

## From Monuments to Fast Cars: aspects of Cold War art, 1946-57

Ossip Zadkine's *Monument to the Destroyed City* which dominates the port of Rotterdam is a major public monument expressing the fate of Europe in 1945. Returning from America to France – his spiritual and artistic homeland since 1909 – the artist was greeted by the sight of the port of Le Havre razed to the ground. Yet artistic life which had continued under duress during the war years started flourishing again: a symbol both of rebirth and continuity. The *First sketch for a monument to a destroyed town*, conceived as a small terracotta in 1946, was exhibited in 'French sculpture from Rodin to the present' in Prague from May to June, 1947, then in Berlin in July of that year. Zadkine travelled to see friends in Holland in 1947: his vision of Rotterdam, saturation bombed in May, 1940, was of 'an enormous and mournful plane stretching ahead of me: not one house left... sinister and depressing.' While his terracotta returned from Berlin in fragments, the idea of a tribute grew; a new sculpture exhibited in Brussels and Amsterdam in 1948 led to the major commission. In May 1949 the maquette was exhibited as *Project for the destroyed town of Rotterdam* in Paris; the Paris retrospective travelled to Rotterdam during the winter of 1949-50. The towering, twenty-foot high public monument was inaugurated in the Leuvehaven, in May, 1953: 'a statue which would commemorate, for the inhabitants of this great city-port and for all their future descendants, the impardonable injustices of war.'<sup>1</sup> Zadkine recalls these words by G. Van der Wal, director of the (Jewish-owned) department store, De Bijenkorf, who first had the idea of a commemorative, monumental sculpture for the city. English Marxist critic John Berger called it 'the best modern war monument in Europe. ...'

'You walk around the plain granite block on which the figure, cast in dark bronze, simultaneously stands, dies and advances.... The hands and the head cry out against the sky from which the man-aimed bombs fall. I say man-aimed because this makes the anguish sharper and fiercer than that of an Old Testament prophet crying out against the wrath of his God, and this extra anguish partly explains, I think, the violence of the distortions in modern tragic works like this. The torso of the man is ripped open and his heart destroyed. ...The man represents a city, and this sculpture is of bronze and so the wound, which is in fact a hole right through the body, is seen in terms of the twisted metal of the burnt-out shell of a building. The legs give at the knees. The whole figure is about to fall.'

Yet it exemplifies a dialectic: 'This is also a figure of aspiration and advance.. The figure has no back – and so cannot retreat....And so the curses also become a rallying cry.'<sup>2</sup>

Ironically the Bijenkorf department store which had stood throughout the bombing, did not survive the reconstruction of the city: a new, modernist building designed by Marcel Breuer with Dutch architect A. Elzas replaced the old, and for reasons connected with new city vistas, the same Van der Wal would commission the Russian sculptor Naum Gabo's

*Bijenkorf Construction* to be placed against the building. This was the first and only public Constructivist monument: an eight-storey high, free-standing composition, fabricated from pre-stressed concrete, steel ribs, bronze wire and marble. Based on a similar design submitted to the 'Unknown Political Prisoner' competition in London, 1953, Gabo's work eschewed the multiple resonances of Reg Butler's winning entry at that time: crucifixion, aerial, Orwellian watchtower...<sup>3</sup> His Rotterdam sculpture, likewise, had no obvious commemorative function. Entirely abstract, thrusting upward, its curvature, membranous and sinewy qualities added connotations of vitalism to an otherwise purely technological vision. Approved in 1955, the monument was inaugurated in May 1957. Gabo declared 'I have tried to express the indomitable spirit of the people of Rotterdam and the miracle of a modern city rising from the rubble.' Critics, from Herbert Read or John Berger at the time to the present, have discussed Gabo's sculpture work in terms of the success or failure of this late Constructivist project whose style originated in post-Revolutionary ideals.<sup>4</sup>

From a Cold War perspective however, the dialectic between Zadkine's anguished figure and Gabo's forward-looking vision epitomises debates between figurative and abstract, memory **versus** amnesia, the past versus the future. The two images were juxtaposed, (the Zadkine a dramatic night-time silhouette) by Cas Oorthuys in *Rotterdam, dynamische stad*, 1959, a large-scale book of black and white images, celebrating the rebuilt city. The velvety black photographs of children, workers and sailors in the docks underline the European tradition of humanist photography which co-existed with debates around realism in the fine arts. Oorthuys shows not only new modernist banks and the concert hall but the continuing development of 'new town' public sculptures, from busy nudes by Renoir to Nordic bear cubs at play, the latter a gift to the city in its reconstructive phase. These qualify the confrontation between Zadkine and Gabo: the two major commissions were not only geographically distant from each other, but separated by time: the period traversed, from 1946 to 1957, is one of major change in European cities on both sides of the Iron Curtain.

Both artists, contemporaries, were Russian-Jewish emigrés. Gabo's choice of abstraction may, perhaps, link him to other Russian-Jewish artists.<sup>5</sup> Zadkine, while not mentioning his roots in his memoirs, was supremely aware of the Holocaust; his wife, the artist Valentine Prax, suffered great humiliation proving her Ayrán descent. Yet in terms of both monumental scale and its outstretched arms, *Monument to the Destroyed City* may be compared, poignantly, to Zadkine's *Christ*, sculpted from the trunk of a huge elm tree in the village of Arques in 1940.<sup>6</sup> Artists from Chagall to the Communist Boris Taslitzky

created Christ figures during this period of Jewish persecution, while the eschatological and indeed religious dimensions of postwar sculptures, from Alberto Giacometti to Germaine Richier have too often been subsumed in discussions of postwar existentialist humanism and what Herbert Read memorably called the 'geometry of fear'.<sup>7</sup> Berger's recollections of Job, the 'Old Testament Prophet', in his Zadkine piece, and the significance of 'man-aimed bombs' in a world without God, inscribe the Rotterdam monument within theological debates of the time.<sup>8</sup>

The artistic configurations of pre-1939 Europe and their relationship to artistic diasporas from Russia and the East must be understood as a backdrop to the post-1945 Cold War 'battle of the styles'. The first twentieth-century intellectual emigrations to Paris accompanied pogroms and economic migrants from the East; as bureaucratisation – and ultimately Stalinism – replaced revolutionary structures and artistic trends, many artists who had gone back to Russia returned to Europe. Gabo trained in Munich, spent the first war in Scandinavia, worked in Moscow, 1920's Berlin, 1930's Paris, war-time Britain and from 1946, the United States. His abstraction may be linked to similar trends ranging from the De Stijl group from Holland, to the biomorphic abstraction of Hans Arp. All varieties mingled in the 'Abstraction-Création' Salon in Paris where Gabo exhibited from 1932-1935; here, an international abstract language contained its own memories of its revolutionary, theosophical or utopian-socialist origins. In contrast, Zadkine was an exemplary sculptor of the School of Paris, and like so many contemporaries, never relinquished figurative, post-cubist forms. As politically-engaged forms of realism, both socialist-realist and totalitarian, began to supplant the 1920s 'return to order' in the arts, Communism as a political form of workers' organisation, and socialist realism as an artistic style was promoted from the USSR after 1932, coinciding with the impact of the Depression. The crude Soviet idea of 'reflection theory' grounded in Georgi Plekhanov's turn-of-the-century writing on 'bourgeois' literature was inadequate to address what in 1930's Paris was already a conflict between various forms of abstraction (geometric and expressionistic), realism ('bourgeois' or socially-engaged), and surrealism, under whose aegis the poet Louis Aragon and **the** painter Salvador Dali moved towards Communism and proto-fascism respectively during the decade.

The German emigré Max Raphael's *Marx, Proudhon, Picasso* published in Paris in 1933, attempted the impossible: to create a Marxist theory of art which could embrace stylistic pluralism. Significantly in 1965, John Berger would dedicate his Marxian analysis, *The Success and failure of Picasso* to Max Raphael; by 1966, the French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu had likewise searched out *Marx, Proudhon, Picasso* in an attempt to challenge

Marxist aesthetics on their own territory.<sup>9</sup> The 1960s saw a continuation of the Cold War Communist arts policy in France, in which Picasso was deeply implicated, and from which Zadkine kept a significant distance.<sup>10</sup>

Paris, then, chosen after Germany's collapse as the centre for the Soviet Comintern's Western operations was from the 1930s pre-eminently inappropriate for Soviet directives in the fine arts.<sup>11</sup> In the Soviet Union, the site for revolutionary art shifted from the city to the sportsground and ultimately to the battlefield. The military epics and panoramas produced for the New York World's Fair and the All-Union Exhibition in Moscow in 1939 marked a climax.<sup>12</sup> Stalin subsequently dissolved the Comintern to facilitate his role as major ally in the drawing-board division of Europe at Yalta; subsequently, in response to the Truman Doctrine and Marshall Plan, he set up the Cominform as a new organ of coordination for satellite Communist countries: Paris, with the strongest Western Communist Party became yet again the focus of Cominform operations, including those in the cultural domain.

Andrei Zhdanov, responsible for the formulation of Soviet socialist realism in 1934, became the spokesperson at the first Cominform conference in 1947. His 'two camp' theory, one 'imperialist and anti-democratic', the other 'anti-imperialist and democratic' quickly extended to the arts.<sup>13</sup> Surprisingly, the term 'socialist realism' does not occur in the minutes of these Cominform sessions.<sup>14</sup> The priority was the creation of the Peace Movement, with its multi-language publications, art exhibitions, poster campaigns, procession and protests such as the Stockholm appeal against the atomic bomb and nuclear proliferation (of its 600 million signatures, the entire Eastern bloc's vote was coopted).<sup>15</sup>

As far as painting was concerned, legitimization via national realist traditions, despite their anachronism, was promoted in Communist periodicals such as *Arts de France* or *Realismo* in Italy; a strategy which masked Soviet directives. In France, Louis Aragon became the effective cultural spokesman for the Party; painters returned to David, to Courbet and to Daumier; Picasso was seen as continuing a tradition extending from Poussin's *Massacre of the Innocents* to the present.<sup>16</sup> A two-tier policy allowed a 'modernist' Communist art to flourish: Picasso, Fernand Léger, even Matisse were shown in the elegant Maison de la Pensée Française off the Champs Elysées; worker-based exhibitions were held elsewhere. The grand tradition of history painting continued: Boris Taslitzky's *Death of Danielle Casanova*, 1950-1 deployed the tropes of Christian martyrdom to evoke extermination at Auschwitz, in homage not only to Danielle (wife of Party cultural spokesman Laurent) and her extensive cult, but his own deported Jewish mother. Evidently anti-German, this painting was exhibited as part of the Party's ultimately successful battle against the European Defence Community: large-scale works were often used as backdrops for the collection of signatures of protest.<sup>17</sup>

Picasso's *Guernica* and *Massacre in Korea* in reproduction became catalysts for discussion on both sides of the Iron Curtain; the artist became the most famous Communist in

the world after Stalin and Mao Tse Tung. Two months after he joined the Party, before the end of the war and Yalta, he was under FBI surveillance. Senator George Dondero's charge that 'so-called modern art contains all the "isms" of depravity, decadence and destruction', naming Picasso as 'one of the leaders of the art of "isms",' was reproduced from the *Chicago Daily Sun-Times* (17/8/49) in the F.B.I, dossier 'Subject Pablo Picasso. File no. 100-337396'.<sup>18</sup> For the more enlightened cadres of the C.I.A. and the Museum of Modern Art, New York, Western European modernism was a bastion of liberty, of avant-gardism, of art as an autonomous practice to be funded and promoted against realism, the art of the Communists.<sup>19</sup> In this manichean light, one should compare the Peace conference exhibitions of 1948 and 1950 held under the Cominform aegis with the Venice Biennale shows of the same years.

Ruined Wroclaw was chosen as the venue of the International Peace Congress.<sup>20</sup> The mobilisation of Cold War intellectuals mean that transportable, and reproducible artworks were required, including film and souvenirs. They served as powerful forms of representation and cultural legitimation and as ritual objects in an era where congresses, youth festivals, processions, debates and cell meetings, replaced – or competed with - the spiritual and emotional functions of church and pilgrimage. In Warsaw, Picasso exhibited his Vallauris ceramic plates; Fernand Léger, Paul Eluard, Aimé Césaire, Ilya Ehrenbourg and Renato Guttuso from Italy also participated. However, the second World Peace Congress, banned by the Labour government and forced to move from Sheffield, Britain, to Warsaw at the end of 1950 reflected changes since 1948: the closing of the celebrated collection of abstract art in Lodz, and the imposition of a socialist realism rooted in Polish nineteenth-century sources. Picasso received the Lenin Peace Prize, not for his painting but for his dove poster, produced for the Salle Pleyel Paris-Prague conference of November 1949. In the show 'Artists for the Defence of Peace' Wojciech Fangor's *Peace inviting the dockers of imperialist countries to throw their murderous armaments into the sea* demonstrated how French socialist realism **was** used as an authoritative model: the anti-colonialist subject matter had been specified by Maurice Thorez at the XIIth Party congress at Genevilliers in April, 1950.<sup>21</sup> Chinese revolutionary themes were also present and by 1949 Maoist socialist realism was reproduced in the Communist periodical *Arts de France*. Portraits of Ho-Chi Minh joined the Stalinist themes of *De Marx à Staline*, held in Paris in early 1953, a long-forgotten apotheosis of the 'cult of personality'.<sup>22</sup>

At the postwar Venice Biennales, artists such as Guttuso exhibited huge history paintings, Communist in theme, expressionist-Picassoid in style. He exhibited *Occupation of the Sicilian lands*, 1949, in 1950, recalling peasant demonstrations in 1946-7; in 1952, *Battle at the Ponte Ammiraglio*, showed bodies clashing in shirts of brilliant red. The British movement of Communist painters and fellow travellers adopted Guttuso as their mentor and inspiration.<sup>23</sup> American counter-strategies, now highly sophisticated, emphasised liberality and 'cultural freedom' by exhibiting the left-wing realist Ben Shahn in conjunction with William de Kooning at the next Biennale show of 1954.<sup>24</sup> New scholarship on arts policy and the Communist party in

Italy situates these key art world confrontations in in a wider context touching literature, photography, and of course film: masterpieces of the Italian *neorealismo* movement.<sup>25</sup>

Picasso's peace dove was so internationally successful that an F.B.I.-funded peace campaign was set up as a riposte. Appropriating the 'Peace and liberty' slogan from its Communist rivals, the organisation waged a pro-American propaganda campaign, The visibility of their posters, their memorable catchphrases, the use of humour and caricature aimed at hearts, minds and tongues. Most celebrated were the tank-dove which explodes : *La colombe qui fait boum!* and *Jo-Jo la colombe*, Stalin the 'peace dove'. Simultaneously, posters with accurate maps of Soviet labour camps exposed the systematic denial of broad swathes of the left in France, caught in what they saw as an American propaganda war.<sup>26</sup> Ephemeral yet intrusive, the posters became part of a cityscape increasingly covered with the signs of capitalist prosperity: the advertising billboards that the New-Realist *affichistes* would later rip to shreds and exhibit as symbols of France's continuing schizophrenia during the Algerian war.

While there were innumerable commissions for monuments of Stalin in the USSR or cities in the East, Western European Communist parties could in no way invest public space with the permanent sculptures. Yet the masterpiece of Western European Cold War history painting is predicated, precisely upon this absence – or rather the redundancy of the monument altogether.

1952 was the year Paris chose to celebrate two thousand years of its existence; it was decreed 'Victor Hugo Year' by the French Communist Party who in January held a debate about the potential replacement of the grandiose monument to the poet by Barrias, removed by the nazis from the Place Victor Hugo.<sup>27</sup> Anticipating the Congress of Cultural Freedom's 'Masterpieces of the Twentieth Century' celebration, an enormous American car 'lit up by projectors like Notre-Dame de Paris', was placed on the very spot where Hugo, muse-encircled, had reigned from his Guernsey rock.<sup>28</sup> The symbol of French culture sacrificed to the nazis, is the invisible presence behind the magnificent blue Ford Consul MK1, which, larger than life, dominates André Fougeron's painting, *Atlantic Civilisation*, 1953. Above, a godless throne, replacing Hugo himself, is the electric chair used to execute Julius and Ethel Rosenberg, framed as spies, so the Communists believed, by the C.I.A. Louis Aragon's response is a Cold War classic: a hymn of hatred whose dazzling rhetoric becomes a paean to American capitalism:

'A Ford car, the civilisation of Detroit, man on the conveyor belt, from Mac Gee to the electric chair, with Einstein and Charlie Chaplin under suspicion, the civilisation which can only persist under the appalling shadow of Hiroshima, of atomic menace surrounded with a belt of napalm. A Ford automobile in the Place Victor Hugo, here's the very symbol of the men who set up Eisenhower in Marly and their war installations in fifty-five departments of France - for the war which will continue in the Brittany arena transformed into a Corea, here's the symbol in broad daylight of this subjection to the dollar, docilely applauded ... Here's the lacquered God, the bull's eye of foreign industry, the Atlantic Totem which chases away the glories of France for the profit of Marshall's stocks and shares, the varnished and chromium-plated statue of its imports,

and, more arrogant than the Nazi iconoclast, the Yankee substitutes a machine for the poet... for poetry the Coca-cola of commercial deals, American advertising for *La Légende des Siècles*, the mass-produced car for the Genius, the Ford automobile for Victor Hugo!"<sup>29</sup>

A re-armed German sniper stands upright in the American car as though in a tank. In *Atlantic Civilisation* politics have gone global: domestic expenditure (on housing and pensioners) is contrasted with armaments procurement and colonial war (Corea). Military recruitment posters decorate modernist apartment blocks for NATO personnel; children of the poor, canon-fodder for imperialist war, contrast with the American 'occupier' reading his girlie magazine. Despite closely following Aragon's speech and new Soviet directives requiring more satire in painting, the work is prophetic. It anticipates – a year before France's defeat at Dien Bien Phu - the equations made in the very title of Kristin Ross's analysis of 1996: *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies, Decolonisation and the reordering of French Culture*.<sup>30</sup> Its distinctive style spells the future: the inevitability of France's NATO alliance, the triumph of the pro-American arguments of a Raymond Aron in *Le Figaro* and James Burnham's *The Managerial Revolution*, which Aron had had translated as early as 1947.<sup>31</sup>

The title *Atlantic Civilisation* recalls arguments contrasting American democracy with the French Revolutionary political heritage going back to Alexis de Tocqueville.<sup>32</sup> In 1950, Fougeron had based the striking miners of his painting *National Defence* on Jacques-Louis David's *Oath of the Horatii*. (Was this revolutionary metaphor increasingly compromised by an association with terror?) Here, while Mexican muralism, rather than what Aragon denounced as 'old photomontage procedures' have changed perspective devices, the overall impact is of a kaleidoscopic – and American - modernity. Spaces are multiple, time is static or accelerates forward. And Stalin was dead; Aragon's condemnation of Fougeron and the artist's forced 'self-criticism' have been eclipsed by later vindications of this work.<sup>33</sup> For it is posited, *avant-la-lettre*, upon a masterful exegesis of 'monumental history' as 'itself a parody', wilfully making a carnival of what Michel Foucault would call strategies of 'counter-memory'.<sup>34</sup>

While Fougeron inadvertently demonstrated the redundancy of bronze monuments in the new era of fast cars, Aragon, by proxy, used the moral tale of a public sculpture in the East as a vehicle of de-Stalinisation. The USSR's publically denounced of Stalin's crimes in March, 1956; Picasso's seventy-fifth birthday exhibition in Moscow was a happy sequel: to be eclipsed by the international furore caused by the invasion of Hungary the same month. A story called *The Monument*, serialised through April, 1957, in Aragon's Soviet-backed cultural weekly, *Les Lettres Françaises*, distributed throughout Eastern Europe, was instantly perceived as a deputised self-criticism for Aragon's thirty-seven year long promotion of socialist realism.<sup>35</sup>

Written by Elsa Triolet, Aragon's Russian wife, *The Monument* was based on the story of a sculptor from Prague whose commissioned monument to Stalin was so despised that he committed suicide, leaving the money to the blind. Many Communist militants, living through a convulsive period, recognised themselves in Lewka, Triolet's hero. What Elsa had called 'hearsay' - *un fait divers* - became all too vivid when she and Aragon witnessed the dynamiting of Otakar Svec's massive sculptural group dominated by Stalin on their visit to Czechoslovakia in 1962.<sup>36</sup>

Spring 1957: Triolet's *The Monument*, or Gabo's *Bijenkorf Construction* in Rotterdam? A close following of the events in Paris, headquarters of NATO operations, of UNESCO, the Congress of Cultural Freedom, and the nerve centre of Comintern policies in Western Europe, helps position developments in other countries, from England or Czechoslovakia to the USSR itself. John Berger's response to Zadkine appeared 'out of its time' when republished in London in *Permanent Red*, 1960. His impassioned monograph, *Art and Revolution: Ernst Neizvestny and the role of the Artist in the USSR*, revealed, as late as 1969, an artist whose recent works were still committed to an ethos of muscularity and the power of bronze. The *Gigantomachia* series of 1958; *Orpheus*, 1962-4, or *The Prophet*, 1966 are cousins of the late works of emigré Russians Jacques Lipchitz or Zadkine. Monumental in conception, Neizvestny's sculptures were anachronistic Soviet survivors in an age of space travel, of pop art and fast cars in the West; he too would opt almost immediately for radical changes of style and allegiances...<sup>37</sup>

The obliteration of monuments, and the relationship of realism to cultural memory and the disturbing projections of 'counter-memory' were proposed as early as 1953 in Fougeron's *Atlantic Civilisation*. Its complex Cold War meanings could not have been evident to the international public who saw it for the first time at Tate Modern in 2000. In 2005 artist Martin Zec commemorated the tragic story of Otakar Svec and his Stalin monument with photographs of his earlier modernist works displayed on the former Communist propaganda 'Art Wall' beneath the sculpture's former pedestal in the Letna Park, Prague.<sup>38</sup> Lest we forget.

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<sup>1</sup> See Sylvain Lecombe, Helena Staub, *Ossip Zadkine, l'oeuvre sculpté*, Paris musées, 1994,

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no. 403, pp.437-461, including all quotations above.

<sup>2</sup> John Berger, *Permanent Red, Essays in Seeing*, London,, Methuen & Co., 1960, pp. 116-8 (originally published in the *New Statesman*, 2 February, 1959).

<sup>3</sup> `The Unknown Political Prisoner', Tate Gallery, 14 March-30 April, 1953. See Robert Burstow, `Butler's competition project for a monument to `The Unknown Political Prisoner'? Abstraction and Cold War politics', *Art History*, vol. 12 no. 4 December, 1989, pp 472-496; Joan Marter, `The Ascendancy of Abstraction for Public Art: The Monument to the Unknown Political Prisoner Competition,' *Art Journal*, Vol. 53, No. 4, Sculpture in Postwar Europe and America, 1945-59, Winter, 1994, pp. 28-36 ; Robert Burstow, `The Limits of Modernist Art as a "Weapon of the Cold War": Reassessing the Unknown Patron of the Monument to the Unknown Political Prisoner," *The Oxford Art Journal*, vol. 20, no 1, 1997, pp. 68-80, and Axel Lapp, "The Freedom of Sculpture-The Sculpture of Freedom: The International Sculpture Competition for a Monument to the Unknown Political Prisoner, London, 1951-3," *The Sculpture Journal* 2:, 1998, pp. 113-22.

<sup>4</sup> For an extensive discussion of commission and reception, including quotations by Gabo, see Joan Pachner, `Zadkine and Gabo in Rotterdam', *Art Journal*, December 22, 1994,

<sup>5</sup> ...alternatively, `professing a "laical Judaism" perhaps Gabo could not have cared less'; see John E Bowl, review of Martin Hammer, Christina Lodder, *Constructing Modernity, the Art and Career of Naum Gabo*, Yale University Press, London, 2000, *Burlington Magazine*, vo. 143, no. 1178, p. 304.

<sup>6</sup> *Zadkine*, catalogue raisonné, no 313, p. 344: *Christ*, 5.25 m high, loaned by the French National Museum to the church of Arques, the village where Zadkine spent much time prior to leaving for New York.

<sup>7</sup> `The geometry of fear' was how Herbert Read's characterised the work ofsculptors such as Edouardo Paolozzi, Reg Butler, and Lynn Chadwick, British Pavilion, Venice Biennale, 1950.

<sup>8</sup> See also theologian Paul Tillich's *Shaking of the Foundations*, New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948; he would preface the exhibition *New Images of Man*, at the Museum of Moern Art, New York, in 1959.

<sup>9</sup> See A. Honneth, H. Kocyba and B Schwibbs `Fieldwork in philosophy' (1985) and Cheleen Mahar, `Pierre Bourdieu: the Intellectual Project' in *Pierre Bourdieu*, Derek Robbins ed. London, Thousand Oaks CA, New Delhi, Sage Publishers, 2000, vol. 1., pp. 1-27; 32-47ff.**CH**

<sup>10</sup> See `Gertje R. Utley, *Picasso, the Communist Years*', New Haven, Yale University Press, 2000; Gérard Gosselin, Jean-Pierre Jouffroy, *Picasso et la Presse, un peintre dans l'histoire*, Picasso, Cercle d'Art, 2000. Zadkine sculpted portraits of André Gide and Francois Mauriac - both notoriously anti-Soviet - in New York and set up a school for GI bill artists in Paris.

11. For Willi Munzenberg and the Comintern see Stephen Koch: *Double Lives: Spies and Writers in the Secret Soviet War of Ideas Against the West*, New York and Ontario, The Free Press, 1994.

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12. See Michael O'Mahony: *Representations of 'Fizkultura' in official Soviet culture from the First Five Year Plan to the Great Patriotic War, 1929-41*, Ph.D. University of London, and *Sport in the USSR: Physical Culture-Visual Culture*, London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 2006.

13. A. A. Zhdanov: 'On the International Situation', in Giuliano Proccacci et al., *The Cominform. Minutes of the three conferences, 1947, 1948, 1949*, Fondazioni Giangiacomo Feltrinelli, Milan, 1994, with the Russian Centre of Conservation and Study of Records for Modern History (RT sKhIDNI), p 225 (reproduced in *Cahiers du communisme*, November 1947, p. 1150).

14. *The Cominform. Minutes...*, minutes of the third conference, 16-19 November, 1949, pp 687 and 723.

15. The exhibition 'L'Art et La Paix' organised by the Comité lyonnais pour la défense de la Paix' in April, 1950 involved over 300 artists.

16. See André Fougeron: 'David et nous' *Arts de France* no 31, 1950; Louis Aragon *L'Exemple de Courbet*, 1952 and Hélène Parmelin: *Le massacre des Innocents*, 1954, published, like Paul Eluard's highly ideological *Anthologie des Ecrits du l'Art*, (3 vols, 1952-4) by the Communist publishers Cercle d'Art

17. See Sarah Wilson: *Art and the Politics of the Left in France, c 1935-1955*, Ph.D. University of London, 1992, pp 281 ff and pp 352-3 (a source for much of this essay).

18. See Sarah Wilson, 'The Picasso Files' *Tate Magazine*, 2, London, pp. 28-32.

19. For the C.I.A. funding story, first exposed in 1967, see Francis Frascina, *Pollock and after. The Critical Debate*, New York, Harper and Row, 1985; Frances Stonor Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper: The CIA and the Cultural Cold War*, London: Granta Books, 2000

20. *Picasso w Polsce*, Wydawnictwo Literackie, Krakow, various authors, undated, and Dominique Desanti: *Nous avons choisi la Paix*, Paris, Editions Pierre Seghers, 1949.

21. Jean-François Laglenne: 'L'Art au Congrès de la Paix', *Arts de France*, no 34, January 1951.

22. *De Marx à Staline*, Maison de Metallurgie, Paris, May 14th-31st, 1953, first analysed in Pierre Bourdieu's journal by Jeannette Verdès-Leroux J. 'L'Art de Parti. Le Parti Communiste et ses Peintres, 1947-1954', *Actes de Recherche en Sciences Sociales*, no 28, June 1979.

<sup>23</sup> See James Hyman: 'A "Pioneer Painter", Renato Guttuso and Realism in Britain', *Renato Guttuso*, Whitechapel Art Gallery, London, 1996, pp 39-53; John Berger's monograph on Guttuso was published in Dresden only, in 1957.

24. See Frances K. Pohl: 'An American in Venice: Ben Shahn and American Foreign Policy at the 1954 Venice Biennale', *Art History*, 4, March, 1981, pp. 80-113.

<sup>25</sup> Following Cold War presentations of the 1970s, such as *Italienische Realisten, 1945 bis 1974*, Neue Gesellschaft für Bildende Kunst und Kunstamt, Kreuzberg, Berlin, 1974. see Christopher Duggan, Christopher Wagstaff: *Italy in the Cold War. Politics, Culture and Society, 1948-58*, Oxford and Washington, Berg, 1995 Victor Zavlasky, *Togliatti e Stalin. Il Partito comunista italiano e la politica estera sovietica* (with E. Agarossi), 1998; Lara Pucci,

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*Picturing the Worker, Guttuso, Visconti, De Santis and the Partito Comunista Italiano, 1944-1953*, Ph.D., University of London, 2007.

26. See Philippe Régnier: *La propagande anticommuniste de Paix et Liberté, France, 1950-1956*, Université Libre de Bruxelles, 1986, and for 'Paix et Liberté' posters, Laurent Gervereau and Philippe Buton eds., *Le Couteau entre les Dents*, Paris, Editions du Chêne, 1989 concentration camps, David Rousset published the Soviet Penal code in November 1949 in the *Figaro Littéraire*; followed by several publications on the gulag through the 1950s...

27. See *Les Lettres Françaises* for January 24th, 1952; Aragon's discussion of the crisis of contemporary French monumental sculpture in 'Il y a des sculpteurs à Moscou', January 31st, 1952; 'Avez-vous lu Victor Hugo', February 28th, 1952.

<sup>28</sup> See Giles Scott-Smith, *The Politics of Apolitical Culture: The Congress for Cultural Freedom, the CIA and Post-War American Hegemony*. London: Routledge, 2002; while the festival was mainly musical, 'L'Oeuvre du XXe siècle,' involved artworks selected by James Johnson Sweeney; see also *Preuves*, 15, mai 1952. A more concerted push followed: 'Twelve American Painters and sculptors' (April to June, 1953); 'Contemporary American drawings' (October-November 1954); 'Fifty years of Art from the United States', 1955; 'The New U.S. Painting' 1959.

29. See Aragon: *Avez-vous lu Victor Hugo?*, Editeurs Français Réunis, 1952, p. 37.

<sup>30</sup> Kristin Ross: *Fast Cars, Clean Bodies, Decolonisation and the reordering of French Culture*, Massachusetts. MIT press, 1996; see also Richard F. Kuisel, *Seducing the French: The Dilemma of Americanization*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993.

<sup>31</sup> James Burnham, *The Managerial Revolution*, 1941, translated as *L'Ere des organisateurs*, 1947. Aron's pro-American articles in *Le Figaro* (*La Guerre froide*, 1990), together with *Le Grand Schisme*, 1948, *Guerres en chaine*, 1951 and finally *l'Opium des Intellectuels*, 1955, were key for the pro-American intelligentsia. See Denis Boneau, 'Raymond Aron, avocat d'atlantisme', [www.voltairenet.org/15295.html](http://www.voltairenet.org/15295.html).

<sup>32</sup> Alexis de Tocqueville, *De la Democratie en Amérique*, 2 vols., 1835, 1840.

<sup>33</sup> 'Art Méxicain du précolombien à nos jours' had been held from May to July, 1953, at the Musée d'Art Moderne. Aragon published extracts from Georgi Malenkov's report' from the 19<sup>th</sup> PCUS congress (October 1952) in April 1953 requiring more satire and stigmatisation of vice. For the Fougeron-Picasso scandal around the latter's obituary 'Stalin portrait' and more detail including 'self-criticisms' and aftermath, see Wilson, 1992, Chapter 6, final pages.

<sup>34</sup> See Foucault, 'Nietzsche, Genealogy, History', in *Language, Counter-Memory, Practice*, D.F. Bouchard ed., Ithaca, Cornell University Press, p. 161.

<sup>35</sup> From Aragon's *Pour un réalisme socialiste*, 1935 to his praise of Soviet shock-brigade paintings and Stalin-Prize works in *Les Lettres Françaises*, April 10-17, 1952

36. Elsa Triolet, *Le Monument* (Paris, Gallimard, 1957) appeared in *Les Lettres Françaises* from April 4th, 1957, illustrated by Jacques Englebort. See Wilson, 1992, Chapter 6, note 160.

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<sup>37</sup> John Berger, *Ernst Neizvestny and the role of the Artist in the USSR*, London, Weidenfeld and Nicholson, 1969, p. 140. For Neizvestny's later trajectory, see [www.enstudio.com](http://www.enstudio.com).

<sup>38</sup> See Martin Zec, 'Destiny of the Nation - Sculptor Otakar Svec', Art Wall Gallery, Letna Park, Prague, 4 April - 5 May 2006; Benoit Humeau, 'La triste histoire d'Otakar Svec, sculpteur de Staline et victime de son époque', [www.Radio.cz/fr/edition/79600](http://www.Radio.cz/fr/edition/79600).