament. See Russell and Einstein, "The Russell-Einstein Manifesto," in Joseph Rotblat, *Scientists in the Quest for Peace: A History of the Pugwash Conferences* (Cambridge, Mass.: The MIT Press, 1972), 137–140. The manifesto is also available online, at https://pugwash.org/1955/07/09/statement-manifesto/; see also https://pugwash.org/1955/07/09/audio-bertand-russell-joseph-rotblat-manifesto-press-conference-9-july-1955/ (both accessed June 2016). See also Jaspers, *The Future of Mankind,* 1958, Eng. trans. E. B. Ashton (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961). The book was also published under the title *The Atom Bomb and the Future of Man.*

55 Along with Russell and Einstein, the philosophers, theologians, and scientists addressing these issues included Jaspers, Günther Anders, and Lewis Mumford.

56 In cinema there emerged a genre of filmmaking that Shapiro calls "atomic bomb cinema": films such as *Children of Hiroshima* (1952), by Kaneto Shindō; *The Bells of Nagasaki* (1953), by Hideo Ôba; *Gojira* (Godzilla, 1954), by Ishirō Honda; *Hiroshima mon amour* (1959), by Alain Resnais; *La Jeteé* (1962), by Chris Marker; and Stanley Kubrick's classic nuclear war spoof *Dr. Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb* (1964). See Shapiro, *Atomic Bomb Cinema.*

57 Homi Bhabha, "Foreword. Remembering Fanon: Self, Psyche, and Colonial Condition," in Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks,* 1952, Eng. trans. Charles Lam Markmann (London: Pluto Press, 1986), p. xx.

58 Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism,* p. 31.

59 Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks,* p. 9.

60 David Siqueiros's *Cain en los Estados Unidos* shows a white mob—figures of the grotesque—dragging a bloodied black man out of a prison cell for a lynching. In the blurry forms of Jack Whitten's series of heads (*Head IV—Lynching,* 1964, for example), whiteness assumes a ghostly presence.

61 See Morris, *Paris Post War.* The intriguing aspect of Morris's exhibition is not so much its exclusive focus on the work of white European artists as the absolute absence of any discussion of French colonialism in Indochina and North Africa, regions that in the period in question were literally at war with the French state. The absence strikes one as part of a general historicist fiction that pervades the art establishment and its institutions.

62 See Chika Okeke-Agulu, *Postcolonial Modernism: Art and Decolonization in Twentieth-Century Nigeria* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2015).

63 See Uche Okeke, *Art in Development: A Nigerian Perspective* (Nimo, Nigeria: Documentation Centre, Asele Institute, and Minneapolis: African American Cultural Center, 1982).

64 Césaire, *Discourse on Colonialism,* p. 32.

65 Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks,* p. 112.

66 James Baldwin, "Stranger in the Village," *Harper's Magazine,* October 1953, p. 45.

67 Born in 1906 in Senegal, Léopold Sédar Senghor cofounded the black-consciousness literary movement *Négritude,* with Césaire and Léon Damas, in 1935, several years before the outbreak of World War II. A Paris-based coalition of intellectuals of the African diaspora, the founders used their literary journal *L'Étudiant noir* as a platform for a dialogic, positivist black/African humanism and a resistance to colonialism. *Négritude*—a neologism coined by Césaire—appropriated the negativity of the pejorative racist terms "*négre*" and "nigger" and deployed W. E. B. Dubois's dialectical idea of a diasporic black double consciousness to contest, challenge, and reject Western cultural, racial, and moral domination. The movement's influence went beyond the initial francophone world of African and Caribbean writers to encompass much of the African and diasporic worlds. See James A. Arnold, *Modernism and Négritude: The Poetry and Poetics of Aimé Cesairé* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981); Dubois, *The Souls of Black Folk* (New York: Bantam Books, 1989); and Cesairé, *Notebook of a Return to the Native Land,* 1947, Eng. trans. Clayton Eshleman and Annette Smith (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 2001).

68 Jean-Paul Sartre, "Black Orpheus," 1948, Eng. trans. John MacCombie, *The Massachusetts Review* 6, no. 1 (Autumn 1964–Winter 1965): 18. The essay was originally published in French as the introduction to Senghor, ed., *Anthologie de la nouvelle poésie negre et malgache* (Paris: Quadrigge/Presse Universitaire de France, 1948).

69 See Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth,* 1961, Eng. trans. Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Press, 1963).

70 Sukarno, quoted in Partha Chatterjee, "Empire and Nation Revisited: 50 Years After Bandung," in *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies* 6, no. 4 (August 2006): 487.

71 Judt, *Postwar,* p. 7.

72 See Chatterjee, "Empire and Nation Revisited," pp. 487–96.

73 Judt, *Postwar,* p. 7.

74 Sarat Maharaj, "The Congo Is Flooding the Acropolis: Art in the Britain of Immigrations," *Third Text* 15 (Summer 1991): 77–90.

75 V. S. Naipaul, *The Enigma of Arrival* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1987), pp. 141–42.

76 Maharaj, "The Congo Is Flooding the Acropolis," p. 81.

77 The poignant and evocative text of this epigraph appears as an inscription on the surface of a conceptual artwork, a painting titled *Entry Points* (1978), by the Malaysian artist Redza Piyadasa. In many ways it articulates with incisive brevity the task of mapping the global coordinates of the artworks in this exhibition.

78 Serge Guilbaut has made the contentious claim that the waning of Paris as the center of modernism and the rise of New York were consequences of the concerted assertion of American hegemony in global cultural politics. See Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art: Abstract Expressionism, Freedom, and the Cold War,* Eng. trans. Arthur Goldhammer (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983).

79 Several exhibitions since the late 1980s have presented new curatorial research that has broadened the field of postwar scholarship. For a few examples see Rasheed Araeen, *The Other Story,* exh. cat. (London: The Hayward Gallery, 1989); Jean-Paul Ameline, *Face à l'histoire, 1933–1996,* exh. cat. (Paris: Flammarion and Centre Georges Pompidou, 1996); Luis Camnitzer, Jane Farver, and Rachel Weiss, eds., *Global Conceptualism: Points of Origin, 1950s–1980s,* exh. cat. (New York: Queens Museum of Art, 1999); Okwui Enwezor, *The Short Century: Independence and Liberation Movements in Africa, 1945–1994,* exh. cat. (Munich: Prestel and Museum Villa Stuck, 2001); Mari Carmen Ramírez and Héctor Olea, *Inverted Utopias: Avant-Garde Art in Latin America,* exh. cat. (New Haven: Yale University Press, and Houston: Museum of Fine Arts Houston, 2004).

80 See Dipesh Chakrabarty, "Preface to the 2nd edition," in *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference,* 2000, (rev. ed. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), p. xvii.

81 Nicolas Bourriaud uses this term to underline the multiplicity of accounts of contemporary art. See Bourriaud, statement from a brochure outline for the "Altermodern" program of the Tate Triennial (London: Tate Britain, April 2008).

82 The terminological turn made through Chakrabarty's concept of provincialization is enormously useful in grappling with how to break up historical master narratives. See his *Provincializing Europe.*

83 Terry Smith, "World Picturing in Contemporary Art: The Iconogeographic Turn," *Australian and New Zealand Journal of Art* 7, no. 1 (2006): 24–46. See also Smith, *What Is Contemporary Art?* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), pp. 5–6.

84 For an important contribution toward an expansive methodological view of art history studied on such a global scale, see David Summers, *Real Spaces: World Art History and the Rise of Western Modernism* (London: Phaidon, 2003).