A CULTURAL HISTORY OF

THE
AUTHORITY
OF EVERYDAY
OBJECTS

WEST GERMAN INDUSTRIAL DESIGN

PAUL BETTS

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WEIMAR AND NOW: GERMAN CULTURAL CRITICISM

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For Sylvie

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Design, the Cold War, and West German Culture

> Even the humblest material artefact, which is the product and symbol of
> a particular civilization, is an emissary of the culture out of which it comes.
>
> **T. S. Eliot, *Notes Toward the Definition of Culture***

Philip Rosenthal, the longtime director of the world-renowned design firm
Rosenthal AG and then-president of the German Design Council, offered
the following comment in a 1978 interview about the cultural importance
of West German industrial design: "If we consider what Bauhaus achieve-
ments and Braun design policies have done to offset the image abroad of
the 'despised German' bent on war and economic power with that of the
'good German,' then we should enlist more monies and manpower to help
continue this cultural foreign policy, especially since everyone already
knows Goethe and Mozart."[1] At first glance, such an opinion may seem
nothing more than unmeasured enthusiasm from a well-known entre-
preneur and design publicist interested in pitching his country's wares.
Never mind that Mozart was Austrian, nor need one linger over what
Rosenthal meant by "everyone already knows" these great luminaries past.
What is so striking about the passage is his casual assumption about the
elective affinity of industrial design and the rehabilitation of the "good
German." Rosenthal's remark prompts several questions: What exactly
did industrial design have to do with West Germany's "cultural foreign
policy"? What was so special about the modernist idioms of Bauhaus and
Braun that they acquired such transformative cultural power? Or, more
broadly, what were the imagined connections among commodity styling,
cultural progress, and national identity?

This book is an attempt to tackle these questions. It seeks to uncover how and why industrial design emerged as a primary site for fronting a new West German cultural order. Rosenthal was by no means alone in his conviction about the political windfall of design. Similar views were shared by many of his generation, particularly among those West Germans involved in the business of building a shiny new industrial culture atop the charred remains of the past. To the extent that modern design was seen as practically synonymous with starting afresh, this project went far beyond simply converting design into lucrative export revenues. Indeed, the postwar period gave rise to a unique West German "design culture" comprising a vast network of diverse interests, including the state and industry, architects and designers, consumer groups and museums, and educators and women's organizations. What united them all was the identification of design as a vital means of domestic recovery, cultural reform, and even moral regeneration. The soaring idealism surrounding design mainly derived from its "everydayness" and thus its ability to affect the daily lives of all West Germans. Poised at the crossroads of commerce and culture, of industry and aesthetics, as well as of production and consumption, industrial design played host to a panoply of dreams about what a new and progressive West German material culture might look like.

To be clear, this study hardly pretends to cover all of the industrial design of the period. It does not deal directly with urban planning, residential architecture, or vehicle design; nor does it take on postwar arts and crafts, clothing, advertising, or graphic design. It focuses instead on everyday household objects—lamps, china, glassware, consumer electronics, and furniture. But unlike other design studies, this book is no detailed monograph on any one of these object groups. Of uppermost concern here is why these commonplace wares assumed such heightened cultural significance in the 1950s. For many observers, it almost goes without saying that West Germany is linked with high-quality design goods—be they automobiles, audiovisual equipment, lighting, glassware, furniture, or kitchen appliances. But relatively little attention has been paid to the role of these goods in general cultural history.[2] After all, West German culture is usually associated with the revival of literature, painting, film, architecture, music, and theater after the war. Even the most cursory glance through the vast historiography on post-1945 German culture indicates the extent to which design—not unlike kindred second-class subdisciplines such as fashion, television, pop music, and advertising—has been routinely ignored. Only recently have scholars begun to acknowledge that

if the 1950s and 1960s marked the genuine emergence of broadly based consumer cultures, then the history of the so-called low arts as both cause and effect of this wider phenomenon may afford fresh perspectives on postwar life and society. Over the years various design historians and cultural critics have taken pains to fold the study of postwar design into German cultural history more generally.[3] But design has yet to be fully accepted into mainstream scholarship, not least because it is still seen as a splashy academic newcomer whose achievements are better placed on the coffee table than the scholarly bookshelf. This is all the more unfortunate given design's particular authority after 1945. At a time when the more traditional cultural branches of (West) German culture—with the arguable exception of fiction—were struggling unsuccessfully to regain their interwar international audiences, design helped the new republic establish a lasting reputation as a vibrant center of industrial modernism.

At issue, however, is more than just charting a postwar renaissance in industrial design. For its rebirth went hand in hand with another vital—if often overlooked—element of West German culture, namely a new relationship between people and things. The look, allure, and pursuit of high design goods, while certainly notable in earlier decades, took on previously unknown proportions in the 1950s. It was at this time that design effectively unseated architecture—the most contested and ideologically laden of cultural fields during the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich—as the era's prime sphere of mythmaking, identity formation, and cultural anxiety.[4] Not that this shift was somehow less political. Governments across the Cold War divide owed much of their legitimacy to the promise of delivering material prosperity to war-ravaged populations nursed on wartime propaganda about the good life that would follow the cease-fire. With time it even became a key issue of international politics. Design was thus invested with unprecedented political power during the Cold War, if for no other reason than that it was often used—along with consumerism itself—to measure the differences between East and West. The famous "kitchen debate" between Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev and U.S. Vice President Richard Nixon in the American pavilion at the 1959 Moscow Fair, where they sparred over the ideological meaning of hi-tech American kitchens and consumer appliances, signaled a watershed moment in the Cold War politicization of material culture.[5]

But modern design carried special symbolic weight in West Germany. On one level, this had to do with the harrowing wartime destruction of people, places, and things, followed by the rough struggle for survival

amid the "hunger years" of the war's aftermath. Little wonder that having a warm, safe place of one's own became the most powerful desire for many Germans through the 1940s and 1950s.[6] There has been much written on this theme, especially concerning the pivotal place in West German collective memory of the 1948 currency reform as the real psychological close of the Second World War and in turn the unleashing of new dreams of recovery and affluence.[7] Yet it was not merely the indiscriminate acquisition of things that mattered; so too did their appearance. As the cultural historian Klaus-Jürgen Sembach recently noted, the presence of modern design objects helped both to offset the material losses of the war and to presage the coming of a brighter world. Such things signaled the break from Nazism's war economy and rationing imperatives, all the while showing that the spell of Nazism's cramped "blood and soil" culture was finally broken. Modern design objects had thus become emissaries of change and redemption, what Sembach calls "tangible and visible expressions of *Wiedergutmachung* [making good again] to all of the world."[8] It was in this spirit that modern design goods were publicized and exhibited in the high-profile international fairs of the '50s, such as the Milan Triennale and most notably the West German Pavilion at the 1958 World Exposition in Brussels. Even if Sembach overlooked many of design's continuities with the past, he has a point in arguing that the '50s was perhaps the most "thingly" of all epochs. For the idols of the marketplace now replaced the political idols of the preceding generation. That the economic takeoff did not really make a significant difference for most West Germans until the tail end of the decade in no way deterred—and may even have intensified—private consumer passions. But it is not enough to say that design's cultural elevation was merely the by-product of the "end of ideology," repressed memories, and the frenzied pursuit of material happiness. The styling of these everyday objects effectively became Adenauer Germany's insignia of recovery and restored sense of achievement.

In largely concentrating on the first two decades after the Second World War, this study takes its place among the ever-expanding literature on West Germany's nervous negotiation of past and present during those heady years. The '50s have attracted such widespread academic interest of late in large part because of the decade's dual role as both a dramatic endpoint and a new beginning. On the one hand, it brought to a close the harrowing spell of military adventurism, economic chaos, political extremism, and wanton mass destruction that had disfigured German history and experience since 1914. On the other, the 1950s marked the first

successful implantation of liberal democracy in German soil and saw the country's full transformation from a warfare to welfare state. In this double sense, the decade broke from the fateful "German catastrophe" of the preceding two generations, paving the way for this fledgling post-Nazi state and society to be fully reintegrated into the charmed circle of "civilized nations." Even the slew of 1960s leftist critiques attacking the Adenauer era's scandalous continuities with the fascist past never quite managed to topple the decade from its cultural pedestal. With time the image of the '50s as the "Adenauer Restoration" was supplanted by one emphasizing its radical modernization.[9] By the 1980s the "Golden '50s" had gained almost mythic status, not least because the period was seen to have furnished the once-uncertain Bonn Republic with a solid foundation of constitutional liberalism, cultural pluralism, a model modern welfare state, and a standard of living unparalleled elsewhere on the Continent. Perhaps the most telling testimony of West Germany's warm affection for the "fab '50s" was the remarkable outpouring of pop culture nostalgia for the decade during the late 1970s and early 1980s, when aging baby boomers of all political stripes summoned rather sentimental memories of what one popular retrospective at the time dubbed the "puberty of the republic."[10]

Since 1989 the focus on the '50s has only intensified. No great surprise there, especially given that Reunification inevitably brought questions about the historical origins of German Cold War identities and differences. In recent years scholars have deftly peeled back the accumulated layers of dusty political propaganda and Cold War cliches to explore the cultural conditions of both rival republics, with a sharp eye toward how the '50s served as a unique crucible for forging new beliefs, values, and allegiances. Old pieties about the respective "sovietization" and/or "Americanization" of Germany have given way to more nuanced pictures of the interplay of superpower imperatives and national heritage, official histories and personal identities. Of perhaps greater relevance here is that the events of 1989 have also prompted serious reconsideration of consumerism as a potent political force. In the East German case, consumer desire frequently has been identified as a major political impetus behind the sudden collapse of the German Democratic Republic (GDR), as the Socialist Unity Party's continual promises of worker prosperity eventually provoked a rallying cry of opposition denouncing the state's political malfeasance, hypocrisy, and illegitimacy.[11] Consumerism exerted an equally powerful—if inverse—effect upon West Germany. As noted above, pioneering oral histories conducted in the 1970s and 1980s not

only revealed the extent to which the revival of consumerism—as opposed to the 1945 cease-fire or the 1949 achievement of statehood—really represented the end of the war for many West Germans; they also showed how postwar well-being and happiness were increasingly expressed in material terms.[12] More recent research has thrown new light on the subject, illustrating the ways in which '50s consumer culture and practices were subjects of highly charged political and moral debate. Pastimes such as entertainment film, food, family, sexuality, tourism, youth culture, and purchasing itself have been rescued from their old second-class status as superstructural chaff, and now occupy the very center of historical inquiry into West German modernity.[13] Some observers have even made a good case that material affluence and consumer pleasure were the main stabilizing forces behind West German liberalism.[14] So whereas consumerism played its part in undermining the East German regime, it was instrumental in holding the West German state and society together.

With the end of the Cold War came new perspectives on the past. Cultural historians have been particularly active in this regard, painstakingly showing how the legacy of German modernism was subtly negotiated and even resisted in both republics.[15] That material culture would become a rich new vein of historical inquiry was quite predictable, given the importance that had been attached to it on both sides of the Wall. Equally influential have been broader trends in international research in the last fifteen years or so. Considerable effort has been made to establish design history as an independent discipline at the crossroads of social history, cultural studies, and popular culture.[16] The so-called visual turn in transatlantic academic culture has meant that more and more scholars are exploring the interface between material culture and more traditional disciplines. While innovative art historians, sociologists, and anthropologists initially led the way in the study of everyday objects, cultural historians have increasingly trained their attention on the surface appearances of everyday stuff.[17] This has been especially the case in German history of late, as consumerism and material culture have emerged as what Alon Confino and Rudy Koshar call "new narratives in twentieth-century German history."[18]

Nonetheless, one must be careful about confounding design with consumerism. While no one would deny that the two are often closely related, they were and are sometimes at odds with one another. This is particularly true during moments of economic crisis. Take, for example, the Great Depression. The collapse of Western "consumer regimes" hardly spelled the decline of design in Europe and the United States—

quite the opposite. The '30s marked a heyday of modern industrial design on both continents, prompting several cultural historians to christen the otherwise forlorn '30s as the unsung Golden Age of modern design.[19] It was the real *Gründerzeit* of design, when a legion of leading designers emerged as new social engineers intent on making over the shapes and surfaces of transatlantic material life.[20] Doubtless this was most pronounced in the United States, but "Depression Modern" could be found throughout Western and Central Europe too.[21] In this case, stylization was a direct product of economic downturn; not for nothing was flashy '30s design widely derided as "chromed misery." Much of this product "face-lifting" was obviously geared toward stimulating flagging consumption after the Crash. But in the process, designers also invented an abiding aesthetics of speed and progress, whose fetching futurist images of sleek, streamlined civilization played no small role in auguring a shimmering world beyond the travails of the present. Designer dreamworlds became even more important during the Second World War. Over the course of the conflict, design was increasingly pressed into political propaganda, as modern consumer goods were often dangled before war-weary populations as promissory notes of the good life to come once the war was over. This was plainly the case among the Western Allies, but it found expression in Nazi Germany as well.[22] The highly touted Volkswagen and Autobahn projects were only the most famous, as we shall see in chapter 1. Given the regime's awareness that consumer privation had led to mutiny and revolution at the end of the First World War, the Third Reich untiringly manufactured images of postwar consumer splendor in order to quell domestic discontent and better bind citizen and state.[23] After 1945 the link between high design and economic hardship was equally manifest in the GDR, where modern design aesthetics were frequently mined as symbols of socialist modernity and future prosperity for all workers.[24] Yet it was just as conspicuous in the Federal Republic during the '50s, when modern design was frequently broadcast as cultural proof of both rupture and renewal. That many of these goods were clearly beyond the reach of most West Germans (a Braun phonograph cost DM 600 in 1955!) in no way detracted from their cultural value as new ciphers of hope, longing, and normality. Idealism and materialism were thus inseparably bound within the design object itself.

All of which is to say that style mattered. If nothing else, the history of '50s design underlines the point that postwar consumerism cannot be reduced to a facile "more is better" story. As Michael Wildt has shown in his study of everyday eating habits and consumer proclivities among

a range of Hamburg residents after the war, consumerism was never indiscriminate.[25] West Germany's design culture too was very picky about what constituted "good design." The ideal was a rational, "enlightened" functionalist design style to best complement (and even help create) rational, "enlightened" postwar citizens. Standing behind this philosophy was clearly the old universalist dream that had animated modern German design since the late nineteenth century. Nonetheless, "neofunctionalism" also derived its moral authority from the specific postwar situation. In a country devastated by war and the crushing shortage of necessary goods and materials, the call for simple, practical, and longlasting design was hailed as the very expression of a new postwar moral economy, one that did not squander precious resources or bow to black market pressures to pass off shoddily designed goods. Little surprise that the prewar Werkbund-Bauhaus language of "morality of form" and "honesty of materials" was retrieved as the ideological underpinning of this '50s design crusade. Yet it would be wrong to dismiss such neofunctionalism as merely Bauhaus redux, since the radical interwar campaign to reduce the object to strictly functional attributes enjoyed little resonance in the '50s. Instead, the '50s world culture of high design was very keen on uniting design practice and humanist culture. The design ware was redefined as a distinctive "cultural good" *(Kulturgut)* possessing certain ethical qualities and even a spiritual essence. This was the concept behind the much-touted "good form," inasmuch as it represented a nominal marriage of ethics and aesthetics. Not that these designers and publicists were at all unanimous about what "good form" was and should look like; the reestablished German Werkbund, the German Design Council, and the Ulm Institute of Design, for instance, were often bitterly divided on this issue. Nor did they agree on what counted as the proper "mediation of the design ware." Strategies ranged from calls for more state control to demands for copyright law reform to stricter professionalization standards to alternative exhibition display, as well as novel pedagogic initiatives. Underlying them all, however, was a common conviction that the design object must not be left to the whims of the marketplace and that intervention was needed. So amid the frenzied materialism of the "Fresswelle [food binge] '50s," there was a discernible streak of antiliberalism shared among the brokers of West Germany's new material culture.

The singular importance of industrial design in West German culture can largely be attributed to four factors. Foremost among them was eco-

nomics. Once the 1948 currency reform had taken effect, it was clear that West German economic recovery now depended on generating export revenues as quickly as possible. For many observers, the early 1950s windfall resulting from increased demand abroad for Bosch refrigerators and Braun mixers was an indication that much of the country's immediate economic future lay in the industrial production of consumer goods. The most ardent advocate of this view was no other than the Federal Republic's legendary minister of economics, Ludwig Erhard. While it is well known that his "social market economy" was based on the trinity of consumer satisfaction, social welfare, and political stability, it is often forgotten that industrial design occupied a central position in his economic philosophy. In one 1952 speech delivered before the powerful Federation of German Industry (Bundesverband der deutschen Industrie, or BDI), for example, Erhard insisted that new industrial design was instrumental in winning back the country's former preeminence in the field from foreigners who "have further cultivated our former successes." Only by producing "beautifully designed manufactured equipment" could West Germany overcome this "design gap" and in turn strengthen its fledgling economy.[26] The explosion in the production of West German plastics and consumer electronics in the wake of the Korean War further underlined the growing importance of design within the rapidly expanding capital goods sector.[27] Numerous industrial organizations and design venues were founded during the 1950s to help secure the place of industrial design within West Germany's burgeoning economy. The perceived significance of design was perhaps best illustrated by the 1951 creation of the German Design Council as a new government agency inside Bonn's Ministry of Economics, for the express purpose of popularizing West German industrial design both at home and abroad.

Second, the primacy of design was also related to postwar cultural idealism. Like other postwar reformers, this new design culture was inspired by the idea of transforming the wreckage of the past into a brave new world of postfascist modernity. In the immediate postwar years, the revived German Werkbund—whose regional branches were equally active in Düsseldorf and Dresden, in East and West Berlin—emerged as a forceful player in this broad reform movement. Originally founded in 1907 as a pioneering association of artists and industrialists dedicated to engineering economic and cultural reform through the modernization of German architecture and design, the Werkbund was one of the most successful German cultural organs in leading the crusade for industrial modernism through the 1920s and early 1930s.[28] Even if many of its lead-

ing lights emigrated after 1933, those remaining Werkbund members in Germany in 1945 were convinced that their long campaign to introduce mass-produced, high-quality, and affordable housing and everyday wares was more pressing than ever. In their eyes, the seemingly limitless physical devastation and moral collapse of the nation occasioned a momentous historic opportunity to fulfill their old dream of design as radical reform. For them, genuine denazification could never result from abstract liberalism or administered "reeducation," but must first begin with the very forms of everyday objects and environments. While it is true that the imagined linkage between the reconstruction of social forms and the cultural "reeducation" of its users was a long-standing theme of German modernism dating back to the Wilhelmine period, the Nazi legacy of mass death and destruction lent it both moral urgency and historic possibility.

Such sentiment took on additional gravity because design was one of the few German cultural spheres that remained practically free of superpower control. Here again industrial design was unique. As opposed to most West German cultural branches—above all painting, cinema, education, and pop music—which were subject to heavy American influence, West German designers patently rejected American streamline styling.[29] True, a few American design figures like Charles Eames and Florence Knoll garnered consistent praise. But this in no way curbed the outpouring of West German polemics that judged the more general American philosophy of streamlining products in the name of streamlining sales curves to be both dishonest and irresponsible. Typically they viewed America's "Detroit Baroque" as essentially a child of the Depression, where business recruited designers to help reinvigorate consumerism after the 1929 Crash.[30] Condemned as wasteful, deceitful, and even overly militaristic, American streamline design was subjected to the same animus once reserved for nineteenth-century European historicism. The 1952 German translation of the French-born American streamliner Raymond Loewy's 1950 autobiography *Never Leave Well Enough Alone* became a favorite reference for pointing out the corrosive cultural effects of American Civilization.[31] So in contrast to other cultural fields, this species of American modernism was neither admired nor emulated as a beacon of progress and modernity. The very vocabulary used to define West German design was instructive. Invariably West Germany's design culture retained the more traditional German concept of *Formgebung* (form-giving) as a defense against the putative Anglo-American conflation of design with cosmetic styling.[32] Moreover, the fact that the Nazis had

openly exploited this 1930s American streamline aesthetic for their own "futurist" political propaganda also helped establish needed cultural distance from both Nazi past and American present.[33] Demonizing the aesthetics of Nazi militarism and American commercialism thus enabled West German designers to clear some political space in which to reclaim their own pre-1933 modernist traditions.

But no matter how much industrial design was used to convey new images of antifascist culture and post-Nazi progress, there were undeniable connections with the past. In the main, these had to do with the former marriage of Nazism and modernism. That Italian fascism had exploited avant-garde culture for its own purposes has long been common knowledge; less well known is that the Nazis enthusiastically embraced industrial modernism as well. Alongside the widely circulated images of Speer-esque monumentalism, Teutonic kitsch, and pastoral romanticism flourished a widespread Nazi fascination with automobiles, airplanes, and mass media. Not to suggest that the Third Reich's infamous "blood and soil" ideology was somehow unreal or powerless; much of German culture was violently purged of "cultural bolshevism" by the regime. Yet such reactionary Nazi cultural policy was largely confined to the fields of painting, statuary, crafts, and representative architecture.[34] Industrial design was never "coordinated" in the same way and even enjoyed surprising independence throughout the Nazi years. This inevitably raises a number of thorny questions about influence and continuity. Ironically, those design objects singled out and advertised after 1945 as symbols of "cultural denazification" were not infrequently the same ones that had been showcased in Nazi design exhibitions just a few years before. To argue that 1950s design was nothing but a shameless restoration of Nazi Modern widely misses the mark, however. The crucial point is that the Third Reich contributed precious little in terms of design innovation, devoting its energies instead to reflagging classic Weimar modernism for its own purposes. On the whole, in fact, German industrial design did not change very much from 1925 to 1965; and this goes for both West and East Germany. What did change, of course—and this is the underlying theme of this book—was the cultural meaning and representation of design, as the very same objects were embraced by dramatically incongruous political regimes as visual markers of their specific political projects. Of central concern to the West German design culture was then how to cleanse these modernist goods of fascist contamination. The first step was to purge all Nazi toxic rhetoric about design as "racial genius," much as the Nazis themselves had

expunged the socialist language suffusing Weimar design a generation earlier. But this was not enough. A new positive language of modern design needed to be invented, not least because most of the exemplary design objects (at least until the mid-1950s) were essentially the same. This was why West Germany's design culture insisted on grounding design in humanist morality, since this was certainly one ideology that the Nazis disdainfully trampled underfoot. In response, West German designers and publicists strove to build a new industrial culture upon the moralization of material, that is, "good form."

The third factor contributing to the importance of industrial design was its value as diplomatic capital. Using design to broadcast affirmative national images was by no means a postwar innovation. The tradition of linking design with the state went back at least as far the London Crystal Palace Exposition of 1851. Yet the West German rehabilitation was inscribed with special political gravity. Much of this had to do with the difficulty of framing a palatable West German identity after the war. The campaign to resuscitate antifascist German culture after 1945 was continually bedeviled by the fact that virtually all German cultural spheres, whether architecture, painting, film, music, philosophy, literature, or history-writing, had been badly contaminated by fascist association.[35] Worse, what little antifascist culture did exist was itself often confounded by its explicit linkage to communism. The postwar rehabilitation of Goethe and Schiller, as well as exiled figures such as Thomas Mann and members of the Frankfurt School, indirectly confirmed that West Germany had few cultural heroes or traditions that satisfied the Cold War criteria of antifascism, anticommunism, and international modernism.

From this perspective, the Bauhaus provided timely political service. Indeed, the Bauhaus story greatly assisted the wider West German effort to rewrite Weimar Modernism as the Federal Republic's true cultural heritage. Its postwar rehabilitation thus had as much to do with its victimization by the Nazis as its 1920s reputation as a mecca of avant-garde culture. That the Bauhaus was constantly attacked by the Nazi press as the supreme symptom of "cultural degeneration," was dramatically closed a few weeks after Hitler seized power, and was then savagely ridiculed in the infamous 1937 Degenerate Art exposition in Munich did much to assure its post-1945 standing as a symbol of "peace, progress, antifascism, and democracy" across the occupational zones.[36] By the mid-1950s, however, the Bauhaus legacy became increasingly associated with the Federal Republic. The GDR's official condemnation of Bauhaus Modernism in 1950 as sinister bourgeois formalism and American cultural

imperialism made it all the easier for West Germany to claim the Bauhaus mantle as its own.[37] Leftist elements of Bauhaus history—to say nothing of its strange afterlife in the cultural politics of the Third Reich—were effectively whitewashed in the West German reworking of the Bauhaus as a polestar of International Style liberalism.[38] The high culture celebration of Bauhaus master painters Paul Klee and Wassily Kandinsky, the institutionalization of Bauhaus pedagogy at postwar art and design schools, and above all its popularization in middle-class life (e.g., domestic interiors, furniture styling, and graphic design) registered the Bauhaus's accrued Cold War significance in helping give form to a post-Nazi West German culture.[39] And even if the International Style most definitely did not dominate West German architecture in the 1950s and 1960s, it played a key role in the Federal Republic's more representative buildings such as the Bonn Bundeshaus, the West German Embassy in Washington, D.C., and the famed Berlin INTERBAU showcase project. Not that the Bauhaus legacy was fixed and uniform. Take for example the brash '50s organic design style generally known as Nierentisch culture. Named after the small three-legged, kidney-shaped side table that served as its central icon, Nierentisch design was an alternative department-store design style that flourished outside the design schools and official exhibitions. It patently rejected functionalist asceticism by openly celebrating dynamic forms, bright colors, and wild asymmetrical shapes.[40] In so doing it set out to recover a different Bauhaus heritage. In contrast to the more austere functionalist dimension of Bauhaus modernism championed by the German Werkbund, the Ulm Institute of Design, and the German Design Council, this other '50s design culture saw the lively individual spirit and painterly innovations of Klee and Kandinsky as the Bauhaus's true patrimony.[41] As will be discussed in chapter 3, the tug-of-war between these two postwar avant-gardes underlined the Bauhaus's cultural authority in the creation of a postwar progressive culture.

Perhaps the most decisive element in the Cold War remake of the Bauhaus legacy was its remarkably successful transplantation in the United States. The migration of the Bauhaus's leading figures—Walter Gropius, Mies van der Rohe, Josef and Anni Albers, Marcel Breuer, and Herbert Bayer, to name only the most famous—provided a distinct twist to the saga. For it afforded the added advantage of bridging a German modernist past with a modernist American present. Nowhere was its blue-chip Cold War stock more visible than in the 1955 founding of the Ulm Institute of Design as the "New Bauhaus." Initially inspired by Inge Scholl, who wanted to found a new school of democratic education in

honor of her two siblings, both of whom had been killed as members of
the "White Rose" antifascist resistance group, the Ulm design school
dramatized the perceived connections among antifascism, modern design,
and social reform. That the American High Command of Germany and
the West German government jointly underwrote the Ulm project indi-
cated the extent to which rebaptizing the Bauhaus served as indispensa-
ble Cold War diplomacy. The inauguration ceremony itself functioned
as a spectacle of a reformed West Germany, as such notables as Henry
van de Velde, Albert Einstein, Carl Zuckmayer, Theodor Heuss, and even
Ludwig Erhard all lent their public support. Journalists on hand roundly
applauded what one observer called "the Bauhaus idea come home" as
a boon for an enlightened West German culture.[42] Given West Germany's
campaign to distance itself from its fascist past and to establish closer
cultural relations with the United States, the Ulm Institute's privileged
pedigree of both anti-Nazi resistance and Bauhaus modernism provided
timely testimony to this cause. One West German cultural historian iron-
ically described the school as a sort of "coming to terms with the past
with American assistance."[43] In this way, the Bauhaus legacy helped draw
the Weimar Republic and the Federal Republic within the same elective
liberal lineage, while at the same time forging a new transatlantic cul-
tural partnership with America.

Fourth, the elevated cultural value attributed to postwar design was
equally linked to the larger cultural effects of fascism. In some measure
this had to do with the curious fact that it was precisely those ex-fascist
countries—West Germany, East Germany, and Italy, as well as Japan—
that rose after 1945 as the undisputed world leaders in industrial design.[44]
While design heritage and export pressures partly explain this phenom-
enon, an integral dimension resides in the peculiar cultural legacy of fas-
cism itself. To better understand this, it pays to recall Walter Benjamin's
famous characterization of fascism as the "aestheticization of politics."
By this he was referring to well-known fascist techniques such as mass
political rallies, monumentalist architecture, propaganda films, and the
cult of leadership. According to Benjamin, the fascists had specifically
deployed these in an attempt to intensify the identification of the people
with the government and to dissolve all political resistance, cultural dis-
tance, and—in the German case—racial difference in an aesthetic spec-
tacle of unified purpose and nationalist mission.[45] What is particularly
useful about his analysis is that it deftly sidesteps the tedious secondary
discussion about isolating any supposedly "fascist style" in order to ad-
dress the larger issue at hand, namely the explosion of aesthetics under

the fascists. While no one would deny that urban mass cultures had substantially reordered European everyday life after the First World War, the crucial difference rested in the fascist fusion of state and aesthetics.[46] It was evident in Hitler's and—to a lesser extent—Mussolini's coordination of culture, the media, and the arts in the name of new nationalist ideologies; it was also manifest in the fascist obsession with rendering politics visible and spectacular. Countless historical pageants, *Volk* festivals, military parades, propaganda films, art exhibitions, death cults, and grandiose buildings exemplified the fascist desire to invent mythic imperial pasts and futures, all the while mobilizing the passions of the present for imminent war-making.[47] The Nazis were even more extreme in this visualization of politics, denouncing all loyalty to liberal political texts (among them the Versailles Treaty and the Weimar Constitution) in favor of decisive political action based on fatal aesthetic criteria—beautiful versus ugly, healthy versus degenerate, German versus Jew.[48] Leaving aside specific fascist motivations and policies, the point is that it was precisely the visual mediation of all politics that forever earmarked fascist culture.

It was thus no coincidence that this particular fascist legacy was strictly prohibited after 1945. In West Germany and Italy, for example, antifascist culture in large measure began with divorcing state and aesthetics. But this went far beyond the endgame frenzy to tear down the visual trappings of fascism at the conclusion of the war. The termination of the fascist era's massive production of nationalist kitsch and "cult of leadership" memorabilia, the rejection of monumentalist architecture, the demilitarization of industrial design, and the demystified cultural representation of postfascist political statesmanship all testified to the radical break from fascist political aesthetics.[49] What is more, both West Germany's and Italy's disinclination toward converting city squares and streets into venues for political demonstrations, together with the fact that their most important state ceremonies—and this is particularly true of West Germany—generally took place indoors before relatively small audiences (to say nothing of the way in which these leaders were photographed), also signaled a studied departure from the fascist ritualization of social space.[50] The Federal Republic's constitutional campaign to decentralize the state, education, and culture was part and parcel of this postfascist sensibility. The virtual postwar disappearance of large-scale urban spaces, the workspace, and the "laboring community" as sites of aesthetic idealism was also an integral element of this dramatic cultural denazification of public life. So whatever one might say about the scan-

dalous cultural continuities between the 1940s and 1950s, it was quite clear that the fascist campaign to aestheticize the relationship between people (really, ruler and ruled) was effectively destroyed by the liberalization of West Germany.

But even if this specific fascist cultural constellation was dismantled after 1945, "social aesthetics" did not vanish. They simply took on a new form. The implosion of the central state, the denationalization of *Kultur,* and the collapse of former affective languages of social solidarity (nationalism, socialism, and of course National Socialism), along with the emergence of the market as the principal sphere of postwar identity formation, were more than just denazification measures. What had happened was that the fascist campaign to aestheticize the relations between people had now given way to a postfascist impulse to aestheticize the relation between people and things.[51] In other words, the postwar focus of aesthetics had moved from the public and spectacular (political rallies and grandiose architecture) to the mundane and private (domestic interiors and consumer appliances), from the glorification of the united Volk to the cultivation of consumer difference and individual lifestyle. It was in this setting that industrial design proved decisive, by brokering a distinctive postfascist aestheticization of everyday life.

It was no accident that the home and the restored nuclear family served as West Germany's new romanticized sphere of post-Nazi moral and aesthetic idealism. To be sure, the desire to build a new liberal state on the twin pillars of home and family became the guiding principle of West German social policy through the 1960s. But what is often forgotten is that design played a decisive role in this Cold War project. The crusade to strengthen the family was complemented by the widespread postwar campaign to modernize the German home as a symbol of denazification and cultural progress. It was precisely this linkage of the family and modern design goods that gave the Cold War construction of West German modernity its distinctive flavor. Once again, American materialism was treated as the chief bugbear. Just as West Germany's design culture had condemned Raymond Loewy and American streamline design as both dishonest and culturally corrosive, these reformers worried about the deleterious cultural effects of Americanized material egoism. What prevailed, however, was not an ideological separation of the family and the market, but rather a new rhetoric devoted to reconciling individual consumerism and family values. Here Erhard himself led the charge. In numerous speeches and writings, he maintained that this very coupling would help counter the perceived pitfalls of American-style cultural lib-

eralism.[52] Others too took up the cause, as the home itself became a new battleground of West German "petit modernizers" convinced of the necessary connections among family, modern goods, and progressive culture. The 1950s thus gave rise to a robust flowering of interior decoration journals, household advice literature, and lifestyle magazines that strove to modernize postwar private life and commodity culture, much of which mass-produced idealized images of the model West German bourgeois family surrounded by modern design objects and the latest consumer appliances.[53] As discussed in chapter 6, this new West German domestic culture was framed by the ideal of family-based materialism, one that was supposed to shield West German modernity from the perils of a Nazi past, an American present, and a potentially communist future.

But West German designers and educators parted company from these other petit modernizers in critical respects. For one thing, the leading institutions spearheading the "good form" crusade—namely the Werkbund, the Ulm Institute, and the German Design Council—steered clear of linking design with the family or gender. Their overarching aim was to popularize gender-neutral practical things for modern consumers. There was virtually no mention of the "feminization" of forms or any real discussion about neofunctionalism as an intrinsically "masculine aesthetic." In general the high-design crowd concurred with the words of Karl Pawek, the editor of *Magnum* magazine, when he wrote: "Since all of us—men and women—have discovered the form of everyday things as the domain of our personal existence, men and women are equally interested in the good form of sewing machines, kitchen appliances, vacuum cleaners, radio receivers, and coffee cups. These are no longer the preserve of womanliness. Everybody in fact is compelled by the impulses of form."[54] In this regard, the universalism that had animated modern German design from the Werkbund on enjoyed renewed expression after the war.

Equally significant, the West German world of high design displayed much less antagonism toward its East German counterpart than did other cultural branches. Although the Federal Republic's household advice literature expended a great deal of energy on playing up the design differences between West and East Germany, the actual design schools, journals, and government organs in both countries exhibited surprisingly little hostility toward each other. In part this was due to the early postwar conviction that the Bauhaus legacy was a common modernist heritage. Across the Cold War divide the Bauhaus was hailed early on as a badly needed cultural compass.[55] Former Bauhaus teachers and students read-

ily assumed key posts at West and East German art and design schools, while those Bauhaus designers still in Germany quickly resumed their design work after 1945. Even the short-lived and loosely enforced anti-West propaganda blitz in the wake of the Formalism Debate—see chapter 2—did not alter that. And if East German design enjoyed positive coverage in West German design journals, the reverse was also true. GDR design journals gave high marks to West German design and its explicitly anti-American ethos. Perhaps the best testimony was the career of the former Bauhaus student and star postwar designer Wilhelm Wagenfeld, who was consistently lauded as the paragon of design quality and integrity in both Germanys. His collection of essays on design, *Essence and Form* (*Wesen und Gestalt,* published in 1948), served as the uncontested standard work for both design cultures, and Wagenfeld's design objects were routinely featured in exhibitions and catalogs in both republics throughout the '50s and '60s. Even more noteworthy was that Wagenfeld shuttled back and forth between West and East German design firms (e.g., Arzberg Porcelain, WMF, and Jena Glassworks) without problem until the erection of the Berlin Wall in 1961. One would be hard pressed to cite such German-German exchange and good will in any other cultural branch.

In light of these aspects of German-German Cold War politics, it may be worth mentioning that this project was initially conceived as a larger comparative study of East and West German industrial design. I had hoped to move beyond the surfeit of Cold War cliches to study the ways in which both Germanys drew on the same 1920s modernist legacy of German functionalism in mapping their respective cultural identities along the axes of industry and culture. From the early 1950s on, both East and West Germany invested their respective design cultures with comparable economic importance and cultural prestige in the mutual rush toward full industrialization. They even produced relatively similar institutional structures and functionalist design products, quite free of either Soviet or American (design) influence. Circumstances, however, impeded this systematic comparison. The primary difficulty was that the Amt für industrielle Formgestaltung, the GDR's own government-created Industrial Design Agency responsible for promoting the cause of modern design, closed its doors after Reunification. Its archive was first reopened in the summer of 1995 as part of the new Institute for Product Design in East Berlin's Kulturbrauerei. But by then, my perspective had changed as closer inspection made plain just how different these design cultures were from

one another.[56] While I take up some aspects of East German design and aesthetics in chapters 2 and 6, and briefly elsewhere, these are only preliminary sketches.[57] To attempt a full analysis of these complex, contradictory, and radically incongruous Cold War design cultures would have doubled the size of an already lengthy book.

For this history of West German design, I have made use of a wide range of sources and documents. Included among them are the papers of various government, economic, and cultural agencies; design school records; exhibition catalogs; design and cultural journals; design firm archives; state and regional archival holdings; cultural criticism; household advice literature; advertising; and product photography, as well as private collections and personal interviews. Not that this was so straightforward as it may appear. Anyone engaged in this sort of material culture project is forced to confront a paradoxical axiom: those things that are most manufactured disappear the fastest. The speed and scale with which these everyday consumer things are produced has largely discouraged cultural collection and re-collection. Unlike the fields of literature, architecture, and painting, whose cultural products are meticulously saved and neatly catalogued for posterity as precious cultural documents—and are often traded for staggering sums—industrial design has not received the same archival respect. This is apparently what separates "high" from "low" culture, as economic value generally translates into cultural value. More, these everyday consumer objects were rarely designed, produced, or perceived as long-term cultural relics, making their stories challenging to write. The designers (if known) generally left little documentation of stylistic strategies; the business firms (if they still exist) have long since discarded their paperwork; and the purchasers (if available) provide little more than hazy consumer reminiscences. The difficulty of ascertaining why consumers consume certain products and not others, to say nothing of how they understand and use them, is not just the problem of marketing departments. It effectively represents a sobering epistemological limit for all historians of material culture.

In light of these issues, it seemed to make little sense to arrange the book chronologically. To a great extent this is because of the tremendous dilation of design as a new social and cultural phenomenon in the 1950s. In the Weimar Republic the modern design crusade essentially emanated from a few design schools, firms, journals, and organizations. In the Third Reich design was very much tied to the state and can be tracked through state archives and official cultural organs. By the '50s this design world exploded in all directions, and no longer radiated from such clearly

defined centers. It became enmeshed in the feverish spread of West German consumerism and the general desire to redesign everything anew. Thus, in order to keep this history from dissolving into a shapeless treatment of '50s "mass culture," I have chosen to organize the book around certain institutional stories and broad thematic concerns as sturdy pegs on which to hang the larger narrative.

Chapter 1 explores the place of industrial design within the Third Reich and the changed role and meaning of everyday design wares after 1933. Three pivotal design organizations—the German Werkbund, Albert Speer's Beauty of Labor Bureau (Amt Schönheit der Arbeit), and the long-neglected Kunst-Dienst—are analyzed as case studies of how "re-enchanting" the everyday commodity assumed such scope and gravity within Nazi culture. Chapter 2 then moves on to the post-1945 career of the famed Werkbund. Its reestablishment in 1947 was significant not only because it represented a certain revival of Weimar Modernism, but also because it was the only West German design institution with a pre-1945 history. Its postwar story thus neatly illustrated the particular problems inherent in renegotiating the damaged legacy of German industrial modernism after 1945. Chapter 3 looks at the Nierentisch design world and the reasons this design captured the decade, as evidenced by its strong presence both in '50s everyday life and in the memories of West Germans a generation later. This '50s "alternative" design throws new light on West German modernism, not least because it stimulated engaged discussion about the very form of a progressive, post-Nazi commodity culture. Chapter 4 goes on to examine the career of the Ulm Institute of Design, which was with great publicity christened as the "New Bauhaus" in 1955. Of particular interest here is the school's effort to "modernize" the Bauhaus's humanist legacy as well as to rethink the social meaning of both aesthetics and the design object in modern industrial society. Chapter 5 chronicles the story of the German Design Council and the perceived Cold War linkages among liberalism, the state, and modern design. How the council helped showcase a new internationally oriented cultural identity is a key dimension of this chapter, but equally relevant are the council's efforts to reconcile culture and commerce through such novel initiatives as copyright reform and increased professionalization. Chapter 6 examines the role of design elsewhere in West German culture, most notably among those petit modernizers interested in wedding modern design with the modern family. The chapter focuses specifically on how domestic space was reimagined during the decade and how this in turn dovetailed with the larger reorganization of "social aesthetics" after 1945. How and why

industrial design rested at the heart of this post-Nazi negotiation of political aesthetics and the private good are the central concerns here. Finally, the conclusion examines the demise of this design culture, and finishes by discussing the place '50s design has held in West German cultural memory ever since.

In plotting the rise and fall of this postwar design culture, I have attempted to uncover one of the long-forgotten spheres for negotiating a new West German culture of remembering and forgetting. At the intersection of technology and *Kultur,* pedagogy and consumerism, a horrible past and an unsure present, industrial design played host to pitched cultural battles precisely because the stakes were nothing less than the very shape and significance of West German modernity. The struggle to define a proper "Made in West Germany" design style was ultimately inseparable from the more general desire to create a model post-Nazi "industrial culture." In this sense, '50s West German design went far beyond being rectangular and reliable. The history behind these humble everyday goods was really a complex makeover of German modernism itself. Recounting the story reveals the extent to which the contradictions of West German cultural liberalism were inscribed in the very form of its everyday objects.

Re-Enchanting the Commodity

Nazi Modernism Reconsidered

One of the most curious things about contemporary academic culture is the amount of recent attention devoted to what is now known as "fascist modernism." These days there seems no end to the intense international preoccupation with a subject that only a generation ago was routinely regarded as reckless and even repugnant, more recycled Third Internationalism than legitimate scholarship.[1] This was especially true during much of the Cold War in Western Europe and the United States, where fascism and modernism were typically treated as intrinsically antithetical and morally incompatible. What has emerged quite clearly since the events of 1989, however, is the extent to which these perceptions were products of the Cold War. Nowhere was this more apparent than in West Germany, where cultural imperatives often went hand in hand with political ones. Because the overriding task of the late 1940s and early 1950s was to integrate this new postfascist polity into the charmed circle of the liberal West as quickly as possible, the postwar period soon gave rise to a distinctly transatlantic campaign to neutralize the toxic cultural legacy of Nazism. Often this meant recasting fascist culture as a "regressive interlude" in an otherwise redemptive tale of modernism triumphant.[2] While dissenting voices challenged the supposedly elective affinity of liberalism, progress, and modernism with increasing intensity from the 1960s on, it is really the end of the Cold War that has spurred new curiosity about the shadowlands of modernism.[3] That this interest has extended well beyond Germany and Italy to include Austria, France, and Spain only highlights its broadening appeal.[4]

Although it is scarcely surprising that Nazi Germany remains the focus of this broader reappraisal, the degree to which new accounts of Nazi

culture have gone well beyond old Cold War battle lines is striking. The once central questions regarding how class-determined, "polycratic," or modern Nazism really was have given way to less ideologically driven reassessments. Older stories of all-powerful elites and manipulated masses have been replaced with more nuanced cultural histories of ideas, institutions, and everyday practices.[5] Some writers have expanded the story, arguing that the Third Reich's infamous state culture was really the dark star of twentieth-century modernism. In these renderings, Nazi culture has emerged as a contemporary allegory of the radical instrumentalization of art, the liquidation of the avant-garde, and/or the hothouse fusion of violence, myth, and aesthetics.[6] In each case, histories of industrial design have played a leading role in exposing what Peter Reichel ironically calls the "beautiful illusion" of Nazi modernism. After all, these histories were among the first to attack the reigning Cold War image of Nazi culture as essentially Teutonic pastoralism, Speer-esque monumentalism, and/or "blood and soil" reaction by recalling the Third Reich's widespread enthusiasm for automobiles, airplanes, and modern consumer gadgets.[7] In so doing design studies helped enlarge the picture of Nazi material culture beyond "Home Sweet Heimat," while at the same time shedding light on its surprising continuities with both the 1920s and the 1950s.[8] In large measure this was because design was barely affected by Nazi *Gleichschaltung,* or policy of coordination. Unlike other cultural spheres, it remained uniquely pro-modern in both rhetoric and styling from the very beginning. As such, design served as a crucial site for mass-producing German "fascist modernism."

Nevertheless, the subject of Nazi design is a delicate business. Much of the problem pivots on the very ubiquity of design itself in Nazi Germany. What first appears as a flippant question is on closer inspection deadly serious: what ultimately did not count as industrial aesthetics in the Third Reich? Certainly mass political rallies, monumentalist architecture, propaganda films, *Thing* theaters, street parades, and radio broadcasts are commonly cited as part of the well-known catalog of Nazi cultural tools and techniques. But could it not be argued with equal validity that yellow stars, Gothic script, Iron Cross medallions, eugenics, concentration camp architecture, the V-2, the bureaucratic "death speak" of organized mass killing, and even the "Final Solution" itself were also expressions of the industrial design of Nazi ideology? If so, this raises thorny methodological issues. For it is one thing to say that all aesthetics were political, but quite another to somehow discern the sound of jackboots, sirens, and Panzer divisions in every exhibition vitrine. In other words, what

exactly was the relationship between commodity design and the regime? This chapter tries to tackle that question. In it I do not aspire to isolate the specific properties of "fascist aesthetics," nor do I simply chronicle the presence of Weimar modernism in the Third Reich. The aim, rather, is to address the changed role and meaning of everyday design wares after 1933. To this end, three key design organizations—the German Werkbund, Albert Speer's Beauty of Labor Bureau (Amt Schönheit der Arbeit), and the long-forgotten Kunst-Dienst, or "Art Service"—will be analyzed as revealing case studies of the Third Reich's aestheticization of politics. More than offering merely abstracted mini-institutional histories, this chapter explores how and why the broad initiative to "re-enchant" the everyday commodity assumed such scope and gravity within Nazi culture.

"German Everyday Life Shall Be Beautiful"

To understand the complex career of modern design during the Third Reich, it is best to start with the German Werkbund on the eve of the Nazi takeover. This is instructive, not least because of the Werkbund's preeminent stature as one of the main brokers of twentieth-century modernism. Originally founded in 1907 as a pioneering association of artists and industrialists intent on engineering cultural reform through the redesign of everyday household objects, the Werkbund was among Germany's most important cultural organs in the crusade for modern functionalist architecture and design. The venerated Bauhaus was inconceivable without it, for the Bauhaus's principal figures and ideas were plainly Werkbund products. The roster of those responsible for shaping Werkbund history from its Wilhelmine beginnings to its heyday in the Weimar Republic—including Hermann Muthesius, Henry van de Velde, Walter Gropius, Hans Poelzig, Martin Wagner, Wilhelm Wagenfeld, and Mies van der Rohe—attests to its unassailable place within the broader history of European avant-garde culture. Not that the Werkbund did not change along the way. Its Weimar reincarnation, for instance, was quite a departure from its Wilhelmine predecessor. The pre-1914 emphasis on the moral and educational value of everyday objects gave way to an expanded and more radicalized conception of design after 1918. Public housing and urban planning became the top concerns of the Weimar Werkbund, and its Neues Bauen architects emerged as the group's chief spokesmen. Through the late 1920s the Werkbund was at the leading

edge of international architecture and housing design. Nowhere was this more apparent than in the landmark 1927 Weißenhofsiedlung show in Stuttgart, where a range of leading European modern architects took part in the Werkbund's high-profile showcase exhibition of innovative housing prototypes.[9]

Everything changed with the onset of the Depression, however. Building construction all but came to a standstill; commissions were canceled and projects shelved.[10] State and municipal government support virtually evaporated, since politicians and bankers were no longer keen to underwrite architectural experiments amid such financial hardship.[11] The crisis was not confined to dwindling funds; equally important was that the Depression severely damaged Germany's brimming confidence in a brave new world of industrial civilization. The 1920s German love affair with rationalization, Fordism, and American-style modernity was badly shaken.[12] The Werkbund had been closely associated with this vision of industrialism and now suffered the consequences. In the span of a few short years, it suddenly found itself isolated and financially strapped, having lost its former patronage and its lease on the future. More conservative Werkbund members were quick to charge that its problems mainly stemmed from the fact that it had become unduly beholden to the political ideals of a cabal of left-wing architects.[13] To make things worse, the Werkbund had become a combustible political issue in mainstream German culture. Throughout the Weimar Republic the Werkbund had provoked the ire of cultural conservatives. Traditional architects (especially those associated with Der Ring) fulminated against the Werkbund's "mousetrap modernism" in their journals and publications, accusing it of subverting good traditional architecture in the name of "internationalism" and alien design principles. Other publicists and cultural critics denounced it as a dangerous affront against German artisan and Volk culture. Alfred Rosenberg's Kampfbund für deutsche Kultur (Combat League for German Culture), the notorious Nazi organization dedicated to restoring a more "harmonious" German culture in the face of "Marxist-Jewish" modernity, also targeted the Werkbund as a particularly menacing manifestation of Weimar cultural degeneration.[14] Moreover, the Werkbund was under attack from the radical left as well. By the early 1930s, its once solid backing from trade unions and socialist organizations had evaporated. One communist went so far as to tar the formerly exalted Werkbund as a band of "useless aesthetes" oblivious to the real needs of the masses and the greater cause of the proletariat revolution.[15] The growing politicization of architecture from both sides after 1930 ef-

fectively vitiated the Werkbund's former cultural authority and consensual spirit.

In response, the Werkbund set out to improve its besieged public image. At first it hoped to defuse right-wing attacks through a series of conciliatory gestures. At the 1932 Werkbund exhibition in Vienna, for instance, the long-standing crusade for functionalist worker housing models was abandoned in favor of moderate suburban residences more in keeping with middle-class tastes. The following year it planned an exhibition called "German Wood," designed to stem complaints about its advocacy of "non-German" materials such as glass and steel.[16] Yet these actions all bore little fruit, as the Werkbund's financial troubles deepened. In an eleventh-hour rescue plan to stave off institutional collapse, the Werkbund turned to the right. In part this was because it was convinced that a Nazi victory at the 1933 polls was inevitable and that the best survival strategy thus lay in establishing good relations with the new regime.[17] The Third Reich's brutal closure of the Bauhaus shortly after taking power perfectly illustrated the price of intransigence. In early 1933 the Werkbund sent a letter to Paul Schultze-Naumburg at the Kampfbund, proposing a possible Werkbund-Kampfbund merger. What at first seems like an unconscionable overture to its ideological archenemy makes more sense once we recall that many of the chief Kampfbund figures—including Schultze-Naumburg and Paul Schmitthenner—had been Werkbund members before the First World War. Though both men later withdrew their membership in protest against the "bolshevikization" of the Werkbund during the 1920s, Werkbund leadership still thought it possible to mend fences with its former colleagues.

The risky initiative cost the Werkbund dearly. Initially the proposal fell on deaf ears, as Schultze-Naumburg smugly replied that National Socialism would never deign to associate itself with this "most reviling parasite" of Weimar degeneracy.[18] Things changed dramatically, though, when the Werkbund's executive secretary, Ernst Jäckh, managed to arrange a meeting with none other than Rosenberg and Hitler on the subject of the Werkbund's proposed cooperation. After several hours of negotiation, they reached a compromise: the Werkbund would be permitted to maintain its formal existence, but solely on the condition that it surrender ultimate control to the Kampfbund's executive council. To take effect, this new constitution required Werkbund approval. On June 10, 1933, the Werkbund's thirty-member executive council convened an emergency session in Würzburg to discuss the deal. After brief debate, the new constitution was ratified almost unanimously; only Walter

Gropius, Martin Wagner, and Wilhelm Wagenfeld cast dissenting votes.[19] It was not long before Wagner's dark predictions about Nazi inflexibility and Werkbund gullibility came to pass. First the Werkbund's administrative structure of regional affiliates was brought to heel by the Führerprinzip; then the harsh terms of the new constitution demanding the summary expulsion of all Jews and Marxists from the organization were swiftly enforced.[20] While it is true that Werkbund membership plummeted from around three thousand in 1928 to less than fifteen hundred by 1934 in reaction to these changes, it does not alter the fact that its long-cherished institutional autonomy had been blithely relinquished to the Third Reich. Little wonder that its capitulation is often described as a sad parable of unscrupulous German modernists buckling before an even more unscrupulous new order.[21]

Emplotting Werkbund history as modernist tragedy overlooks a range of key issues, though. First of all, it ignores the delicate fact that Nazism and modernism were hardly viewed by contemporaries as inherently contradictory. Doubtless this may strike many readers as strange, given the well-known anti-modernist diatribes of Rosenberg's Kampfbund, the high-profile closure of the Bauhaus, and the infamous 1937 Degenerate Art exhibition. Important as these events were, such antimodernism was not at all uniform or universal. Especially during the first few years after the seizure of power, Nazi culture is more accurately characterized as a hodgepodge of old and new, agrarian ideology and modernist industrial culture. If nothing else, the 1933–34 power struggle between Rosenberg and Goebbels over the very substance of Nazi culture showed that modernism was no dead letter after 1933. While Rosenberg greeted the triumph of Nazism as synonymous with the desirable "de-industrialization" of German life and the recovery of the lost Atlantis of premodern German *völkish* culture, Goebbels was bent on forging a distinctly Nazi techno-culture.[22] In fact, Goebbels took great pains to cultivate an image of Nazi culture that appeared creative and modern instead of restrictive and reactionary.[23] In the autumn of 1933 his Prussian Ministry of Culture shipped a series of modern painting and design objects to the 1933 Chicago Century of Progress exhibition as proof of Nazi Germany's interest in contemporary avant-garde culture.[24] National Socialist sponsorship of modernism was visible elsewhere in cinema, photography, advertising, interior decoration, and industrial architecture.[25] Even modern painting continued to enjoy considerable state patronage up until 1937 and the Degenerate Art exposition.[26] However much one may counter that such acts reflected a shrewd calculation to woo skep-

tics both at home and abroad, they were state-level actions in support of modern culture all the same.

This was why many modernists seriously believed that Nazism—its early propaganda notwithstanding—was genuinely open to modern architecture and design. There was ample evidence at hand. For was it not the case that modern industrial designers remained virtually untouched by the Nazi policy of Gleichschaltung? Were not Bauhaus graphic designers actively recruited by the new regime to lend Nazi exhibitions a more modernist spirit?[27] Had not both Gropius and Mies submitted design proposals to Nazi exhibitions in 1934 and in 1935 on the assumption that Nazism and modernism were compatible? Was it not also true that Gropius's and Mies's students suffered little discrimination as "cultural bolsheviks" (unless of course they were Jewish) in obtaining steady work after 1933?[28] And was it not the case that the Third Reich's home decoration literature proudly featured modern design goods until around 1937—including Marcel Breuer's steel-tube chairs and Bauhaus teakettles and tapestries—as emblems of what one commentator called "good German interior decoration?"[29] In this light, the ill-starred Werkbund policy of appeasement was not so unusual, shaped as it was by the common contemporary perception that modernism and Nazism were not perforce strange bedfellows. Make no mistake: the point is not to exonerate the Werkbund or to paint a picture of Nazi culture as a merry slumber party of Nazi bureaucrats and Weimar radicals. The harrowing testimonies of the thousands of Weimar modernists who were blackballed, exiled, and murdered by the Third Reich remain solemn witnesses of the gravity of Nazi cultural policies. At issue, however, is to remember that Nazi culture—precisely because of its myriad ideological contradictions and personal grudges—was never as monolithic and unified as Nazi propaganda (or for that matter, Cold War renditions) made it seem.

The sphere of industrial design is particularly illuminating here. It is important to remember that the design object was radically transformed in the years immediately following the Depression. Much of this had to do with the more general triumph of *Neue Sachlichkeit,* or "New Objectivity," in German culture. Numerous studies have chronicled the formal mutations in German painting, photography, and literature in the wake of the Crash, particularly in the way that they jointly celebrated representational precision and post-Expressionist subjective detachment, industrial *ratio,* and a flight from social relations.[30] Less well known is that German modern design also changed during the period. Generally speaking, it shed its lingering romanticism from the early 1920s in favor of a

bold new machine aesthetic. In the '30s chrome emerged as the design material of choice, refashioning everyday objects as sleek citizens from a shimmering urban dreamworld of the future. Edges were smoothed, volumes were rounded, and surfaces polished as part of this '30s pop culture romance with speed and progress.[31] As Klaus-Jürgen Sembach put it, the era's design strove for "precision without atmosphere, for cool subdued colors, a harsh metallic sheen and elegant contours. . . . Even curves appeared again, though in a very highly charged form. In general there was a total absence of imprecision or vagueness."[32] Yet this is far from suggesting that German design crudely aped American-style Depression Modern.[33] In Germany the dominant design style of the era was instead a kind of softened Bauhaus modernism. In fact, it was during these harrowing years that the Werkbund-Bauhaus design canon first enjoyed its real breakthrough in commercial culture. Not only was its philosophy of well-made, long-lasting design wares specially valued in a time of financial crisis, but its unadorned standardized forms were also often cheaper to manufacture. One could note its presence almost everywhere at the time, be it in the era's department store catalogs and advertisements, in leading Weimar interior decoration journals like *Innendekoration, Wohnung der Neuzeit,* and *Die Kunst und das deutsche Heim,* or in more commercial German retail journals such as *Die Schaulade* and *Schaufenster.* So while modern German architecture stalled in the face of the Depression and mounting ideological reaction, modern design experienced surprising success after 1929.

Yet its victory came at a certain price. For the triumph of modern design went hand in hand with the disappearance of its former reform idealism. The once powerful political pathos of functionalism had given way to a severe Neue Sachlichkeit divorced from any real social vision.[34] Not only did the Depression knock the wind out of the leftist dream of reconstituting everything "from the spoon to the city" as a project of social engineering, the interwar linkage of modern design with social justice had collapsed as well. Modern design goods were now recast as new Depression Era markers of coveted cultural capital and social elitism. There was of course a strong element of elitism in interwar modern design all along, but it was usually connected to a larger program of social betterment for all classes. The social(ist) dimension abruptly dropped out of the picture. Ironically, it was the crisis of economic liberalism that brought about the "liberalization" (in this case, the social deradicalization) of modern design.[35] And it was precisely the prospect of the "unmediated" cultural object—that is, the design object abandoned to mar-

ket forces—that vexed the Werkbund so. Not that such antiliberalism was really unusual; many other cultural organizations also called for "neocorporatist" solutions to help mitigate the effects of unregulated capitalism on Germany's fine and applied arts.[36] This was why groups like the Werkbund were so distraught about having lost state and municipal patronage, and why Nazi promises of antiliberal economic and cultural order were particularly appealing. As Alan Steinweis has argued, the "National Socialist-dominated government succeeded in harnessing the neocorporatist aspirations of the German art world" by offering a Third Way "alternative to both the liberal order and the Marxist model."[37] For the Werkbund, only a strong government could adequately redress what it perceived as the cultural crisis of design.[38]

But if the commercialization of modern design ironically brought the Werkbund closer to the Nazis, it also attracted the Nazis to the Werkbund. In fact, the changed status of the modern design object accounts for why the Third Reich strove so ardently to integrate Werkbund modernism into its official self-image. After all, it would have been impossible for Goebbels to embrace modern design had it still been associated in the popular mind (and not just among Kampfbund zealots) with Marxist politics. But it was not anymore; and this is where modern design parted company from modern architecture. And to the extent that these design goods served as highly desirable emblems of industrial progress and consumer affluence after 1929, the Nazi leadership quickly saw the potential political value of modern commodity styling. The blatant Nazi pirating of American streamline design—perhaps best seen in the Volkswagen design—underlined the Third Reich's great interest in manufacturing winning cultural self-images of achievement and prosperity.[39] By the summer of 1933 the Werkbund was placed under the jurisdiction of Goebbels's Reichskammer der bildenden Künste (Reich Chamber of the Visual Arts) and later under the new Reichskulturkammer (Reich Chamber of Culture). Those radicals who had not already emigrated were quickly dismissed from their posts and prohibited from obtaining further employment.[40] Whatever potential ideological problems reflagging Weimar modernism may have presented were coolly glossed over with the magic incantation of redemption—"German." Now, the new Werkbund's task was to champion "creative work in all fields, from the industrial production of well-designed mass-produced wares to the grand projects of today's architecture, painting, sculpture, and folk art."[41]

Significantly, the Werkbund's initial assignment was to help root out "dangerous" kitsch from German national life. The Third Reich's so-

Figure 1. Exhibition room from the German Werkbund's Away with National Kitsch show, 1933. This first room was intended as an example of what needed to be expunged from national cultural life. On display were nineteenth-century "Gute Stube" decor and an assortment of Nazi crafts, NSDAP memorabilia, and Hitler portraits. Source: Ernst Hoppmann, "Fort mit dem nationalen Kitsch!" *Form* 8, no. 8 (August 1933): 255. Courtesy of Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

called struggle against kitsch is of course one of the best-known aspects of Nazi cultural policy. Most everyone is aware that the Nazis organized ritual book burnings of any and all material deemed contrary to their imagined ideals of the good and beautiful. Less well-known, however, was that they also orchestrated huge village bonfires of home furnishings and personal effects condemned as the unwanted clutter of degenerate pasts. As one journalist covering a roundup in Göttingen put it, the campaign against the overstuffed, kitsch-laden late Wilhelmine interior *(gute Stube)* was an affront to the development of a true "völkish living culture of the German people." Those things designated as "needless, tasteless, and nonsensical" were gathered by local city governments and "burned in celebration."[42] But the Werkbund anti-kitsch crusade was an entirely different venture. It had precious little to do with ridiculing modern culture, nor did it extol the virtues of völkish arts and crafts. Amazingly, its campaign was directed against nothing other than the sudden proliferation of Nazi kitsch in German everyday life after 1933. At the time there were German merchants who hoped to cash in on the enthu-

Figure 2. Idealized modern living room from the Werkbund's Away with National Kitsch exhibition, 1933. In contrast to the room in figure 1, this idealized room boasted a stripped-down design style more in keeping with '20s modernism. Source: Ernst Hoppmann, "Fort mit dem nationalen Kitsch!" *Form* (August 1933): 255. Courtesy of Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

siasm surrounding Hitler's accession to power by peddling endless assortments of commemorative Nazi merchandise and inspirational souvenirs. Among the most popular were Prussian eagle figurines, Hitler busts, slogan-laden pens, plates, and plaques, NSDAP ties and pins, swastika-shaped pretzels, and sundry beer-hall memorabilia. To be sure, this Nazi cultural industry has been lampooned by critics and observers from the outset as the pinnacle of Nazi vulgarity, proof positive of its totalitarian tendency to denigrate genuine German *Kultur* by dissolving the distinction among politics, popular culture, and consumerism. What made the Werkbund story so unique was that it was the only organization expressly charged with ridding society of such nationalist kitsch in the name of a more dignified German material culture.

No better illustration existed than a 1933 Cologne exhibition entitled Away with National Kitsch. The explicit objective was to check the massive commodification of Nazi symbols and insignia after Hitler took power, and the exhibition reportedly attracted more than ten thousand visitors. As illustrated by figures 1 and 2, the show featured two rooms: one a "salon" crammed with Nazi artifacts ranging from Nazi insignia

and swastika-motif tapestries to Hitler icons, the other a modern apartment filled with "examples of good, simple living culture."[43] The accompanying article published in *Form* made clear that the new regime would not countenance such "national kitsch," since all kitsch was "damaging to culture." What was so interesting was that in the effort to preserve what the article called the "spirituality of form," the chosen example of proper German "living culture" was classic Werkbund modernism.[44] (And virtually the same image was reproduced in the piece on the furniture bonfire as an example of proper interior design.) Admittedly, it was a softened version of the sharp-edged Sachlichkeit of the more radical interwar design propounded by the likes of the Bauhaus and the "New Frankfurt" movement. Yet the point is that it was a far cry from "blood and soil" pastoralism.

What made this choice doubly arresting was that the show coincided with the passing of the Protection of National Symbols Law of May 19, 1933, which strictly forbade the dissemination of Nazi emblems and historical personages for commercial purposes. According to the statute, such mass reproduction had to be stopped because it was supposedly corrupting the public's "sensitivity to the dignity of these symbols."[45] Appended to this new law was a criminal "kitsch list" containing forty-nine designated kitsch objects including busts, placards, songs, and swastika-decorated sweaters, suspenders, and postcards. On one level, the anti-kitsch campaign illustrated the Nazis' abiding compulsion to break with what they perceived as Weimar materialism by insisting that its political iconography remain unsullied by commercialism. It indicated that the Nazis were more careful than generally presumed in their overall project to aestheticize politics, making sure that their prized political symbols were not diluted as empty commercial signs. And even if this law was not always enforced, it did point up the Nazi desire to control its visual symbols. The campaign against Nazi kitsch also marked the extent to which the Nazis were more than willing to enlist the design canon of their ideological enemies to advance their cause. By pressing the modernist canon to their own ends, the Nazis had inverted its signification from Weimar radicalism to a what one scholar called "upmarket" Nazi modernism.[46] If nothing else, it illustrated that 1933 did not inaugurate a wholesale "blood and soil" nationalist culture, but rather was riddled—as Albert Speer always maintained—with intense contradictions about the very form of Nazi culture.[47]

But this modernist mission was scarcely limited to militating against nationalist kitsch. Nowhere was this more apparent than in Speer's

Beauty of Labor Bureau. It was first established on November 27, 1933, as a subsidiary branch of the Third Reich's umbrella leisure organization, Strength through Joy, which in turn was part of the massive German Labor Front under Robert Ley. The idea of Beauty of Labor reportedly originated with Ley himself, who wanted to reorganize German industrial plants according to the same hygienic standards found in Dutch mines he visited in 1933.[48] Beauty of Labor was created to help make "German everyday life beautiful"—in this context, everyday life meant industrial plants and work facilities (figure 3).[49] But its campaign to "bring springtime into the German workplace," as Speer put it, was not restricted to scrubbing factory floors.[50] The loftier task was to restore the "dignity of labor" and "joy of work" supposedly missing from modern industrial life. It aimed to recharge German industrial work with *Geist* by means of transforming the workspace from a place of dark, dirty, alienated labor into a well-lit, clean communion of inspired modern workers.[51] By this the bureau would help finally "deproletarianize" German industrial relations, thereby putting an end to the supposed liberal and Jewish degradation of both German work and worker.[52] The many exhibitions arranged by the office, including Good Light–Good Work (1935), Clean People in Clean Plants (1937), and Hot Food in the Plant (1938), were all conceived as integral in helping to "re-enchant" German industrial culture, to achieve what Hitler liked to call "socialism in deed."

At the same time, Beauty of Labor assured management that improving factory conditions in this manner would buoy worker morale and industrial productivity, while stemming dangerous labor conflict. Numerous books, films, and even cartoons were produced to help enlighten German industry about the benefits of such factory modernization. Tax breaks, extended credit, and not infrequently NSDAP strong-arm tactics were also used to win over those remaining skeptics.[53] It did not take long for the bureau to begin posting remarkable results. After only one year, it could take credit for having spurred the renovation of several thousand German work sites at a cost of some 100 million Reichsmarks; by 1938, the amount exceeded RM 200 million. And though the bureau's activities effectively ended after the outbreak of war, it had successfully spearheaded the improvement of well over twelve thousand German factories over a six-year period.[54]

Of perhaps greater relevance here is that this clean-up crusade unleashed an explosion of aesthetics in German industrial life. This may hardly seem unexpected, since rendering politics visible and spectacular
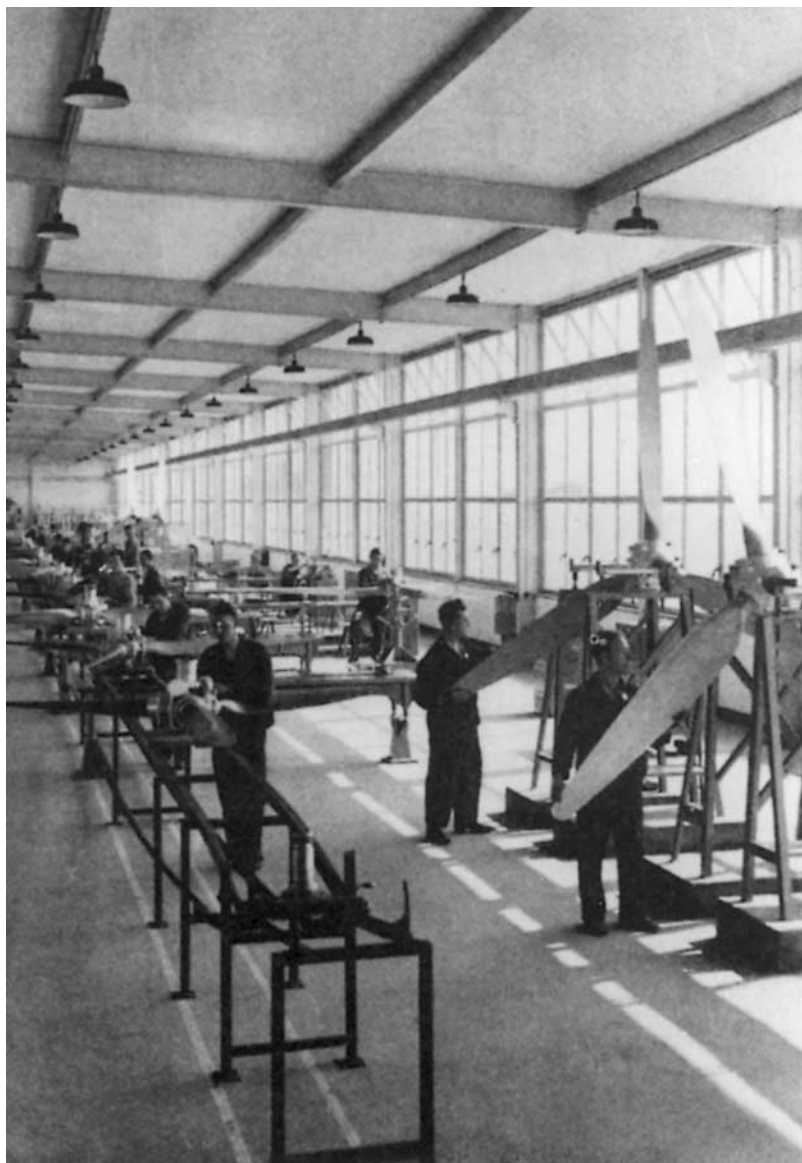
Figure 3. Beauty of Labor factory interior. Featured here is the assembly room of a modernized airplane factory. Source: Anatol von Hübbenet, *Das Taschenbuch 'Schönheit der Arbeit'* (1936), unpaginated. Reprinted in Peter Reichel, *Der schöne Schein des Dritten Reiches: Faszination und Gewalt des Faschismus* (Munich, 1991), 395. Courtesy of Carl Hanser Verlag, Munich.

in the name of the new German "national community" was the very trademark of Nazi political culture. Yet Beauty of Labor cannot be adequately classified as just another installment in the Third Reich's so-called aestheticization of politics. For one thing, the ambitious project to give what Speer often described as "a new face for the German workspace" far exceeded the beautification of workspaces. It also included the redesign of factory architecture, furniture, and canteen cutlery, together with the massive construction of worker swimming pools, housing, sport fields, and gardens. While many of these initiatives were indebted to the turn-of-the-century Garden City Movement as well as to the paternalistic practices of various large German firms from the late nineteenth century onward, such a concerted state-level effort to marry labor and aesthetics in this manner was quite unprecedented. Its distinguishing trait was that it strove to overcome the destructive effects of nineteenth-century industrialization (alienation of labor, class conflict, the separation of aesthetics and production), not by reforming the means of capitalist production, but rather by aestheticizing both the sites and the agents of production. A good example was the way in which the Nazis untiringly glorified German laborers and labor as artists and art work, constantly using the terms "artistic design" *(Gestaltung),* "German quality work" *(deutsche Qualitätsarbeit* or *deutsche Wertarbeit),* and "beauty of work" to describe industrial labor.[55] It was also during this time that designers (formerly known as *Formgestalter,* or "form-shapers") were invariably called "artists in industry." The link between culture and labor was made more concretely when a special Visual Arts section of Strength through Joy was founded in 1934 to help build a "bridge between artist and worker"; by 1935 more than 120 art exhibitions had been installed in German factories.[56] That classical music was introduced to accompany workers at the plant, while flowers and paintings were added to the factory's reception areas, only underlined the extent to which the regime hoped to unite industrial and cultural production. No doubt some of this had to do with the agreement between Beauty of Labor and Goebbels's Reichskammer der bildenden Künste, which sponsored artists to paint mosaics and decorate factory reception rooms.[57] The point, however, is that Beauty of Labor effectively dissolved the long-standing sociological boundaries between culture and industry by transferring factory labor from a category of industrial *Zivilisation* to that of German *Kultur.*

In this highly charged ideological setting, it was by no means insignificant that Beauty of Labor adopted the central doctrines of Weimar industrial modernism. Just as glass, light, ventilation, and an open floor

Figure 4. Beauty of Labor campaign poster. The poster reads "Joy in Work through Beautiful Work Canteens." Courtesy of Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

plan were introduced in these new workspaces, so too was the Werkbund program of rationalized interior architecture and standardized canteen furniture routinely used in these new reconstruction projects. As shown in figure 4, these objects too were seen as instrumental in cultivating "joy work" and elevating the dignity of German workers. Werkbund members were actively recruited to help carry out the mission.[58] What then ensued was a host of institutional and personal overlaps. Not only was the final 1934 issue of the Werkbund journal *Die Form* (of which thirteen thousand copies were printed) dedicated to extolling the work of Speer's program, but its editor, Wilhelm Lotz, now assumed the editorial directorship of Beauty of Labor's new journal, *Schönheit der Arbeit*. In its pages Nazi modernist projects like the Deutsche Versuchs-

anstalt für Lüftfahrt (1936–37) and the Volkswagen plant near Fallers-
leben received continual praise. Striking as well was the journal's unre-
served applause for such well-known modernists as Peter Behrens and
Walter Gropius.[59] Albert Speer himself later admitted these connections.
In a famous 1978 interview, he conceded that the maligned Werkbund
actually served as the model for Beauty of Labor. He added that he, Hitler,
and Goebbels had always disliked the cultural politics of Rosenberg,
Schultze-Naumburg, and the Kampfbund, privately condemning their
"old-fashioned and petit bourgeois" ideas of pasting swastikas all over
buildings and objects as an embarrassing "Unsitte" (indecency).[60] Speer
concluded by characterizing his Beauty of Labor crusade as the explicit
application of Werkbund principles (along with Bauhaus industrial mod-
els) as Nazi industrial design policy.[61]

The Nazi appropriation of avant-garde design did not represent a sim-
ple story of unbroken continuity in German industrial modernism. Even
if the Nazis had adopted the forms of modern design, the ends had been
completely transformed. Whereas 1920s Neue Sachlichkeit (perhaps best
expressed in the Werkbund's 1927 Weißenhofsiedlung exhibition) em-
braced functionalism as a species of worker liberation, one based upon
a rejection of class-based architectural representation as well as on im-
proving the material quality of worker lives, the Nazis employed these
principles to precisely the opposite purpose.[62] Above all, Beauty of La-
bor was geared toward adjusting workers to repressive factory labor
conditions and the harsh dictates of management. This was especially
the case after 1936 when the Third Reich's Four-Year Plan necessitated
greater intensification of labor. The expansion of "worker benefits"
(swimming pools, adjoining parks, and interfactory sports leagues) cou-
pled with the efforts of the "Strength through Joy" agency to organize
worker leisure were not solely measures of economic calculus.[63] They
were also intended to destroy any remnants of a resistant Weimar worker
culture by engineering new allegiance to an idealized and prosperous
"national community."[64] The result was that the Nazi rhetoric about
the ennoblement of German labor went hand in hand with labor's po-
litical dissolution.

The same went for Beauty of Labor's gender politics. Intensified
wartime production requirements gave rise to the increasing entrance of
women into munitions factories. To attract more middle-class German
women to factory work, Beauty of Labor promptly began broadcasting
that the "joy of work" and the progressive work conditions for women
at the plants meant work life would in no way interfere with female work-

Figure 5. Prototype design objects from the Beauty of Labor office, circa 1936. This image illustrates how Nazi design was often a mix of old and new. The object design itself is a clear continuity with the 1920s, while the decoration and photographic style are more of an attempt to give Neue Sachlichkeit a distinctively gemütlich touch. Source: "Modelle des Amtes Schönheit der Arbeit: Folge 4: Ein neues Kantinegeschirr," no date, brochure, NS 5 VI, 6263, Bundesarchiv, Berlin. Courtesy of Bundesarchiv, Berlin.

ers carrying out their "natural future task [of motherhood]." Not only were new day-care facilities provided to lighten the "double burden" of female workers, the decorative and homey aspects of factory design were increasingly accentuated.[65] It was under this pretext that Beauty of Labor strove to "ease the adjustment of women to the factory."[66] Beauty of Labor factory designs underscored the extent to which Nazi cultural politics were far more complex than rabble-rousing "blood and soil" histrionics, reflecting instead a highly conscious attempt to reconcile industrial life with a traditional German sense of *Heimat* and *Wohnkultur.*[67] In the end, such reflagged Werkbund modernist principles—whose central tenets were born of a liberation theology of non-alienated "joy of work" and worker emancipation—retained only a surface resemblance to their original intention.[68]

Infusing industrial modernism with a traditional sense of German domesticity was the guiding principle of Nazi design policy. This was nowhere more apparent than in Beauty of Labor factories. Aside from the introduction of flowers, music, and "inspirational" artwork as common trimmings for these refurbished factories, völkish and medieval

iconography was also routinely applied to the factory gate and en-
trance.[69] Yet it is misleading to say that the campaign to efface the di-
vision of work and leisure by recasting the factory as a "second home"
and its workers as an "enlarged family" was simply Rosenberg's re-
venge.[70] Take the design of canteen furniture and tableware. In no way
did it represent a return to premodern production techniques, but in-
stead revealed that Nazi design was at bottom 1920s functionalism over-
lain with a veneer of gemütlichkeit.[71] As seen in figure 5, the liberal use
of decorative spots on coffee pot prototypes and the mass production
of wooden canteen furniture betrayed the attempt to imbue industrial
modernity with what one publicist called the "German soul" of a new
Wohnkultur, whose "clean, decent, and honest work-value" symbolized
the "definitive victory over the trash *[Eintagschund]* characteristic of
past epochs."[72]

Domesticating industrial modernism also found expression in the pho-
tographic representation of everyday goods. Compare the photograph
of a 1935 Beauty of Labor canteen (figure 6) with one taken from the
Werkbund's 1932 Living Needs exhibition (figure 7). The 1932 image
captures the main tenet of avant-garde exhibition ideology: the rejection
of both the precious object and its auratic exhibition space as inappro-
priate to an age of democracy and mass culture. In accordance with an
era defined by industrialization and mass production, there was a radi-
cal tendency among those associated with the Bauhaus, the Werkbund,
and "The New Frankfurt" to fully modernize the museum space by ex-
hibiting non-elitist objects in non-elitist settings. The small mobile trav-
eling exhibition was usually the representational strategy of choice, since
it supposedly complemented the anonymous, classless commodities on
display.[73] Likewise, the cultural boundaries between exhibition and
trade fair were also studiously dissolved. Household objects were typi-
cally displayed with price tags, while exhibition employees were often
on hand to demonstrate the usefulness of the ware. The main idea was
that use-value goods should be primarily judged by their labor-saving
value, not by the abstract cultural criteria of class-based taste and pas-
sive aesthetic consumption.[74] Beauty was therefore to be grounded in util-
ity, wherein use-value (function) and exchange-value (price) assumed cen-
ter stage. Not that the 1920s were without any attempt to wed industrial
modernism with more traditional German domesticity. The campaign to
do so was especially present in Weimar household advice literature. Nev-
ertheless, such conservative ideology enjoyed little presence in exhibition
politics.[75] As seen in the 1932 photograph, there was no effort to disguise

Figure 6. Prototype design objects from the Beauty of Labor office, circa 1935. Source: "Modelle des Amtes Schönheit der Arbeit: Folge 9: Porzellangeschirr," no date, NS 5 VI, 6265, Bundesarchiv, Berlin. Courtesy of Bundesarchiv, Berlin. **Figure 7.** Photograph from the Living Needs exposition, 1932. Source: "Werkbundausstellung Wohnbedarf 1932," *Form* 7, no. 7 (1932): 226. Courtesy of Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.
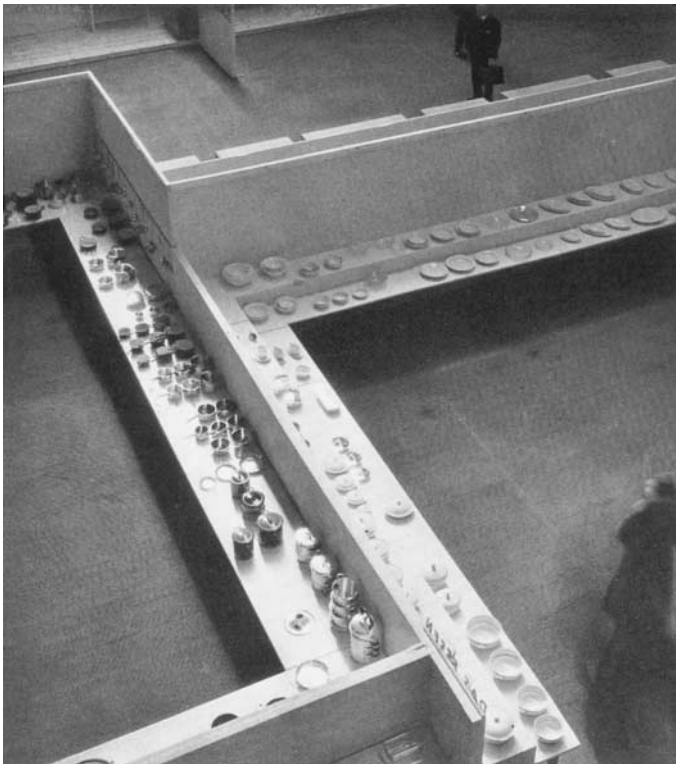
the fact that these objects were above all industrially produced com-
modities for everyday use and purchase. What is so striking about these
shows is the degree to which the displayed artifacts were neither isolated
nor situated in any intimate auratic setting; they were arranged in such
a manner as to celebrate their anonymous factory origins as the very sign
of democratic industrial culture.

By contrast, the Nazi industrial design photograph willfully obscured
the mass-produced provenance of industrial objects. The intimate pho-
tographic representation of the canteen table itself in figure 6 neatly
reflected this inclination. But however much they constantly denounced
these 1920s "mass-wares" *(Massenware)* as degenerate symbols of "cul-
tural bolshevism" and/or (Jewish) liberal capitalism, the Nazis never got
rid of them. They strove rather to redeem these factory commodities as
noble "culture goods" *(Kulturgüter)* by bestowing upon them the sym-
bolic value of unalienated labor and racial redemption.[76] In Nazi design
exhibitions, for instance, the radical '20s tendency to demystify the cul-
tural object by reducing it to its material use- and exchange-value was
replaced by a pronounced emphasis upon the object's transcendent, even
spiritual qualities.[77] Elsewhere could be found similar examples of the
Third Reich's anticommercial ideology. Not only did Beauty of Labor
insist on removing all consumer advertising from the factory interior,
product advertisements were banned on German radio after 1936.[78] Even
the Reichsautobahns—in contrast to the "consumer space" of the Amer-
ican highway—were forbidden to erect any advertising billboards on the
road or at service stations, to guarantee that that "nothing would come
between driver and the experience of the German landscape."[79] To the
extent that the Weimar Republic was impugned for having converted the
German "cultural good" and home into a "mass commodity" *(Serien-
ware)* and "living-machine" *(Wohnmaschine),* the Nazis worked to bathe
these industrial things in the soft-glow metaphysics of gemütlichkeit. As
seen in the canteen photograph, the Nazis were less interested in jetti-
soning these 1920s functional objects (especially if they were cheaper to
produce) than in "re-Germanizing" them with the "lost" surplus value
of Teutonic *Kultur* and national identity.[80]

The same logic informed the design of one of the most famous Nazi
products, the so-called *Volksempfänger,* or "people's radio receiver." Here
the Nazis made good political use of the broad German enthusiasm for
radio during the interwar years by mass-producing affordable units for
all Germans (figure 8). It is well known that the Nazis owed much of their
political success to their shrewd exploitation of audiovisual mass media.

Figure 8. Poster extolling the People's Radio Receiver, 1935. The poster reads "All Germany listens to the Führer with the People's Radio Receiver!" Radio design: Walter Kersting. Source: Plakat 3/22/25 "Ganz Deutschland hört den Führer." Courtesy of Bundesarchiv, Koblenz.

Furnishing low-cost radios helped extend the reach of their political message to all spheres of German public and private life. No doubt radio became a central medium for inventing a new "national community" by dissolving traditional geographical and political distances—that is, town and country, listener and speaker, the Party and the people. In effect it served as a crucial dimension of the Nazi Gleichschaltung of German time and space.[81] But the actual physical appearance of the people's radio told a different story. Its heavy dark-wood housing was designed in such a manner that it remained a nonthreatening, familiar piece of domestic furniture, matching the petit bourgeois "Gelsenkirchener Baroque" furniture

style favored by many Germans during the early 1930s.[82] The exterior of the VE301 people's radio—the model number commemorated the Nazi assumption of power on January 30—ultimately disguised its role within the intense industrialization of German politics and communications. Whereas radio was exploited by the Nazis as an instrument of radical collectivization and accelerated social modernization, its housing was conversely stylized as a familiar emblem of social stability and private pleasure. Like the dots painted on Beauty of Labor crockery, the exterior form of the people's radio receiver was intended to literally domesticate the explosive social engineering of Nazi modernity.

The construction of the German Autobahns under Hitler furnished a similar story. Like the people's radio, the Autobahn marked a decisive step in the modernization of the German countryside. Just as it helped to relieve unemployment by putting millions of Germans (and later forced foreign labor) to work on the Reichsautobahn project, thus winning over many workers along the way as new adherents of the regime, so too did it bind German towns and cities into an efficient network of roads and highways.[83] While these new roads are usually discussed in terms of their alleged military application, it was really their symbolic aesthetic appeal that was of utmost importance.[84] Almost immediately they became favorite objects of mass culture desire for the so-called *Volk ohne Raum,* the people without space. The highways embodied dreams of travel and leisured adventure (especially when coupled with the highly publicized 1937 invention of the Volkswagen, or "people's car") for everyday Germans. Fantasies of motorized mobility were extremely alluring to a generation of Germans who felt humiliated and hemmed in after 1919 (by the loss of Alsace-Lorraine and Eastern Prussia, as well as of its overseas colonies in Africa, as stipulated in the Treaty of Versailles).[85] No less notable was the way in which the highway construction was legitimated in the media. The principal strategy for presenting the radical reorganization of German time and space was that it perfectly expressed the noble harmony of German nature and technology.[86] The numerous cultural images chronicling the ambitious "Operation Todt" (named after Fritz Todt, the German engineer responsible for overseeing the highway project) made this abundantly clear. Over and over again these so-called Hitler's roads were photographed and filmed as the visual symbiosis of field and road, where the Autobahn arrived less as an urban intrusion into German landscapes than as its very cultural fulfillment.[87] The ubiquitous presence of the adjective "German" (German landscapes, German highways, German bridges, etc.) in the massive photo docu-

mentation and film footage was again used to smooth over any cultural contradictions between highway and Heimat. Not without justification has the Nazi Autobahn sometimes been called the "pyramids of the Third Reich" for how it refashioned the imperial thirst for land, travel, and conquest as cultural achievement and manifest destiny.

This same logic permeated less high-profile spheres of Nazi everyday life. One revealing source of evidence lay in the German retail commodity journal *Die Schaulade: Deutsche Wert- und Kunstarbeit,* or literally "The display window: German quality work and art work." Founded in 1924 by J. A. Meisenbach as a specialized newsletter for buyers and sellers of German household wares, the journal published articles and advice concerning new trends in design, marketing, and display techniques. As such it afforded an invaluable glimpse into the workaday commercial world of German design beyond the manifestos and museum vitrines of the day. Reproduced in these pages was the very stuff for sale at German shops and stores (be it cutlery, china, and/or glassware) during the heyday of the Weimar Republic. What emerges most clearly was that 1920s German interior design was essentially a hodgepodge of old and new, traditional and modern. Bauhaus-style design had certainly gained a foothold in German retail, but it was far from dominant. The magazine also reveals the extent to which commercial design was undergoing significant change by the early 1930s, when Neue Sachlichkeit design began to win the upper hand as a consumer style of choice. But it is striking that the Nazi assumption of power hardly disturbed the commercial production and distribution of design wares. Though völkish arts and crafts were certainly displayed and discussed, the journal usually showcased modernist standard-bearers all the way through 1943. Rosenthal and Meissner porcelain, Arzberg and Pott housewares were among those frequently featured. In fact, it was precisely the lack of any real change in design from 1930 to 1940 that best characterized the journal itself.

But even if the objects themselves essentially stayed the same, there were major ideological changes at work. A notable trend was the concerted effort both to raise the everyday commodity to a "cultural good" and to stress the connection between design and what one observer called the "life expression of the Volk."[88] Implicit here was the post-1933 campaign to nationalize these objects, to "baptize" International Style design in the mysteries of German *Kultur* and *Geist.* In so doing German business fell into lockstep with trends in industry and culture. Where these changes became particularly palpable was in the new strategies of object display. While these were not suddenly and completely altered, some general ten-

dencies were readily apparent. Take two display windows from 1929 (figure 9), which received awards for their exemplary quality during the Second Annual Reich Porcelain Week. In each case the 1920s representational preference for celebrating the standardization and mass production of these household objects was quite plain. For the judges, the deciding factor was apparently the manner in which the arrangements' play of horizontal and vertical lines lent these artifacts a fantasy of movement and action. Their novelty resided in their resemblance to a theater revue or film set design, one more akin to a cabaret backdrop than to conventional department store layouts. Contrast them with a prize-winning entry from the 1935 German earthenware competition in Leipzig (figure 10). Note that modern goods were not replaced by traditional arts and crafts, nor was there any attempt—as the stacked standardized cups in the foreground indicated—to conceal the object's industrial provenance. What did distinguish this Nazi representation of industrial commodities was the way in which the goods were framed by mock houses in the background and placed on the makeshift lawn as the very stuff of German domestic bounty. Gone was the theatrical set design for these urban free-wheeling commodities from the 1920s. The objective was rather to imbue the Weimar *Serienware* with the comforting attributes of home and Heimat.[89]

Nazi representations of the industrial commodity were not confined to the metaphysics of blood and soil. Over time the styling of everyday objects grew more martial. Even if the wares themselves remained virtually the same, the arrangement changed. Particularly telling was a group of selected entries from Leipzig's 1938 national competition of German earthenware. As can be seen in figure 11, the 1938 display window featured objects rigidly and quite aggressively organized as a huge ensemble. Both the isolated and individual composition of the 1929 display windows and the homey backdrop of the 1935 window were flatly rejected in favor of a distinctly new grammar of order and uniformity. The seemingly innocent world of commodities now had been penetrated by the same spirit of visual uniformity, repetition, and order found elsewhere in Nazi culture, whether that be Leni Riefenstahl's marching "mass ornament" or Paul Troost's neoclassical architecture. This militarized representation of household objects was also quite pronounced in design photography. Perhaps the best example resided in Adolf Lazi's photographs of porcelain vases by the Werkbund designer Hermann Gretsch (figure 12). Here it pays to remember that Lazi was a devoted modernist who should by no means be painted as a party stooge. He maintained his distance from the NSDAP throughout his career. But like other modern photographers such

Die Schaufenster der 2. Reichs-Porzellan-Woche

J. A. Meisenbach

Über die Verteilung der Preise an jene Bildeinsender, deren Schaufenster aus Anlaß der 2. Reichs-Porzellan-Woche vom Preisgericht als prämiierungswürdig erachtet wurden, haben wir bereits kurz in Heft 2 der „Schaulade" 1929 Seite 89 berichtet. Inzwischen haben uns die 253 Schaufensterfotos vorgelegen, die am Wettbewerb beteiligt waren. Wir haben daraus die hier gezeigten

19 Bilder (siehe auch das Bild auf dem Umschlag dieses Heftes) zur Veröffentlichung ausgewählt.

Es befinden sich unter den veröffentlichten Bildern nicht alle Preise, sondern nur der 1., 2., 4., 7., 9. und 12. Preis. Das soll keinesfalls Kritik an der Auswahl bedeuten, wie sie durch das Preisgericht getroffen wurde. Es drückt sich hierin nur aus, daß wir unsere
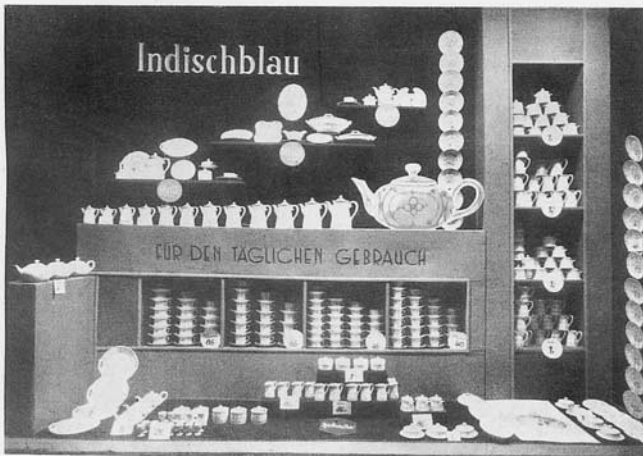
Figure 9. Award-winning display windows for the Second Annual Reich Porcelain Week, 1929. Source: "Das Schaufenster der 2. Reichs-Porzellan Woche," *Die Schaulade* 5, no. 5 (1929): 249. Courtesy of Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

Figure 10. Prizewinning display window, 1935. The back banner reads "Crockery in Every House." Source: "Eine erfolgreiche Werbung," *Die Schaulade* 11, no. 14B (1935): 679. Courtesy of Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

as Albert Renger-Patzsch, his style enjoyed wide appeal among Nazi modernists after 1933. In this case, the specific image effectively softened the hard-edged Neue Sachlichkeit aesthetic with a strange atmospheric sensibility. The limitless black backfield, the hovering effect of the vases, and the accentuated lighting all lent the image something new and disquieting. Unlike Neue Sachlichkeit product photography, there is little interest in foregrounding physical attributes and/or use-value; nor is the product's material make-up scrutinized.[90] Rather, Lazi seems more concerned in giving these common vases a distinctly barrel-chested, impenetrable, and even defiant quality, not unlike Nazi statuary or armored fascist physiques. Not for nothing has one observer likened the photograph to Nazi representations of German soldiers standing guard duty.[91] The issue, though, is not simply that the representation of goods registered the larger cultural preoccupations of fascist Germany. This in itself is scarcely surprising. The real point, once again, is that the commodity—quite unchanging in actual design—became a favorite repository of new Nazi myths and fantasies.

In this sense, Beauty of Labor's project "to make German everyday life more beautiful" was in large measure emblematic of the more general Nazi desire to restore the relationship between Germans and their

Figure 11. Winning display window for the 1938 German Crockery competition. The sign reads "German Crockery and General Goods." Source: *Die Schaulade* 14, no. 11B (1938): 408. Courtesy of Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

immediate environment. The crusade to remake the industrial world as an extension of German *Kultur* was an underlying aspect of Nazi metaphysics. Myriad historical pageants, Volk festivals, death cults, and revived pagan legends were all instances of the cultural construction of German mythic time, while the ideology of *Lebensraum,* the Autobahn, and even the Volkswagen revealed the Nazi conception of German mythic space. What has always been overlooked, however, is the Third Reich's concomitant effort to redeem the German object world as well. In fact, the Nazi desire to unify Germans through audiovisual images of collectivity implicitly included the world of objects. Just as Nazi collective spectacles were devised to do away with the differences among Hitler's Germans, so too did Beauty of Labor strive to overcome the alienation between Germans and their things, most notably their machines, tools, and/or household goods. Roughly put, the wish was to de-objectivize the object by converting it into a kind of subject-matter in its own right. The ever-present monikers "German," "German culture," and "German Geist" affixed to innumerable natural and industrial artifacts during the Nazi period and the widespread discourse on the "spiritualization of technology," as well as Hitler's famous "speaking stones" of Nazi architecture, betrayed this impulse to transform mute physical objects into national subjective properties. Here it is worth pointing out that the

Figure 12. Product photograph, Adolf Lazi. Design objects: Hermann Gretsch vases. Source: Ute Eskildsen, *Werbefotografie in Deutschland* (Essen, 1987), 43. Courtesy of ADOLF LAZI ARCHIV—A. Ingo Lazi, Stuttgart/ Esslingen, www.Lazi.de.

common German word for object—*Gegenstand*, or literally that which stands against the implied subject—was seldom employed to describe German design objects after 1933. Less alienating and more affective terms such as *Objekt, Kulturgut* (cultural good), and/or *deutsche Wert-arbeit* (German work of value) prevailed instead. Nazi photography furnished similar visual testimony. Mass-produced documentary photographs (like those images of the Autobahn construction in *Die Strasse*) invariably depicted the perceived connections between happy German workers and their shiny industrial equipment. Likewise, more high-brow Neue Sachlichkeit photography also betrayed a penchant toward "naturalizing" industrial objects and celebrating the symbiosis of German men

and material. What Thomas Mann rightly called Nazism's "highly technological romanticism" went far beyond the Third Reich's cult of machines or even its effort to marry technology and tradition; at work was the strange compulsion to fuse industrial subject and object.[92]

Granted, such a fusion was in many ways a fascist fantasy from the very beginning. Its origins of course lay in the Italian Futurist manifestos, in which F. T. Marinetti and his cohorts had brazenly sung the virtues of machines, speed, and above all war as "the world's only hygiene." Their famous cult of violence invited scandal and disgust from the outset, much of which was intensified by Marinetti's open support for Mussolini's fascist politics. But what is generally forgotten is how this fascist dream-world largely pivoted upon collapsing the distinction between subject and object. In his "Technical Manifesto for Futurist Literature," for example, Marinetti declares that only the true agitator-poet "who unlinks his words can penetrate the essence of matter and destroy the dumb hostility that separates it from us"; for him, the desired fusion of men and matter could only result from the need to dissolve humanist subjectivity (which always posited an irreducible distinction between the individual and the world) in the name of the "lyric obsession with matter."[93] Elsewhere in Futurist writings and painting it was precisely the longed-for industrial subject-object bonding (Marinetti's ode to his automobile in the First Futurist Manifesto is a ready example) that fueled their machine dreams of modern renewal and redemption. German variations of Futurist fantasies abounded after 1914. The writings of Ernst von Salomon and especially Ernst Jünger ("technology is our uniform") addressed many of these themes in their mythic paeans to the heroic combat synergy of men and machines during the so-called front experience of the First World War. Klaus Theweleit's famous study of *Freikorps* novels from the Weimar Republic also uncovered similar desires among German ex-soldiers to turn the body into a military industrial machine to ward off the imagined dangers of communism, women, and other pernicious forces.[94]

These fantasies were, of course, not at all the exclusive property of the radical right; Fritz Lang's *Metropolis,* Georg Grosz's paintings, Bauhaus theater, and even factory Taylorism were notable cultural explorations of the mechanization of the body during the Weimar Republic.[95] Yet the melding of industrial subject and object reached its apogee in fascist culture. At first this seems to contradict received notions of Nazi culture as "blood and soil" anti-modernism; but closer analysis shows them to be quite compatible. After all, a central element of Nazi ideol-

ogy pivoted on overcoming the alienation of German subject and object. While it first promised to do so in more traditional terms by rejoining Germans with their mystical völkish soil, as best seen in Nazi painting, the focus slowly shifted to the industrial world. Certainly this is in keeping with the change of Nazi ideology following the introduction of the Four-Year Plan in 1936, when much of the Third Reich's "blood and soil" mysticism was discarded in favor of more baldly industrial imperatives. But it did not mean that the fascist desire to fuse subject and object suddenly vanished. It was effectively transferred from the realm of preindustrial romanticism (reconciling man and nature) to the modern world of machine labor and industrial aesthetics.

However tempting, one should not dismiss this all as pure ideological window-dressing. In this regard Alf Lüdtke's pioneering scholarship on German worker culture from the Wilhelmine era through the Nazi period is quite instructive. Lüdtke moves beyond the well-worn thesis about the Nazi destruction of labor through subjugation and terror by exploring how Nazi ideology played a key role in the everyday understanding and actions of German workers. His central concern is to study the Nazi "aestheticization of politics" in local worlds of symbolic practice. In so doing he proves just how effective the Nazis were in exploiting the old romantic concepts of "German quality work," "work value," and "joy of work" in winning over laborers to the regime by appealing to their psychosensual identification with work and equipment, for example, the "love" for tools and the "soul" of machines.[96] Beauty of Labor played a key role here. As Lüdtke notes, the beautification of factories was not the decisive factor in seducing German workers, who were fully aware that this simply entailed intensified work demands. The crucial element was cultural compensation, much of which was tied to the elevated status of industrial work in the Nazi rhetoric of "German quality work" and "dignity of labor." Indeed, Beauty of Labor's successful campaign to modernize German factories convinced many workers that the Third Reich was serious about improving the lives of the vaunted *Volksgemeinschaft.* Modern canteens, swimming pools, and new housing facilities further cultivated loyalty to the regime. Even the unemployed were duly impressed by the Party's commitment to worker happiness.[97] By the same token, high-quality design objects—celebrated as the very fruit of this new industrial work ethos—helped forge vital links between pride and production, work and culture. As Lüdtke observes, the psychological investment in producing "quality work" helped "make one's own worth visible in the form of a perfect product," whereby "hopes for

a 'good life' could be sensually experienced and felt to be justifiable."[98] That these things were made standard in all new factory canteens for daily use by the workers strengthened the connections even more. In the end, it was what Lüdtke calls the "everyday linkage" of Nazi ideology and practice that sold so many workers on Nazi industrial policies.[99]

Inherent in this, however, was the racial element that figured so prominently in Beauty of Labor. It was hardly coincidental that the Nazi campaign to "reunite" Germans with their "re-enchanted" object world occurred at precisely the moment when Jews and other newly designated "non-Germans" were being excluded from it altogether. On this point, the visual arts perfectly mirrored the policies of the 1935 Nuremberg Laws. Such representational separation hence went far beyond the common tendency in the Third Reich to portray Jews as cliched caricatures of hollow-eyed old men, shadowy ciphers of a dying race of faceless adversaries.[100] It was just as evident in the very use of materials. Whereas Germans were predominantly represented in the "eternal" materials of bronze, marble, stone, and oil paints, Jews were relegated to the world of grainy newspaper photos and seasonal campaign posters. Furthermore, they never shared the same representational space, as Jews and other "undesirables" were banished from the cultural imagery of idealized German time, space, and destiny.[101] In part the visual denigration of Nazi enemies was due to the Third Reich's penchant to reduce all metaphysics and transcendence to racial questions, in effect "biologizing" difference in order to destroy it.[102] True as this was for those targeted as dangerous to the state, it represented only one half of Nazism's pernicious racial dialectic. The more obscure half consisted in transferring the attributes of subjectivity to inanimate objects. At the very moment when Jews were being turned into objects, objects were being converted into subjects—with the consequence that this "racialization" of design bestowed these industrial commodities with the surplus value of Heimat and German identity robbed from its victims. In this way, Beauty of Labor's effort to aestheticize the relationship between Germans and their everyday environment (workspaces, machinery, and common objects) was inseparable from the broader Nazi crusade to construct a new "national community" under the sign of racial hygiene and a cleansed visual culture.

This relationship was more than complementary. Here it pays to recall that Beauty of Labor concerned itself not only with beautifying German work, but with beautifying German workers as well. The effort to aestheticize worker bodies as part of a new militarized *Volkskörper* found expression in both the "soldiers of labor" ideology and in the strong em-

phasis upon sports and physical fitness. As seen in Beauty of Labor exhibitions like Clean People in Clean Plants, the "restored dignity" of the German worker was closely bound up with the rhetoric of racial hygiene. It was here that the Nazi conversion of industrial workspaces, equipment, and objects, as well as workers, into new subjects of an exclusive German *Kultur* (German work as art, German worker as artist) revealed its fatal dimension. As long as it stayed on the level of furniture bonfires and kitsch crusades, no one got hurt. But as soon as *Kultur* itself became a distinctly material and biological concept, as soon as the "national community" became coterminous with the so-called national body, the expanded visual and medical domain of hygiene (based on certain ideas of purity and pollution) became intensely political. This was why Beauty of Labor's elision of Jews, liberalism, and dirt was so dangerous.[103] It was not just that light and cleanliness had been reworked as moral precepts. What had happened was that dirt itself had been transfigured from a constitutive element of social life (cities and shop floors, for example) to "asocial" racial groups.[104] Few saw this ominous dimension of Beauty of Labor more clearly than Horkheimer and Adorno in their *Dialectic of Enlightenment.* In one key passage, they observed, "That hygienic shop-floors and everything that goes with them, Volkswagens or sportdromes, lead to an insensitive liquidation of metaphysics would be irrelevant; but that in the social whole they themselves become a metaphysics, an ideological curtain behind which the real evil is concentrated, is not irrelevant."[105] The spiritualization of material things was thus the obverse of the fateful reification of outcasts. By this, industrial design was irreversibly "liberated" from the physical object and invested with unlimited political license and authority. Even if its importance faded with the outbreak of the war and it thereby escaped the literal bloodstains from the death camps, Beauty of Labor nonetheless served as an early site for forging the deadly visual rhetoric of Nazi industrial culture.

"The Pathos of the Profane"

If Beauty of Labor and its design products figured prominently in the construction of Nazi everyday culture, other aspects of Nazi design went beyond the aesthetics of hygiene. An equally integral dimension of Nazi aesthetic politics rested in the obsessive interest in visualizing transcendent worlds and abstract ideals. Most revealing in this regard was the small but highly influential Kunst-Dienst, or "Art Service." Unlike Beauty

of Labor, this originally Protestant religious organization has received virtually no scholarly treatment. This is quite unfortunate, given its pivotal place in Nazi design politics. That a host of leading designers, architects, and photographers—among them Wilhelm Wagenfeld, Hermann Gretsch, Otto Bartning, Wolfgang von Wersin, Albert Renger-Patzsch, and even Theodor Heuss—were all Kunst-Dienst members during the war made it plain that something more was afoot than simply church design.

From the very beginning, the Kunst-Dienst was an unusual design organization. Founded in 1928 in Dresden by Oskar Beyer and Gotthold Schneider, this "free association of people inspired by the Protestant message" was initially created to improve the quality of religious art. Its aim was to help reunite the arts and the church as a means of strengthening Christian devotion. As stated in its catalog to the 1930 Dresden exhibition New Church Objects, the Kunst-Dienst firmly believed that there was a "vital symbiosis between the powers of artistic achievement and religious emotion, which has been wrongfully neglected over the course of the last century." This neglect, so the catalog continued, "resulted in a kind of paralysis of religious art based on the imitation of historical forms which no longer correspond to any inner understanding, but instead were simply mechanically reproduced from habit." To combat this "paralysis of religious art," the Kunst-Dienst strove to place "the power of art in the service of religious needs" since religious practice could only benefit from such "purity of form" and the "quiet effect of artistic material."[106] Yet it bore no affiliation with any particular denomination. The Kunst-Dienst was conceived of as an explicitly ecumenical organization devoted to promoting what its charter called "symbolic manifestations of faith" and "honest religious values in all fields of art."[107]

Not that the Kunst-Dienst was alone in this crusade. Many other groups during the Weimar Republic—both Catholic and Protestant—spent considerable energy promoting quality religious arts and crafts as a key dimension of Christian worship. There was a shared perception among these groups that industrial modernity had torn asunder the once elective affinity of art and the church, with the result that church art (and, by implication, the faith it was supposed to celebrate) was in danger of becoming antiquated historical artifacts far removed from the cultural currents of the day.[108] So troublesome was this situation for Protestants in particular that they published a range of new journals and books in the 1920s—the journal *Kunst und Kirche* (Art and church) being the most famous—to help reinvigorate Protestant religious art.[109] Numerous issues were hotly debated in these pages, including the cultural relevance

of traditional religious art and sculpture and the religious sensibility of Expressionist painting, as well as the need to patronize new and modern religious works. But whatever the specific differences of opinion, there was a common desire to bring Christian faith and artistic works up to date with a changing modern world.

But the Kunst-Dienst stood apart. While it also vigorously championed "authentic religious values inside all fields of art,"[110] the Kunst-Dienst's understanding of "symbolic manifestation of faith" was not restricted to religious painting and handicrafts. Instead, it targeted sacramental objects used in Protestant worship as the very locus of religious reform. If these things played a vital role in mediating believer and belief, so went the logic, then their physical form necessarily represented a key dimension of religious experience. Thus lamps, communion cups, Eucharist bowls, crosses, baptismal fonts, candleholders, altar tables and covers, religious curtains, vases, book bindings, liturgical typography, and even ministerial vestments—what the 1930 Dresden catalog significantly termed "church use-objects"—were now slated for redesign. Beyer expounded upon the issue in a bold 1929 article entitled "Concerning the Question of a New Paramentic." By *paramentic* he meant all those sacramental vessels and graphic conventions used in Protestant church service. This was hardly a new theme for Beyer, who had explored the religious significance of art and objects in several prior works.[111] But now he insisted on the redesign of these cultic objects precisely because all paramentic was holy. Such a formulation was not without its hazards, not least because it rode dangerously close to Catholicism. On this point Beyer deftly parried that the Catholic doctrine regarding the "magical action" of the "holy-made 'consecrated' object" remained "foreign" to his purview. But it hardly stopped him from arguing that religious "performance" was nonetheless "bound to the very material presence *[Verhandensein]* of these objects."

The problem, so Beyer continued, was that contemporary church objects failed to fulfill this sacred function. He severely criticized the "banal usage of historical or modish forms" that resulted from what he derided as a crude "religious art industry" *(kirchlichen Kunstbetrieb)* of mass-produced historicist church wares. Bad enough that modern church objects were cheaply designed; worse, however, was that these "soulless factory commodities" were impeding genuine "consciousness of belief." For him, the requisite purity of religious experience was fatally corroded by such inauthentic paramentic. The task of the Kunst-Dienst was therefore to spearhead a kind of Protestant Reformation in the sphere of sa-

cred objects. Just as Martin Luther had led the charge to cleanse the church of its false doctrinal forms and arbitrary practices, so Beyer hoped the Kunst-Dienst would equally purge church artifacts of useless decoration and historicist mediation. According to Beyer, the purification of the Word, the de-literalization of the Eucharist, the mass-production of the Bible, and the "de-Catholicization" of church architecture had all been laudable Protestant measures to reform existing Christian worship. Yet the actual "church use-objects"—those things that, along with the Word itself, served as sacred conduits conjoining God and believer—were still untouched by the Reformation spirit. Little wonder, then, that Beyer wrote in such monumental terms, for he believed that "a new phase of Protestant history stands before us"; its mighty project was to finally do away with "all of the residual [Catholic] elements that Luther was unable to eradicate himself, since he was still too rooted in the medieval world." Only by completely modernizing those things used in Protestant service would Luther's revolution of the Christian faith finally be completed.[112]

Beyer's lofty vision of redeeming religious material culture now became the guiding passion of the Kunst-Dienst. While several readers objected to his theories as ill-founded and crypto-Catholic, Beyer was undeterred in his reform campaign.[113] By 1929 the Kunst-Dienst had organized several design exhibitions, one on the graphic artist Rudolf Koch, along with two small shows on new church buildings and designs. But it was not until the 1930 Berlin exposition Cult and Form that the Kunst-Dienst captured a wider audience. Mainly this had to do with the fact that this show was much broader in scope, so much so that Catholic and Jewish organizations also contributed sacral objects to the show. That the subtitle of the exhibition was New Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish Sacred Artifacts attested to the Kunst-Dienst's abiding belief in the benefit of better-designed sacral objects for all religious faiths. Distinguished German theologians such as Martin Buber and Paul Tillich were also invited as keynote speakers.[114] With this show, the Kunst-Dienst had succeeded in drawing attention to the relationship between the material and the spiritual, things and theology.

Of greater relevance for our purposes is what this "pathos of the profane"—as Tillich called it in his address—meant in aesthetic terms.[115] For if the Kunst-Dienst's main motivation was that the well-designed cultic object would facilitate more direct religious experience, the visual form of these sacramental objects was a critical question. To be sure, the Kunst-Dienst subscribed to the old Protestant idea that religious art was sup-
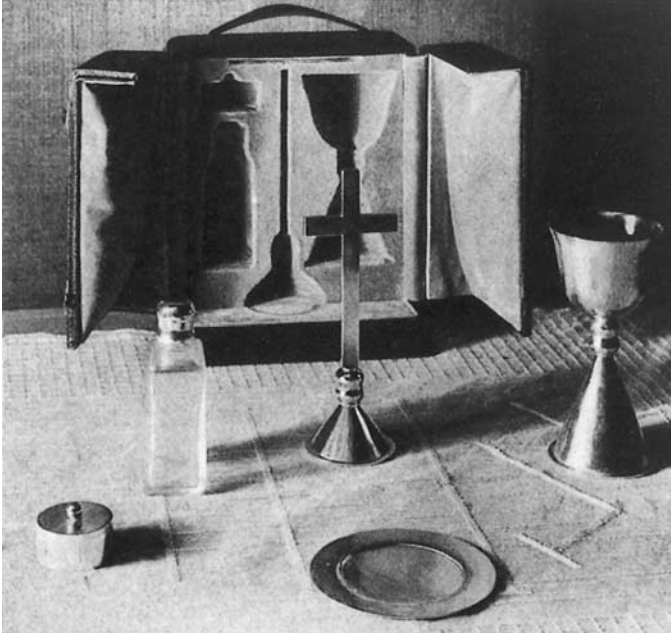
Figure 13. Kunst-Dienst liturgical objects. Source: "Kult und Form," *Kunst und Kirche* 8, no. 1 (1931): 6. Courtesy of Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

posed to be transparent and direct, not unlike the common usage of clear and elevated glass panes in Protestant churches that welcomed the direct and unfiltered purity of divine radiance. What the Kunst-Dienst wanted above all was to create a kind of aesthetics of im-mediacy, as noted in the preface to its 1930 Dresden exhibition New Sacramental Objects: "Church art has the task of representing the holy *[das Heilige]* in a form that facilitates an *unmediated* feeling of religious substance."[116]

But what did this pure form look like? Here the Kunst-Dienst campaign against the traditional forms of sacramental objects neatly dovetailed with the crusade of modern architects and designers during the 1920s to break free of the supposed hypocrisy of nineteenth-century historicist eclecticism. In both cases, there was a feverish millenarian impulse to jettison the stylistic legacies of the past in the name of aesthetic purity and honesty. As seen in figure 13, the Kunst-Dienst made no bones about embracing 1920s modernist design as the most appropriate aesthetic for Protestant church objects. But to portray the Kunst-Dienst as simply the religious version of the Bauhaus is quite misleading. Consider

the divergent understanding of the term *Sachlichkeit,* for example. Unlike its more famous avant-garde brethren, the Kunst-Dienst did not regard this term as simply a synonym for "functionalism" or "sobriety." By contrast, it viewed *Sachlichkeit* in terms of a pure and unobtrusive "object-ness" that best served the purpose of religious transcendence. That is, the Kunst-Dienst used the term primarily to denote the imagined affinity of simplicity and spirituality, what Beyer suggestively called "spiritual realism" *(gläubigen Realismus).*[117] For Tillich too, the affective "power of things" resided in their "object-ness *(Sachlichkeit),* a quality that must be strictly adhered to in the design of cultic objects" since only simple design would be able to release the "true and ultimate spiritual potency of the object."[118]

The marriage of modernism and metaphysics did not stop there. More striking was Beyer's conviction that the religious power of the church object was fundamentally linked to technology and industrial production. Beyer looked to Luther again. In the same way that Luther championed the mass printing and distribution of the Bible as a fundamental step of religious reform, Beyer contended that the mass reproduction of "pure, purposeful forms" would help engender a "more object-ive, honest, and suitable Protestant attitude." Of paramount importance in Beyer's vision was the standardization of the church object. Only this, so he argued, would effectively foster the desired "collective consciousness" of religious conviction whereupon the "common connections of standardized forms will produce a new symbol of a unified conviction lacking in today's unrenewed church."[119] This was why the Kunst-Dienst turned away from traditional religious applied arts and embraced modern industrial design. For this reason too the Kunst-Dienst called itself a "consortium for Protestant design" *(Arbeitsgemeinschaft für evangelische Gestaltung),* since it believed that the modernization of church object design represented a necessary step in creating a new and broadly united Protestant community.[120]

The story of the pre-1933 Kunst-Dienst is therefore notable in two respects. First, it implicitly challenges conventional historiography on Weimar modernism, which largely presumes a natural linkage between modernism and materialism, simplicity and secularization. Surely many Weimar radicals worked to demystify the class-based trappings of *Kultur* in favor of a new universal functionalist style more in keeping with the modern secular spirit of social democracy and mass production. But the Kunst-Dienst project to baptize Neue Sachlichkeit as the new visual vocabulary of Protestant spirituality shows that there were other, less

well-known impulses to marry avant-garde modernism and traditional culture. Second, and perhaps more important, the Kunst-Dienst story reveals an often overlooked aspect of Protestantism during the late 1920s and early 1930s, namely the growing effort to aestheticize faith itself. In this the Kunst-Dienst was part of a much larger Protestant impulse during the Weimar Republic to try to reconcile modern artistic expression with religious devotion. What distinguished the Kunst-Dienst, however, was that the potential religious power of material objects as handmaids of religious sentiment—which was always present in Catholic doctrines of relics and transubstantiation—was now given center stage. Equally compelling was its emphasis upon the power of the visual symbol in uniting believers; the main theme of these Kunst-Dienst writings was that the debilitating social effects of spiritual subjectivity (based on individualized readings of the Word) could be mitigated—if not overcome—by a standardized visual system of sacramental signs. For had not Tillich himself insisted on the need for authentic "cultic objects" that were rooted not only in "the everyday, the present, and the real" but also in common "perception and vision?" And did not Beyer argue that "religious renewal" was in part based on "the living instruments of visuality and proclamation?"[121] In this regard, the Kunst-Dienst's crusade seemed less an effort to de-Catholicize church design than an attempt to exploit the Catholic theory of images for Protestant ends. Much more was at stake than a strange marriage of spirituality and Sachlichkeit.

Yet this small organization changed forever once it attracted the attention of the Nazis. Like most cultural organizations, the Kunst-Dienst was quickly brought in line after 1933.[122] Its subsequent career was highly unusual, though. First, it was integrated into the Nazi federal church office, the Reichsbischof. Despite scattered evidence, it seems that initial interest in the Kunst-Dienst came from Winfried Wendland, a minor player in the Nazi cultural establishment. Wendland was nonetheless a pivotal figure in the Nazi design story, not least because he was both acting director of the rump Werkbund after 1934 and the appointed executive secretary of the central Protestant art journal *Kunst und Kirche*. In his 1934 book, *Art under the Sign of the Cross: The Artistic World of Protestantism in Our Time,* he lavishly praised the Kunst-Dienst project for providing needed "images of collective being" and even appended photographs featuring Kunst-Dienst design objects.[123] While Wendland's patronage was probably responsible for whetting early Nazi interest, it was the organization's potential cultural value that prompted growing Party attention. In 1934 the Kunst-Dienst was placed under the

jurisdiction of Goebbels's Reichskammer der bildenden Künste, where it was expressly charged with promoting religious "arts and crafts" exhibitions both at home and abroad.[124]

But this hardly meant championing kitschy Nazi arts and crafts. Like the Werkbund's anti-kitsch crusade, the Kunst-Dienst shows boasted industrial design objects infused with the spirit and stylistic canon of Weimar modernism—so much so that there was virtually no mention of the Nazis in the Kunst-Dienst's post-1933 exhibitions and publications. The rabble-rousing antimodernism associated with the Degenerate Art exposition was absent. Indeed, the Kunst-Dienst was able to continue its modern design campaign (albeit divorced from its original religious context) without overbearing state interference.[125]

One reason the Nazis granted the Kunst-Dienst so much latitude was politics. Specifically, the Kunst-Dienst was instrumental in helping broadcast a desired image of Nazi modernism abroad. Within several months of the Nazi takeover, the Kunst-Dienst was charged with organizing the display of new German religious art and design at the 1933 Century of Progress exposition in Chicago. The objective was not only to prove that Nazi Germany was sympathetic to contemporary trends in the visual arts, but also to convince an American audience that the new regime was a home of cultural modernism tempered by Christian ideals.[126] The same logic informed the Kunst-Dienst's exhibition of modern sacramental objects in connection with the 1936 Berlin Olympics. The English-language souvenir brochure made it clear that the show was intended both to make Protestants from all over the world aware "of the fact that they were in the country of the Reformation" and to present the links between Protestant spirituality and modern design.[127] Secular design artifacts were also showcased by the organization. At the famed 1937 and 1940 Milan Triennale design shows, for example, well-known modern design goods were exhibited as symbols of the regime's cultural achievements and modernist penchant. Notable Weimar modernists like Wagenfeld, Trude Petri, and Otto Hindig were now celebrated as leading "industrial artists" of Nazi Germany. Such public relations were not in vain—the Germans received over two hundred design prizes at the 1940 Milan Triennale alone.[128] Hence the Kunst-Dienst was quite effective in its effort to reconcile faith and functionalism, Neue Sachlichkeit and Nazism.

A second reason that the Kunst-Dienst was given such free rein was economics. By 1933 there were already a handful of German design firms, including Rasch Tapestries, Pott Silverware, Rosenthal Porcelain, and Arzberg Porcelain, that had established global reputations and sizable

export markets. By no means did the Nazis wish to jeopardize this lu-
crative source of profit and international good will, and thus after 1933
these firms were mostly left alone to continue production as before.[129]
At Rosenthal, members of the Rosenthal family were immediately re-
moved from their governing positions; yet their design firm stayed in pro-
duction, untouched by the "Jewish boycott" imposed upon most other
Jewish businesses.[130] No doubt the Nazi advocacy of Weimar design was
not without its occasional ironies. While the Bauhaus itself was dra-
matically closed in 1933 as an unwanted scourge of "cultural bolshe-
vism," several Bauhaus products—such as Bauhaus tapestries designed
by Maria May—stayed in production through the early 1940s, complete
with the supposedly taboo Bauhaus moniker. Even Schultze-Naumburg,
the longtime Bauhaus enemy and one of the most vociferous crusaders
of antimodernist völkisch culture, was forced to swallow his pride by
lending his name and face to advertisements for the 1934 line of Bauhaus
tapestries.[131]

Such policies could be observed at the Leipzig trade fairs as well. Here
it is worth recalling that the biannual Leipzig trade fairs were the world's
most frequented trade shows at the time, and served as a key barometer
of German economic priorities and vigor. During the 1930s, many econ-
omists were convinced that improved export sales were the key to over-
coming the effects of the Depression; German design wares were thus in-
creasingly targeted as a vital state-level concern.[132] Home decoration
wares *(Hausrat)* and everyday household goods *(Wohnbedarf)* were sin-
gled out as especially pivotal for economic recovery and growth. The state
backing of modern design soon yielded impressive results; by 1936 Ger-
man exports enjoyed remarkable success in the finished consumer goods
sector, which included consumer electronics, housewares, glassware, mu-
sical instruments, and toys. One 1935 report claimed that the dividends
from the Leipzig spring trade fair had increased from RM 250.4 million
to RM 291.4 million in the course of one year.[133] A 1937 report main-
tained that the Leipzig spring trade fair that year attracted over 260,000
visitors and tallied RM 495 million, RM 65 million of which was made
in the export sales of household consumer durables.[134] The introduction
of the Four-Year Plan in 1936 rendered modern design even more cen-
tral to Nazi economics. Given the increasing rationing of metal, concrete,
and wood into weapons production and building construction, the con-
sumer goods sectors of porcelain, glass, and synthetics industries became
especially precious sources of German economic strength.[135] Indeed, it
was precisely because of export value and the use of nonmilitary mate-

rials that glass, ceramic, and porcelain manufacturers enjoyed such un-usual stylistic latitude and cultural prestige throughout the Nazi period.

The 1939 declaration of war further elevated the political and eco-nomic value of modern design goods. Once the Allied blockade had taken effect, the focus on design as a key state interest was again intensified. Goebbels himself sounded the alarm about raising exports and produc-tion levels by delivering the inauguration speech at the opening of the 1939, 1940, and 1941 Leipzig fairs, now renamed the "war fair" *(Kriegs-messe)*. He and others were convinced that the established international reputation of German design firms meant that modern design could help German business recoup their export losses during the war.[136] Wartime reports boasted great success in this regard. One went so far as to say that the German glass, porcelain, and ceramics industries actually dou-bled production from 1938 to 1940. Another 1939 report claimed that the fair grossed around RM 840 million, 57 percent better than the pre-vious year. Fifty-five percent of those selling household goods reported that they had made the same or more in sales as in 1938.[137] Keeping in mind that precise information about export statistics is relatively scarce and was often altered for propaganda reasons, it can still be safely said that modern design played a significant role in the first few years of Nazi Germany's wartime economy.[138]

The political and economic aspects of modern design in the Third Reich were nowhere more present than in the 1939 publication of the goods catalog, the German *Warenkunde*. This was a joint project by the Kunst-Dienst and Goebbels's Reichskammer der bildenden Künste.[139] Two Kunst-Dienst members, Hugo Kükelhaus and Stephan Hirzel, organized the 1,700-page catalog as a kind of loose-leaf picture encyclopedia of those German industrial products that best captured the "spiritual qual-ity and dignity" of German design.[140] It was divided into sixty-one com-modity categories such as dishes, stools, cutlery, office and garden fur-niture, tapestries, kitchen equipment, ovens, jewelry, watches, musical instruments, and even vacation souvenirs. Each page featured a picture of the product along with background information about its producer and designer and facts about material, size, and price. The catalog was subsidized by the Ministry of Culture and distributed to German indus-trialists and retailers as guidelines during wartime production.[141] At the same time, it was designed to stimulate German export sales abroad.[142] The *Warenkunde*'s conspicuously apolitical language was clearly drafted so as not to offend foreign buyers. Those goods chosen for the 1939 *Warenkunde* were unmistakably indebted to Weimar modernism. In it
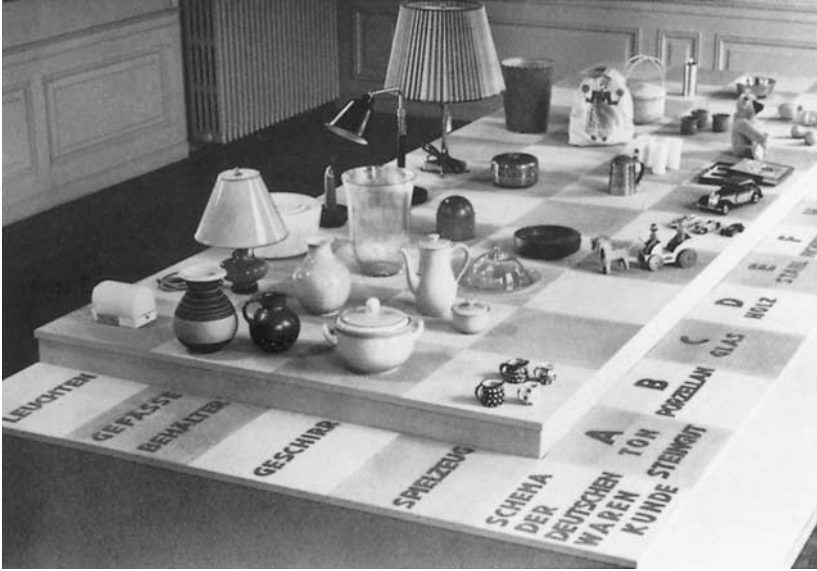
Figure 14. Kunst-Dienst exhibit for *Deutscher Warenkunde,* 1939. The words across the left side denote object categories, such as lamps, dishware, and toys, while those across the bottom are for materials, such as stoneware, porcelain, glass, wood, and the like. Source: *Kunst-Dienst: Ein Arbeitsbericht* (1941 pamphlet), 21. Courtesy of Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

Gretsch crockery, von Wersin tableware, Bauhaus lamps, Wagenfeld glasswork, Thonet chairs, and Ferdinand Kramer ovens, as well as German Labor Front furniture prototypes, were all proudly displayed as the official design of the Third Reich. Völkish Nazi handicrafts were appended at the back. The Kunst-Dienst's *Warenkunde* exhibitions, as witnessed by figure 14, made this debt plain again. Indeed, the *Warenkunde*'s recycling of Werkbund design principles and products was quite fitting, not least because the very idea of a national goods catalog was originally conceived by the Werkbund during the First World War. Together with the Dürerbund, it had published the *Deutsches Warenbuch* (German goods book) in 1915 as a means of providing "model mass-produced wares" *(müstergültige Massenware)* for wartime domestic consumption.[143] This 248-page goods catalog featured a select group of German products then in production and stocked by 150 cooperating distributors; price lists and an index of suppliers were also included.[144] In addition to its economic value, the 1915 catalog was hailed as a means of raising the level of "general culture" in Germany by redressing what was presumed to be wide-scale producer and consumer alienation.[145] In this

sense, the 1939 commodity catalog had much in common with the earlier version.

At this point one could plausibly argue that the Nazis had effectively secularized the Kunst-Dienst to their own ends. Certainly this could be seen in its political and economic instrumentalization. Yet it was manifest in more subtle ideological ways as well. No better source for such changes existed than the organization's 1941 pamphlet *The Kunst-Dienst: A Task Report.* Gone from this document was any mention of the Kunst-Dienst's pre-1933 history or its Protestant origin or orientation.[146] Absent too was the focus upon aestheticizing the artifacts of religious transcendence in the name of Christian *communitas*. Instead, the new dispensation stressed that the Kunst-Dienst was to be part of a broader program. According to the report,

> The Kunst-Dienst is devoted to investigating the hidden connections between human life and the form of objects. But we are not content with judging these humble objects according to outward appearance or functional attributes *[zweckentspechende Eignung]* but rather according to the criterion of an all-encompassing inherent cultural value, whether it applies to poetry, painting and sculpture, architecture, industrial or artisan design.[147]

The Kunst-Dienst's mission to infuse even the most "humble objects" with "inherent cultural value" thus aimed to help extend the dominion of *Kultur* into hitherto neglected recesses of everyday life. And this was taken quite seriously: In one passage in the 1941 report, the urgency of redressing the subject-object nexus was even likened to a severe medical condition:

> Between the object nature of our immediate surroundings and people exists a perpetual and intimate relationship. But in no way is this confined to the idea that we somehow serve these objects. Indeed, these objects—our closest life partners *[nächste Lebensgefahrten]*—exert as profound an effect upon us as interactions with other people. But unfortunately the importance of this [subject-object relationship] is mostly ignored. If we grasped the full effects of such negligence, then we ought to devote all possible curative means and preventive measures to eradicate the causes of this spiritual malady, much in the same way that we combat the ravages of tuberculosis or rickets.[148]

Exaggerated as this passage may appear, it does point up the assumed gravity with which such people-object relations were perceived. In this way, the Third Reich's well-known cultural crusade to reverse what it

saw as the denigration of Geist and idealism in Weimar culture often found expression in the lowly world of industrial commodities.

The same could be said for other elements as well. Consider for example its conception of time. Here it is well to remember that excess decoration was strictly removed from the liturgical design object not simply to purify what the Kunst-Dienst believed to be a vital conduit to God. It also sought to create a religiously oriented Neue Sachlichkeit as a new aesthetics of eternity, one that was grounded in this world while at the same time pointing beyond it. The Kunst-Dienst's preferred term to describe these non-historicist Protestant objects was *ewige Form,* or "eternal form." After 1933 the idea of eternal form (which became a favorite Nazi concept long before the seizure of power) was routinely exploited by the Third Reich's own cultural industry, who used it constantly to glorify what was perceived as timeless German greatness. Perhaps it was this that ultimately distinguished "German futurism" from its more famous Italian counterpart. Unlike Italian futurism, Nazi modernism (with the exception of film) was rarely represented as explosive dynamism; instead, it usually favored an aesthetics of immobility and frozen timelessness—so much so that the ideology of "eternal form" was arguably the one trait uniting all of the contradictory elements of Nazi culture, whether "blood and soil" painting, neoclassical architecture, or modern design. Comparable too was the manner in which the Kunst-Dienst was summoned to represent death itself. Surely it was always concerned with those forms bridging the eternal and the historical, spirit and flesh. Yet it was the growing attention toward such liminality that distinguished the nazification of the Kunst-Dienst. Tombstone design was a key aspect of its 1936 Berlin exhibition, for instance; notable too was that the Kunst-Dienst started to design cemeteries after 1939. This new sphere of design was greeted as specially important, since gravesites marked what Wendland liked to call the "Christian congregation's last dwelling" *(letzte Wohnung der christlichen Gemeinde)* before ascending to its "otherworldly Reich."[149] Not unlike the better-known Nazi death cults, the Kunst-Dienst was supposed to help idealize otherworldly depots for the chosen "community of fate." As a result, the Kunst-Dienst was unique in dramatically combining material objects and spiritual transport, the stylization of ordinary private life and extraordinary communal death.

But characterizing the Kunst-Dienst changes as nothing but the nazification of its original mission overlooks several key issues. After all, one could counter that the Kunst-Dienst represented the fulfillment of

Werkbund ideals. Not only were Werkbund designs and designers championed in all their shows, but the idea of uniting government and industry in a common effort to raise both export revenues and the quality of national culture was a Werkbund idea from the very beginning. In fact, the secularization impulse of the Nazi era Kunst-Dienst may really have been the result of Werkbund influence. For it was only after the Werkbund was officially dissolved in 1934 that many Werkbund members first migrated to the Kunst-Dienst. Although it is difficult to say for sure, one could plausibly suggest that the post-1934 presence of the Werkbundler was at least partly responsible for the Kunst-Dienst's move from religious art toward the design of household goods. Nowhere was the Werkbund connection more readily apparent than in the *Warenkunde* project itself. And while one can detect Kunst-Dienst rhetoric in the *Warenkunde*'s Foreword, which states that its achievement marked a "renewed and inner sensibility" toward the "design of our immediate everyday environment, beginning first with the small, the mundane, and the apparently inconsequential," the secular thrust of the catalog was incontrovertible.[150] Likewise, the supposedly Nazi idea of "eternal form" was also part of the ideological patrimony of the Weimar Werkbund. Perhaps the best-known example was the 1931 Eternal Forms exhibition mounted at Munich's pro-modernist New Collection Museum (Die Neue Sammlung) under the direction of the Werkbund member and designer Wolfgang von Wersin. In this controversial show, ancient Teutonic, Greek, and Chinese vases and pottery were exhibited alongside modern functionalist design pieces in an arresting juxtaposition of old and new. The guiding motive was to counter right-wing criticism about the historical illegitimacy of this International Style design by showing that it was rooted in traditional classical cultures.[151] Even the impulse to modernize gravestone design was initially inspired by the Werkbund during the First World War.

Whatever the specific influences of the secular Werkbund on the Kunst-Dienst, it is wrong to say that religious elements disappeared completely. True, the overt religious mission of the Kunst-Dienst was increasingly marginalized after 1933; religious objects were omitted from the *Warenkunde* altogether. Undeniable too was the way in which the organization's 1943 report "What Is the Kunst-Dienst?" emphasized less religious service than "participatory experience" and "feeling of unity" *(Einigkeitsgefühl)*.[152] But can it not be argued that such modern design still performed a quasi-religious function? Just as the Kunst-Dienst religious objects were supposed to unify believers and visualize the new Geist, as well as symbolize a better world beyond the pain and suffering of the present,

so too did these secular objects fulfill a similar role for many wartime Germans. One might even suggest that the full state sponsorship of elegant design (culminating in the *Warenkunde*) went hand in hand with consumer rationing.

Not that these design politics were all empty ideology. The regime directly subsidized the production of furniture and household goods, making many of these long-desirable Weimar modernist goods affordable for the first time. Consumption was facilitated by the state's famed marriage loan program, which enabled young couples to set up their homes.[153] In consequence, the sales of furniture and household goods shot up 58 percent between 1932 and 1938.[154] According to one 1937 poll, 48 percent of worker households already owned porcelain plateware, compared to 73 percent of lower-middle-class, 88 percent of middle-class, and 95 percent of upper-class households.[155] This upward trend continued into the first few years of the war. Indeed, Nazi Germany's overall output of consumer goods after 1939 dropped only 15 percent from prewar levels, and even temporarily rose to 90 percent of 1938 levels as late as 1943.[156] If these results are combined with the fact that the domestic production of household porcelain continued at a fairly consistent rate through the first years of the war, it can be safely deduced that most German households (and a steadily increasing percentage of worker homes) probably owned some of this *Warenkunde* merchandise.[157] Of course no one would be foolish enough to portray wartime Germany as a footloose consumer wonderland. But at a time when other basic consumer goods—including housing, food, clothing, and shoes—were being severely rationed, the production of these consumer durables was relatively brisk; it was precisely on these grounds that design wares became integral to both the myth and reality of Nazi material culture.[158] The *Warenkunde* furnished valuable evidence of wartime hope and normality, much-desired fruits of relentless sacrifice. So to characterize the *Warenkunde* as simply "the Gestapo in the gift shop," as some have done, misses the mark.[159]

Increasing wartime rationing and shortages only intensified design's political-psychological importance. Just as design performed a stabilizing function in the sphere of production, so it did in the realm of consumption. At first this may strike the reader as peculiar. That the Nazis never produced a single Volkswagen for private use and that they ultimately built fewer "people's homes" than their hated Weimar predecessor are two oft-cited examples of their failed consumer policies. True enough, but it does not follow that they had no use for the magical power of modern design to manufacture fetching images of future prosperity. With it they could

mass-produce new material dreams of deferred gratification and popularized postwar affluence (e.g., the Volkswagen) that became ever more precious amid consumer rationing and wartime sacrifice. Note the way that the 1938 Schaulade display window in figure 11—as opposed to the 1929 counterparts in figure 9—emphasized consumer bounty for the onlooker. Indeed, it could be argued that the stepped-up campaign to advertise these design goods after 1936 directly corresponded to the dimming prospect that they could ever be realistically provisioned en masse. One illustration of this was the wartime discussion in *Die Schaulade* encouraging German retailers—despite shortages—to outfit their shop windows with plenty of things so as to convey the illusion of normality and postwar prosperity; there were even tips on how to arrange these display windows to mask decreasing availability of rationed consumer goods.[160] Alternatively, political symbols and references to the war were strictly avoided. Here design goods possessed a similar status to the legendary Volkswagen, "Strength through Joy" tourist vacations, Heimat kitsch, and fantasy films in helping stabilize the regime by providing alluring images of diversion and transcendence.[161] In a context in which neither extended free time, material goods, nor rights were distributed as rewards for demanded sacrifice and service, was it not aesthetics all along—as Benjamin had seen so clearly—that fused fascist subject and state? Design thus played a key part in what Hartmut Berghoff has called Nazi Germany's "virtual reality of imagined consumption," giving form to private dreams of normality and prosperity beyond the travails and suffering of war.[162]

   This was no trivial coincidence, for it signaled an ironic reversal. From the very beginning, Hitler ("Politics must be sold to the masses like soap") and Goebbels ("We want to employ the most modern means of advertising for our movement") borrowed heavily from advertising techniques in selling politics like commodities—so much so that the blatant marriage of politics and mass marketing was one of the hallmarks of Nazi emotional engineering.[163] This certainly was not lost on contemporaries; Georg Lukács's denigration of Nazi politics as essentially a vulgar "admixture of German philosophy and American advertising techniques" is probably the most famous.[164] Yet this was no random concoction. The anti-kitsch law made it plain to what extent the Nazis strove to construct a winning corporate image of the Third Reich, in this case taking great pains to protect the "copyright" on their political insignia. Political symbols and everyday objects alike were strategically mass-produced as the semiotics of promise, or what one scholar has suggestively termed the emotional "means of mass transportation."[165] But if politics was com-

modified, the reverse was also true. Consumer fantasies (cars, homes, vacations, and everyday things) bought political support and loyalty from the so-called sacrificing community. This is in large measure why the Autobahn project, for example, was so heavily photographed and documented; and this is also the reason that Hitler identified the highly coveted automobile as the very yardstick of material prosperity in his famed speech at the 1933 Berlin Automobile show, The Will to Motorization.[166] Wartime rationing of consumer goods only accelerated this trend as the dreamworlds associated with these objects of desire were promoted with even greater intensity after 1939. Was it only coincidental that the Kunst-Dienst's most active period occurred *after* the outbreak of war, when it organized no less than twenty-five exhibitions from 1939 to 1943, both at home and in occupied territories? So important was the need to supply the mass market with inexpensive consumer goods that Hitler made overt statements in favor of the once-taboo term of Sachlichkeit, thus encouraging government and business organizations to patronize modern design without any ideological trepidation.[167] So whereas Hitler and Goebbels once sold politics like commodities, now commodities (particularly after 1939) increasingly were being hawked as politics. As such the Kunst-Dienst acted as a sort of vanishing mediator for the quasi-religious character of everyday things after 1933, whose importance went far beyond export sales and national pride, taking on the accrued attributes of communal faith, hope, and deliverance.

For all the reasons presented in this chapter, the story of modern industrial design in the Third Reich invites a revision of Nazi culture. To begin with, there was no clear divide between 1932 and 1933 in German industrial aesthetics. Nazism provided little design innovation, nor did it ever really break from Weimar modernism. What was new was that industrial design enjoyed tremendous state backing to meet a variety of both economic and cultural ends. And even if the racist rhetoric of German design disappeared with the defeat of the Third Reich in 1945, the soaring idealism of design survived; the ideology of the design object as a marker of hope, loyalty, and transcendence continued unabated after the war.[168] In addition, the Nazi romanticization of the industrial object neatly captured the danger of what Horkheimer and Adorno called the "dialectic of Enlightenment." Their argument about the fatal entwining of enlightenment and myth at the very root of Western civilization found expression in the '30s marriage of functionalism and fascist legends, of rationality and racism.[169] Had not one 1939 article contended that the *Warenkunde* "should be a guide to a racially pure material en-

vironment, free of foreign influences, of stupidities and deformations, that corresponds to our whole German renewal, and in addition stimulates the designers and manufacturers of our objects of use to produce beautifully formed, well-made, and functional creations"?[170] This goes far beyond saying that Nazi culture was both a product of bourgeois culture and a mass protest against it. Nor was the impulse to wrap design objects in old myths and new narratives simply Heimat histrionics. Instead, design affords a revealing glimpse into the Third Reich's concerted effort to "re-enchant" the modern design object as a living witness of cultural rebirth, social reconstruction, racial victory, and private pleasure. How this powerful legacy was handled by the revived Werkbund after the war is the subject of the next chapter.

The Conscience of the Nation

The New German Werkbund

Among those interested in the history of German modernism, the German Werkbund continues to attract wide attention. Even the wartime destruction of most of the original Werkbund archive has not deterred scholarly interest in the lasting importance of this colorful organization.[1] As discussed in the last chapter, the Werkbund occupies a prominent place in the larger story of modern German architecture and design. But surprisingly, its post-1945 career has passed largely unremarked in Werkbund commentaries. Though included in the more comprehensive documentary histories of the association, the postwar period has inspired little attention in its own right.[2] The reigning assumption is still that the postwar Werkbund was at best a pale imitation of past glories, at worst a club of aged cultural elitists out of step with the times. While it is true that the post-1945 Werkbund never attained the same cultural status or political reputation as its historical predecessor, it hardly warrants such derision and neglect. Setting aright this misleading historical image is just the first step, however. Of greater interest is to ground the Werkbund's post-1945 project within a larger cultural context. Much of the Werkbund's postwar significance lay in the fact that it was the only (West) German design institution possessing a pre-1945 history. Its postwar story uniquely dramatized the particular problems associated with renegotiating the legacy of German modernism in the wake of Nazism and the war. Its novel cultural crusade was based on refashioning the everyday commodity as a spiritual object rooted in a pre-Nazi humanist tradition. How the Werkbund reinvented its own heritage as postwar cultural guidance, identified design as the last uncorrupted refuge of German Idealism, and strove to protect the moral dimension of functionalism from

the dangers of both a Nazi past and an American present are the main questions of this chapter.

"Witnesses of a Spiritual Order"

In mid-August 1947 nearly one hundred former Werkbund members from across Germany arrived in the small town of Rheydt to take part in the first Werkbund assembly after the Second World War. Although small Werkbund groups had already been reestablished in Dresden, Berlin, Munich, and Düsseldorf, the Rheydt meeting signaled the first chance to gather surviving figures from the Werkbund's pre-1933 glory. The new Werkbund's roster was mostly composed of prominent architects and designers who had established their modernist reputations during the Weimar Republic, such as Otto Bartning, Hans Scharoun, Lily Reich, and Wilhelm Wagenfeld. Many of them had been blackballed by the Third Reich and had spent the Nazi years in forced inactivity because of their supposed "cultural bolshevism." Not surprisingly, they all greeted the long-awaited cease-fire as a fresh opportunity to resume their disrupted cultural project of promoting industrial modernism. Although the postwar partition of Germany into four occupied zones prevented the creation of any transregional Werkbund until 1950 (at which time a larger federalized Werkbund, including all but the Soviet-occupied East German sector, was established, with headquarters in Düsseldorf), the 1947 assembly marked the first attempt to take stock of the wreckage and draft a new Werkbund mission geared to serve postwar needs.[3]

Needless to say, the new Werkbund faced challenges that dwarfed anything hitherto experienced in its history. To begin with, whereas the original 1907 Werkbund began as a crusade to curb the late-nineteenth-century production of excessive and overly decorated historicist consumer objects and furniture, its post-1945 successor was confronted with the much more sobering problem of acute material want.[4] The physical destruction of the country was staggering, as Germany had been bombed back to near Stone Age conditions. Nearly 40 percent of Germany's housing stock—or some five million homes—had been utterly flattened or severely damaged, forcing countless survivors to pick their way through the rubble in search of shelter and everyday necessities.[5] The grim destruction of people and property forced the Werkbund to enlarge and redefine its project accordingly. The obvious inadequacy of the Wilhelmine legacy was explicitly acknowledged in the Werkbund's

Rheydt proclamation. The task at hand "no longer concerns the aesthetic refinement" of a "secure form of life," but must encompass "the very form and substance *[Sinn und Gestalt]* of existence itself in today's Germany."[6] But unlike the Werkbund's initial "Expressionist" response to the aftermath of the First World War, the post-1945 group did not turn its back on the world of industry in favor of the romantic ethos of artisan production.[7] The "enlightened" mass-production of goods and homes was embraced as the chosen means by which to redress the overwhelming material misery immediately following the war. Faced with the severe shortage of habitable shelter and basic items of daily life, which was further exacerbated by the influx of millions of refugees from Eastern Europe, the Werkbund directed its attention toward meeting the pressing demand for housing and simple consumer durables to help create what one 1946 Berlin Werkbund circular called a "humane existence" for postwar survivors.[8]

To do so, the Werkbund looked to its pre-1933 program for guidance. By 1946 the regional Werkbund groups were already busy with a number of initiatives. These included mounting small traveling exhibitions, reviving the widely read journal from the Weimar years, *Die Form,* and establishing a slide library that contained images of destroyed modernist buildings and objects for postwar reference and inspiration. Some members also labored to restart publication of the *Warenkunde,* the Werkbund-inspired compendium of consumer goods prototypes produced during both wars. In the old Werkbund spirit, the new Werkbund viewed well-crafted design wares as the key to cultural renewal and economic recovery. In this vein the 1947 Rheydt assembly concluded with a resolution entreating all Werkbund members to seek out contacts with industry and their respective regional governments in order to help construct a new and better Germany in the wake of Nazism and the war.

The post-1945 rebirth of the Werkbund thus went far beyond simply recovering its role as a leading light of 1920s modernism. Given its long history of campaigning for the introduction of affordable everyday goods and rationalized dwellings into German life, the Werkbund felt specially qualified to spearhead the postwar crusade to transform the Nazi wreckage into a model industrial culture. In their estimation, the urgent need to reconstitute the very "form and substance" of postwar life augured a momentous historic opportunity to fulfill the longtime Werkbund dream of radical reconstruction. No wonder Werkbund members tended to paint this postwar mission in grandiose colors. In one 1946 *Frankfurter Hefte* article entitled "The Hour of the Werkbund," the well-known

architect and longtime Werkbund member Otto Bartning captured the Werkbund enthusiasm about starting over:

> The force of the bombs was strong enough not only to destroy the luxury facades and architectural ornamentation, but also the foundations of the buildings themselves. No doubt we will build them anew (not "rebuild"), but without the former facades. Simple, economic, purposeful, functional— that is, to build honestly. Here our material want can prove to be a virtue. Certainly the idea is not new, but it has only been heightened by the disenchantment process of the war. Yet the Werkbund has been preaching this same message since 1907. Has its hour finally arrived? . . . What a chance we have now, since not only houses, schools, churches, and theaters must be built, but also bowls and plates, clocks, furniture, clothes, and tools must be totally reconstructed![9]

The architect and fellow Werkbund associate Alfons Leitl described things in quite similar terms. Portrayed against a bleak postwar existence riddled by desperate material shortages, black-market racketeering, and wholesale moral despair, the Werkbund was hailed as a force of renewal, announcing

> a new world of noble and useful forms arising from the destruction and ruin, a "form culture" of honesty and work-quality *[Werkgediegenheit]* emerging from the misery, scarcity, and destitution. A new form culture encompassing housing and furniture, bowls, plates, cups, and other basic necessities. A redesigned social world *[neue Ordnung des Gestaltens]* steeped in the values of economy, honesty, and good form, which are the very witnesses of spiritual order.[10]

Even if the specifics of how this "new world of noble and useful forms" would bring forth a renewed spiritual order were not spelled out here, the common assumption was that "good form" would best bridge postwar reconstruction and moral regeneration.[11] One Werkbund member even went so far as to say that such a new "form culture" could provide "more joy" and "a new courage to live" among bombed-out survivors.[12] In general the Werkbundler viewed 1945 as an almost providential tabula rasa, offering the possibility of bringing forth from the war ruins a brave new world informed by the pre-1933 Neue Sachlichkeit principles of rational urban planning, architecture, and product design. And if we bear in mind the long-standing Werkbund belief in the inherent connection between the reconstitution of social forms (everyday goods and dwellings) and the cultural reeducation of its users, then the Werkbund project of redesigning everything, from "the smallest everyday object to the largest edifice, from ashtrays to government buildings" held the prom-

ise of substantive cultural reform.[13] It was this vision that prompted members' enthusiastic rhetoric about 1945 as the long-awaited "hour of the Werkbund."

Not that the Werkbund was alone in this dream of postwar cultural regeneration. Countless architects, artists, writers, and other groups also worked to forge a new antifascist German culture as an effective retaining wall against the past.[14] The rash of new journals and cultural organizations founded after 1945, including the large cultural umbrella organization Kulturbund zur demokratischen Erneuerung Deutschlands (Cultural Association for the Democratic Renewal of Germany), illustrated the wide circumference of this postwar reform impulse. The very titles of newly founded reviews registered this widespread excitement with starting afresh: *Aufbau, Aussaat, Begegnung, Bogen, Ende und Anfang, Frischer Wind, Gegenwart, Geist und Tat, Das Goldene Tor, Neubau, Neues Abendland, Die Wandlung,* and *Zeitwende.*[15] Common to all was a shared quasi–Popular Front desire to free postwar Germany from the cruel metaphysics and practices of German nationalism. But it is not as if the past was discarded altogether. Alongside the impulse to begin anew arose a vigorous cultural cottage industry during the late 1940s and early 1950s that aimed to denazify German cultural history by rehabilitating an exiled, threatened, and/or destroyed "better Germany." Texts such as Josef Witsch and Max Bense's *Almanach der Unvergessenen* (Almanac of the unforgotten, 1946), Walter Berendsohn's *Die humanistische Front* (The humanist front, 1946), and Richard Drew and Alfred Kantorowicz's *Verboten und Verbrannt* (Forbidden and burned, 1947) reflected this broad cultural campaign to recover a select group of cultural figures— among them Thomas Mann, Walter Gropius, the Frankfurt School, and a sanitized Gottfried Benn—with whom the postwar generation could claim an elective affinity. The celebration of these cultural heroes was therefore inseparable from the larger effort to locate the Weimar Republic and the Federal Republic within a shared genealogy of cultural liberalism, while at the same time distancing the Nazi period as a "dark hiatus" in an otherwise benevolent tradition of German modernism.

Refounding the Werkbund was then part and parcel of a wider postwar initiative to recoup a liberal German past. Adding to the Werkbund's missionary zeal was the fact that its reform program—unlike other cultural initiatives—was to take on the physical reconstitution of the postwar world. As one member, Max Hoene, put it: "The Werkbund was and is the vessel of an idea of significant force: the categorical imperative of the true and worthy *[Echten und Wertigen]*. Outside the Werk-

bund there is no other organization devoted *exclusively* to the comprehensive improvement of our built-environment."[16] Here, however, one can also see the old Werkbund elitism still alive. Indeed, for many members, this elitism was a necessary precondition for combating the forces of reaction.[17] Bartning best summed up this view when he likened the Werkbund's task to that of legislators: "Just as we entrust our political representatives and government through our votes to shape the state's spiritual form, so too we creators *[Form-Schaffenden]* are the administrators of our world's visible forms *[Sachwalter der sichtbaren Form]*. Just as we expect from you [the elected representatives] a simple honest and valid state form, so too you must trust us with its corresponding visible forms."[18] Never mind that the Werkbund was never elected to anything. The issue is that for Bartning and many other Werkbundler the "categorical imperative of the true and worthy" was incongruous with the tenets of participatory democracy, "since culture only begins with examples from above."[19]

From where then did the Werkbund derive its moral authority? In large measure it rested on a certain understanding of the Nazi past. This was a rather delicate claim, given the Werkbund's shadowy career during the Third Reich. No wonder there was discernible tension in Werkbund documents produced after the war. On the whole they were rather ambiguous about whether the Werkbund had really been liquidated or simply co-opted by the fascist regime.[20] According to the minutes of a 1952 Werkbund meeting, for example, President Hans Schwippert suggested that the Werkbund "had been brought along the cold path of capitulation *[kalte Wege zur Erliegen]*. The true events are difficult to ascertain. However, the new Werkbund is not the successor of the old one."[21] No additional explanation was offered, nor did anyone else ever pursue the matter. After 1945 the Werkbund rarely (and at best indirectly) discussed its post-1933 role within the German Labor Front or the Kunst-Dienst's existence as a veritable "underground" Werkbund. Even if it is true that designing home-front furniture or export cutlery may seem quite venial in comparison to the more gruesome index of Nazi atrocities, the Werkbund never addressed its Nazi career. Eventually the initial postwar uncertainty was simply glossed over. The Werkbund's first postwar publication read: "After nearly thirty years of continual success promoting its good cause and building its international reputation, the Werkbund was forbidden; that was one of the first measures of the Nazi regime."[22] After the war the Werkbund justified its moral credentials by portraying itself as the historical enemy of fascism. Its postwar identity and moral

fervor were fueled by the myth of Nazi "liquidations," as Werkbund history was discreetly folded into the best-known story of Nazi antimodernism, the 1933 closure of the Bauhaus.

But however much the portrayal of the Werkbund as an unvanquished symbol of antifascist modernism was exaggerated, it is not so easy to judge its past. A good number of members had, of course, been only too eager to offer their services to the Nazi regime. Others, however, were not. Still others were somewhere in between. The biographies of two famous designers offer telling examples. The first is Wilhelm Wagenfeld. Arguably Germany's most influential industrial designer of the twentieth century, he produced a vast array of design objects over six decades of work. He was trained at the Bauhaus and first became famous for his lamp designs there. Over the years Wagenfeld designed many products (lamps, glassware, silverware, and crockery) for such prestigious companies as Jena's Glass Works, Arzberg Porcelain, and WMF. Throughout his life he was involved in leftist politics; he remained fiercely independent during the Nazi years and was one of only three Werkbund members who voted against the Faustian bargain with the Nazis in 1933. Wagenfeld also wrote extensively about the relationship between design and society and—despite his politics—published many of his critical essays during the Nazi period. (In 1948 the essays were republished in Potsdam in a single volume entitled *Wesen und Gestalt: Der Dinge um uns* [Essence and form: The things around us].) He was an active Kunst-Dienst member whose design work was showcased in dozens of design shows during the '30s and '40s. He was even appointed to the organizing committee for the German pavilion at the 1937 Paris World Exposition. Since he had developed an international reputation by the time the Nazis took power, they essentially left him alone—so much so that Wagenfeld once caustically remarked that he never enjoyed as much stylistic freedom as he did during the Third Reich.[23] But it was precisely this sense of autonomy that later grated on his conscience. While possessing probably the most pristine record of political integrity among Werkbund designers, as late as 1964 Wagenfeld wrote a long letter to his former Bauhaus colleague and longtime friend Walter Gropius, confessing that he still felt a great deal of personal grief and shame for not having done more to stop Nazism.[24]

The second figure is Hermann Gretsch. He too is among the most prominent German designers of the twentieth century and dominated the design of modern crockery and tableware in the 1930s. Most of his designs were bestsellers at the time, thanks to their simple beauty and ele-

gance, and have stayed in production ever since. Gretsch also was a long-time Werkbund member. But his political background diverged markedly from that of Wagenfeld. Gretsch, by contrast, was a NSDAP member by the early '30s and eventually was rewarded for his party loyalty by being appointed director of the prestigious Stuttgart Museum. During the Nazi years he too was a member of the Kunst-Dienst and devoted great energy to tending the flame of German modern design at the time. Many of his designs were commissioned by the Third Reich's Federal Housing Office, the Beauty of Labor spin-off organization responsible for worker housing projects.[25] Like Wagenfeld, Gretsch wrote extensively during the period and even edited a five-volume set of home decoration guides, *Hausrat, der zu uns passt*. These guides were almost totally free of Nazi kitsch, swastikas, and potted Nazi ideology. The occasional references to the "German spirit" and "essence" were quite muted and innocuous, especially in comparison to what was being mass-produced in the Nazi press at the time. So "apolitical" were these home decoration booklets that they were simply republished in the late 1940s and early 1950s as useful guides for a postwar generation. In this Gretsch can hardly be lumped together with the coterie of "blood and soil" stooges who made careers during the regime. Yet it was a version of Nazi Modern all the same.

And if the biographies of these men do not lend themselves to facile moral categorization, neither do the objects they and others created. As noted in the last chapter, the Nazis actually brought little innovation to the world of industrial design. Indeed, outwardly, German design changed little between 1925 and 1965; it is my chief argument that what did change was the ideological reading and representation of the design objects. The Nazi period was an extreme example of this rereading, as the regime sought to reflag Weimar modernism to its own aims. But this raises delicate questions of changed meaning and of continuities. A good case in point is that of the architect and designer Hans Schwippert, who was elected the Werkbund's first postwar president. Among other things he designed portable closets and benches during the war—hardly the stuff of great scandal and remorse. Yet if we recall that he had executed these simple wood designs in 1943 as part of Himmler's plan to "germanize" Poles quarantined in newly built worker housing in Poland, then these everyday goods take on a very different meaning.[26] So the objects and the design spirit may have essentially stayed the same, but the context had shifted considerably—with the result that it was not very clear where the boundaries between "good" and "bad" design really lay.

In any case, the Werkbund did not care to reopen the dossier after the

war. Suppressing its Nazi association did not mean that the Werkbund had an easy time recovering its pre-1933 legacy, however. A basic difficulty was that the Third Reich had stolen the Werkbund's central design principles and its very language of social reform. Along the way the Nazis redirected the classic Werkbund lexicon of "quality," the idealism of functionalism, and even the concept of "joy of work" *(Arbeitsfreude)* to their own ends. The "denazification" of the Werkbund program therefore entailed more than merely denationalizing its rhetoric. The larger question was how to articulate a new cultural-moral "surplus value" of everyday objects that did not fall prey to Nazi metaphysics.

To this end the new Werkbund reorganized its identity around the one category unvanquished by the Third Reich, namely morality. In fact, the conflation of design and morality was the most distinguishing feature of the post-1945 Werkbund. The West German architect and longtime Werkbund member Rudolf Schwarz spoke for many when he remarked that the Werkbund wanted to reform a culture in which "most people have not led their lives properly, having produced and surrounded themselves with dishonest things *[unechte Dinge]* as evidence of dishonest lives."[27] The objective was to "root out all dishonesty in industrial design and handicrafts."[28] As a result, the long-standing central article of faith at the Werkbund—namely that all social forms exerted a powerful effect on the lives and values of their users—had now been redefined in strictly moral terms. Whereas the Wilhelmine Werkbund stressed the cultural and economic windfall of redesigned commodities, and the Weimar Werkbund the liberating political effects of well-designed dwellings, the new Werkbund strove to efface the onerous legacy of Nazism by placing the relation between people and their environment in a positive humanist key.[29]

Nowhere was this new tenor more pronounced than in Theodor Heuss's 1951 Stuttgart lecture "What Is Quality? On the History and Task of the German Werkbund." At first glance, it may seem odd that the then-president of the Federal Republic and the new country's goodwill ambassador would deign to intervene in Werkbund affairs. But it is worth remembering that Heuss himself served as Werkbund secretary during the 1920s and was a key member of the Kunst-Dienst through the 1930s. During the war Heuss not only wrote the catalog to the Kunst-Dienst's 1940 Wagenfeld exhibition, he also devoted his energies to guarding the legacy of design modernism through a score of articles published in the *Frankfurter Zeitung*.[30] He had even hoped to write a full history of the Werkbund before Allied bombing destroyed most of the un-

published documents of the Wilhelmine Werkbund.[31] In his lecture, a highly anecdotal account of Werkbund history, Heuss gave credence to the postwar image of the Werkbund, stressing that it must act above all as a moral beacon of postwar social reform.[32] Likewise, he modified the traditional Werkbund concept of *quality* by suggesting that it was less a political concept than a "half-moral, half-aesthetic category." This was a broad interpretation, to be sure; for the Werkbund idea of *quality* first began as an attempt to demystify the cult of the autonomous artist and the precious artifact (e.g., German Jugendstil) by dissolving hazy aesthetic properties into the industrial criterion of rationalized mass-production.[33] Theoretically this approach represented the marriage of aesthetics and industry, and it had important social effects. For many Werkbund members before the First World War, "quality work" was hailed as instrumental to "joy of work," social harmony, cultural uplift, and improved export revenues.[34] Friedrich Naumann, a cofounder of the Werkbund and a leader in the Progressive Party, summed it up when he said that "the worker in a firm making quality goods would then take greater pride in his work, and so become more productive. Able to command a higher wage, the German worker would be reconciled to the capitalist system, abjure false Marxist doctrine, and become a satisfied member of the national community."[35] During the 1920s the Weimar Werkbund radicalized the idea of quality even further by dispensing with its nationalist dimension in the name of a universally accessible use-value functionalism.[36] The Nazis, in turn, gave "quality work" another twist, in effect "biologizing" it as a national emblem of unalienated labor, German industrial culture, and racial genius.

But Heuss ignored all this. Instead he concentrated on linking the post-1945 Werkbund with its Wilhelmine origins, recasting its legacy as principally an "aristocratic experiment" dedicated to restoring the cultural dignity and spiritual dimension to everyday things and spaces.[37] While admitting that "joy of work" and export markets were inseparable from the original meaning of "German quality work," Heuss steered clear of the old conceptual baggage of labor, commercialism, and nationalism.[38] In its place he wished to stress the Werkbund's ethical mission. He concluded his speech by invoking his Werkbund mentor Hans Poelzig in equating the Werkbund idea of quality above all with "moral decency" *(das Anständige)*.[39] Heuss's speech was thus emblematic of the postwar Werkbund's general tendency to look back toward its late-nineteenth-century predecessor's project to "spiritualize the world of things" *(Vergeisterung der Dingwelt)* as its true legacy.[40]

Figure 15. Makeshift everyday objects made from military hardware, 1945. Source: *Die blasse Dinge,* ed. E. Siepmann and A. Thiekötter (Berlin, 1989), 12. Courtesy of Werkbund-Archiv, Berlin.

The Werkbund's rejection of its radical Weimar heritage was also a reaction to the immediate postwar situation. For in a post-1945 world dominated by grave catch-as-catch-can survival games and black-market economics, design as such played no role. Form itself was superfluous; immediate use was paramount. If anything, the early postwar world was more accurately characterized as a kind of "emergency functionalism,"[41] where old military hardware, usable wreckage, and assorted wartime odds and ends were often converted into badly needed utensils and everyday necessities (figure 15). Indeed, there were numerous exhibitions during the immediate postwar years (including the 1947 Berlin show Value beneath the Rubble: An Exhibition about the Recovery of Valuable Economic Goods) geared toward helping survivors identify things buried beneath the rubble that might be salvaged and made over as usable personal items.[42] In a strange twist of fate, the Weimar Werkbund's campaign to reduce everything to pure use-value functionalism, unencumbered by the trappings and aesthetic practices of style, culture, and/or surplus decoration, was realized with a cruel vengeance.[43] Postwar plight had given rise to a new de facto "atheistic" functionalism emptied of any transcendent social values. Faced with this nightmare version of 1920s use-

value materialism, the Werkbund turned toward a more moderate and even "spiritual" modern design.[44] As Bartning expressed it:

> Furniture, housing, and churches are not just use-objects, but must be designs of the soul *[Gestalten der Seele]*; if not, we are distributing stones instead of bread. The form is not just an aesthetic element that can be imposed or removed at will. By form we mean the visible body of essence *[sichtbare Leib des Wesens]* and especially now amid our destitution, we cannot form a single object that is not at the same time nourishment of the soul *[Speise der Seele]*.[45]

Once a radical 1920s slogan heralding the full secularization of culture and the death of aesthetics, functionalism ironically returned after 1945 as the very watchword of truth, beauty, and morality.[46]

The Werkbund's moralization of design went hand in hand with the deradicalization of its heritage. By the time the Werkbund reassembled in Ettal for a conference in 1950, the group had already eschewed its former radical politics in favor of building a broad consensus for postwar reconstruction in the 1947 "Lützelbach Manifesto," which called for building "the new visible world of our lives and workplaces" according to the modern principles of "what is simple and appropriate."[47] But this time they went even further. One member captured this new attitude in remarking that the Werkbund was no longer a "pioneer of ultramodernism, a crusader against ornament, or a worldview organization *[Weltanschauungsbund].*"[48] Instead, it saw itself united in "common ethical ideas" rooted in what another commentator called the "realization of the good, the true, the beautiful, and the humane."[49] The disavowal of the once famous radical ethos animating the 1920s Werkbund could be seen in the fact that high-profile members who had emigrated—most famously Walter Gropius, Martin Wagner, and Mies van der Rohe—were never invited back to Germany to renew their Werkbund membership. The Werkbund's moderate stance was also expressed in the choice of its first postwar president. Initially the organization wanted to name the conservative architect Heinrich Tessenow to the post. Though he was never an NSDAP member, Tessenow and his anti-urban organic architecture found great favor among conservative architects in the '20s and '30s, notably his most famous student, Albert Speer.[50] Tessenow declined the presidency, however, and the subsequent election of the politically moderate Hans Schwippert, the Werkbund architect responsible for postwar reconstruction of Düsseldorf and the design of West Germany's Parliament building in Bonn, perfectly registered the Werkbund's changed political outlook.

The Werkbund's departure from Neues Bauen radicalism was manifest in other ways as well. A good example was the so-called Schwarz Controversy of 1953, which erupted when the Cologne architect and longtime Werkbund member Rudolf Schwarz wrote an essay accusing Gropius and the Bauhaus of having irrevocably corrupted German architecture and design. In his eyes, the Bauhaus was essentially a perverse red menace that propagated an architectural idiom "that was not German, but rather the jargon of the Communist International." He further shocked his readers by concluding that the well-publicized Nazi closure of the Bauhaus in 1933 was warranted and necessary.[51] The publication of the essay incited a torrent of indignation. A whole range of Bauhaus sympathizers in West Germany, including not only former Bauhaus members but a larger lay public as well, rose to defend Gropius and the Bauhaus from what was called the "spirit of 1934."[52] The controversy was an important event in negotiating cultural memory in early Adenauer Germany.[53] Yet the more relevant point here is that many others inside the new Werkbund harbored views similar to Schwarz's. This is indirectly confirmed by the fact that not one of those who rose up to defend the Bauhaus from the "spirit of 1934" was a Werkbund member. Indeed, the idea of restoring the metaphysical and even spiritual aspects of modernism—which was seen as antithetical to Bauhaus ideas—was common currency among Werkbundler through the '50s, so much so that many Werkbund publications were peppered with neo-Heideggerian language about recovering a lost "feeling of existence" *(Daseinsgefühl),* "feeling of home" *(Heimgefühl),* "rootedness," and "soul of the dwelling."[54] In this the Werkbund was instrumental in propagating the idea of design as *Dasein,* giving credence to what Theodor Adorno acidly diagnosed as West Germany's new "jargon of authenticity."[55]

The Werkbund's connection to Heidegger was neither mere coincidence nor distant philosophical sympathy. After all, it was the Werkbund that originally invited the controversial philosopher to deliver the keynote address at the 1951 Darmstadt Conference on People and Space, and it was there Heidegger first read his famous "Building Dwelling Thinking" essay, in which he explored the philosophical relationship among building, dwelling, and existential being. To be sure, this speech was only the latest installment in his enduring preoccupation with what he perceived as humanity's metaphysical homelessness in the modern world. In this instance Heidegger used the postwar housing crisis as a central metaphor for the debilitating spiritual condition afflicting the "unhoused" war survivors. Since he believed that building itself was inextricably linked to

the metaphysics of existential dwelling, Heidegger contended that the severe housing problem could not simply be solved by feverish housing construction and city planning. For him, the housing crisis was first and foremost an ontological question: "The real housing crisis *[die eigentliche Not des Wohnens]* lies in this, that mortals must search anew for the essence of dwelling *[das Wesen des Wohnens],* that they first learn to dwell."[56] For Heidegger the "essence of dwelling" went far beyond the architect's office or engineer's protractor; the home began where conventional building left off, because "the essence of the erecting of buildings cannot be understood adequately in terms of either architecture or engineering construction." Having redefined the home as that which transcends the sum of its architectonic parts, Heidegger dismissed out of hand the 1920s crusade of progressive architecture as a social salve. What then did he use as the model of such re-enchanted existential dwelling? While initially offering an obscure vision of the authentic home as a kind of "letting live" *(Wohnenlassen)* conjoining people, earthly space, and spiritual being, he eventually returned to his favorite tonic against "alienated" modern housing—his beloved Black Forest farmhouse: "Only if we are capable of dwelling, only then can we build. Let us think for a while of a farmhouse in the Black Forest, which was built some two hundred years ago by the dwelling of peasants. Here the self-sufficiency of its power to let earth and sky, divinities and mortals enter in simple oneness into things, ordered the house."[57] Even if Heidegger admitted that such a forest dwelling could and should not serve as the guiding model of West German housing projects, still he cited it as a shining example of the spiritual potential of dwelling.

By this time, Heidegger's philosophical meditations on both existential homelessness and the inadequacy of modern architecture were quite familiar. While his speech harked back to his philosophy from the 1930s, the broader cultural criticism that the "new architecture" (Neues Bauen) destroyed the spiritual quality of the German home had enjoyed wide currency among conservatives through the 1920s.[58] The surprising thing about this 1951 event, however, was that practically no one at the conference—as recorded in the detailed conference proceedings—challenged the political implications of Heidegger's speech. Even if one conference participant mocked his attempt to "organicize" housing beyond "commercial and commodity exchange," Heidegger's presentation elicited universal praise and uninterrupted applause from panelists and audience alike.[59] This is all the more significant, given that the Darmstadt Conference the year before on The Human Image in Our Time

quickly degenerated into catcalls and shouting matches when a conservative art historian delivered a paper on the dangers of modern art.[60] Things were very different, however, when the theme was modern architecture. The point is not to reopen the dog-eared dossier on Heidegger's political past or to imply that those attending the conference harbored illiberal sympathies. The issue is simply that his "metaphysics of place" did not disturb those present, and even found favor among architects in general and Werkbund members in particular throughout the 1950s. Indeed, Heidegger's call for a new spiritual approach to postwar building found significant resonance among those who sought to embed postwar architecture and design in the tradition of humanist culture.[61]

It is nonetheless misleading to suggest that Weimar radicalism was the main target of reform. Most worrisome to Werkbund architects and designers at the time was the threat of American culture. This took on unusual gravity in the '50s, given that design was one of the few German cultural spheres that remained virtually innocent of superpower control. As mentioned in the introduction, design was perhaps unique in this regard. Whereas most branches of West German culture—above all painting, cinema, education, and pop music—were subject to heavy American influence, West German "good form" designers expressly rejected American streamline styling. Over and over again designers and publicists castigated the more general American philosophy of streamlining products in the name of streamlining sales curves as both unethical and irresponsible.[62] Generally, they viewed America's "Detroit Baroque" as a bastard of the Depression, where business recruited designers to help stimulate flagging consumerism after the 1929 Crash. Condemned as wasteful, deceitful, and even overly militaristic, American streamline design became the favorite reference of "bad form." The Werkbund's ire was particularly focused on the French-born American designer Raymond Loewy. By the early 1950s Loewy was the most high-profile designer in the world and the director of New York's largest design firm, where he and his staff busied themselves with designing everything from Chrysler automobiles to Lucky Strike cigarette logos to high-speed trains.[63] The 1952 German translation of Loewy's 1950 autobiography, *Never Leave Well Enough Alone,* elicited great antipathy within the Werkbund. (Notably, the German translation appeared as *Häßlichkeit verkauft sich schlecht* [Ugliness doesn't sell], which suggested a certain conception of design not found in the original American title.) Not only did members find his wholesale application of streamline aesthetics to household objects both superfluous and wasteful, they absolutely abhorred

the way in which he reduced the lofty office of design to product "face-lifting." Repeatedly Loewy was accused of being an egocentric charlatan who trampled design's "spiritual qualities" *(geistige Ahnenschaft)* for the sake of snappy packaging.[64] Bad enough that Loewy debased design by equating it with trendy commodity aesthetics; worse, however, was that his ideas and millionaire profile created an incentive for industry to follow his lead in exploiting design and designers as new service-sector commodities.[65]

This is not to suggest that all of American industrial design was summarily condemned by West German designers and publicists. American design figures like Charles Eames, Florence Knoll, and Hermann Miller, for example, garnered consistent praise.[66] That West Germans were at all aware of these designers was in large measure thanks to the efforts of the U.S. government and New York's Museum of Modern Art (MOMA), which jointly sponsored a range of design exhibitions in West Germany during the '50s. Since the late 1930s MOMA had spearheaded the cause of modern industrial design in the U.S. and mounted a score of "good design" shows during the '50s as a kind of aesthetic education for postwar Americans. The American crusade was even taken to the frontiers of the Cold War with such Marshall Plan exhibitions as the 1951 Stuttgart show New Housewares from the USA. Just as Abstract Expressionism was touted as a symbol of American artistic freedom and cultural progress, so too were design pieces (Eames chairs, Knoll furniture, Acme National refrigerators, and even Tupperware!) hailed for their ability to "make manifest an especial progressive spirit." Particularly striking was that there was no streamline design at all in this show. If anything, the emphasis fell upon a more austere functionalist sensibility, prompting the president of Stuttgart's Regional Design Office to sniff that such design was really a subtle reworking of German modernism from the interwar years.[67] But such connections were in fact largely the point of the show—above all, it was aimed at countering the negative publicity about American design so that the "joy brought from these objects" could help "build a bridge of understanding between us."[68] West German reviewers invariably agreed, showering the exposition with compliments and kudos.[69] But even if these American designers and designs received high marks as a fruitful synthesis of European craft finesse and industrial technology, streamlining was continually lambasted as an irredeemably American cultural scourge.

Indeed, far beyond mere design philosophy, the demonization of Loewy and American streamline design effectively served as a postwar replay of the much older Werkbund critique against the cultural dangers inherent in Anglo-American civilization. Whereas the original pre-1914 Werkbund largely arose from the perceived need to defend German *Kultur* from the assault of Franco-British *Zivilisation,* its post-1945 successor felt itself facing new barbarians at the gates. Now the enemy had shifted from French decadence and English materialism to crass American commercialism. The Werkbund's untiring polemics against Loewy and his commercially oriented streamline aesthetic acted as a favorite (because seemingly apolitical) means of criticizing American Civilization in the 1950s.[70] Sometimes this meant design as cultural defense. One member, for example, argued that "We must not be absorbed by internationalism in either imitating its universal forms or surrendering our own special characteristics. New materials and building have compelled the development of a similar formal vocabulary *everywhere* in the world. It is the way of the Germans to think through and steadfastly execute their forms without assistance."[71] More often, though, the defense against Americanization took the form of cultivating a new "more European, humane spiritual hygiene" of responsible, functional design.[72] So in clear contrast to other cultural fields, this species of American culture was neither admired nor emulated as a beacon of progressive modernity. The fact that the Nazis had openly exploited this 1930s American streamline aesthetic for their own "futurist" political propaganda also helped establish cultural distance from both the Nazi past and the American present.[73] Condemning the aesthetics of Nazi militarism and American commercialism thus enabled the Werkbund to clear some political space in which to reclaim its own pre-1933 modernist traditions.

If the Werkbund sought to set West German neo-functional design apart from Nazi "irrationalism" and American commercialism, what about East German design? At first East and West may seem to have little in common. The reigning assumption has long been that '50s East German design was studiously antimodern. There is some truth in this, but it requires qualification. Take for example the East German reception of the Bauhaus legacy. Immediately after the war the Bauhaus was identified as a vital cultural heritage in need of safeguarding. The vicissitudes suffered by the Bauhaus at Nazi hands—that it was constantly attacked by the Nazi press as the supreme symptom of "cultural bolshevism" and "cultural degeneration," that it was dramatically closed a

few weeks after Hitler seized power and then savagely ridiculed in the infamous 1937 Degenerate Art exposition in Munich—effectively sealed its postwar status as a guiding light of postfascist culture across the occupational zones. In the words of East Germany's leading design historian, the Bauhaus was treated as a symbol of "peace, progress, antifascism, and democracy."[74] Although efforts to reopen the Bauhaus in both Dessau and Weimar failed, mainstream art and cultural magazines—like *Aufbau* and *Bildende Kunst*—did their part in hailing the Bauhaus as a badly needed postwar cultural compass.[75] Former Bauhaus teachers and students also readily assumed key posts at West and East German art and design schools, while those Bauhaus designers still in East Germany quickly resumed their careers after the war. Of course, this changed in the early 1950s. The Socialist Unity Party (abbreviated from the German as SED) officially condemned international modernism as insidious Western "formalism" and rootless "cosmopolitanism" during the famed Formalism Debate at the Third Party Conference in 1952. Two years earlier the Bauhaus had been personally condemned by Walter Ulbricht, who tarred the famed architecture and design school as representing sinister bourgeois formalism and American cultural imperialism.[76] Just as East Germany's architects thereafter looked to Moscow or nineteenth-century German classicism as cultural exemplars, GDR designers now "rediscovered" Biedermeier arts and crafts as historical inspiration in shaping a genuinely socialist *Volkskultur.*

Yet it is wrong to say that GDR industrial design turned its back on 1920s modernism altogether. The sphere of technical design (including machinery, hair-dryers, and toasters) was never really Stalinized, if for no other reason than there was no relevant nineteenth-century tradition upon which to draw.[77] Much of this had to do with the fact that the Soviet Union—dominant in so many other aspects of East Bloc Modernism from the late 1940s on—offered nothing in terms of design guidance and/or models for imitation. While East German architects could easily imitate the Soviet "wedding cake" building idioms for their own political propaganda, the lack of any clear Soviet design style complicated this cultural transmission. It was therefore the undeniably modern dimension of industrial design—to say nothing of its export value—that accounted for its relative independence from the socialist realist dictates imposed on most other East German cultural fields.[78] And as "contemporary style" became more desirable throughout the Soviet Union, it was the satellite republics (East Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Poland) that

set the tone for "designer socialism" across the East Bloc.[79] As a result East German design—like its West German counterpart—possessed unusual cultural leeway from its superpower sponsor. The ensuing recovery of the Wilhelmine Hellerau furniture style as well as Bauhaus prototypes through the ideologically charged 1950s and 1960s underscored design's special role within East German modernism. Furthermore, modern design occupied a central place at the Leipzig trade fairs and in the state's official annual compendium of select East German products, *Form und Dekor,* from 1955 onward. In this way, design enjoyed unparalleled cultural latitude in both republics in brokering new visions of industrial modernism.

Stranger still was that East German functionalism was also linked ideologically to morality and spirituality. At first this may appear puzzling, not least because hard-headed functionalism was once viewed as uniquely well-suited to socialism. After all, functionalism was supposedly a postbourgeois aesthetic in which class-based decorative styling was rejected in the name of economic rationalization and social utility. Its stress on austerity, rationality, and use-value was seen as the perfect aesthetic expression of the larger GDR effort to create a controlled socialist consumer culture ("each according to his needs") that did not fall victim to capitalist decadence and commodity fetishism.[80] It was in this context that unitary forms, standardized models, material longevity, and product affordability were enshrined as the early hallmarks of an "enlightened" (that is, needs-based) socialist culture.[81] And though the discussion first began in the 1950s, it was not until the construction of the Berlin Wall in 1961 that the debate about the pathos of functionalist objects began in earnest.[82] Having closed off its society from the West as a precondition to the development of a new socialist modernity, the SED now sought vehicles of positive identification to help bridge the gap between people and government, economy and culture. The debate at the Fifth German Art Exposition in 1962 made plain that the SED wished design to be included in the crusade to modernize socialist society. For was not design, so the SED reasoned, an "applied art" endowed with the "spiritual qualities" that could move and win its subjects? Designers were then summoned alongside writers and artists to provide new sources of affective identification with the state. In the words of the director of the East German Design Council, Martin Kelm, the new socialist designer's chief task was to "contribute to the development of the socialist lifestyle and character."[83] So in this sense, de-

sign played an equally central role in both West and East German industrial culture.

"Good Form" and the Critique of Liberalism

Let us now turn to the question of what the Werkbund actually accomplished in the immediate postwar period. If it was really to help broker a new material world, it first needed to court power. Finding willing patrons was not so easy, however. To begin with, Germany's partition into occupied zones made the creation of a national-level Werkbund impossible. The individual Werkbunds were thus forced to seek out whatever contact they could with the occupying powers.

While the governments of the Western Allies expressed little initial interest, the Soviets were quite receptive to Werkbund ideas. The Werkbund's advocacy of standardized non-elitist housing units, industrial goods prototypes, and centralized urban planning was viewed as particularly suitable to the larger Soviet vision of practical socialism.[84] But on the eve of formalizing relations with the Soviets, the Berlin Werkbund abruptly reneged. Its withdrawal was motivated less by the fear of official association with Soviet socialism than by the prospect of forfeiting its newly acquired organizational freedom. At all costs it wished to avoid a repeat of the fateful 1934 "liquidation."[85] By the end of 1949 the three Western zones officially recognized a federalized Werkbund, but it remained quite independent. The broken-off courtship with the Soviets was the last time that the Werkbund solicited contacts with the state as a way of influencing reconstruction policy. Instead, its new identity was premised on an imagined elective affinity of institutional autonomy and moral integrity. For justification the Werkbund invoked former Werkbund President Hans Poelzig's 1919 lecture "Werkbund Tasks" as its new statement of purpose. In that speech Poelzig had fulminated against the organization for bowing to the nationalist interests of government and industry during the First World War.[86] According to Poelzig, the Werkbund's once noble ideals had to be expunged of all such political complicity through a "purification of attitude" that would effectively return the organization to its spiritual "ground of idealism," free of moral hypocrisy, jingoism, and commercial opportunism. While the new Werkbund may not have given much credence to Poelzig's demonization of industry or the glorification of artisanal production, his idea of the Werk-

Figure 16. Gelsenkirchener Baroque buffet. Source: *Gelsenkirchener-Barock,* ed. S. Brakensiek (Gelsenkirchen, 1991), 23. Courtesy of Stadtisches Museum, Gelsenkirchen.

bund as a nonaligned "conscience of the nation" was embraced as the organization's most cherished postwar self-image.[87]

By the late 1940s, however, the Werkbund's grandiose reform project to "spiritualize the world of things" had accomplished very little. True, the reform-oriented press consistently rallied to the Werkbund's project for helping build a better postwar world.[88] But no one could deny that its small postwar exhibitions and crusading found limited audiences. Worse, the Werkbund was soon threatened by the rise of other design styles. On the one hand, the late 1940s witnessed the rebirth of the popular furniture style from the early Nazi years, the so-called Gelsenkirchener Baroque, which derived its name from the ponderous dark-wood baroque furniture sets manufactured in the town of Gelsenkirchen (figure 16). A favorite style among the German petit-bourgeoisie in the '30s, it did not die out in the war, but returned with a vengeance after 1945 as the preferred furniture style of many war survivors. For them, Gelsenkirchener Baroque stood for the lost stability and bourgeois comfort of prewar life.[89] In the reemergent postwar furniture industry, this '30s style quickly arose as the new marker of domestic order and economic recovery.[90] It was so popular that one 1954 poll claimed that 60 percent

of West Germans preferred this representational furniture style above all others.[91] On the other hand, the early '50s saw the sudden explosion of a new organic design style, often called "Nierentisch" design after the small three-legged kidney-shaped table that stood as its main icon. Stylistically this was a firm rejection of austere neofunctionalism in favor of more playful lines, asymmetrical shapes, and bold colors. (This organic design wave will be discussed in detail in chapter 3.) However different these design styles were, the common element was an explicit rejection of the Werkbund's ascetic "good design" principles. Just as the 1907 Werkbund was originally established to quell the excesses of both "historicist" design and antirationalist Jugendstil styling, its postwar successor found itself faced with the unwelcome return of its old design nemeses. So bothersome were these menacing new design styles that one Werkbund member even awkwardly invoked Nazi phraseology, denouncing these "bad forms" as "asocial objects" *(asoziale Gebrauchsgüter),* undeserving of continued production.[92]

But if the Werkbund was serious about counteracting the perceived scourge of such resurgent bad design, it needed to organize corrective measures. To this end the Werkbund planned its first comprehensive exhibition in Cologne. Since this city had figured prominently in Werkbund history by hosting its widely acclaimed 1914 and 1924 shows, the new Werkbund hoped to capitalize on this symbolic connection in its postwar debut. The link to the past was further underscored by the fact that the former Kunst-Dienst figures Hugo Kükelhaus and Hans Schwippert were entrusted with the arrangements. From the beginning, this New Living exposition was to be no ordinary furniture trade show. Its objective was to exhibit affordable, well-designed industrial prototypes that might serve as exemplary models for industry and in turn help stem the tide of low-quality goods flooding German black markets. Even if furniture manufacturers objected that the exhibition would favor models executed by independent designers, the Werkbund convinced Cologne's city government of the cultural importance of showcasing noncommercial designs based on a "cleaner attitude to production."[93]

So what did it look like? All the Werkbund rhetoric about starting over could not hide the fact that this Cologne exhibition boasted precious little innovation.[94] Aside from a few exceptions, such as Vera Meyer-Waldeck's organically designed chair, the prototypes on display unavoidably recalled old-style Werkbund modernism (figure 17). Indeed, most of the featured pieces were actually old models that had been included in the

Figure 17. Chair display from the Werkbund's Neues Wohnen exhibition, Cologne, 1949. Source: Alfons Leitl, "Kritik und Selbstkritik," *Baukunst und Werkform,* 1949, 59. Courtesy of Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

1939 *Warenkunde.*[95] To say that the show recycled designs from the past is not at all to castigate the Werkbund for harboring "unreconstructed" sympathies. Having invested so much cultural importance in the simple and plain design of everyday goods from its 1907 inception through the Nazi period, the Werkbund simply reissued its classic modernist designs as the best solution to postwar privation. In this case the lack of innovative design work seems determined less by shortages of materials and machinery than by the unshakable Werkbund conviction in the universal validity of functionalist modernism. In his speech inaugurating the exhibition, Schwippert praised the exposition as a decisive step in the Werkbund's humanist project to help reconstruct a new world based on a "decent and dignified life for everyone." As he put it, such models were part of the postwar "bitter war against the ugly" in the name of truth, beauty, and good design.[96] Once again, the Werkbund conjured up its favorite self-image as the "form conscience of the German people" in an attempt to place the relationship between people and things within the circumference of moral (re)education.[97] Notable too was the formal arrangement of the exhibition. Here the organizers clearly attempted to

counter the Nazi impulse to frame these modern design forms in cozy domestic settings. Instead, the objects were studiously arranged so as to draw attention to them as simple industrial prototypes.[98] But despite high hopes, the exhibition generated little response from the general public. Visitors were quite unmoved by this combination of severe industrial models and moralizing rhetoric, and in the end the exhibition attracted few visitors outside of school children and specialists.[99] The display of furniture models recalling the war years inspired little interest among either manufacturers or an impoverished public yearning for signs of restored color and comfort.

Disappointed, the Werkbund resolved to step up its mission. In the next few years, it helped open a handful of new German design schools *(Werkkunstschulen)* dedicated to both traditional crafts and industrial design; it started two architecture and design journals, *Baukunst und Werkform* and *Werk und Zeit;* and it summoned up greater energy in spreading the gospel of "good design" throughout West Germany.[100] If we recall that the Werkbund was not—and never had been, though many architects and designers belonged to it over the years—a group of producers *per se,* but was rather a public relations association dedicated to the popularization of "good form," it was doing quite well.[101] By the mid-1950s, the Werkbund was able to count a range of triumphs. For one thing, it spearheaded the creation of a national German Design Council within Bonn's Ministry of Economics, which in part acted as a kind of national-level Werkbund (see chapter 5).[102] With time, too, the Werkbund succeeded in publicizing a range of new design items through West German culture and media. By the mid-1950s there was a host of new "good design" organizations, such as Darmstadt's Institut für Neue Technische Form, the permanent industrial design show at Essen's Villa Hügel, and numerous industrial design exhibitions at the Munich design museum, Die Neue Sammlung, all of which were devoted to the modern design cause. Likewise, certain design firms—most notably Braun, Bosch, WMF, Pfaff, and Rasch—were reaping the dividends of advancing the principles of Werkbund-inspired modern design. Not that the Werkbund-style "good design" ever drowned out Gelsenkirchener Baroque and Nierentisch design, which remained popular through the '50s. But the Werkbund did help high design capture a significant slice of the West German consumer market. Its architectural vision also enjoyed some real triumphs. Most famously was the organization of the widely discussed 1958 INTERBAU exhibition in Berlin. In this show the bombed-out Hansa Quarter of Berlin was the site of a high-profile display of modern living,

very much reminiscent of the 1927 Weissenhof show in Stuttgart. A star-studded roster of world-class architects—including Walter Gropius, Le Corbusier, and Oskar Niemeyer—all submitted designs for modern affordable housing. Thus the INTERBAU functioned as a kind of West German answer to Stalinallee, with model homes designed to showcase the modern lifestyle of the liberal West. All in all, the show was a big hit, attracting tens of thousands of visitors over the course of the year.[103]

Ironically, it was the very success of its program that now vexed many Werkbund members. To put it crudely: they wanted to change the world but instead changed only the face of consumer goods. While their modern design style had become widespread, the initial postwar vision of design as cultural reform and moral regeneration seemed more impracticable with each passing year. The utopian moment of possibility that generated such enthusiasm in the aftermath of the war was evaporating under the hot sun of the economic take-off. What irked them most was the vulnerability of the design object in the marketplace. Although the state and municipal patronage that the group had enjoyed throughout the 1920s and 1930s was clearly gone, the Werkbund nevertheless felt that the '50s were a strange replay of the early 1930s. In both cases, the social utopianism of modern design had been overwhelmed by new dreamworlds of personal betterment and social standing, in one instance by the propaganda of the Nazi state and in the other the self-indulgence of affluence. (This theme will be discussed more fully in chapter 3.) The goal was therefore to come up with new ways to protect the moral dimension of design from the corrosive power of the unregulated market. Schwippert summed up the sentiment for many Werkbund members in the mid-'50s:

> At the beginning the Werkbund, a small fragment, stood in opposition to the world. It mused, warned, admonished, and fought for its ideas. If the image is permitted, it was forced to bake its own bread. Today many people bake Werkbund bread, well-meaning, dedicated, assiduous people. . . . Thus the Werkbund's task at hand is not to build more bakeries, but rather to distribute the proper leaven.[104]

To "distribute the proper leaven," the Werkbund devised some novel strategies. First among them was the creation of permanent home-decorating display rooms, with the maiden boutique in Mannheim. In cooperation with the city's mayor and the city art center, the Mannheim Werkbund established a permanent display room *(Wohnberatungsstelle)* in 1953 in order to educate the public about the importance of well-

Figure 18. Werkbund display room, Mannheim, 1953. Source: Heinrich König, "Die erste Wohnbe-ratungsstelle in Mannheim," *Innenarchitektur,* October 1953, 35. Courtesy of Preussischer Kulturbe-sitz, Berlin.

designed objects and furniture (figure 18). The primary objective was to create display spaces for everyday goods in stark contrast to the wily commercial spirit and layout of the department store. The Werkbund rooms were to emphasize the cultural value of "tasteful designs" in or-der to cultivate a "more certain aesthetic judgment" and "healthy feel-ing for form."[105] The point was not to sell products, but rather to sup-ply consumers with neutral (that is, noncommercial) information about sensible home decoration and high-quality design.[106] A stack of house-hold advice books and a Werkbund representative were on hand for con-sumer counsel. Should the consumer wish to buy something, the Werk-bund representatives dispensed business cards of the selected design firms with the relevant product information. To the Werkbund, these didactic rooms were emblematic of a more enlightened domestic culture based on a firm rejection of the irrational allures of advertising and the mar-ketplace. They were seen as remedies to overstocked shops and depart-ment stores, which only "confuse and distort" the consumer.[107] The dis-play rooms thus were alternative social spaces that advanced the cause

of modern design as a "cultural good," and even held the possibility of unalienated consumption. That the exhibition was partially aimed at children as an educational tool for instilling a sense of "good form" underlined the Werkbund's broader pedagogical spirit. And this time the initiative caught fire with the public. Unlike the failed 1949 Cologne exhibition, this Werkbund project enjoyed wide popular appeal. The Mannheim display room attracted over eleven hundred visitors within the first three weeks, prompting the establishment of other rooms in Munich, Stuttgart, Baden-Baden, and Berlin.

The Werkbund rooms marked a decisive shift in the organization's approach. For one thing, they betrayed a more contemporary sensibility. Whereas its 1949 Cologne exposition recycled models from its past, these rooms were a winning mix of old and new. Among the items displayed were not only some of the best German designs from the '30s, but also new Wagenfeld-designed WMF cutlery, Egon Eiermann chairs, and Braun radios. Included too were many design pieces from Switzerland, Scandinavia, and even the United States. Although Loewy and his streamline style continued to function as the perennial bugbear, the Werkbund was keen to display the American design work of Knoll International and especially Charles Eames.[108] In so doing the Werkbund dipped its "good form" ideal into the postwar currents of international modernism. But not everyone appreciated this cultural good will. For instance, German furniture producers and distributors were less than sanguine about the arrival of these new display rooms.[109] In 1956 a group of regional furniture distributors in Rheinland-Pfalz submitted a petition to the regional government, accusing the Werkbund of engaging in illiberal business practices in the name of cultural education, to the extent that they were supposedly trying to impose cultural uniformity and standardization *(Vermassung)* in design trade.[110] Yet the Werkbund deftly parried this criticism by arguing that its display centers were in no way seeking profits, serving instead higher "state-level economic, social, and cultural interests."

The development of these boutiques had far-reaching implications for the Werkbund's postwar project. In part this was because they were intended to sidestep the two conventional venues of commodity representation. The first was the museum. Given the weighty cultural value assigned to these everyday goods by postwar publicists, it was no surprise that they were often featured in museums and various cultural fairs. Curators and high design advocates liked to lionize and display these items as superior to run-of-the-mill department store commodities. But ascribing

these things with such a high-culture aura raised some tricky problems. Above all, placing the design ware in museum vitrines robbed it of its original purpose as a simple everyday use-object.[111] Once it had been put in a museum case, the object's use-value had been supplanted by optical and thus exclusively formal criteria; its inherent tactile qualities had been removed as the consumer's principal means of judgment.[112] Others too complained that such strategies of representation willy-nilly underscored the notion that these goods no longer served human needs, but rather industrial dreams of technical perfectability.[113] By contrast, the Werkbund rooms were supposedly non-elitist spaces where the tactile, use-oriented qualities of household goods and furniture reigned supreme. In effect the museum vitrine's casing had been lifted off, leaving the consumer free to scrutinize the more material relation between form and function in a noncommercial setting. That the consumers were encouraged to try out and handle the merchandise on display arguably represented a partial recovery of the Werkbund's more radical 1920s heritage.

The second mode of commodity representation against which the Werkbund room was responding was the self-service shop. This seemingly humble novelty in West German everyday life in fact exerted a profound influence on the relationship between people and things. Originally developed in the United States in the '30s, self-service shops were first introduced in West Germany during the early 1950s. More than anything else, this was done in the name of speed, convenience, and individual freedom. But one effect of these new self-service stores was that they had unwittingly severed the relationship between buyer and seller, as the traditional verbal exchange between both parties soon gave way to a silent, isolated, and individualized process of product choice and assessment. Of perhaps greater relevance here is that this transformation of German shopping also ushered in a veritable explosion of plastics packaging, both to protect the good and entice the buyer. Thus, just as in the museum, the design object's tactile qualities were completely subordinated to visual appeal. On this score Michael Wildt is certainly right to say that this revolution in retail moved the "use-value promise" of the desired commodity from the "seller's art of persuasion to the semiotic power of commodity aesthetics."[114] Doubtless such presentation was very effective in whetting desire. Some have even gone so far as to say that the increasing sexualization of product advertising in mainstream '50s West German culture was in part a kind of compensatory reaction to this on-going "de-sensualization" of design representation.[115] The key point is that a new tactile alienation distancing consumers from consumer prod-

ucts was equally apparent in both high and mainstream culture. The Werkbund rooms were explicitly intended to brake this trend by literally returning design items to the hands of potential users.

The Werkbund also updated some of its other older pedagogical undertakings to help broadcast the message. First, it prepared a new edition of the German industrial design catalog, the German *Warenkunde*. It explicitly harked back to both the 1915 *Warenbuch* and the 1939 Kunst-Dienst version, but this edition was the result of a joint venture of the Werkbund and the newly formed German Design Council.[116] It was dedicated to two former Werkbund members who had remained loyal to the cause of industrial modernism during the Nazi period, Hermann Gretsch and Bruno Mauder. Stephan Hirzel, who had organized the 1939 edition, and Mia Seeger, who was the Design Council's newly appointed executive secretary, edited the 350-page loose-leaf catalog.[117] It was arranged into fifty-five categories, including glass, ceramics, toys, and synthetic materials; all of the products were individually photographed and affixed with manufacturer name, material description, and market price. Like the previous catalogs, the 1955 *Warenkunde* played to familiar Werkbund themes. The cultural importance of providing well-designed industrial goods as models to German industry, its nonprofit role in furnishing neutral product information to all parties, and the more general authority ascribed to good design as cultural uplift were all present.[118] Even if the state was no longer its client, the Werkbund was convinced that the catalog could still serve as cultural orientation for industrialists and consumers alike. And like the Werkbund rooms, it was a blend of old and new, featuring not only older designs such as Gretsch's 1931 "1382" porcelain set and Trude Petri's 1935 "Urbino" tableware, but also new products like Bosch washing machines, Braun radios, and Pfaff sewing machines. To offset the nationalist rhetoric of the 1939 *Warenkunde,* design work from abroad (especially Scandinavia and Italy) was included.

Nonetheless, this Werkbund project was strangely out of step with the times, especially when we recall that both of the prior goods catalogs were drafted in response to wartime conditions. By contrast the 1955 edition carried neither socioeconomic imperative nor state backing. There was no emergency situation; indeed, this 1955 *Warenkunde* was published amid the full blush of restored economic liberalism. West German industry virtually ignored it—except of course those who capitalized on the free publicity. But to the Werkbund, its commercial irrelevance was not so important. For the new *Warenkunde* was primarily envisioned as cultural counsel for an expanding West German economy,

a sort of canon of "good form" design achievement untainted by short-sighted market motivations. In this sense, the 1955 *Warenkunde* was seen as a kind of chapbook of enlightened industrial culture fueled by old-style Kunst-Dienst idealism and didacticism.

This initiative went hand in hand with a new Werkbund sentiment to restore contact with industry. Heartened by the success of its design rooms, the Werkbund began to question the wisdom of its self-imposed distance from industry and business. Its cherished outsider status was plainly costing it cultural influence. The Werkbund's 1952 Düsseldorf Conference took up this very issue. After long debate the federated Werkbund concluded that its future largely depended on reviving some semblance of its former role as liaison between industry and consumer. A new plan was hatched. This time it was not going to invite leading industrialists to the Werkbund to discuss how its ideals might be applied, nor would it merely appoint leading industrialists to the Werkbund's executive committee. It now decided to dispatch envoys to meet with key manufacturers directly at their factories. The Werkbund's 1954 mission to Selb, the home of Rosenthal crystal and porcelain, perfectly captured this new outlook. At first the choice may seem curious, not least because Rosenthal luxury crystal and porcelain had been one of the Werkbund's perennial bugbears during the Wilhelmine and Weimar eras. Nevertheless, the accession of the founder's son, Philip Rosenthal, as company director after 1945 brought great change to the firm's design policy. In the early '50s Rosenthal employed several Werkbund designers—Wilhelm Wagenfeld, Jan Boutjes van Beck, and Margret Hildebrand—to design new product lines for the company. This apparently felicitous swing to the Werkbund camp was confounded, however, by the fact that Rosenthal had recruited the Werkbund's arch-nemesis—Raymond Loewy—to design a set of tableware at the same time. The Werkbund worried that the manufacturer's design practices lacked firm clear direction and wanted to make sure that Rosenthal understood the high stakes involved—that is, "good form" was above all "an ethical not an aesthetic issue."[119] The Werkbund believed that if it could make the highly influential Rosenthal see the virtues of its lofty cultural program, then it would have achieved a great service for progressive design culture.

But the Werkbund was sadly disappointed. Rosenthal made it clear to the Werkbund representatives (led by no other than Wagenfeld) that the production of plain undecorated white porcelain—for the Werkbund, the very expression of simple and honest design—was less the company's

guiding aesthetic than simply one of many styles featured in its design palette. Variety and decoration, he concluded, were vital for sales and in pleasing public taste; in sum, market demand and not lofty ethics dictated his design policies.[120] But no matter how much the Werkbund contingent disputed his understanding of public taste as largely the invention of wily, narrow-minded merchants, Rosenthal could not be persuaded to revise his design policies to suit Werkbund moralism. Even worse, Rosenthal unwittingly confirmed what the Werkbund was adamantly fighting against—that "good form" carried no redemptive ethos in itself, but was ultimately just another design style. After that, the Werkbund stopped going to the factories. The new generation of postwar industrialists, so the Werkbund grumbled, lacked the cultural vision of older Werkbund patrons like Robert Bosch, Peter Bruckmann, and Emil Rasch.[121] Instead of inaugurating a new phase of better Werkbund-industry relations, the Rosenthal visit only intensified the Werkbund's postwar estrangement from the world of production.

The final strategy was largely a response to this failed one. Having abandoned any hope of effecting change through direct negotiation with industry, the Werkbund soon targeted a new segment of the population: children. But it is off the mark to dismiss this as a cynical ploy to win over kids as potential consumers. As always the Werkbund hunted bigger game. The main idea was to use modern design objects to help teach children about the virtues of "good form." Specifically the Werkbund hoped to foster the aesthetic education of children through the introduction of specially designed "Werkbund crates" (figure 19). Introduced into a number of West German classrooms during the late 1950s, these crates included an assortment of modern design objects and handicrafts—such as Gretsch tableware and Wagenfeld cutlery—that could be used as teaching tools in instructing children about proper aesthetic judgment.[122] Like the Werkbund rooms, the motive was to put these objects in the user's hands in order to instill sensibility and understanding for good design. For many members, these crates would then serve as a kind of Trojan horse of progressive industrial culture, one that would teach children about the value of good form before they were lost to the shiny allures of the marketplace. To this end the Werkbund even published a short book on good design for children, which underlined the cultural windfall of sound industrial aesthetics as well as the need to take cover from the seductive siren songs of "bad design." Emotions and "irrational" fashion trends, so the book argued, are not reliable
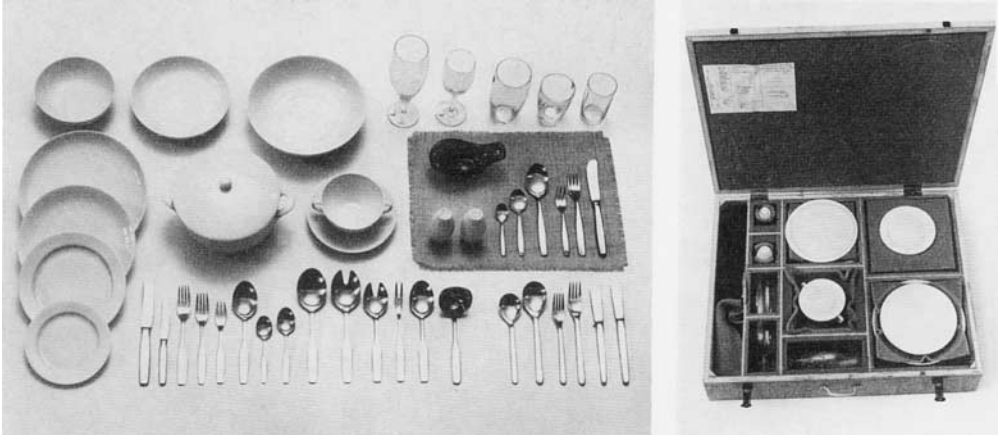
Figure 19. Werkbund crate. The crate contained dishes from Hermann Gretsch's Arzberg 1495 series; Heinz Löffelhardt's salt and pepper shakers and pressed-glass ashtrays; Karl Mayer's "Stockholm" WMF cutlery; and Wagenfeld glassware and cutlery executed for WMF. Source: "Kunstunterricht und Umweltgestaltung," *Werk und Zeit* 8, no. 4 (1959): 4. Courtesy of Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

guides to proper design evaluation; instead, proper aesthetic judgment must be rooted in reason and simplicity. It was precisely the emotional, whimsical "decorative value" of the object that had to be overcome. Not for nothing did one section contrast the "sweet kitsch" of sentimental trinkets left over from childhood with the "sour kitsch" of deceptive commercial design styling.[123] And here again the Werkbund's experimental school program scored. It received wide press and furnished much-needed publicity for the Werkbund cause. A few years later the crates were featured in a 1959 exhibition at Die Neue Sammlung, and they were introduced in other West German primary schools through the 1960s.

Common to all of these initiatives was a pronounced antiliberalism, a deep skepticism about the fate of "industrial culture" in the face of unfettered consumer capitalism. For many Werkbund members, "good form" was incompatible with liberal capitalism, since the market effectively converted the moral substance of design into superficial commodity aesthetics and subtle sales strategies.[124] By the late 1950s, the Werkbund thus found itself in renewed internal crisis over the legitimacy of the "good form" cause. Gone were the days of trying to reeducate manufacturers and retailers; abandoned too was the idea of targeting department stores and commercial shop windows as spaces of potential cultural reeduca-

tion, as both the Wilhelmine and Weimar Werkbunds had done. The crisis was intensified by the fact that the Werkbund had put all of its eggs in the industrial design basket. In fact, the postwar turn away from architecture and especially urban planning as potential "good form" projects in their own right mirrored the Werkbund's disillusionment with urban space itself as a congenial site of cultural reform.[125] A somber mood pervaded the organization and certainly soured the celebration of the Werkbund's fiftieth anniversary in 1958.[126] Schwippert himself conceded that the Werkbund ideology of improving people's lives through designing better objects was perhaps a grand illusion:

> We designed a good glass. With this glass we wanted to help people lead a better, more beautiful life. This peculiar thought was motivated by the idea that we could not only improve people's lives by providing the glass, but also that the glass itself would improve the very person using the glass. An erroneous idea. The glass serves only indirect assistance. Instead, the task is to recognize the real human situation with humility.[127]

Such cultural pessimism had its ironies, not least because the Werkbund was originally founded to help overcome the Wilhelmine "politics of cultural despair" by bridging culture and economy.[128] But now there was an undeniable feeling that the Werkbund crusade had reached a crossroads.

To a great extent the crisis was linked to the postwar contradictions of functionalism itself, first seen in the world of material innovation. The widespread introduction of plastics in '50s industrial design rendered all but obsolete the old Werkbund vocabulary of "truth of materials" *(Werkgerechtigkeit)* and its accompanying artisanal ethic of handicraft design.[129] Moreover, for many West Germans, functionalism's "aesthetics of renunciation" were too closely associated with wartime rationing and postwar privation. Just as economic recovery did away with functionalism's originary moral economy of material scarcity and anti-ornamental design, so too did postwar prosperity vitiate its romantic ethos of collective sacrifice and deferred gratification. Increasing affluence meant that functionalism was based less on social need than (elitist) desire. Elevating select functional design objects as valued "culture goods" through alternative representations (e.g., the Werkbund rooms and museum vitrines) only strengthened this perception of elitism. In the end, what exactly underpinned the Werkbund's preference for Scandinavian teakwood modern design over mainstream pop culture items? Or what specific design standards justified the selection of

Figure 20. Werkbund display room, 1963. Source: *Design in Deutschland, 1933–1945,* ed. S. Weissler (Giessen, 1990), 133. Courtesy of Werkbund-Archiv, Berlin.

the array of objects in the Werkbund display rooms, some of which clearly departed from any rigid modernist aesthetic canon (figure 20)? Of course, the connection between functionalism and elitism was nothing new to the 1950s. It was certainly there in the Wilhelmine Werkbund and flourished during the 1920s, when a host of architects, designers, and publicists affiliated with Neues Bauen radicalism made such aesthetic preferences the cornerstone of middle-class social engineering. The class-specific dimension of functionalist modernism—despite the all-inclusive rhetoric of the "new German living culture"—was equally present in the Third Reich as well.[130] But it was particularly pronounced in the '50s, as functionalism was untethered from older cultural narratives of collectivist culture and the virtues of austerity. The Bavarian Werkbund's 1959 publicity photograph of Wagenfeld-designed vases neatly reflected this shift (figure 21). Unlike '20s design photography, anonymous industrial origins are not celebrated, nor is use-value paramount. Instead, the vases are represented as distinctive art objects con-
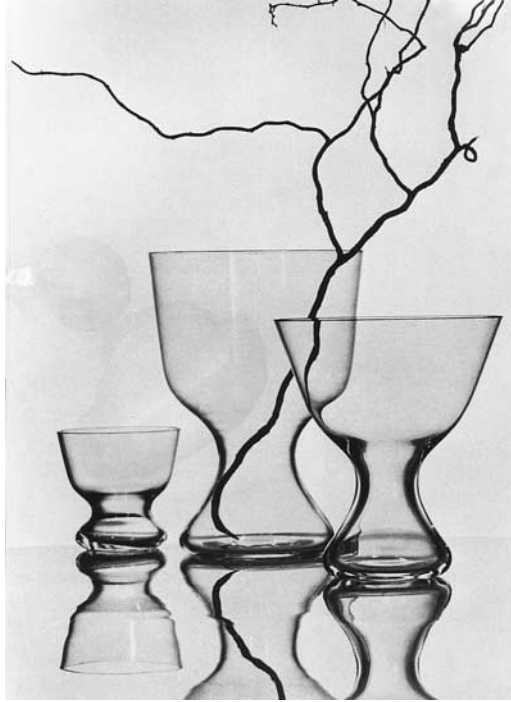
Figure 21. "Good Form" photography, 1959. Glass vases: Wilhelm Wagenfeld for WMF, Geislingen/Steige. Source: *Gerät in der Wohnung: DWB Bayern #3,* ed. H. Wichmann (Munich, 1962), unpaginated. Courtesy of Deutscher-Werkbund/Bayern, Munich.

noting modern style and taste. Functionalism had gone upmarket. The original conception of functionalism as the death of bourgeois aesthetics had now returned as the design choice of the Federal Republic's new *Bildungsbürgertum* (cultivated bourgeoisie).[131]

However, to dismiss the Werkbund's post-1945 career as simply misplaced political energy and/or outdated mandarin moralizing misses the important historical issues at work in its postwar reform crusade. Its dream to preserve the cultural value of everyday objects was primarily one of re-enchanting the modern commodity as a distinctive cultural good insulated from Nazi metaphysics and American commercialism. The Werkbund faith in the cultural transubstantiation of common household objects was at the heart of the broader mission to design a

new and abiding West German material culture. But it was not limited to the Werkbund; as we shall see, other postwar design groups were preoccupied with similar ideas, even if they went about tackling the issue in very different ways. But before doing that, we must first examine the importance of '50s pop design as a formidable alternative to the "good form" crusade.

The Nierentisch Nemesis

The Promise and Peril of Organic Design

However important the revival of "good form" design was for the postwar generation, it was hardly West Germany's only design culture in the 1950s. The decade also witnessed the explosion of a new "organic design" in West German domestic furnishings. This design wave generally went by the term "Nierentisch culture," after its main icon, a small three-legged side table shaped rather like a kidney *(Niere)* (figure 22). Stylistically it was a firm rejection of the austere boxiness of neofunctionalism in favor of more playful lines, asymmetrical shapes, and bold colors. It represented a vital break from an unwanted past by creating a new visual vocabulary of restored optimism and material prosperity. Nierentisch design very much captured the decade, as evidenced by its strong presence in '50s everyday life and in the memories of West Germans a generation later. Significantly, it also developed a certain concept of both design and designer in stark opposition to its "good form" counterpart. Yet it was by no means universally welcomed as the new aesthetic of renewal and progress. On the contrary, the popularity of Nierentisch design soon gave rise to a counter-crusade by high design publicists and West German intellectuals, who roundly condemned it as crass department store kitsch and irresponsible design. Thus this '50s design fad offers an alternative account of West German modernism, particularly in its provoking such serious discussion about the very form of a progressive post-Nazi commodity culture.
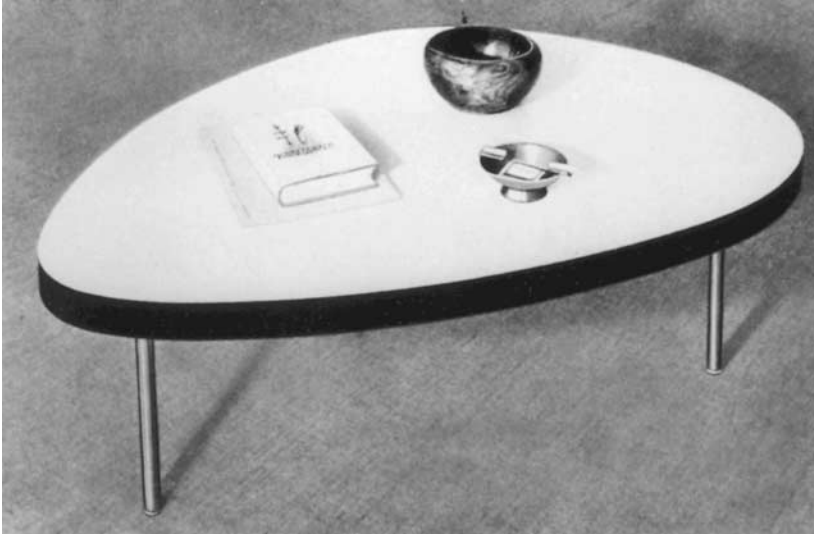
Figure 22. Nierentisch. Wood with black and white resopal surfacing. Producer: Wörrlein-Werkstätten, Ansbach. There were countless design variations of this basic "couch table" design produced in the '50s and early '60s. Source: Ruth Geyer-Raack and Sibylle Geyer, *Möbel und Raum* (Berlin, 1955), 23. Courtesy of Ullstein-Verlag, Berlin.

The "Nierentisch Age"

We should first clarify what was conventionally understood as "Nierentisch style." To begin with, although its design forms were inspired by the world of nature, it was by no means a replay of the Third Reich's völkish naturalism. Gone were the agrarian motifs, rough-hewn wood furniture, and homespun craft wares glorified during the Nazi era. Nor did Nierentisch design turn its back on the industrial world. In fact, it openly celebrated new modern and synthetic materials of all sorts, such as chrome, foam rubber, and above all plastics.[1] Yet it was an imitation of nature all the same: its recurrent organic forms were modeled after the smooth, sinuous shapes found in microscopic cellular life. Edges were rounded, lines were bowed, volumes were dilated and surfaces polished as part of this more general Atomic Age fascination with the subvisible world of microbiology. Bright, even brash colors were usually added to lend the object a vibrant and festive air. Special emphasis was placed upon the object's mobility and free form; its graceful lines and asymmetrical angles were expressly designed to leave behind the heavy representational decoration of yesteryear. Likewise, organic design sharply departed from

functional utility in favor of splashy presence and whimsical form. The adjectives "dynamic," "rhythmic," "diagonal," "joyous," and "loosened up" *(locker)* were repeatedly used to describe the wonders of this new chic modernity as the very embodiment of the postwar desire for lightness of being. While one could detect echoes in postwar architecture and automobile design, organic design really made its mark in West German home furnishings. Lamps, furniture, tables, vases, ashtrays, and sundry other domestic accoutrements were completely made over in the '50s according to this new biomorphic design spirit. Favorite items included the spindle-legged "bag lamp," foam-padded "cocktail chairs," bulbous portable radios, amoeba-shaped ashtrays, and curvy plastic loveseats, as well as abstract designs on tapestries, wallpaper, and shower curtains.

How popular this style really was is virtually impossible to gauge with any real precision. Whereas one 1954 opinion poll revealed that as few as 7 percent of those asked could actually identify so-called Nierentisch forms, others have claimed that "almost every family possessed its modern Nierentisch."[2] Leafing through the design journals, lifestyle magazines, and home decoration literature from the era, however, makes plain just how far-reaching its influence was. And even if its popular appeal had largely died out by the early 1960s, it enjoyed remarkable staying power in the hearts and minds of West Germans decades later—so much so that the pop culture nostalgia for the "fab fifties" during the early 1980s put the Nierentisch at the very center of the recollected material memories of the decade.[3] For if nothing else, this organic design furnished the decade with a fetching new iconography of postwar life, liberty, and consumer happiness.[4]

But where did Nierentisch organicism come from? Answering this question is not easy, in large part because it was not a real "culture" as such. Unlike West Germany's more established design network, it had no cultural institutions, schools, museums, or government agencies underwriting its design practices. There was no equivalent to the German Werkbund, the Ulm Institute of Design, or the German Design Council. Nor were Nierentisch designers self-conscious missionaries espousing the importance of design as cultural redemption; on the contrary, they were usually subcontracted artists or low-profile in-house product stylists. In fact, the inventor of the original Nierentisch is still unknown, and the legion of Nierentisch-style designers remains obscure. In contrast to the Werkbund's "good form" functionalist crusade, Nierentisch design was not a high-minded cultural project bent on radical social reform, but a mostly commercial phenomenon spearheaded by a loose net-

work of business groups and advertisers intent on remaking West German interiors and housewares. It was the first major new postwar commercial design trend, and it is precisely Nierentisch's close association with economic recovery that long condemned it to the cultural margins. At the time its relatively cheap department-store wares were never invested with any elitist aura or displayed in museums as exemplary cultural artifacts. Given that "low" culture (at least until fairly recently) curried little archival respect, much of Nierentisch design's documentation and many of its artifacts have disappeared. To this day there exists no collection of archival material left for posterity, only a few long-discarded objects at the flea market, yellowed advertising literature, nostalgic gallery retrospectives, and hazy reminiscences. Adding to the research difficulties is the fact that those involved in the crusade of forging a new West German industrial culture as a shining beacon of post-Nazi cultural renewal and progress—namely, the "good form" publicists—constantly dismissed Nierentisch as unbefitting such a lofty cultural enterprise. The result was that such pop design was consistently excluded from those international shows and cultural venues that broadcast industrial design as both cause and effect of true cultural reeducation. West German cultural historians followed suit, either ignoring Nierentisch altogether or tarring it with unusually disparaging terms.[5] As a result, this remarkably pervasive design style possessed few cultural brokers or champions, thereby leaving the perplexing impression that Nierentisch was everywhere and nowhere at the same time, arriving and departing in accordance with those mysterious forces that churn the endless succession of short-lived cultural fads everywhere.

Even so, something surely can be said about its origins, its development, and its significance as both use-object and social symbol. Plainly a number of influences contributed to the '50s explosion of Nierentisch Modern, so many that the problem here is perhaps a surfeit of sources in a genealogy that is far from purebred. Most directly, West German modernism was influenced by '50s avant-garde design. It owed a great deal to the work of high-profile international furniture designers such as Charles Eames, Isamu Noguchi, Harry Bertoia, Arne Jacobsen, Eero Saarinen, and Egon Eiermann, who all consciously sought to free domestic objects from the interwar mantra of "form follows function." In their eyes, the dwelling was less a "living machine" than a relaxed symbiosis of modern people and modern things; design was supposed to be free and flexible in order to complement the dweller's personal tastes and individuality. For formal inspiration these designers also looked to the

world of nature. To them the guiding concern was to wed primordial nature (again, the world of microscopic forms) and up-to-date industrial technology, organicism and the machine. The ubiquitous ovoid shapes and sinuous lines of '50s domestic design neatly reflected this new postwar "industrial naturalism."[6] These designers in turn were following the lead of several key avant-garde painters and sculptors who were interested in similar themes, including Wassily Kandinsky, Joan Miro, Hans Arp, Jackson Pollock, and Henry Moore. Despite their differences, these artists all sought to break away from mimetic naturalism and figurative conventions to give expression to the primal energies and subconscious forces of life teeming below the crust of political necessity and everyday reality.[7] Postwar furniture designers in effect were translating this '50s artistic antinaturalism and "radical freedom" into the world of material culture. Nierentisch, so went the reasoning, was essentially a mainstream commercialization of these high culture impulses.

Others have traced Nierentisch's lineage further back, arguing that it was the rightful heir to various European design movements from the late nineteenth century onward—most notably German Jugendstil, Spanish Art Nouveau, French surrealism, and Italian neoliberty architecture.[8] In this rendition, Nierentisch was read as part of a broader European tradition of antifunctionalism that has stressed the decorative and naturalistic over the austere and unadorned. Still others prefer to reduce Nierentisch's lineage to one progenitor, arguing that it was most indebted to 1930s American streamline design, whose dynamic new style remade commonplace household objects according to the streamlined "aesthetics of speed" found among American high-speed trains, airplanes, automobiles, and military weaponry through the 1950s.[9] While some cultural historians have often been interested in '50s design primarily as the genesis of postmodernism *avant la lettre,* they have succeeded in reclaiming these long-maligned '50s forms as quite original and innovative.[10] One prominent design historian even went so far as to say that organic "dionysian design" really provided the '50s with its most memorable forms.[11] In so doing these revisionists helped dispel tired clichés about '50s material culture as being a rank stew of "motorized Biedermeier" and "Coca-Colonization," by showing that it was better characterized as a rich interplay of modern styles old and new.

Not that such organic design was confined to West Germany. It was a potent force across the West in the 1950s, enjoying a strong presence in England, France, Italy, Scandinavia, the United States, and even Japan. By the early 1950s organic design emerged as a formidable International

Style in its own right, as best evidenced at the world's leading design show, the Milan Design Triennale, in 1951 and 1954. There was, of course, a good deal of variety in how this style was incorporated into specific national design traditions. While Finland and Italy, for example, exercised little restraint in quickly exploiting the sculptural possibilities of new organic design, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, Holland, England, and West Germany were more muted in their stylistic play. Generally the countries that most resisted the new trend were those where functionalist modernism had held sway between the wars. But even in these lands, there was an undeniable relaxation of design forms and a discernible departure from the puritanical asceticism of 1920s design, giving rise to a new family resemblance of international organic design. This is why some have concluded that organic design—as seen in anything from the hula hoop to the automobile to the double helix itself—was the real Zeitgeist of the era.[12] In 1955 one West German observer even remarked that the era's uncanny "similar styling of modern objects ranging from ashtrays to skyscrapers" had thus given birth to "the first new shared epoch style since Rococo," and the cultural historian Albrecht Bangert felt justified in christening the '50s the "Nierentisch Age."[13]

But despite its international range, Nierentisch modernism possessed roots closer to home. After all, its emergence was in many ways a byproduct of the postwar popularization of Bauhaus modernism. At first this may seem puzzling, especially since organic design supposedly arose as a reaction against Bauhaus functionalism. True enough, but it is wrong to assume that the Bauhaus legacy was limited to hard-edged modern architecture and industrial design. In fact, the most influential aspect of the Bauhaus program after 1945 was not its architectural or even industrial design legacy, but rather its painterly one. The first postwar Bauhaus retrospective, for instance, focused, not on the design school's architects or designers, but rather its painters.[14] Thanks to this show and other similar cultural events, the Bauhaus's public image in the '50s shifted from that of a hotbed of radical architecture to a bold yet innocent school of fine arts.[15] The ongoing postwar rehabilitation of those painters condemned by the Third Reich in the famous 1937 Munich Degenerate Art exposition—which included the Bauhäusler Paul Klee, Wassily Kandinsky, and Lyonel Feininger—did much to ensure their status as modernist heroes. Klee and Kandinsky in particular were endlessly lionized as the very symbols of antifascist modernism and liberal humanism, as well as the newfound prophets of '50s Abstract Expressionism.[16]

The Bauhaus renaissance in the postwar fine arts took place against

the backdrop of the more general restoration of the Bauhaus as a polestar of West German culture. Its dramatic closure by the Nazis in 1933 together with the German Democratic Republic's official vilification of the "Bauhaus-style" as sinister bourgeois formalism and American cultural imperialism made it an unusually potent symbol of antifascism, anticommunism, and progressive liberal culture.[17] Paul Reilly, director of England's Council of Industrial Design, spoke for many when he remarked that the Bauhaus "has become a symbol for all that is antitotalitarian in design, as much in contrast with the new Socialist Realism of the East as the *ci-devant* 'Blu-bo' [abbreviation for the Nazi "blood and soil" slogan, *Blut und Boden*] of Nazism," in short, a "passport to respectability and a clean bill of political health."[18] That many of its leading figures now resided in the United States also helped bridge (West) German and American modernism in a new transatlantic cultural partnership.[19] Nevertheless it was the Bauhaus's painterly legacy that enjoyed most public esteem, and it was precisely Klee's and Kandinsky's legacy of nonrepresentational modernism that most inspired Nierentisch design style. Thus the '50s witnessed a new marriage of high art and pop culture design, as the abstract motifs of the Bauhaus masters were routinely applied to common household objects.

Such ideological factors were also complemented by new material innovations. To a significant degree the popularization of abstract organic design can be attributed to the widespread introduction of plastics in the 1950s. Not that plastics were an invention of the postwar period; its roots in fact hark back to the interwar years. In Germany, plastics output tripled between 1924 and 1936 and then quadrupled again by 1944. By then the country was producing as much plastic as the Americans. But unlike the United States, German plastics manufacturing rarely touched the consumer sector. In fact, its mass production of synthetic plastics *(Kunststoffe)* first began during the war as an industrial substitute for wartime steel rationing.[20] Not until the mid-1950s did the "plastics craze" invade West German homes and the design of common consumer goods on a massive scale.[21] Its cheap manufacturing costs and unlimited possibilities of form meant that plastics soon began to replace more traditional design materials (porcelain, ceramic, and/or glass) in West German households.[22] No less significant was that plastics enabled designers to move beyond the limitations of wood, and metal design as well, in order to exploit the more sinuous and slender lines possible in plastic production.[23] The rounded shapes of Rosenthal vases, Eero Saarinen chairs, and Wagenfeld lamps were only a few famous examples of the new artis-

tic trend toward moving beyond the stringent formal codes of the past. While it is true that the "good form" design culture also worked to wed its rationalist design principles with plastics production, the technical possibilities of plastics—what Roland Barthes suggestively called "ubiquity made visible"—favored organic design's antifunctionalist ethos and experimentation with form.[24] West German furniture makers, distributors, and advertisers did not take long to recognize its commercial potential. With the explosion of plastics and abstract design housewares came a new cottage industry of home decoration guides, exhibitions, and features in West Germany's leading women's magazines (e.g., *Constanze* and *Film und Frau*) as well as "lifestyle journals" such as *Die Kunst und das schöne Heim* (Art and the beautiful home) and *Innenarchitektur* (Interior design), all of which tirelessly extolled plastic domestic design objects and furniture as the epitome of postwar elegance and modern living.[25]

In this view, Nierentisch populism was a distinctly West German phenomenon. The new nation's widespread interest in modern design of all sorts seemingly pointed up a decidedly postfascist cultural disposition, as a country virtually cut off from international cultural trends during the Nazi era now freely opened its borders (and homes) to new artistic impulses. "Being modern" and the love of internationalism now replaced the former preoccupation with national *Volkskultur* just a few years earlier.[26] Little wonder that kitsch itself was redefined at the time less as bad taste than as a "fear of the new" and a "flight into the past."[27] While this phenomenon obviously occurred elsewhere in Europe, the speed and scope with which it took place in West Germany was unique. It touched everything from economic policy to clothing, from diplomacy to eating habits. The organic design wave was at the very heart of this post-Nazi modernization of postwar everyday life and culture, as its fresh lines and bright colors became an abiding "symbol of economic dynamism."[28] One might even go further in suggesting that Nierentisch design's dynamic forms mirrored a widely shared desire for movement and progress toward a hopeful future. Or, put differently, its appeal was partly linked to its ability to help forget a heinous past. One West German publicist explained its significance this way: "Everywhere were curves, swollen shapes, pendulous forms. With them the evil jagged edges of the swastika, the Hitler-salute, and the SS's angular graphic script were to be forgiven and forgotten by grace of the rounded shapes of beetles, mussels, and kidneys. In these forms we felt ourselves reconciled [with the past]."[29] Another cultural historian went further in asserting that the prolifera-

tion of '50s modern forms primarily represented the "visualized desire to cleanse collective guilt after the war."[30] For a generation wishing to put the past behind them and enjoy life again, Nierentisch modernism was synonymous with starting afresh.[31]

Particularly revealing in this regard was where such organic design surfaced. Although it found isolated expression in West German architecture (West Berlin's 1957 Kongresshalle is perhaps the most famous example) and in part informed the dominant image of the new "loosened up" and organically integrated city shared by postwar urban planners, it was most apparent in prime fantasy spaces.[32] One example was movie theater interiors. This was by no means a trivial case, given the sociological importance of cinema for West Germans after 1945. Among the ruins film emerged as a favorite pastime in large measure because it allowed people to temporarily escape the din and difficulty of postwar life outside the theater. By 1955 there were already some 6,500 new cinema houses throughout the country; that year alone some 2.7 million movie tickets were sold.[33] Cinema houses, and in particular their interiors, were quickly identified as a new site for fantasy design. Paul Bode's influential '50s cinema architecture, as well as his widely read textbook on the "decorative effect of space," was a good indication.[34] Most illustrative of his design conception was his Alhambra movie house in Mannheim. As shown in figure 23, all of the elements of his design philosophy—undulating uneven lines, arresting colors, and atmospheric lighting—were featured as integral to this new theatrical fantasy. While only a fraction of West German cinema houses were outfitted in this manner, the wide influence of Bode's work on West German cinema design and fantasy architecture of all sorts attests to this new sensibility of longing and escape.

Another significant venue for organic design was the boutique interior. Throughout the 1950s there was a broad effort to modernize shop design. At the time the shopping experience itself was being fundamentally transformed, with the introduction of installment purchasing, extended consumer credit, and self-service. As mentioned in chapter 2, the arrival of the self-service store in West Germany effectively unleashed an explosion in product packaging in which commodity aesthetics now had to sell the product on their own.[35] Accompanying these changes came the effort to redesign shop interiors in order to capitalize on this consumer boom. Shops often took stylistic cues from art galleries in trying to create new small-scale consumer dreamworlds. Here organic design was liberally applied to the display cases and windows. As seen in
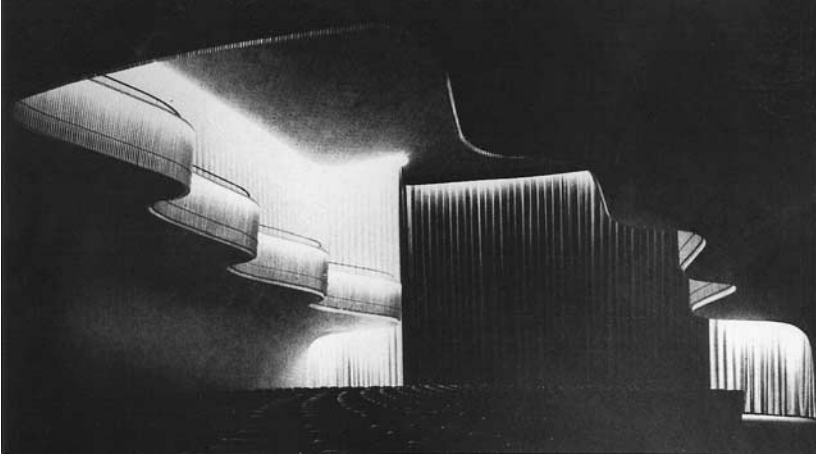
Figure 23. Cinema interior, Mannheim, circa 1955. With its atmospheric quality and undulating lines, this was the most celebrated movie house design of the 1950s. Design: Paul Bode. Source: Paul Bode, *Kinos, Filmtheater, und Filmvorführräume* (Munich, 1957), 188. Courtesy of Georg D. W. Callwey, Munich.

figure 24, airy showrooms, wavy-lined counters, abstract decorative motifs, and arresting color contrasts were frequently used to stage the overall effect. In this way, both cinema and shop interiors became a favorite source for what one critic aptly called West Germany's new "architecture of illusion."[36]

Yet Nierentisch design's new aesthetic of rupture is best appreciated in relation to the other design styles of the period. As noted, its principal stylistic enemy was the Third Reich's "blood and soil" naturalism. In Nierentisch design, there were never any völkisch motifs, rural scenery, and/or traditional decorative appliqué. But the disavowal of Nazi era design could be seen in other ways too. Nierentisch's rejection of those furniture and domestic designs espoused by the Third Reich's Federal Home Office (Reichstättenamt) went hand in hand with the shift away from another popular furniture style from the early Nazi years, the so-called Gelsenkirchener Baroque. As noted in chapter 2, this ponderous dark-wood furniture had survived its 1930s popularity among the petit-bourgeoisie in Germany to become the dominant style of the early postwar furniture industry.[37] For many it offered a sort of aesthetics of remembering that visually connected the "Wir sind wieder wer" prosperity of the early 1930s with the economic take-off of the 1950s. In part Nierentisch design arose as a reaction against such design conservatism after the war.

Figure 24. Boutique interior, Munich, 1950. Source: Konrad Gatz, *Läden* (Munich, 1950), 170. Courtesy of Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

Those promoting the new organic design wasted little time in tarring this '30s style as old-fashioned, culturally retrograde, and even politically suspect. Many '50s advertisements and home decoration guides were quite explicit in alluding to the cultural dangers of clinging to the styles of the past, while at the same time calling attention to the cultural windfall of choosing the new. At issue was more than style, however. Gelsenkirchener Baroque was also criticized for its "illiberal" tendencies because its furniture was usually sold as prefabricated complete living room sets. Nierentisch design pieces, by contrast, were sold as separate mix-and-match items that celebrated individuality and personal choice. Thus, organic design's form and display supposedly were more in keeping with the new postwar democratic disposition. Not that Nierentisch managed to dethrone Gelsenkirchener Baroque from postwar interiors; the older style remained the darling of West Germany's famed Neckermann and Quelle mail-order catalogs through the 1960s.[38] Nevertheless, organic design was successful in peddling its style as the visual rupture with a brown past and the very embodiment of a modern progressive lifestyle.

If Nierentisch was a break from traditional German design, it was also

a reaction against modern functionalism. Indeed, the battle between organicists and functionalists accounted for much postwar sound and fury about the most suitable expression of post-Nazi commodity culture. In the 1950s organic design denounced functionalist rationalism as puritanical and lifeless, and worked to replace its guiding form—the white cube—with more natural ovoid shapes. Furthermore, Nierentisch's self-image as the aesthetics of rupture had some basis in the claim that functionalism was tied to the past. As shown in chapter 1, functionalist design had hardly been in eclipse during the Third Reich, as could be seen in international shows (e.g., the 1937 World Exposition in Paris) and domestic exhibitions, home decoration literature, "Beauty of Labor" factory interiors and canteens, as well as "Strength through Joy" cruise ships and recreation centers. And, as discussed in chapter 2, the rejection of functionalism as part of an unwanted past was equally the result of its ironic triumph during the "hunger years" of 1945–48, when postwar privation gave rise to the "emergency functionalism" of survival tactics. Those involved in popularizing organic design as the aesthetics of joy and recovery thus capitalized on the fact that many people associated functionalism with wartime rationing and/or postwar misery.

All of which confirms that the design of consumer goods mattered greatly as a means of negotiating past and present. This negotiation was tied to the enormous social and psychological sea change accompanying the restoration of consumerism in the wake of the 1948 Currency Reform. Scholars have rightly made a good deal of these transformations in studying the importance of the Marshall Plan, West German industrial policy, and European economic integration. Almost everyone is familiar with the miracle story of the West German economy, how in the span of a few short years its export production (thanks in part to the new industrial demands of the Korean War) lagged behind only the United States and the Soviet Union. By 1955 Western Europe had become eager buyers of West German refrigerators, consumer appliances, industrial equipment, and automobiles. Perhaps the greatest significance of this economic growth is the extent to which it shaped politics, since it was precisely the boom that assured the lasting success of West German liberal democracy.

It pays to recall that in 1945 West Germans had hardly greeted liberalism as a long-sought solution to their harrowing postwar plight, not least because it arrived at the end of bayonets. Moreover, most Germans still associated political liberalism with the "turnip democracy" of the Weimar Republic. The widespread privation of the immediate post-1945

period did nothing to dispel this perceived linkage of liberalism and misery. So skeptical were many West Germans about liberalism that poll results from the early 1950s revealed that a good number of them still regarded Hitler as "one of the greatest German leaders," and often counted the prewar Nazi years among the most prosperous and enjoyable.[39] But economic growth forever changed West German political attitudes and allegiances. As Michael Wildt has persuasively argued, it was not any love for liberalism that ultimately turned West Germans into liberals; rather, they "became democrats through consumption." Political stability and legitimacy, he contends, were won in the sphere of consumer objects and commodity design.[40] Only the return of ample goods engendered confidence in the brave new postwar world, so that for the first time since 1945 a "whole nation now looked with hope and joy toward the future."[41] In other words, the Federal Republic's celebrated banalization of virtue—one that supposedly reversed the Nazi banalization of evil—was really bought with the visible signs of economic affluence. The new association of liberalism and prosperity was only reinforced as West Germans glanced across into the GDR, where ration cards and consumer shortages remained the norm until 1958.[42] It was prosperity then that effectively demarcated past from present, West Germany from East Germany. This meant that economics was more than the motor of West German politics—it was also its social mortar. The economic historian Werner Abelshauser was on the mark in saying that "the history of the Federal Republic is above all its economic history," in that it provided West Germans with a "vehicle for national identification or at least national self-understanding."[43] After all, it was the feverish consumer sector that bound citizen and state by fulfilling newly demilitarized, decentralized, and privatized dreams of the good life.[44]

Nierentisch culture helped give form to this new dream of prosperity, and it is not difficult to see how this new organic design was inseparable from the country's burgeoning economy. If nothing else, its popularity signaled that the struggle of the late 1940s and early 1950s for basic necessities—shelter, food, heat, and clothing—had been largely won, after which West Germans could turn their attention and newly earned disposable incomes toward the acquisition of material comforts. It is then tempting to say that Nierentisch furniture took its place alongside vacation trips to Italy, Yugoslavia, and Spain as the expressions of a newfound "hope for a world full of private happiness."[45] Yet this overlooks the fact that prosperity, in fact, did not arrive so quickly. Despite the rosy memories of the "Golden '50s" as a consumer paradise generation later,

the effects of the economic take-off—at least in terms of domestic developments—were slow and fitful for many, as the country's famed "democratization of consumption" did not really begin until the late 1950s.[46] It was only then that most West Germans—thanks in large measure to extended credit—began to purchase televisions, Mediterranean vacations, and automobiles. Yet it was precisely this situation that made the Nierentisch phenomenon so key. For '50s organic design objects (mass-produced vases, lamps, tapestries, and furniture pieces) were quite cheap by comparison. In a culture desperately seeking to rid itself of the past and to live "à la Picasso," this spate of '50s pop culture items provided a ready consumer antidote.[47] Knock-offs of high design pieces and abstract art–inspired housewares were affordable to most everyone. And for those still unable to purchase these items, Nierentisch forms were often made at home. The point is that even those at the margins of the "economic miracle" wanted to be a part of this cultural take-off. It was not just the availability of consumer goods that counted; it was also their modern styling that excited new consumer dreams and desires.

The Evil of Banality

Why then were West German intellectuals and design publicists so adamantly opposed to Nierentisch modernism? If, as many contemporaries noted, Nierentisch was largely a mainstream popularization of abstract art and high design, why was it regarded as so threatening? To adequately answer this question, we must first examine how abstract art found its way into West German mainstream culture. We need not rehearse here the well-known story of Abstract Expressionism's meteoric rise as the postwar "lingua franca" of Western international culture.[48] By the mid-1950s this style—which also went by such names as art informel, Tachism, action painting, and/or nonrepresentational art—had become West Germany's preeminent form of painterly modernism.[49] It was used as a means of distancing West German culture from both Nazi naturalism and Soviet-style socialist realism, while at the same time fortifying cultural relations with the liberal West. The promotion of modern art (as illustrated in the treatment of Klee and Kandinsky) was thus integral to the larger cultural crusade to prove that the Federal Republic had been genuinely denazified by resuming Germany's pre-1933 role as a hospitable host to progressive international trends in the visual arts. The countless modern art shows and galleries created in the 1950s, to

say nothing of the 1955 founding of Kassel's massive quinquennial Documenta art show, bespoke this determination to start anew.[50]

Such trends were also amply registered in the home decoration journals. A telling barometer was the widely read magazine *Die Kunst und das schöne Heim*. Unlike many other postwar interior design journals, this one had long roots. It was originally founded in 1898 as *Dekorative Kunst* (Decorative art) and soon became one of Germany's leading cultural organs. In 1929 it was renamed *Das schöne Heim* (The beautiful home) and continued publication under that name until 1944. In 1949 the magazine was revived with its new name, one that combined the elements of both previous titles. *Die Kunst und das schöne Heim* perfectly reflected the postwar linkage of modern art and the modern home. From the very outset, it served as a conduit for discussing the merits of modern art and architecture, with many a story on the private homes of famous architects as a means of illustrating the perceived affinity among art, architecture, and domesticity. But in terms of industrial design, the magazine's first few years only confirmed that there was as yet no marked break from '30s modernism. In Werkbund fashion, the journal's editor even argued that West Germany must "make a virtue of necessity," to the extent that "spiritual value" ought to suffuse the "graceful forms, beautiful proportions, and simple-noble substance" of new housewares.[51] Accompanying this article and most others through the early 1950s were the old standbys—Gretsch crockery, Wagenfeld bowls, von Wersin tinware, and Petri porcelain dishware. The furniture spreads too could have been lifted from any German Labor Front brochure from the early 1940s. True, the magazine published a growing number of articles on international trends, particularly new design work from Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States. But the point is that in the early postwar years there was no dramatic departure from '30s modernism.

All of this changed in the early 1950s with a marked loosening up of design, as the international biomorphic design wave quickly took root in the magazine's pages. Coverage of the 1951 Constructa building exposition in Hanover introduced new organic furniture and the then-novel Nierentisch to its readers.[52] While some worried about the "dangers of this new form," there was no turning back.[53] Gone were the old platitudes about stylistic asceticism and in rushed the whole repertoire of Nierentisch forms. (Granted, the organic design objects featured in the magazine were hardly the cheap versions that most West Germans were buying; most were more high-brow international signature design pieces.) Notable too was the shift in product photography. The growing influence
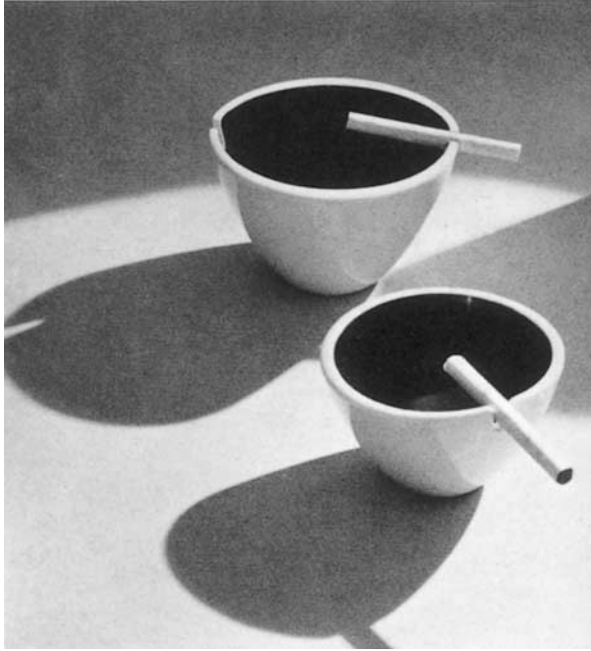
Figure 25. Modern ashtrays, 1955. Designer: Trude Petri. Source: *Die Kunst und das schöne Heim* 54, no. 1 (October 1955): 37. Courtesy of Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

of Abstract Expressionism left its mark not only on the forms themselves, but also in the very representation of objects, even in the photography of more classically modern designs. Figure 25, for example, shows a pair of Trude Petri ashtrays. Here the skewed angle of the cigarettes, the stark contrast of black and white, and especially the rounded shadow play all lend the object a fresh abstract composition far removed from the world of use-value function. The same can be said for the Gretsch-designed Pott cutlery in figure 26; the diagonal lines and wavy shadow tones make the picture look more akin to Hans Arp's work than to common cutlery. The connection between everyday objects (even quite classical ones at that) and abstract art was even more pronounced in the arrangement shown in figure 27, where the asymmetrical placement of the cups, saucers, and plates on the abstract-design tapestry helped accentuate their lightness, mobility, and artistic quality far more than their utilitarian attributes. The issue is not simply that these objects were photographed differently than before, but that new impulses in the visual arts had com-
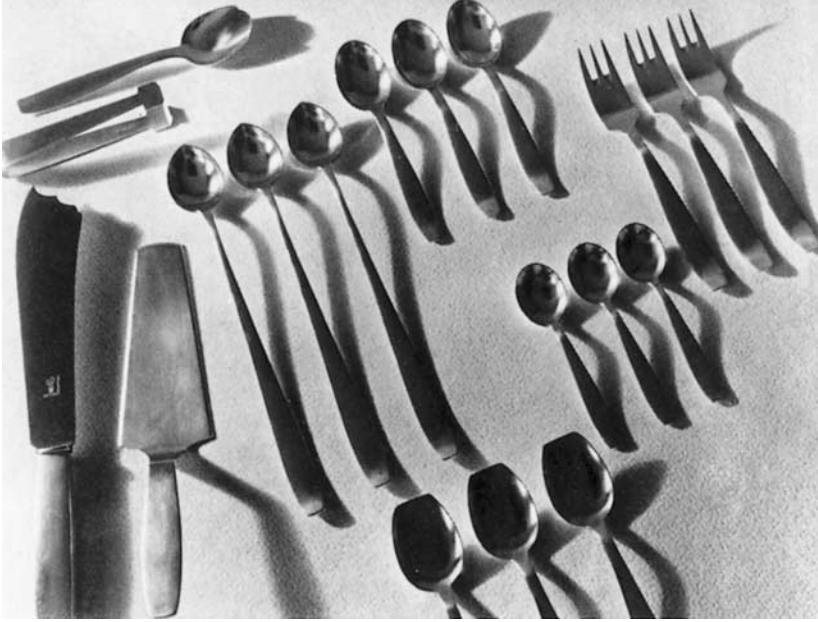
Figure 26. Pott cutlery, 1953. Designer: Hermann Gretsch for C. W. Pott. Source: *Die Kunst und das schöne Heim* 51, no. 6 (March 1953): 239. Courtesy of Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

pletely remade the era's forms and stylistic representations for everyday objects.

While the makeover of these spaces and styles helped popularize nonrepresentational painting, the mass media further accelerated the process. Not infrequently the new semiotics of consumer modernity were mutually reinforcing. For instance, the modern-design electronics firm of Braun AG (which will be discussed in detail in chapter 4) often used abstract art and jazz images in its advertisements to create an aura of international modernism for its products. Many art exhibitions of the period in turn featured jazz music and Braun design objects in their reception rooms. Jazz concerts often took place in venues that surrounded the performance with abstract art, modern furniture, and new design products; in a similar manner, many '50s jazz records were adorned with abstract-art album covers. Such interconnection of the visual and performing arts was not in itself new; fin-de-siècle and interwar Europe had experienced similar cross-fertilization. What was novel was the extent to which this postwar modernist culture was so closely attached to the marketplace. Just as these abstract artists had worked to liberate art from the object,
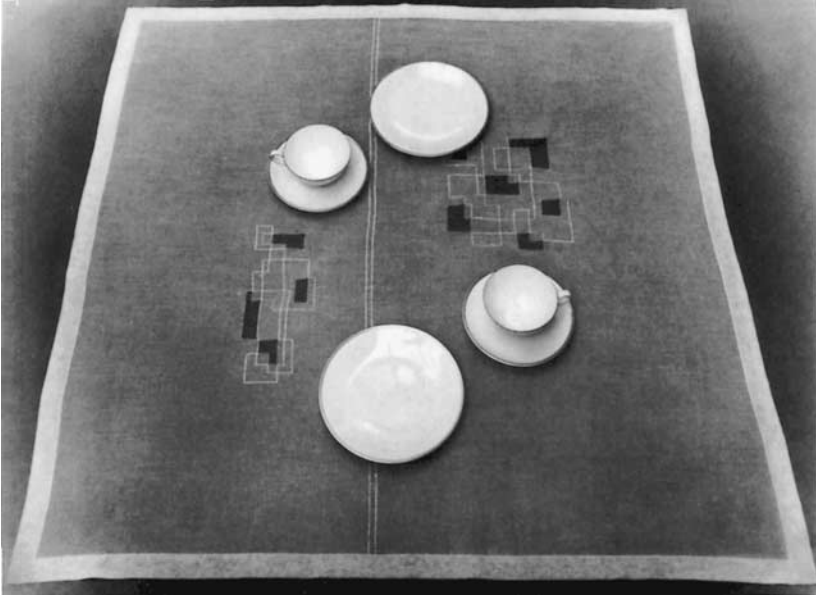
Figure 27. Dishware display, 1953. China design: Hermann Gretsch. Tapestry design: Hanna Völkel. Source: *Die Kunst und das schöne Heim* 52, no. 3 (December 1953): 110. Courtesy of Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

so too was art liberated from *Kultur* proper, with the odd consequence that abstract art's aesthetics of privacy were suddenly ubiquitous. Existentialism had gone chic, as the most inaccessible of art forms had been ironically turned into pop culture fodder.

It was in this context that Nierentisch design played a decisive part, for it represented the very juncture of high and low culture, exclusive art world and common living room. Granted, the '50s commercialization of abstract art could be seen everywhere. It suffused the mass production of art posters and postcards, as well as the era's jewelry, fashion wear, graphic design, and advertising. One West German company even manufactured a line of Paul Klee clothing, in which motifs from his work were stenciled onto blouses and sweaters. But it was in the realm of home furnishings (thanks in part to the explosion of '50s home decoration literature and journals) where High Modernism found its most popular expression. Nierentisch design had thus literally domesticated Abstract Expressionism, as Jean Arp–style side tables, Klee-like tapestries, imitation Alexander Calder mobiles, Pollock-esque curtain designs, and Henry Moore–inspired sitting chairs now crowded West German interiors.[54]

Figure 28. Sprengel Chocolate advertisement, circa 1950, designed by Karl-Otto Götz. Courtesy of Stollwerck AG, Cologne.

Often the connection between artists and mass culture was quite direct. Over the course of the 1950s a number of abstract expressionist painters were hired by West German industry to help sell modern art and design forms. Willi Baumeister produced a series of curtain prints for Pausa AG; Fritz Winter designed tablecloths for Göppinger Plastics; members of the postwar art group Young Westerners *(Junge Westen)* drafted motifs for Rasch Tapestries; and Karl-Otto Götz drew advertising logos for Sprengel Chocolate Company (figure 28).[55] Various industrialists even opened new art galleries featuring the exclusive work of those artists who had collaborated with their production staff.[56] Rosenthal crystal and porcelain was perhaps most famous for subcontracting leading artists and sculptors such as Eva Zeisel, Tapio Wirkkala, and even Henry

Moore to develop new abstract design forms for the company's organic design repertoire.[57] The significance of this, however, went beyond saying that '50s art and commerce had become quite intimate. What had happened was that the display rooms of abstract art had been radically enlarged. No longer confined to small galleries and art shows for the "happy few," abstract art now permeated the most common spaces of postwar life—office, boutique, home. Modern art and modern lifestyle were thus conjoined in a new partnership based on cultural reform and economic prosperity.

No wonder that such Nierentisch Modern was often tagged "neo-Jugendstil" at the time. For many West German commentators, 1950s abstract design was simply an updated pop version of the turn-of-the-century German art nouveau. Both arose as stylistic rejections of suffocating pasts: rigid historicism and overstuffed representational interiors for Jugendstil, Nazi *Volkskultur* and bunker misery for its post-1945 reincarnation. By the same token, both looked to the world of vegetative nature and the unconscious for their preferred artistic form, stressing anti-rationalist organicism and individual whimsy. And each privileged the domestic interior as the principal repository of these decorative dream-worlds. In this sense, they were kindred ideologies of what the cultural historian Dolf Sternberger rightly called a "utopia of subjectivism" that did away with the distinction between high art and decorative style.[58] Yet Nierentisch design departed from Jugendstil in one crucial respect. Where the original Jugendstil emerged as a cultural critique of the standardizing and dehumanizing effects of industrial mass production, thus elevating the artist-designer and his/her individually wrought artwork as the cultural antidote to the social debits of industrial modernity, "neo-Jugendstil" never turned its back on the machine. Its design forms were geared toward mass production from the very outset. Nor did it hope— as did the original Jugendstil—to restore the relationship between artist and private patron, but rather simply accepted the anonymous basis of commercial art in an industrial age.[59] True, Nierentisch also recruited high-profile artists to execute designer hardware; yet it was not interested in commissioning expensive tea sets and silver goblets for a cultivated market share. Instead, famous artists were hired to stylize domestic items for mass consumption. Unlike the original Jugendstil, then, this post-1945 incarnation was not an elitist response to the standardization of taste and the encroachments of "parvenu society" into the rarified reaches of high culture. "Neo-Jugendstil" design aimed to win over all

comers. Rather than the cultural swan song of a dying class, Nierentisch design was the preferred style of a new nation of hungry consumers.

A more trenchant critique of Nierentisch design was leveled by Inge Scholl, who clearly was no ordinary design critic. Amid great fanfare she had founded the Ulm Institute of Design, the "New Bauhaus," in 1953, and she helped develop the small institute into West Germany's last great design school of progressive industrial design, until it closed in 1968. Nowhere was the perceived elective affinity between design and social reform taken more seriously than at the Ulm school. In a 1962 article, Scholl opened fire on the "Nierentisch nightmare" pervading West German life. In it she lamented the way in which "kidney-shaped vases, watering cans, coffeemakers, mirrors, carpets, and swimming pools" had given rise to a new "German reality." She mocked the way in which "modern German intimacy" had become synonymous with "rubber trees, Klee patterned tapestries, flower-shaped plateware, and abstract art–inspired carpets, which were supposed to carry him [the tired business manager returning home from work] to the heights of culture, cultivation, and art."[60] Not that the article's savage tone was unusual; others had condemned Nierentisch in very similar ways. As early as 1954, the designer and essayist Wilhelm Braun-Feldweg had argued that there was much to fear in the trend toward the "streamlined coffee machine, kidney-shaped table, surrealistic spider web forms, and the obsessive rejection of the right angle."[61] What was new was how Scholl likened '50s organic design to the *Gründerzeit* kitsch of the late nineteenth century, when a new class of German parvenus tried to legitimate their new wealth by surrounding themselves with myriad cultural trinkets and overstuffed representational furniture. The implication was that Nierentisch was actually no break from the past, but simply a repackaged version of the crass "culture industry" of yesteryear. Its claim to modernize both people and things was thus only cosmetic, and in no way reflected any serious attempt to forge a new progressive "industrial culture."

To be sure, these anti-Nierentisch polemics were part of a much broader cultural critique of consumerism at the time. For one thing, there was widespread concern that consumerism vitiated any viable sense of community and history. On the one side were gathered conservatives like Arnold Gehlen, Hans Freyer, Hans Sedlmayr, and Friedrich Sieburg, who deplored West German consumer culture for preventing what they felt to be the necessary development of genuine (West) German solidarity based on a redemptive cultural past of humanist sensibility and moral

teachings. In numerous writings they lamented the absence of traditional German *Kultur* to stave off the corrosive effects of industrial *Zivilisation*.[62] On the other side stood the left, whose views were not so very dissimilar. Most influential in this regard was Horkheimer and Adorno's 1947 *Dialectic of Enlightenment,* which effectively set the agenda for much West German "critical theory" through the 1950s and 1960s. In it they not only challenged the inherited wisdom about the emancipatory nature of the Enlightenment legacy; they also devoted considerable energy to addressing how bourgeois society "liquidated" cultural memory in the name of the all-pervasive commodity form.[63] Jürgen Habermas, Hans Magnus Enzensberger, Hans Werner Richter, and others extended this critique by arguing that modern consumerism had robbed both *Kultur* and civil society of their adversarial nature, reducing the so-called public sphere to isolated islands of family intimacy and private spaces.[64]

Perhaps the most telling critique lay in the question of historical memory. In their 1967 best-seller, *The Inability to Mourn,* two leading West German psychologists, Alexander and Margarete Mitscherlich, diagnosed postwar society as chronically suffering from the effects of denying the horrors of the past, against which it had developed elaborate defense mechanisms to "de-realize" the entire Nazi period and suppress unwanted memories and guilty feelings. Specifically, the Mitscherlichs singled out consumer hedonism as West Germany's escape from "working through" the catastrophes of Nazism, the war, and the Holocaust.[65] This argument was by no means uncommon; on the contrary, *The Inability to Mourn* echoed a widely shared perception within West German academic circles that consumerism was antithetical to collective mourning and memory-work.[66] So, despite widely divergent political agendas, the postwar left and right effectively joined hands in upbraiding the "Fresswelle '50s" for inhibiting the very possibility of postwar community, spiritual renewal, and reconciliation with the past.[67]

These West German intellectuals found it especially galling that this new commodity culture had become a popular means of forgetting the past by fabricating a new "liberation theology" of individual happiness and consumer comfort. Many academic journals and mainstream reviews devoted great attention to this theme. One particularly interesting example of this was a 1955 special issue of the widely read modern lifestyle magazine *Magnum,* entitled "The World Has Become Cheerful." According the editor's introduction, happiness *(das Heitere)* was now the world's guiding principle and overarching desire, making the world

"more relaxed" and less conflicted. Not that the magazine had some-how lost sight of the era's superpower struggles and Atomic Age anxi-ety; its main theme, however, was that the world was generally a much happier place after 1945 than it had been for centuries. New "life pos-sibilities" begot more "joy in life," allowing us to "live, pray, and work more cheerfully" than before.[68] To make the point, the magazine pub-lished several articles and photo essays describing how this new sense of happiness supposedly permeated "our world." In a section called "Cheer-ful Freedom," it even claimed that the ever-expanding experience of per-sonal freedom and social happiness was the best remedy against all fear and power. As the editor put it, "The progression of happiness in the world causes the crumbling of fear. And without fear there is no power. If we can increase happiness, we then throw 'bombs' against power. We can only hope that the world will become joyful in those areas which to-day still obstruct its entry."[69] With Cold War bravado, "cheerful free-dom" was hoisted as the best weapon against all unnamed power.

Even more revealing was how such a joyful world was represented, how this "dismantling of grave earnestness" was measured. Again and again modern art, architecture, and design were featured as the visual companion to the essays on "Cheerful Work," "Cheerful Living," and "Cheerful Forms." In them '50s commodities became the symbol (and even substitute) for personal freedom and happiness. While such logic pervaded postwar culture throughout the West, it was the magazine's ac-companying disregard for intellectuals that was so striking. The editors realized that intellectuals would surely take offense at the idea that the world was becoming more joyful. But there was no attempt to reconcile these views with those "constant denunciators of our time." Not that *Magnum* was oblivious to the pressing concerns of the day. In many is-sues both before and after, the magazine published the writings of an im-pressive range of West German thinkers—among them Habermas, Max Bense, and Alexander Mitscherlich—who offered serious reflections upon contemporary affairs. But on this theme—as in other special issues on materialism and consumerism—the nay-saying intellectuals were con-spicuously absent.[70] And even if the editors of this special issue admitted that "the joyfulness of the soul cannot be bought with a bathing suit," they very much subscribed to the postwar era's perceived connections among peace, prosperity, and consumer happiness.

Indeed, this special issue reflected another important '50s trend in West German culture: the growing gap between intellectuals and the general populace. For however much intellectuals wagged their fingers about the

cultural menace of rampant consumerism, they were in large measure preaching to the deaf. For most West Germans, the blush of '50s consumerism was an overwhelmingly positive experience. Unlike the cultural elites, they did not view '50s life as woefully deficient and/or a spin-off of American "cultural imperialism."[71] There was neither much antipathy toward "industrial civilization" nor any longing for preindustrial idylls and uncorrupted autonomous cultural spheres. As witnessed in the pop culture fascination with modern design and consumer technology of the time, they assumed and accepted the full industrialization of (West) German life and culture. That many West Germans built their identity around the very products of the long-denigrated "culture industry"—interior design and cheap housewares, entertainment film, radio, television, fashion, advertising, tourism, and pop music—perfectly illustrated the degree to which mass-produced consumer goods informed postwar experience, self-understanding, and memory.[72] If nothing else, it marked just how much the once-dominant place of work as the linchpin of German social experience and identity-formation was slowly being replaced by consumerism and leisure practices.[73]

If West German intellectuals worried about the corrosive effects of consumerism on memory, they also expressed great misgivings about the fate of the autonomous cultural artifact *(Kulturgut)* amid the onslaught of consumer capitalism. This was an especially important issue because the sphere of culture—as opposed to the political, economic, or military arenas—was the last place in which they might salvage some semblance of West German independence and identity. But they knew this was no easy task, not least because the decline of Germany's educated cultural elites, the economic boom, the introduction of plastic imitations, and the more general Cold War ideology of equating post-Nazi freedom with consumer acquisition had all combined to erase the sociological distance between culture and commerce. Leading figures of the West German right and left then felt compelled to expose the dangers of these seemingly innocuous developments. Conservatives roundly condemned '50s consumerism as symptomatic of the loss of cultural tradition and humanist values, the tyranny of bad taste, and the more general money-grubbing "soullessness" plaguing postwar cultural life. Books such as Friedrich Sieburg's *Die Lust am Untergang* (The pleasure of decline, 1954), Hans Freyer's *Theorie des gegenwärtigen Zeitalters* (A theory of the contemporary age, 1955), and Arnold Gehlen's *Die Seele im technischen Zeitalter* (The soul in a technological age, 1957) gave voice to popular rightwing critiques of the apparent vulgarity and spiritual poverty attending

West Germany's "economic miracle."[74] The left was likewise disturbed by the social implications of what Horkheimer and Adorno called the "culture industry." They too railed against the shallowness of postwar materialism, the "sexualization" of advertising, and the "repressive desublimation" of consumer hedonism. Special ire was reserved for the money-oriented art market and its standardizing effect upon postwar artistic creativity, for the incestuous relationship between '50s art and big business, and for the sell-out of the avant-garde.[75] Both the right and the left offered oddly similar *Zivilisationskritik* as they mercilessly condemned capitalism for reducing the art object to mere decorative styling.[76]

Nierentisch design was again at the center of these anxieties. That it was accused of destroying the potentially critical status of art and aesthetics was perhaps best illustrated in its oft-used nickname, "neo-Dada." During the 1950s there was a good amount of discussion about the appearance of organic pop design as a strange kind of "Dada Renaissance."[77] Comparing Nierentisch and Dadaism may seem far-fetched at first, not least because Dadaism's element of scandal is nowhere present in '50s organic design. But the two did share some common ground, particularly in their attitude toward the relationship between art and life. Let us begin with Dadaism. Leaving aside its diverse aspects and international currents, the one thing uniting all Dadaist work was a passionate crusade against the autonomy of art. Like the Futurists, Dadaists attacked the "funereal" institutionalization of modern art, lampooned the quasi-religious piety of art academies, and strove to emancipate the "imprisoned" art object from the thick-walled temples of high *Kultur.* For this, satirical counter-exhibitions were organized and crude everyday items were submitted to museums (Duchamp's urinal remains the most famous) in order to challenge the elitist practices of the early-twentieth-century art world. In its effort to debunk the "aura" of the traditional artwork and its stuffy institutional setting, Dadaism aimed above all to efface the distinction between art and non-art. This is all well known, but another aspect of Dadaism is almost always overlooked: that it also strove to conjoin art and society. After all, these Dadaists looked to free art from the dead hand of the museum/mausoleum so as to release its pent-up cultural power and political possibilities. Dadaism was thus more than simply an attempt to expose the exclusionary rites of the art world; it was a campaign to unleash the revolutionary potential of aesthetics everywhere. Only once art and life were reintegrated, so they argued, would genuine and radical reform of society be possible.[78]

West German observers were shrewd in recognizing Nierentisch de-

sign as the ironic heir to this tradition. Granted, it subscribed to little of the same revolutionary faith practiced by its famous forebear. Yet it did set its sights—albeit less explicitly—on the autonomy of art. It too sought to liberate the modern artwork from the art gallery and museum, to debunk its newly restored aura, and to bring modern art to the people. In the end, Nierentisch was quite successful in wedding art and life by means of disseminating the modern art object's aesthetic attributes to practically every corner of postwar material culture. *Magnum* took the intellectual temperature of the day, devoting a whole 1959 issue to the theme "Dadaism in Our Time." Not only were older German radicals like Hans Richter and Ewald Rathke invited to write short segments about the popularization of Dadaism after 1945, but the magazine also featured several articles and photo essays chronicling the ironic triumph of Dada's "anti-aesthetic" in '50s movie houses, churches, banks, advertising, photography, and design. The titles of the articles alone—"A Provocation Becomes Constructive," "Dada Is Dead, Long Live Dada," and "Normal Life Is Insane"—were telling. Also notable was the special role attributed to design. One article argued that neo-Dada had radically transformed classic modernist design into newfangled organic forms; another accused West Germany's "good form" design culture—despite its resolute anti-organic functionalism—of shamelessly borrowing the "surrealistic" graphic and display styles from its rival to hock its own wares.[79] The larger point that everyone made, however, was that Dada had gone pop. As one contributor put it, Dadaism "in 1916 was an affair of the artists. Now it is a phenomenon of bourgeois society."[80]

This postwar reincarnation departed from its predecessor in another respect as well: while Dadaism aspired to bridge art and life in the cultural realm, neo-Dada did so in the economic sphere. Dadaism's makeshift gallery, auditorium, and street happenings had now given way to the department store and living room as the venues of reform. This time there was little appeal to critical intelligence and the will to *épater le bourgeois*. Dadaism's original derisive laughter against all cherished order and values reemerged after 1945 as apolitical hedonism and private consumer pleasure. As such, Nierentisch ironically fulfilled Dadaism's main program, namely to unhinge the mainstays of traditional *Kultur,* raze the walls of the museum, and make over society in the name of modern art. From this perspective, Nierentisch's anonymous commercial designers were the postwar era's real and unsung avant-garde.

Yet it was precisely the fate of art in the age of mechanical reproduction that so vexed West German intellectuals in the 1950s. However

much German thinkers had been railing against the commercialization of high *Kultur* since the late nineteenth century, "consumer society" as such really only arrived in full force in the 1950s. It was the postwar "will to consume"—with the help of the technical breakthrough of plastics reproduction and a "hunger for the modern" as a kind of post-Nazi forgetting—that brought about what Habermas called the full "secularization of the cultural object."[81] This was not, however, simply a by-product of the economic takeoff; it had just as much to do with another legacy of the 1930s. As Horkheimer and Adorno rightly saw, fascism and liberalism—to say nothing of communism—each destroyed the autonomy of the aesthetic object in their own fashion. Its exploitation as political propaganda under the fascists was met by its full commercialization under liberalism. It was precisely in this context that the '30s and '50s were bound together. For one thing, both eras witnessed the rise of new commodity styles: whereas the '50s were characterized by an organic design wave, the early '30s saw the emergence of a chrome-coated hypermodern Neue Sachlichkeit design style as a kind of muted version of American streamline.[82] In both cases, design dynamism went hand in hand with economic expansion and the desire to be transported into the future. Yet the decades were linked in another way as well: the relationship between aesthetics and politics. As noted in chapter 1, fascism was distinguished by the explosion of aesthetics in political life, bringing into being the modern world's first full-blown audiovisual regimes. To be sure, this '30s marriage of aesthetics and the state found little correspondence in the '50s images of the liberal West. After 1945 the Western countries did, however, follow the lead of their Soviet adversary in enlisting art for their larger political cause. In fact, the politicization of modern art and design as Cold War weapons (insofar as modern consumer design was used as a favorite yardstick for boasting technical superiority, higher standards of living, and in turn historical progress) became common practice in the '50s. So even if aesthetics were not wedded to the state as under fascism, they were closely connected to political ideology all the same. Despite the attempts of abstract art to flee political complicity and communication altogether in the '50s, it was all too easily converted into Cold War political capital and mass-produced pop culture merchandise.

It was on these grounds that West German intellectuals spurned '50s consumer hedonism as "consumer terrorism." No doubt this criticism (*Konsumterror* and *Absatzterror* were favorite terms) had much to do with what they saw as the postwar generation's all-consuming quest for material joys and comforts, one that rode roughshod over the old Protes-

tant ethic of thrift, sobriety, and renunciation of luxury. Quite often West German intellectuals used metaphors of waves and floods to describe this phenomenon, lamenting the ways in which what positive cultural values still existed after the Nazi debacle were being summarily drowned by the torrential force of unleashed consumer desire and "fabricated eros."[83] So supposedly helpless was *Kultur* in the face of consumer capitalism that many writers even resorted to military metaphors of warfare and occupation to convey the deeply felt predicament of culture. One popular '50s critic even titled his book *At the Consumer Front* to capture the high stakes involved in the battle to rescue *Kultur* from advertising executives.[84] Such sentiment was of course hardly new to the '50s; after all, it was a standard complaint of German intellectuals in the early 1930s, when the Depression pulled the rug out from under many cultural institutions long devoted to keeping modern art and design above the fray of money-grubbing commercial calculation. As remarked in chapter 1, those cultural figures hardest hit by the economic crisis at the time often pined for a strong central state to uphold the distinction between culture and commerce. The disastrous legacy of the Nazi experience and the subsequent West German Basic Law ruled out the possibility of another merger of state and culture. Yet a good number of postwar "culture brokers" did call for more "enlightened" cooperation among business, local governments, and design schools in order to help raise product design beyond mere cosmetic styling. This conviction had given rise to the creation in 1951 of the German Design Council within Bonn's Ministry of Economics and was echoed in Scholl's plea for a closer liaison between economics and culture at the conclusion of her polemic against Nierentisch eleven years later. But even more, it was the widespread fear of the vulnerable cultural object that inspired many such discussions and initiatives.

This broad intellectual antipathy toward consumerism occasioned a strange configuration of West German culture. For the full arrival of postwar liberalism was accompanied by a zealous defense of cultural elitism. This could be seen in the '50s cult of *Goethezeit* classicism, in the promotion of Abstract Expressionism and atonal music, or in Adorno's spirited defense of Beckett and Schönberg as the last bastion of virtually nonaccessible and thus noncommodifiable art. So insistent were many intellectuals about the importance of affirming life's "essence" and "being" beyond "instrumental reason" and the surface appearance of commercial society that such vogue existentialism ultimately gave rise to its own "jargon of authenticity."[85] Many even espoused the cultural virtues

of "consumer asceticism" *(Konsumaskese)* as the best means of fending off the siren songs of the marketplace.[86] But just as the early '50s idea of the family as an anticommercial nucleus eventually gave way to a reconciliation of family values and consumerism, so too elitism and asceticism eventually found their suitable aesthetic. This of course was functionalism, whose antidecorative style and stress on utility and durability were embraced as the aesthetic signature of West Germany's new *Bildungsbürgertum.* On some level one can easily see such cultural strategies as simply an updated version of the late-nineteenth-century defense of timeless Style versus fleeting Fashion.[87] But the stakes had changed since then. In an era that was defined by consumerism, consumer goods and design became a principal source of cultural differentiation and social distinction.[88] In other words, culture itself largely resisted liberalization. The irony was that the Nazi destruction of high *Kultur* in the name of the *Volksgemeinschaft* was countered by a new crusade to re-erect its high walls again after 1945 under the banner of antifascism and post-Nazi cultural freedom.

But there was an even deeper sea change at work, particularly for leftist intellectuals. What many of them wanted to preserve was an idea of culture as a crucible of memory, mourning, and moral reckoning. It was precisely this aspect of *Kultur* that they thought was being so dangerously compromised by the '50s neologism "consumer culture." As Habermas noted in a 1957 article, the two terms were historically opposed: while consumerism stands for "lust, release, and dispersion," culture signifies "effort, asceticism, and concentration."[89] Art and culture had to be defended as practices outside the orgy of materialism precisely because it was through them that past events and deeds could be properly atoned and collectively expressed.[90] But there was more at issue than just that the "economic miracle" grated on the bad conscience of postwar thinkers. In fact, the whole conception of culture as the preserve of pain, suffering, and guilt was quite novel. After all, it fully inverted the classic German understanding of the relationship between art and life enshrined in Schiller's famous dictum that "Life is serious, while art is joyful." The postwar economic recovery and the onerous legacy of Nazism and the Holocaust had forever upset this historical relationship: life had become more cheerful, and art more serious. But even art was being dragged along for the joyride. Organic design's popularization of Abstract Expressionism was a telling case in point. On this theme *Magnum*'s special issue on happiness went to the heart of the matter. Not only did the editors proclaim that the need for *Kultur* as a compensatory

realm of existential and material unhappiness no longer applied to the postwar situation. They also suggested that art, as best seen in the design section, was not at odds with life anymore. The section on modern art was entitled "Cheerful Is Life and Cheerful Is Art," in a knowing rephrasing of Schiller's maxim. Postwar prosperity had all but dissolved this old barrier between art and life, and commercial design—along with advertising—was its messenger. The anti-Nierentisch critique thus extended way beyond saying that Klee and Kandinsky were not furniture designers, or that plastics represented the end of the Werkbund's idea of "integrity of materials." The dark implication was that critical thinking and moral refusal (as Heinrich Böll constantly intoned) had increasingly little place amid the love for the new, thus giving rise to a real and insidious evil of banality.

In the end, Nierentisch design was inseparable from the postwar theology of comfort and consumerism. It did not fit in well with Adenauer's belief that only "spiritual values" could serve as a basis of economic prosperity, nor did it find favor with the "good form" culture's plea for the importance of high-quality industrial design goods as the bedrock of West Germany's export revenues and domestic recovery. But if intellectuals never warmed to "applied Kandinsky" as progressive industrial culture, Nierentisch remained a powerful popular trend nonetheless. Its florid organic design captured the guiding sentiments of the decade, giving form to common dreams of personal progress and affluence. Likewise, its assault on the high arts anticipated the Pop Art wave a decade later, which gleefully blurred the line between art and advertising. Finally, the Nierentisch nemesis provoked further concerted action within the high design world in order to fend off its supposedly corrosive effects. The flagship design school, the Institute of Design in Ulm, was in part motivated by the desire to keep such cultural demons in check—and the colorful tale of this "New Bauhaus" is the subject of the next chapter.

Design and Its Discontents

The Ulm Institute of Design

In the larger narrative of twentieth-century German design, the Ulm Institute of Design (Hochschule für Gestaltung) continues to enjoy a powerful status. Given both its ambitious design program and its star-studded roster of instructors, which included not only the principal cast of Inge Scholl, Otl Aicher, Max Bill, and Tomás Maldonado, but also high-profile cultural figures such as the poet and critic Hans Magnus Enzensberger, the writer Martin Walser, and the filmmaker Alexander Kluge, it was obvious that this was no ordinary design school. Its well-publicized christening as the "New Bauhaus" in 1955 illustrated the extent to which the Ulm Institute was born of noble pedigree. Indeed, both the American High Command and the West German government jointly underwrote the Ulm project in an effort to revive the once-demonized heritage of Bauhaus Modernism as a guiding polestar of West German culture. For this reason the Ulm school has been celebrated in the annals of cultural history as a blessed aerie of heroic modernism perched high above the otherwise crass commercialism and cultural reaction that supposedly dominated postwar life and society below.[1]

But there has been surprisingly little interest in grounding the design school's colorful history within a wider context. Most of the attention has instead been directed toward recounting the doctrinal schisms and palace revolutions of the school's tumultuous if illustrious career. While some of these chroniclers have produced impressive documentary histories and monographs, they have often done so at the expense of comparative analysis. Unwittingly, then, the Ulm literature has tended to reflect the school's own geographical isolation atop Ulm's Kuhberg Mountain.[2] This chapter is mainly devoted to addressing some of these

neglected issues. In particular it examines the Ulm Institute as a case study in the Cold War construction of West German modernism. Nowhere else were the imagined postwar connections among antifascism, modern design, and social reform so pronounced or so seriously investigated. In particular, I will explore how the school devised a new science of design based on sociology, semiotics, and political engagement; differentiated its design philosophy from the perceived dangers of both the Werkbund and Nierentisch "perversions"; and rethought the social meaning of both aesthetics and design in modern industrial society. Its story thus neatly exposes the contradictions attending the larger postfascist renegotiation of aesthetics and politics.

Antifascism and the "Cartesian Cloister"

From the very outset, the Ulm project was shaped by a soaring vision of cultural regeneration and political reform. The original inspiration for the institute came from Inge Scholl, who wanted to establish a new school of democratic education in honor of her brother and sister, Hans and Sophie Scholl, both of whom were killed in 1943 as members of the anti-Nazi "White Rose" resistance group.[3] In 1946, together with a fellow Nazi resister, the graphic artist Otl Aicher, Scholl founded a new community college *(Volkshochschule)* in the small south German town of Ulm, dedicated to preserving the resistance spirit of her slain siblings.[4] That her father, Robert Scholl, had been installed as Ulm's provisional mayor by the American military command in June 1945 greatly helped her gain official support for the school proposal. The Ulm college was, however, also part of a widespread postwar movement to create new reform-oriented community colleges throughout Germany.[5] Devoted to the cause of radical political reform and progressive pedagogy, Scholl and Aicher's school was to be a center of "true democracy" aimed at eradicating German nationalism and militarism by providing postwar youth with badly needed cultural ideals and moral direction.[6] Convinced that the so-called German catastrophe was a direct result of "false thinking" and "narrow-minded overspecialization," the founders wished to develop a new type of humanist education based on "the practical, the honest, and the true."[7] Like other postwar reformers, Scholl and Aicher thought this would be the best way to usher in "the dawning of a new culture" of democratic socialism. But theirs was less a "mission of the propertyless" than an attempt to rehabilitate a denationalized German *Kultur* as an antidote

against the "violent powers" of technology and *Zivilisation*.[8] For Scholl, the school was designed to reconcile the spheres of technological civilization and German culture, where *Kultur* itself was to be transformed from the "luxury of the aesthete" into a new affirmative "life power" *(Lebensmacht)* of peace, democracy, and tolerance.[9]

Despite Ulm's provincial location and bombed-out environs, Scholl's effort to create a new education center elicited wide public favor. Its slate of well-attended courses directed toward the urgent problems facing Ulm's reconstruction—such as economics, city planning, and even home decorating—were hailed for their timely relevance and innovative contribution.[10] Just as important was the school's distinguished roster of famous guest lecturers, among them Theodor Heuss, Wilhelm Wagenfeld, Max Horkheimer, the physicist Werner Heisenberg, the French philosopher Gabriel Marcel, the historian Golo Mann, and the writers Heinrich Böll and Ralph Ellison, all of whom lent their support to Scholl's project of educational reform. The school's unconventional curriculum and list of guest speakers quickly turned the tiny community college into a celebrated postwar address of international political thought and democratic culture.[11]

Nonetheless, the founders soon began to find themselves in conflict with Ulm's city council. Scholl and Aicher wished to expand the curriculum to include more political instruction and cultural criticism, but the conservative city council would not countenance any radicalization of the program. It even warned Scholl and Aicher that unduly challenging its present structure would jeopardize future funding. The tension came to a head in 1949 when the city council rejected Aicher's modernist proposal for reconstructing Ulm's town center in favor of a more moderate plan that would restore its quaint prewar appearance. What most concerned Scholl and Aicher in this rejection were the implications behind rebuilding Ulm as if the war never happened—and this was no isolated controversy. The question of whether or not to reconstruct German cities in their old likenesses sparked one of the most far-reaching debates about German identity after 1945.[12] But the Ulm city council stubbornly resisted any radical change in architecture or planning. Unwilling to work any longer with these "bastions of reaction," Scholl and Aicher set out to open a progressive school more in keeping with the Scholl spirit of political resistance.

In the spring of 1949 Scholl and Aicher busied themselves with drafting proposals for a Scholl Siblings Institute (Geschwister-Scholl-Hochschule) as an independent new school of "contemporary and po-

litical reeducation."[13] They believed the well-intentioned Allied effort to "reeducate" the Germans was bound to fail, on the grounds that it arrived at the end of bayonets. Only a new German-inspired school, so they maintained, could effectively overcome postwar moral confusion and spiritual despair by cultivating a genuine "inner resistance" among German youth. In particular they believed that the key to combating the "emergent nationalist and reactionary sentiments" lay in "educating a democratic elite as a counterforce against the tides of intolerance."[14] However much the term "democratic elite" may sound oxymoronic, the Ulm founders never strayed from this principle. Like the Werkbund, they were convinced that training a new vanguard was the most effective means of canceling the Nazi legacy of "de-individualization" *(Vermassung)* and its attendant cult of leadership. Closely connected to this was their emphasis on a new curriculum of "epistemological purity" *(wissenschaftliche Sauberkeit),* which was seen as a vital step in eradicating Nazi irrationalism by encouraging "individual initiative, independent judgment, and personal freedom."[15] What they envisaged was a novel "universal education," encompassing both general media studies (politics, journalism, radio, and film) and art instruction (photography, advertising, painting, and industrial design) as the best remedy against the perceived dangers of "narrow-minded provincialism."[16] The unique emphasis on the centrality of media studies in the proposed curriculum was mainly a result of Scholl's and Aicher's friendship with Hans Werner Richter, a fellow Ulm community college lecturer and a cofounder of the radical postwar journal *Der Ruf* and the famous avant-garde literary circle Group 47. Studying media and most notably Nazi propaganda techniques, so Richter argued, would help prevent any fascist revival.[17] Scholl and Aicher thus hoped to create a new "crystallization point for a better Germany," where the "spirit of peace and freedom" would find its home in a new antifascist European culture.[18]

But if the Ulm school was to become a truly European institution, it needed a more international profile. Scholl and Aicher wished to appoint an internationally known figure as director, one who possessed both an unblemished political past and a good track record in administrative cultural affairs.[19] About this time, Scholl and Aicher contacted the well-known Swiss sculptor, painter, and designer Max Bill. A former Bauhaus student and the president of the Swiss Werkbund, Bill had championed the cause of modernist architecture and design in Europe throughout the 1930s and 1940s. He received the grand prize at the 1936 Milan Triennale exhibition for his design of the Swiss pavilion, and he organized the

influential 1944 Basel Concrete Art *(Konkrete Kunst)* exposition. He was also responsible for arranging the well-publicized 1949 Swiss Werkbund exposition, Good Form, for which Scholl and Aicher provided a venue at the Ulm community college.[20] More, Bill made known that he was looking to open a new polytechnic art academy in homage to the Bauhaus heritage.[21] In February 1950 Scholl and Aicher invited Bill to Ulm to discuss his potential role in their project.

Almost immediately Bill was offered the position as school director. He agreed to accept the appointment, but only on certain conditions. Above all he insisted that the school should be devoted less to political reeducation than art and design instruction. He criticized the inclusion of politics as a distinct discipline within the school's curriculum, contending that political reform remained the natural center of the school and therefore need not be formalized as a separate field of study. As a Werkbundler, Bill saw the school's primary objective as producing design work in accordance with the "spiritual substance" of contemporary modern art.[22] A more art-oriented design instruction was thus privileged over the studies of sociology, cultural theory, and politics. Not that Bill was uninterested in the importance of political reeducation and pedagogic reform. Nonetheless, he stayed true to his more general Werkbund belief that genuine social and cultural reform began not with forced political training, but rather with reconstituting the very forms of the social environment, such as city planning, architecture, and the design of everyday objects.[23] Proper design practice was in itself a kind of political reform and moral reeducation for the simple reason that everyday spaces and objects exerted a powerful effect upon their user.[24] Formalizing politics as a specialized discipline would only hinder this project, so Bill argued, especially since the school's task was not to educate politicians but "citizens with working careers who think politically."[25]

The school thus shifted its emphasis from media studies to design instruction. Richter and the journalist Walter Dirks (editor of *Frankfurter Hefte*) were replaced by Bill, the designer Walter Zeischegg, and the architect Wolfgang Rupp on the school's executive committee, and media studies were diffused into the school's new program of general education. Bill also insisted that the school should drop the Scholl name, on the grounds that it was both overly "sentimental" and too closely associated with a past devoid of any "positive impetus."[26] He suggested instead that the school be renamed the Institute of Design (Hochschule für Gestaltung) in homage to the Dessau Bauhaus.[27] Eventually Scholl and Aicher conceded, but on the condition that painting and sculpture be re-

moved from the school curriculum and that courses in sociology, politics, psychology, philosophy, and contemporary history be added as a buffer against what they felt to be the Bauhaus's antihistorical millenarianism.[28] They clearly wanted to make sure that the "social effects and cultural meaning" of technical design work would be firmly grounded in social awareness and informed political practice.[29] The original 1951 curriculum reflected this compromise, as the school's individual departments were divided into the following four groups: "Information," which included the study and analysis of literary media; "Architecture and City Planning"; "Visual Design," which covered instruction in film, photography, and graphics; and "Product Form," which comprised the industrial design of everyday household objects, furniture, and industrial equipment.

Having finalized the curriculum, Scholl and Aicher began soliciting outside financial assistance. This, however, proved more difficult than had been the funding of the original school. Leading West German industrialists, bankers, and cultural figures pledged little more than moral support. Assistance from the Norwegian European Relief Fund was generous but not enough to pay for school construction. In desperation, Inge Scholl turned to the American military government. Given its Cold War efforts to pursue its "dual containment policy" of checking both Soviet expansion and resurgent German nationalism, the American High Command of Germany (HICOG) was quite interested in all initiatives that accelerated (West) German "political reeducation" as well as its moral and military integration into the West.[30] It then came as no real surprise that HICOG warmed to Scholl's project. Its director, John J. McCloy, quickly realized that such a German-run school of progressive pedagogy would be more effective than simply imposing American ideals on the German population.[31] (In fact, the Frankfurt School of Social Research was also reestablished after the war under the auspices of McCloy.)[32] In his eyes, the Ulm idea might serve as part of a new "spiritual Marshall Plan" to foster West German "democratic consciousness."[33]

Despite Bill's objection—in which he even enlisted Walter Gropius—that formalizing political education would obstruct the flowering of independent artistic work, the Americans insisted that the school's political reeducation objective remain top priority.[34] McCloy articulated the American position in a speech in Boston in 1950, in which he remarked that Inge Scholl's crusade to "enlighten the German people" was inseparable from the Allied effort to "help the German people take a democratic road." It would effectively help them "find a close association with

the peoples of Western Europe" and eliminate "authoritarianism from their government, from their social structure, and from their daily lives."[35] In another speech a few years later, McCloy maintained that the spirit of the Scholls' antifascist resistance was made good by the school. It not only served as an important symbol of West German "democratic life and culture," but also ensured that the "German contribution to the European community will be democratic, free, and virtuous."[36] Others within the HICOG also embraced the Ulm project, if more pragmatically, as a potential boon to West German industry and export revenues.[37] So, after four years of persistent fund-raising and politicking, which included refuting an anonymous accusation that Scholl herself harbored communist sympathies, HICOG finally granted Scholl DM 1 million in 1953, to create a new school of "responsible citizenship, cultural productivity, and the production of quality German industrial products."[38]

Once the American funding was secured, the founders set their sights on erecting the school atop Ulm's Kuhberg Mountain. Quickly they drafted an architectural plan in accord with the school's objective of developing a modern "universal education."[39] In Bill's plan, masters and students "cohabitated in a kind of cooperative society" *(eine Art Genossenschaft),* in which all of the school's relevant operations (workspaces and living quarters for administration, students, and faculty) were clustered together in a Fourier-like phalanstery. Though formally inspired by Frank Lloyd Wright's Taliesin West project in Phoenix, Arizona, and Walter Gropius's Dessau Bauhaus, as well as Mies van der Rohe's plan for the Illinois Institute of Technology, Bill's hyperrationalist model was a conscious attempt to negate what the Ulm founders viewed as the Nazi legacy of emotional manipulation and irrationalism.[40] All traces of emotionality, subjectivity, and symbolic representation were studiously removed from the school's Neue Sachlichkeit architecture (figure 29). The square and the right angle were universally applied as the supreme expressions of enlightened rationality and geometric purity; no flowing lines or circular forms were included in the school's plan.[41] The asymmetrical layout and unimposing, low-slung buildings were intended to counter Nazi centralization and monumentalist pathos. Even the school's entrance was inconspicuously placed on the side, removing any illiberal elements of Speer-like monumentalism and/or filmic ritualism.[42] Herbert Lindinger, who was in turn both a student and a teacher at the institute, recalled Ulm's profound faith in the powers of reason and rationality: "The dominance of rationality at Ulm has a number of sources: we could all remember fascism's attempt to rob human beings of their reason, to make

Figure 29. Exterior view, Ulm Institute of Design, 1955. Design: Max Bill. Photograph: Wolfgang Siol. Courtesy of HfG-Archiv, Ulm.

deliberate use of symbols and unreason to enslave them. By contrast, we believed that this world could be made a better place; we believed in reason, and we believed that there was a place for us within the Enlightenment tradition."[43] The radical severity of Bill's Ulm complex was not lost on the journalists, who recorded their amazement by describing Bill's stark structure as a "sanitarium of technology," a "casemate of culture," and a "Cartesian cloister."[44] As one journalist observed, the architecture succeeded in fulfilling Bill's attempt to erase the past, to radically expunge memories, myths, and history.[45] Whatever else can be said about it, the intended defamiliarizing effect of this rationalist architectural plan neatly captured the institute's bold vision of social reform.

The school's philosophy was registered even more dramatically in its interior. What was so striking about the architectural design was the extent to which severely functionalist cement facades were extended into the building's stark internal spaces, providing no respite from its overarching Neue Sachlichkeit asceticism (figures 30 and 31). The physical difference between exterior and interior had been dissolved. Any signs of homey domesticity and comfort, such as carpeting, wall decoration, tables, plants, and/or large comfortable furniture, were fastidiously removed. Even the beds and shelves were built into the walls to preserve

Figure 30. Interior view, Ulm Institute of Design. Design: Max Bill. Photograph: Ernst Hahn. Courtesy of HfG-Archiv, Ulm. **Figure 31.** Interior view, Ulm Institute of Design. Design: Max Bill. Photograph: Ernst Scheidegger. Courtesy of HfG-Archiv, Ulm.
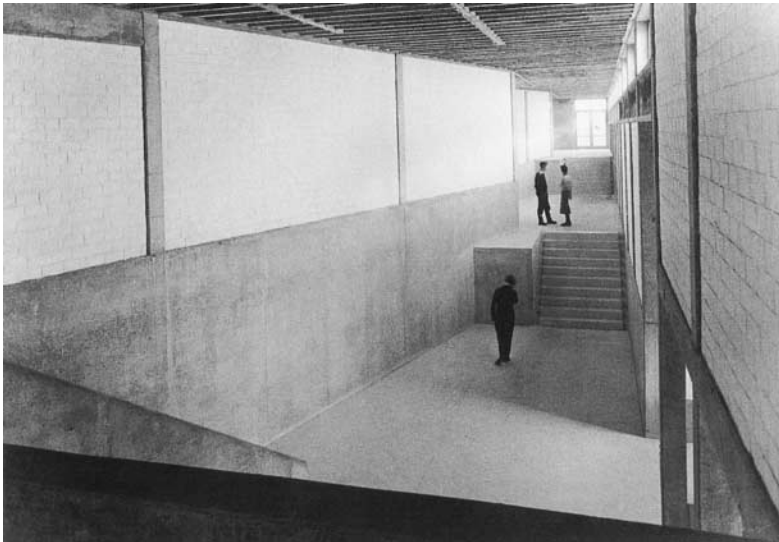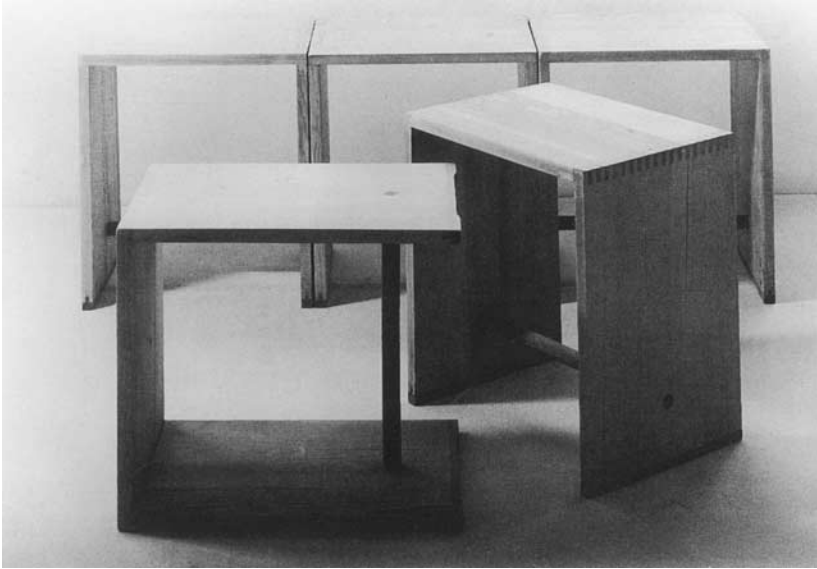
Figure 32. Ulm stool. Design: Max Bill, Hans Gugelot, and Paul Hildinger. Photograph: Ernst Hahn. Courtesy of HfG-Archiv, Ulm.

this atmosphere of uniformity and rational order.[46] Yet it is important to understand that this effort to banish gemütlichkeit was not simply some sort of Calvinist nightmare, but rather an embodiment of the school's overriding mission to excise the cultural trappings of an unwanted German past in the name of "epistemological purity" and enlightened education. Likewise, the interior's central icon—the so-called Ulm stool *(Ulm Hocker),* an inexpensive, easily assembled wooden stool designed in 1954 by Bill, Hans Gugelot, and Paul Hildinger (figure 32)—reflected the school's initial attitude toward product design. As a complement to the school's uniform architectural principles, this stool was designed as a multipurpose component that could be used, among other things, as chair, night table, workbench, and/or step-stool.[47] It neatly symbolized the institute's effort to break free from the historical baggage of class and culture (e.g., comfortable large chairs and expensive tables), not only by rejecting decorative ornamentation and the aura of the precious cultural artifact, but also by collapsing the cultural distinction between workbench and chair, activity and repose. The uncomfortable quality of the stool was even perceived as a virtue in provoking the user to movement and activity.[48] To this extent, Bill's plan perfectly expressed Ulm's pioneer-

ing project to efface the barriers between theoretical and applied learning, labor and leisure, and even public and private, in heralding a new progressive "human society, culture, and civilization."[49]

The 1955 christening of the Ulm Institute of Design as the "New Bauhaus" marked an important episode in West German modernism. The founding of the institute was construed as a vital sign of antifascist resistance and international modernism, proving that both were alive and well in the Federal Republic. More, it provided dramatic testimony to West Germany's campaign to establish Weimar Modernism as its authentic cultural heritage.[50] Little wonder that the inauguration ceremony—punctuated by Gropius's keynote address—functioned as a spectacle of West German cultural diplomacy, as such international figures as Henry van de Velde, Albert Einstein, Theodor Heuss, and Ludwig Erhard all extended enthusiastic support. Journalists too roundly applauded "the idea of the Bauhaus come home" as a boon for enlightened West German culture.[51] One journalist remarked: "Above all, we can be content that in the midst of the endangered yet at the same time powerful recovery of Germany, people like Inge Scholl and her assistants are busy erecting a dam against the return of the past."[52] Nowhere was the school's exalted mission made more visible than in Aicher's 1955 aerial photograph of the institute, which represented the hilltop school as a glowing beacon of modernity and purpose, a "mountain of light" looming over the undefined and hazy provincialism of the Ulm township below (figure 33). Even the town's central symbol, the Ulm cathedral, recedes before the messianic radiance of the Ulm Institute. Here the school's idealistic self-representation as a Zarathustra-like prophet of international modernism gained its most poignant visual expression.[53]

As already noted, the Americans too endorsed the Bauhaus's return to West Germany as a positive step in its cultural reeducation. Even if its influence was generally confined to architecture and design circles, the "New Bauhaus" was invested with considerable political weight.[54] One mid-1950s English-language report put it this way:

> Realizing that a repetition of the past political events could only be prevented through ever wakeful social consciousness, Inge Scholl wanted a school that would contribute to the spiritual regeneration of a destroyed and confused postwar Germany, and attack the problem of educating young people toward social and cultural responsibility. At the same time, the school would encourage new ideas for the pattern of daily life, giving people the chance to develop themselves free from the stultifying pressures of totalitarian prejudices.[55]

Figure 33. Aerial photograph, Ulm Institute of Design, 1955. Photograph: Otl Aicher. Courtesy of HfG-Archiv, Ulm.

And in a 1957 special issue of *Atlantic Monthly* entitled "The New Germany," the power of the Bauhaus image was used to assure a still uneasy American audience that the Federal Republic, despite its dark legacy, was "in all phases of its life oriented toward the West and can be described in terms comprehensible to the Free World."[56] In this magazine's effort to lionize a select group of West German luminaries (including Adenauer, Ernst Jünger, Gottfried Benn, and Hans Holthusen) who were considered capable of guiding West Germany back into the charmed circle of the West, the Ulm Institute was seen as having a special mission. Its unique heritage of Weimar liberalism and international modernism was recognized as a vital means by which West Germans

could "lead their country back into the main line of European cultural development."[57] Given that photographs of a number of newly built Bauhaus-looking modernist buildings filled the pages of the "Art as Expression of Freedom" section and that a Bauhaus-style building was superimposed on the cover of this special "New Germany" issue, it is clear that Bauhaus-style modernism was being used as a barometer of West German cultural progress. Not for nothing did one cultural historian ironically call the Ulm Institute a "coming to terms with the past with American assistance."[58]

The importance of this design institute went well beyond the Cold War conversion of design into diplomacy. As we have seen, it was also infused with a grand vision of social reform, based on the reconciliation of art and life, morality and material culture. Consider, for example, Bill's remarks at the 1955 inauguration:

> Nowhere in the world is there an institution dedicated to the same tasks as the Institute of Design. Above all, the school hopes to create simple useful everyday objects for a general everyday culture, especially since most designers and manufacturers neglect the importance of these commonplace things as cultural factors of great consequence. By means of our honest work and well-grounded conviction, we seek to help as many people as possible redesign their immediate surrounding according to contemporary needs and possibilities. . . . We are of the opinion that culture is not the special domain of "high art," but rather must be present in everyday living and in all things of form; indeed, every form is an expression of function and purpose. Yet we are not interested in producing cheap arts and crafts *[Kunstgewerbe],* but rather genuine objects that people need . . . in short, practical things which should improve and beautify life—culture is thus everyday culture *[tägliche Kultur]* not culture from above and beyond *[Extrakultur].*[59]

To this end, the institute was, as one observer noted, acting as a new "mediator between *Kultur* and *Zivilisation.*"[60]

The Ulm school developed a distinctive philosophy of design as well as a sociopolitical one, leading the charge against the commercialization of abstract art and its application in industrial design. While joining in the perennial disparagement of American streamline design, its members also poured scorn on Nierentisch's "applied Kandinsky." In her well-known 1962 article, Scholl claimed that West Germany's "Nierentisch nightmare" could be seen as the bastard child of the shotgun wedding of designers and merchants. Bad enough that this new partnership abolished any cultural distinction between design and styling. Worse, however, was the way that it debased the cultural stature of prac-

tical everyday objects by converting them into disposable "art commodities" *(Gebrauchsplastik)*. Unconvinced that postwar consumer groups, women's organizations, and so-called taste professionals could effectively reverse this corrosive cultural trend, Scholl countered that such "sales-design kitsch" could only be overcome through educating designers who were freed from any commercial orientation.[61]

During the first few years, Bill's conception of this proper design education had become the school's guiding philosophy. He developed his specific educational model in the mid-1950s in response to what he perceived to be the negative influence of American streamline styling. Like other European designers of his generation, Bill strongly reacted against the publication of the high-profile American designer Raymond Loewy's 1950 autobiography, *Never Leave Well Enough Alone.* He chastised Loewy and his "spurious surface simplification known as streamlining" for sacrificing the ethical foundation of all design (i.e., the fulfillment of genuine human needs) on the altar of consumer sales. For him, this "sweet but dishonest" commercial ornamentation had sullied the lofty moral office of industrial designer, while at the same time contributing to the "collapse of culture" *(Kulturverfall)* by severing aesthetics from moral idealism and cultural reform. Bill thereby envisioned the new Ulm Institute as a rejuvenated Bauhaus leading the fight against this "nonsense" *(Unsinn)* in the name of "the good, the beautiful, and the practical."[62] In 1953, in his first public statement as director of the Ulm Institute, for example, he maintained that the school was simply carrying on the much older "war on ugliness" that began with the turn-of-the-century German Applied Art School *(Kunstgewerbeschule)* movement:

> The founders of the school believe art to be the highest expression of human life and therefore their aim is to help in turning life into a work of art. In the words of that memorable challenge thrown down by Henry van de Velde over 50 years ago, we mean "to wage war on ugliness," and ugliness can only be combated with what is intrinsically good—"good" because at once beautiful and practical. . . . If we intend to go further at Ulm than they did at Dessau this is because postwar requirements clearly postulate the necessity for certain additions to the curriculum. For instance, we mean to give still greater prominence to the design of ordinary things in everyday use; to foster the widest possible development of town and regional planning; and to bring visual design up to the standard which the latest technical advances have now made possible.[63]

For Bill, then, the school was essentially dedicated to the task of re-enchanting the forms of everyday life in a kind of grandiose *Gesamtkunst-*

werk that recognized no difference between fine arts and regional planning. In his grand project "to turn life into a work of art" and to aestheticize everything from "the smallest object to the metropolis," Bill did away with the distinction among moral renewal, aesthetic production, and social reform, gathering them all into the lofty idealism of "good form" design.[64]

Yet Bill's design philosophy also posited a certain fusion of art and science as the bedrock of engaged design praxis. To safeguard design from degenerating into Loewy-esque aesthetic fancy, Bill worked to develop the theoretical insights of his former Bauhaus teachers—Paul Klee and Wassily Kandinsky—in combining spiritual artistic creativity with scientific logic.[65] For him, grounding art and design in mathematics by no means excluded individual artistic expression; rather, it served as the necessary bridge linking artistic endeavor, logical principles, and industrial production. On this point he maintained a classic 1920s modernist stance in arguing that function must determine form and not vice versa, that function is the ground of all aesthetics, and that the sole objective of design remained the liberation of human needs.[66] But while defending the necessity of unadorned, nonexpressionist "neutral form" as the best remedy against "personality" design and commercial styling, Bill was certainly not willing to hand over the mantle of design to the technical engineer.[67] Indeed, he never surrendered his faith in the elevated role and authority of the "responsible, true artist" to redeem the industrial design object as something more than cheap commodity or technical instrument.[68] In the end, he insisted that only the engaged artist as "true creator" could properly address the complex technical, cultural, and moral issues inherent in modern design, precisely because only "free art" *(freie Kunst)* could transcend fleeting fashion trends and technical engineering imperatives.[69]

This elevation of the artist-designer as social engineer was not just residual Werkbund ideology. The real reason Bill valued the role of the artist in industrial design was because he believed these everyday industrial design objects were first and foremost "cultural goods" *(Kulturgüter)*. Thus he ultimately disqualified the commercial stylist and engineer as designers, for both in effect "de-cultured" objects by reducing them to saleable commodities and/or technical equipment. The achievement of "good form" lay in reconstituting the industrial object as a "culture good."[70] Only the engaged noncommercial artist-designer, so Bill reasoned, could be entrusted with re-enchanting the object with the "surplus value" of culture irrespective of strict commercial and/or technical

import. As he put it, "it is my firm belief that bad, incompetent, or commercially minded artists ought never to be allowed to design mass-produced goods, and this immensely responsible task should be exclusively reserved for those designers whose outstanding skill in craftsmanship is known to be governed by a high sense of moral duty to the community."[71] That is, the objective of industrial design was not "to make square what yesterday was round," but rather "to view these objects of human need as cultural factors which decisively influence our form of life. Spoon and machine, traffic sign and housing have in this respect the same meaning."[72] This was what Bill meant when he remarked that the institute was primarily concerned with "bringing civilization and culture into harmony."[73] Elevating the importance of artistic production in industrial design training was the best way of pursuing Scholl's original 1949 task, namely to keep the dangerous forces of modern civilization and technology under cultural control.

With time, however, Bill's lofty vision of industrial design faced mounting criticism from other faculty members. Dissatisfaction with Bill's theories was first expressed by Tomás Maldonado, an Argentine artist and art journal editor who had joined the Ulm faculty in 1954. While sharing the desire to train socially responsible designers instead of commercial artists, Maldonado rejected Bill's Werkbund-Bauhaus idealism in favor of a more scientific conception of industrial design.[74] He first proposed a radically different model of modern design education during his well-known speech delivered at the 1958 Brussels World's Fair. Whereas most of the international representatives present at the fair's design conference shared Bill's belief that the cultural menace of kitsch and bad design could best be remedied through more design education and the popularization of "good form," Maldonado boldly asserted that "aesthetic considerations have ceased to be a solid conceptual basis for industrial design."[75] The rise of modern design as a new profession, he argued, was really a product of the Depression, where designers were hired by business to help repackage consumer goods as a means of moving merchandise off the shelf. Most contemporary design (be it American streamline or Nierentisch design) was thus less legitimate Industrial Age folk art than a shrewd marketing stratagem to exploit genuine human needs and desires.[76] Yet his condemnation of the "pathological cult of differentiation" characterizing modern consumer capitalism did not prompt him to embrace Bill's idea of the uncorrupted artist-designer and his romantic "from the spoon to the city" *Gesamtkunstwerk* project. On the contrary, Maldonado felt that Bill's totalizing artistic program was

useless for training designers as future partners of industry.[77] He criticized Bill for recasting the designer as a "Grand Inquisitor" who "graciously administers justice in the world of design according to the motto: 'the designer commands, the engineer obeys,'" for it assumed and necessitated the artist-designer's sociocultural remove from the processes of industry.[78] Maldonado regarded the artist-designer's cultured distance from industry as completely untenable, not least because Bill's venerated "good form" had itself become just another design style among many. More, Maldonado insisted that "industrial design is not an art, nor is the designer necessarily an artist," since the cunning of capitalism had ironically transformed the moral idealism of "good form" into highbrow design styling.[79] In consequence, Maldonado lumped together both commercial design and Bill's conception of the artist-designer as twin symptoms of the same outdated misconception about the role and meaning of engaged industrial design.

If industrial design was to be divorced from artistic production, then what was to serve as its new basis? Maldonado's answer was that both industrial design and the designer were on the threshold of historical transformation. Whereas rationalized mass production (Fordism) had foregrounded the designer as inventor-planner in the first stage of design history, followed in the second stage by the rise of the artist-designer as a child of the 1929 Crash, Maldonado characterized the third and final phase as the historical emergence of the designer as "coordinator." In this new phase the designer must "coordinate, in close collaboration with a large number of specialists, the most varied requirements of product fabrication and usage" so as to assure "maximum productivity, material efficiency, and cultural satisfaction of the user."[80] The new designer was no ordinary industrial technocrat, though. What had happened was that the engaged designer's adversarial ethos had been transferred from object styling into the production process itself. Bill's autonomous and somewhat distant artist-designer had been replaced by the designer as active partner in industry, "operat[ing] at the nerve centres of our industrial civilization" where "the most important decisions for our daily life are made" and where "those interests meet which are most opposed and often most difficult to reconcile." No longer a "mystical and indefinable apparition," the new industrial designer would now be trained in the laws of mass production and industrial automation in order to help demystify and coordinate "our object-ive and communicative world."[81] The success of the new designer largely depended "on the breadth of his scientific and technical knowledge, as well as on his capacity of interpret-

ing the most secret and most subtle processes of our culture."[82] Critical design praxis—what he called "scientific operationalism"—could thus only begin once design had been divorced from aesthetics, once the mysterious "cultural good" had been superseded by a new conception of the design object as nothing but material information and production coordination. Design had thus been reconfigured as a more scientifically based sociological operation of product management and systems analysis. By integrating the designer into the production process itself, Maldonado had secularized the designer, transferring his/her sphere of operation from the lofty heights of *Kultur* to the workaday world of industrial *Zivilisation*.

Maldonado also believed that the need to modernize industrial design education and practice went beyond the design world proper. In his eyes, the problem of design training was intimately connected with the larger international crisis in education philosophy. In a 1959 article, he enlarged on the global significance of his new design philosophy, claiming that the intense post-Sputnik Euro-American debate about the perceived inadequacies of contemporary technical education was in itself nothing new, but only exposed the longtime obsolescence of current educational practices in treating the problems of modern technology and science. For Maldonado, the crisis underscored the fact that the three reigning theories of education, namely European humanism, American pragmatism, and Soviet technical education, were all incapable of grasping the changing technical and social issues of the nuclear age. Neither the nineteenth-century European humanist ideal of "general education" nor the romantic American pedagogical theory of "learning by doing" inspired by John Dewey and William James provided direction for modern engineers, technicians, architects, and industrial designers, who needed to keep abreast of the latest developments in specialized knowledge and technological developments.[83] Even Soviet technical education no longer served as a viable alternative, he argued, since the once pioneering Soviet pedagogical theory of a nonhumanist technical education developed during the 1930s had subsequently ossified into Cold War party dogma and professional indoctrination.[84] Technical education now needed to shed its outworn historical models. To this end Maldonado praised the pioneering work of C. S. Peirce and Charles Morris in the fields of semiotics and information theory as welcome attempts to modernize social science and the philosophy of education. As we shall see, the appeal of semiotics and information theory

to the Ulmers lay in its putative methodological objectivity, its rejection of humanism and moral values in the name of scientific inquiry and "value-free" analysis.

At first this cultural idealism may seem somewhat naïve or simply a pale imitation of the modernist ideology from the Weimar Republic. But it is crucial to recall that the Ulm project to forge a new postfascist "industrial culture" diverged markedly from the more general postwar cultural pessimism about the potentially redemptive powers of science and industrial technology. Much of this postwar sentiment was a response to the Nazi legacy of industrialized mass death and destruction, in which the West German right and left joined hands in denouncing Germany's 1930s theology of technology as a central element of the "German catastrophe." After 1945 technology was often treated by West German intellectuals as the stigma of evil and danger. It was variously condemned as the instrument of cultural slavery (F. G. Jünger), the harbinger of violence and death (Sigfried Giedion), the symbol of existential alienation (Heidegger), and/or the dialectical expression of instrumental reason and unfreedom (Horkheimer and Adorno).[85] Whether or not the Third Reich and/or Hiroshima served as the narrative resolution of these analyses, the point was that the historical faith in the benevolent marriage of technology and culture (as well as science and society) did not survive the war.[86] That technology no longer served as the central trope of (West) German liberation could also be seen in the fact that West German engineers never regained their pre-1945 authority as anointed cultural heroes.[87]

The Ulm Institute stood quite alone in its faith in industrial technology as the main locus of cultural reconstruction. Yet there was more at stake than just confronting West Germany's intellectual antipathy toward science and technology. The Ulmers worried that this antimodern aversion only reinforced the prewar split between humanism and efficiency. Advancing the "Ulm idea" was viewed as all the more urgent given that the West German cultural elite was turning its back on technology at precisely the moment when its country was undergoing a feverish modernization. The widespread postwar enthusiasm for automobiles, kitchen appliances, cleaning machines, radios, and television only underscored the extent to which pop culture was smitten by consumer technology's capacity to liberate and comfort. So the Ulm project to help heal the rift between society and technology was inseparable from the desire not to abandon West German modernity to narrow-minded technocrats, commercial designers, and advertising agents.

The institute's effort to help frame a more progressive postwar industrial culture was perhaps best illustrated in the school's well-known collaboration with the consumer electronics firm of Braun. Founded in 1921 by Max Braun as a small electronics outfit specializing in the production of driving belts and radio parts, Max Braun AG expanded its production throughout the 1920s and 1930s to include its own line of radio consoles, and it continued to manufacture radios and electronic equipment throughout the war. Once the rubble was cleared away, Braun resumed production in 1947 and shortly thereafter introduced a new line of electric razors and kitchen mixers as part of its new palette of consumer electronics goods.[88] Its early postwar radio designs, however, still retained a ponderous dark-wood styling in keeping with the more traditional Gelsenkirchener Baroque radio design from the 1930s and 1940s. Since he had established the company's prize-winning reputation with that radio console, Braun saw no reason why he should make any stylistic alterations.[89] However, the sudden death of the founder in 1951 and the accession of his two young sons, Erwin and Arthur Braun, as company directors precipitated Braun's change of design policy in what would become West Germany's most celebrated corporate design story.[90]

The changing of the guard at Braun inaugurated a wholly new design attitude and outlook. No longer interested in maintaining a conservative 1930s traditional style, the Braun brothers sought to develop a new line of products inspired by the modernist "good form" canon of such Bauhaus-influenced design firms as Knoll International and Olivetti.[91] Above all, they wanted to free the radio form from its traditional Gelsenkirchener Baroque housing. A 1954 survey of postwar lifestyles and consumer tastes conducted by West Germany's leading opinion research agency, the Allensbach Institut für Demoskopie, confirmed the Brauns' hunch that a potential market existed for consumer technology featuring brighter colors and modernist design principles.[92] Erwin Braun then hired Hans Gugelot of the Ulm Institute to design a new radio console for his firm.[93] Gugelot's collaborative effort with the in-house Braun designer Dieter Rams on a new stereo console, the SK-4 (figure 34), placed Braun design in the public spotlight. Significantly, the designers did not approach the consumer radio unit as a heavy piece of representational domestic furniture, but rather as a mobile sound machine engineered according to technical function. Gugelot and Rams improved sound quality by replacing the muffling wooden housing around the technical core with metal and plastic and restructuring the whole unit along a horizontal axis. Not only was the stereo unit shorn of all the luxury accessories of
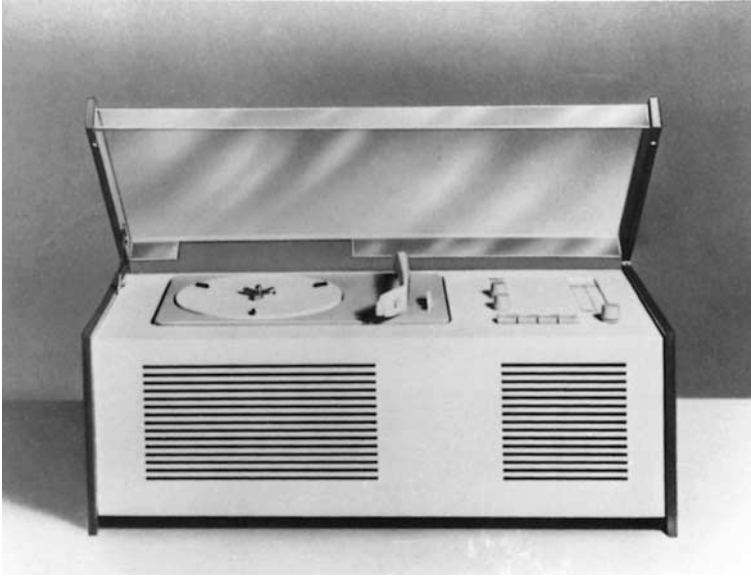
Figure 34. Braun SK-4 phonograph, 1956. Design: Hans Gugelot and Dieter Rams for Braun AG. Courtesy of Braun AG, Kronberg.

conventional radio design (e.g., big gold buttons and fine front-panel texturing), its neutral gray and white colors also reflected the Ulm school's rejection of the flashy styling of its Nierentisch rival.[94] The innovative quality of the SK-4 (nicknamed "Snow White's coffin" in the press because of its new transparent plastic top), as well as of the whole array of Braun electronic products, immediately registered with the press and the public alike.[95] Braun's design goods now became the standard-bearer of exemplary modern design and the cherished material emblems of West Germany's educated middle classes.[96]

The design work for Braun neatly expressed the Ulm Institute's larger vision of modern industrial design. First and foremost, the school's co-operation with Braun reflected its overarching interest in moving away from isolated design styling and working closely with industry to develop new models based on technical quality and functionalist principles. Its emphasis on technical machines and industrial equipment instead of arts and crafts products further illustrated Ulm's commitment to this new industrial design. The partnership with Braun therefore underscored Ulm's shift in design focus from homey domestic objects to industrial equipment, consumer electronics, and public design projects (e.g., placards, film, trans-

portation systems, and even computer software programs) based on rational analysis and technical knowledge. For the Ulmers, the ponderous cultural encasing of these conventional radio consoles symbolized the central problem inherent in subordinating the technical function and rational structure to traditional cultural forms. In this way, the Ulm designers sought to modernize the "housing" of consumer goods along new functional lines just as 1920s architects had radically redesigned the German home and its interiors according to Neue Sachlichkeit principles.[97] Transforming the very understanding of the radio/stereo from a domestic artifact of historicist gemütlichkeit to a functional component of modern technical equipment helped bring consumer electronics design into the world of industrial *Zivilisation*.[98] In the end, the school's well-publicized cooperation with Braun strengthened the hand of the institute's young faculty members in their effort to purge industrial design of any last remnants of domesticity and preindustrial *Kultur*.

Another important example of the institute's novel approach to industrial design was Hans Gugelot's M125 design project for Zürich's Wohnbedarf AG and Ilsfeld's Wilhelm Bofinger design firms. Much as his Ulm colleagues in the Building Department (especially Konrad Wachsmann and Herbert Ohl) had developed prefabricated standardized housing components to facilitate the construction of high-quality, affordable postwar housing, Gugelot devised a similar system design for domestic interiors. He wanted above all to reorganize the dizzying stylistic plurality of individual unmatched furniture pieces crowding postwar domestic interiors into a more efficient, space-saving furniture concept. For this, he designed a modular system of standardized shelf slats and wall units that could be interchanged and reassembled as shelves, cabinets, and/or storage spaces, depending on the user's preferences (figure 35). Though the idea of system design had first been introduced during the 1920s by such pioneering designers as Marcel Breuer, Bruno Paul, and Josef Hillerbrand, Gugelot's model advanced the concept to new heights.[99] At first glance, this idea of "visual hygiene" based on rigid, rationalized interchangeable components may seem to represent a rather authoritarian design principle, in which the cultural distinctions marking disparate social spaces (e.g., office, living room, and bedroom) were dissolved into a single visual system of use-value rationality.[100] Yet Gugelot's objective was never to stifle the user's individual creativity, but rather to provide affordable multifunctional furniture units for those living in cramped postwar spaces. The M125 project was also intended to counter the cheap commodification of "individual design" and "consumer personality" in-

Figure 35. M125 modular shelf unit, circa 1957. Design: Hans Gugelot for Wilhelm Bofinger, Ilsfeld. Courtesy of HfG-Archiv, Ulm.

forming much of postwar commercial design. Gugelot's system design was, in fact, a serious attempt to blunt the market invention of "personalized design" by devising a system of standardized interchangeable components that evoked the user's individual expression in arranging its modular elements.

The Photography Department also registered the institute's understanding of industrial design. As part of the school's rejection of the arts and crafts tradition, the department expressly distanced itself from treating photography as an art form. Rather, it devoted its energies to developing a new type of objective product photography devoid of fantasy or feeling. Headed by Christian Staub and Wolfgang Siol, the department discarded what it saw as the false metaphysics infusing product photography and '50s "subjective photography," as well as the more general aesthetic strategies used in postwar commercial advertising. The idea was to frame design objects in a purely objective, informative, and honest style of representation.[101] Products were typically photographed in black and white against blank neutral backgrounds, as a means of blocking any cheap sentimentalism or emotional appeal (figure 36). Not

Figure 36. Ulm Institute of Design photography of hotel crockery. Design: Nick Roericht, 1958–59. Photograph: Wolfgang Siol. Courtesy of HfG-Archiv, Ulm.

that the Ulm Institute invented this stark, sober style of product photography. Both the Bauhaus and 1930s Swiss photographers had pioneered new aesthetic modes of photographing everyday commodities in noncommercial settings.[102] What distinguished Ulm's contribution from the others, however, was its systematic effort to annul the last residue of artistic subjectivity and irrational pathos still present in these older pathbreaking historical styles. The Ulm photographers strove to re-present the item not as an object of desire, but as a design concept conveying information about its product function. Usually a good amount of artificial light was added to banish most of the shadows from the photographed objects, in keeping with the school's product design philosophy of reducing the design object to its essential technical qualities. As Herbert Lindinger saw it: "The guiding impulse at Ulm was doubtlessly the effort to remove all the inessentials as much as possible in order to reduce the design object to the irreducible. This idea not only informed the design work, but also the school's photography."[103] Even the minimal human presence in the early photography of some of Bill's school designs, where the item's use-value was demonstrated by

Figure 37. Ulm door handle, circa 1955. Design: Max Bill and Ernst Moeckel. Photograph: Ernst Hahn. Courtesy of HfG-Archiv, Ulm.

the user's hand in the product picture (figure 37), was removed from Ulm's later product photography. Thus the photographic style reflected the school's larger conviction that these design objects were less beautiful "culture goods" than semiotic ensembles, dry incarnations of rigid design logic.

Comparing Ulm's product photography for Braun with the more typical photography style used to advertise other 1950s consumer electronics helps illuminate the uniqueness of Ulm's aesthetic strategies. Whereas the conventional Nierentisch design commodity was almost always pictured with bold dynamic lines, often situated in domestic living rooms with smiling women on hand to "harmonize" the ambience of consumer excitement (figure 38), the Braun products were patently de-fetishized,

Figure 38. Bosch advertisement, early 1950s. Courtesy of Robert Bosch GmbH, Stuttgart.
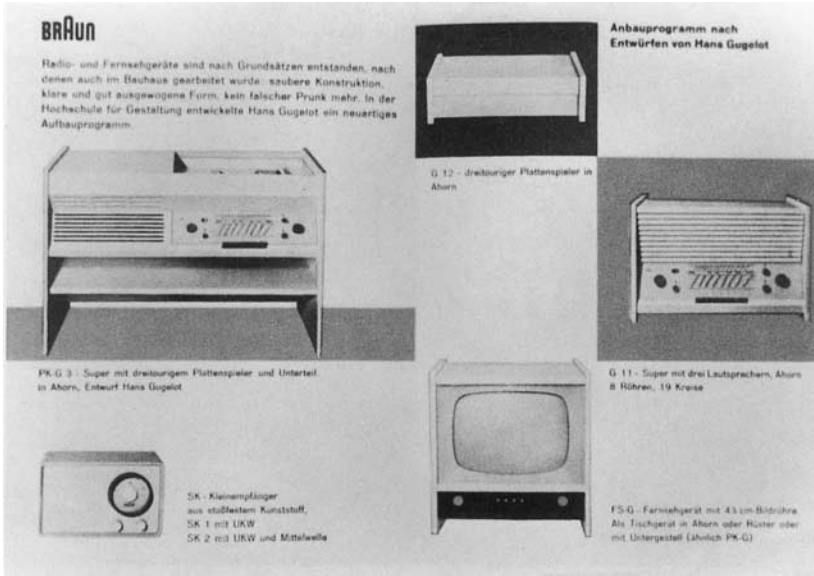
Figure 39. Braun advertisement, 1955. The text describes how the featured radio and television equipment is largely informed by Bauhaus principles—"clean construction, clear and well-balanced form, with no false decoration." Source: Advertising Brochure for Braun AG. Courtesy of Stadtarchiv, Ulm.

featured alone against cool, unalluring blank backgrounds in frontal, shadowless "still lifes" that accentuated the functional product designs themselves (figure 39).[104] Rarely did these ads suggest cozy domestic settings; smiling housewives were never on hand to "sensualize" the products.[105] Anything that detracted from the product itself as technical information was simply eliminated. From this perspective, Ulm's work for Braun was a bold venture in engineering a corporate identity based on the denial of commodity fetishism and the more "secular" qualities of sober functionalism and technical performance.

That Ulm swam against the current of most postwar cultural developments was evident even in its student population. The relation between school philosophy and student lifestyle was keenly noted by one journalist during the late 1950s:

They had faces that one rarely finds at German universities; neither stylized nor innocent faces, but rather faces from the student quarters of more cosmopolitan cities: attentive, intelligent, sensitive, without pathos. Faces which never fronted innerness [*Innerlichkeit*]. Admission to the Institute is an initiation rite: the students cut each other's hair. The haircut is the first

sacrament. A very short haircut. Very functional and rational: the same hair length all over. . . . A very monastic hairstyle. The second step is the renunciation of capital letters. Not on historical or linguistic-political grounds. On functional grounds. Capital letters are a distraction to both hand and eye. At Ulm they write exclusively in lowercase. The third stage: the loss of family name, loss of one's burden of origin. Everyone has only a given name. At the same time, conventional habits of address are surrendered: the familiar "Du" instead of the formal "Sie." The last stage: a revolution in mental function. Thinking and feeling are stripped down and reassembled, mainly through the constant pressure to give a reason for anything and everything.[106]

As this sharp passage reveals, the school's guiding design philosophy was literally inscribed on the student body, through haircuts, renunciation of uppercase script and formal grammatical address, denial of family and personal history, and finally the "revolution of mental function," until it can even be seen in the students' faces. This rejection of all "bourgeois costume" was certainly a far cry from the ducktail haircuts and soda fountain rendezvous characterizing much of West German youth culture of the 1950s.[107] Unlike West Germany's working-class youth culture, the Ulm students did not embrace an imagined American popular culture as a rock-and-roll El Dorado by adopting the looks and lifestyles of such teen idols as Elvis Presley, James Dean, Marlon Brando, and Marilyn Monroe.[108] Nor did they channel their rebellion against their parents' patriarchal values into oedipal anti-authoritarianism, sensual enjoyment, and purposeless consumerism as did many others of their generation.[109] Indeed, the students' disinclination toward this youthful (Americanized) pleasure culture exactly mirrored the school's general rejection of the organic design culture's celebration of the brash and daring. Small wonder that journalists expressed their amazement at the school's strangely monastic atmosphere. That the school never had more than 12 percent women further accentuated its unique cloister-like ambience.[110] These Ulm students had become a kind of anti–youth culture, described in the very terms used for the school's architecture, photography, and design products—cool, functional, rational, without pathos. Even the Ulm students' interest in jazz was described as corresponding to the school's design attitude—"highly technical, esoteric, rather abstract, immensely well-done, neither lush nor flashy."[111] More than just a pioneering design philosophy, the Ulm design project suffused every aspect of school life, becoming a whole mode of being in stark opposition to the world below Kuhberg Mountain.

Beyond the Bauhaus Legacy

With time, the simmering feud between Bill and Maldonado intensified, eventually dividing the school into rival "Maxists" and "anti-Maxists" in punning reference to the director's first name. Leaving aside the rich court intrigues during the crisis, it is enough to say that Maldonado's vision of the scientifically oriented designer eventually won out. In fact, in 1958 Bill resigned as school director in response to what he called the "technoid degeneration *[technizistische Entartung]* of its once good idea."[112] His departure signaled the end of the school's art-based design education. After that the institute devoted its full attention to developing a brand-new conception of both modern design and the designer freed from the historical baggage of aesthetics, *Kultur,* and artistic production. Nowhere was this shift more noticeable than in the 1958 revision of the school's curriculum. Instruction in colors was completely dropped from the course list;[113] Gugelot and Walter Zeischegg continued to develop the engineering sciences; and more theoretical courses on science were now introduced, such as mathematical operations analysis, physiology, perception theory, ergonomics, and epistemology. The Building Department under Wachsmann and Ohl discarded its metaphysical baggage as well, shifting its emphasis from the poetics of architecture to the rationalization of prefabricated housing components. Even instruction in the "Cultural Integration" Department, whose components of philosophy, history, psychology, and political science had been devised as a corrective to the antihistorical thrust of the original Bauhaus program and the dangers of overspecialization, had given way to the pressing task of more "specialized training."[114]

But more than just a reaction against the postwar commercialization of design, the increasing "scientization" of the Ulm model of design education was also a response against the ideals of the German Werkbund. At first the Ulm rejection of the Werkbund heritage may look somewhat peculiar, especially since the Bill-Maldonado dispute very much recalled (albeit without the same nationalist rhetoric) the Werkbund's famous 1914 "standardization" *(Typisierung)* debate about the relationship between artist and industry, culture and economy. The Werkbund's interwar crusade also seems akin to Ulm's campaign a generation later. But the institute took serious issue with the Cold War deradicalization of the Werkbund's once formidable cultural mission. For the Ulmers, the Werkbund's self-appointed postwar role as "conscience of the nation" was of

little use in reconceptualizing modern design education. Although they shared the same preference for functionalism, the Ulmers frowned on the Werkbund's attempt to root the significance of everyday goods in spiritual idealism and moral regeneration. In fact, the Werkbund's new championing of "good form" design based on the trinity of beauty, truth, and utility represented exactly what the young Ulm faculty wished to avoid.

The contrast between Ulm rationalism and Werkbund idealism was perhaps best illustrated in a 1956 joint conference of the Swiss Werkbund, the German Werkbund, and the Ulm Institute of Design, held in Stuttgart. The presentations alone pointed up the enormous differences in design outlook. Whereas in his presentation Otto Haupt, president of the Baden-Württemberg chapter of the German Werkbund, promoted the Werkbund's postwar role as the nation's conscience in patrolling the borders between culture and kitsch, the Ulm professors Max Bense and Max Bill addressed the specific theoretical problems attending modern design practice—such as the importance of morphological design, the end of metaphysics, and the emergence of what Bense called the "ontology of function."[115] The presentations by the Ulm teachers, however, found no takers. Perplexed by these new Ulm design theories, the Swiss and German Werkbunds (along with the journalists on hand) looked askance at the Ulm teachers' arid intellectualization of design and their wholesale neglect of the emotional, intuitive ground of artistic creativity.[116] One German Werkbund member even remarked that Bill's concept of the artwork as "psychological use-object" dangerously lacked any "occidental foundation" *(abendlandischen Boden)* in that it removed "spirit" *(Geist)* as the central source and purpose of meaningful design work.[117] In the end, the Werkbunds recommended that Ulm ought to concern itself with less theoretical investigation and more practical design production.[118] However we judge this criticism, the 1956 meeting dramatized just how much the Ulm school and the Werkbund had diverged on the role and meaning of proper design work.

Of perhaps greater relevance here is that the Ulm rejection of the Werkbund heritage inevitably forced it to reevaluate its Bauhaus legacy. Maldonado asserted that the Bauhaus could no longer serve as the model of industrial design education, since its "learning by doing" pedagogy ignored new scientific research and did not offer students adequate preparation for the complicated world of postwar industrial relations. While acknowledging that it had provided an important break from the ossified academic world of fin-de-siècle German art education, he maintained that the Bauhaus's effort to cleanse students of any prior academic training

so as to restore the "free personality" based on a "lost psycho-biological unity" ultimately obstructed modern students from assuming important positions in industrial society.[119] Bauhaus millenarianism, along with its myth of the noble savage, so he argued, had long outlived its historical validity and had itself become neo-academic formalism.[120]

However exaggerated this may at first appear, Maldonado's critique that the Bauhaus heritage had never fully cast off its early expressionistic tendencies was not that outlandish. For example, Gropius himself, in his speech at the institute's 1955 inauguration, completely ignored the fact that the Ulm Institute had effectively updated the original Bauhaus program by removing the primacy of arts and crafts from its industrial design curriculum. Not only did he underscore the Cold War importance of providing the "Bauhaus idea" with a "new German home" *(deutsche Heimat)* as a sign of "progressive democracy," he argued that genuine cultural reform first began with training "artistic people" as cultural engineers, since the "spiritual direction of human development is always distinctively influenced by thinkers and artists whose works transcend logical functionalism."[121] Like Bill, Gropius defended the unimpeachable authority of both art and artist as the authentic source of cultural and political regeneration; he concluded by saying that intuition, emotion, and artistic sensibility—not scientific rationality—remained for him the mainsprings of real design work.

The Ulmers could even find evidence of this expressionist Bauhaus legacy within the school itself. The presence of Johannes Itten, the Mazdaznan guru responsible for shaping the famous Bauhaus *Vorkurs* from 1919 to 1923, provided more grist for the mill. Even if Itten had discarded his monkish robes long before he arrived in Ulm in 1954, he still tried to bring students closer to the mysteries of Eastern philosophy through meditation and pre-class calisthenics.[122] But his deep faith in intuition and irrationalism found no followers among Ulm students and faculty; on the contrary, it served as a constant source of laughter and parody.[123] Even though other former Bauhaus teachers who came to Ulm, including Josef Albers, Helene Nonne-Schmidt, and Konrad Wachsmann, pursued more scientific investigations in the fields of color theory, typography, and prefabricated building construction, it was Itten who came to symbolize and thus to reinforce the perception of the unwanted subjectivistic-expressionistic Bauhaus heritage.

But rather than simply jettisoning Bauhaus history altogether, the young faculty at Ulm resuscitated the almost forgotten figure who had been most responsible for radically reshaping industrial design educa-

tion at the Bauhaus, Hannes Meyer. As Gropius's successor at the Dessau Bauhaus, Meyer supervised Bauhaus activities from 1927 to 1930. He devoted his energies to changing the Bauhaus's image and upper-crust clientele by institutionalizing a more leftist program based on "the people's needs instead of luxury needs" *(Volksbedarf statt Luxusbedarf),* while bringing the school's workshop in closer contact with the trade unions and worker's movement. He transformed Bauhaus pedagogy by cleansing it of any lingering artisan ethos and/or expressionist mysticism in favor of a more "secularized" design method grounded in the principles of rational production. For many Ulmers, the Meyer tenure in Dessau represented the Bauhaus's most fruitful period, in terms of both work and design theory. In fact, Meyer's dictum, "How many mysterious things one tries to explain through art, when in fact they are things that have to do with science," served as the guiding pedagogical principle among Ulm's younger faculty members.[124] Not that embracing Meyer was altogether easy. The fact that he was an avowed communist made this rehabilitation particularly delicate. Given both the Cold War cultural climate and the increasing importance of the Bauhaus legacy as a polestar of West German liberal culture, Meyer's tenure at Dessau was consistently marginalized and/or purged from West German Bauhaus historiography. At the 1950 Painters at the Bauhaus exhibition, for example, Meyer was portrayed as an "ideologue of doctrinaire materialism" who perverted the gospel of Gropius and sabotaged the Bauhaus's mission by interpreting "the concept of function too literally and mechanically, while suppressing the centrality of art."[125] Gropius himself often used the Meyer directorship to deflect any potentially damaging Bauhaus criticism. This was most evident in his reply to Rudolf Schwarz's critical 1953 article, which condemned the Bauhaus as an unwelcome communist scourge. Gropius contended that any such political image could only be attributed to Meyer's questionable efforts.[126] Nonetheless, Meyer enjoyed a preeminent status at Ulm as the original theorist of a scientifically based design education, whereby his tenure—not Gropius's Weimar directorship—could be reclaimed as Ulm's true Bauhaus heritage.

Having discarded the education models of both the Werkbund and the early Bauhaus, the Ulm Institute then concentrated on developing its own modern design philosophy. One particularly revealing aspect of the school's new curriculum was the primacy of semiotics. In large measure this stemmed from the broader attempt to uncouple design from the trappings of morality, taste, and aesthetics. Again, Maldonado led the way,

drawing heavily on the work of C. S. Peirce, Charles Morris, and Anatol Rapoport.[127] The main proponent of this emphasis, however, was the long-overlooked West German philosopher and fellow Ulm lecturer Max Bense, who had been recruited by Bill in 1954 to help build up Ulm's Cultural Integration Department. Bense had been a philosophy professor at the University of Stuttgart. In the '30s and '40s he had published numerous books in the philosophy of mathematics as well as Heideggerian texts exploring the metaphysical linkage of space and the phenomenology of being.[128] After 1945, Bense shifted his interests to focus on the relationship between aesthetics and technology; during his five-year stint at the institute he offered courses on mathematical theory and semiotic analysis. Much of his work now pivoted on the idea that the once critical hermeneutics of *Kultur* no longer existed, since both Nature and Culture had forfeited their relevance as interpretative models for understanding the emergence of what he called "technical civilization." But rather than joining the chorus of West German critics who greeted this "death of culture" as a full-fledged sociological disaster, Bense accepted this brave new world as simply modern reality. His project to develop a new philosophical system of "technical consciousness" was not some sort of engineer's fantasy about the wonders of a fully technologized world, but an attempt to emancipate the social sciences and especially aesthetics from their outworn humanist framework.

Bense's effort to reconceptualize aesthetic production beyond the ken of *Kultur* carried profound implications for both design theory and the status of the aesthetic object. In his speech at the 1956 joint Werkbund conference, for example, Bense made the bold claim that in an age characterized by mass re-production and the destruction of the precious cultural artifact, the age-old epistemological assumption that the art-object and, by association, the artist were the exclusive sites of aesthetic production was no longer historically valid. Bense no doubt realized that the "end of aura" was nothing new in itself, for it had characterized modern life ever since the manufacture of imitation products.[129] The difference now lay in its totalizing effect in an era of unbridled postwar consumerism, in which all culture goods could be, and were, instantly commodified, imitated, and reproduced. The historical disappearance of the autonomous cultural artifact therefore produced two decisive effects: first, it meant that the object's cultural status as an ontological category had been altogether undermined, since its "unique" attributes could now be easily copied and reproduced; second, aesthetics itself had been liberated from the "de-natured" precious object and effectively diffused

throughout the social terrain, for example, in advertising, industrial design, and the advent of "lifestyle." For Bense, this social development followed the logic of both modern science (e.g., quantum physics) and modern abstract art (above all, Kandinsky), which long ago had jettisoned their nineteenth-century grounding in the representational world of palpable objects, whether it be the concepts of substance, impulse, and regular circuits for the modern physicist, or painterly naturalism for the modernist artist.[130] The modern philosopher/sociologist, so Bense argued, should then follow the lead of the modern physicist who studies the "objective world" by analyzing not its discrete objects but rather its interactive semiotic effects.[131] By shifting the conceptual focus from disparate cultural products to their interactive field of "object effects" and "thing qualities," he sought to develop a semiotic theory of aesthetics in tune with the modern industrial world.[132] Bense thus claimed that industrial design enjoyed a privileged position in the modern world because it arose at the very crossroads of "technical civilization" and the industrialization of aesthetics. Industrial modernity had unwittingly liberated aesthetics from the object and from the domain of *Kultur* as well, which meant that aesthetics had now become the exclusive property of *Zivilisation*. More than just a new union of art and technology, industrial design represented the first aesthetic practice of "technical civilization," the first formalist strategy theoretically undetermined by the (elitist) rituals and reception of *Kultur*.

During the late 1950s, Bense's theory of aesthetics exerted considerable influence on the institute's younger faculty, despite the fact that he remained loyal to Bill.[133] His highly analytical argumentation and untiring effort to demystify the social function of aesthetics in everyday life appealed to them as a means of replacing cultural judgment (taste, beauty, morality) with more scientific evaluative criteria.[134] What is often forgotten, however, is that the Ulm Institute's project to develop a new science of everyday objects was also motivated by a particular ethical compulsion. In fact, the effort to train new designers who—like natural scientists studying the behavior of physical objects in the natural world—could analyze social "communicative products" (that is, consumer goods and media information) according to Weberian "value-free" scientific principles was less naïve rationalism than an effort to combat the reigning postwar science of material culture, namely market research. By the early 1960s market research had become a highly developed business science in its own right, replacing industrial psychology as the guiding epistemology dedicated to understanding the relationship between people and

things. This could be seen not only in the post-1945 merger of commerce and culture, but also in the rise of a new academic industry surrounding the romance of sales and psychology.[135] In response, the Ulmers hoped to stem the ongoing commercialization of social science by developing a more ethically based "critical semiotics." The pioneering work of Horst Rittel and Hanno Kesting to mathematize aesthetics, coupled with the effort of the French linguist and Ulm docent Abraham Moles to discern consumerism's semiotic laws of motion, reflected this broader desire to create a critical theory of modern material culture untainted by Madison Avenue machinations.[136]

To preserve the critical ethos of design in the face of ever-increasing cooptation by the marketplace, Maldonado insisted upon the connection between design studies and the liberation of human needs. For him, design education must concern itself with a "theory of needs" informed by a "more systematic study of the most subtle aspects of consumption." But this was hardly idle philosophizing. For the issue was nothing less than the preservation of freedom itself. As Maldonado remarked, the "aesthetics of manipulation" informing West Germany's prosperous consumer culture were inextricably bound to (and even partly responsible for) the larger problem in which the ideal of democratic freedom was ironically being undermined by the "limited real possibility to realize this freedom." The Cold War celebration of individualism was then less a doctrine of liberation than a thinly disguised consumer imperative. This is why Maldonado remarked that "genuine individual liberation" could not be attained through "artistic self-expression" but only "as a result of higher study and conscious self-control instead of uncontrollable emotional whims."[137] Semiotics—and by association scientific rationality—was therefore considered a decisive step toward genuine political liberation, on the grounds that it revealed the "conditions that make the manipulation possible and necessary."[138]

Once again, however, the institute ran into problems. For one thing, the new "scientization" of the curriculum encountered increasing resistance from faculty and students alike, many of whom felt that the school's faith in science and rationality had become polemic and excessive. Maldonado came under increasing fire, as the hilltop school was plunged into unending domestic feuds and intrigues. By the spring of 1963 the Ulm Institute's vicious tribal wars had spilled over into the pages of West Germany's mainstream press. Most damaging was a parody published in West Germany's leading weekly, *Der Spiegel*. Here the once noble aspirations animating the school's celebrated 1955 founding were sub-

ject to savage sarcasm, the institute's high-brow self-image reduced to a laughable "Cold War inside the design-cloister." The unnamed author of the article interviewed a range of disgruntled teachers and students, who all portrayed the school as poisoned by an atmosphere of hostility, selfishness, and incompetence.[139] The article's photographs alone told much of the story: Inge Scholl was pictured as an aged, slightly decadent-looking leader, Bill as a distracted teacher making strange faces behind a row of designer glassware, and Maldonado as a lazy docent lounging on the floor in idle thought. Worse, the article reported that the regional government of Baden-Württemberg had received a letter from the leader of the Ulm student coalition asking the government to intervene to help introduce a more democratic school constitution (granting students more rights in school administration) and to restore order. The *Spiegel* article rudely undermined Ulm's elevated cultural status and social mission, converting the cherished little design institute into a public scandal.[140]

Doubtless the magazine article would never have had the same impact if the school had not been in dire financial straits. Almost immediately after the article appeared, the Baden-Württemberg regional government began to review its financial commitment to the institute. The timing was disastrous, since the report appeared at a time when the school was becoming more and more financially dependent on an already skeptical regional government. While many government conservatives had never liked funding a school that was not state-accredited, the Ulm experiment was always granted exceptional status because of its unusual symbolic importance.[141] Unlike other West German schools and universities, the Ulm Institute was allowed to determine its own pedagogical program, accreditation requirements, and industry contacts, irrespective of regional bylaws and education regulations. To the growing chorus of Ulm critics, the article only confirmed the long-standing belief that this non-regulated school was simply frittering away taxpayers' money. Politicians of all stripes within the regional government demanded investigation into the school's activities.[142]

Criticism of Ulm's rationalist design forms and education was also fueled by the more general "crisis of functionalism" within West German architecture and design circles at the time. For many West Germans, the 1920s belief in the therapeutic social powers of functionalist building and city planning had become a post-1945 nightmare, as its one-time soaring social(ist) rhetoric had been emptied of any utopian promise and/or cultural vision. And even if the banalization of functionalism had long served

as a hated sign of misguided West German liberal culture among postwar conservatives, the new mid-'60s critique now found its most prominent voices from those on the left who had formerly championed its cause during the Weimar Republic. Such notable figures as Theodor Adorno, Ernst Bloch, and, in particular, Alexander Mitscherlich, with his *Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte: Anstiftung zum Unfrieden* (The inhospitability of our cities: An incitement to discord, 1965), helped direct attention to the cultural menace of functionalism. By 1968 the critique of functionalism had become synonymous with the more general critique of instrumental reason and the "uninhabitability" of West German cities, where the "tyranny of functionalism" was understood to symbolize the postwar loss of individual identity, the destruction of the environment, and the commercial ethos of West Germany's "profitopolis."[143] Once a passionate watchword of social democracy and the demystification of *Kultur,* functionalism was now spurned by all sides as the very expression of the miscarried dreams of postwar reform and renewal.

But again the Ulm Institute bucked the trend. Unlike others, they did not embrace more emotional, whimsical, and individualistic design forms as a cultural corrective.[144] For them, functionalism remained the most critical design style, since—as Abraham Moles put it—it "necessarily contradicts the doctrine of affluent society that is forced to produce and sell relentlessly."[145] But not everyone at Ulm agreed. Indeed, Maldonado and Gui Bonsiepe emerged as functionalism's new critics. They contended that functionalism's "anti-aesthetic" was really an illusion, having become just another design style on the market.[146] The numerous Werkbund and German Design Council "good form" exhibitions (to say nothing of the fact that Ulm design had become practically synonymous with Braun's corporate identity) underscored this point. In their eyes, form itself had become another term of derision, equally as corrupted and corrupting as "prestige design" and "styling."[147] Aesthetics had forfeited its historical potential of subversion and freedom. Bonsiepe sounded this new pessimistic note:

> Formerly, the aesthetic figured as the anticipation of a state of affairs that implied liberation from the constraints of necessity. But the aesthetic met with a fate that could not have been foreseen. It was found that it could very readily be pressed into the service of repression. The forms of power have been sublimated. In the course of this sublimation the aesthetic— which was and still is a promise of the state of liberation—had been harnessed by the agencies of power and thus used to acquire and maintain power.[148]

This was no small turn of events. If nothing else, it implied the full inversion of the power of aesthetics. No doubt Maldonado and Bonsiepe were aware that aesthetics had been used to articulate power, manufacture consensus, and invoke community since ancient Egypt, to say nothing of its merciless exploitation under the fascists. But conventional wisdom always had it that it did so by using a certain kind of aesthetics: grandiose, imposing, and emotive. Functionalism by contrast was supposedly the very opposite: unassuming, self-effacing, rational. Inside it thus dwelled the germ of liberation, to the extent that it implied the end of aesthetics and a more sober and reasoned relationship between people and objects. But in the end even this anti-aesthetic had become an aesthetic, whose radical critical potential had faded. It was just another expression of state (even liberal ones, as we shall see in the next chapter) and capital. The hope of reconstituting the design object as a site of social reform and political liberation had all but collapsed.

At this point, the Ulm Institute began to turn away from product design altogether. Even the school's die-hard functionalists devoted less energy toward designing things and more toward "product systems" and design theory.[149] Granted, this shift was in many ways the very essence of "scientific operationalism," whose task was "no longer a question of the name of things, nor of the things alone," but the mastery of "operational, manipulable real knowledge."[150] But what prevented Ulm designers from becoming simply capitalist pawns themselves? This of course remained the institute's crisis of conscience. In a desperate effort to make sure that the modern industrial designer would not become a meaningless technocrat, the school further radicalized the image and role of the designer. Once again, Maldonado and Bonsiepe set the tone. They asserted that the only way that designers could retain their adversarial role within business and industry was by becoming new *agents provocateurs*. As such, "The function of the designer should not be to preserve order, but to create disorder *[Unruhe zu stiften]*."[151] The school's one-time guiding faith in industry as a partner of social reform had evaporated. Gone too was their belief in the Enlightenment-inspired marriage of rational design and rational society. They were completely at a loss about how to reconcile form and freedom. In consequence, the institute became more isolated and cynical, preferring the unsullied world of theoretical discourse to the din and dirt of workaday industrial relations.

The Ulm Institute's colorful career nonetheless marked the most serious postwar effort to preserve the critical edge of design and designer alike. Despite their differences, Bill's endeavor to re-enchant everyday

commodities as unalienated "cultural objects" and Maldonado's attempt to rationalize design education as an alternative, engaged consumer science were related responses to the cultural crisis of the postwar design object. Even if its Enlightenment faith in the redemptive powers of reason and science (along with the neglect of environmental issues) may date the school as modernist, it still serves as a valuable case study in the cultural contradictions of material affluence. For nowhere else in West Germany were the problems associated with combining industry and ethics, aesthetics and liberation, technology and culture so passionately explored and debated. The institute was not entirely alone, however, in its fight against the historical elision of industrial culture and the culture industry. One of the most revealing episodes was the German Design Council's campaign to marry functionalism and national culture. It is to its checkered crusade that we now direct our attention.

Design, Liberalism, and the State

The German Design Council

On April 4, 1951, the Rat für Formgebung, or German Design Council, was established by West Germany's Bundestag as a new government agency charged with promoting "the best possible form of German products." The creation of this national design council capped a hard-fought campaign by the German Werkbund to enlist government assistance in popularizing "good form" design. Called upon to protect the "competitive interests of both German industry and handicrafts as well as German consumers," the council represented Bonn's first and only attempt to wed the economic and cultural life of West German industrial commodities.[1] But unlike the Werkbund or the Ulm Institute of Design, the German Design Council has attracted virtually no scholarly consideration. What marginal attention it has received has been quite negative: more often than not the council has been characterized as a colorless pawn of government and industry.[2] This chapter seeks to establish the Design Council's special importance within the larger history of West German culture. Above all, the council perfectly illustrated the perceived Cold War linkages among liberalism, the state, and modern design. How and to what extent the Design Council helped promote West Germany's cultural identity as a species of international modernism in design venues and international cultural fairs are central issues in this chapter. The council's significance, however, was not limited to converting design into diplomacy. Equally revealing were its internal conflicts over the greater end of industrial design, its copyright reform campaign, and its bid for professionalization. Each case pointed up the inherent desire and difficulty associated with reconciling culture and commerce. Analysis thus reveals the German Design Council as a key instance in the broader crusade to

imbue West German modernization with abiding social value and cultural meaning.

Design, Government, and National Identity

The idea to create a national design council was initially the brainchild of the German Werkbund during the late 1940s. As discussed in chapter 2, the Werkbund organized numerous exhibitions and cultural venues in support of its reform ideals. However, it faced real administrative obstacles. Most formidable was West Germany's Basic Law, whose codified federalization of culture and education precluded the creation of any national-level Werkbund. In response, the Werkbund turned its attention toward establishing a centralized government-financed design council as the best way of promoting export revenues, cultural reform, and even moral regeneration.[3] Since national economic affairs were administered by Bonn, the Werkbund petitioned the Federal Ministry of Economics in 1949 to create a new German Design Council as a sort of indirect national Werkbund.[4]

The proposal quickly gained wide support, in large part because of Bonn's desire to remedy West Germany's disastrous 1949 Decorate Your House industry show in New York. The new republic's first industrial exhibition in the United States had met with universal derision from visitors and critics alike. Its exhibition of Bavarian arts and crafts, Louis XV–style furniture, and overly decorated porcelain was roundly lampooned by the American press as laughable "parvenu-style" kitsch. After remarking that "it has been a long time since New York has seen such an accumulation of expensive rubbish as displayed in this German exhibition," one critic went so far as to challenge West Germany's cherished self-image as thoroughly cleansed of Nazi culture:

> It seems as if the entire world has learned from Germany's Werkbund and Bauhaus, but that only Germany itself does not believe in it. Either Germany has returned to the false pomposity of the *Gründerzeit* (where perhaps the pompous style of the Third Reich lent a helping hand) or it possesses too much self-conceit in assuming that the whole world has barbaric tastes, thus withholding its better design products from foreign exhibitions.[5]

Such a critique of West German design styling suggested a host of awkward impressions that West Germans desperately wanted to dispel: first, that West Germany remained culturally backward and/or arrogant; sec-

ond, that it had made no cultural break with Nazism; and third, that it had inexplicably turned its back on its affirmative heritage of international modernism.

Eager to counteract this public relations disaster, West German politicians greeted the Werkbund proposal as both timely and appropriate. Several members of the West German parliament, most notably the Social Democrat Arno Hennig, insisted that Bonn should do everything possible to avert such a scandal in the future, especially in America. Hennig was further convinced that the council could be a vital source of cultural regeneration. In a 1949 memorandum to fellow members of the Bundestag's Committee on Cultural Policy, he underlined the historical relevance of both the Werkbund and the Bauhaus in elevating the everyday commodity as a "good of value" *(Wertware)* that infused the "austerity of everyday life" with a "sense of soul" *(Hauch vom Seele)* and "aesthetic culture."[6] Hennig's view was widely shared, and many council advocates used this argument in gathering legislative support for the proposal.

The design council crusade received a shot in the arm from Else Meissner's 1950 text *Quality and Form in Life and the Economy.* A longtime Werkbund member and activist in the Weimar women's movement, Meissner had directed much of her energies during the 1920s toward bridging women's liberation, enlightened consumption, and the Werkbund's broader crusade for modernist housing and design.[7] Her new book was aimed at a different audience, however. While the first section underscored the relevance of the Werkbund's program for postwar cultural and economic renewal, the crux of her argument lay in her characterization of West Germany's place within the larger cultural geography of international design. Meissner argued that Austria, Switzerland, the Netherlands, and Scandinavia had all founded their own national Werkbunds in recent years so as to turn the German Werkbund's rich modernist heritage to their own particular advantage. American design too had greatly profited from the Bauhaus diaspora, and even Great Britain had established a generously subsidized Council of Industrial Design in 1944, with the exclusive aim of promoting British industrial design at home and abroad. That France, Switzerland, the Scandinavian countries, the United States, and even East Germany had already founded national design councils only further dramatized Meissner's new "encirclement thesis" of international design developments.[8] The message was plain to all: as long as Bonn failed to support industrial design, West Germany would remain forever economically dependent on those very industrial neighbors that had capitalized on the design heritage of German mod-

ernism.[9] But Meissner went even further. Economic dependence, cultural stagnation, and further political embarrassment were only the beginning. In their train would also come a dangerous cultural "proletarianization" resulting from a collapsed "sense of proportion, beauty, perspective, and order," which would then serve as a breeding ground for communist agitation. Other council supporters made similar claims about the need to "protect the West from such dangers."[10]

Meissner's warnings galvanized support among leading members of the Social Democratic Party. In late 1950 Hennig drafted a bill for a new German Design Council of Industrial and Artisan Products that was intended to help West Germany recoup its former preeminence as a leader in industrial design manufacture. The design council was envisioned as a nonprofit consulting *(ehrenamtlichen)* agency composed of representatives from manufacturing, business, trade unions, and consumer groups, as well as artists, designers, teachers, and publicists.[11] Conservatives, however, still harbored misgivings. Representatives from the right-wing German Party (Deutscher Partei) argued that underwriting a new "form culture" could not and should not be the work of the state, while Christian Democrats objected that it represented an illiberal impediment to the "natural" market laws of supply and demand. One Christian Democrat even contended that the council was too reminiscent of Albert Speer's Beauty of Labor office.[12] In reply, Hennig made four key points. First and foremost, he assured his critics that the council would be neither an illiberal "codex of good taste" *(Duden des guten Geschmacks)* nor a state-run cultural bureaucracy, but rather it would act as an informal liaison between industry and consumers.[13] Second, its subsumption under the Ministry of Economics clearly indicated that its principal task was economic, not cultural. Third, Hennig pointed out that state intervention into the sphere of industrial design was not unique to the Nazi period. As early as 1848 the Central Committee for Business and Trade (Centralstelle für Gewerbe und Handel, later renamed the Landesgewerbeamt) was founded by the Württemberg regional government in Stuttgart as a means of promoting local industrial products and textiles, and it operated until the Nazi takeover.[14] Invoking Germany's long tradition of close ties between state government and industrial design effectively removed any damaging Nazi association, while at the same time further legitimating the project as standard historical practice.[15] Fourth, Hennig followed Meissner in arguing that the council was justified and necessary for the simple reason that all of the other industrialized nations had already taken steps in this direction.

Nevertheless, the idea initially encountered resistance from industry leaders. To overcome this skepticism, the Werkbund dispatched one of its key members, Jupp Ernst, to present the plan to the powerful German Federation of Industry (Bundesverband der deutschen Industrie, or BDI).[16] Originally founded in 1895 by a group of mid-sized regional manufacturers who wanted to protect themselves against the tariff and cartel practices of German big industry, a transformed BDI reemerged after 1945 to become the largest and most influential association of West German major industry.[17] Its explicit task was to advance the interests of big industry and reemergent regional producers.[18] Given this desire to promote German industry at home and abroad, it was no real surprise that the BDI warmed to the Werkbund's proposal after Ernst's special pleading. Indeed, by December 1951 the BDI went so far as to create its own Committee for Industrial Design (Arbeitskreis für industrielle Formgebung) as a kind of informal design agency to publicize those West German industrial goods that "combin[ed] technical quality and good formal design," as well as to aid the cause of consumer education and the professionalization of design.[19] By the early 1950s it was already evident that West Germany's economy was shifting from the production of raw and semi-finished goods toward finished wares. More, the 1950s explosion in the production of West German plastics and consumer electronics signaled the growing importance of design within the rapidly expanding capital goods sector. Plastics and electronics employed 27.3 percent of all industrial labor by 1950.[20] In fact, the export of electrical household consumer goods and appliances almost tripled from DM 1,759,000 in 1950 to DM 4,973,000 in 1951, and increased to DM 6,239,000 by 1954.[21] Adding to this trend the conviction that promoting industrial design would help deter "collectivistic thinking" and communist sympathy by raising West Germany's export capacities and in turn its standard of living, the BDI went on to organize numerous exhibitions broadcasting the perceived links among design, exports, and political stability.[22]

Hennig also succeeded in securing the backing of two of West Germany's most powerful patrons in his quest for a design council. The first was the president of the Federal Republic, Theodor Heuss. As noted in chapter 2, Heuss was a prominent member of the Werkbund during the 1920s and had retained his Werkbund affiliation (largely via the Kunst-Dienst) throughout the war. Even if his experience with the Nazi "coordination" of German culture left him quite skeptical about any benefits from the marriage of culture and state, Heuss pledged his support for

the national design council. In his 1951 speech on the history of the Werk-bund, *What Is Quality?,* he reiterated his belief that the success of the "German quality ware" abroad was of paramount "economic, social-political, and spiritual-historical" importance for West Germany. By this he meant that "not only the industrialists who anticipate profits, not only the workers whose wages reflect its export value," but that "all of our lives are fundamentally dependent on the promotion of reputable German work *[gute deutsche Arbeit]* abroad."[23]

The second patron was Erhard himself, West Germany's legendary minister of economics. Appointed by Chancellor Konrad Adenauer in 1949 to oversee West Germany's currency reform, Erhard successfully shepherded the national economy through its 1950s take-off period. His vision of the "social market economy" *(soziale Marktwirtschaft)* was based on a marriage of liberal economics and welfare state policies that effected the transition from a decimated Nazi war economy to Europe's most prosperous mixed market culture. His wartime experience as both a fellow at Germany's leading consumer research agency, the Nürnberg Institut, and the more independent Society of Consumer Research (Gesellschaft für Konsumforschung) shaped his understanding of a post-fascist consumer society.[24] In his famous book on postwar economic developments, *Prosperity through Competition,* Erhard would not only defend his economic program as a necessary deterrent against what he perceived as the detrimental effects of cartels and planned economies; he would also stress that consumer satisfaction served as the very founda-tion of economic stability and political democracy. Given these convic-tions, it was hardly surprising that Erhard lent his support to the design council proposal. Whereas the Nazi "economic miracle" of the early 1930s was tied to price stabilization, big business, and defense build-up, Erhard saw that his own postwar "miracle" would depend on renewing industrial production and especially the output of consumer goods.[25] In-deed, he claimed that consumer goods remained the "very foundation of our entire economic, social, and national being."[26] Yet he worried that West German exports were suffering from the fact that the "form of the machines no longer corresponded with modern tastes abroad." While a few key firms consciously drew upon the long-standing reputation of Ger-man functionalist design, many did not.[27] A design council, then, could then help West Germany regain what Erhard felt to be its former status as "world leader" in industrial design by regaining the lead from for-eigners who "have further cultivated our former successes." A council that oversaw the production and consumption of "beautifully designed

manufactured equipment" *(formschön hergestellte Geräte)* would greatly reduce this "design gap" and in turn strengthen West Germany's fledgling economy.[28]

These developments in fact generated some concern in the Werkbund. Although they knew that the design council needed backing from both industry and government to succeed, Werkbund members worried that their idea was slowly being transformed into a pawn of industry.[29] Matters came to a head when, shortly after the council was passed into law, Erhard appointed Eduard Schalfejew as director. A competent bizonal economic administrator who later served in Erhard's Ministry of Economics, Schalfejew was offered the post on the strength of his administrative experience and putative "strong interest" in "the proper design of German products."[30] The Werkbund strongly objected to the appointment, however, complaining that Schalfejew was nothing but a puppet of industry and lacked any design expertise.[31] The deadlock was eventually broken with a compromise: the Werkbund accepted the appointment of Schalfejew on the condition that the council's general secretary was not also an industry representative. The BDI and the Design Council then readily agreed to the nomination of Mia Seeger as general secretary. A well-known cultural broker of German modernism, Seeger had helped organize such landmark Werkbund exhibitions as the 1924 Die Form, the 1927 Weissenhofsiedlung, and the 1932 Wohnbedarf shows, as well as the German Pavilion for the 1936 Milan Triennale. During the war, she was a Kunst-Dienst member and an assistant at the Stuttgart Landesgewerbeamt under Hermann Gretsch, as well as coeditor of the architectural journal *Moderne Bauformen*.[32] The appointments of Schalfejew and Seeger thus neatly captured the political division within the council. And even if Erhard's additional appointments to the council's steering committee in 1952 tended to stack the deck against the Werkbund, the presence of Seeger assured the Werkbund contingent an influential voice in the council through the 1950s and early 1960s.

Once these organizational issues were resolved, the German Design Council busied itself with popularizing West German industrial design. Above all it strove to offset the 1949 New York show by recovering (West) Germany's Weimar design legacy to serve as postwar guidance. But this was no easy task, not least because there was now deep-seated skepticism among elite cultural circles toward the promise of industrial technology. Against this the council set out to reclaim technology as a positive cultural force.

A good illustration of the council's early idealism was the well-pub-licized 1952 Darmstadt Conference on People and Technology. Organized and chaired by Werkbund President Hans Schwippert, this conference gathered leading West German figures from architecture, design, busi-ness, consumer groups, and women's organizations, together with for-eign design representatives from England, the Netherlands, and France. The objective was to discuss the complex cultural issues surrounding the relationship between people and technology. Hardly an exercise in una-nimity, the conference in fact became a cultural skirmish between two ideological camps. On one side were arrayed those who roundly con-demned technology as a dangerous and unwanted cultural scourge. Atomic Age anxieties shaped their perception of technology as the "spirit of Hiroshima," the "Fall of Man," and even the "descendent of Cain."[33] On the other side stood Werkbund members and other advocates of tech-nology, who strove to defuse such apocalyptic pronouncements by stress-ing its potential economic and cultural benefit for postwar life. They re-iterated that "technical utility" played a decisive role in the "human social order" and "rational fulfillment of existence," singling out quality in-dustrial design as a potential source of cultural achievement and "re-sponsible business practice." While certain participants remained un-convinced, the Werkbund moralists carried the day in successfully allaying much of the knee-jerk aversion toward technology.[34] Even more relevant here is that they did so in part by citing the newly created De-sign Council as an affirmative step in reconciling West German industry with humanist values.[35]

The 1952 Darmstadt Conference also underlined the cultural outlook of the Design Council. Like the Werkbund, the council tended to view the design object not only as a saleable commodity but also as a valu-able cultural artifact. Nowhere was this more apparent than in Schalfe-jew's opening speech at the 1954 Hanover Spring Trade Fair, in which he not only contended that the council's mission was to encourage "friendly cooperation" among industrial neighbors who shared the same "international language of formal design," but also concluded that the main task at hand was to "shape purposefully the cultural forms of the economy."[36] A few months later Schalfejew described his organization's chief goal as helping convert "cheap mass-produced goods into valuable contributions to human society," since "good form" design products pos-sessed an "undeniable formative power in the human social and cultural sphere."[37] The Design Council's early years thus revealed a discernible affinity with the Werkbund's postwar crusade to raise the commodity

form as a "cultural good" *(Kulturgut)* born of the humanist heritage of international modernism.

But if the German Design Council praised the "international language of formal design," what were the specific attributes of West German design? To answer this question, one must look at the council's contributions to the famous Milan Triennale design expositions. Having served as Europe's premier interwar venue for Western nations to display their new art and design work, the Milan Triennale quickly resumed its former status after 1945 as the postwar "Olympics of good taste." The show furnished an opportunity for dozens of countries both within and beyond Europe to showcase their new design forms and concepts. Since Bonn was still trying to reverse its lowly design image from the 1949 New York show, there was a great deal at stake in making sure that the Design Council's first exhibition was a success.

Yet this was no simple trick, in large part because the 1954 show was not the first postwar Triennale, but rather the second. Organized by the Werkbund member Max Wiederanders, West Germany's 1951 Triennale contribution had studiously replaced the New York show's embarrassing Bavarian provincialism (and by association, any lingering "blood and soil" remnants) with famous examples of Weimar Germany's "classic modernism"—e.g., glass and porcelain work by Hermann Gretsch, Wilhelm Wagenfeld, and Heinz Löffelhardt. Modernist design was displayed as the cultural antithesis of Nazi philistinism and völkish culture. What complicated the story, however, was that these supposedly benign modernist design objects were precisely the same ones showcased by the Nazis at the 1940 Triennale. In the Nazi contribution, there were neither swastikas nor Bavarian beer steins, neither Nazi flags nor chauvinistic slogans. In fact, the Nazi pavilion was arranged by the Werkbund member and designer Hermann Gretsch, who strove to publicize the Werkbund design philosophy of formal "simplicity and honesty" as synonymous with Germany's "regeneration of domestic culture."[38] As part of the Nazis' larger campaign to reflag Weimar modernist design for their own economic and cultural benefit, the 1940 exhibit featured a whole range of items—including German Labor Front furniture prototypes and modernist porcelain, cutlery, and glassware (figure 40)—that were proudly displayed as emblems of Nazi Modern.

The 1951 West German Triennale contribution thus hardly represented the desired break from the past. Like the 1949 New York export show, it unwittingly emphasized a marked continuity with Nazi culture in spite of its best efforts to suppress the connection. The problem of course lay

Figure 40. German-design cutlery and tableware, Milan Triennale, 1940. Designer: Hermann Gretsch. Photograph: Adolf Lazi. Source: *Germania: VII Mailänder Triennale,* ed. H. Gretsch and A. Haberer (Milan, 1940), unpaginated. Courtesy of ADOLF LAZI ARCHIV—A. Ingo Lazi, Stuttgart/Esslingen, www.Lazi.de.

in the contradictory nature of Nazi culture itself, which embraced both premodern völkisch culture and Weimar technological modernism. Yet this complex cultural story, described in chapter 1—in particular how and why the Nazis often cultivated Weimar Modernism for their own political purposes—was taboo during the Cold War. After 1945 Nazi culture was fixed as essentially "blood and soil" pastoralism and romantic antimodernism; as we have seen, the famous 1937 Degenerate Art exhibition in Munich served as the key referent in the Cold War literature on Nazi culture.[39] In order to help draw the Weimar Republic and the Federal Republic into the same elective liberal lineage, while simultaneously distancing the postwar period from the fascist "interim," it was therefore necessary to create an image of the Nazis as thoroughly antimod-

ern. The delicate question of continuity was thus neatly sidestepped in this postwar invention of a pristine Weimar Modernism as the Federal Republic's true cultural patrimony.[40]

But if the issue of continuity generated no public discussion, the 1951 West German pavilion in Milan did not inspire much critical acclaim either. In an oft-cited review entitled "A Warning Signal for Germany," one West German journalist contended the country's "museum-like attitude" toward industrial design was woefully out of step with the "optimistic attitude toward life" informing contemporary international design. Twenty-year-old functionalist designs were criticized as obsolete in a design world gone colorful and asymmetrical. Using Finnish glass, Swedish furniture, and Italian sculpture as indices of exemplary modern design, the review concluded that the austere design ideals of Werkbund and Bauhaus Modernism—"coolness, clarity, and geometrical forms"—belonged to the "ideas of the past."[41] Others too chided West Germany's pedestrian adoration of Weimar Modernism and its reluctance about any design experimentation.[42]

The German Design Council made sure to respond to these critiques in the organization of West Germany's 1954 Triennale contribution. This time Seeger saw to it that West German industrial design was brought in line with new international design currents, offering a fresh synthesis of new and old, organic and functionalist design (figure 41). Still, its very stylistic pluralism betrayed a deep-seated uncertainty about what actually constituted West German industrial design. Much of the issue pivoted on the question of whether West Germany should join the international chorus in praising organic design and formalist individualism or remain true to its celebrated Bauhaus-style modernist heritage. Of paramount importance was the problem of representation. Even if West Germany's popular culture was awash with Nierentisch organicism during the 1950s, the German Design Council wanted to front an official design style more suitable to what it viewed as West Germany's cultural maturity. It was suspicious of organic design (what one observer called "too much Heidegger and too little Giraudoux") as culturally retrograde and ended up choosing functionalist design as its guiding postfascist aesthetic.[43] From this perspective, the 1954 Triennale represented the first discernible move toward forging West Germany's official design identity as a blend of old and new Sachlichkeit.

The cultural elevation of functionalism was clearly discernible in the 1957 Triennale. Despite its domestic popularity, organic design was roundly excluded from the official presentation of West German indus-

Figure 41. West German design objects, Milan Triennale, 1954. Source: *Baukunst und Werkform* 12 (December 1954): 736, bottom right. Courtesy of Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

trial design. One journalist observed that the "amusing playfulness" that characterized the last Triennale now gave way to a new "refinement of simple things."[44] Not that West Germany was unique in this stance. During the late 1950s and early 1960s there was a marked international trend at the Triennale to gravitate from decorative arts and crafts toward rationalist designs of mass-produced everyday goods, but it was especially notable in the West German section. While some classic modern porcelain by Löffelhardt and Gretsch was included in the display, new goods from Braun, WMF, Bosch, Siemens, and Knoll International were proudly exhibited as the cultural fruit of the "economic miracle." In this sense, then, the Design Council's 1957 Triennale contribution was a kind of three-dimensional extension of the 1955 *Warenkunde*.

Nowhere were these design politics more dramatically expressed than at the 1958 World Exposition in Brussels. Fifty countries were invited to participate in this first world exhibition since 1937, with the theme of "Progress and Humanity." But unlike the pageant of international fairs

following the famous Crystal Palace Exposition in 1851, the Brussels exposition did not seek to spur national competition or recycle the nineteenth-century faith in material progress and human perfectibility. The 1958 exhibition was, in fact, an explicit reaction against the dark legacy of the 1937 Paris World Exposition, when many of the participating countries (most famously Germany, Italy, and the Soviet Union) shamelessly converted the exhibition into a garish political spectacle to advance aggressive nationalist propaganda.[45] Against the background of two world wars, economic crises, and social revolutions, the Belgian government preferred something quite different. This time the fair was not "concerned with progress in itself," but with how "scientific-technical progress can serve human life" and help people "become more human."[46] The choice of the atom as the exposition's guiding symbol underlined Belgium's larger aim of tempering the potential dangers of technology and science with humanist culture, international solidarity, and ethical commitment.

Predictably, West Germans greeted the opportunity to take part in this good-will fair with great relish. In order to honor the fair's theme and assure a still wary international community that 1957 was not 1937, the West German exhibition commissioner's office looked to project a new message. Above all it worked to make sure that its country's contribution would be free of any nationalist histrionics or "economic miracle" ostentation. Indeed, "dignity" and "humility" *(Bescheidenheit)* were the pavilion's operative watchwords.[47] For this the Werkbund and the German Design Council were entrusted with organizing the West German contribution. Led by Werkbund, Design Council, and old Kunst-Dienst members such as Hans Schwippert, Egon Eiermann, Mia Seeger, Otto Bartning, and Gotthold Schneider, the show's executive committee wasted little time in drafting a suitable representation of West Germany's newly emerging industrial culture.

The ideals were made plain in the completed West German pavilion entitled "Living and Working in Germany." Its linkage of morality, happiness, and work was unmistakable. To begin with, the organizers chose Luther's famous statement "And even if I knew that the world would be destroyed tomorrow, I would still plant my little apple tree" as the pavilion's motto. Significantly, the pavilion was one in which moral idealism was by no means at odds with worldly happiness or material satisfaction. It explicitly rejected the "oppressive earnestness" *(tierischen Ernst)* of Atomic Age pessimism by celebrating the postwar era's restored "happiness in life" *(Lebensheiterkeit)* and "new ease, tenderness, and grace." Modern architecture and design served as both cause and effect of this

new dispensation, as the "glass walls of the New Architecture; bright offices, workshops, and factories; the graceful forms of new furniture . . . along with the transformation of clothing and the decorative arts" all helped strengthen "human resistance against surrounding darkness and chaos." Thus the self-described "friendliness" and "beauty" of West Germany's exhibited workplaces and homes were imagined as bulwarks against fascism and communism, A-bomb anxiety, and Cold War militarism. The exposition report went so far as to claim that this new redemptive "spirit of design" *(Gestaltungsgeist)* was instrumental in bringing about the republic's new "honest living" based on political change and spiritual recovery.[48]

Yet what exactly was meant by "honest living"? Certainly the pavilion's architecture and design made plain just how much Weimar Modernism was being enlisted to help convey a palatable image of West German culture. Designed by the Werkbund members Hans Schwippert, Sep Ruf, and Egon Eiermann, the West German building in Brussels exemplified a kind of visual denazification. Its unadorned, squat steel and glass structure (figure 42) represented a sharp break from the bombastic monumentality that had characterized the Third Reich's 1937 Paris pavilion (figure 43). But while eschewing the architectural conceits of Albert Speer, the 1958 Brussels pavilion departed from '20s radicalism as well. In the end, it was not the polemic austerity of the celebrated interwar *Siedlungen* (worker housing complexes) that inspired the 1958 pavilion, but rather the Miesian heritage of Germany's famous 1929 Barcelona Pavilion. At first this may seem contradictory, not least because Mies van der Rohe counted among the most famous interwar Neues Bauen architects. Yet it is well to remember that he was always a sharp critic of the more radical wing of functionalist architects (most notably Hannes Meyer) for reducing architecture to lifeless, unchanging cubicles. Over the course of the 1920s he became increasingly interested in the architectural fusion of simplicity and spirit, and for this reason found support among the left and right through the '20s and '30s. And it was this legacy of "spiritual functionalism" to which the Brussels pavilion laid claim.

The reworking of this legacy could also be seen in the design goods on display at Brussels. Like the pavilion's architecture, West German design objects were carefully selected to communicate a cultivated image of West German modernity. Absent were any Bavarian beer steins, Black Forest cuckoo clocks, or Gelsenkirchener Baroque furniture; those few regional handicrafts on display had an evident sympathy with modern abstract form. And even these were primarily included to appease the

Figure 42. Exterior view, West German Pavilion, Brussels World Exposition, 1958. Design: Hans Schwippert, Sep Ruf, and Egon Eiermann. Source: *Deutschland: Beitrag zur Weltausstellung Brussel 1958: Ein Bericht,* vol. 2, ed. W. Fischer and G. B. von Hartmann (Düsseldorf, 1958), 136. Courtesy of Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

Handwerker lobby.[49] Virtually all traces of völkisch provincialism were thus expunged from this national self-representation. Following the logic of the 1957 Triennale and the 1958 Berlin INTERBAU exhibition, the pavilion reflected this broader impulse to broadcast a new West German cultural identity as a mix of old and new, national and international. Where one room featured Marcel Breuer steel-tube chairs and Heinz Löffelhardt dishware, another displayed Rosenthal vases and cutlery (figure 44). Two model homes—one intended for a family of four and the other for a single person—featured Bosch kitchens and modern living rooms replete with Braun phonographs and Knoll furniture (figure 45). That Knoll was actually an American firm was in no way seen as a contradiction; it illustrated instead the larger '50s attempt to build a truly denationalized West German domestic culture as proof of change and recovery.[50] Indeed, Braun could justifiably claim that its design firm had become "[West] Germany's calling card," for its design products were displayed at all of the major postwar design shows and international fairs as cultural emissaries in their own right.

Given the importance of the Brussels Exposition for West Germany, it was hardly surprising that high-ranking dignitaries like Erhard and

Figure 43. German Pavilion, World Exposition, Paris, 1937. Design: Albert Speer. Source: Heinrich Hoffmann, *Deutschland in Paris: Ein Bild-Buch* (Munich, 1937), unpaginated.

Figure 44. West German Pavilion interior and design objects, Brussels World Exposition, 1958. Design: Hans Schwippert, Sep Ruf, and Egon Eiermann. Source: *Deutschland: Beitrag zur Weltausstellung Brussel 1958: Ein Bericht,* vol. 2, ed. W. Fischer and G. B. von Hartmann (Düsseldorf, 1958), 59. Courtesy of Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

Heuss were present to mark the event. Erhard's opening address summarized the government's attitude toward the fair. After lauding the show as an "ideal display of international cooperation" and the "humanization of technical and industrial progress," Erhard went further in saying that it reflected what Goethe called "the purposeful commune" *(das zweckhafte Gemeine)* of a "true, profound, and honest humanity," one whose "material progress is linked to the powers of the spiritual and ethical" and that the German pavilion was a fitting embodiment of the country's solid and trustworthy membership in the liberal West.[51]

Figure 45. West German Pavilion interior and design objects, model home, Brussels World Exposition, 1958. Source: *Deutschland: Beitrag zur Weltausstellung Brussel 1958: Ein Bericht,* vol. 2, ed. W. Fischer and G. B. von Hartmann (Düsseldorf, 1958), 72. Courtesy of Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

The reception of the West German display in the foreign press corroborated its success as a diplomatic initiative. Journalists from all over the world were nearly unanimous in hailing Bonn's pavilion as the fair's best contribution, describing it as modern and fresh, bold yet undogmatic. It was lauded for its absence of both Prussian militarism and Nazi monumentalism, as well as the fact that it downplayed any renascent nationalist pride resulting from West Germany's remarkable postwar recovery. Of course, there were exceptions. One Polish journalist, for example, complained that this "dreamworld Germany" *(Traum-Deutschland)* carried suspicious political undertones, not least because the exposition featured a large wooden map of Germany's 1937 borders, which subsumed both the German Democratic Republic and parts of Poland under the legend "The heart of the people *[Herz des Volkes]* still beats in all three zones of a sundered land." Still, such criticisms were few and far between. The Federal Republic's exhibition of architecture and industrial design objects was mostly applauded as a welcome "refinement of the Miesian tradition" in its synthesis of technology and culture, aesthetics and ethics. Overall, the foreign press declared that its display of modernist idioms and practical design principles best expressed the exhibition's larger theme

of the cooperative development of a responsible international industrial culture.[52]

The reception within West Germany was quite different. Where West German architecture and design journals were pleased with the pavilion's fresh modernist style, interior organization, and industrial design objects, the country's more mainstream newspapers and journals were much more critical. Reviewers from *Die Welt, Frankfurter Allgemeine,* and *Frankfurter Hefte* charged that the pavilion's cultivated image of West German "humility" and "maturity" was nothing but a thinly disguised propaganda campaign to present a "friendly, peaceful Germany" to its neighbors while glossing over troublesome domestic issues. The "terrible effect of our home country's partition upon the German people is forgotten, along with the representation of the refugees," averred one journalist from the Social Democratic Party organ *Vorwärts,* ultimately dismissing the exposition as "not geared toward the past or the present, but toward the future." But if these more left-leaning West German reviews objected to the show's political whitewashing, conservative postwar newspapers such as *Christ und Welt* and *Hamburger Abendpost,* together with the more popular boulevard publications like *Bild* and *Quick,* grumbled that this show was not nationalist enough. For them, West Germany's "economic miracle" should have been more proudly displayed to the world. They pilloried the pavilion's modernist architecture and design as a "vitrine malady" *(Vitrinen-Krankheit)* of boring "lifeless things," a high-handed "exhibition by and for professors" brimming with a pretentious "schoolmaster dogmatism" *(Schulmeisterei),* and/or an unwelcome "monotone of half-truths and falsehoods" that ended up "a yawner for the masses."[53] So harsh was the criticism that West Germany's exhibition commissioner was forced to hold a press conference to reiterate that the Brussels exposition was not designed to address domestic social problems or provide boastful national narratives, but rather to emphasize the need for international cooperation among modern societies after the war. The double-edged criticism clearly indicated that the manicured image of West German industrial culture was received less well at home than abroad.

Nonetheless, this stylized image of West German modernity became standard fare. Reflecting both the success of the Brussels exposition and the growing economic and cultural importance of modernist design after 1945, this sort of rationalist functionalism, as noted in chapter 2, was officially showcased as West Germany's main design style throughout the late 1950s and 1960s—at the 1960 and 1964 Triennales, in the rash of "good form" exhibitions, and in the numerous venues organized by Mu-

nich's industrial design museum, Die Neue Sammlung.[54] Politics, public relations, and design were thus often mixed together to great effectiveness. In one 1957 article in an American design journal, for example, West Germany's new design was commended for renouncing the "folkloristic suggestions" of the past and for seeming to "embody the new freedom, prosperity, and cosmopolitanism" of West German cultural life.[55] At the opening of the 1960–61 show Design in Germany Today in New York, the West German ambassador, Wilhelm Grewe, used the opportunity to claim that West German design's "pure and tasteful beauty can serve as the cause of friendly relations between our two peoples."[56] By this time such views were commonplace. The public relations disaster of the 1949 New York design show had long been redressed, as industrial design was now virtually synonymous with the best aspects of West German modern culture.

Such cultural politics reached their height in the opening of the new Industrial Design Collection museum (Sammlung Industrieform) in Essen in 1961. The city's old design museum, the Villa Hügel, had outgrown its cramped quarters and was now to be relocated in a more spacious site. Both Essen's mayor and the cultural minister from Nordrhein-Westfalen were on hand to salute the new museum as a boon to both the city's economic development and its proud self-image as a haven of industrial modernism. But there was one thing that distinguished this event from garden-variety civic boosterism: the new design museum was to be housed in Essen's former synagogue, which had been badly damaged during the Nazis' Kristallnacht pogroms of 1938.

In consequence, this seemingly unexceptional museum opening was transformed into a revealing instance of the moral power of industrial design. Mayor Wilhelm Nieswandt kicked off the festivities by observing that the Essen synagogue, first built in 1911 and destroyed in 1938, perforce served as a tragic reminder of ruptured German-Jewish relations and the end of a common German-Jewish history. But since the temple was not old enough to be legally protected as an official historical monument, it was not eligible to be restored as a cultural memorial. Efforts to transform the ruin into some sort of monument finally began to bear fruit once Essen's Jewish Trust Corporation, which had constructed a new and smaller synagogue nearby a few years before, sold the former temple to Essen's city council in 1960. Now the city was given the chance to refurbish the building in a manner befitting what the mayor termed the "dignity of this former house of worship."[57]

Not long thereafter the city council voted to convert the temple into

an exhibition hall of industrial design goods. Odd as it may seem, no one questioned how refashioning this "mighty memorial"—as it was called—in this way best served the building's former function. Quite the contrary: Culture Minister Werner Schütz contended that the new design museum—initially recommended by the city council and reportedly approved by Essen's Jewish citizens—aptly symbolized "the extent to which both sides were now ready to forge a new community of Jews and Germans, Jews and Christians."[58] To this, Mayor Nieswandt added that "the dedication of this desecrated former synagogue to this new dignified purpose" should "make us aware and resolute that such events of blind intolerance must never happen again in a free and democratic Germany."[59] Essen's new design museum was therefore lifted from the world of commodity culture and recast as a new historical symbol of atonement and reconciliation. The point of course is not to claim that design could somehow be responsible for healing German-Jewish relations. Yet such a museum dedication would never have been possible had industrial design not already been commonly used as a means of reworking the relationship between past and present. That the conversion of the ruined temple into a design museum prompted no objections or even discussion perhaps best confirmed the imagined linkage among industrial design, antifascism, and political liberalism.

Design and the Marketplace

Aside from publicizing "good form" design as liberal culture, the council was also interested in protecting the design ware in the marketplace. One of its most important initiatives concerned copyright law reform. For some this may seem somewhat strange, not least because copyright law and the world of design at first appear far removed from one another. But not so; copyright law exerted a powerful effect upon the production and protection of industrial goods. By the mid-'50s, a growing number of West German designers and publicists felt that the current state of copyright affairs was detrimental to their objectives. Many believed that the legal system did not properly protect "good form" design, and even privileged more individualistic "personality" forms instead, largely because the law governing copyright had remained essentially unchanged since 1907. In those days the newly created Werkbund had led the charge to enlarge copyright protection to include the applied arts. By early 1907 Wilhelm II signed legislation for a more expansive law in which "prod-

ucts of the applied arts are considered works of the visual arts." But in the wake of this law came a whole host of thorny problems. As Frederic Schwartz has observed: "Though extending the scope of 'art,' the 1907 law still did not define it. This had to be decided in the courts, which needed criteria to make the distinction. And the criteria they would use were of paramount importance to applied artists."[60]

At issue, then, was what qualified as art and therefore merited legal protection. The most common way of adjudicating artistic quality was to cite the actual presence of the artist. One commentator summed it up in 1907 thus: "The indispensable prerequisite for claims of protection under the law is the presence of an individual creative activity, as in works of the high arts."[61] The legal definition of art (or at least that which was protected under law) was therefore individuality. And the most conventional way of determining the individual artistic hand behind the mass-produced ware was to identify the presence of "novelty" *(Neuheit)* and/or "uniqueness" *(Eigentümlichkeit)*. These attributes soon became the main criteria that legally protected designers (and manufacturers) from the wave of mass culture imitation and knock-offs. The problem for functionalist designers, however, was that the law did not cover "functional utility." In fact, it was precisely the object's individual differentiation from "technical necessity" and "commonality"—or to use the suggestive parlance of the day, "aesthetic substance" or "aesthetic surplus value"— that qualified the object for legal protection in the first place.[62]

This made things very difficult for the Neue Sachlichkeit designers during the 1920s and 1930s. Two famous court cases during the Weimar Republic pointed up the complexities of the law. Both involved designers associated with functionalist design, whose work explicitly was not intended to be artistic. The first case, concerning the patent of the famous steel-tube chair, occurred in 1929. Here Anton Lorenz, the manufacturer of a steel-tube chair created by the Dutch designer Mart Stam, filed a suit against Thonet for producing a similar chair by Marcel Breuer. Both sides agreed that Stam and Breuer had been designing steel-tube chairs since the mid-1920s. While Stam was recognized as the principal author of this specific item, the enforcement of the copyright law was hardly straightforward. For one thing, it was not clear whether Stam's chair ought to be considered a "technical invention" *(technische Erfindung)* or a "craft art object" *(Gegenstand des Kunstgewerbes)*. Petty as this may seem, the semantic difference was crucial. For only art pieces could be legally protected. Unsurprisingly Thonet maintained that the chair was purely technical, which meant that Stam held no legal right to

variations on his design. The judge ultimately decided in Stam's favor, arguing that despite the chair's "strict and logical lines" it did possess a unique "artistic quality"—and hence "aesthetic substance." The chair was then covered by the 1907 law, fulfilling the legal condition that the object "offers the eye a pleasant impression."[63] The exact opposite happened in another frequently cited case, from 1933. In this instance, a Berlin metal company that produced Walter Gropius's modern square-edged door handles filed suit against another manufacturer for supposedly copying Gropius's design without consulting the original owner of the rights. The owner of Gropius's design claimed that his prototype was a craft art object and hence protected by copyright. But this time the original producer of the door handles lost the case. The handle was judged to be a functional object possessing no "aesthetic surplus value." This meant that the company's legal claim to the design's imitation and reproduction was moot.[64] Gropius's design was deemed part of Germany's more general "common cultural fund" and bereft of any "unique intellectual creativity." The upshot of these examples was that decisions were made on a case-by-case basis, as all sides battled over the meaning of "aesthetic surplus value" enshrined in the 1907 law. Little had changed after 1945. As before, the design object was judged by whether or not it was deemed "an individual intellectual artistic creation."[65] Technical innovations were not covered by intellectual property rights, but were served instead by patents, since "the invention as technical teaching lacks the individuality of the literary and artistic work."[66] By the mid-1950s many members of West Germany's "good form" design culture felt it high time to overhaul these laws.

The campaign to update copyright laws was spearheaded by none other than Else Meissner. In her 1950 book *Quality and Form,* she argued that the law's emphasis on novelty and uniqueness only perpetuated a nineteenth-century assumption of the artist-designer as bourgeois subject. For her, it was wrongheaded to limit the legal definition of industrial design to individualistic artistic attributes, since it completely excluded issues such as the "quality of form." In an era in which "personality" design was openly challenged by "purposeful functionalism," the idea of the individual "artistic moment" as the sole juridical criterion on which to base copyright protection for mass-produced goods was woefully out of date. Worse, in the eyes of the law, design was coterminous with styling.[67] The law was thus playing into the hands of Nierentisch designers, who rejected functional utility in favor of formal indi-

viduality and idiosyncratic design work. Conversely, "good form" objects went unrecognized by the legal system.[68]

To remedy this Meissner proposed a new conception of design evaluation that recognized (and protected) those design achievements defined by "integrity" *(Anstand)* and ethical practice *(gute Sitte)*.[69] By coupling copyright law with the cultural commonweal, she hoped to give legal teeth to the Werkbund idea (best expressed in Heuss's *What Is Quality?* speech) that quality design was synonymous with moral decency. In her eyes the cultivation of quality functional design ought to be closely connected to "the legal defense of the collective interest." Not that her reform crusade was so new. As early as 1935, she had published an article arguing that current copyright laws were outdated in privileging the artist's individual rights at the expense of collective "economic and cultural interests." In the same way that the "liberal economic order" had demeaned labor as a commodity, it had also converted the "rational foundations of goods manufacture" into "commercial wares production." With it went the end of design as a "vitally important component of national culture." Like many other Werkbund members at that time, Meissner had initially put great stock in the Third Reich's early efforts to marry modernism with antiliberalism. She too was taken in by the Nazi promise to restore the "dignity of labor" and in turn to patronize "value work" *(Wertarbeit)* as a "national good." But if this was to have any legal impact, so she urged, copyright law had to be freed from the liberal concepts of private property and artistic individualism.[70] In a manuscript apparently written in 1953, she asserted that a new concept of "social design" *(Umweltgestaltung)* should become a separate classification of copyright law, so as to free design and architecture—to say nothing of radio, film, music, and theater—from the obsolete juridical logic of nineteenth-century handicraft production. Just as the criterion of art no longer carried any validity in the industrial design realm, neither did the nineteenth-century idea of the autonomous artist. Contemporary industrial design, Meissner continued, was now increasingly the result of teamwork. Meissner then suggested that it was time to do away with the juridical fiction of the designer as private person and rewrite copyright law in such a way as to recognize designers in the plural as multiple "participants in the process of design."[71]

The matter took center stage at a 1955 meeting of the German Design Council. Chaired by Werkbund President Hans Schwippert, the session gathered together leading designers, engineers, and legal experts to

discuss the state of legal affairs regarding industrial design and the industrial designer. Günther von Pechmann, a longtime Werkbundler and ranking BDI member, opened the debate. He began by citing the 1933 Gropius case as a pretext for underscoring the urgency of reform in patent law and copyright statutes. Following Max Bense, he argued that "the sphere of aesthetic activity went far beyond the realm of art" to include the profane sphere of industrial technology. And he agreed with Meissner that genuine design achievement (and in turn appropriate legal protection) first began with recognizing designers and their designs as "the nation's most precious cultural goods."[72] Others too argued for the necessary linkage between "pride in our culture," progressive design, and more "culturally oriented" (that is, less liberal) copyright laws. As one legal commentator had phrased it a few years before, such protection was key to the "spiritual renewal of nation" and a needed deterrent against a Spenglerian "decline of Western culture."[73] Lively debate followed. While others made a number of important points, Meissner's intervention proved decisive. She began by reiterating her conviction that copyright laws had been at odds with design practice since the Bauhaus, when a significant group of designers first rejected the idea of design as decoration, working instead to bring it in line with the new forces of mass industrial production, scientific rationality, and teamwork. On these grounds she proposed dropping the evaluative legal yardstick of "personality" in favor of a broader notion of "distinctive intellectual creation" *(geistige Schöpfungen eigener Art)*. Although several participants objected to her views, including one who accused her of harboring suspiciously "collectivist" ideas that deviated from "the world of Western thought," most agreed with her that laws governing industrial design protection needed to be untethered from art appreciation and aesthetic judgment.[74]

But in the end, copyright laws were only slightly changed. As one commentator noted about the 1960 code:

> Copyright law protection does not exclude functional utility *[Gebrauchszweck]*. However, the purposefulness *[Zweckmässigkeit]* of the form does not suffice. According to the law governing the national courts, the object must possess an "aesthetic surplus" beyond functional form. This concept is misunderstood if it is strictly interpreted that the artistic element lies solely in ornament or decorative elements *[schmückenden Beiwerk]*. Even a work whose clear functional lines are present may be considered an artwork. But the main issue is that the artistic manifestation of this function must transcend pure functionality. The artist must enjoy the freedom of expression. The art work begins only where there is room for the expres-

sion of artistic imagination *[bildnerische Phantasie]* and where the artist can pursue this inspiration.[75]

Though the idea of "individual intellectual significance" often gave way in practice to more elastic concepts of "creative achievement," the concept of "nontechnically determined creative achievement" ultimately prevailed.[76] Novelty and uniqueness still remained the determining factors.[77]

In the meantime, the German Design Council turned its energies toward drafting a set of new guidelines for selecting objects for design exhibitions, gathering some of the leading institutions of West Germany's design culture—the BDI, the Institut für neue technische Form, and Essen's Industrieform e.V.—to formalize the criteria for proper design judgment. In contrast to copyright law, the operative indices of "good and attractive industrial objects" were usefulness *(Brauchbarkeit)* and function. Only those design objects that "function[ed] according to purpose" and whose form remained "in accordance with the properties of the working material" counted. What is more, the design object's distinguishing trait had to be a "unified form *[Gesamtform]* that sensibly combined purpose, work material, and production process."[78] In an essay that accompanied the published guidelines, Günter Fuchs went even further. Not only did he claim that a "use object can never be really beautiful if its form contradicts its function," but he also concluded that the beauty of functional form was nothing other than the "luster of truth" *(Glanz der Wahrheit)* and "the timelessness of the communal" *(Ewigkeit der Gemeinsamen)*.[79] It was this anti-individualist conception of responsible design that underlay the council's desired marriage of aesthetics and ethics. And even if these guidelines ultimately possessed no binding quality or great influence, they did point up the antiliberal strain within the Design Council more generally.

Although the campaign to gain legal protection for the design object against the onslaught of commercialism did not succeed, it did indirectly raise another question: What about the designer? By the mid-1950s the Design Council began to devote more attention toward professionalizing design. That its charter technically prohibited it from interfering in matters of education and professional licensing did not stop it from trying to lay down vocational guidelines. It wanted to do so largely in the name of protecting the traditional legacy of German "form-giving" *(Formgebung)* from the commercial corruption of the American-style "star" designer.[80] Given its belief that the designer should play a major role in the cultural reconstruction of postwar life, the Design Council wanted to

make sure that designers were properly schooled in aesthetic education and social responsibility. Yet it was no simple matter to construct a viable countermodel to the Anglo-American conception of design and designer. After all, the conventional German concepts of "form-giving" and "form-giver" *(Formgeber, Gestalter,* or *Formgestalter)* were too closely associated with the artisan tradition to provide much help. Inadvertently, these terms exposed a strange historical fact: despite its formidable Werkbund-inspired modernist tradition, Germany never developed any new vocational term or concept for the twentieth-century industrial designer. Until 1914 Germany's design world was largely dominated by *Mustermacher,* or "prototype makers," who were self-taught freelance designers subcontracted to serve the decorative needs of sundry German textile manufacturers.[81] General design education as such did not exist in this catch-as-catch-can world of industrial design. Even Peter Behrens, usually regarded as Germany's first true industrial designer by virtue of his multifaceted design work for Germany's General Electric (Allgemeine Elektrizitäts-Gesellschaft, or AEG) in the decade preceding the First World War, was a trained architect who only later ventured into industrial design work.[82]

The emergence of more progressive art and design schools during the Weimar Republic, such as the Bauhaus, provided little assistance. However dedicated to liberating industrial design from the arts and crafts tradition, the Bauhaus never developed a more specific educational model for the generic industrial designer. Its designers were trained in their specific design fields, such as lamp maker, textile worker, and/or furniture maker; in fact, industrial design was never formalized as a specialized discipline there. Beyond the Bauhaus there was no real interest in standardizing industrial design and/or professionalizing the industrial designer as a new vocation. Those considered Weimar's most famous designers were either trained as artisans (Heinz Löffelhardt, Hermann Gretsch, Trude Petri, and Wagenfeld) or architects (Mies van der Rohe, Peter Behrens, and Ferdinand Kramer). The lack of design professionalization persisted through the Third Reich, as established designers worked as "artists in industry" *(Künstler in der Industrie)* relatively undisturbed by the administrative strictures governing the Nazis' reorganized artisan schools *(Meisterschulen).*[83] But if this vocational autonomy proved advantageous to designers during the Third Reich, it had little relevance for postwar efforts to define and professionalize the West German industrial designer.[84]

Without historical guidance, the West German discussion centered on

more basic issues affecting the profession. Debates pivoted on whether design was really an art or a science.[85] On this question, West Germany's design culture was largely split into two camps. On one side were those who supported the Werkbund's campaign to "denazify" and reestablish Germany's former art and crafts schools *(Werkkunstschulen)* as new centers of the fine and applied arts. Following the general postwar trend of restoring humanist education as post-Nazi cultural reform, Werkbund schools adopted the early Bauhaus's highly expressionist *Vorkurs* (foundation course) as its chosen design method.[86] Instead of rationality and formal curricula, these schools privileged intuition, creative fantasy, and artistic individualism as the best means of "uniting soul, body, and spirit."[87] That painting and textile work occupied central importance only reflected the schools' preference for individual artistic training over standardized industrial education. On the other side stood those associated with the Ulm Institute of Design. As noted in chapter 4, the Ulm design school (particularly after Max Bill's departure in 1957) explicitly aimed to wean design from this arts and crafts tradition. As they saw it, design pedagogy should no longer be associated with the Werkbund's idealistic program of aesthetic education, but instead should prepare students for future industrial employment by introducing them to the more relevant fields of mathematics, systems analysis, ergonomics, and economics. Scientific rationalization and standardized professionalization—not artistic and vocational individualism—were the guiding principles of the Ulm project. Thus, even if both camps shared the same desire to combat the blurring of designer and commodity stylist, they diverged markedly in their conceptions about what proper design education should be.

This professionalization campaign was further hampered by the fact that the rest of West Germany's art academies and polytechnic schools expressed little interest in industrial design. Nowhere was this more apparent than in the results of a two-year survey conducted by the German Design Council in 1955–56 in which 139 West German educational institutions were asked to complete a questionnaire about the role and importance of industrial design. While many schools paid lip service to industrial design as a profitable field of study, they had done little to make it part of their curricula. Some expressed their confusion about what exactly constituted industrial design; others complained about the lack of qualified design teachers; and most everyone cited insufficient funds as the most formidable institutional obstacle.[88] Within industry the situation was even less encouraging. For the most part there was little interest in the standardization and accreditation of design education. West

German industry usually recruited its designers from a variety of design-related professions like engineering and architecture, as well as the arts and crafts. Bosch's principal designers were former sculptors; Braun's famous design team was composed of trained architects, engineers, and even a former theater director; Rosenthal designers were painters, ceramicists, and sculptors; and Siemens's two-tiered design department featured in-house engineers, architects, draftspeople, and sculptors.[89] By the mid-1950s, the West German design profession was still woefully disorganized, consisting largely of a new kind of labor force of freelance design subcontractors.

In 1957 the German Design Council organized a conference in order to address this unsatisfactory situation. This International Congress for Industrial Design invited a range of leading West German designers and educators, as well as representatives from the national design councils of France, Britain, and even the German Democratic Republic. The conference was divided according to theme and site: Darmstadt hosted the first part on design education, while West Berlin sponsored the second part on "industrial responsibility" and the relation between design and business. Generously financed by the Federal Ministry of Economics and the Ministry of All-German Issues (Bundesministerium für Gesamtdeutsche Fragen), the conference hoped to encourage institutional support for industrial design in the spheres of both technical education and the business world. One participant neatly expressed the conference's desire to preserve the lofty cultural role of both design and designer:

> The designer [notably, *Formgestalter*] . . . must unflinchingly hold high the banner of good taste without compromise; he must be courageous as a lion and clever as a snake in defending his convictions against the necessarily miserable taste of merchants and middlemen. He must relentlessly struggle against senseless decoration, chrome and gold, Chippendale and streamline style, Nierentisch maladies and schmaltz. . . . The designer plays an incredibly important role in assuring the success of his "good form" on the market—but he should not aspire to becoming a star.[90]

Here we have the designer as (anonymous) postwar cultural hero, yet simply demonizing American streamline styling and the commercial ethos of "Nierentisch and schmaltz" furnished little positive guidance about what constituted a more culturally responsible design education. At the same time, the old question of whether design was really an art or science resurfaced as whether the designer should receive general or specialized education.

The problem of developing a new discipline that could reconcile stan-

dardization and individualism occasioned a dizzying assortment of suggestions and proposals. The designer Walter Kersting argued that the solution lay in establishing two or three elite design schools as a means of preventing designers (unlike their products) from becoming standardized commodities; the designer and critic Wilhelm Braun-Feldweg balked at Kesting's elitist plan, countering that a broad spectrum of existing schools should develop general design departments; Wilhelm Wagenfeld opposed all ideas of institutionalized design schooling in favor of creating permanent positions for designers directly in the factories; the ex-Bauhaus teacher Johannes Itten insisted on the importance of formal design education, stressing his famous Bauhaus *Vorkurs* as the proper foundation of all design pedagogy; the educator Ernst May was of the opinion that good design was less a function of school training than of leisured self-education; and the educator Gustav Hassenpflug even suggested the formation of new "design schools on wheels," in which twenty to thirty students and teachers would live in several mobile caravans, traveling the country, studying industrial problems and serving industrial needs directly on the premises.[91] But in the end this grab bag of perspectives produced no practical solutions.[92] The Berlin conference on the relation between manufacturer and design fared no better. No bold new plans were drawn up; the industrialists extended no financial commitment to design education; and no one offered any concrete proposals about how industry might improve the relation between design schools and production.

The German Design Council hoped to salvage the situation by drafting a new set of general recommendations for West German industrial design education. It tried to do so by classifying industrial design into three categories: technical design *(technische Formgebung),* manufacturing design *(Manufakturform),* and artisan design *(Handwerksform).* In each case the accent was placed on combining industrial production with (West) German cultural form. For example, it recommended that technical schools introduce more theoretical training for engineers so as to round out their mechanical knowledge with the "cultivated feeling of form" found among industrial designers.[93] But little came of it. The council's recommendations were too loose to have much general application; it also lacked the authority to impose its will. So in the end, the council's bid to professionalize design along vocational guidelines yielded little fruit.

A few years later, however, the campaign was taken up elsewhere. In 1959 five young West German industrial designers, Hans Theo Baumann,

Erich Slany, Karl Dittert, Günter Kupetz, and Arno Votteler (with the assistance of Herbert Hirche, a former Bauhaus member, and the businessman Rainer Schütze), founded a new federation of West German designers in Stuttgart, the VDID (Verband Deutscher Industrie-Designer). From the very beginning, it was closely linked with both the German Design Council and the larger umbrella group of international designers, the recently formed International Council of Societies of Industrial Design (ICSID).[94] Above all the VDID founders wished to check the "proletarianization" of postwar designers by creating a new organization that represented their professional interests. Specifically, and in stark contrast to their Werkbund counterparts, they sought to devise an "orderly and independent vocational image" of the designer.[95] The Werkbund's idealization of the designer as a larger-than-life cultural hero was rejected as wholly irrelevant to postwar realities. Significantly, the VDID adopted the Anglo-American word "designer" as a means of discarding the romantic pathos of *Formgeber* in favor of more hard-headed professional standards and qualifications. Like the Ulm Institute, VDID members strove to reconceptualize design as a category not of *Kultur* but rather of *Zivilisation*. Thus, the art and crafts artisan *(Kunsthandwerker)* was explicitly excluded from the organization's concept of the industrial designer. But unlike the Ulm Institute, the VDID was not interested in grappling with theoretical issues or design methodology. In the 1959 charter the industrial designer was broadly defined as "whoever is qualified through training, technical knowledge, design ability, experience, taste, and visual sensibility to determine the materials, techniques, forms, colors, surface treatment, and decoration of objects." What counted was design work in those fields where objects were "manufactured by industry in large quantities."[96]

Even so, the VDID's criteria for professional membership were somewhat peculiar. For one thing, its charter stipulated that the West German industrial designer (notably, *Industrie-Designer*) must first of all remain independent and self-employed *(freiberuflich);* even "long-term contracted designers" must "possess some measure of vocational autonomy."[97] Membership was strictly limited to full-time designers who spent more than 80 percent of their professional time on design issues; part-time designers were entirely left out. This was an odd definition of professionalism, not least because the VDID was supposedly interested in representing the industrial designer in general terms. Yet it was done principally as a strategy of safeguarding the industrial designer from the encroachments of artisan culture. In effect the stipulated professional au-

tonomy of the industrial designer was used as a means of averting the artisans' elaborate accreditation system of fixed educational standards, mandatory apprenticeship, and formal licensing procedures. As stated in the 1959 charter, the industrial designer "must professionally remain entirely independent of all outside regulation."[98] The initial VDID effort to demarcate the industrial designer from the artisan on quantitative grounds (e.g., industrial production) was now joined by a qualitative distinction based on occupational freedom.

This model of professionalization had some powerful side effects. First of all, the VDID's emphasis on experience over formal education plainly blunted any effort to remake the vocation around conventions of professionalism, standardized education, and controlled accreditation. The usual distinguishing features of historical professions and guilds—the creation of professional standards, specialized evaluative criteria, autonomous professional ethics, and vocational prestige—did not apply here.[99] In part this was because the West German design world was too broad and amorphous to establish any strict professional image and/or standardized knowledge base. Perhaps more importantly, the fact that design training was not recognized by the VDID as a category of vocational experience meant that the profession's scarce knowledge resources could not be translated into market value and/or professional security. Unlike other professions, there were no transcendent standards by which this specialized professional expertise could be judged, standardized, and monitored. Indeed, the design profession's available language of moral "surplus value"—be it the Werkbund's cultural idealism or the artisans' romantic ethos of unalienated design production—was precisely that which the VDID rejected in the name of modern design practice.[100] The VDID had therefore done away with the Werkbund and the Ulm Institute's efforts to preserve the critical distance of the designer from the marketplace by erasing the moral distinction between "engaged design" and commonplace commodity styling. Assuming all design was commercial design, the VDID ironically replaced the "fictitious commodity" of professionalism with market profile, recognition of individual achievement, and the output of real commodities.

Predictably, the VDID's policies were soon challenged. At the center of the controversy was the validity of the VDID's formal definition of the industrial designer. In a pointed article published in 1967 in the VDID organ *Form* one young West German designer disputed the VDID's self-proclaimed authority in representing the professional interest of West German designers as both elitist and unjustly discriminatory. He charged

that the VDID's practice of admitting only full-time professional designers distinguished by their purportedly superior "aesthetic ability, technical qualification, and vocational flexibility" was really a ruse to further their own personal interests and reputations.[101] This argument was, in effect, an attempt to bring the VDID up to date with the changing role and reality of postwar design. By the late 1950s, it was evident that the design world was characterized less by full-time independent designers than by a swarming reserve army of makeshift subcontractors and commodity stylists. According to one 1957 informal poll, there were in all of West Germany only sixteen full-time designers and only sixty-one designers who spent 30 to 80 percent of their professional life in design-related issues.[102] The turn-of-the-century image of the designer as an anonymous and unrepresented "model maker" had returned with a vengeance.[103] Yet the VDID still clung to an image of the autonomous auteur-designer. To be fair, the VDID did partly revise its charter in 1968 to expand membership to include part-time "team designers" and even students, but otherwise, most of the old program remained in place. There was still a two-tiered system separating experienced, VDID-certified "orderly members" from uncertified members, who had yet to accomplish enough design work to receive full status.[104] The VDID stayed true to its belief that the end of the autonomous design object should not necessarily spell the end of the autonomous designer, but it was unable to institute measures to further the social reproduction of that designer. The elevated cultural authority of the postwar designer was thus in no way linked to any real professional accreditation structure. On the contrary, the desire to shield the industrial design object and the industrial designer from the onslaught of liberalism never enjoyed great success. Just as the Werkbund's project to "re-enchant" the commodity as a "cultural good" was rudely undermined by the marketplace, so too did all of the attempts to professionalize design as cultural medicine fail to produce significant results.

By the mid-1960s the Design Council had started to fade. While it continued to devote considerable energy to promoting West German industrial design at home and abroad, no one could deny that its once adversarial ethos and cultural idealism had all but vanished. It is wrong, however, to judge it a failure, for the council was instrumental in making modern design a common reference of West German cultural achievement and identity. In so doing it was quite effective in helping sever the linkage between functionalist design and Nazi culture and in converting design into valuable diplomatic capital during the '50s and '60s. As one observer pointed out, Mia Seeger had probably done more for the coun-

try's national image abroad than many a West German diplomat.[105] In this way the Design Council played a key role in mediating the West German marriage of aesthetics and politics. At the same time, it pointed up the anxiety in postwar industry and design circles about leaving the so-called cultural good (and with it, the responsible designer) to the whims of the market. But this apprehension was not confined to the quasi-official "design culture." Other visions of West German domestic modernity also centered upon conjoining design, the home, and the postwar family. This broader domestic reform movement of the 1950s is the subject of the next chapter.

Coming in from the Cold
Design and Domesticity

Despite the difficulties described in the preceding chapter, over the course of the 1950s the German Design Council's moral design crusade managed to attract a wide range of adherents outside the more established "good form" design world. These people too worried about the dangerous effects of rampant consumerism, but their strategy to preserve the moral substance of the industrial commodity was very different, for they sought to do this by wedding modern design with the modern family. At issue, then, is how the private sphere was re-imagined during the decade, how the nature and understanding of domestic space were changing. This chapter begins by focusing on the shifting spatial and cultural relationship between the kitchen and the living room since the *Kaiserreich* as an alternative means of studying West Germany's culture of domesticity. It then takes up how the '50s idealization of the private sphere dovetailed with the larger reorganization of "social aesthetics" after 1945. In so doing it returns to a matter first raised in chapter 1: What happened to the Nazi "aestheticization of politics" after 1945? It is not enough to say that the fusion of aesthetics and politics simply expired with the collapse of the Third Reich and Goebbels's propaganda machine. To be sure, it never re-emerged in its '30s guise, but it did not completely die off. How and why industrial design rested at the heart of this post-Nazi negotiation of political aesthetics and the private good is the main theme of the last section of the chapter.

The Designer Family

If the Design Council's bid to professionalize design education and rewrite copyright laws enjoyed only limited success, its more general fear about

the blurring of culture and commerce was shared by many. Throughout the '50s the anxiety about the effects of heedless consumer egoism fueled a good amount of cultural debate. What united West Germany's official design culture and the informal array of petit modernizers was a marked aversion to market capitalism. The sudden production of cheaply made goods in the wake of the 1948 currency reform was widely viewed as the foul offspring of economic liberalism, a regrettable continuation of the catch-as-catch-can world of black market economics. These sentiments were by no means limited to West Germany; all over Europe there was renewed skepticism about laissez-faire capitalism's ability to solve the grave problems of postwar economic life. The Depression and the war only reinforced the widespread faith in systematic economic planning as the best means of confronting the ravages of the immediate past.[1] Those attitudes found heightened expression in Germany, however, where wartime devastation lent such issues life-or-death urgency. The initially fitful effects of the currency reform did little to dispel the demands to regulate the consumer sector, particularly since West Germany's economic, cultural, and moral future was seen to hang in the balance.

By the early 1950s a chorus of critics was calling for more state intervention in economic affairs. Even before the creation of the German Design Council, there was serious discussion in Bonn about possibly introducing a new government-sponsored "seal of guarantee" *(Gütezeichen)* program in which the most needed consumer goods would be standardized, mass-produced, and affixed with a government stamp to ensure quality and low price. This proposal owed its inspiration to the original theorist of the so-called social market economy, Alfred Müller-Armack, who argued that the postwar market had mainly produced either high-quality, expensive products or cheap, shoddy consumer goods. The "seal of guarantee" program was thus envisioned as a corrective to the defects of liberal economics.[2] Advocates claimed that this measure would greatly benefit big business, help protect West German specialty trade *(Fach-handel)* from foreign dumping, and more generally deter the ongoing conflation of "quality value" *(Qualitätswert)* and "advertising value" *(Werbewert)*.[3] Soon, however, criticism mounted that this program represented an unjustified extension of state authority into the workings of economic life. Some saw it as an unwanted replay of either the failed projects from the past, such as the "sun label" experiment from the 1920s or the badly managed post-1945 emergency rationing program known as the "Everyone-Program" *(Jedermann-Programm)*.[4] Others complained that the standardization of consumer goods would only make things

harder for West German small business.[5] Eventually Müller-Armack's early government project of consumer mediation collapsed under the combined weight of these objections.

Efforts to revive the old consumer cooperatives after 1945 suffered a similar fate. Founded in the mid-nineteenth century to counteract the negative effects of industrialization, the German consumer cooperatives long enjoyed great success as an alternative system of consumer goods distribution. By the late nineteenth century, they were fully politicized and incorporated into the worker movement, so much so that they served as a mainstay of social resistance and moral education for Germany's worker culture right up until the Nazi takeover.[6] After 1933 the Nazis targeted the cooperatives for "coordination" and quickly placed them under the administrative control of the German Labor Front, which later made good use of their former social networks to distribute rationed goods during the war.[7] But the defeat of the Nazis did not revive the glory of these once-powerful cooperatives. Despite boasting a sizable membership by 1948, the reactivated Zentralverband deutscher Konsumvereine (Central Association of Consumer Cooperatives) never regained its former political authority. Not only had the Nazis dissolved its adversarial ethos, they also destroyed the former "worker culture" from which these cooperatives derived their inspiration and support. Besides, the cooperatives did not mix very well with Cold War politics. The Allies generally viewed the very idea of organized consumer groups as quasi-communist, with the result that the Zentralverband underwent a complete makeover in the 1950s.[8] In the face of the conviction that a deregulated market was the best means of providing consumers with high-quality, affordable goods, the Zentralverband's once-impassioned crusade to help control the flow of consumer goods in the name of a more moral economy was now reduced to "transclass" (that is, individualized) consumer protection.[9] The cooperatives had thus shifted their attention from controlling to "modernizing" the means of consumer distribution, and it was no coincidence that these new cooperatives opened the country's first self-service stores.[10]

The failure of the "seal of guarantee" program and the consumer cooperatives prompted West Germany's design culture to assume a more active role in shielding the design object in the marketplace. It was at this time that the Werkbund, the Design Council, and other "good form" organizations teamed up to protect the noncommercial attributes of design objects in the various ways we have seen in earlier chapters. But other groups—West Germany's sprawling new network of taste professionals,

conservative women's groups, and social reformers—frequently used the more popular home decoration literature to stake their claims about quality design as cultural progress and moral education. Journals like *Die Kunst und das schöne Heim, Dekorative Kunst, Besser Wohnen,* and *Schöner Wohnen,* together with women's magazines like *Constanze* and *Quick,* played a key role in popularizing the cultural value of the modern design good. So voluminous was the output of new magazines, journals, and books during the '50s that the decade arguably represented the golden age of German home decoration guides. Yet it is wrong to assume that this literature was simply an extension of mainstream market advertising. In fact it arose as an attempt to provide cultural counsel for consumers beyond the mercantile machinations of retailers, middlemen, and advertising agents. While no one would deny that the home furnishing business was vital to economic recovery and the development of a West German consumer culture, this household literature more commonly aimed to deliver noncommercial information and advice. So along with the more established design institutions, these West German petit modernizers helped publicize everyday objects as material witnesses of cultural reeducation and moral maturity.[11]

The '50s proliferation of this domestic culture industry was inextricably tied to West Germany's historical situation. First and foremost, the war had virtually destroyed the social transmission of taste and social standing. Most family heirlooms and cultural property were lost, and the traditional conduits of taste and cultural power—such as museums and schools—were badly damaged if not ruined altogether. The situation was further compounded by the fact that what little cultural capital did survive was often corrupted by its association with Nazi culture. Second, the absence of cultural transmission left young consumers bereft of guidance amid the frenzied modernization of postwar life. Here it pays to recall that, apart from the short-lived periods of prosperity from 1924 to 1929 and then again from 1933 to 1936, German society as a whole had been dominated by repeated cycles of hyperinflation, severe economic crisis, wartime rationing, and war-related destruction ever since the late Wilhelmine period. As Jennifer Loehlin noted, "The last period of sustained, steady economic growth in Germany had been before the First World War. Most Germans in 1950 had no personal memory of periods of even relative economic stability lasting more than five years, and those in their twenties had known nothing but war and hard times in their adult lives."[12] The end of the "rationing society" thus meant that the unlimited assortment of goods crowding West German display windows in the

wake of the 1948 currency reform was something quite foreign to many people. That the young generation no longer looked to their parents but to spouses and friends for advice on buying new consumer items helped spur the need for this household literature.[13] Last, the burgeoning advice literature went hand in hand with the larger politicization of design as postfascist cultural medicine. The fierce struggle between both neofunctionalist and Nierentisch design avant-gardes to win the hearts and wallets of postwar consumers indirectly raised modern design as the very stuff of antinationalist progressive culture.

But instead of resorting to vitrine metaphysics, the more popular '50s household literature chose to convey the noncommercial dimension of these goods by invoking the postwar family. The ideal of the modern family flanked by new design objects became one of the most enduring images of the decade. Indeed, over 40 percent of all product photographs from the '50s used the family living room as a backdrop.[14] But it was here that the more anonymous network of petit modernizers parted company from West Germany's more established design culture. Even if West Germany's elite design culture stubbornly resisted this ideological "domestication" of industrial design, the union of design and family was the most successful means of popularizing the '50s design object as a significant "cultural good." This is not altogether surprising, especially since the family had been identified as the moral keystone of postwar life by the state, the churches, academic sociologists, and conservative women's organizations like the national Deutscher Hausfrauen-Bund. While this has conventionally been associated with the conservative agenda of Christian Democratic politics, most notably that of Adenauer's Minister of Family Affairs Franz-Josef Wuermeling, it is well to remember that policies to shore up the family enjoyed wide support among Social Democrats as well. Common to all was the belief that the stable family remained the best defense against the profound social and psychological dislocation resulting from the slaughter of war, the collapse of the state, and the acute material privation immediately following the war. Not that the postwar situation was very encouraging: those few German families who survived the war physically intact more often than not were riven by incessant conflict between overburdened women and disillusioned men, resulting in escalating domestic violence and soaring divorce rates.[15] The emergence of female-headed households whose breadwinners were forced to earn their living away from home and family was generally viewed as a dangerous extension of this crisis.[16] Strengthening the family came to be seen as a necessary deterrent against state social-

ism, for the family would provide a "healthy division" of state and society, public and private, work and leisure, along with traditionally segregated gender roles and activities. In Wuermeling's words, "a million spiritually healthy individuals with respectable children can at least be as effective a safeguard against the child-obsessed nations of the East as any form of military security."[17] Despite criticism that Wuermeling's pronatalist family politics occasionally recalled those of the Nazis, the Christian Democrats' ideal of the multiple-child family was heralded as the best way of achieving social order and political stability. The Nazi concept of "living space" *(Lebensraum)* had been transformed from the geopolitical colonization of Eastern Europe to the new "living space" of the Cold War family.[18]

If West German family politics were designed as a safeguard against communism, they were also aimed at American-style cultural liberalism. In West German debates on the family, the United States consistently figured as the ultimate image of vulgar materialism and unchecked consumer capitalism. Just as West Germany's design culture had condemned Raymond Loewy and American design for its dishonesty and corrosive cultural effects, West German conservatives criticized the so-called American way of life as dangerously materialist and antisocial. To be sure, the Americans were also interested in defusing the social dangers of consumerism by shoring up the family. In fact, the numerous household advice books and exhibitions produced in the United States during the 1950s were quite similar in spirit and substance to their West German counterparts. But West Germans generally ignored this aspect of American culture in an effort to exploit the specter of "Amerikanismus" as a foil against which to forge a more "moral" West German industrial culture.[19] One 1956 circular by the Committee of Catholic German Women (Arbeitsgemeinschaft der katholischen deutschen Frauen) claimed that "if dialectical materialism of the East is a threatening menace, so too is the materialism of the West. Its values (even the religious ones) are subordinated to utility, while the so-called standard of living is worshipped like an idol."[20] What disturbed most observers was that the encroaching "Americanization" of West German social life would destroy what little cultural and moral fiber still existed after the war. Because economic recovery, a reduced work-week, and new lay-away purchasing practices had unleashed long pent-up consumer desires, there was great concern that the traditional three *K*s of *Kinder, Küche, Kirche* (children, kitchen, church) were being rapidly replaced by the more alluring shibboleths of *Komfort, Kleider, und Konsum* (comfort, clothes, and consumerism).[21]

Time and emotional energy, so went the reasoning, were being diverted from the family toward the satisfaction of fleeting, egoistic material pleasures. Conservatives deplored the way consumerism undermined the communal "inner happiness" of the family by turning everyday citizens into "slaves suffering from an acquisition epidemic." They also worried that it reduced the postwar birth rate, to the extent that the "automobile, television set, and extra dog" served as "indirect means of contraception."[22] The family by contrast was hailed as the "noncommercialized nucleus" of postwar social life, a "space of recreation" where family members exhausted from work could "renew and cultivate their intellectual, spiritual, and bodily energies."[23] In this context, socialism and liberalism were both roundly criticized for their anti-Christian disdain toward what Wuermeling called the "divinely ordained natural order" of the family.[24]

This image of the family as a "noncommercial nucleus" did not last very long, however. Given that much of West German economic prosperity was tied to consumer goods production and consumption, there arose a new postwar campaign to reconcile family life and consumerism. Fittingly, Erhard himself led the charge with a double challenge to the conservative orthodoxy that the postwar "will to consume" necessarily led to destructive materialism. On the one hand, Erhard countered that prosperity actually allays acquisitive egoism in that it "creates the ambient in which people are lifted from a purely primitive materialistic way of thinking." On the other, he claimed that consumer satisfaction was inextricably linked to progressive civilization, the defense of the family, and even spiritual restoration.[25] West Germany's conservative women's groups quickly joined in forging the cultural connection between consumerism and the postwar family. Throughout the 1950s, they organized numerous expositions on home decoration and household management as well as dozens of short consumer radio plays *(Hörspiele)* on the newly reorganized Women's Radio Network *(Frauenfunk),* which broadcast the virtues of consumer goods and appliances for improving family life and strengthening the national economy.[26] This cultural linkage of the family and modern industrial goods was eventually integrated into federal policy. By the mid-'50s Wuermeling had changed his spots and affirmed the moral connections among consumerism, traditional gender relations, and the preservation of the traditional family.[27] He even joined forces with Erhard in sponsoring the 1955 project Operation People's Washing Machine *(Aktion Volkswaschmaschine).* In an effort to free the housewife from menial tasks so that she could spend more time with her family, the Christian Democrats instituted measures to make

it easier for families to buy new washing machines: it enacted legislation enabling families to deduct new appliances from their taxes and revised federal housing policy so that built-in kitchens *(Einbauküchen)* were incorporated into new housing construction as guarantors of "orderly family life."[28] Even if the importance of Wuermeling's initiative paled in comparison to the introduction of installment purchasing and consumer credit as key factors behind the drive for modernization, the point is that even the state perceived modern appliances less as household luxuries than as agents of domestic and social order.[29]

The defining traits of this new cult of domesticity are manifest if we recall the changing German conceptions of interior space since the late Wilhelmine period. Undertaking a full historical genealogy of German domestic interiors is beyond the scope of this project, but there is much to be gained from a brief review of the shifting spatial and cultural relationship between kitchen and living room over this long time span. Leaving aside the changes in decorative style, such as historicism and *Jugendstil,* one may start with the central importance of the living room (or really, the salon) in German middle-class and upper-class households before the First World War. It was the main receiving room for guests and visitors, and acted as the social center for the family as well. In an era in which the home assumed its role as the outward representation of class, family, and personal identity, the carefully arranged salon served as its most concentrated expression. Here the select display of furniture and tapestries, musical instruments and art work, family portraits and travel trinkets received loving cultural attention, intensified by the fevered efforts of a new class of parvenus to storm the gates of *Kultur* by mastering the social codes of wealth, taste, and standing. The salon thus became a symbol-laden repository of social status. Its dominant presence in the era's floor plans and accompanying household literature perfectly attest to its heightened cultural significance as the theatrical setting of bourgeois self and society. That the "lower orders" did not even have living rooms as such, but congregated instead in the relatively large (and warm) space of the "living kitchen," rendered the salon's class character even more pronounced.

The pivotal place of the salon in the Wilhelmine social universe was also supported by the doctrine of separate spheres. After all, women were deemed responsible for cultivating the bourgeois interior as an affective respite from the alienating world of work and machines.[30] So dominant was the living room as the very embodiment of "domestic culture" that the other, "nonpublic" rooms in the house—such as the bedroom and

children's room—virtually dropped from view in the Kaiserreich's home management manuals.[31] The kitchen, by contrast, was treated with great ambiguity. It was obviously seen as essential to proper family life; yet it was also the workplace of servants. And insofar as bourgeois women were largely defined by their distance from the working-class world, their presence in the kitchen had to be treated delicately in the guidebooks. This of course is not to deny that most bourgeois women spent a good amount of time in the kitchen supervising the servants and on many occasions helping with kitchen work. Yet the bourgeois women's work in the kitchen found little cultural representation at the time, lest it might erode the very foundation of their class and gender identity.[32] So taboo was this theme that one historian has persuasively argued that hand creams were invented in the late nineteenth century as a means for middle-class women to disguise their manual kitchen work.[33] The kitchen's strange status in the household manuals of the day neatly reflected the Wilhelmine domestic ideology based on class representation, achievement, and family propriety.[34]

The aftermath of the First World War included radical changes in the conception of the home, and with them came a fundamental shift in the household literature. Surely there is no dearth of writings on the history of Weimar modernist architecture and its drive to develop new architectural forms suitable to an age of democratic socialism and mass production.[35] But for our purposes, it suffices to recall that the changes in both the form and understanding of domestic interiors were caused largely by the convergence of two social issues. First, the '20s crusade to "rationalize" German dwellings was inseparable from the larger campaigns to overcome the severe postwar housing crisis and to raise standards of living for workers through "light, air, and greenery." While the bid to improve working-class housing first received widespread attention following the 1867 Paris World's Fair exhibition of worker housing, the reform movement in Germany gained momentum a generation later under the aegis of several leading members of the German Werkbund, in particular, Friedrich Naumann and Hermann Muthesius.[36] But it was not until the 1920s that many of these ideas came to fruition. The novel introduction of boxy, mass-produced working housing projects (for example, Ernst May's "New Frankfurt" constructions) underlined the extent to which the rationalized floor plans and functionalist designs were part of a broader postwar initiative to reorganize working-class domestic life around the middle-class virtues of cleanliness, order, and rational efficiency.[37]

Second, the influx of German middle-class women into Germany's interwar workforce as a result of the era's galloping inflation engendered a basic shift in the conception of the home and the need to resolve the new "woman's question" of the "triple burden" of managing work, family, and household duties. The '20s gave rise to a new domestic reform movement comprised of industrialists and politicians, architects and health officials, together with conservative and socialist women's organizations, who all identified the rationalization of housework (and in turn, of the female homemaker) as the best means of relieving this deeply felt social crisis. Granted, they all interpreted the potential benefits differently. Conservative groups, for example, viewed rationalized housework as the precondition to happier housewives and healthier mothers, hygienic and orderly households, and more stable and loving families. Leaders of the bourgeois women's movement like Helene Lange and Gertrud Bäumer embraced domestic rationalization as a means of providing women with more time to devote to their children and husbands. Socialists in their turn saw its virtues in emancipating women from the drudgery of unpaid menial labor, giving them additional time to secure salaried employment and participate more fully in public life. And socialist feminists championed domestic rationalization fundamentally in terms of liberating women from their "triple burden" in the name of women's rights and "female individuality." Precisely because the rationalization of household labor (unlike in the public workplace) yielded no clear and direct economic remuneration, the debate pivoted around the highly politicized question of what constituted the "surplus value" of this domestic reform.[38]

Of particular relevance here is that the kitchen now replaced the Wilhelmine salon as the new site of social concern. Initially this Weimar campaign to convert the home into a professional workspace found its inspiration in the 1921 German translation of Christine Frederick's 1913 American bestseller, *The New Housekeeping: Efficiency Studies in Home Management*. Frederick's program to modernize household management through Taylorist "time-motion" studies was widely hailed in Germany as a model of needed domestic reform. Just as Weimar industrialists had enthusiastically embraced Taylorism as a technocratic ideal that could help assuage class antagonism and spur economic productivity, so too did Weimar social engineers welcome this "domestic Taylorism" as a balm for alleviating contemporary social problems without upsetting the bourgeois domestic trinity of women, housework, and the home.[39] This campaign produced a remarkable proliferation of books and exhibitions de-

voted to popularizing the rationalized home as transclass social medi-
cine.[40] Detailed time-motion studies and kitchen efficiency recommen-
dations, which included elaborate footpath diagrams, precise workspace
arrangements, daily work timetables, exercise regimens, and even pre-
scribed work clothes, were all painstakingly researched so as to make
housework more productive. In contrast to the nineteenth-century un-
derstanding of the home as a comfortable haven from the mechanized
work world, the home was now transformed into a production site gov-
erned by Taylorist labor principles.

   These historical developments were perhaps best illustrated by the in-
vention of the famous "Frankfurt Kitchen" by the Viennese designer
Grete Schütte-Lihotsky. Initially designed for Ernst May's Frankfurt
"worker housing" project during the late 1920s, this efficiency kitchen
(figure 46) was installed in more than ten thousand new German hous-
ing units by 1931.[41] Admittedly, the move from bigger, more traditional
"living kitchens" *(Wohnküchen)* toward smaller "work kitchens" *(Ar-
beitsküchen)* had been a hallmark of 1920s avant-garde architecture ever
since the Bauhaus kitchen prototype at the 1923 Weimar Haus am Horn
exhibition. But Schütte-Lihotsky's Frankfurt Kitchen carried this logic
much further. Her design boldly showed just how much modern tech-
nology and the ethos of factory labor now ruled the modern kitchen. Its
new high-tech rational design dramatically effaced any cultural differ-
ence from large industrial kitchens. That it was modeled after factory
equipment made it perfectly clear that the home was no longer consid-
ered a counterfoil to the world of work and machine technology, but had
become an extension of it. The home as the "metaphysics of place" was
radically reconstructed as a modern "living machine" *(Wohnmaschine)*
defined by labor activities. The kitchen dining table and buffet were also
banished from the new design, underscoring the extent to which the
kitchen was not a place of casual socializing and meal-time leisure any-
more. It was now a labor-intensive workspace governed by new produc-
tion and hygienic standards. Where older "living kitchens" had histori-
cally served as the central heat source and social center of working-class
domestic life, this miniaturized work kitchen (six square meters!) was
plainly meant to help "rationalize" proletarian living styles.[42] That these
individualized work kitchens were explicitly embraced as a means of
checking the so-called single kitchen movement, which strove to install
large centralized kitchens on every housing floor so as to save money and
facilitate worker solidarity, betrayed the Weimar municipal housing com-

Figure 46. The "Frankfurt Kitchen," 1926. Design: Grete Schütte-Lihotsky. Courtesy of Museum für angewandte Kunst, Vienna.

mission's interests in enlisting architecture to reorganize German worker life instead around the nuclear family.

No less important was that the kitchen had become the exclusive space of female labor. In part the rise of the new efficiency kitchen was the result of the absence of servants in middle-class households. Often the literature tried to provide some solace by claiming that these new "rationalized housewives" were not ordinary laborers, but vital "household

managers" who were modernizing home life in the name of self, family, and national recovery. But it was work all the same, and it was during the '20s that housework lost its pejorative connotations, although the gendered understanding of housework remained in place. The rigid separation of the kitchen from the living room (supposedly for the sake of keeping the noxious cooking and cleaning odors away from the children) spatially demarcated the new modern dwelling's gendered distribution of female kitchen work and male (or juvenile) living room leisure.[43] So whereas the modernized efficiency kitchen may have helped women in easing food preparation, it ultimately continued the Wilhelmine doctrine of separate spheres by discursively moving the homemaker from the leisured living room to the rationalized kitchen. Here one could plausibly argue that this new version of German domesticity was really an import from America. Certainly there is a good deal of truth in this, especially since the gendered conception of the modern home was equally prevalent in the U.S. guidebooks at the time. Yet it overlooks a key difference. While the new image of American domesticity was based on a rationalization model coupled with new technology and relatively high levels of consumer standards, the German model of '20s domesticity only focused on the rationalization dimension. Most household appliances (e.g., vacuum cleaners and electric stoves) were beyond the financial reach of interwar German families. What is so interesting, however, is how the Weimar household advice literature sought to make a virtue out of necessity by glorifying German work habits and "joy in work" as superior to America's soft and soulless culture of affluence. As Erna Meyer put it in her widely read 1927 *The New Household,* the "vacuum cleaner will be superfluous in the home which does not allow dust the possibility of collecting."[44] It was what Mary Nolan called the era's "austere vision of modernity" that became the emblem of Weimar domesticity.[45]

The Nazi accession to power in 1933 marked a decisive turn in the cultural construction of the German home. As part of the broader rejection of Weimar "cultural bolshevism," the Third Reich reversed the '20s relation between kitchen and living room. Whereas the living room disappeared from Weimar household literature as the sphere of (a never attained) leisure and relaxation, the Nazi domestic literature looked to "re-enchant" the home by converting it into an enlarged living room. Everywhere was a new racist rhetoric of redemption promising to restore the lost "soul," "spirit," and "home culture" *(Heimkultur)* to the "degenerated" German home. Repeatedly the Nazis railed against the '20s "reification" of the German domicile into mechanical "living machines"

and "mass commodities" *(Massenwaren)* befouled by "foreign *[volks-fremder]* elements."[46] No one would deny that the Nazi ideology of the home was in many ways a continuation of the cultural critique mounted with increasing gusto after the 1929 Crash by Weimar conservatives (including right-wing women's groups), whose ideal of the woman at home gained renewed cultural authority as a favorite image of social order.[47] In this the Depression all but ruined the German honeymoon with American Fordism. It not only signaled the end of rationalization as a utopian vision of industrial progress; it also augured the decline of the United States as the guiding model of German modernity.[48] Thereafter the brave new world of social engineering would be a distinctly German one, as Hitler and Goebbels never tired of insisting. By the mid-1930s, the Third Reich's celebration of German domestic culture was very different from what had gone before. It was synonymous with a new racist "family culture" in which domestic labor production was replaced by social and biological reproduction.[49] Domestic efficiency itself was now fundamentally reinterpreted: architecture and design were valued less for their productivist principles than for their ability to encourage racial progeny.[50]

This cultural shift was best registered in the form and ideology of Nazi interior spaces. Above all, Nazi home decoration guides and design literature were expressly dedicated to ending the idea of the home as an extension of the factory. They particularly worked to eradicate what was perceived as a major symbol of the degenerate "living machine," most notably the Frankfurt Kitchen. Taylorist time-motion studies, along with detailed work programs and domestic labor disciplining, largely disappeared from '30s household literature. Now the ergonomic design form and the rationalized labor regimen of '20s work-intensive kitchens were summarily rejected in favor of the larger traditional "living kitchen" as a locus of family life (figure 47). What kitchen work was discussed was always toward the good of cultivating a joyful "family home."[51] And as noted in a 1939 joint publication by the Reich's Women Association *(Reichsfrauenführung)* and the German Labor Front's Reich Federal Home Office, the "living family kitchen" served as the centerpiece of Nazi Germany's new "home design."[52] The same went for the late 1930s images of the luxury kitchen, which departed from 1920s functionalist design in terms of space and layout. The Frankfurt Kitchen's severe lines and machine-like appearance were now supposedly "redeemed" by the use of "German" wood, bright colors, and decorative *Heimkunst* appliqué.[53] Gone too was the rational housewife as "manager" of the domestic production site; the new ideal

Figure 47. Model kitchen, 1930s. Source: Herbert Hoffmann, *Schöne Räume* (Berlin, 1934), unpaginated. Courtesy of Werkbund-Archiv, Berlin.

instead was smiling housewives in large bourgeois kitchens flanked by the latest labor-saving modern appliances.

It may be tempting to read this as merely an extension of the Weimar discourse of domestic technology, but there were key differences. For one thing, the labor-saving windfall of the new appliances was mostly discussed in terms of being able to spend more time with the family—as well as having time to produce more children.[54] Visual representation had also changed dramatically. Unlike 1920s advertisements, the Nazi domestic images rarely showed the housewife demonstrating the function of these household goods. Rather, they almost always pictured the housewife at a distinct remove from the objects, denying both the goods and users as objects of labor (figure 48). To be sure, these images often had little bearing on reality. Even if the '30s did see a stepped-up modernization of the German home, where 85 percent of polled workers had electric irons, 65 percent a radio, and 33 percent a vacuum cleaner by 1939, the Nazis had hardly created a new consumer paradise.[55] Despite the advertising blitz, most high-tech appliances remained unaffordable or unavailable to most Germans after 1933. But this did not mean that they were unimportant—quite the contrary. They served as mass-produced images of domestic bounty and comfort that helped buttress the credi-

„Meine n e u e Küche
ist schöner und prak-
tischer als die alte!"

Warum sollen nur junge Ehepaare sich eine neue Küche anschaffen?
Die ältere Hausfrau kann ebensogut eine neue Küche gebrauchen, in
der alles Geschirr und Gerät so schön Platz hat und die den Aufenthalt
so behaglich macht. Eine neue Küche ist ein herrliches Weihnachtsge-
schenk für die Frau und Mutter.

Figure 48. Domestic appliance advertisement, 1935. The text reads "My new kitchen is more beautiful and practical than my old one! Why should only young newlyweds have a new kitchen? Older housewives need a new kitchen just as much. . . . A new kitchen is a fabulous Christmas gift for the wife and mother." Source: *Die Woche,* 4 December 1935, 40. Courtesy of Werkbund-Archiv, Berlin.

bility of the regime as the guardian of a better future. Such symbolic politics began right away in 1933. The first miniaturized household refrigerator, for example, was showcased at the 1933 Leipzig Spring Trade Fair.[56] Such design objects thereby took their place alongside the publicity images of the Volkswagen, "Strength through Joy" vacation packages, and Robert Ley's promises of a "people's refrigerator in every household" as foretastes of the good life waiting beyond the grim realities of rationing and war.[57] As noted in chapter 1, the regime wanted at all costs to avoid the outcome of the previous war—revolution—and so devoted increasing energy to broadcasting images of consumer modernity as the fruit of personal perseverance and national victory. In this way,

the effort to transform the home into a haven of technified leisure and social reproduction became a cherished element of Nazism's dreamworld of universal prosperity for the select "national community."

The Third Reich did not, however, simply reimpose the old bourgeois boundaries between home and factory. At first this may seem a puzzling claim, not least because the Nazis did try to reinstate the nineteenth-century doctrine of the separate spheres by inscribing public life and war as masculine, home and family as feminine. Yet these boundaries had been largely erased during the '20s, as the Weimar campaign to introduce the logic, look, and hardware of industrial life into the home in the name of efficiency, hygiene, and rationality had effectively dissolved the cultural barrier between public and private. The Third Reich in fact continued this development, but reversed the signification. Against the Weimar coupling of workspace and home by industrializing the German home, the Nazis "domesticated" the factory as a second home, complete with local canteen, music, and völkish gemütlichkeit. The 1934 creation of the Reich Homestead Office (Reichsstättenamt) as an adjunct to Albert Speer's Beauty of Labor Office further did away with the distinction between home and work. In this case, the Third Reich's national housing office used the same industrial design principles developed at Beauty of Labor for the mass construction of the regime's highly touted "people's home" *(Volksheim).*[58] While the predominance of wood and a more rural furniture style initially seems inconsistent with the machine look and ethos of Beauty of Labor factory interiors, such völkish model homes and furniture were industrially standardized and mass-produced in identical fashion. Yet this was never viewed as a contradiction, since the very essence of Nazi industrial culture, so its publicists reasoned, lay in the marriage of industrial civilization and *Volkskultur,* technological modernity and cozy domesticity.

The idealized '50s home represented both continuity with and a break from the Nazi past. After 1945 floor plans were opened up in order to encourage a more outward-oriented "domestic culture."[59] The formal rigidity of prewar interiors was largely discarded in favor of "dynamic living" and "flowing spaces."[60] Not that creating such flowing spaces was all that easy in an era when most dwellings being built were 3-room apartments—a living room, a bedroom, and a kitchen. Even if the First Dwelling Construction Law of 1950 stated that new apartments must be constructed as a "healthy mean between so-called high-comfort luxury apartments and primitive emergency dwellings," most West Germans had to make do with very small domiciles.[61] No wonder that the '50s

was the decade of the sofa-bed, the fold-up chair, and multipurpose furniture, for the living room doubled as a bedroom for many. Lack of space was also partly why '50s floor plans and household literature always emphasized sunlight and large windows, for these helped dwellers feel less cramped and confined. In the words of one 1955 writer, sunlight and windows helped fulfill the postwar "deep longing for open space" by "allowing the world to flow into the home."[62] Over and over again such '20s logic found great resonance in the '50s. Not surprisingly perhaps, Sigfried Giedion's 1929 *Liberated Living* was one of the most influential books for '50s home decoration. In it he defined "beauty of living" in these terms: "A home is beautiful if it corresponds to our feeling for life. This means light, air, movement, openness. . . . A beautiful house exudes no feeling of being confined and closed in."[63] Such sentiments were naturally quite appealing to those who had been penned in dark bomb shelters at the end of the war, and forced to scratch out a primitive hovel amid the hazardous debris of postwar Germany. The virtues of light and open spaces were supposed to help sustain the all-important family, since well-designed "living spaces" would "strengthen family life and deepen its emotional foundation."[64] The title of one popular 1955 guide neatly summarized the boon of good design: *Praktisch Bauen + Schön Wohnen = Glücklich Leben* (Building practically + living beautifully = living happily).[65] Sometimes these open floor plans were even seen as carrying special psychological value for those emerging from the totalitarian grip of the Third Reich. As one 1954 home decoration manual put it: "In times of fear and insecurity people tend to close off the outer world, to hide behind thick walls with tiny windows. Only in times of security and an open attitude to the world *[Weltaufgeschlossenheit]* does the desire emerge . . . to open the house to the outer world."[66] Open floor plans, wide windows, and practical interiors were thus hailed as the new material markers of post-Nazi cultural freedom, family bonding, and psychological security.

These cultural changes were best captured in the postwar relationship between living room and kitchen. On one level, the importance of the living room in '50s household literature had much in common with its 1930s predecessor. As before, the living room dominated the era's floor plans and home decoration manuals as the affective "spiritual center" of family socialization and West German "living culture."[67] But the ideal of the family as a tighter, more intimate unit—reflecting the broader '50s crusade to link political stability with the restored nuclear family—was matched by the new trend to remove the walls separating kitchen from

Figure 49. Domestic culture propaganda: cover of the journal *Struggle against Danger!,* 1939. Here is an image of an idealized German dining room complete with People's Radio (back right) and Hermann Gretsch designer tableware. The caption in the bottom left corner reads "Healthy People under Sure Protection." Images of service, family, and material bounty were often closely linked in Third Reich magazines and advertisements. Source: *Kampf der Gefahr!* 6, no. 12 (December 1939), cover image. Courtesy of Werkbund-Archiv, Berlin.

living room in the name of family sociability and "ordered family life."[68] The numerous photographs of the well-dressed West German family lounging in the living room amid new modern furniture and much-desired "civilization comforts" such as radios and televisions were like mass-produced snapshots of the decade. And they were different from '30s representations in several respects. First, the father was often present in the postwar pictures of modern family life, while in the Third Reich the father was almost always absent from the home decoration literature. On those rare occasions when he did appear, as noted in figure 49, he was predominantly depicted at the dining table and (after 1939) in uniform. In the '50s images, by contrast, the father was often sitting on the sofa in slippers, either reading or conversing with the children. This was no insignificant issue at the time, since it portrayed a radical shift in the representation of (West) German fatherhood and masculinity: the martial body language of men from the Nazi period had given way to the remarkably casual bodily attitudes of postwar men.[69] In '50s advertisements and domestic advice literature men were even depicted with aprons, helping with household clean-up.[70] Although during the war German husbands were occasionally entreated to help their wives at home, often in the name of relieving her "triple burden" as a safeguard for healthy racial fertility, they were never actually depicted as doing so.[71] But the informal styling of '50s furniture, together with the mix-and-match flexible arrangement of domestic pieces, now found corresponding expression in the relaxed behavior of the residents themselves, underlining the extent to which the '50s home was supposed to serve as a quiet regenerative respite from the world under reconstruction outside.

The kitchen had not, however, lost its significance. On the contrary, the postwar ideology of the kitchen also had carryover from the '30s. This may seem at odds with the actual distribution of space in these new '50s family homes, especially in light of the fact that the '30s Wohnküche gave way to small corner kitchens. Not until the late 1950s were built-in kitchens that featured installed cupboards and pantries introduced en masse, and even these were relatively small.[72] In fact, these new kitchens (often called "American" or "Swedish" kitchens) were more or less modernized versions of the Frankfurt Kitchen.[73] Yet it was the cultural representation of the '50s kitchen that mattered. Significantly, the Weimar discourse on household rationalization and domestic Taylorism—which was fitfully revived after 1945—gradually disappeared over the course of the 1950s, as part of a larger trend in which the 1950s kitchen was depicted less and less as a place of work. As in the '30s, there was a move

toward the stylization of the kitchen as a symbol of comfort and ease; the fact that women were increasingly pictured at a spatial remove from the appliances or just lightly touching the machine surfaces was very much in keeping with the '30s image of the kitchen as a work-free technological wonderland.[74] It also had to do with the steady introduction of new and affordable kitchen appliances into West German homes during the '50s and early '60s. After all, it was precisely the '20s gap between modern technology's potential level of domestic hygiene and the steep prices of new household appliances that had enabled the rationalization movement to take wing in the first place.[75] The 1950s popularization and affordability of domestic technology meant that the 1920s images of both domestic work and worker lost their cultural hold.[76] Hence the ubiquitous 1950s images of pretty housewives in cocktail dresses surrounded by new appliances (figure 50) effectively served as a new self-image of West German modernity. Not that it jibed easily with reality—few believed that the glowing rhetoric about the wonders of modern technology changed the fact that the '50s kitchen remained the "full-time work center for women."[77] Nevertheless, the representation of housework as work had all but vanished.[78]

Such changing depictions of housework marked a major shift in the '50s reconstitution of West German domesticity—and represented much more than merely the result of the increasing electrification of the '50s household. True, physically the '50s home departed from its '30s forebear mainly in that the promised conveniences became everyday reality for many West Germans by the end of the decade. While Ley's assurances about the "people's refrigerator" had remained a pipe dream, Erhard's similar campaign of "A Refrigerator in Every Household" made good on the promise. But this is not what made this domestic culture particularly West German. As noted above, the '20s home rationalization movement consciously constructed an image of German domestic modernity in contradistinction to its American rival's technology and consumer amenities. The Nazi image of the German household then reversed this "austere vision of modernity" to emphasize new images of bounty and leisure. The nationalist dimension was retained, though, by constantly advertising industrial goods as the manifestation of German racial genius and cultural achievement, and the home itself as the noble preserve of Teutonic intimacy and racial reproduction. The '50s in turn predictably dropped all of the '30s racist rhetoric and völkish mysticism and sought to create a uniquely West German version of modern domesticity. Yet what was seen as the soft, soulless underbelly of American modernity—the quest for new

Figure 50. Pop culture image of material bounty and modern lifestyle. The title of this special issue of *Constanze* reads "The Ideal Household"; the remaining text, "A thousand new things for all those who wish to arrange their homes beautifully and practically." Source: "Der ideale Haushalt," special issue of *Constanze* 31 (1958), cover image. Courtesy of Axel-Springer Verlag, Berlin.

consumer conveniences—had now become a fundamental element of West German home life as well. It was in this context that the '50s family was so important, functioning as a moral rampart shielding West German domesticity from the insidious dangers of American consumerism.

Such logic was also colored by Cold War ideology. If the West German marriage of modern design and family values supposedly demarcated its "home culture" from the dangers of American materialism, its construction was also shaped by antagonism with the East. This was particularly true regarding the idealized image of the '50s kitchen. The West German effort to cast the kitchen as a site of "nonlabor" was partly a reaction against the close association of the figure of the working woman with life in the GDR. Indeed, the East German home as a sphere of work and state control was constantly cited as a fundamental trait of communist culture, while West German domestic culture largely defined itself by denying both the housewife and housework as categories of labor.[79] The marginalization of housework in the '50s household decoration and advice literature was thus another dimension of the postwar demonizing of the working woman. Having mystified domestic work behind the veil of technological leisure, wherein the '50s kitchen became a "machine park" of engineering wizardry, these design publicists effectively converted the modern West German kitchen into political propaganda.[80] Owning a modern kitchen thus represented not only a cultural means of "distancing oneself from the past," but also a way to distinguish West from East German domestic culture.[81]

This was the double meaning behind all of those images of handsome housewives parading around the kitchen in their cocktail dresses. Now the housewife's labor was transformed from "low-technology, labor-intensive blue-collar labor to white-collar household management. . . . The consumerist discourses of housework now constituted it more centrally as cultural/aesthetic production."[82] In short, the '20s obsession with technology and efficiency had yielded to hi-tech design and modern leisured lifestyle. And even if the preoccupation with household technology and the prettified homemaker enjoyed surprising resonance in East Germany as well, these images always acted as publicity shots of West German modernity.[83] Thus the '50s home decoration literature did not simply turn its back on the '20s rationalization movement; it also subtly smuggled in the main ideological underpinnings of Wilhelmine domestic culture: the doctrine of separate spheres, the idea of the home as a respite from the industrial grind of the work world, and the image of the happy homemaker bestowing warmth and style on the domicile.[84] As Loehlin put it:

"In her futuristic kitchen the ['50s] housewife was to play the role of a 19th century lady in her salon."[85] The consumer fruits of industrial civilization were no longer treated as an impediment to the development of true "family culture"—they were now its very precondition. (Even the television was originally hailed as an instrument to help bind family together.) So it was not the industrial work principles that were incorporated into the house after the war, only their shiny consumer products. In this strange mixture of old and new in the '50s, West Germans sought to build a new culture of domesticity that straddled family and consumerism, traditional gender relations and modern lifestyle, *Kultur* and *Zivilisation.*

Privacy and Postfascist Aesthetics

But how did design dovetail with the '50s cultural construction of privacy? For many war survivors, the urgent pursuit of privacy was inseparable from the dream of having a home of one's own. By 1945, more than two million German homes had been completely destroyed, and another three million had been badly damaged; more than three million people were homeless. Floods of refugees—more than twelve million people—only exacerbated the crisis and intensified the desire for domestic tranquillity. Loss of life and limb during the war; air raids and the untold destruction of homes, property, and loved ones; the experience of being huddled together in POW camps and displaced-persons centers; the forced migration of many Germans from their homes in Poland, Russia, and Czechoslovakia; and the difficulty of eking out a miserable existence amid the devastation all fueled new fantasies of home and hearth. So powerful was the compulsion to find some privacy after the collapse of the Third Reich that German prisoners of war (to the amazement of U.S. troops guarding them) often scoured the camp for whatever materials they could find to build tiny single-person warrens separating themselves from the others.[86] The period 1945–48 was frequently characterized by the desperate pursuit for some private space amid the crowded rubble, usually in the form of such *Nissenhütten,* or "elf huts."[87] Great value was also placed upon everyday household furniture. As one historian remarked: "Given that the collapse of the Nazi regime also seemingly signaled the end of transcendent values, symbols, and passions, a small square table could now become the very incarnation of happiness."[88]

In this setting, the idea of moving into a real home served as a psychological polestar for countless war survivors.[89] In the words of Hannelore Brünhöber:

> Beyond the destruction of war, the loss of homeland, and the insecurity caused by the collapse of the Third Reich, the new dwelling was the great symbol of a new beginning for many well into the 1960s. Progress and modernity, orientation toward the future, and a break from the past—all of these elements were present in the people's attitude toward their homes, their dreams of "successful living," and the desire to have one's own little house in the country.[90]

Little wonder that the day this dream was finally realized appears as a great milestone in many West German autobiographies, signaling that the war was truly over.[91] It was often described as the final break from the "Nazi system" and the regime's wholesale destruction of people's private lives in the name of "national community" and wartime imperatives. Such sentiments were amply confirmed in Charlotte Beradt's 1966 book, *The Third Reich in Dreams,* in which she analyzed the dreams (really, nightmares) of many German war survivors. Particularly striking was how frequently survivors perceived the Nazi period as a world "without walls," one in which the Nazi police and militia were seemingly everywhere.[92] However one judges the validity of this dream-recalled reality, the feeling of living without privacy was common and extremely acute. In this respect, the '50s "withdrawal into privacy" was a conscious effort on the part of many West Germans to reimpose a strict line between self and society. For many, the penchant toward privacy and the renunciation of politics (let alone the past) were often one and the same.

Over the years the "unpolitical German" of the 1950s has become a stock image of the era. By most accounts, the world of politics and even community receded from view as West Germans devoted their energies to strengthening their intimate circle of family and friends, all the while chasing after the material charms of prosperity. The following reminiscence on '50s life is quite typical:

> I had no idea what democracy meant. Adenauer was a distant figure and the Korean War was so far away. Headlines about atom bomb tests no longer upset me and the Easter marchers [against rearmament] were unknown to me. I didn't want anything to do with politics or the "state"; I wanted—as did many others—to enjoy life, to explore, to be happy, to be sociable, to travel. We had little money, but we had many ideas and were hungry for carefree existence and joy in life.[93]

Here and elsewhere the message was that the demands of public life no longer had any appeal, as one's "libidinal investment" was directed toward individual experiences and private pleasures. While it is true that the '50s held out the possibility of starting afresh in a life now relatively free from the constraints of state and society, many later recollections of '50s life baldly romanticize the past. Not only do they overlook the real social fears and anxieties about the Bomb in that era, they also forget the effects of a slow and fitful economic recovery. And, as the '68ers never tired of pointing out, the '50s were a decade of stifling conformity and fastidious personal decorum. Even if the state did not possess anywhere near the same social power that it did a generation before, churches and other social organizations quickly assumed the role of closely patrolling the borders of the licit and illicit. The decade's obsession with the seemingly hedonistic lifestyles of a "fatherless" youth culture exposed the deep moral anxieties associated with the revival of civil society.[94] For in a period in which overt political allegiance no longer defined proper behavior, personal demeanor and attitude *(Haltung)* acquired heightened social importance.[95] No coincidence that etiquette books went through multiple reprintings in the '50s, or that the all-elusive question of "normality" became a favorite theme of the popular press. In part such issues can be attributed to the renegotiation of social values following the collapse of the Nazi state, now that martial values were being replaced by new civil ones. But it was also a result of a new uncertainty about group identity, especially since the old collective concepts of nation, state, and even class had been badly contaminated by the Third Reich. Cold War compulsions only reinforced the unsuitability of these concepts as political affective narratives of social belonging and self-understanding. Instead, the world of private virtues, personal decorum, and material lifestyle became the real crucible of a new postfascist identity.

Small wonder that the '50s were often described as "neo-Biedermeier" or "motorized Biedermeier." After all, the parallels with the 1820s and 1830s were quite striking. "Biedermeier" had long been used as shorthand to describe the new culture of domesticity that dominated Germany and Austria in the period between the 1815 Congress of Vienna and the 1848 revolutions. In the wake of the French occupation, Biedermeier marked a cultural turn inward away from the grand imperial projects of the past and toward the cultivation of the sphere of intimacy. As such it represented a sharp new demarcation of self and society. As the Swiss sociologist Ernest Zahn noted, the "opposition between the public and

private spheres is European, and it first arrived with Biedermeier."[96] It is wrong, though, to say that Biedermeier was simply a mellow version of Romanticism, since it explicitly shied away from Romanticism's passionate excesses and cult of individuality. Biedermeier was more at home in the world of Sunday walks in the park and music evenings with close friends. But here, as well as in the case of the "neo-Biedermeier" era of the 1950s, the retreat into the private sphere was by no means antisocial. Rather, the home had become the social center of both these periods. Both, for example, witnessed the invention of new domestic objects that bespoke a pronounced social sensibility, be they two-seater sofas and new board games in the 1830s or the proliferation of "party glasses" and "party games" in the 1950s.[97] While the 1950s may have boasted little Schubert-style *Hausmusik,* great premium was placed on reading groups, the playing of recorded music, and social gatherings around the new television. In this way, both periods embraced the comforts and pleasures of modern urban life as well as a desire to keep the outside world at bay, to remake the world on a personal and intimate scale. For many contemporary observers, this '50s impulse to create one's home as a mixture of modern decor and traditional family values was the hallmark of the era. Not for nothing did one journalist suggestively portray this '50s spirit of "ohne mich" apoliticism and modern pleasure-seeking as the dawning of "Neon-Biedermeier."[98]

This "Neon-Biedermeier" was not always greeted as a positive development, however. Many criticized the new inward-turning culture for its dangerously antipolitical ethos. Politicians and intellectuals complained that the '50s cult of domesticity did little to strengthen the fiber of democratic liberalism. One of the most influential critiques was leveled by Ralf Dahrendorf in his 1965 *Society and Democracy in Germany,* in which he took an inventory of West German democratic development and expressed grave concern about its future viability. Not only did he lament that postwar social life was largely dominated by a curious "return to pre-modern structures"—that is, family, regional *Länder,* and the churches—he went on to assail the implications of this new culture of privacy. In a section significantly entitled "Publicness, or the Misery of Pretty Virtues," he remarked that the "predominance of private virtues has proved a notable obstacle to the establishment of liberal institutions." That is, a truly "functioning liberal democracy" must be based upon the citizenry's shared "sense of public life, of the market of men and its rules, which is lacking in those who have fallen in love with private virtues." Thomas Mann's old image of the "unpolitical German" apparently sur-

vived the war intact, despite the first successful transplant of liberal democracy to German soil. For Dahrendorf, this postwar syndrome of political immaturity could not be simply attributed to the mystical "German character"; it was really an outgrowth of the Third Reich. But he did not mean this in the sense that Nazism had destroyed political decision making and liberal politics, but that the Third Reich's assault upon apolitical private virtues effectively guaranteed their postwar renaissance. As he put it, the Nazis assured the long afterlife of apolitical values "by negating the old private virtues, thus providing them after the end of the Reich with a new and wholly undeserved splendor."[99] This was not without its ironies. For if it was true, as Dahrendorf insisted in his conclusion, that the Third Reich had inadvertently brought about the real modernization of German society, it did not do so in the world of politics. Despite the country's astonishing postwar economic and social developments, Dahrendorf painted the Federal Republic as politically underdeveloped and psychologically illiberal—"unmodern men in a modern world."

Not everyone agreed with this interpretation of West German society's rigid separation of public and private. In fact, there were many observers who were more concerned that privacy itself no longer really existed. Both the West German left and right condemned the destructive effects of consumer culture for vitiating the sovereign individual and the private sphere. In an era in which West Germany enjoyed precious little sovereignty in diplomatic, political, or military affairs, the debate about the fate of the autonomous individual in the face of market capitalism assumed wide proportions. A good deal of cultural anxiety surfaced in the '50s discussion about the dangers of "massification" *(Vermassung),* particularly to the extent that "mass culture" was accused of turning the postwar populace into a new "society of loners."[100]

Jürgen Habermas's 1962 *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* was probably the most influential work on this question. At first this might seem strange to those who think of Habermas's classic text as an investigation into the collapse of the public sphere, not the private one. Certainly he devoted great attention to chronicling how the nineteenth-century literary public sphere slowly shriveled up as a site of social debate and political education, and he singled out the forces of consumerism as responsible for ruining the public sphere's social basis and critical political power, having in effect turned the "culture-debating public into a culture-consuming public." Yet Habermas tackled the theme of the "depoliticization" of the private sphere as well:

> Today . . . the latter [the public sphere] has turned into a conduit for social forces channeled into the conjugal family's inner space by way of a public sphere that the mass media have transmogrified into a sphere of culture consumption. The deprivatized province of interiority was hollowed out by the mass media; a pseudo-public sphere of a no longer literary public was patched together to create a sort of superfamilial zone of familiarity.[101]

In Habermas's estimation, then, the decline of the autonomous public sphere was accompanied by the decline of the autonomous private sphere as well. This thesis has far-reaching implications, if for no other reason than that it pointed up the inapplicability of these nineteenth-century cultural concepts for mid-twentieth-century Europe. (How fascism radically reshuffled this liberal model was unfortunately left unremarked in his book.)

Elsewhere Habermas went even further in his critical sociology of modern liberalism. It was not merely that consumer culture had hollowed out the public and private spheres to empty husks of their former selves; they had become strangely inverted. In a 1957 essay for *Magnum* magazine, Habermas sharpened the polemic. On the one hand, he claimed that the public sphere had become increasingly privatized. As evidence he noted that political debate had become confined to experts and professional politicians; that political decision making had been consigned to closed-door parliamentary committee meetings; that political associations and unions were increasingly removed from the public eye; that scientific research had become unmoored from political accountability; and that the mass media had a growing penchant for reducing political debate to personal lifestyle and intimate biographical profiles. On the other hand, the personal had become the political. Examples included the weekly magazines' "human interest stories" and the churches' efforts to stage half-lit atmospheric rituals of "public intimacy," as well as the '50s tendency to reduce political science to opinion polls and market research.[102] To this one could add the politicization of the family and interior space, the churches' intervention into matters of juvenile sexuality and lifestyle, or, for that matter, the full-blown historical arrival of the new "consumer citizen." What Habermas made so plain, however, went beyond saying that the public and private had lost their intrinsic properties. The more radical implication was that the very boundaries between the two were in a peculiar flux after the war.

The same was true for the relationship between subject and object. As noted, there was great breast-beating in the '50s about consumerism's sinister power to undermine subjectivity through standardization and ma-

nipulation, in which "personality" became a shrewd marketing strata-
gem in the hands of postwar merchants and advertising agents. But if
subjects were being turned into market objects, as many contended, the
reverse was also true, as noted in chapter 2. This is the often overlooked
significance of the introduction of self-service stores and the rise of new
commodity packaging in the '50s. Michael Wildt is surely right in inter-
preting these innovations as ushering in a new aestheticization of every-
day life, one in which visual impression replaced tactile sensations as the
basis for commodity judgment.[103] But it also meant that the object now
took on distinctly subjective qualities. The end of the seller's physical me-
diation of the good and the subsequent rise of packaging as advertising
meant that the consumer good now sold itself. As Zahn noted in his *So-
ciology of Prosperity,* the object now "reports in and introduces itself,
speaks for itself and sells itself. Packaging thus lends the object a sub-
jective character."[104] This was of course not completely new: the old idea
of "brand name" products *(Markenartikel),* for example, was an attempt
to impute to commodities a more "human face" and familiar visage in
an otherwise anonymous assortment of market wares.[105] But it was the
mass culture explosion of the product's subjective attributes that distin-
guished the '50s from earlier periods. What is doubly interesting is that
the "good form" design culture had been pursuing the very same goal
for years, but, of course, in a completely different manner. All of the lan-
guage of the object's Geist and spiritual qualities was intended to elevate
the object as something more than simply a commercial ware; the over-
arching ideal was to remake it as a kind of a physical complement to the
autonomous moral *Mensch*. While this anticommercial rhetoric of the
Kulturgut eventually dissolved into a neo-Heideggerian "jargon of au-
thenticity," the market took over these affective metaphysics by rein-
venting the "new personality" of both consumer subject and object. The
strange point is that postwar liberalism—despite its own philosophical
foundation of the sovereign individual and public culture—had effectively
dissolved the distinction between public and private, subject and object.

   The politicization of the private sphere is especially significant. In an
era in which the traditional public sphere generated little emotional ap-
peal and psychological identification, the private sphere tended to fill the
cultural vacuum. Instances of this inversion occurred everywhere during
the '50s, as Habermas noted, and it was particularly notable in attitudes
toward domestic design and the family. No better example existed than
an exhibition sponsored by the American High Command of Germany
and the Marshall Plan's European Recovery Program entitled "We Are

Building a Better Life," which was the American contribution to the 1952 Berlin Industrial Fair. Despite its title, this show was no garden-variety traveling propaganda venue espousing the wonders of the "American way of life." For one thing, it was much broader in scope, designed as it was to reflect nothing less than "the lifestyle of the Atlantic Community," composed of those "free peoples" of Western Europe, Canada, and the United States who "enjoy the heritage of a shared cultural tradition, which in this case is evident in everyday things, household objects, radios, garden tools, and toys." So strong was the family resemblance of occidental cultural forms that the exposition's inclusion of more than six hundred design objects from twelve countries supposedly did not disturb its overall "harmonious, vivid unity." But this was no mere nod to postwar internationalism. As the catalog asserted, this show was a kind of cultural Schuman Plan come true—a utopian vision of a European Common Market based on economic cooperation, increased industrial production, and high standards of living. Modern design rested at the center of this ideal, to the extent that unity and prosperity could be had by "making utilitarian household goods practical, beautiful, and affordable."[106] Thus Danish casserole dishes, Italian lamps, Swiss teapots, West German crockery, and American refrigerators were all on display as part of the dream dwelling of the new "Atlantic Community." What made this exposition even more unique was that actors were hired to play a model family, sitting and relaxing within the West's showcase "ideal home." As shown in figure 51, the fictional family was on hand to help lend this make-believe domicile a lived-in effect for the multitude of onlookers passing above. By making design's brave new world seem more familiar and gemütlich, the show broke from the common display style of trade fairs at the time, and this, no doubt, helped explain why it was the most successful domestic design show of the '50s, attracting "tens of thousands" of visitors per day to its Berlin site before moving on to Stuttgart a few weeks later.[107] In consequence, this tableau vivant of modern living dramatically captured the new cultural logic to picture the designer private sphere as the very emblem of postwar modernity.

More than just privacy turned outward, this also reflected a radical reorganization of aesthetics after the war. Again, this had much to do with the hidden cultural effects of fascism. As noted in the introduction, Walter Benjamin's famous characterization of fascism as the "aestheticization of politics" is particularly germane here in accounting for the strange explosion of aesthetics under the fascists. But what happened after 1945? In West Germany and Italy, the end of the war brought sweeping changes.

Figure 51. We Are Building a Better Life exhibition, Berlin, 1952. Source: Alfons Leitl, "Die Wohn-kultur der westlichen Völker," *Baukunst und Werkform* 4, no. 12 (1952): 39. Courtesy of Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Berlin.

The termination of the fascist era's massive production of nationalist kitsch and "cult of leadership" memorabilia, the rejection of monumentalist architecture, and the demilitarization of industrial design, as well as the demystified cultural representation of postfascist political statesmanship, all testified to the complete break from fascist political aesthetics. The defeat of fascism was thus no ordinary change of government. What had happened was that the first full-blown audiovisual regimes of the industrial age had violently imploded, effectively leaving the new West German and Italian states denuded of any real cultural representation or mass media presence. Not that these new states remained absent from postwar pub-

lic life. The nervous campaign by the regional West German and Italian governments (often in cooperation with the churches) to regulate mass media—notably film, radio, and later television—in the name of postwar propriety and Christian decorum represented a forceful intervention in postfascist cultural affairs.[108] But these initiatives, I would argue, were in large measure fueled by the fact that these fragile liberal polities lacked sufficient cultural legitimacy and positive images with which to combat what was clearly a crisis of cultural representation for postfascist society. The controversy that cast the 1951 West German film *Die Sünderin* (The female sinner) and Italian neo-realist cinema as subversive cultural scourges is a good case in point.[109] It could even be seen in the West German public's skepticism during the '50s about whether the state could supply an adequate cultural language for expressing what many viewed as the honorable elements of the war experience.[110]

Indeed, it was precisely the absence of affirmative binding images of postfascist political community—in a state in which belonging was articulated instead in the form of liberal constitutions—that best marked this rupture with fascist political culture. This entailed the rejection of fascist visual politics and a return to liberalism's penchant for text-based political community and commitment. But the problem of articulating a postfascist community found other expressions as well. An instructive example rested in the difficulty West German historians had in invoking positive shared pasts and futures as a means of explaining the present, not least because their former master plots of social solidarity (nationalism, socialism, National Socialism) were either destroyed by the Nazis or sacrificed to Cold War imperatives.[111] The expressly postnationalist language of the West German Basic Law and the marginalization of older affective tropes of "national history" *(Volksgeschichte)* and "national community" *(Volksgemeinschaft)* as heuristic and political guidance indirectly demonstrated that the nineteenth-century concept of the nation as narration did not survive the war.[112] That (West) German history was rewritten by historians and social scientists after 1945 as the sociology of "special path" *(Sonderweg)* deviance only underscored the extent to which history had been severed from *Heimat*.[113] Thus the postfascist absence of any real visual expression of collective space was accompanied by the lack of any aesthetics of collective time. The cultural rupture from any romantic historical destiny or imagined collective time is tellingly revealed by the conspicuous absence of any West German cult of the dead. In stark contrast to the aftermath of the First World War, there was no rash of public commemorations and memorials honoring the fallen sol-

diers of the second war. Even the official homage to the famed martyred resisters—such as the Scholl siblings and the July 20 conspirators—mainly had the tone of recalling virtuous moments from a safely distant past.[114] Whatever one might say about the scandalous cultural continuities between the 1940s and 1950s, then, the fascist campaign to aestheticize the relationship between people (really, ruler and ruled) was effectively destroyed by the liberalization of West Germany and Italy.

This phenomenon could be seen in a number of ways. One of the most striking was the oft-remarked '50s tendency toward social distancing from one's neighbors. Admittedly, it was scarcely unique to West German society at the time, for it was widely noted in other countries as well.[115] Still, it was especially pronounced in West Germany, as the Nazi era experience of surveillance, denunciation, and betrayal spurred a new distancing from one's neighbors after the war. This led to the collapse of neighborhoods as important social milieus, engendering a new "privatization of collective life" in the '50s.[116] Industrialized forms of leisure only accelerated the process. Cinema, sports, motorbikes, cars, televisions, and holidays abroad all signaled the end of neighborhood-based leisure, interaction, and community.[117] This marked a crucial shift in the sociology of leisure: where Nazi era leisure was explicitly designed to unite and bind, postfascist leisure tended to disperse and separate people from one another. The same went for aesthetics: Nazi era aesthetic spectacles of political communion and community had now given way to a new aestheticization of privacy and individual pastimes. The home and the restored nuclear family served as West Germany's new romanticized sphere of post-Nazi moral and aesthetic idealism. Not only did postwar housing tend to expand the area of the living room as a means of strengthening the social bonds of the family, as discussed above; the home itself became a new positive ideal based on the marriage of the modern family and modern goods. The bountiful modern home was thus a celebration of the postwar economy that made it possible in the first place. And in an era in which the political realm elicited little emotional allegiance, much of this energy was transferred to the economic sphere. As Erica Carter has argued, it is not only that the economy was "libidinally invested with qualities otherwise assigned to the political domain," but that "the absence of a unified nation in postwar West Germany witnessed a transposition of some of the characteristic qualities of nationhood onto the social market economy as discursive formation."[118] The modern home emerged as a favorite area of personal makeover and national renewal.

Design therefore assumed a vital role in mediating a new aesthetics

of postwar prosperity. But it went beyond simply transforming modern art's ideology of individual freedom and postfascist personality into mass-produced commodities. It was also instrumental—together with advertising—in converting the political language of postfascist progress and well-being into explicitly material terms. In so doing it helped produce new social distinctions and stylized consumer subcultures in a country in which the traditional markers of social class were severely disrupted during the war. The fascist aestheticization of politics was therefore seemingly replaced by a postfascist aestheticization of economics. In each era, there was a real explosion of aesthetics in everyday life; but the difference was that after 1945 aesthetics were no longer wedded to the state, the government, the leaders, or politics proper. Karl Pawek, the editor of *Magnum,* rightly remarked that "in the scale of our desires beauty ranks very high. We hardly make anything that we don't want to make beautiful. . . . We live in an Aesthetic Age."[119] Yet the sites of aesthetic idealism had changed. Space all but dropped out as a site of cultural renewal and concern, as the "disastrous mythos of *Lebensraum* had given way to the worship of the standard of living."[120]

However tempting, it is not quite right to say that the postwar aestheticization of economics simply superseded the fascist aestheticization of politics. Such argumentation underestimates the role of design itself in normalizing everyday Nazi life and politics. Design furnished material evidence of new policies and in turn helped cultivate loyalty to the regime by holding out the promise of a better world to come. This is precisely where Detlev Peukert's suggestive comments about the "withdrawal into privacy" on the part of many Germans during the Third Reich are so instructive. He not only challenged long-held, clichéd (and self-serving) ideas about the totalitarian nature of Nazi terror by intimating that the regime inadvertently created pockets of "depoliticized privacy"; he also contended that this "atomization of traditional forms of social integration and modes of behavior" ironically paved the way for the '50s culture of individualism. It was from this "retreat into isolated, depoliticized privacy [that] the dynamism of the postwar 'economic miracle,' with its orientation toward consumerism and efficiency, was to emerge."[121] Beyond tracing these peculiar antecedents of the '50s culture of privacy, Peukert proposes a notion of normality that was intrinsically based on the relationship between people and consumer goods. In Peukert's words: "For most people, the opportunities for integration which in the '30s had been promised but not always delivered were now realized. *Volkswagen, Volkseigenheim, Volksempfänger*—a car, a home, and

a radio (and later television) set of one's own—these symbols shed the ideological overtones of the Nazi era. After many detours, the normality they stood for had been attained."[122] As such, these highly desired design goods were instrumental in "normalizing" the world in both eras and in turn helped bind self and society in new and powerful ways.

On this score, design successfully brokered an abiding iconography of normality and prosperity both during and after the war. The conversion of modern design objects and the sphere of intimacy into cherished political capital thus did not end in 1945. Nor was it limited to West Germany. In the GDR, as in the Federal Republic, the picture of the modern (here socialist) family relaxing together amid the latest design goods and consumer technology became a mass-produced symbol of normality, security, and happiness. Likewise, the 1950s ideals of East German home life—despite Party rhetoric about the full equality of the sexes—suggested that the myth of the "new woman in socialism" was based to a large degree upon old bourgeois assumptions of proper female behavior and duties.[123] Karl Bednarik only half-jokingly remarked that "consumerism is the new specter haunting Europe" whose "revolution is one of cooking pans, 'living culture,' and leisure activities."[124] The politicization of design was, then, equally present among liberal, fascist, and socialist regimes in the 1940s and 1950s.[125] Nonetheless, it was most pronounced in liberal countries that had divorced state and aesthetics, and nowhere was this more true than West Germany, where a fragile state and the absence of any real affective language of secular solidarity (Habermas's "constitutional patriotism" *[Verfassungspatriotismus]* notwithstanding) meant that political loyalty was made in the marketplace. The newfound meaning of postwar design, interior decoration, and "lifestyle" was thus inseparable from this more general West German reorganization of aesthetics as a new cultural expression of Cold War liberalism. The West German image of the ideal housewife surrounded by modern goods was in many ways the successor to the emblem of the "rubble women" of a few years before. Both were raised as symbols of the nation at a time in which the traditional iconography of state and society had collapsed. Over time, the hardware of the Federal Republic's bountiful consumer culture provided the common indices of West German modernity. Design reflected and gave form to this transformation. So even if West Germans ultimately transferred their dreams of a prosperous future from the political to the economic sphere after 1945, their hopes and loyalties still remained products of industrial aesthetics.

Memory and Materialism

The Return of History as Design

In a 1984 interview Tomás Maldonado offered the following reflections about the Ulm Institute's evangelical attitude:

> One must admit, however, that the propensity to assume the role and above all the rhetoric of the preacher was present in many of us. In short, the propensity to pontificate more than was necessary. Perhaps it was a result of the fact that we believed vehemently in the ideas we supported. An attitude which, one must underline, is currently on the road to extinction. And this led us to believe, in good faith, that we were the bearers of messages of salvation. . . . We lived and worked on a hill, in relative isolation, and it was difficult to avoid the Zarathustrian temptation to send warnings, exhortations, and pronouncements from upon high to the people below. This is the reason we sometimes seemed solemn in Ulm. We were never spiteful, however. Sometimes our ideas were fearless, never bizarre.[1]

Here Ulm's most prominent missionary sought to justify what postmodern critics have described as the school's exaggerated moral idealism and cultural elitism. Maldonado wished to remind his readers that the school's "Zarathustrian pronouncements" did not spring from elitism as such, but from the deeper conviction that industrial design was inextricably linked to radical social change and political engagement. Whatever one might say about the validity of Ulm's "messages of salvation," the interview indirectly underscored just how much the one-time marriage of moralism and design had become a thing of the past.

Not that the Ulm project was forgotten by German design. A good part of what subsequently passed (and still passes) as West German modern design is greatly indebted to the institute's conceptual approach and

design breakthroughs. The global influence of corporate design styles of Braun and Lufthansa, to name two, are plainly Ulm success stories. The eruption of monographs on the Ulm Institute and its leading figures during the early 1980s underlined its continued relevance as well. Still, it is hard to deny that the driving spirit of modern German design effectively ended with the institute's closure in 1968. For Ulm remains Germany's last real contribution to international design. The 1970s and 1980s witnessed the rise of Japanese and Italian design as new global trendsetters in product design, while West German design advanced little beyond '60s neofunctionalism. Little wonder that the Ulm Institute is often characterized as the last link to the "heroic age" of German Modernism and its once-powerful Werkbund-Bauhaus vision of design as social engineering.

So what went awry? The final days at Ulm neatly epitomized the more general decline of this West German high design culture. By 1967 the institute found itself in deep financial crisis. Mounting criticism of the school's activities brought a change of heart in Bonn, and the government decided to withdraw its DM 200,000 annual support. It justified its action on the grounds that financing of culture and education (as expressly stipulated in the West German Basic Law) must be relegated to the regional governments. Baden-Württemberg's regional government was already disgruntled over the disproportionately high cost of educating Ulm students in comparison to state-run engineering schools, and this new additional burden provoked only further ire from conservative quarters. Needless to say, the increasing radicalization of the Ulm faculty and the general shift from product design toward an ill-defined systems analysis hardly endeared the school to government representatives and common taxpayers. By the end of 1967 the regional parliament announced that any future backing of the institute would depend on integrating the embattled design school into either Ulm's engineering school or Stuttgart's city university. The announcement galvanized school resistance. Students drafted petitions, teachers organized "teach-ins," and journalists defended the school's project as a worthwhile experiment within an otherwise traditional West German school system. Negotiations stalled and both sides dug in. In March 1968 the Ulm teachers and students voted to reject the state's proposed merger. The regional government remained unmoved, and many now sensed that the end was near. As a last gesture of autonomy, the school solemnly chose to dissolve itself in defiance of state annexation. With that the celebrated Ulm project was officially over.

The school closure ended on a note of supreme irony. At the height

of the May 1968 student protests in West Berlin, Frankfurt, and across Europe, the city of Stuttgart opened a massive retrospective commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of the original Weimar Bauhaus. This Fifty Years Bauhaus exhibition, which attracted over seventy-five thousand visitors, served as the crowning event in the West German lionization of the Bauhaus and Gropius as the "spiritual shock troops of a humanist idea."[2] Several cultural ministers were on hand to pay tribute to the Bauhaus as a cherished symbol of (West) German cultural liberalism and international modernism.[3] Yet the grand spectacle was rudely interrupted by a vocal group of Ulm students who hoped to use the opportunity to draw attention to the ugly coincidence of celebrating one Bauhaus while liquidating another. They organized a large protest at the exhibition's opening in order to dramatize the historical parallel between the Ulm termination in 1968 and the Bauhaus closure in 1933.[4] Disorder reigned outside the exhibition hall when suddenly everything stopped. None other than Gropius himself, who was on hand for the opening festivities, seized a megaphone and addressed the agitated students. The fate of the Ulm Institute was now captured in an unforgettable image: on one side stood the wizened, world-famous founder of the Bauhaus; on the other were the radicalized students of a just-terminated Bauhaus offspring. The contradictory strains inherent in the Bauhaus legacy stood face to face. While expressing polite support for the Ulm cause, Gropius ended up urging the students not to mix in politics on the grounds that a design school "is no place for political confrontations."[5] He neither linked the closure of the Ulm school with the Bauhaus's 1933 debacle nor claimed the Ulm project as part of the larger Bauhaus epic. The old master did not recognize these students as his spiritual children. Although the school had actually closed some two months before, this event marked the true end of the Ulm experiment. Its highly influential design journal ceased publication, and its teachers and students simply dispersed, putting an unceremonious finish to what many consider the last great design school of the Western world.

The making over of the German Design Council told a similar tale. By the mid-1960s it found itself in an increasingly precarious position. Thanks to the ongoing popularization of industrial design, the remarkable success of West Germany's design firms, and the growing regionalization of West Germany's economy, more and more observers felt that the Design Council was no longer necessary.[6] Virtually abandoned by Bonn, the council was being stalked by the BDI, and in 1965 the BDI offered the government a deal: it would subsidize the council in exchange

for more internal administrative control.[7] No longer interested in funding the Design Council, the Federal Ministry of Economics assented to the BDI's overture.[8] The bargain met with great protest from the council's Werkbund cohort, who argued that these "undemocratic" changes undermined the council's precious institutional autonomy by converting it into an "instrument of industrial interests."[9] This time, however, the Werkbund vision lost out. The moral idealism that had once informed the council had now been replaced by a new understanding of design as "a decisive factor of economic development and national prestige."[10] In response Mia Seeger quit as the council's longtime general secretary. Soon thereafter the council's entire Werkbund constituency collectively resigned. At one stroke the Werkbund's original dream of establishing the Design Council as a morally committed liaison between industry and culture had effectively came to a close.

The Werkbund was also suffering from a crisis of confidence within its own ranks. So entrenched had the Werkbund's isolated cultural politics become that some of the more radical members began criticizing the new Werkbund as a do-nothing "senior citizens club" living off its noble Wilhelmine past like "tired aristocrats from their family trees."[11] In 1963 the longtime Werkbund president Hans Schwippert resigned and was replaced by the SPD politician Adolf Arndt. The Werkbund mission now took on a decidedly different tone. The moralizing language about design as cultural reform gave way to renewed discussion about the problem of aesthetics itself. Functionalism—and its consequences—came under sustained scrutiny. Illustrative of this was the Werkbund's 1965 Frankfurt conference, Education through Design, whose keynote speakers were none other than the great Weimar luminaries Ernst Bloch and Theodor Adorno. Bloch, who had written about the importance of functionalism back in the '20s in various sections of his *The Spirit of Utopia,* took up the problem afresh in a paper entitled "Formative Education, Engineering Form, Ornament." In it he recapitulated the historical force of functionalism in breaking from the "counterfeit enterprise" of late-nineteenth-century historicist decor, praising the Werkbund-Bauhaus movement for its radical purity and honesty. Then his paper took a turn. In particular he posed two questions that would increasingly haunt the Werkbund. First, hasn't the "ornament-free honesty of pure functionalism" itself been "transformed into a fig leaf that conceals the not so great honesty of [social] conditions behind it?" Certainly this was true of the Nazi exploitation of functional design; but as Bloch suggested, it could just as easily be applied to postwar realities as well. (Whether he was alluding

to conditions in the West or East was left studiously vague.) His second question followed from the first: Is it not true that such functionalist architecture and design, far from emancipating people from the "dishonesty" of their surrounding urban environs, have actually "transformed our cities into a dangerous nightmare?" To Bloch, the original mission of functionalism had unwittingly been turned on its head: "man has remained—or more accurately has become—at best peripheral to the measure of things."[12] Functionalism was no longer the cultural remedy against alienation, but rather had become a constitutive expression of it.

Adorno went further. He too began by complementing the Werkbund for its "emphasis upon concrete competence, as opposed to an aesthetics removed and isolated from material questions," and was quite sympathetic to its functionalist crusade. As he put it:

> The useful object [within functionalist philosophy] is the highest achievement, an anthropomorphized "thing," the reconciliation with objects which are no longer closed off from humanity and which no longer suffer humiliation at the hands of men. . . . It provides a pleasant refuge from true development, and allows a vision of useful things that have lost their coldness. Mankind would no longer suffer from the "thingly" character of the world, and likewise "things" would come into their own. Once redeemed from their "thingliness" *[Sachlichkeit]* "things" would find their purpose.

In Adorno's eyes, Sachlichkeit thus held out the promise of fulfilling the old dream of German Idealism—the reconciliation of subject and object. But like Bloch, Adorno was all too aware that this romantic notion had not come to pass. In part this was because functionalism—the original anti-aesthetic—had simply become just another saleable style. It had been contaminated by the profit motive, reducing the object's functionality to nothing but an "austere look" prized by a select consumer clientele: "What was functional yesterday can therefore become the opposite tomorrow." But more was at stake. The deeper problem lay in the cultural definition of the useful. In this regard, functionalism was a good example of what he and Horkheimer famously termed the "dialectic of Enlightenment": the rationality that promised to liberate and comfort was the very same force that controlled and destroyed. What was designated as useless by regimes of scientific rationality (unwanted traditions, modes of knowledge, and eventually whole groups of undesired people) was condemned to perish. "The merely useful, however, is interwoven with relationships of guilt, the means to the devastation of the world, a hopelessness which denies all but deceptive consolations to mankind."[13] The dark side of functional utility was that it was the very cultural expres-

sion of industrial rationality's "will to power" and ideology of domination. Whether or not one agrees with Bloch and Adorno, clearly the legacy of functionalism was coming under increasing fire.

The crises of these leading West German design institutions mirrored the larger crisis of "good form" design in the 1960s. In each case the dream of radical reconstruction eventually evaporated under the hot sun of the postwar "economic miracle." The ethical imperative to produce and consume long-lasting functional goods found little place in the post-war *Konsumwelle* and economy of overproduction. The moral basis of "good form"—utility, durability, and need-based consumption—was unable to keep pace with the ongoing stylization of everyday life as post-fascist cultural medicine. Nonetheless it is too great a simplification to argue that West German consumer culture simply crushed this postwar design idealism. As suggested in chapters 2 and 4, much of the problem stemmed from the crisis of functionalism itself. For one thing, its aesthetics of renunciation were too closely associated with wartime rationing and/or finger-wagging moralism. The explosive popularity of Nierentisch design illustrated the degree to which functionalism was commonly viewed as less a break from a troubled past than an unwanted extension of it. Equally as important was that its political vision was rendered irrelevant by economic recovery. Not only had functionalism's originary moral-economic basis of material scarcity and anti-aestheticism evaporated by the mid-1950s, so too had its guiding ethos of collective sacrifice and deferred gratification. Increased prosperity had inadvertently transformed functionalism into a design program based less on need than ideology.[14] The Cold War recasting of designer functionalism as precious diplomatic capital and cultural symbolism clearly pointed up its non-material dimensions.

By the late 1960s West Germany's "good form" design culture was under attack from all quarters. High design publicists were condemned by the right as a band of tiresome moralizers who obstructed "natural" market relations, and then by the left for having abandoned their independence and moral integrity. (Some New Left critics even sneered that many of these supposedly functionalist objects never really functioned very well in the first place.)[15] Wolfgang Haug's widely read 1971 *Critique of Commodity Aesthetics* was the most trenchant of all. In it he extended Horkheimer and Adorno's famous critique of the so-called culture industry to the world of commodity aesthetics, with the aim of unmasking the self-serving role of design under capitalism. For Haug, there was no natural affinity between "good design" and cultural re-

generation; on the contrary, design, advertising, and product packaging were described as the "Red Cross of capitalism" in spurring sales and whetting consumer desires.[16] Haug thus saw no difference between "form-giving" *(Formgebung)* and commodity styling, or between West Germany's "good form" design culture and American commercial design. In his view, all industrial design was gathered under the broad-brimmed rubric of "capitalist manipulation." His text was plainly indebted to the more general 1968 critique of West German industrial culture, one that signaled the collapse of the long-standing German dream of a future technological utopia. In response to what they perceived as the cultural debits of a postwar society founded on repressed memories, consumerism, and alienation, many "68ers" strove to articulate a new postwar language of collectivity (in this case, generation) based on political engagement and postindustrial moral community. As one recent article about West German memories of '68 put it, "Violence in '68 was not directed against people, only things."[17] No coincidence that design was singled out as a target of reform. Its most dramatic expression probably came during the 1968 Milan Triennale, when this premier postwar venue of international design was occupied by students under the slogan "Make Love not Design." Not only did they openly challenge the postwar institutionalization of art and design as a symbol of the so-called Establishment's undemocratic "taste culture," these students also sought to blunt design's supposedly corrosive effect on genuine social interaction and community formation.[18] Not without cause was the "Opas Werkbund" pronounced dead that same year.[19]

It was in this context that environmental issues gained widespread attention. Here, it is worth noting, the Werkbund played a forgotten role. The 1959 Werkbund conference in Marl on The Great Land Destruction marked a significant turning point and in many ways anticipated the West German environmental movement of a decade later.[20] Hans Schwippert summed up the change of tack at the opening of the 1959 conference: "For fifty years we have produced *cum grano salis* drinking glasses of fine quality, and we continue along this path today with great determination. Yet two things have happened: first, with our hands on our heart, we have forgotten how to enjoy them; second, the wine has become increasingly worse in the meantime and the water no longer potable. What should we do with these meticulously crafted glasses?"[21] By the 1970s interest in environmental design and "green politics" had come to the fore.[22] Together with more general cultural critiques of industrialization came the do-it-yourself design movement, recycling design (e.g., the Des-

In group), and the 1969 founding of the more socially oriented Internationales Design Zentrum in Berlin. A few old heroes of postwar design now atoned for previous sins. Maldonado, for example, changed his spots in his 1970 book, *Design, Nature, and Revolution: Towards a Critical Ecology.* Some of the old flagships of "good form" design changed tack too. The small Institute of Environmental Studies was founded in 1971 as the successor to the Ulm Institute, and the Werkbund was retooled as a new publicity organ devoted to addressing the social and environmental effects of design within industrial society.[23]

By the early 1980s West Germany's design culture had splintered into three discernible camps. The first was composed of adherents to this "green design" project, whose energies were directed toward local recycling design and the production of environmentally friendly wares. The second was ex-Ulmer modernists and other neofunctionalists, who claimed that their noncommercial design philosophy still represented the last best hope of German design modernism. To broaden its appeal, this group worked to reconfigure functionalism as a "green aesthetic" on the grounds that its long-lasting products served as a needed tonic against throw-away consumer culture. The third group consisted of new West German postmodernist designers and collectors, who wished to break away from such earnest discussions and minimalist forms in order to celebrate design frivolity, color, and decorative amusement. Much of the 1980s were characterized by the noisy clash between West German modernists and postmodernists over both the past and future of West German industrial design.[24] But if the 1980s remained a tug-of-war between ex-Ulm modernists and West Berlin postmodernists, the end of the Cold War shifted the balance of power in favor of the modernist camp. This was in part because West Germany's official design institutions devoted considerable attention from the early '80s onward to defusing the postmodernist challenge by shoring up the continued legitimacy of functionalism as the mainstay of (West) German design history.[25] The 1980s elevation of many ex-Ulm teachers and students as university design teachers and design historians helped further secure its cultural authority. Economics too played a role. After 1989 the newly united German government wasted little time in identifying the legacy of neofunctionalism as vital in maintaining existing export markets in a period of economic recession. Even East German industrial design was reconstructed according to this functionalist aesthetic.[26] Given that those countries importing German industrial products tend to equate functionalism with German design, the German Design Council was enlisted to help strengthen that linkage.[27]

Historiography has generally followed suit, often describing Germany as the undisputed "nation of functionalism."[28] In this fashion, new economic and ideological motivations have come together to assure the centrality of Bauhaus-Ulm modernism as Germany's main design face in the aftermath of Reunification.

If design has played a key role in 1980s and 1990s cultural politics, it has also done the same in the sphere of popular memory—and not just in West Germany. Design and everyday objects have been at the center of East Germans' "Ostalgie" for the old GDR through the 1990s and beyond.[29] Important parallels existed in West Germany, especially in the decade before the dismantling of the Wall. The late 1970s and early 1980s witnessed a new pop culture love affair with the "Golden '50s" that was closely tied to *Tendenzwende* (conservative political turn) revisionism about West German national memory and identity. Everywhere were new exhibitions and publicized memoirs, magazine feature articles and television programs, social histories and fashion fairs about the decade. Crooners from the era were back on tour, movie houses boasted '50s retrospectives, old ads and television shows were rebroadcast, period furniture and clothing knock-offs were reproduced and sold in department stores, retro design boutiques popped up across the country, while collectors and purveyors of yesteryear's detritus enjoyed their finest hour. The '50s were "in" and seemingly ubiquitous. It was popular enough to warrant a twenty-four-page 1978 cover story of *Der Spiegel,* West Germany's leading weekly news magazine. And it possessed enough staying power to be the subject of two additional articles in the same magazine six years later; in fact, one of the 1984 features was subtitled "The New Cult of the '50s."[30] That such nostalgia was criticized as "false" and "mythic" could by no means check it. Indeed, it was the very mythmaking about the past that was the main point: it counted as the country's first popular effort to conjoin history and happiness.

To be sure, this romance with the "nifty fifties" was common in Western Europe, Britain, and America at the time. Across the Western countries there was renewed interest in the cultural forms and accomplishments of the first postwar decade of peace and plenty. For this reason, this West German nostalgia is usually regarded as the cultural equivalent of Reagan era mythology about the good old days of Eisenhower America, particularly in the manner that Reagan and Helmut Kohl both invoked the political stability, can-do spirit, and moral order of the '50s as their political polestar. West Germany's economic recession during the early 1980s only fueled retrospective glances toward an innocent and ide-

alized past.[31] Often this nostalgia has been casually dismissed as nothing but the natural expression of graying baby boomers, many of whom now waxed sentimental about their "rubble adolescence" and hothouse upbringings. Their histories, as detractors scoffed, were thus less serious historiography than wistful autobiography. Still others insisted that such nostalgia could not be taken at face value for the simple reason that it had first emerged as a swap-meet phenomenon. It was thus seen not as "authentic" nostalgia, but as a tawdry market ruse to empty attics full of dusty souvenirs of the not-so-distant past, thereby converting "history and culture into flea market trinkets."[32]

But to discard this new love affair with the '50s as merely flea market economics is far too cavalier. For if nothing else, West German nostalgia was distinctive in the way it reclaimed the 1950s as affirmative national history. At first glance this may seem axiomatic and even quite natural, given the Federal Republic's stellar postwar political record and economic comeback. Yet it is worth recalling that the foundation myth of West German society was that it had been completely cleansed of all nationalist passion and pathos. No matter how much its origins may have been commercial, it was undeniable that the emotional floodgates about the past were suddenly opened. Out came a rush of testimonies about the '50s that patently mixed memory and desire. While some argued that the decade was "the last unified epoch in which (almost) everyone strove for the same goals," others claimed that the '50s was a time in which "life could be enjoyed a little again" since it built a "harmonious, sacred world" based on "being nice to one another" and "simple domestic bliss."[33] Another writer, in an article published in a top-selling pop culture magazine, expressed this new sensibility toward the past thus: "The 50s demanded a great deal from us, and precisely for that reason was it so beautiful. . . . Never were Germans so in sync *[einverstanden]* with their country as at that time. Never since has there been such a feeling of homeland *[Heimatsgefühl]*. . . . Life in this epoch was clearer, simpler, and in large measure more sensible."[34] As evidenced here, this pop culture nostalgia went far beyond buying and selling old '50s artifacts; for together with this retro revival went a new tendency to remake early postwar experience and history as collective objects of desire.

Implicit in these accounts was a certain reappraisal of the early "Bonn Republic." Until the late 1970s the prevalent view of the 1950s was one dominated by the conservative mantras of privacy and propriety, where the postwar era's original promise of radical renewal soon gave way to a less than brave new world built upon security, conformity, and repressed

memories. With time such unflattering portraits of the "Adenauer Restoration" were the stock in trade of the West German New Left. Not that the right was altogether enthusiastic about the wonders of postwar life and culture either. While many conservatives may not have subscribed to damning descriptions of the era as "motorized Biedermeier," they too voiced great misgivings about what they saw as the epoch's heedless consumer materialism, its lack of both *Kultur* and morality. All of this changed during the late 1970s and early 1980s, as the 1950s underwent a remarkable reversal from a contemptible source of laughter and derision to a beloved symbol of renewal and accomplishment. In fact, many of these new sentimental reflections about the 1950s amounted to quite blatant "Wir sind wieder wer" (We are somebody again) celebratory narratives. To be sure, there were popular expressions of similar pride before, such as the outpouring accompanying West Germany's 1954 World Cup soccer championship. But what distinguished this 1980s nostalgia was that it venerated the past along with the present.

This conversion of history into new national myth was perhaps best measured by its omissions. In many of these '80s recollections, the era's refugee problems, widespread domestic violence, soaring divorce rates, protests against rearmament, and A-bomb anxiety were all but consigned to the margins.[35] So too were the persistent material misery and social insecurity coloring real 1950s life. Feminist historians were the first to challenge these 1980s fables of the reconstruction, showing that women in particular rarely experienced Adenauer's Germany as a resplendent golden age of renewed affluence and leisure. Rather than "zero hour" liberation, most women remembered the postwar period as predominantly one of long work hours and unstable employment, incessant domestic crises, and personal dissatisfaction.[36] Many ex-'68ers in turn tended to emphasize the suffocating atmosphere of conformity and sexual repression of '50s social life.[37] Others too were quick to point out that the so-called economic miracle was largely built on the backs of foreign "guest workers" whose experiences were hardly without suffering and hardship.[38] Yet such critical revisions of the real 1950s were drowned out amid the flood of feel-good accounts about the period. Even those factors that framed older postwar histories, such as Cold War politics, superpower dependence, and the once-ubiquitous "Americanization" of West German culture and society, were noticeably downplayed. 1950s West Germany, long viewed as the forlorn object of history, now returned as its rejuvenated subject.

If these 1980s memories passed over many of the unpleasant aspects

of the '50s life, then what was remembered? However varied the accounts, one element common to almost all of them was the centrality of consumer goods. Consider one typical 1980s recollection about the "Golden '50s":

> Is it at all possible to describe the feeling of the period? . . . I am not so sure, but one thing is certain: the day of the currency reform brought a new feeling for life, a new faith in the future, a new beginning. I was just thirty years old. Until then I had led an improvised and chaotic existence. I was waiting for stability, security. . . . Now our shopping streets slowly regained their modish flair. Until then we had to go around in outdated old clothes. . . . Then suddenly arrived the super-comfortable nylon shirts and blouses, stockings and socks, Trevira skirts, small chic hats, and—how beautiful!—embroidered white gloves! And then the plastic shoulder bags: everywhere the magic word was "plastic." . . . I was decked out with Bauhaus and WK-furniture. Rough-weave tapestries and String bookshelves— with these began the new lifestyle. . . . On the wall I hung prints from Nolde, van Gogh and Klee.[39]

What makes this passage so distinctive is the extent to which the "feeling of the period" was so closely connected with name-brand designer goods. On one level, it neatly accorded with the principal findings from several '80s oral history projects on the 1940s and 1950s, which revealed that the 1948 currency reform—not the cease-fire of 1945 or the 1949 creation of the Basic Law—represented the real end of the Second World War and the return of "normality" for most West Germans.[40] But it is wrong to argue, as many have, that the break with the past was solely measured by a feverish and indiscriminate "will to consume." As the quoted passage reveals, style mattered. In the 1950s Bauhaus furniture, abstract art, and modern housewares were endlessly praised in West German public life as the very emblems of post-Nazi culture and "up-to-date" lifestyle. Invariably they were lauded as the visual complements to the postwar rehabilitation of jazz, modern literature, and those cultural wares that just a few years before had been vociferously condemned as "degenerate" art and culture. Judging from these 1980s reminiscences, it seems to have worked. Over and over again these things were singled out as valuable symbolic capital by an aspiring West German middle class (and business elite) intent on distancing themselves from both the fascist past and the petit bourgeois present. In this they served as memoried markers of social distinction and successful cultural "re-education." The above passage is thus a typical 1980s remembrance in accentuating the conspicuous consumption of modern design objects as a narrative peg of West German social memory.

But these new cultural histories were not limited to Bauhaus and Braun. What is so compelling is that many of them focused on different design objects altogether—rather than boxy Bauhaus design or International Style cutlery and furniture, the spotlight fell on more commonplace relics that had never made it into the epoch's high-profile design venues. Cheap domestic housewares found in many West German homes from the period often occupied center stage in '80s memoirs, exhibitions, and nostalgia boutiques. It was, in fact, the world of Nierentisch that summoned such fond memories. The cumulative effect of these pop culture accounts was to challenge the presumed popularity of Bauhaus modernism, suggesting instead that the true style of the era was more accurately understood as a West German dialect of "Organic Modern" and "neo-Jugenstil." Such belated celebration offered a serious reevaluation of the Federal Republic's early popular culture. That two observers insisted on dubbing the decade the "Fuffziger Jahre," a time that was patently not *"hochdeutsch, sondern umgangssprachlich"* (not formal German, but colloquial), summed up this broader desire to rehabilitate those pop culture forms and habits long banished from the standard academic representations of the epoch.[41]

Equally telling was that this 1950s nostalgia was often chronicled as first-person accounts of material acquisition. Admittedly, the popular vogue of autobiography as a means of connecting past and present was one of the signature features of late 1970s and early 1980s West German culture.[42] A new cottage industry of oral histories published at this time also foregrounded ordinary individual life stories as a new source of historical inquiry. The striking thing about such '80s retrospectives (as in the passage cited above) was that they almost invariably featured detailed personal reminiscences about the excitement and gravity of purchasing new consumer goods. Many of them naturally went beyond recollections of acquiring Braun phonographs or Nierentisch tables to include other major consumer items, such as washing machines, televisions, and later automobiles. But whatever the specific material markers in these narratives, the point is that these 1980s pop memories were largely based upon self-styled stories of consumer gain and social arrival.[43]

This was significant in a number of respects. First of all, this narrative style reflected a radical departure from conventional 1970s West German cultural history about the '50s. Whereas 1970s histories were predominantly written as Frankfurt School–inspired structural sociology and mass culture critique, the 1980s design literature featured a more per-

sonalized narrative form. More than simply climbing down the social ladder to embrace West Germany's marginalized material culture, these new cultural histories marked a fundamental shift in West Germany's self-identity. Second, they were overwhelmingly affirmative. Unlike most West German academic commentary through the 1970s, these new romances of the 1950s never subscribed to the idea that everyday West German culture was woefully deficient and/or a spin-off of American "cultural imperialism." There was little antipathy toward "industrial civilization," or any longing for preindustrial idylls and uncorrupted autonomous cultural spheres. These narratives assumed and accepted the full industrialization of (West) German life and culture. That the 1980s renegotiation of West German identity centered on repossessing the very products of the long-denigrated "culture industry"—interior and industrial design, film, radio, television, fashion, advertising, tourism, and pop music—perfectly illustrated just how much mass-produced consumer goods now linked postwar experience and memory.[44] The emotional presence of these everyday objects as narrative signposts went beyond successful advertising. It represented a real reconfiguration of self and society in the 1950s, whereby economics—not politics—functioned as the font of West German identity and identification.[45] Economics, as this '80s nostalgia showed, had become culture.

At stake, however, is more than how the "economic miracle" successfully remade West German popular memory. What these highly personal recollections of 1950s material life revealed was that West German consumerism did not destroy cultural memory as such, but rather a certain pre-1945 species of it. To explain this process as the result of the 1950s "atomization" of German history does not go far enough, however. The deeper issue is that the postwar period witnessed a radical shift in the construction of identity from one of racist mission and collective sacrifice to that of individual choice and material well-being. As testified in these recollections, the grand master narratives of common purpose and imagined community (e.g., nationalism, socialism, or for that matter National Socialism) had been supplanted by countless autobiographies of material satisfaction. The '80s reworking of the '50s thereby signaled the degree to which West German memory had moved beyond Nietzsche's famous comment from *On the Genealogy of Morals* that "Man could never do without blood, torture, and sacrifices when he felt the need to create a memory for himself."[46] In the '50s, social memory was no longer bound to violence and pain and renunciation. With it the long-standing German political ethic of deferred gratification (i.e., so-

cialism or fascism) seemingly evaporated with the historical end of the sacrificing "community of fate." Time horizons shrank too, as the historical pathos of a collective German past and future had collapsed into the material demands and pleasures of the immediate present.[47] Once this '50s preoccupation with the present became the past, once it became the subject of rosy reminiscence a generation later, it did so in a quite fitting manner. What made this West German nostalgia so unique was that it openly betrayed nostalgia's etymological origins: it was born not of pain and exile, but of gratitude and a new pride in having built a decent post-Nazi homeland. In this sense, this longing for the "Golden '50s" had helped liberate the past from the difficult burden of pain, suffering, and guilt.

This romanticization of the West German past was further intensified after 1989. One of the most striking effects of German Reunification has been that narratives of pain and privation have largely become the exclusive domain of the East. The understandable reluctance of East and West German intellectuals and cultural figures alike to forge a new affective language of German-German solidarity has effectively perpetuated the Cold War antinomy of the free and affluent West versus the oppressed and penniless East.[48] Given the onerous Solidarity Tax demanded of West Germans to help "modernize" the ex-GDR, there has been not a little West German nostalgia for the Bonn Republic's stable democracy, pluralism, and material affluence.[49] An unfortunate effect of this post-1989 memory-work has been to block off any antimaterialist West German cultural histories. That is, reducing West German history to a telos of economic prosperity has discouraged accounts of how its own material culture played host to great postwar struggle and conflict. This study of West Germany's high design culture has been written in part to help revise the on-going "materialization" of West German history in recent books and exhibitions. As I have tried to show, this design culture sought to infuse West German industrial culture with a nonmaterialist vision of social reform and even moral responsibility, one that went well beyond what Mitscherlich called the "the metapsychology of comfort."[50]

While efforts by the Werkbund and the Design Council to reinvent the design object as a humanist "culture good" may have differed from the Ulm Institute's view of design as social engineering, they all shared a common desire to ennoble the everyday object as something more than commercial ware. And in light of the accrued economic and political importance of commodity aesthetics, design unavoidably touched on deeper questions about the very form and meaning of post-Nazi liberal culture.

In this way, the postwar design crusade marked West Germany's last stand of reconstruction utopianism, and perhaps even the swan song of German Idealism's old dream to overcome the hardened antinomies of subject and object, *Kultur* and *Zivilisation*. More than just another installment in the historical intersection of modernist aesthetics and politics, the rise and fall of this West German "good form" culture offers a rich case study of how West German difference was imagined and crafted in the hothouse cultural conditions of the Cold War.

Notes

Unless otherwise indicated, all translations from German sources are my own. The following abbreviations are used in the notes:

BAB   Bundesarchiv, Potsdam (now Berlin)

BAK   Bundesarchiv, Koblenz

DWB   Deutscher Werkbund

HfG   Hochschule für Gestaltung (Ulm Institute for Design)

RfF   Rat für Formgebung (German Design Council), Frankfurt am Main

SAU   Stadtarchiv, Ulm

WBA   Werkbund-Archiv, Berlin

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1. German Design Council Annual Report 1978/79, 11, RfF.

2. Recent exceptions include Rudy Koshar, *German Travel Cultures* (Oxford, 2000); Arne Andersen, *Der Traum vom guten Leben: Alltags- und Konsumgeschichte vom Wirtschaftswunder bis heute* (Frankfurt, 1997); Wolfgang Sachs, *For the Love of the Automobile: Looking Back into the History of Our Desires* (Berkeley, 1992); and Rainer Gries, Volker Ilgen, and Dirk Schindelbeck, *Gestylte Geschichte: Vom alltäglichen Umgang mit Geschichtsbildern* (Muenster, 1989).

3. Gert Selle, *Design-Geschichte in Deutschland* (Cologne, 1987; orig. pub. 1978); Paul Maenz, *Die 50er Jahre: Formen eines Jahrzehnts* (Cologne, 1984); Albrecht Bangert, *Der Stil der 50er Jahre* (Munich, 1983); and Christian Borngräber, *Stil Novo: Design in der Fünfziger Jahre* (Berlin, 1978).

4. The pivotal place of architecture in German debates about cultural identity during the Weimar Republic and Third Reich is neatly treated in Barbara

Miller Lane, *Architecture and Politics in Germany, 1918–1945* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968).

5. See Walter Hixson, *Parting the Curtain: Propaganda, Culture, and the Cold War, 1945–1961* (New York, 1997), 151–83; and Karal Ann Marling, *As Seen on TV: The Visual Culture of Everyday Life in the 1950s* (Cambridge, Mass., 1994), 243–83.

6. Margret Tränkle, "Neue Wohnhorizonte: Wohnalltag und Haushalt seit 1945 in der Bundesrepublik," in *Von 1945 bis heute Aufbau Neubau Umbau,* vol. 5 of *Geschichte des Wohnens*, ed. Ingeborg Flagge (Stuttgart, 1999), 687–806.

7. Martin Broszat and Klaus-Dietmar Henke, eds., *Von Stalingrad zur Währungsreform: Zur Sozialgeschichte des Umbruchs in Deutschland* (Munich, 1990).

8. Klaus-Jürgen Sembach, "Heimat—Glaube—Glanz," in *Die Fünfziger Jahre: Heimat Glaube Glanz: Der Stil eines Jahrzehnts,* ed. Michael Koetzle, Klaus-Jürgen Sembach, and Klaus Schölzel (Munich, 1998), 8–9.

9. Axel Schildt and Arnold Sywottek, "'Reconstruction and Modernization': West German Social History during the 1950s," in *West Germany under Construction: Politics, Society and Culture in the Adenauer Era,* ed. Robert Moeller (Ann Arbor, 1997), 413–44.

10. Nikolaus Jungwirth and Gerhard Kromschröder, *Die Pubertät der Republik: Die 50er Jahre der Deutschen* (Frankfurt, 1978). On this theme, see my "Remembrance of Things Past: Nostalgia in West and East Germany, 1980–2000," in *Pain and Prosperity: Reconsidering Twentieth-Century German History,* ed. Paul Betts and Greg Eghigian (Stanford, Calif., 2003), 178–207.

11. Jonathan Zatlin, "The Vehicle of Desire: The Trabant, the Wartburg, and the End of the GDR," *German History* 15, no. 3 (1997): 360–80.

12. Most influential has been the three-volume project *Lebensgeschichte und Sozialkultur im Ruhrgebiet, 1930–1960,* under the direction of Lutz Niethammer: vol. 1, Lutz Niethammer, ed., *'Die Jahre weiss man nicht, wo man die heute hinsetzen soll': Faschismuserfahrungen im Ruhrgebiet* (Berlin, 1983); vol. 2, Lutz Niethammer, ed., *'Hinterher merkt man, dass es richtig war, dass es schiefgegangen ist': Nachkriegserinnerungen im Ruhrgebiet* (Berlin, 1983); and vol. 3, Lutz Niethammer and Alexander von Plato, eds., *'Wir kreigen jetzt andere Zeiten': Auf der Suche nach der Erfahrung des Volkes in Nachfaschistischen Ländern* (Berlin, 1985).

13. See, for example, Hanna Schissler, ed., *The Miracle Years: A Cultural History of West Germany, 1949–1968* (Princeton, 2001); Uta Poiger, *Jazz, Rock, and Rebels: Cold War Politics and American Culture in a Divided Germany* (Berkeley, 2000); Alon Confino, "Traveling as a Culture of Remembrance: Traces of National Socialism in West Germany, 1945–1960," *History and Memory* 12, no. 2 (fall/winter 2000): 92–121; Jennifer A. Loehlin, *From Rugs to Riches: Housework, Consumption, and Modernity in Germany* (Oxford, 1999); Katherine Pence, "From Rations to Fashions: The Gendered Politics of Consumption in East and West Germany, 1945–1961," (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1999); Heide Fehrenbach, *Cinema in Democratizing Germany: Reconstructing National Identity after Hitler* (Chapel Hill, 1995); Axel Schildt, *Moderne Zeiten: Freizeit, Massenmedien, und 'Zeitgeist' in der Bundesrepublik der*

5oer Jahre (Hamburg, 1995); Axel Schildt and Arnold Sywottek, eds., *Modernisierung im Wiederaufbau: Die westdeutsche Gesellschaft der 5oer Jahre* (Bonn, 1995); and Robert Moeller, *Protecting Motherhood: Women and the Family in the Politics of Postwar West Germany* (Berkeley, 1993).

14. Erica Carter, *How German Is She? Postwar West German Reconstruction and the Consuming Woman* (Ann Arbor, 1997); and Michael Wildt, *Am Beginn der 'Konsumgesellschaft': Mangelerfahrung, Lebenshaltung, und Wohlstandshoffnung in Westdeutschland in den 5oer Jahren* (Hamburg, 1994).

15. Besides Poiger, see Arnold Sywottek, "The Americanization of Everyday Life? Early Trends in Consumer and Leisure-Time Behavior," in *America and the Shaping of German Society, 1945–1955,* ed. Michael Ermarth (Providence, R.I., 1993), 132–52; and Kaspar Maase, *Bravo Amerika: Erkundungen zur Jugendkultur der Bundesrepublik in den fünfziger Jahren* (Hamburg, 1992). Note, too, Irit Rogoff, ed., *The Divided Heritage: Themes and Problems in German Modernism* (Cambridge, 1990).

16. For example, Richard Buchanan and Victor Margolin, eds., *Discovering Design: Explorations in Design Studies* (Chicago, 1995); Wolfgang Ruppert, ed., *Chiffren des Alltags* (Marburg, 1993); and Victor Margolin, ed., *Design Discourse* (Chicago, 1989).

17. Key studies include Martin Daunton and Matthew Hilton, eds., *The Politics of Consumption: Material Culture and Citizenship in Europe and America* (Oxford, 2001); Susan A. Reid and David Crowley, eds., *Style and Socialism: Modernity and Material Culture in Post-War Eastern Europe* (Oxford, 2000); Victoria DeGrazia, ed., *The Sex of Things: Gender and Consumption in Historical Perspective* (Berkeley, 1996); Dick Hebdige, *Hiding in the Light: On Image and Things* (London, 1988); Arjun Appadurai, ed., *The Social Life of Things: Commodities in Cultural Perspective* (Cambridge, Eng., 1986); Adrian Forty, *Objects of Desire: Design and Society, 1750–1980* (London, 1986); Pierre Bourdieu, *Distinction: A Social Critique of the Judgement of Taste,* trans. Richard Nice (Cambridge, Mass., 1984); Michael Taussig, *The Devil and Commodity Fetishism in South America* (Chapel Hill, 1980); Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, *The World of Goods* (New York, 1979); and Roland Barthes, *Mythologies,* trans. Annette Lavers (New York, 1972).

18. Alon Confino and Rudy Koshar, "Regimes of Consumer Culture: New Narratives in 20th Century German History," *German History* 19, no. 2 (spring 2001): 135–61. See too Hannes Siegrist, Hartmut Kaelble, and Jürgen Kocka, eds., *Europäische Konsumgeschichte: Zur Gesellschafts- und Kulturgeschichte des Konsums (18. bis 20. Jahrhundert)* (Frankfurt, 1997).

19. Klaus-Jürgen Sembach, *Into the Thirties: Style and Design, 1927–1934,* trans. Judith Filson (London, 1987); and Donald Bush, *The Streamlined Decade* (New York, 1975).

20. Terry Smith, *Making the Modern: Industry, Art, and Design in America* (Chicago, 1993); as well as Arthur Pulos, *American Design Ethic: A History of Industrial Design to 1940* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983).

21. Martin Greif, *Depression Modern: Thirties Style in America* (New York, 1975). Compare Victoria DeGrazia, "Changing Consumption Regimes in Europe, 1930–1970: Comparative Perspectives on the Distribution Problem," and

Lizabeth Cohen, "The New Deal State and the Making of Citizen Consumers," both in *Getting and Spending: European and American Consumer Societies in the Twentieth Century,* ed. Susan Strasser, Charles McGovern, and Matthias Judt (Cambridge, Eng., 1998), 59–84 and 111–25, respectively.

22. Note that the high-profile British Council of Industrial Design was founded in 1944. On Germany, see Edward Dimendberg, "The Will to Motorization: Cinema, Highways, and Modernity," *October* 73 (summer 1995): 91–137; John Heskett, "Modernism and Archaism in Design in the Third Reich," in *The Nazification of Art: Art, Design, Music, Architecture, and Film in the Third Reich,* ed. Brandon Taylor and Winfried van der Will (Winchester, Eng., 1990), 128–43; and Uwe Westphal, *Werbung in Dritten Reich* (Berlin, 1989).

23. Shelley Baranowski, "Strength through Joy: Tourism and National Integration in the Third Reich," in *Being Elsewhere: Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America,* ed. Shelley Baranowski and Ellen Furlough (Ann Arbor, 2002), 213–36; and Hartmut Berghoff, "Enticement and Deprivation: The Regulation of Consumption in Pre-War Nazi Germany," in *The Politics of Consumption,* ed. Daunton and Hilton, 165–84.

24. Heinz Hirdina, "Gegenstand und Utopie," in *Wunderwirtschaft: DDR-Konsumgeschichte in den 60er Jahren,* ed. Neue Gesellschaft für Bildende Kunst (Cologne, 1996), 48–61.

25. Michael Wildt, *Vom kleinen Wohlstand: Eine Konsumgeschichte der fünfziger Jahre* (Frankfurt, 1996).

26. Ludwig Erhard, "Abschrift: Bildung des Rates für Formentwicklung," text of speech delivered 24 May 1952, B102/34496, BAK.

27. Dieter Mertins, "Veränderungen der industriellen Branchenstruktur in der Bundesrepublik 1950–1960," in *Wandlungen der Wirtschaftsstruktur in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland,* ed. Heinz König (Berlin, 1962), 439–68.

28. Joan Campbell, *The German Werkbund* (Princeton, 1978).

29. On American influence, see David Posner, "The Idea of American Education in West Germany during the 1950s," *German Politics and Society* 14, no. 2 (summer 1996): 54–74; Ralph Willett, *The Americanization of West Germany, 1945–1949* (London, 1989); and Jost Hermand, "Modernism Restored: West German Painting in the 1950s," *New German Critique* 32 (spring/summer 1984): 23–41.

30. Tomás Maldonado, "New Developments in Industry and the Training of the Designer," *Ulm* 2 (October 1958): 25–40.

31. The reception of Loewy in West Germany is discussed in the exhibition catalog, Angela Schönberger, ed., *Raymond Loewy: Pionier des Industrie-Design* (Munich, 1984).

32. Heinrich König, "Industrielle Formgebung," in *Sonderdruck aus Handwörterbuch der Betriebswirtschaft* (Stuttgart, 1957), 1988–92.

33. Hans Dieter Schäfer, "Amerikanismus im Dritten Reich," in *Nationalsozialismus und Modernisierung,* ed. Michael Prinz and Rainer Zitelmann (Darmstadt, 1991), 199–215.

34. Recent scholarship has shown that even these spheres were more receptive to modernism than once believed: Jonathan Petropoulos, *Art as Politics in the Third Reich* (Chapel Hill, 1996); Glenn Cuomo, ed., *National Socialist Cul-*

tural Policy (New York, 1995); and Alan Steinweis, *Art, Ideology, and Economics in Nazi Germany: The Reich Chambers of Music, Theater and the Visual Arts* (Chapel Hill, 1983).

35. Jost Hermand, *Kultur im Wiederaufbau: Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1945–1965* (Berlin, 1989), 89–108; and Hermann Glaser, *Die Kulturgeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland,* vol. 1, *1945–1948* (Frankfurt, 1985), 91–111.

36. Heinz Hirdina, *Gestalten für die Serie: Design in der DDR, 1949–1985* (Dresden, 1988), 11.

37. Thomas Hoscislawski, *Bauen zwischen Macht und Ohnmacht: Architektur und Städtebau in der DDR* (Berlin, 1991), 38–43, 101–11, 297–310. A documentary history of the official East German debates on the Bauhaus and modernism in general can be found in Andreas Schätzke, ed., *Zwischen Bauhaus und Stalinallee: Architekturdebatte im östlichen Deutschland, 1945–1955* (Braunschweig, 1991).

38. Winfried Nerdinger, ed., *Bauhaus-Moderne im Nationalsozialismus: Zwischen Anbiederung und Verfolgung* (Munich, 1993); Paul Betts, "The Bauhaus as Cold War Legend: West German Modernism Revisited," *German Politics and Society* 14, no. 2 (summer 1996): 75–100.

39. See, respectively, Christine Hopfengart, *Klee: Von Sonderfall zum Publikumsliebling* (Mainz, 1989); Christian Gröhn, *Die Bauhaus-Idee* (Berlin, 1991); Andreas Schwarz, "Design, Graphic Design, Werbung," in *Die Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland,* vol. 4, *Kultur,* ed. Wolfgang Benz (Frankfurt, 1989), 290–369; and Michael Kriegeskorte, *Werbung in Deutschland 1945–1965* (Cologne, 1992).

40. Christian Borngräber, "Nierentisch und Schrippendale: Hinweise auf Architektur und Design," in *Die Fünfziger Jahre: Beiträge zu Politik und Kultur,* ed. Dieter Bänsch (Tübingen, 1985), 210–41.

41. Thomas Zaumschirm, *Die Fünfziger Jahre* (Munich, 1980).

42. Eva von Seckendorff, *Die Hochschule für Gestaltung in Ulm* (Marburg, 1989), 89ff. Note as well Walter Dirks, "Das Bauhaus und die Weisse Rose," *Frankfurter Hefte* 10, no. 11 (1955): 769–73; and Manfred George, "Eine Helferin des 'anderen Deutschlands,'" *Aufbau,* 25 November 1956.

43. Borngräber, *Stil Novo,* 23.

44. Regine Halter, ed., *Vom Bauhaus bis Bitterfeld: 41 Jahre DDR-Design* (Giessen, 1991); Hans Wichmann, *Italien: Design 1945 bis Heute* (Basel, 1988); and Sherman Lee, *The Genius of Japanese Design* (New York, 1981). These countries were not without peers: Swiss and Scandinavian design, for instance, exerted considerable influence upon European design during the first two decades after the war, but they never commanded the same international stature as the postfascist polities, nor did they generate any of the same intensity of discussion.

45. Walter Benjamin, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations,* ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York, 1968), 217–52. For historical background, George Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars through the Third Reich* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1975).

46. On Weimar culture, Janet Ward, *Weimar Surfaces: Urban Visual Culture in 1920s Germany* (Berkeley, 2001); John Willett, *The New Sobriety, 1917–1933: Art and Politics in the Weimar Period* (London, 1978); and *Wem gehört die Welt— Kunst und Gesellschaft in der Weimarer Republik* (Berlin, 1977). On fascism, George Mosse, "Fascist Aesthetics and Society: Some Considerations," *Journal of Contemporary History* 31, no. 2 (April 1996): 245–52.

47. Peter Fritzsche, "Nazi Modern," *Modernism/Modernity* 3, no. 1 (January 1996): 1–21; Peter Reichel, *Der schöne Schein des Dritten Reiches: Faszination und Gewalt* (Munich, 1991); Klaus Behnken and Frank Wagner, eds., *Inszenierung der Macht: Ästhetische Faszination im Faschismus* (Berlin, 1987); and Berthold Hinz, ed., *Die Dekoration der Gewalt: Kunst und Medien im Faschismus* (Giessen, 1979).

48. Eric Michaud, *Un Arte de l'Eternité: L'image et le temps du national-socialism* (Paris, 1996).

49. In Italy much of the fascist era's cultural glorification of leadership was effectively transferred to the visual representation of the pope after 1945. I thank Emilio Gentile for pointing this out to me.

50. Herfried Münckler, "Das kollektive Gedächtnis der DDR," in *Parteiauftrag: Ein neues Deutschland,* ed. Dieter Vorsteher (Berlin, 1997), 458–68. Another interesting example is the changed cultural perception of the German Autobahns, whose initial image as a fascist object of motorized mass desire and military mobility gave way to its postwar reincarnation as a common symbol of postfascist freedom and individual travel. Kurt Möser, "World War I and the Creation of Desire for Automobiles in Germany," in *Getting and Spending*, ed. Strasser, McGovern, and Judt, 195–222.

51. Kriegeskorte, 6.

52. Ludwig Erhard, *Prosperity through Competition,* trans. John B. Wood and Edith Temple Roberts (London, 1958), 169.

53. Maria Höhn, "Frau im Haus and Girl im Spiegel: Discourse on Women in the Interregnum Period of 1945–1949 and the Question of German Identity," *Central European History* 26, no. 1 (1993): 57–91; and Angela Seeler, "Ehe, Familie, und andere Lebensformen in den Nachkriegsjahren im Spiegel der Frauenzeitschriften," in *Frauen in der Geschichte,* vol. 5, ed. Annette Kuhn (Düsseldorf, 1984), 91–121.

54. Karl Pawek, "Das Moderne ist intelligent," *Magnum* 15 (December 1957): 23.

55. A good example is Gustav Hassenpflug, "Kunst im Menschlichen verankert: Geist und Geschichte des Bauhauses," *Bildende Kunst* 1, no. 7 (1947): 24.

56. Horst Oehlke, "Design in der DDR," in *Deutsches Design 1950–1990,* ed. Michael Erlhoff (Munich, 1990), 245–72.

57. See, for example, my "Twilight of the Idols: East German Memory and Material Culture," *Journal of Modern History* 72, no. 3 (September 2000): 731–65, and "The Politics of Post-Fascist Aesthetics: 1950s West and East German Industrial Design," in *Life after Death: Violence, Normality, and the Reconstruction of Postwar Europe,* eds. Richard Bessel and Dirk Schumann (Cambridge, 2003), 291–321.

Chapter One. Re-Enchanting the Commodity

1. Recent academic review essays include Scott Spector, "Was the Third Reich Movie-Made? Interdisciplinarity and the Reframing of Ideology," *American Historical Review* 106, no. 2 (April 2001): 460–84; Peter Jelavich, "National Socialism, Art, and Power in the 1930s," *Past & Present* 164 (August 1999): 244–65; and Suzanne Marchand, "Nazi Culture: Banality or Barbarism?" *Journal of Modern History* 70 (March 1998): 108–18. Note too the special issues on "The Aesthetics of Fascism," *Journal of Contemporary History* 31, no. 2 (April 1996); "Fascism and Culture," *Modernism/Modernity* 3, no. 1 (January 1996); and "Fascism and Culture," *Stanford Italian Review* 8, nos. 1–2 (1990).

2. The Italian case was more complicated, to be sure, given Mussolini's unabashed patronage of avant-garde culture, as well as the absence of any Weimar Republic to which a postwar generation could claim cultural allegiance.

3. See my "The New Fascination with Fascism: The Case of Nazi Modernism," *Journal of Contemporary History* 37, no. 4 (2002): 541–58.

4. Recent titles include Ruth Ben-Ghiat, *Fascist Modernities: Italy, 1922–1945* (Berkeley, 2001); Marla Stone, *The Patron State: Culture and Politics in Fascist Italy* (Princeton, 1998); Jean-Louis Cohen, ed., *Les Années 30: L'Architecture et les arts de l'espace entre industrie et nostalgie* (Paris, 1997); *Le Temps menaçant 1929–1939* (Paris, 1997); Simonetta Falasca, *Fascist Spectacle: The Aesthetic Power of Mussolini's Italy* (Berkeley, 1997); Wendy Kaplan, ed., *Designing Modernity: The Arts of Reform and Persuasion, 1885–1945* (New York, 1995); and *Kunst und Diktatur: Architektur, Bildhauerei, und Malerei in Österreich, Deutschland, Italien, und der Sowjetunion, 1922–1956* (Baden, 1994).

5. Peter Fritzsche, "Nazi Modern," *Modernism/Modernity,* January 1996, 1–21; Eric Michaud, *Un Art de L'Eternité: L'image et le temps du national-socialisme* (Paris, 1996); Jonathan Petropoulos, *Art as Politics in the Third Reich* (Chapel Hill, 1996); Eric Rentschler, *The Ministry of Illusion: Nazi Cinema and Its Afterlife* (Cambridge, Mass., 1996); Glenn Cuomo, ed., *National Socialist Cultural Policy* (New York, 1995); Edward Dimendberg, "The Will to Motorization: Cinema, Highways, and Modernity," *October* 73 (summer 1995): 91–137; Harold Welzer, ed., *Das Gedächtnis der Bilder: Ästhetik und Nationalsozialismus* (Tübingen, 1995); Joachim Petsch, *Kunst im Dritten Reich* (Cologne, 1994); Bernd Ogan and Wolfgang Weiss, eds., *Faszination und Gewalt: Zur politischen Ästhetik des Nationalsozialismus* (Nuremberg, 1992); and Alan Steinweis, *Art, Ideology, and Economics in Nazi Germany: The Reich Chambers of Music, Theater, and the Visual Arts* (Chapel Hill, 1983).

6. Philippe Lacoue-Labarthes and Jean-Luc Nancy, *Le Mythe Nazi* (Paris, 1996); Andrew Hewitt, *Fascist Modernism: Aesthetics, Politics, and the Avant-Garde* (Stanford, Calif., 1993); Richard Golsan, ed., *Fascism, Aesthetics, and Culture* (Hanover, 1992); Peter Adam, *Art of the Third Reich* (New York, 1992); Stephanie Barron, ed., *Degenerate Art: The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany* (Los Angeles, 1991); and Brandon Taylor and Winfried van der Will, eds., *The Nazification of Art: Art, Design, Music, Architecture, and Film in the Third Reich* (Winchester, Eng., 1990).

7. Two studies of Nazi architecture led the way in debunking the early Cold

War myth of the regime's antimodernism: Barbara Miller Lane, *Architecture and Politics in Germany, 1918–1945* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968); and Anna Teut, *Architektur im Dritten Reich* (Berlin, 1967). For design, John Heskett, "Modernism and Archaism in Design in the Third Reich," in *Nazification of Art,* ed. Taylor and van der Will, 128–43; Gert Selle, *Design-Geschichte in Deutschland* (Cologne, 1987; orig. pub. 1978); and Hans Scheerer, "Gestaltung im Dritten Reich," *Form* 69, nos. 1, 2, 3 (1975). See also Klaus Behnken and Frank Wagner, eds., *Inszenierung der Macht: Ästhetische Faszination im Faschismus* (Berlin, 1987); Hans Dieter Schäfer, *Das gespaltene Bewusstsein: Deutsche Kultur und Lebenswirklichkeit 1933–1945* (Berlin, 1984); and Berthold Hinz, ed., *Die Dekoration der Gewalt: Kunst und Medien im Faschismus* (Giessen, 1979).

8. Winfried Nerdinger, ed., *Bauhaus-Moderne im Nationalsozialismus: Zwischen Anbiederung und Verfolgung* (Munich, 1993); Sonja Günther, *Design der Macht: Möbel und Repräsentanten des 'Dritten Reiches'* (Stuttgart, 1992); and Sabine Weissler, ed., *Design in Deutschland, 1933–1945: Ästhetik und Organisation des Deutschen Werkbundes im 'Dritten Reich'* (Giessen, 1990).

9. Richard Pommer and Christian Otto, *Weissenhof 1927 and the Modern Movement in Architecture* (Chicago, 1991); and Karin Kirsch, *Die Weissenhofsiedlung* (Stuttgart, 1987).

10. Dan P. Silverman, "A Pledge Unredeemed: The Housing Crisis in Weimar Germany," *Central European History* 3 (1970): 112–39.

11. Joan Campbell, *The German Werkbund: The Politics of Reform in the Applied Arts* (Princeton, 1978), 206–12.

12. Mary Nolan, *Visions of Modernity: American Business and the Modernization of Germany* (New York, 1994), 227–35.

13. Julius Posener, "L'architecture du III. Reich," *L'Architecture d'Aujourd'hui* 8, no. 4 (1936): 23–25.

14. Early on the Kampfbund was actually quite receptive to modern architecture and even the Bauhaus. The change occurred with the publication of Richard Walter Darré's *The Peasantry as the Life Source of the Nordic Race* (*Das Bauerntum als Lebensquell der Nordischen Rasse,* 1929), which helped transform official Nazi ideology into a celebration of peasant life and rural architectural forms. Paul Schultze-Naumburg then became the leading spokesman for Nazi antimodernism. Miller Lane, 147–67.

15. "Zweckhaftigkeit und geistige Haltung: Eine Diskussion zwischen Roger Ginsburger und Walter Riezler," *Die Form* 6, no. 11 (1931): 431–36; and Campbell, *Werkbund,* 222–24.

16. It should be noted too that the *Werkbund-Bücher* series concluded in 1931 with *Das ewige Handwerk* (The eternal handicrafts). Campbell, *Werkbund,* 209.

17. Ibid., 237–38.

18. Sabine Weissler, "Geschenkte Traditionen," in *Design in Deutschland,* ed. Weissler, 15.

19. Campbell, *Werkbund,* 250–56. The new constitution was published as "Jahresversammlung des Deutschen Werkbundes in Würzburg," *Die Form* 8, no. 10 (October 1933): 315–20.

20. Teut, 35.

21. Weissler, "Geschenkte Traditionen," 10–29.

22. Jeffrey Herf, *Reactionary Modernism: Technology, Culture, and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich* (New York, 1984), esp. 189–216.

23. Joseph Goebbels, *Weltkunst,* 10 June 1934; quoted in Adam, 56.

24. Miller Lane, 177.

25. Besides the essays contained in Cuomo, ed., see Uwe Westphal, *Werbung in Dritten Reich* (Berlin, 1989); Erika Gysling-Billeter, "Die angewandte Kunst: Sachlichkeit statt Diktatur," in *Die 30er Jahre: Schauplatz Deutschland* (Cologne, 1977), 171–94; and Marion Godau, "Anti-Moderne?" in Weissler, ed., 74–87.

26. See Petropoulos.

27. Ute Brüning, "Bauhäusler zwischen Propaganda und Wirtschaftswerbung," in *Bauhaus-Moderne,* ed. Nerdinger, 24–47.

28. Winfried Nerdinger, "Bauhaus-Architekten im 'Dritten Reich,'" in *Bauhaus-Moderne,* ed. Nerdinger, 153–78.

29. Carl Borchard, *Gutes und Böses in der Wohnung in Bild und Gegenbild* (Leipzig-Berlin, 1933). As late as 1939 metal furniture was still recommended in the Nazi advice books for its "federnde Schönheit." Heinrich and Marga Lützeler, *Unser Heim* (Bonn, 1939); Godau, 74–87.

30. Olaf Peters, *Neue Sachlichkeit und Nationalsozialismus: Affirmation und Kritik, 1931–1947* (Berlin, 1998); Sergiusz Michalski, *New Objectivity: Painting, Graphics, and Photography in Weimar Germany, 1919–1933* (Cologne, 1994); and Helmut Lethen, *Neue Sachlichkeit, 1924–1932: Studien zur Literatur der 'weissen Sozialismus'* (Stuttgart, 1970).

31. Selle, *Design-Geschichte,* 198–215.

32. Klaus-Jürgen Sembach, *Into the Thirties: Style and Design, 1927–1934,* trans. Judith Filson (London, 1987), 10.

33. Martin Greif, *Depression Modern: Thirties Style in America* (New York, 1975).

34. Sembach, *Into the Thirties,* 8; and Selle, *Design-Geschichte,* 207–8.

35. See Wilhelm Lotz's statement in *Die Form* 8, no. 1 (1933): 2.

36. Steinweis, 16–20.

37. Ibid., 20, 26.

38. Campbell, *Werkbund,* 271.

39. Hans Dieter Schäfer, "Amerikanismus im Dritten Reich," in *Nationalsozialismus und Modernisierung,* eds. Michael Prinz and Rainer Zitelmann (Darmstadt, 1991), 199–215.

40. Campbell, *Werkbund,* 279–80.

41. Winfried Wendland, "Der deutsche Werkbund im neuen Reich," *Die Form* 8, no. 9 (September 1933).

42. "Kampf der 'Guten Stube,'" *Pommersche Zeitung,* 9 August 1936.

43. "Anti-Kitsch-Ausstellung in Köln," *Frankfurter Zeitung,* 18 July 1933; reprinted in *Nazi-Kitsch,* ed. Rolf Steinberg (Darmstadt, 1975), 82.

44. Ernst Hopmann, "Fort mit dem nationalen Kitsch," *Die Form* 8, no. 8 (August 1933): 255.

45. "Gesetz zum Schutze der nationalen Symbole: Vom 19. Mai 1933," in *Nazi-Kitsch,* ed. Steinberg, 80.

46. Terry Smith, "A State of Seeing, Unsighted: The Visual in Nazi War Culture," *Block* 12 (1986/1987): 56.

47. Albert Speer, *Inside the Third Reich,* trans. Richard Winston and Clara Winston (New York, 1969), 158–80.

48. Anson Rabinbach, "The Aesthetics of Production in the Third Reich," *Journal of Contemporary History* 11, no. 4 (October 1976): 43–74.

49. Karl Kretschner, "Über die Aufgabe des Amtes 'Schönheit der Arbeit,'" *Die Form* 5 (1934): 161–66; and Anatol von Hübbenet, *Das Taschenbuch 'Schönheit der Arbeit'* (Berlin, 1938).

50. Speer quoted in Peter Reichel, *Der schöne Schein des Dritten Reiches: Faszination und Gewalt* (Munich, 1991), 237.

51. Herbert Steinwarz, *Wesen, Aufgaben, Ziele des Amtes Schönheit der Arbeit* (Berlin, 1937), 5–6.

52. Robert Ley, "Eine der schönsten Aufgaben des neuen Deutschlands: Dr. Ley vor den Mitarbeitern und Referenten des Amtes," *Schönheit der Arbeit* 1, no. 6 (October 1936): 265, cited in Rabinbach, 43. For general background, Joan Campbell, *Joy in Work, German Work: The National Debate, 1800–1945* (Princeton, 1989).

53. Rabinbach, 47–48.

54. Ibid., 46, 66.

55. Michaud, 303–22. Albert Speer, "'Schönheit der Arbeit'—Fragen der Betriebsgestaltung," *Schönheit der Arbeit 1934–1936* (Berlin, 1936).

56. Adam, 73.

57. Rabinbach, 45.

58. Albert Speer, *Inside the Third Reich,* 57.

59. Rabinbach, 61–62.

60. "Interview mit Albert Speer am 16.11.1978 in München," in *Die Zwanziger Jahre des Deutschen Werkbundes,* Sabine Weissler, ed. (Giessen, 1982), 295.

61. Ibid., 305, 307.

62. On Neue Sachlichkeit, Michael Müller, *Architektur und Avantgarde: Ein vergessenes Projekt der Moderne* (Frankfurt, 1984); and Heinz Hirdina, ed., *Neues Bauen Neues Gestalten* (Dresden, 1991).

63. Wolfhard Buchholz, "Die Nationalsozialistische Gemeinschaft 'Kraft durch Freude': Freizeitsgestaltung und Arbeiterschaft im Dritten Reich" (Ph.D. diss., Ludwig-Maximilian Universität, Munich, 1976).

64. Chup Friemert, *Produktionsästhetik im Faschismus: Das Amt 'Schönheit der Arbeit' von 1933–1939* (Munich, 1980), esp. 1–39.

65. Hübbenet, 183.

66. Wilhelm Lotz, *Frauen im Werk: Schönheit der Arbeit erleichtert der Frau das Einleben im Betrieb* (Berlin, 1940). Also, Robert Ley, "Frauenarbeit im Betriebe," in his *Durchbruch der sozialen Ehre* (Munich, 1939), 201.

67. A similar example could be seen in the Nazi effort to domesticate the "soulless" Weimar revue with what one film historian called "melodramatic sentiment." Karsten Witte, "Visual Pleasure Inhibited: Aspects of the German Revue Film," *New German Critique* 24–25 (fall/winter 1982): 238–63.

68. Campbell, *Joy in Work,* 312–75; and Sebastian Müller, *Kunst und Industrie* (Munich, 1974).

69. Rabinbach, 46.

70. Albert Speer, "Kulturarbeit im Betrieb," *Bremer-Zeitung,* 2 October 1937.

71. Klaus Herding and Hans-Ernst Mittig, *Kunst und Alltag im NS-System: Albert Speers Berliner Strassenlaternen* (Giessen, 1975).

72. Hübbenet, 19.

73. Georg Swarzenski, "Das Museum der Gegenwart," *Das Neue Frankfurt* 7/8 (1929); and "Noch einmal das 'Museum der Gegenwart,'" *Das Neue Frankfurt* 7 (1930). Both are reprinted in Hirdina, ed., 292–96. See too Hans Wichmann, *Industrial Design Unikate Serienerzeugnisse: Die Neue Sammlung, ein neuer Museumstyp des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1985), esp. 26–46.

74. Carola Sachse, "Anfänge der Rationalisierung der Haushalt: 'The One Best Way of Doing Anything,'" in *Haushaltsträume: Ein Jahrhundert Technisierung und Rationalisierung im Haushalt,* ed. Barbara Orland (Königstein, 1990), 49–63.

75. Klaus Sauerborn and Alfred Gettmann, "Haushalt und Technik in den 20er Jahren in Deutschland" (master's thesis, Universität Trier, 1986).

76. The idea that cultural goods were fundamentally incompatible with liberal capitalism was voiced by the former Werkbund designer Hermann Gretsch, "Vom Gebrauchgerät," *Der soziale Wohnungsbau* 17 (1 September 1942): 524–25; and Hermann Doerr, "Kulturelle Lenkung bei der Herstellung von Hausrat," *Der soziale Wohnungsbau* 22 (15 December 1942): 688–94.

77. Immanuel Schäfer, *Wesenswandel der Ausstellung* (Berlin, 1938), 50ff. Hübbenet, 46.

78. Westphal, 56.

79. Dimendberg, 106. Also, Thomas Zeller, "'The Landscape's Crown': Landscape, Perception, and the Modernizing Effect of the German Autobahn System, 1933–1941," in *Technologies of Landscape: Reaping to Recycling,* ed. David Nye (Amherst, Mass., 1999).

80. Note Robert Ley's remark that Beauty of Labor was "not a luxury or a gift, but in the last analysis had been transformed into an increase in production and surplus value." *10. Reichsarbeitstagung, Ansprache des Reichsorganisationsleiters Pg. Dr. Ley,* 11, quoted in Rabinbach, 64.

81. Gerhard Hay, "Rundfunk und Hörspiel als 'Führungsmittel' des Nationalsozialismus," in *Die deutsche Literatur im Dritten Reich,* ed. Horst Denkler and Karl Prümm (Stuttgart, 1976), 366–81.

82. Stephan Brakensiek, ed., *Gelsenkirchener Barock* (Gelsenkirchen, 1991).

83. Thomas Kunze and Rainer Stommer, "Geschichte der Reichsautobahn," in *Reichsautobahn, Pyramiden des dritten Reichs: Analyse zur Ästhetik eines unbewältigten Mythos,* ed. Rainer Stommer (Marburg, 1982), 22–48; and James Shand, "The *Reichsautobahn:* Symbol for the Third Reich," *Journal of Contemporary History* 19 (1984): 189–200.

84. On the military application, see Karl Lärmer, *Autobahnbau in Deutschland: Zu den Hintergründen* (Berlin, 1975). As one scholar has convincingly shown, the Autobahns had only minor tactical importance: most of them were north-south routes with no military value; the German military preferred railroad to motorways to transport troops and material because the highways were

seen as too vulnerable to attack; and the construction of the Westwall in 1942 negated what little military significance they had provided. Franz Seidler, *Fritz Todt: Baumeister des Dritten Reiches* (Munich/Berlin, 1986), 136–43.

85. Dimendberg, esp. 94–116.

86. Reichel, 275–87.

87. Eduard Schoenleben, *Fritz Todt: Der Mensch, der Ingenieur, der Nationalsozialist* (Oldenburg, 1943).

88. Arthur Hennig, "Gestaltung—Lebensform—Volkstum," *Die Schaulade* 9, no. 14 (1933): 610–11.

89. "Eine erfolgreiche Werbung: Gedanken zum 2. Wettbewerbs für Steingut-Sonderfenster," *Die Schaulade* 11, no. 14B (1935): 679–82.

90. For the supreme statement about the Nazi attempt to restore the "spirit," "feeling," and "mood value" *(Stimmungswert)* to product photography, see Eberhard Hölscher, *Werbende Lichtbildkunst: Ein Schrift über Werbefotographie* (Berlin, 1940), esp. 5–11.

91. Antoinette Lepper-Binnewerg, "Die Bestecke der Firma C. Hugo Pott, Solingen 1930–1987" (Ph.D. diss., University of Bonn, 1991). Also, Steven Kasher, "Das deutsche Lichtbild and the Militarization of German Photography," *Afterimage* 18, no. 7 (February 1991): 10–14.

92. Thomas Mann, "Deutschland und die Deutschen," in *Essays,* vol. 1 (Frankfurt, 1998), 294. Important in this regard is Herf's *Reactionary Modernism.*

93. F. T. Marinetti, "Technical Manifesto of Futurist Literature," in *Let's Murder the Moonshine: Selected Writings, F. T. Marinetti,* ed. R. W. Flint (Los Angeles, 1991), 96, 95.

94. Hal Foster, "Armor Fou," *October* 56 (spring 1991): 65–97; as well as Klaus Theweleit, *Male Fantasies,* vols. 1 and 2, trans. Erica Carter (Minneapolis, 1987).

95. Peter Fritzsche, "Machine Dreams: Airmindedness and the Reinvention of Germany," *American Historical Review* 98 (June 1993): 685–709.

96. Alf Lüdtke, *Eigen-Sinn: Fabrik-Alltag, Arbeitererfahrungen, und Politik vom Kaiserreich bis in den Faschismus* (Hamburg, 1993), esp. 318ff. An excerpted summary of his chapter on Nazism is reprinted as "The 'Honor of Labor': Industrial Workers and the Power of Symbols under National Socialism," in *Nazism and German Society, 1933–1945,* ed. David Crew (New York, 1994), 67–109.

97. Reichel, 315.

98. Lüdtke, "'Honor of Labor,'" 98.

99. Lüdtke, *Eigen-Sinn,* 322, 333.

100. Russell Berman, "The Wandering Z: Reflections on Kaplan's *Reproductions of Banality,*" introduction to Alice Kaplan, *Reproductions of Banality: Fascism, Literature, and French Intellectual Life* (Minneapolis, 1986), xx.

101. Anthony Amatrudo, "The Nazi Censure of Art: Aesthetics and the Process of Annihilation," in *Violence, Culture, and Censure,* ed. Colin Summer (London, 1993), 63–84.

102. For an excellent discussion of Nazi anti-Semitism as racial fetish, see Moishe Postone, "National Socialism and Anti-Semitism," in *Germans and Jews*

since the Holocaust, ed. Anson Rabinbach and Jack Zipes (New York, 1986), 302–14.

103. "Ein jüdischer Betrieb," *Kraft durch Freude,* March 1936, 26–28.

104. Adelheid von Saldern, "'Statt Kathedralen die Wohnmaschine': Paradoxien der Rationalisierung im Kontext der Moderne," in *Zivilisation und Barbarei,* ed. Frank Bajohr, Werner Johe, and Uwe Lohalm (Hamburg, 1991), 168–92.

105. Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment,* trans. John Cummings (New York, 1972; orig. pub. 1947), xv.

106. "Neues Kirchengerät," Dresden, 1930, unpaginated, K3237, Kunstbibliothek, Berlin.

107. The original 1928 statement of purpose is reprinted in *Kult und Form: Versuch einer Gegenüberstellung,* ed. Rudi Wagner (Berlin, 1968), 19–20; along with the 1931 essay by cofounder Oskar Beyer, "Was ist der Kunst-Dienst?" 21–26 (orig. pub. *Kunst und Kirche* 8, no. 1 [1931]: 7–12).

108. Among those arguing this case, P. Gregor Hexges, *Ausstattungskunst um Gotteshause* (Berlin, 1933); Joseph Geller, *Religiose Kunst der Gegenwart* (Essen, 1932); Conrad Groeber, *Kirche und Künstler* (Freiburg, 1932); and Hans Herkommer, *Kirchliche Kunst der Gegenwart* (Stuttgart, 1930).

109. Karl Roehrig and Karl Kühner, "Was wir wollen," *Kunst und Kirche: Zeitschrift des Vereine für religiose Kunst in der evangelischen Kirche* 1 (1924): 1–2; and Edwin Redslob, "Kirche und Kunst," *Kunst und Kirche* 4, no. 1 (1927), 4.

110. Oskar Beyer to Edwin Redslob, 27 February 1928, R32/445, BAK.

111. Beyer's earlier publications include *Weltkunst* (1921); *Norddeutsche gotische Malerei* (1921); and *Religiose Plastik unserer Zeit* (1921).

112. Oskar Beyer, "Zur Frage einer neuen Paramentik," *Kunst und Kirche* 6, no. 1 (1929/1930): 12–23. Beyer expounded upon these ideas in his "Was ist der Kunst-Dienst?"

113. Beyer's critics included Curt Horn, "Die Forderung des Kultus an die Form," *Kunst und Kirche* 8, no. 1 (1931): 20–26; and Otto Zaenker, "Wachstumliche Kultische Kunst," *Kunst und Kirche* 9, no. 3 (1932): 68–71.

114. The designer Rudolf Koch and the architect Otto Bartning were also featured speakers.

115. Paul Tillich, "Kult und Form," *Kunst und Kirche* 8, no. 1 (1931): 3–6.

116. Neues Kirchengerät catalog, unpaginated, my emphasis.

117. Beyer, "Zur Frage," 19.

118. See Tillich's *The Protestant Era,* trans. James Luther Adams (Chicago, 1948), 94–114.

119. Beyer, "Zur Frage," 21.

120. *Kunst-Dienst: Arbeitsgemeinschaft für evangelische Gestaltung,* Dresden, 1941, R32/188, BAK.

121. Beyer, "Was ist der Kunst-Dienst?" in *Kult und Form,* ed. Wagner, 26.

122. Beyer, "Zur Frage," 21.

123. Winfried Wendland, *Kunst in Zeichen des Kreuzes: Die künstlerische Welt des Protestantismus unserer Zeit* (Berlin, 1934), esp. 5–15, 23–29, 42–43.

124. Otto Thomae, *Die Propaganda-Maschinerie* (Berlin, 1978), 510.

125. See the 16 March 1944 letter from W. Kreis, president of Reichskammer der bildenden Künste, to Leopold Gutterer, secretary of the Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung und Propaganda, R56/I129, BAK. Note that the religious language of the Kunst-Dienst once again surfaced toward the end of the war. See Oskar Beyer's typed 1943 manuscript, "Was ist der Kunst-Dienst?," Institut für neue technische Form, Darmstadt. I thank Frau Gotthold Schneider for this reference.

126. For the self-congratulatory version, see *Der deutsche Führer durch die Weltausstellung 1934* (Chicago, 1934). The works of expressionists Ernst Barlach and Emil Nolde were also included in the Chicago show. Miller Lane, 177.

127. The catalog also quoted Rudolf Koch about the importance of Protestant objects: "The Evangelical Church in particular can, by utilizing simple materials, recall the humility of its Lord, the days of the apostles and of their first communities; and it would also do well to bear in mind the times of persecution in the past and at present by moderating its pretensions and renouncing external riches." *Kirchliche Kunst* (Berlin, 1936), esp. 21–24. The Kunst-Dienst was even responsible for designing St. Michael's Altar at the Pontifical Pavilion at the 1937 World Exposition in Paris. Charlotte Werhahn, "Hans Schwippert: Architekt, Pädagoge, und Vertreter der Werkbundidee in der Zeit des deutschen Wiederaufbaus" (Ph.D. diss., Technische Universität Munich, 1987), 318.

128. Magdalena Droste, "Bauhaus-Designer zwischen Handwerk und Moderne," in *Bauhaus-Moderne,* ed. Nerdinger, 85–101.

129. Wilhelm Wagenfeld, a former Bauhaus member and the chief designer at the Vereinigte Lausitzer Glaswerke in Weißwasser, even maintained that the international prestige of the glass works assured him unrestricted creative freedom. "Bericht aus der Werkstatt," in his collection of essays *Wesen und Gestalt: Der Dinge um uns* (Berlin, 1990; orig. pub. 1948), 57. Lepper-Binnewerg, 54–71.

130. Hermann Schreiber, Dieter Hornisch, and Ferdinand Simoneit, *Die Rosenthal-Story* (Düsseldorf, 1980), 160. More generally, Uwe Dietrich Adam, *Judenpolitik im Dritten Reich* (Düsseldorf, 1972); and Helmut Genschel, *Die Verdrängung der Juden aus der Wirtschaft im Dritten Reich* (Göttingen, 1966).

131. *Rasch-Buch 1934* (Malinde: Rasch-Archiv), 4–11. Joachim Meilchen, "Das Bauhaus und die Tapete," *Objekt: Fachzeitschrift für Boden Wand Fenster* 7/8 (1986): 106–12.

132. See the 1933 "Bericht über die Tätigkeit des Leipziger Messeamts," R55/318, BAK.

133. Kurt Pröpper, "Leipziger Herbstmesse im Zeichen der Leistung," *Die Deutsche Volkswirtschaft,* 3 August 1935. See also "Leipziger Messe: Gebrauchsgüter in Front," *Berliner Tageblatt,* 31 August 1936.

134. "Eine halbe Milliarde Messeumsatz," *Berliner Börsen-Zeitung,* 4 May 1937. The Nazi seizure of power in 1933 did not change the importance of the trade fair, as representatives from the United States, Great Britain, and France continued to visit the fair until the outbreak of the war.

135. Franz Schmitz, "Leipziger Messe und Vierjahresplan," *Stahl und Eisen* 57, no. 8 (25 February 1937): 193–96.

136. "Reichsminister Dr. Goebbels zur Eröffnung der Leipziger Frühjahrsmesse," *Deutsche Bergwerkzeitung,* 7 March 1939.

137. Karlrobert Ringel, "Analyse des Auslandsgeschäfts auf der Leipziger Frühjahrsmesse 1939 nach dem Bericht des Werberats der Deutschen Wirtschaft," *Rhein Mainische Wirtschaftszeitung,* 20 June 1939.

138. *Der Absatzgroßhandel in der Kriegswirtschaft: Bericht des Seminars für Groß und Aussenhandel an der Handels-Hochschule, Leipzig* (Berlin, 1941).

139. According to the catalog's foreword, the project was also assisted by such diverse groups as the German Heimatsbund and the Reichsstand der Industrie.

140. See the "Vorwort" to the *Deutsche Warenkunde,* ed. Hugo Kükelhaus and Stephan Hirzel (Berlin, 1939).

141. R. Schäfer, "Deutsche Warenkunde," *Bauen Siedeln Wohnen,* 16 July 1939, 739–44. Also, Ludwig Fichte, "Aufgaben der Leipziger Messe in Zeiten der Vollbeschäftigung," *Deutsche Wirtschaftszeitung,* 17 August 1939, as well as his remarks in "Reichsmesse," *Das Reich,* 2 March 1941.

142. H. Weber, "Die deutsche Warenkunde," *Die Kunst im Dritten Reich* 8 (1939).

143. "Zur Einführung," *Deutsches Warenbuch,* ed. Ferdinand Avenarius (Dresden-Hellerau, 1915), xvii–xxxix. The genesis of the Warenbuch project is briefly recounted in Avenarius's "Vorwort," iii–vi.

144. Walter Riezler, "Die Kulturarbeit des Deutschen Werkbundes," *Jahrbuch des Deutschen-Werkbundes* (Munich, 1916), 18.

145. "Zur Einführung," xvii.

146. The subordination of the Kunst-Dienst's religious devotion to Hitler himself was already explicit in earlier texts. See Wendland, *Kunst in Zeichen des Kreuzes,* 23–29; and the 1936 Kunst-Dienst brochure *Kirchliche Kunst,* 21–24.

147. *Der Kunst-Dienst: Ein Arbeitsbericht* (Berlin, 1941), 8.

148. Ibid., 8–9.

149. Winfried Wendland, *Die Kunst der Kirche* (Berlin, 1940).

150. "Vorwort," *Warenkunde,* unpaginated. All the same, contemporary German critics of the original 1915 "Book of Commodities" remarked that its title was intended to invoke the Gospels. Frederic Schwartz, *The Werkbund: Design Theory and Mass Culture before the First World War* (New Haven, 1996), 143.

151. W. Lotz, "Ewige Formen, neue Formen," *Die Form* 6, no. 5 (15 May 1931): 161–76.

152. Beyer, "Was ist der Kunst-Dienst?" (1943 manuscript).

153. Hartmut Berghoff, "Enticement and Deprivation: The Regulation of Consumption in Pre-War Nazi Germany," in *The Politics of Consumption: Material Culture and Citizenship in Europe and America,* ed. Martin Daunton and Matthew Hilton (Oxford, 2001), 175.

154. Richard Grunberger, *The Twelve-Year Reich: A Social History of Nazi Germany, 1933–1945* (New York, 1995), 215.

155. *Die Schaulade* 3 (1934): 132, cited in Walter Scheiffele, "Wilhelm Wagenfeld und die Vereinigten Lausitzer Glaswerke: Bedingungen für industrielle Gestaltung in den 30er Jahren," in *Täglich in den Hand: Industrieformen von Wilhelm Wagenfeld aus 6 Jahrzehnten,* eds. Beate Manske and Gudrun Scholz (Lilienthal, 1987), 245.

156. Avraham Barkai, *Nazi Economics: Ideology, Theory, and Practice* (Oxford, 1990), 238.

157. Rolf Wagenführ, *Die deutsche Industrie im Kriege 1939–1945* (Berlin, 1963), esp. 48–54, 117–191.

158. Grunberger, 211. The German Labor Front's architecture and design journal devoted a whole 1939 issue to popularizing the idea of the *Warenkunde; Bauen Siedeln Wohnen* 19, no. 14 (16 July 1939).

159. Helmutt Lehmann-Haupt, *Art under a Dictatorship* (New York, 1973), 128–29.

160. Aug. Hans Brey, "Schaufenster im Kriege," *Die Schaulade* 16, no. 11 (August 1940): 107–16.

161. Shelley Baranowski, "Strength through Joy: Tourism and National Integration in the Third Reich," in *Being Elsewhere: Tourism, Consumer Culture, and Identity in Modern Europe and North America,* ed. S. Baranowski and Ellen Furlough (Ann Arbor, 2001), 213–36; Hermann Weiss, "Ideologie der Freizeit im Dritten Reich: Die NS-Gemeinschaft 'Kraft durch Freude,'" *Archiv für Sozialgeschichte* 33 (1993): 289–303. Remember that Beauty of Labor's design activities also included constructing holiday homes for those workers unable to enjoy a "Strength through Joy" travel vacation. Rabinbach, 49.

162. Berghoff, 175.

163. Westphal, 27. See also Gerhard Voigt, "Goebbels als Markentechniker," in *Warenästhetik: Beiträge zur Diskussion,* ed. Wolfgang Haug (Frankfurt, 1975), 231–60.

164. Georg Lukács, *Die Zerstörung der Vernunft* (East Berlin, 1953), 573.

165. Rolf Steinberg, "Introduction," *Nazi-Kitsch*, ed. Steinberg, 6.

166. "If in earlier times one attempted to measure people's relative standard of living according to kilometers of railway track, in the future one will have to plot the kilometers of streets suited to motor traffic." Adolf Hitler, *Die Strasse* 20 (1933): 20, quoted in Wolfgang Sachs, *For the Love of the Automobile: Looking Back into the History of Our Desires,* trans. Don Reneau (Berkeley, 1992), 51.

167. Miller Lane, 189.

168. Hans Dieter Schäfer, 207.

169. See, for example, "Von Echten Formschönheit," *Bauen Siedeln Wohnen* 19, no. 14 (16 July 1939): 734–35.

170. Quoted in Heskett, 125.

Chapter Two. The Conscience of the Nation

1. Among the most important studies are Frederic Schwartz, *The Werkbund: Design Theory and Mass Culture before the First World War* (New Haven, Conn., 1996); Matthew Jefferies, *Politics and Culture in Wilhelmine Germany: The Case of Industrial Architecture* (Oxford, 1995), esp. chapters 3–6; Karin Kirsch, *Die Weißenhofsiedlung* (Stuttgart, 1987); Sabine Weissler, ed., *Die Zwanziger Jahre des Deutschen Werkbundes* (Giessen, 1982); Lucius Burckhardt, ed., *The Werkbund,* trans. Pearl Sanders (London, 1980); Joan Campbell, *The German Werkbund: The Politics of Reform in the Applied Arts* (Princeton, 1978); Sebastian Müller, *Kunst und Industrie* (Munich, 1974); and Felix Schwarz and Frank

Gloor, eds., *Die Form: Stimme des Deutschen Werkbundes 1925–1934* (Gütersloh, 1969).

2. Comprehensive overviews include Anna Teut, "Werkbund Intern: Werkbund Kontrovers, Kommentar, und Dokumentation, 1907–1977," special issue of *Werk und Zeit* 3 (1982); and G. B. von Hartmann and Wend Fischer, eds., *Zwischen Kunst und Industrie: Der Deutsche Werkbund* (Munich, 1975). In comparison with the rest of Werkbund history, the literature on the post-1945 period has been limited to brief discussions and reprinted quotations. See Angelika Thiekötter, *Blasse Dinge: Werkbund und Waren 1945–1949* (Berlin, 1989); Ot Hoffmann, ed., *Der deutsche Werkbund 1907, 1947, 1987* (Berlin, 1987); Hans Eckstein, ed., *50 Jahre Deutscher Werkbund: Das Jubiläumsbuch des Deutschen Werkbundes* (Frankfurt, 1958).

3. Werner Durth, "1947: Zwischen Zerstörung und Restauration," in *Werkbund,* ed. Hoffmann, 54–59.

4. Hans Schmitt, "Schöner aber nicht teurer: Unsere Dingwelt und die Forderungen der Zeit," in *Neues Wohnen,* catalog for the 1949 Werkbund exhibition in Cologne, unpaginated, no other publishing information.

5. Hermann Glaser, *Die Kulturgeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland,* vol. 1, *1945–1948* (Frankfurt, 1998), 16. For an eyewitness account, Ludwig Neundörfer, "Inventur des Zusammenbruchs," *Baukunst und Werkform* 1 (1947): 21–23.

6. The Rheydt proclamation is quoted in *Werkbund,* ed. Hoffmann, 48.

7. Campbell, *Werkbund,* esp. chapters 5 and 6.

8. "Arbeitsgemeinschaft 'Innenausbau des DWB,' Berlin," Berlin Werkbund, 19 October 1946, Geschäftsstelle, 1945–1949/1, WBA.

9. Otto Bartning, "Stunde des Werkbundes," *Frankfurter Hefte,* May 1946, 88.

10. Alfons Leitl, "Anmerkungen zur Zeit," *Baukunst und Werkform* 1 (1947): 6, 8.

11. Wolfgang Schepers, "Stromlinie oder Gelsenkirchener Barock: Fragen (und Antworten) an das westdeutsche Nachkriegsdesign," in *Aus den Trümmern: Kunst und Kultur im Rheinland und in Westfalen 1945–1952,* ed. Klaus Honnef and Hans M. Schmidt (Cologne, 1985), 117–60.

12. Heinz König, "Über die Aufgaben des Deutschen Werkbundes," 24 August 1945, typescript, unpaginated, DWB 1945–1949/1, WBA.

13. See, for example, the typed press release to the Werkbund conference in Ettal, September 1950. Nachlass Mia Seeger, A87, SAS.

14. Glaser, 197.

15. Jost Hermand, *Kultur in Wiederaufbau: Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland 1945–1965* (Berlin, 1989), 103–8.

16. Max Hoene, "Gegenwartsaufgaben des Werkbundes," 1950 special Werkbund issue, *Baukunst und Werkform,* unpaginated (original emphasis).

17. See, for example, Walther Schmidt, "Der Werkbundgedanke—Heute," special 1950 Werkbund issue, *Baukunst und Werkform,* unpaginated.

18. Otto Bartning, "Werkbund und Staat," special 1950 Werkbund issue, *Baukunst und Werkform* 5.

19. Ibid. Another Werkbund member remarked that the Werkbund was es-

sentially a kind of Humboldtian "Nationalanstalt" in its cultural and ethical substance. Heinrich Lauterbach, "Über die Aufgabe des Werkbundes," typescript, 11 April 1953, Stuttgart, WBA.

20. See the November 1945 "Antrag auf Genehmigung der Neugründung einer Ortsgruppe Berlin des Deutschen Werkbundes," DWB 1945–1949/2, WBA.

21. See the typed minutes to the Werkbund Vorstandssitzung, Munich, 16 May 1952, Protokolle 1947–1956, WBA.

22. *Werkbundblätter* Nr. 1 (Opladen: Friedrich Middelhauve, 1947), 1. See also Otto Bartning's 1946 article "Erneuerung aus dem Ursprung," *Frankfurter Hefte,* September 1946, 37–41.

23. Wilhelm Wagenfeld, *Wesen und Gestalt: Der Dinge um uns* (Berlin, 1990; orig. pub. 1948), 57.

24. See Wagenfeld's 4 August 1964 letter to Walter Gropius, in *Täglich in der Hand: Industrieformen von Wilhelm Wagenfeld aus 6 Jahrzehnten,* eds. Beate Manske and Gudrun Scholz (Lilienthal, 1987), 64–67.

25. John Heskett, "Design in Inter-War Germany," in *Designing Modernity: The Arts of Reform and Persuasion, 1885–1945,* ed. Wendy Kaplan (New York, 1995), 271.

26. Durth, "1947," 87–88.

27. Rudolf Schwarz, "Was ist der Werkbund, was soll er?" (1949), reprinted in *Werkbund,* ed. Hoffmann, 47.

28. See the 1946 manuscript "Kurzer geschichtlicher Überblick über die Entwicklung der Werkbundidee und Zusammenfassung der Ziele und Aufgaben der Gruppe Werkbund in der Abteilung für Bau- und Wohnungswesen des Magistrats der Stadt Berlin," May 1946, DWB 1945–1949/2, WBA.

29. Schmidt, "Werkbundgedanke." Aside from the 1947 Rheydt proclamation, see too Bartning, "Erneuerung aus dem Ursprung."

30. See Theodor Heuss, "Peter Behrens: Zum 60. Geburtstag," 14 April 1938; "Richard Riemerschmid: Zu seinem 70. Geburtstag," 21 June 1938; and "Fritz Schumacher: Zum 70. Geburtstag," 3 November 1939; in *Frankfurter Zeitung.* Heuss also wrote a six-hundred-page biography of the industrialist and Werkbund patron Robert Bosch, which appeared shortly after the war. Theodor Heuss, *Robert Bosch: Sein Leben und Werk* (Tübingen, 1946).

31. Campbell, *Werkbund,* 7.

32. Theodor Heuss, *Was ist Qualität? Zur Geschichte und zur Aufgabe des Deutschen Werkbundes* (Tübingen, 1951), 45.

33. Müller, 85ff; and Jefferies, 221–43.

34. The ideas of quality and German nationalism were deeply linked at the Werkbund even before the First World War. Müller, 77–84.

35. Quoted in Campbell, *Werkbund,* 49.

36. The potential business benefits of "German quality" were emphasized by Günther von Pechmann, *Die Qualitätsarbeit: Ein Handbuch für industrielle und Kaufleute und Gewerbepolitiker* (Frankfurt, 1924).

37. Heuss, *Qualität,* 48.

38. Note that Heuss used the term "job pride" *(Berufsstolz)* to dodge the Nazi associations of "joy of work"; ibid., 35–39.

39. Ibid., 26–29, 80. The 1948 publication of Heuss's celebratory biogra-

phy of Poelzig underscored his admiration for his former friend and colleague. Theodor Heuss, *Hans Poelzig* (Tübingen, 1948).

40. Hans Eckstein, "Idee und Geschichte des Deutschen Werkbundes 1907–1957," in *Deutscher Werkbund,* ed., Eckstein, 7–18.

41. Gert Selle, *Design-Geschichte in Deutschland* (Cologne, 1987), 243.

42. Katherine Pence, "From Rations to Fashions: The Gendered Politics of Consumption in East and West Germany, 1945–1961" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1999), 1–6.

43. Eckhard Siepmann, "Blasse Dinge: Alltagsgegenstände 1945–1949," in *Blasse Dinge,* Thiekötter, ed., 4–7.

44. Kay Fisker, "Die Moral des Funktionalismus," *Das Werk* 35, no. 5 (May 1948): 131–34, and Walther Schmidt, "Restauration des Funktionalismus," *Bauen und Wohnen* 3, no. 1 (January 1948): 2–4. Also, Wend Fischer, *Bau Raum Gerät* (Munich, 1957).

45. Otto Bartning, "Ohne Schnörkel," in his *Spannweite* (Bramsche, 1958), 32–34.

46. Volker Albus und Christian Borngräber, *Design Bilanz: Neues Design der 80er Jahre in Objekten, Bildern, Daten, und Texten* (Cologne, 1992), 9.

47. This 1947 manifesto was essentially a moderate tract about the need to reconstruct Germany's cities and everyday objects according to the vague Werkbund principles of "simple" and "valid" design. Klaus von Beyme, *Der Wiederaufbau: Architektur und Städtebau in beiden deutschen Staaten* (Munich, 1987), esp. 60–65.

48. Hoene, unpaginated.

49. Carl Oskar Jasko, "Zwei Höhepunkte aus der Geschichte des Werkbundes," *Bauen und Wohnen* 4, no. 8 (April 1949): 385–86.

50. See the 27 November 1949 letter from Theodore Effenberger to Tessenow, DWB Geschäftstelle 1945–49/3, WAB. For Tessenow's decisive influence on German conservative modernists, see Werner Durth, *Deutsche Architekten* (Munich, 1992), esp. 59–80.

51. Rudolf Schwarz, "Bilde Künstler, rede nicht," *Baukunst und Werkform* 6, no. 1 (January 1953): 9–17, quotations from 15, 17.

52. Albert Schulze Vellinghausen, "Indirekte Festschrift für Gropius: Auf Verursachung von Professor Rudolf Schwarz," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung,* 22 May 1953, and Louis Schoberth, "Schluss mit der Dolchstosslegende," *Baukunst und Werkform* 6, no. 2/3 (February/March 1953): 91–95.

53. Paul Betts, "The Bauhaus as Cold War Legend: West German Modernism Revisited," *German Politics and Society* 14, no. 2 (summer 1996): 75–100.

54. Walther Schmidt, "Seelische Beziehungen zum Wohnen," *Bauen und Wohnen* 3, no. 5 (May 1948).

55. Theodor Adorno, *The Jargon of Authenticity,* trans. Knut Tarnowski and Frederic Will (Evanston, Ill., 1973; orig. pub. 1964).

56. Martin Heidegger, "Building Dwelling Thinking," in his *Basic Writings* (London, 1978), 343–64, quote at 361–62. In German, "Bauen Wohnen Denken," in *Mensch und Raum: Das Darmstädter Gespräch 1951,* ed. Otto Bartning (Braunschweig, 1991; orig. pub. 1952), 88–102.

57. Ibid., 337–38 (translation modified).

58. Barbara Miller Lane, *Architecture and Politics in Germany, 1918–1945* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968), 147–67.

59. Durth, *Deutsche Architekten,* 442.

60. Hans Gerhard Evers, ed., *Das Menschenbild in unserer Zeit* (Darmstadt, 1950).

61. Beyme, *Wiederaufbau,* 64–65. This was especially true among those involved in church restoration such as Hans Schwippert, Otto Bartning, and Rudolf Schwarz. For Heidegger's postwar influence, Glaser, 1: 283–92.

62. Wilhelm Braun-Feldweg, *Normen und Formen* (Ravensburg, 1954), esp. the introduction.

63. Paul Jodard, *Raymond Loewy* (London, 1992).

64. Hans Schmitt-Rost, "Verkauft Häßlichkeit sich schlecht?" *Werk und Zeit* 3, no. 1 (January 1954).

65. Wend Fischer, "Vermarkten und gestalten," *Werk und Zeit* 4, no. 10 (October 1955), and Alfons Leitl, "Erziehung zur Form," in *Deutscher Geist zwischen Gestern und Morgen,* ed. Joachim Moras and Hans Paeschka (Stuttgart, 1954), 116–23.

66. See, for example, the cover story on Knoll, "Im Haut- und Knochen Stil," *Der Spiegel,* 13 August 1960, 64–75.

67. Edgar Hotz, "Erste Ausstellung neuzeitlicher Gebrauchsgeräte aus USA," *Industrie und Handwerk schaffen: Neues Hausgerät aus den USA* (n.p., n.d.), unpaginated, Landesgewerbeamt Baden-Wüttermberg, Stuttgart. A fuller discussion is given in Greg Castillo, "Domesticating the Cold War: Cultural Infiltration through American Model Home Exhibitions," unpublished paper.

68. William Forster, "Amerikanische Gebrauchsformen," *Neues Hausgerät,* unpaginated.

69. Heinrich König, "Neues Hausgerät aus USA," *Die neue Stadt* 6 (1951): 242–45.

70. As noted in the introduction, the reception of Loewy in West Germany is discussed in the exhibition catalog, Angela Schönberger, ed., *Raymond Loewy: Pionier des Industrie-Design* (Munich, 1984).

71. Hoene, unpaginated, with original emphasis.

72. Hans Schwippert, "Warum Werkbund?" 1955 typescript, 27, WAB.

73. Hans Dieter Schäfer, "Amerikanismus im Dritten Reich," in *Nationalsozialismus und Modernisierung,* eds. Michael Prinz and Rainer Zitelmann (Darmstadt, 1991), 199–215.

74. Heinz Hirdina, *Gestalten für die Serie: Design in der DDR* (Dresden, 1988), 11.

75. On efforts to reopen the Bauhaus, Greg Castillo, "The Bauhaus in Cold War Germany," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Bauhaus,* ed. Kathleen James-Chakraborty (Cambridge, forthcoming). Gustav Hassenpflug, "Kunst im Menschlichen verankert: Geist und Geschichte des Bauhauses," *Bildende Kunst* 1, no. 7 (1947): 24.

76. Thomas Hoscislawski, *Bauen zwischen Macht und Ohnmacht: Architektur und Städtebau in der DDR* (Berlin, 1991), 38–43, 101–11, 297–310. A documentary history of the official East German debates on the Bauhaus and

modernism in general can be found in Andreas Schätzke, ed., *Zwischen Bauhaus und Stalinallee: Architekturdebatte im östlichen Deutschland, 1945–1955* (Braunschweig, 1991).

77. Georg Bertsch and Ernst Hedler, *SED: Schönes Einheit Design* (Cologne, 1994), 22.

78. Often such delicate cultural politicking meant that those reissued 1920s prototypes appeared with quotations from Goethe in catalogs and exhibitions. Hirdina, *Gestalten,* 13.

79. Iurii Gerchuk, "The Aesthetics of Everyday Life in the Khrushchev Thaw (1954–1964)," in *Style and Socialism: Modernity and Material Culture in Postwar Eastern Europe,* ed. Susan E. Reid and David Crowley (Oxford, 2000), 81–100.

80. This was also linked to social control. Note, for example, the state's worry during the 1950s about the potential dangerous effects of modular furniture: "If the user is free to do what he wants with them [the components], free to arrange the constitutive parts as he pleases, the proportions of the assembled pieces will change in an uncontrollable and artistically unacceptable manner and the underlying intellectual idea will become unclear and elude social control." Gerhard Hillnhagen, *Anbau- Aufbau- Baukasten- und Montagemöbel* (Berlin, 1953), quoted in Bertsch and Hedler, 21.

81. Ina Merkel, "Der aufhaltsame Aufbruch," and Jochen Fetzer, "Gut verpackt . . . ," both in *Wunderwirtschaft: DDR-Konsumkultur in den 60er Jahren,* ed. Neue Gesellschaft für Bildende Kunst (Cologne, 1996), 11–15 and 104–111, respectively.

82. Horst Redeker, *Über das Wesen der Form* (Berlin, 1957).

83. Martin Kelm, *Produktgestaltung im Sozialismus* (Berlin, 1971), 81.

84. See the January 1947 letter from the Deutsche Verwaltung für Handel und Versorgung in der sowjetischen Besatzungszone to the Berlin Werkbund in Protokoll Werkbundsitzung, 30 January 1947, DWB 1945–49/2, WBA. See also Protokoll Werkbundsitzung, 16 October 1946, quoted in Thiekötter, 35.

85. See the 19 February 1947 letter from the Berlin Werkbund to the Soviet Occupying Government, DWB 1945–1949/1, WBA.

86. Chup Friemert, "Der 'Deutsche Werkbund' als Agentur der Warenästhetik in der Aufstiegsphase des deutschen Imperialismus," in *Warenästhetik: Beiträge zur Diskussion, Weiterentwicklung, und Vermittlung ihrer Kritik,* ed. Wolfgang Haug (Frankfurt, 1981), 154–74.

87. Hans Poelzig, "Werkbundaufgaben," *DWB-Mitteilungen* 4 (1919), reprinted in von Hartmann and Fischer, 161–68.

88. The Berlin Werkbund's first sponsor was the Berlin daily newspaper *Der Tagesspiegel,* which gave the Werkbund RM 2000 in the summer of 1945.

89. See the essays collected in Stephan Brakensiek, ed., *Gelsenkirchener Barock* (Gelsenkirchen, 1991).

90. *Anfang 1948: Rückblick auf die erste Frankfurter Messe nach dem Kriege und das Jahr 1948* (Frankfurt, 1985), 117. See also Margret Tränkle, "Neue Wohnhorizonte: Wohnalltag und Haushalt seit 1945 in der Bundesrepublik," in *Von 1945 bis heute Aufbau Neubau Umbau,* vol. 5 of *Geschichte des Wohnens,* ed. Ingeborg Flagge (Stuttgart, 1999), 727–29.

91. Joachim Petsch, *Eigenheim und Gute Stube: Zur Geschichte des bürgerlichen Wohnens* (Cologne, 1989), 222.

92. Georg Leopald, "Das Stich- und Schlagwort," *Werk und Zeit* 1, no. 2 (April 1952).

93. See the typed minutes to the 28 April 1949 Werkbund committee meeting, DWB 1949 Köln Ausstellung, WBA.

94. Werner Witthaus, "Betrachtungen zu neuem Wohnen," *Düsseldorfer Nachrichten,* special exposition issue, undated, Archiv–Hans Schwippert, Düsseldorf.

95. Alfons Leitl, "Kritik und Selbstbesinnung," *Baukunst und Werkform* 2 (1949): 57–65.

96. Hans Schwippert, "Ansprache zur Eröffnung der Werkbundausstellung," typescript, Archiv–Hans Schwippert, Düsseldorf.

97. See Hugo Kükelhaus, "Das Handwerk der Heutigen Zeit," and Schmitt, "Schöner, aber nicht teurer," both in *Neues Wohnen,* unpaginated.

98. In an untitled essay, Rudolf Schwarz articulated the Werkbund's functionalist ethos by saying: "Geläufert und geprüft durch die Not, muß jedes Ding sich darauf beschränken, zu sein was es soll: ein Bett, ein Tisch, ein Topf." *Neues Wohnen,* unpaginated.

99. For contemporary and retrospective judgments, respectively: Friedrich Putz, "Wie Wohnen?" *Bauen und Wohnen* 5, no. 1 (January 1950): 2–17; and Christian Borngräber, "Nierentisch und Schrippendale: Hinweise auf Architektur und Design," in *Die Fünfziger Jahre: Beiträge zu Politik und Kultur,* ed. Dieter Bänsch (Tübingen, 1985), 227.

100. On schools, Gustav Hassenpflug, *Das Werkkunstschulbuch* (Stuttgart, 1956).

101. Hans Schwippert, "Ein Werkbundbrief," *Werk und Zeit* 1 (March 1952): 1–2.

102. Jupp Ernst, "So fing es wieder an," in *Werkbund,* ed. Hoffmann, 45–46.

103. Dieter Hanauske, "Bauen! Bauen! Bauen! Die Wohnungspolitik in Berlin (West), 1945–1961" (Ph.D. diss., Freie Universität Berlin, 1990), 598ff.

104. Schwippert, "Warum Werkbund?," 22.

105. See the untitled Werkbund circular on the Mannheim display room, WBA.

106. Heinrich König, "Die erste deutsche Wohnberatungsstelle in Mannheim," *Innenarchitekt* 1, no. 4 (October 1953): 35–36.

107. Charlotte Eiermann, "Wohnberatung des Deutschen Werkbundes Berlin e.V.," WBA.

108. Barbara Mundt, "Interieurs in Deutschland 1945 bis 1960," in *Interieur + Design in Deutschland 1945–1960,* ed. Barbara Mundt (Berlin, 1993), 11–26; Borngräber, 235–39.

109. Waldemar Schmielau, "Leserbrief," *Werk und Zeit* 4, no. 12 (December 1955): 4.

110. Wera Meyer-Waldeck, "Der Streit um die Wohnberatungsstellen," *Werk und Zeit* 6, no. 1 (January 1956): 5.

111. Werner Hoffmann, "Funktionswandel des Museums," *Jahresring* (1959/1960): 99–109.

112. Wilhelm Wagenfeld, "Über die Kunsterziehung in unserer Zeit," in his *Wesen und Gestalt,* 9–23.

113. Jürgen Habermas, "Der Moloch und die Künste: Zur Legende von der technischen Zweckmäßigkeit," *Jahresring* (1954): 259–63; Karl Pawek, "Apologie der bösen Form," *Magnum* 30 (July 1960), unpaginated; and Willy Rotzler, "Offizielle Förderung der guten Industrieform: Ketzerische und andere Gedanken," *Form* 23 (1963): 22–23.

114. Michael Wildt, *Vom kleinen Wohlstand: Eine Konsumgeschichte der fünfziger Jahre* (Frankfurt, 1996), 175–76.

115. Wolfgang Haug, *Critique of Commodity Aesthetics,* trans. Robert Bock (Minneapolis, 1986), 45–56.

116. König, "Über die Aufgaben," unpaginated.

117. See Hirzel's Vorwort, in *Deutsche Warenkunde,* ed. Mia Seeger and Stephan Hirzel (Stuttgart, 1955), unpaginated.

118. Ibid.

119. Hans Eckstein, "Werkbund-Diskussion bei Rosenthal," *Bauen und Wohnen* 9, no. 2 (1954), unpaginated. Rosenthal was also the subject of a critical 1956 *Der Spiegel* cover story, "Die Bedarfsweckungstour," *Der Spiegel,* 9 May 1956, 18–28. Still, the New York Museum of Modern Art honored the Selb firm in 1954 with its "Good Design" award. Bernd Fritz, "Neue Formen bei Rosenthal," in *Loewy,* ed. Schönberger, 135–41.

120. "Streitgespräch in Selb," *Werk und Zeit* 18 (August 1953): unpaginated.

121. See the 24 October 1951 minutes to a Werkbund steering committee meeting, DWB Protokolle 1947–1956, WBA.

122. Julianne Roh, "Musterkästen der Neuen Sammlung München," *Werk und Zeit* 8, no. 4 (April 1959): 4.

123. Clara Menck, *Ein Bilderbuch des Deutschen Werkbund für junge Leute* (Stuttgart, 1958), unpaginated.

124. Hannes Schmidt, "Einfach, ursprünglich, unvergleichbar," *Werk und Zeit* 1, no. 10 (December 1952); and Hans Schmitt-Rost, "Schüttelfrost mit Buttercrem," *Werk und Zeit* 1, no. 1 (March 1952).

125. Alfons Leitl, "Irrtümer und Lehren des Wiederaufbaus der Städte," in *Deutscher Geist,* ed. Moras and Paeschka, 138–50.

126. Eckstein, *50 Jahre,* 17.

127. Schwippert, "Warum Werkbund?," 24.

128. Campbell, *Werkbund,* 3.

129. See the Werkbund forum on Plastics: Geschenk oder Gefahr, *Baukunst und Werkform* 5 (1953): 235–40.

130. Peter Reichel, *Der schöne Schein des Dritten Reiches: Faszination und Gewalt* (Munich, 1991), 317.

131. Petsch, 220.

Chapter Three. The Nierentisch Nemesis

1. Joachim Petsch, *Eigenheim und gute Stube: Zur Geschichte des bürgerlichen Wohnens* (Cologne, 1989), 225.

2. Christian de Nuys-Henkelmann, "Alltagskultur—Im milden Licht der

Tütenlampe," in *Die Kultur unseres Jahrhunderts, 1945–1960,* ed. Hilmar Hoffmann and Heinrich Klotz (Düsseldorf, 1991), 181.

3. Paul Betts, "Remembrance of Things Past: Nostalgia in West and East Germany, 1980–2000," in *Pain and Prosperity: Reconsidering Twentieth-Century German History,* ed. Paul Betts and Greg Eghigian (Stanford, Calif., 2003), 178–207.

4. Thomas Zaumschirm, *Die Fünfziger Jahre* (Munich, 1980), esp. 7–30.

5. Gert Selle, *Design-Geschichte in Deutschland* (Cologne, 1987); and Bernd Meurer and Harmut Vincon, *Industrielle Ästhetik: Zur Geschichte und Theorie der Gestaltung* (Giessen, 1983).

6. Lesley Jackson, *The New Look: Design in the Fifties* (London, 1991), 35–60.

7. Christian Rathke, "Der Maler als kommunizierendes Gefäss der Gesellschaft: Eine Studie über die Funktion des Künstlerbildes in den 50ern," in *Die 50er Jahre: Aspekte und Tendenzen,* ed Christian Rathke (Wuppertal, 1977), 42–60.

8. Wolfgang Schepers, "Stromlinien oder Gelsenkirchener Barock?: Fragen (und Antworten) an das westdeutsche Nachkriegsdesign," in *Aus den Trümmern: Kunst und Kultur im Rheinland und in Westfalen, 1945–1952,* ed. Klaus Honnef and Hans M. Schmidt (Cologne, 1985), 117–60; and Christian Borngräber, *Stil Novo: Design in den Fünfziger Jahre* (Berlin, 1978), 7–20.

9. Arthur Pulos, *American Design Ethic: A History of Industrial Design to 1940* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983); and Donald Bush, *The Streamlined Decade* (New York, 1975).

10. Volker Albus and Christian Borngräber, *Design Bilanz: Neues deutsches Design der 80er Jahre in Objekten, Bildern, Daten, und Texten* (Cologne, 1992).

11. Borngräber, *Stil Novo,* esp. the introduction.

12. Zaumschirm, 7.

13. John Anthony Thwaites, "Das Weben als Kunst," *Das Kunstwerk* 2 (1955/1956): unpaginated. Albrecht Bangert, *Der Stil der 50er Jahre* (Munich, 1983), 27.

14. This was the 1950 Painters at the Bauhaus show in Munich.

15. Rainer Wick, *Bauhaus-Pädagogik* (Cologne, 1982), 299–309.

16. Christine Hopfengart, *Klee: Von Sonderfall zum Publikumsliebling* (Mainz, 1989); Doris Schmidt, "Bildende Kunst," in *Die Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland,* vol. 4, *Kultur,* ed. Wolfgang Benz (Frankfurt, 1989), 200–243; Martin Warnke, "Von der Gegenständlichkeit und der Ausbreitung der Abstrakten," in *Die 50er Jahre,* ed. Dieter Bänsch (Tübingen, 1985), 209–21.

17. Thomas Hoscislawski, *Bauen zwischen Macht und Ohnmacht: Architektur und Städtebau in der DDR* (Berlin, 1991), 38–43, 101–11, 297–310. See also Andreas Schätzke, ed., *Zwischen Bauhaus und Stalinallee: Architekturdebatte im östlichen Deutschland, 1945–1955* (Braunschweig, 1991).

18. Paul Reilly, "German Enterprise in Wallpaper Design," *Design* 55 (July 1953): 16–19.

19. Paul Betts, "The Bauhaus as Cold War Legend: West German Modernism Revisited," *German Politics and Society* 14, no. 2 (summer 1996): 75–100.

20. *Deutsche Kunststoffe, 1957–1958* (Wiesbaden, 1958), 15. See also the typescript "Der Absatzgroßhandel in der Kriegswirtschaft" (Berlin, 1941), 81–99, Freie Universität, Berlin.

21. West German production of plastic skyrocketed from 23,000 tons in 1947 to 505,000 tons in 1956. *Deutsche Kunststoffe, 1957–1958,* 15. For more statistical information, Manfred Braunsperger and Klaus Schworm, *Kunststoffverarbeitende Industrie: Strukturelle Probleme und Wachstumchancen* (Berlin, 1964), 54ff.

22. The statistics for the production of household goods made of glass and porcelain can be found in Hans Phillipi, "Struktur und Leistungen des westdeutschen Eisenwaren- und Hausratshandels," in *Schriften zur Handelsforschung,* ed. Rudolf Seyffert (Cologne, 1957), esp. 51–70, 139–49.

23. Wend Fischer, "Göppinger Plastics," *Werk und Zeit* 3, no. 4 (April 1954): 1–4.

24. On functionalist use of plastics, Heinz Georg Pfaender, "Gegenstände aus Kunststoff für den Haushalt," *Die Gute Industrieform* 6 (1959): 228–32. Roland Barthes, "Plastic," in his *Mythologies,* trans. Annette Lavers (New York, 1972), 97–100.

25. Good examples of guides are Erika Brödner, *Modernes Wohnen* (Munich, 1954), and Ruth Geyer-Raack and Sybille Geyer, *Möbel und Raum* (Berlin, 1955). See too E. Meier-Oberist, "Plastics und Möbel," *Möbelkultur* 7, no. 2 (February 1955): unpaginated. That so-called women's magazines were bought and read exclusively by women is patently untrue. Indeed, West Germany's largest "women's" magazine, *Constanze,* had established a readership by 1957 of over 8.5 million, 41.6 percent of whom were men. Michael Kriegeskorte, *Werbung in Deutschland, 1945–1965* (Cologne, 1992), 67.

26. One art historian has even argued that it was precisely this allergic reaction against tradition and the accompanying cult of internationalism that became a new form of West German provincialism. Martin Damus, *Kunst in der BRD 1945–1990* (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1995), 19.

27. Christian Kellerer, *Weltmacht Kitsch* (Stuttgart, 1957).

28. Petsch, 225.

29. Karl Markus Michel, "Ruckkehr zur Fassade," *Kursbuch* 89 (1987): 125–43, quoted in Axel Schildt, *Moderne Zeiten: Freizeit, Massenmedien, und 'Zeitgeist' in der Bundesrepublik der 50er Jahre* (Hamburg, 1995), 20.

30. Kriegeskorte, 38.

31. See the essays in Sabine Thomas-Ziegler, ed., *Petticoat und Nierentisch: Die Jugendzeit der Republik* (Cologne, 1995).

32. Werner Durth and Niels Gutschow, *Architektur und Städtebau der 50er Jahre* (Bonn, 1987); and Erica Carter, *How German Is She? Postwar West German Reconstruction and the Consuming Woman* (Ann Arbor, 1997), 109–70.

33. Bangert, 39.

34. Quoted in Bangert, 41.

35. Michael Wildt, *Am Beginn der 'Konsumgesellschaft': Mangelerfahrung, Lebenshaltung, und Wohlstandshoffnung in Westdeutschland in den 50er Jahren* (Hamburg, 1994), esp. 195–212.

36. Bangert, 41.

37. *Anfang 1948: Rückblick auf die erste Frankfurter Messe nach dem Kriege und das Jahr 1948* (Frankfurt, 1985), 117.

38. Stephan Oster, "Sozialgeschichtliche Aspekte zum Gelsenkirchener Barock," in *Gelsenkirchener Barock,* ed. Stephan Brakensiek (Gelsenkirchen, 1991), 93–105.

39. Ulrich Herbert, "Good Times, Bad Times: Memories of the Third Reich," in *Life in the Third Reich,* ed. Richard Bessel (Oxford, 1987), 97–110.

40. Michael Wildt, "Changes in Consumption as Social Practice in West Germany during the 1950s," in *Getting and Spending: European and American Consumer Societies in the Twentieth Century,* ed. Susan Strasser, Charles McGovern, and Matthias Judt (Cambridge, Eng., 1998), 301–16.

41. Jacques Rueff and Andre Piettre, *Wirtschaft ohne Wunder* (Zurich, 1953), quoted in Ludwig Erhard, *Wohlstand für Alle* (Düsseldorf, 1957), 14.

42. Ingrid Schenk, "Scarcity and Success: West Germany in the 1950s," in *Pain and Prosperity,* ed. Betts and Eghigian, 160–77.

43. Werner Abelshauser, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1945–1980* (Frankfurt, 1983), 6, 8.

44. Arne Andersen, *Der Traum vom guten Leben: Alltags- und Konsumgeschichte vom Wirtschaftswunder bis heute (*Frankfurt, 1997).

45. Sabine Thomas-Ziegler, "Aufbruch in eine Neue Zukunft," in *Petticoat und Nierentisch,* ed. Thomas-Ziegler, 31.

46. According to 1958 statistics, only 11 percent of blue-collar and 28 percent of white-collar households owned a refrigerator; electric washing machines were present in only 20 percent of blue-collar and 26 percent of white-collar homes. Axel Schildt and Arnold Sywottek, "'Reconstruction and Modernization': West German Social History during the 1950s," in *West Germany under Construction: Politics, Society, and Culture in the Adenauer Era,* ed. Robert Moeller (Ann Arbor, 1997), 428. And see Werner Abelshauser, *Die langen 50er Jahre: Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1949–1966* (Düsseldorf, 1987).

47. Borngräber, *Stil Novo,* 243.

48. Francis Franscina, ed., *Pollock and After: The Critical Debate* (New York, 1985), esp. 91–185; and Serge Guilbaut, *How New York Stole the Idea of Modern Art* (Chicago, 1983).

49. Winfried Schmied, "Points of Departure and Transformations in German Art, 1905–1985," in *German Art in the 20th Century: Painting and Sculpture, 1905–1985,* ed. Christos Joachimides, Norman Rosenthal, and Wieland Schmied (Munich, 1985), 55–58.

50. Hans-Joachim Manske, "Anschluß an die Moderne: Bildende Kunst in Westdeutschland, 1945–1960," in *Modernisierung im Wiederaufbau: Die westdeutsche Gesellschaft der 50er Jahre,* ed. Axel Schildt and Arnold Sywottek (Bonn, 1993), 563–82. For background, Jutta Held, *Kunst und Kunstpolitik in Deutschland, 1945–1949* (Berlin, 1981).

51. Bernhard Siepen, "Der kleine, wertige Gegenstand," *Die Kunst und das schöne Heim* 47, no. 2 (May 1949): 67–70.

52. "'Constructa'-Bauausstellung Hannover 1951 und die dort gezeigte kleinen

Wohnungen: Ein Rückblick," *Die Kunst und das schöne Heim* 49, no. 4 (September 1951): 469–73.

53. Brune von Safft, "Von der Gefährdung der Form," *Die Kunst und das schöne Heim* 49, no. 1 (January 1951): 152–55.

54. Albrecht Bangert, "Resopal a la Klee," *Du: Zeitschrift für Kunst und Kultur* 5 (1984): 26ff.

55. Christian Borngräber, "Bruchstücke: Westdeutsches Nachkriegsdesign, 1945–1955," in *Die 50er Jahre,* ed. Bänsch, 142; Schepers, 118.

56. For example, Göppinger Plastics founded a gallery in Frankfurt that exhibited the work of its artist-designers. It also helped design the exhibition rooms for the 1955 Kassel Dokumenta exposition. See the brochure "Göppinger Plastics als raumgestaltendes Material in der 'Dokumenta,' Kassel 1955," Institut für neue technische Form, Darmstadt. The intimate relationship between the arts and business was further illustrated by the fact that Arnold Bode, founder of the Documenta, also designed porcelain for Rosenthal. Hermann Schreiber, Dieter Honisch, and Ferdinand Simoneit, *Die Rosenthal-Story* (Düsseldorf, 1980), 55.

57. *Rosenthal: 100 Jahre Porzellan* (Hannover, 1982).

58. Dolf Sternberger, "Über den Jugendstil," in his *Über den Jugendstil und andere Essays* (Hamburg, 1956), 11–28. See also Helmut Heissenbüttel, "Anfang und Ende des Jugendstils," *Magnum* 49 (August 1963): 52–53; and Hans Paul Bahrdt, "Organische Möbel: Späte Früchte des Jugendstils?" *Baukunst und Werkform* 9 (1952): 50–51.

59. Gert Selle, *Jugendstil und Kunstindustrie* (Ravensburg, 1973), 30ff.

60. Inge Scholl, "Eine neue Gründerzeit und ihre Gebrauchskunst," in *Der Bestandsaufnahme: Eine deutsche Bilanz 1962,* ed. Hans Werner Richter (Munich, 1962), 421–27, quoted material at 412–22.

61. Wilhelm Braun-Feldweg, *Normen und Formen* (Ravensburg, 1954), 5, 41–42.

62. Sample titles include Arnold Gehlen, *Man in the Age of Technology,* trans. Patricia Lipscomb (New York, 1980; orig. pub. 1957); Hans Freyer, *Theorie des gegenwärtigen Zeitalters* (Stuttgart, 1955); and Friedrich Sieburg, *Die Lust am Untergang* (Hamburg, 1954).

63. Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment,* trans. John Cummings (New York, 1972; orig. pub. 1947).

64. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere,* trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, Mass., 1989; orig. pub. 1962); Hans Magnus Enzensberger, *Einzelheiten I/II* (Frankfurt, 1962–64); as well as the essays collected in Richter, ed., *Der Bestandsaufnahme.*

65. Alexander Mitscherlich and Margarete Mitscherlich, *Die Unfähigkeit zu trauern: Grundlagen kollektiven Verhaltens* (Munich, 1977; orig. pub. 1967), 19.

66. See also Adorno's famous 1963 essay "Was bedeutet: Aufarbeitung der Vergangenheit?" in his *Eingriffe: Neun kritische Modelle* (Frankfurt, 1963), esp. 141. The idea also colors some recent accounts of the postwar period. Hermann Glaser, *Die Kulturgeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland,* vol. 1, *1945–1948* (Frankfurt, 1985), 20.

67. Glaser, *Die Kulturgeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland,* vol. 2, *1949–1967* (Frankfurt, 1990), 162–77.

68. "Die Welt wird heiter," *Magnum* 2, no. 6 (1955): unpaginated.

69. "Heitere Freiheit," *Magnum* 2, no. 6 (1955): unpaginated.

70. Note, for example, the *Magnum* special issues on the "Young Genera-
tion" (1954), "The 1955 Human Model" (1955), "Where Is Beauty Today?"
(1956), "The Society in Which We Live" (1957), and "How We Could Live"
(1957), which all took up the connection among modern design, good taste, and
progressive modernity.

71. Such "Coca-Colonization" literature is by no means extinct. Reinhold
Wagnleitner, *Coca-Colonization and the Cold War: The Cultural Mission of the
United States in Austria after the Second World War* (Chapel Hill, 1994); Jost
Hermand, *Kultur im Wiederaufbau: Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1945–
1965* (Berlin, 1989); and Ralph Willett, *The Americanization of West Germany,
1945–1949* (London, 1989). For a more balanced assessment, Arnold Sywottek,
"The Americanization of Everyday Life? Early Trends in Consumer and Leisure-
Time Behavior," in *America and the Shaping of German Society, 1945–1955,*
ed. Michael Ermarth (Providence, R.I., 1993), 132–52.

72. Christian Zentner, *Illustrierte Geschichte der Ära Adenauer* (Munich,
1984); Frank Grube and Gerhard Richter, *Das Wirtschaftswunder: Unser Weg
in die Wohlstand* (Hamburg, 1983); Bernhard Schulz, ed., *Grauzonen Farbwel-
ten: Kunst und Zeitbilder, 1945–1955* (Berlin, 1983); and Eckhard Siepmann,
ed., *Bikini: Die Fünfziger Jahre* (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1983).

73. Ursula Becher, *Geschichte des modernen Lebensstil* (Munich, 1990); and
Kaspar Maase, "Freizeit," in *Die Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland,*
vol. 3, *Gesellschaft,* ed. Wolfgang Benz (Frankfurt, 1989), 345–83. More gen-
erally, Anson Rabinbach, *The Human Motor: Energy, Fatigue, and the Origins
of Modernity* (New York, 1990), esp. the conclusion.

74. Hermand, *Kultur,* 489–521; Glaser, 2: 153–77.

75. Hans Platschek, "Das Bild als Ware," and Hans Magnus Enzensberger,
"Meine Herren Mäzene," in *Bestandaufnahme,* ed. Richter, 547–55 and 557–61,
respectively; and Theodor Heuss, *Zur Kunst der Gegenwart* (Tübingen, 1956),
80–81.

76. Glaser, 2: 173–77.

77. Klaus J. Fischer, "Was ist Tachismus?," *Das Kunstwerk* 5 (1955/1956): 17.

78. Hans Richter, *Dada: Kunst und Antikunst* (Cologne, 1964).

79. Willy Verkauf, "Dada in Funktion" and "Dada und die Gute Form,"
Magnum 22 (February 1959): unpaginated.

80. "Ein Ärgernis wird konstruktiv: Der Dadaismus in unserer Zeit," *Mag-
num* 22 (February 1959): unpaginated.

81. Jürgen Habermas, "Notizen zum Mißverständnis von Kultur und Kon-
sum," *Merkur* 10, no. 3 (March 1956): 212–28.

82. Klaus Sembach, *Stil 1930* (Stuttgart, 1971).

83. "Fabricated eros" is attributed to Karl Korn, *Die Kulturfabrik* (Wies-
baden, 1953), as cited in Schildt, 358.

84. Karl Bednarik, *An der Konsumfront* (Stuttgart, 1957), 11–41.

85. Theodor Adorno, *The Jargon of Authenticity,* trans. Knut Tarnowski and
Frederic Will (Evanston, Ill., 1973; orig. pub. 1964).

86. Schildt, 351–98.

87. Frederic Schwarz, *The Werkbund: Design Theory and Mass Culture before the First World War* (New Haven, Conn., 1996), 13–43.

88. Helmut Croon, "Der Hunger nach Sozialprestige," *Merkur* 9 (1953): 1109–22.

89. Habermas, "Notizen," 212.

90. Damus, 171.

Chapter Four. Design and Its Discontents

1. See, for example, Herbert Lindinger, "The Nation of Functionalism," in *History of Industrial Design,* vol. 3, ed. Enrico Castelnuovo (Milan, 1991), 86–101; Wolfgang Ruppert, "Ulm ist tot, es lebe Ulm! Rückblick auf die Hochschule für Gestaltung," *Kursbuch* 106 (December 1991): 119–40; Herbert Lindinger, ed., *Ulm Design: The Morality of Objects,* trans. David Britt (Cambridge, Mass., 1990); Gert Selle, *Design-Geschichte in Deutschland* (Cologne, 1987), 241–74; Hartmut Seeling, "Geschichte der HfG Ulm, 1953–1968" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Köln, 1985); Bernd Meurer and Hartmut Vincon, *Industrielle Ästhetik: Zur Geschichte und Theorie der Gestaltung* (Giessen, 1983), esp. 165–83; the special "hfg ulm" issue of *Archithese* 15 (1975); and Joachim Heimbucher and Peter Michels, "Bauhaus-HfG-IUP" (master's thesis, Universität Stuttgart, 1971). This idea was also registered in the former German Democratic Republic; Norbert Korrek, "Versuch einer Biographie: Die Hochschule für Gestaltung" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Weimar, 1984).

2. Recent exceptions include Christiane Wachsmann, ed., *Objekt + Objektiv = Objektivität? Fotografie an der HfG Ulm, 1953–1968* (Ulm, 1991); and Eva von Seckendorff, *Die Hochschule für Gestaltung in Ulm* (Marburg, 1989).

3. For an account of the White Rose resistance movement, see Inge Scholl, *The White Rose,* trans. Arthur Schultz (Middletown, Conn., 1983; orig. pub. 1952); and the anonymous *Die Weiße Rose und das Erbe des deutschen Widerstandes* (Munich, 1993).

4. Seckendorff, 17.

5. Hermann Glaser, *Die Kulturgeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland,* vol. 1, *1945–1948* (Frankfurt, 1985), 162–65.

6. Otl Aicher, "Fangen wir an," typescript, 16 June 1948, IO, SAU.

7. "Inge Scholl und das Kuratorium der Volkshochschule Ulm: Werbeschrift für die Volkshochschule Ulm, 1946," 9, IV 2.1 67, SAU.

8. Ibid., 19. For useful background on this widespread intellectual penchant, Jost Hermand, *Kultur im Wiederaufbau: Die Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1945–1965* (Frankfurt, 1989), esp. 42–89.

9. "Scholl und das Kuratorium," 19.

10. Seckendorff, 19–24.

11. Herbert Wiegandt, "10 Jahre Ulmer Volkshochschule," *Ulmer Monatsspiegel,* 8 April 1956, 9ff.

12. Werner Durth and Niels Gutschow, *Träume in Trümmern: Stadtplanung 1940–1950* (Munich, 1993), 214–392. The debate about the ideological prob-

lems associated with reconstructing Frankfurt's Goethe House is neatly recounted by Andreas Hansert, *Bürgerkultur und Kulturpolitik in Frankfurt am Main* (Frankfurt, 1992), 206–34.

13. See the typescript "Expose zur Gründung einer Geschwister-Scholl-Hoschschule," n.d., unpaginated, E300, SAU.

14. See the 1949 "Geschwister-Scholl-Hochschule Programm," 8, 11, E300, SAU. The writer Carl Zuckmayer made a similar argument about the need for a German-inspired school in an unpaginated statement appended to this program.

15. Ibid., 3. Also, Herbert Wiegandt, "Das kulturelle Geschehen," *Forschungen zur Geschichte der Stadt Ulm* 12 (1974): 92ff.

16. "Vorbereitung zum Prospekt: Geschwister-Scholl Hochschule," 1949, unpaginated; and "GSH-Programm," 1949, 19, E300, SAU.

17. The initial list of proposed instructors, which included Richter, Eugen Kogon (founder of the postwar journal *Frankfurter Hefte*), and Alfred Andersch (author and cofounder of *Der Ruf*), reflected the school's original journalistic orientation and outlook.

18. "Expose über das Forschungsinstitut für Produktform und die Hochschule für Gestaltung," n.d., unpaginated, quoted in Seeling, 20–21.

19. Seeling, 35.

20. Seckendorff, 34.

21. Max Bill, "Schönheit aus Funktion und als Funktion," *Das Werk* 36, no. 8 (August 1949): 272–74.

22. Max Bill, *Form: A Balance-Sheet of Mid-20th Century Trends in Design* (Basel, 1952), unpaginated.

23. For background, Peter Erni, *Die Gute Form* (Baden, 1983).

24. Bill, *Form,* unpaginated.

25. Bill to Scholl, 16 March 1950, quoted in Seeling, 43.

26. Quoted in Seckendorff, 41.

27. Though the Scholl Siblings name was abandoned, Inge Scholl founded the Scholl Foundation in 1950 as a means of administering the school's finances. Seckendorff, 53–59.

28. Otl Aicher, "Die Hochschule für Gestaltung: Neun Stufen ihrer Entwicklung," *Archithese* 15 (1975): 13.

29. "Hochschule für Gestaltung–Programm," 1951, unpaginated, SUE 300, HfG, Ulm.

30. Thomas Alan Schwartz, *America's Germany: John J. McCloy and the Federal Republic of Germany* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), esp. 156–84.

31. "Vorentwurf des Antrags an HICOG," 1 August 1950, SAU.

32. Martin Jay, *The Dialectical Imagination* (Boston, 1973), 282.

33. Inge Scholl, 17 April 1952, reprinted in Seckendorff, 60. The phrase "spiritual Marshall Plan" was first used by Aicher in his 1948 typescript "Wer trug der Widerstand?," SAU.

34. Excerpts from the exchange of letters between Bill and Gropius are reprinted in Seckendorff, 38–39.

35. John McCloy, untitled speech, Boston, 1950, IO/433, SAU.

36. "McCloy ehrt Geschwister-Scholl," *Stuttgarter Zeitung,* 24 June 1953.

37. See the typed minutes to the 1951 meeting between Max Bill and J. J. Op-

penheimer, the representative of the HICOG's Office of Public Affairs, Education and Cultural Relations Division, at Ulm's Bundesbahnhotel, 8 October 1951, IO/433, SAU.

38. See the German translation of the HICOG's grant conditions, 9 April 1952, IO/433, SAU. The allegation against Scholl was made by a former Gestapo officer who later admitted at the Nuremberg Trials that he himself had persecuted the Scholls. Nonetheless, it took more than a year for her name to be cleared of all charges, during which time American monies were frozen. Scholl to Shepard Stone, 31 December 1951, IO/433, SAU.

39. During the first planning stage, Aicher and Bill disputed the actual site for the school. Aicher wished to build on the ruins of an old fort that had been used by the Nazis as a provisional concentration camp, to symbolize the school's phoenix-like emergence from the ground of dictatorship and death. Bill immediately objected, condemning the idea of "new life arising from the ruins" as cheap and overblown political theatrics. Bill to Scholl, 17 February 1950, Max Bill–Archiv, Zürich.

40. On Bill's inspirations, Seckendorff, 70.

41. The only exception was the organically designed refreshments counter in the student center, which served as the school's favorite meeting place.

42. Seckendorff, 81.

43. "The Pursuit of Reasons and Systems: Editorial Discussion," in *Ulm Design,* 76–79.

44. These disparate quotations are culled from Seckendorff, 82–83, and from Bernhard Rübenbach, *Der Rechte Winkel von Ulm* (Darmstadt, 1987), 33.

45. Rübenbach, 18.

46. Seeling, 169.

47. Seckendorff, 126–28.

48. Ibid., 128.

49. "HfG-Programm," 1951, unpaginated.

50. The linkage of antifascism and the redemptive Bauhaus legacy in inspiring the foundation of the Ulm school was best expressed by Walter Dirks, "Das Bauhaus und die Weiße Rose," *Frankfurter Hefte* 10, no. 11 (November 1955): 769–73.

51. Hermann Dannecker, "Die Idee des Bauhauses heimgeholt," *Badische Zeitung* 6 (October 1955).

52. Manfred George, "Eine Helferin des 'anderen Deutschlands,'" *Aufbau* 25 (May 1956).

53. Rübenbach, 9.

54. Jack Raymond, "Nazi Foe to Attain Aim in New School," *The New York Times,* 23 June 1952.

55. "Hochschule für Gestaltung, Ulm," pamphlet, n.p., n.d., Loeb Library, VF 2199, Harvard University.

56. Editor's Introduction, *Atlantic Monthly,* March 1957, 102.

57. Clemens Fiedler, "The New Bauhaus in Ulm," *Atlantic Monthly,* March 1957, 144. For another example, see the special issue "Industrial Design in Postwar Germany," *Design Quarterly* 40 (March 1957).

58. Borngräber, *Stil Novo,* 23.

59. Quoted in Wend Fischer, "Tägliche Kultur, nicht Extrakultur," *Werk und Zeit* 4, no. 10 (October, 1955): 4.

60. Paula Andersen, "Vermittler zwischen Zivilisation und Kultur," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung,* 4 October 1955.

61. Inge Scholl, "Eine neue Gründerzeit und ihre Gebrauchskunst," in *Die Bestandsaufnahme: Einer deutsche Bilanz 1962,* ed. Hans Werner Richter (Munich, 1962), 421–27.

62. Bill, *Form,* unpaginated.

63. Max Bill, "The Bauhaus Idea from Weimar to Ulm," in *Architects Yearbook 5,* ed. Morton Shand (London, 1953), 29–32. The German version appeared as "Vom staatlichen Bauhaus in Weimar zur Hochschule für Gestaltung in Ulm," *Magnum* 1 (1954): 59–60. For historical background about the turn-of-the-century reform movement, see Hans Wingler, ed., *Kunstschulreform, 1900–1930* (Berlin, 1977).

64. Bill, *Form,* unpaginated.

65. Max Bill, "Die mathematische Denkweise in der Kunst unserer Zeit," *Das Werk* 36, no. 3 (March 1949): 86–90. Indeed, Bill edited and wrote introductions to four Kandinsky texts that were reprinted after 1945: *Wassily Kandinsky* (Paris, 1951); *Über das Geistige in der Kunst* (Bern, 1952); *Punkte und Linie zur Fläche* (Bern, 1955); and *Essays über Kunst und Künstler* (Stuttgart, 1955).

66. Max Bill, "Grundlage und Ziel der Aesthetik im Maschinenzeitalter," *Baukunst und Werkform* 9 (1955): 558–61. The article was a reprint of Bill's speech at the 1953 design congress in Paris.

67. Ibid., 560.

68. Bill, "The Bauhaus Idea," 31.

69. Bill, "Grundlage," 560.

70. Max Bill, "Aktuelle Probleme der Gestaltung," special issue of *VIR: Informationsorgan für Führungskräfte der Wirtschaft* 3 (1957): 98–101. In another 1957 publication, Bill explicitly equated the "culture good" with "good form": "Kulturgut = Die gute Form. Die aesthetische Funktion als sichtbarer Ausdruck der Einheit aller Funktionen ist das entscheidende Argument dafür, ob ein Gegenstand über seine reine Zweckerfüllung hinaus zu den Kulturgütern unserer Zeit gerechnet und demzufolge als 'Die gute Form' ausgezeichnet werden kann." Bill, *Die Gute Form* (Winterthur, 1957), 38.

71. Bill, "The Bauhaus Idea," 31, translation modified.

72. "HfG-Prospekt," 1956, quoted in Seckendorff, 48.

73. "HfG-Programm," 1956, unpaginated.

74. Kenneth Frampton, "Apropos Ulm: Curriculum and Critical Theory," *Oppositions* 3 (May 1974): 35.

75. Tomás Maldonado, "New Developments in Industry and the Training of Designers," *Architects' Yearbook* 9 (1960), 174–80. The article was originally published with a slightly different title, "New Developments in Industry and the Training of the Designer," in the school's journal, *Ulm* 2 (October 1958): 25–40. All citations refer to the 1960 version unless otherwise noted.

76. Maldonado, *Ulm* 2 (October 1958), 30.

77. It should be added that Maldonado had earlier written a full-length monograph on Bill, praising him as the "total artist" demonstrating a rare "will to co-

herence." Maldonado, *Max Bill* (Buenos Aires, 1955). Nonetheless Maldonado held that Bill's laudable artistic ideas did not belong in industrial design.

78. Maldonado, "Two Views on Architectural Education," *Architectural Education* 29, no. 4 (April 1959): 153–54.

79. Maldonado, "New Developments," 176.

80. Maldonado, *Ulm* 2 (October 1958), 33–34.

81. Maldonado, "Two Views," 154.

82. Maldonado, "New Developments," 180.

83. Tomás Maldonado, "Die Krise der Pädagogik und die Philosophie der Erziehung," *Merkur* 13, no. 9 (September 1959): 818–35.

84. Ibid., 828.

85. Friedrich Georg Jünger, *Die Perfektion der Technik* (Frankfurt, 1947); Sigfried Giedion, *Mechanization Takes Command* (New York, 1948); Martin Heidegger, *Die Technik und die Kehre* (Pfullingen, 1962); Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno, *Dialectic of Enlightenment,* trans. John Cummings (New York, 1972; orig. pub. 1947). See also William Kuhns, *The Post-Industrial Prophets: Interpretations of Technology* (New York, 1973).

86. Andreas Schüler, *Erfindergeist und Technikkritik: Der Beitrag Amerikas zur Modernisierung und die Technikdebatte seit 1900* (Stuttgart, 1990), esp. 138–77.

87. Joachim Radkau, "'Wirtschaftswunder' ohne technologische Innovation? Technische Modernität in den 50er Jahren," in *Modernisierung im Wiederaufbau: Die westdeutsche Gesellschaft der 50er Jahre,* ed. Axel Schildt and Arnold Sywottek (Bonn, 1993), 129–53, at 131. For background, Jeffrey Herf, *Reactionary Modernism: Technology, Culture, and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich* (New York, 1984), 152–88.

88. The firm's early history is recounted by C. C. Cobarg, "Max Braun, Unternehmersgründer und Innovator," *Braun + Design* 17 (October 1990): 6–12. See also the brochure *Braun im Rückblick, 1921–1989,* Braun-Archiv, Kronberg.

89. Oliver Zimmermann, "Der Gelsenkirchener Barock aus designgeschichtlicher Sicht," in *Gelsenkirchener Barock,* ed. Stephan Brakensiek (Gelsenkirchen, 1991), 83–92.

90. In a well-known survey of leading international corporate design firms, Braun was the only West German company included in the discussion. Wolfgang Schmittel, *Design Concept Realisation* (Zürich, 1975), esp. 19–54.

91. The importance of these other design firms for Braun's early design work was emphasized by Dieter Rams, Braun's longtime chief designer, in an interview with the author, 10 December 1991, Kronberg.

92. For the results of the report, "Der Wohnstil: Einrichtung, Möbelstücke, Lampen," Institut für Demoskopie (Allensbach am Bodensee, 1954). For Braun's enthusiasm that the new direction in design was "moderne, klare, schlichte Form, schönes Material, helle Farben, sinnvoller Aufbau, technische Höchstleistung," see the special issue of Braun's company journal *Braun Betriebsspiegel,* August 1955, 1–12, Braun-Archiv, Kronberg.

93. Braun had also received various expressionist Nierentisch radio designs as suggested models, but they were rejected as too unconventional. See, for example, Walter Schwagenscheidt's designs and his attached plea for more mod-

ernist radio design; "Die Angst vor dem Käufer," *Baukunst und Werkform* 12 (1953): 601–7.

94. This is not to say, however, that Braun always shied away from this bubbled streamline style. Note, for instance, the 1956 SGH design by Wilhelm Wagenfeld.

95. "Im Werkstätten-Stil," *Der Spiegel,* 7 September 1955, 47; "Das Radio für die Bauhauswohnung," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung,* 1 September 1955; "Guter Geschmack geht in Serie," *Wiesbadener Kurier,* 30 August 1955; and "Ulmisches auf dem Funk- und Fernsehschau," *Schwäbische Donau-Zeitung,* 31 August 1955. Note, however, that Braun included wood in its stereo console designs until 1961, primarily because the marketing department felt that all-metal-and-plastic models might alienate consumers. Rüdiger Joppien, "Weniger ist Mehr: oder die Leere ist Fülle," in *Mehr oder Weniger: Braun im Vergleich* (Hamburg: Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe, 1990), 9–17, at 11.

96. See, for example, the special supplement of the Werkbund organ devoted to Braun design, *Werk und Zeit* 6, no. 11 (1957). Excerpts from the positive press about Braun were gathered in a March 1957 issue of the company's *Braun Betriebsspiegel,* Braun-Archiv Kronberg.

97. That Gugelot and Rams were trained as architects underlined this connection between Neue Sachlichkeit architecture and Braun design. The comparison between Le Corbusier's architectural work and Braun design is suggestively explored by Joppien.

98. Nils Jockel, "Mehr oder Weniger . . . alte Bekannte?," in *Mehr oder Weniger,* 6–9. Clearly such high-tech design was not affordable for everyone. In fact, the price of Braun goods was always quite steep. For example, the Braun mixer cost DM 129 in 1954; its SK2 portable radio was DM 145 in 1956; its PK-G 3 stereo console cost DM 630 in 1956; and the famous SK4, DM 540 in 1957. Still, according to one report, Braun grossed DM 100 million in 1960, enjoying 56 percent of the market share. "Magisches Rechteck," *Der Spiegel* 45 (1964): 77–78.

99. The historical precedents are discussed by Hans Wichmann, "System-Design: Hans Gugelot," in *System-Design Bahnbrecher: Hans Gugelot, 1920–1965,* ed. Wichmann (Basel, 1984), 12–18. The American Charles Eames, the Swede Nisse Strinning, the West Germans Herbert Hirche and Gustav Hassenpflug, and the Swiss Hans Bellmann all designed new furniture system models after 1945. Seckendorff, 149. Another assessment of Gugelot's influence can be found in Christiane Wachsmann, ed., *Design ist gar nicht lehrbar: Hans Gugelot und seine Schüler* (Ulm, 1990).

100. Werner Blaser, *Element System Möbel: Wege von der Architektur zur Design* (Stuttgart, 1984), 57. Gugelot had also applied this "system" appearance to Braun's electronic products after 1955. For the phrase "visual hygiene," Hans Gugelot, "Hypothesen zur Berücksichtigung des Marktes bei der Produktgestaltung," in *System-Design Bahnbrecher,* ed. Wichmann, 50–53, at 53.

101. Michael Koetzle, "'In leichter Aufsicht und sehr oft frontal': Sachfotographie an der HfG," in *Object,* ed. Wachsmann, 76–84. For 1950s subjective photography, Ute Eskildsen, ed., *Otto Steinert und Schüler: Fotografie und Ausbildung 1948 bis 1978* (Essen, 1991).

102. Rolf Sachsse, "Architektur- und Produktphotographie," in *Fotographie am Bauhaus*, ed. Jeannine Fiedler (Berlin, 1990), 185–203. Also, *Werbestil 1930–1940: Die alltägliche Bildersprache eines Jahrzehnts* (Zürich, 1981).

103. Quoted in Koetzle, 79.

104. On the ambience of consumer excitement, Michael Kriegeskorte, *Werbung in Deutschland 1945–1965* (Cologne, 1992), esp. 31–48. Braun's longtime product photographer Marlene Schnelle-Schneyder confirmed the alternative aesthetic policy in her article "Braun Werbefotographie vor 30 Jahren," *Braun + Design* 16 (May 1990): 18–24.

105. As Seckendorff (144–45) points out, Braun only once featured a woman in its advertisements from the 1950s and 1960s. Yet the representation was markedly different from conventional representations, as the young woman was depicted not as a passive, smiling consumer but busy using the product.

106. Rübenbach, "Der rechte Winkel von Ulm," 1959 radio documentary, quoted in the English version of *Ulm Design* 44 (translation modified).

107. Lindinger, 92–95.

108. Kaspar Maase, *Bravo Amerika: Erkundungen zur Jugendkultur der Bundesrepublik in den fünfziger Jahren* (Hamburg, 1992). Also, Eckhard Siepmann, ed., *Bikini: Die Fünfziger Jahre* (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1983), esp. 233–76.

109. Ulf Preuss-Lausitz, "Vom gepanzerten zum sinnstiftenden Körper," in *Kriegskinder, Konsumkinder, Krisenkinder,* ed. Preuss-Lausitz (Weinheim, 1983), 89–106.

110. See Gerda Müller-Krauspe's two short articles, "HfG 1953–1968" and "Wir waren 26: Frauen an der HfG," in *Frauen in Design: Berufsbilder und Lebenswege seit 1900,* ed. Angela Oedekoven-Gerischer (Stuttgart, 1989), 244–77.

111. Reyner Banham, "Cool on the Kuhberg," *The Listener,* 21 May 1959, 884–89.

112. Max Bill, "Der Modelfall Ulm," *Form* 6 (1959): 32–33. The long and at times ugly infighting among the faculty on the eve of Bill's departure is recounted in Seckendorff, 162–66.

113. Seeling, 345.

114. "HfG-Prospekt," 1956, unpaginated.

115. The speeches were reprinted as "Schweizerisch-deutsche Werkbundtagung in der Hochschule für Gestaltung Ulm," *Werk und Zeit* 5, no. 11 (November 1956): 3–4.

116. Note Swiss Werkbund president Alfred Roth's letter to the editor, "Zur Ulmer Werkbundtagung," *Stuttgarter Zeitung,* 30 October 1956.

117. See the German Werkbund Protokolle, Bubenbad, 22 November 1956, E300 II/06, SAU.

118. "Der ideale Löffel oder die verpönte Phantasie," *Stuttgarter Zeitung,* 23 October 1956.

119. Maldonado, "New Developments," 179.

120. Tomás Maldonado, "Is the Bauhaus Relevant Today?" *Ulm* 8/9 (September 1963): 5–13.

121. Walter Gropius, "Eröffnung der neuen Gebäude der HfG," Ulm, September 1955, Bauhaus-Archiv, Berlin. According to reports, the students themselves quietly mocked Gropius's glorification of artistic production. Rübenbach, 9.

122. Seckendorff, 105–6.

123. Ibid., 56.

124. Maldonado, "New Developments," 175.

125. Ludwig Grote, ed., *Die Maler am Bauhaus* (Munich, 1950), 10.

126. The documentary history of the "Schwarz Controversy" is reprinted in Ulrich Conrads et al., eds., *Die Bauhaus-Debatte: Dokumente einer verdrängten Kontroverse* (Braunschweig, 1994). There were other examples: a 1965 text about Meyer by the Ulm docent Claude Schnaidt was published only on the express condition that Gropius's dismissive comments about Meyer's "betrayal" be appended to the conclusion. Claude Schnaidt, *Hannes Meyer: Bauten, Projekte, und Schriften* (Teufen, 1965), 121–22. This controversy even affected the writing of Bauhaus history at the time. According to the English design historian Reyner Banham, the main reason that the Bauhaus Archive's curator Hans Wingler included the Meyer period in his 1962 book *Das Bauhaus* was that he knew Claude Schnaidt's forthcoming text on Hannes Meyer would call into question the ideological exclusion of Meyer from the larger Bauhaus story. Wingler apparently took his revenge by fully omitting the Ulm Institute from his now definitive 1969 tome on the Bauhaus odyssey. See Banham's untitled review of Wingler's *The Bauhaus* (1969) in *Art Quarterly* 34 (1971): 110–13. The East German rehabilitation of Meyer and this "other," leftist Bauhaus did not occur until the mid-1960s. Winfried Nerdinger, "Anstößiges Rot: Hannes Meyer und der linke Baufunktionalismus—ein verdrängtes Kapitel der Architekturgeschichte," in *Hannes Meyer, 1886–1954,* ed. Peter Hahn (Berlin, 1989), 12–29.

127. Anatol Rapaport, *Operational Philosophy* (New York, 1953), esp. the introduction. Frampton, 25.

128. See, for example, Bense's *Raum und Ich* (Berlin, 1934), *Aufstand des Geistes* (Berlin, 1935), and *Geist der Mathematik* (Berlin, 1939).

129. Oddly enough, Bense never mentioned the pioneering essay by Walter Benjamin on the subject, "Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in *Illuminations,* ed. Hannah Arendt, trans. Harry Zohn (New York, 1968), 217–52.

130. Max Bense, "Kunst in der künstlichen Welt," *Werk und Zeit* 5, no. 11 (November 1956): 3–4. See also his speech at the 1958 Darmstadt Conference, "Intelligenz und Originalität in der technischen Zivilisation," in *Ist der Mensch Meßbar?* (Darmstadt, 1958), 33–45.

131. Bense, "Kunst," 4. See too his *Aesthetica* (Baden-Baden, 1965), esp. 16–38. This text was a one-volume reprint of Bense's four-volume work *Aesthetica I–IV* (Baden-Baden, 1954–1960). All citations refer to this 1965 text unless otherwise noted.

132. On shifting the conceptual focus, Bense, *Aesthetica II* (Baden-Baden, 1956), 14. Bense identified Hegel as the prophet of a semiotic approach of aesthetics, since Hegel was the first theoretician to divorce aesthetic judgment from the substance of the object and in turn analyze aesthetic understanding as a series of attributes in the world. For Bense's debt to Hegel, see *Aesthetica,* 196–203.

133. In 1958, a few months after Bill left, Bense resigned from the school in a gesture of solidarity. For Bense's warm praise of the school's first director, see the volume he edited, *Max Bill* (Teufen, 1958), 9–19.

134. Frampton, 36.

135. See, for example, Erich Streissler and Monika Streissler, eds., *Konsum und Nachfrage* (Cologne, 1966); Ursula Hansen, *Stilbildung als absatzwirtschaftliches Problem der Konsumgüterindustrie* (Berlin, 1969); and Carola Möller, *Gesellschaftliche Funktionen der Konsumwerbung* (Stuttgart, 1970).

136. Alexander Moles, "Products: Their Functional and Structural Complexity," *Ulm* 6 (1962): 4–12.

137. Maldonado, "Two Views," 154.

138. Tomás Maldonado, "Notes on Communication," *Uppercase* 5, ed. Theo Crosby (London, 1963), 5–10. This issue featured essays by Maldonado and Bonsiepe, a design case study by Walter Müller, and a semiotics glossary. See too Gugelot.

139. "Auf dem Kuhberg," *Der Spiegel,* 20 March 1963, 71–75.

140. Gui Bonsiepe, "Zur Wandelausstellung der Hochschule für Gestaltung Ulm," *Form* 22 (June 1964): 45.

141. Note, for example, the minutes to the 20 April 1955 meeting of Ulm's executive council, SAU. For the Landtag debate, see the typed report of this 8 February 1956 government session, E300/486, SAU.

142. "Plus- und Minuspunkte für Ulm im Landtag," *Schwäbische Donauzeitung,* 31 March 1963; and "Krise auf dem Ulmer Kuhberg," *Deutsche Zeitung,* 23 September 1963. For an early critique, "Weniger Kalter Krieg—mehr Ausbildung," *Neu-Ulmer Zeitung,* 9 February 1963.

143. Heide Berndt et al., *Architektur als Ideologie* (Frankfurt, 1968); and Uwe Schultz, ed., *Umwelt aus Beton oder Unsere unmenschliche Städte* (Hamburg, 1971). See also the catalog for the 1971 exhibition organized by Munich's Museum für angewandte Kunst, Profitopolis oder Der Mensch braucht eine andere Stadt, RfF.

144. Gerda Müller-Krauspe, "Opas Funktionalismus ist tot," *Form* 46 (May 1968): 29–33; and Werner Nehls, "Die Heiligen Kühe des Funktionalismus müssen geopfert werden," *Form* 43 (September 1968): 4–9.

145. Abraham Moles, "Functionalism in Crisis," *Ulm* 19/20 (August 1967), 24. The debate about functionalism was summarized at the time by Hartmut Seeger, "Funktionalismus im Rückspiegel des Design," *Form* 43 (September 1968): 10–11; and later by Julius Posener, "Kritik der Kritik des Funktionalismus," *Werk-Archithese* 64, no. 3 (March 1977): 16–22.

146. Tomás Maldonado, "Die Ausbildung des Architekten und Produktgestalters in einer Welt im Werden," *Ulm* 14/15/16 (1965): 4.

147. Gui Bonsiepe, "Arabesques of Rationality," *Ulm* 19/20 (August 1967): 9–23.

148. Gui Bonsiepe, "Communication and Power," *Ulm* 21 (1968): 16.

149. Note the language in the 1965–66 course guide, "Lehrprogramm 1965–1966," E300/II40, SAU:

> Die Gestaltungsaufgabe richten sich nicht sehr auf isolierte, für sich stehende Produkte, sondern auf Produktsysteme, die ein geschlossenes Erscheinungsbild aufweisen. Die Abteilung legt besonderen Nachdruck auf die Gestaltung von Geräten, Maschinen, Instrumenten—Produkte also, die von der kunsthand-

werkliche Tradition wenig oder überhaupt nicht berührt sind. Die Gestaltung von Geschmacks- und Luxusgütern gehört nicht zum Aufgabenbereich der Abteilung Produktgestaltung.

150. Maldonado, "New Developments," 180.

151. Tomás Maldonado and Gui Bonsiepe, "Wissenschaft und Gestaltung," *Ulm* 10/11 (1964): 10–29. See also Claude Schnaidt, "Architecture and Political Commitment," *Ulm* 19/20 (August 1967): 26–34.

Chapter Five. Design, Liberalism, and the State

1. "Mündlicher Bericht des Ausschusses für Kulturpolitik über den Antrag der Fraktion der SPD," 16 March 1951, reprinted in *Design Report* 1 (August 1987): 2.

2. Gert Selle, *Design-Geschichte in Deutschland* (Cologne, 1987), 248; and Bernd Meurer and Hartmut Vincon, *Industrielle Ästhetik: Zur Geschichte und Theorie der Gestaltung* (Giessen, 1983), 170ff. Even the council's own self-histories have only perpetuated its image as a publicity agent for West German industry. *Designkultur, 1953–1993: Philosophie, Strategie, und Prozess* (Frankfurt, 1993); and Michael Erlhoff, ed., *Deutsches Design, 1950–1990* (Munich, 1990). For a useful overview of the council's rich history, see Heinz Pfaender's thirty-page typescript, "Rat für Formgebung," 1987, RfF.

3. See, for example, the Werkbund statement attached to the 28 December 1949 letter from the Werkbund advocate and SPD representative Arno Hennig to the West German Chancellor's office, "Die Bedeutung der guten Form deutscher Industriegüter für den deutschen Käufer und für den deutschen Export," B102/34493, BAK. Note as well "Stellungsaufnahme zu dem Vorschlag von Professor Dr. Schwippert auf Schaffung eines Rat für Formgebung," 18 April 1950, B102/34493, BAK.

4. See the minutes to the Werkbundtag, 24 October 1951, Berlin, DWB e.V. Protokolle, 1947–1956, WBA.

5. A German rendition of Herwin Schaefer's oft-cited 1949 critique from the *New York Herald* can be found in Jupp Ernst, "So fing es wieder an," in *Der deutsche Werkbund, 1907, 1947, 1987,* ed. Ot Hoffmann (Berlin, 1987), 45–46.

6. Hennig, "Die Bedeutung," unpaginated.

7. Else Meissner, "Die Qualitätsbewegung und die Frau," *Die Frau,* March 1927, 363–69.

8. Else Meissner, *Qualität und Form in Wirtschaft und Leben* (Munich, 1950), for the Werkbund, 3–25, for other nations, 25–37. And see Richard Stewart, *Design and British Industry* (London, 1985); *Industry and Design in the Netherlands, 1850–1950* (Amsterdam, 1986); *Design Français, 1960–1990* (Paris, 1988); and Heinz Hirdina, *Gestalten für die Serie: Design in der DDR, 1949–1985* (Dresden, 1988).

9. Meissner, *Qualität und Form,* 66, 139–40.

10. Max Wiederanders, "Rat für Formgebung," Kurzprotokoll der 15. Sitzung des Ausschusses für Kulturpolitik, 25 October 1950, B102/33493, BAK.

11. "Antrag der Fraktion der SPD betr. Rat für Formentwicklung deutscher Erzeugnisse in Industrie und Handwerk," Drucksache Nr. 1347, 14 September 1950 (Bonn, 1950).

12. *Deutscher Bundestag,* 90. Sitzung, 6 October 1950, 3361–63; and the minutes of the Bundestag Committee on Economic Policy, 6 February 1951, B102/34493, BAK.

13. See Hennig's defense in the recorded minutes of the Bundestag Committee on Economic Policy, 6 February 1951, B102/34493, BAK.

14. This Centralstelle first distinguished itself by organizing an exposition of selected regional textiles and industrial products at the famous 1851 London Crystal Palace Exhibition. Afterwards, it continued to play a key role in promoting German industrial design, including the Werkbund's landmark 1927 Weissenhofsiedlung exhibition. For a short history of the Centralstelle, Erwin Schirmer, *Form: Schriften zur Formgebung 3* (Stuttgart, 1959), 15–19.

15. "Stichworte für eine Ansprache des Herrn Bundesminister Professor Dr. Erhard anläßlich der Bildung des Rates für Formgebung," 13 October 1952, B102/21240, BAK.

16. Jupp Ernst was selected as Werkbund liaison mainly because he was already involved in the BDI as the representative of the Federal Association of Graphic Artists and was a cofounder of the BDI's Committee on Consumer Design Goods. See his "Zur Vorgeschichte des Arbeitskreises für Formgebung im BDI, des Rates für Formgebung, 'Werk und Zeit' und 'Form,'" unpublished typescript, February 1976, Nachlass von Hartmann, WBA.

17. Helga Nussbaum, *Unternehmer gegen Monopole: Über Struktur und Aktionen antimonopolistischer bürgerlicher Gruppen zu Beginn des 20. Jahrhundert* (East Berlin, 1966); and Gerard Braunthal, *The Federation of German Industry in Politics* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1965), 236ff.

18. Gary Herrigel, "Industrial Organization and the Politics of Industry: Centralized and Decentralized Production in Germany" (Ph.D. diss., MIT, 1990), esp. chapter 5.

19. "Gründung und Aufgaben des Arbeitskreises für industrielle Formgestaltung im BDI," Nachlass von Hartmann, WBA.

20. Herrigel, 475.

21. *Statistischer Bericht: Außenhandel der Elektroindustrie, 1950–1955* (Wiesbaden, 1955), unpaginated; and Dieter Mertins, "Veränderungen der industriellen Branchenstruktur in der Bundesrepublik 1950–1960," in *Wandlungen der Wirtschaftsstruktur in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland,* ed. Heinz König (Berlin, 1962), 439–68.

22. Karl Neuenhofer, "Das Ringen um eine werkgerechte Industrieform," *Handelsblatt,* 16 January 1953; and Gustav Stein, "Unternehmer nach 1945," in *Fünf Jahre BDI,* ed. Fritz Berg (Bergisch Gladbach, 1954), 24–48. Exhibitions included the 1952 Hamburg Kunsthalle show Die Industrie als Kunstmäzen, the 1953 Industriebau-Entwicklung und Gestalt show in Wiesbaden, and the 1954 Gewebt-Geformt exposition at Essen's Villa Hügel.

23. Theodor Heuss, *Was ist Qualität? Zur Geschichte und zur Aufgabe des Deutschen Werkbundes* (Tübingen, 1951), 53–54, 75–76. For an example of Heuss's behind-the-scenes politicking for the Design Council, see his letter to the associate member of the Federal Ministry of Economics Fritz Schäffer, 11 July 1952, B102/34496, BAK.

24. See Erhard's articles, "Werbung und Konsumforschung," *Die Deutsche*

Fertigware 2A (1936): 41–48, and "Einfluß der Preisbildung und Preisbindung auf die Qualität und Quantität des Angebots und der Nachfrage," in *Marktwirtschaft und Wirtschaftswissenschaft,* ed. Georg Bergler and Ludwig Erhard (Berlin, 1939), 47–100.

25. Horst Friedrich Wünsche, *Ludwig Erhards Gesellschafts- und Wirtschaftskonzeption* (Bonn, 1986).

26. Note Erhard's remarks during a 1949 speech before the Federation of German Industry, quoted in Walter Hermann, "Der organisatorsiche Aufbau und die Zielsetzung des BDI," in *Fünf Jahre BDI,* ed. Berg, 47–48.

27. Heinz Spielmann, *Moderne Deutsche Industrieform* (Hamburg, 1962).

28. Ludwig Erhard, "Abschrift: Bildung des Rates für Formentwicklung," 24 May 1952, B102/34496, BAK.

29. Alfons Leitl, untitled editorial, *Baukunst und Werkform,* April 1951, 5–6. Also, "Vorentwurf an den Herrn Bundeswirtschaftsminister Kattensroth," October, 1951, Nachlass Seeger, A87, SAS.

30. Rat für Formgebung Sitzung, committee minutes, Hannover, 2 March 1953, B102/21241, BAK.

31. See the minutes to the Baden-Württemberg Werkbund's meeting, 25 February 1953, Nachlass Seeger, A87, SAS.

32. After the war, Seeger renewed her Werkbund membership, helped found the Bauhaus-Archiv in 1960, and served as general secretary of the International Council of the Society of Industrial Designers (ICSID) from 1959 to 1961.

33. See the proceedings volume, Hans Schwippert, ed., *Mensch und Technik: Erzeugnis Form Gebrauch, 1952 Darmstädter Gespräch* (Darmstadt, 1952), 35–38 for the opponents, 14–16, 223–26 for the advocates.

34. For the appraisals of journalists covering the conference, Hans Eckstein, "Mensch und Technik: Zum Darmstädter Gespräch 1952," *Bauen und Wohnen* 7, no. 11 (1952): 536; and Ulrich Conrads, "Anmerkungen zur Zeit," *Baukunst und Werkform* 1, no. 10 (October 1952): 3–5.

35. Note the opening words of the conference by the mayor of Darmstadt, Ludwig Engel, along with the subsequent comments from Schwippert, *Mensch und Technik,* ed. Schwippert, 8–9, 13, 67–72, 231–36.

36. Eduard Schalfejew, "Ausführungen von Staatssekretär Dr. Schalfejew anläßlich der Messe Hannover, Frühjahr 1954," typescript, RfF.

37. Eduard Schalfejew, "Das Signum der Qualität," *Europa: Zeitschrift für Politik, Wirtschaft & Kultur* 9 (1954): 34.

38. *Germania: VII Mailänder Triennale,* ed. H. Gretsch and A. Haberer (Milan, 1940), unpaginated, Stadtsbibliothek, Stuttgart.

39. See, for example, Paul Ortwin Rave, *Kunstdiktatur im Dritten Reich* (Berlin, 1987; orig. pub. 1947); George Mosse's edited documentary history, *Nazi Culture* (New York, 1966); and Franz Roh, *'Entartete' Kunst: Kunstbarbarei im Dritten Reich* (Hannover, 1962).

40. One objection against the persistence of Nazi exhibition politics can be found in a letter from Richard Uhlmeyer, president of the Central Committee of German Artisans, to Ludwig Erhard, 6 August 1951, B102/34493, BAK.

41. Irene Zander, "Die Triennale in Mailand: Ein Warnsignal für Deutschland," *Baukunst und Werkform,* September 1951, 43–44.

42. Beate zur Nedden, "Rundgang durch die Triennale 1951," *Die Neue Stadt,* October 1951, 399–401.

43. See the letters to the editor gathered in "Glanz und Elend der Triennale," *Baukunst und Werkform* 12 (1954): 723–38.

44. "Die Preisträger von Mailand," *Werk und Zeit* 7, no. 3 (March 1957): 1–3.

45. James D. Herbert, *Paris 1937: Worlds on Exhibition* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1998).

46. G. B. von Hartmann and Wend Fischer, eds., *Deutschland: Beitrag zur Weltausstellung Brüssel 1958: Ein Bericht* (Düsseldorf, 1958), 9.

47. See the Generalkommissar's "Merkblatt über die deutsche Beteilung 1957," WBA.

48. *Deutschland: Weltausstellung,* ed. von Hartmann and Fischer, 16.

49. Note the 1957 memorandum from the Generalkommissar, "Hinweise für Inhalt und Gestaltung der verschiedenen Gruppen der deutschen Beteilung in Brüssel," 8 February 1957, WBA.

50. Knoll International furniture, most notably Charles Eames chairs, was also placed in the 1955 German *Warenkunde,* in part as a means of denationalizing its 1915 and 1939 forerunners.

51. *Deutschland: Weltausstellung,* ed. von Hartmann and Fischer, 11, 175.

52. The foreign press reviews are gathered in the exhibition report; ibid., 122–30. It should be noted that the issue of recognizing the German Reich's 1937 borders was no mere exhibition bagatelle. Throughout the 1950s and 1960s, this issue greatly preoccupied West German politicians. And even as late as 1972, West Germany's Constitutional Court maintained that the 1937 frontiers still legally existed. Timothy Garton Ash, *In Europe's Name: Germany and the Divided Continent* (New York, 1993), 71.

53. See the domestic press coverage gathered in *Deutschland: Weltausstellung,* ed. von Hartmann and Fischer, 95–147.

54. Hans Wichmann, *Industrial Design Unikate Serienerzeugnisse: Die Neue Sammlung, ein neuer Museumtyp des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Munich, 1985), 18–36.

55. Lorenz Eitner, "Industrial Design in Post-War Germany," *Design Quarterly* 40 (1957): 3–24.

56. See the catalog, *Design in Germany Today,* sponsored by the Federal Republic of Germany and the Smithsonian Institution, 1960–1961 (Washington, D.C., 1961). See too the catalog for the 1966 exhibition *Made in Germany,* ed. Hans Wichmann, with an introduction by Ludwig Erhard (Munich, 1966).

57. Wilhelm Nieswandt, untitled inauguration speech at the 24 November 1961 opening of the Industrial Design Collection, in "Sammlung Industrieform" (Essen, 1961), 5, pamphlet, RfF.

58. Werner Schütz, in "Sammlung Industrieform," 9–10.

59. Nieswandt, 7.

60. Frederic J. Schwartz, *The Werkbund: Design Theory and Mass Culture before the First World War* (New Haven, Conn., 1996), 154.

61. Paul Daude, *Kunstschutzgesetz* (1907), 17–18, quoted in Schwartz, 154.

62. Ekkehard Gerstenberg, "Industrielle Formgebung und Urheberrecht," *Der Betriebs-Berater* 11 (1964): 439–45. More generally, Eugen Ulmer, *Urheber- und Verlagsrecht* (Berlin, 1951), 35–78.

63. The full details of the trial (1929–32) are recounted in Otakar Macel,

"Avantgarde-Design und Justiz," in *Avantgarde und Industrie,* ed. Stanislaus Moos (Delft, 1983), 150–62.

64. Eberhard Henssler, *Urheberschutz der Angewandten Kunst und Architektur* (Stuttgart, 1950), 40.

65. Ibid., 37.

66. Ulmer, 17, 21.

67. Horst Hartmann, "Design und Lobby," *Form* 34 (June 1966): 25–26.

68. Meissner, *Qualität und Form,* 132–37.

69. Else Meissner, "Formulierung der Verhandlungspunkte," 9 June 1956, RfF.

70. Else Meissner, "Die Führeraufgabe der Kunst im Gewerbe: Gedanken zum Geschmacksmusterrecht," *Gewerblicher Rechtsschutz und Urheberrecht*, August 1935, 1–5.

71. Else Meissner, "Das Neue Urheberrecht der Gestaltung," 1953(?), typescript, RfF.

72. Günther von Pechmann, "Urheberrechtsreform," Rat für Formgebung, 22 January 1955, 6, WBA.

73. Heinrich Hubmann, *Das Recht des schöpferischen Geistes* (Berlin, 1950), 3.

74. Von Pechmann, "Urheberrechtsreform," 31–36, 47. In fact the BDI remained one of the most active groups in promoting legal reform, maintaining that the fine arts and the applied arts could no longer be subsumed under the same patent laws. See "Mitteilungen für die Mitglieder des Arbeitskreises für Industrielle Formgebung," 27 May 1960, B102/21240, BAK.

75. Eugen Ulmer, *Urheber- und Verlagsrecht,* rev. ed. (Berlin, 1960), 128.

76. Gerstenberg, 440; see also his article, "Der Begriff des Kunstwerks in der bildenden Kunst: Ein Beitrag zur Abgrenzung zwischen Kunstschutz und Geschmacksmusterschutz," *GRUR* 65 (1963): 245–51.

77. Käte Nicolini, "Die Neuheit im Geschmacksmusterrecht," *GRUR* 65 (1963): 407.

78. "Allgemeine Richtlinien für die Beurteilung formschöner Industrieerzeugnisse," in the brochure by Günther Fuchs, *Über die Beurteilung formschöner Industrieerzeugnisse* (Essen, 1955), 5–6, RfF. Also, the two-part article "Gute Industrieform?," *Form* 14 (1961): 36–40 and *Form* 15 (1961): 28–36. Moreover, the Bundespreis was established in 1964 along these evaluative lines.

79. Fuchs, 11.

80. Heinz König, "Industrielle Formgebung," in *Sonderausdruck aus Handwörterbuch der Betriebswirtschaft* (Stuttgart, 1957): 1988–92; and Wilhelm Braun-Feldweg, *Normen und Formen* (Ravensburg, 1954), 16.

81. Gert Selle, "Zwischen Kunsthandwerk, Manufaktur, und Industrie: Rolle und Funktion des Kunstentwerfer, 1898–1908," in *Vom Morris bis Bauhaus,* ed. Gerhard Bott (Hanau, 1977), 9–25.

82. Tilmann Buddensieg, *Industriekultur: Peter Behrens and the AEG,* trans. Iain Boyd White (Cambridge, Mass., 1984).

83. Magdalena Droste, "Bauhaus-Designer zwischen Handwerk und Moderne," in *Bauhaus-Moderne im Nationalsozialismus: Zwischen Anbiederung und Verfolgung,* ed. Winfried Nerdinger (Munich, 1993), 85–101.

84. Selle, *Design-Geschichte,* 198–240.

85. Heinrich König, "Ist der Industrial Designer nur ein 'Entwurfskünstler?'" *Die neue Stadt* 7 (1952): 307–8.

86. Christian Gröhn, *Die Bauhaus-Idee* (Berlin, 1991), 46–124; and Rudolf Kossolapow, *Design und Designer zwischen Tradition und Utopie* (Frankfurt, 1985), 186–98.

87. Friedrich Winter, *Gestalten: Didaktik oder Urprinzip? Ergebnis und Kritik des Experiments Werkkunstschulen, 1949–1971* (Ravensburg, 1977), 6.

88. See the typed report "Stand der Nachwuchsausbildung auf dem Gebiet der Formgebung in der Bundesrepublik und in West-Berlin," compiled by Otto Bartning and Karl Otto for the German Design Council, B102/21241, BAK.

89. See Wendel Rolli's speech delivered at the Nürnberger Akademie für Absatzwirtschaft, *Die gute technische Form als Gemeinschaftsaufgabe* (Essen, 1965); also W. Pruss, "Technische Formgebung in der Elektro-Industrie," in the special issue of *Verband Deutscher Ingenieure Berichte* 1 (1955): 5–7.

90. Wendel Rolli, "Der Formgeber in der Industrie," Internationaler Kongress für Formgebung, RfF.

91. Walter Kersting, "Formgeber als Massenware?"; Wilhelm Braun-Feldweg, "Die ideale Einrichtung einer Formgeberklasse"; Wilhelm Wagenfeld, "Zweck und Sinn der künstlerischen Mitarbeit in Fabriken"; Johannes Itten, "Der Vorkurs"; Ernst May, "Freizeit und Formgestaltung"; Gustav Hassenpflug, "Die mobile Formgeberschule." All the speeches are gathered at the RfF.

92. See the fifty-page final report on the conference's discussion compiled by Werner Graeff, RfF. Inexplicably, those best qualified to discuss the problems attending modern design education—namely the teachers at the Ulm Institute—were (with the exception of Itten) absent from the conference.

93. "Erziehung und Ausbildung zur guten Form in Handwerk und Industrie: Vier Empfehlungen des Rates für Formgebung," compiled by Eduard Schalfejew and Stephen Hirzel, 1962, RfF.

94. VDID Satzung [charter], sections 5a–5e, B102/21240, BAK.

95. Christian Marquart, *Industriekultur-Industriedesign* (Berlin: Ernst & Sohn, 1994), 40ff. For an account of the VDID's early years by one of the cofounders, see Hans Theo Baumann, "Wie das damals vor 25 Jahren war . . . ," *Form* 107 (III: 1984): 32–35.

96. VDID Satzung, paragraph 2, section 4.

97. See the reprinted excerpts from the VDID charter in *Form: Schriften zur Formgebung 3, 35.*

98. Ibid.

99. Magali Sarfatti Larson, *The Rise of Professionalism: A Sociological Analysis* (Berkeley, 1977).

100. This was confirmed by VDID cofounder Erich Slany in an interview with the author, 10 March 1992, Stuttgart.

101. Gerd Krause, "VDID—ein Arbeitgeberverband?," *Form* 39 (September 1967): 46–47. Design students even banded together to form the Federation of Industrial Design Students to protect their interests. Peter Steinacker, "Die Studenten schließen sich zusammen," *Form* 45 (March 1969): 39.

102. Heinz Pfaender, "Eine Untersuchung unter Formschaffenden in Westdeutschland," RfF.

103. Bernd Löbach, ed., *Die Industrie zum Thema: Industrie-Design und Studium* (Bielefeld, 1973); and "Ausbildung: Was verlangt die Industrie vom Designer?," *Form* 29 (March 1965): 20–23.

104. "Designer, sortiert nach Klasse A und B," *Form* 44 (December 1968): 38.

105. Stephan Hirzel, "Lotsenablösung: Mia Seeger verläßt den Rat für Formgebung," *Süddeutsche Zeitung,* 22 January 1967.

Chapter Six. Coming in from the Cold

1. Mark Mazower, *Dark Continent: Europe's Twentieth Century* (New York, 1999), 182–91.

2. Werner Abelhäuser, *Wirtschaftsgeschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland, 1945–1980* (Frankfurt, 1983), 71.

3. A. Gröschler, "Deutsche Gütezeichen: Entwicklung und Stand des deutschen Gütezeichenrechts," *Gewerblichen Rechtsschutz und Urheberrecht* 52, no. 2 (February 1950): 61–64; and Hans Lutz, "Verantwortung und Verpflichtung," *Der Markenartikel* 12, no. 1 (May 1950): 30–32.

4. H. H. Bormann, "Wiederbelebung der Gütezeichen," *Der Markenartikel* 14, no. 6 (June 1952): 212–18.

5. Arthur Lisowsky, "Über den Monopolcharakter des Markenartikels," *Der Markenartikel* 13, no. 5 (May 1951): 209–14.

6. Gert-Joachim Glaesner, *Arbeiterbewegung und Genossenschaften* (Göttingen, 1989).

7. Erwin Hasselmann, *Geschichte der deutschen Konsumgenossenschaften* (Frankfurt, 1971), 401–507.

8. Glaesner, 111–15.

9. Hasselmann, 578.

10. Michael Wildt, *Am Beginn der 'Konsumgesellschaft': Mangelerfahrung, Lebenshaltung, und Wohlstandshoffnung in Westdeutschland in den 50er Jahren* (Hamburg, 1994), 182.

11. Ingeborg Jensen, "Was ist neutrale Wohnberarung?" *Möbelkultur* 7, no. 8 (August 1955): 437–38.

12. Jennifer A. Loehlin, *From Rugs to Riches: Housework, Consumption, and Modernity in Germany* (Oxford, 1999), 40.

13. According to one 1961 poll, almost 80 percent of young people sought advice from their spouse on purchasing consumer durables, whereas only 20 percent received counsel from their parents. Alfons Silbermann, *Vom Wohnen der Deutschen: Eine soziologische Studie über das Wohnerlebnis* (Cologne, 1963), 184.

14. Thomas Jaspersen, *Produktwahrnehmung und stilistischer Wandel* (Frankfurt am Main, 1983), 126.

15. Sibylle Meyer and Eva Schulze, *Auswirkungen des II. Weltkriegs auf Familien* (Berlin, 1989); and Meyer and Schulze's earlier oral history of postwar women, *Von Liebe sprach damals keiner* (Munich, 1985).

16. Elizabeth Heineman, *What Difference Does a Husband Make? Women and Marital Status in Nazi and Postwar Germany* (Berkeley, 1999), 137–75.

17. Franz-Josef Wuermeling, "Das muß geschehen! Die Familie fordert vom

Bundestag," *Kirchen-Zeitung,* 6 December 1953, quoted in Erica Carter, *How German Is She? Postwar West German Reconstruction and the Consuming Woman* (Ann Arbor, 1997), 34.

18. Robert Moeller, *Protecting Motherhood: Women and the Family in the Politics of Postwar West Germany* (Berkeley, 1993), 5.

19. Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York, 1988), 16–18.

20. "Die Frau zwischen Zeitgeist und christliche Weltordnung: Entschließung der Arbeitsgemeinschaft der katholischen deutschen Frauen," *Informationsdienst der Arbeitsgemeinschaft der katholischen deutschen Frauen,* no. 2 (1956): 12; also included in Klaus-Jörg Ruhl, ed., *Frauen in der Nachkriegszeit, 1945–1963* (Munich, 1988), 130.

21. On increased consumer desires, Dieter Selz, "Die Konsumfunktion der privaten Haushalte in ihrer Abhängigkeit von der Arbeitsverkürzung" (Ph.D. diss., Universität Erlangen, 1965); and Peter Horvath, "Die Teilzahlungskredite als Begleiterscheinung des westdeutschen 'Wirtschaftswunder,'" *Zeitschrift für Unternehmungsgeschichte* 37, no. 1 (1992): 19–55.

22. "Die Kinder von morgen," *Sozialer Fortschritt* 6 (1957): 234–35, quoted in Moeller, 140.

23. Erich Reisch, "Die Situation der Familie von heute (II)," *Gesellschaftliche Kommentare,* no. 15 (15 June 1955): 5ff., quoted in *Frauen,* ed. Ruhl, 125–27.

24. Franz-Josef Wuermeling, "Letzter Appell an Bonn," *Rheinischer Merkur,* 6 April 1949, cited in Moeller, 101–2.

25. Ludwig Erhard, *Prosperity through Competition,* trans. John B. Wood and Edith Temple (London, 1958), 169 (translation modified), 240. For discussion, Katherine Pence, "From Rations to Fashions: The Gendered Politics of East and West German Consumption, 1945–1961" (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1999), 352–415.

26. Claudia Ingenhoven and Magdalena Kemper, "Nur Kinder, Küche, Kirche? Der Frauenfunk in den fünfziger Jahren," in *Perlonzeit: Wie die Frauen ihr Wirtschaftswunder erlebten,* ed. Angela Delille and Andrea Grohn (Berlin, 1985), 134–37.

27. F.-J. Wuermeling, "Leitwort," *Das Illustrierte Handbuch für die junge Frau: Lehrbuch für das Haushaltswesen* 1 (Emmerlich am Rhein, 1958), unpaginated.

28. On tax deductions, Abelshauser, 74; and Ludwig Erhard, "Familie und soziale Marktwirtschaft," *Das Fundament,* July/August 1957, 3. On built-in kitchens, Max Hauschild, *Einbauküchen im sozialen Wohnungsbau* (Baden-Baden, 1953), 3; and *Die Küche: Ihre Planung und Einrichtung* (Stuttgart, 1954), 13.

29. Barbara Orland, *Wäsche Waschen* (Reinbek bei Hamburg, 1991), esp. 237–50.

30. Joachim Petsch, *Eigenheim und Gute Stube: Zur Geschichte des bürgerlichen Wohnens* (Cologne, 1989), esp. 105–29; and Wolfgang Brönner, "Schlichtenspezifische Wohnkultur—die bürgerliche Wohnung des Historicismus," in *Kunstpolitik und Kunstförderung im Kaiserreich,* ed. Ekkehard Mai (Berlin, 1982), 361–78.

31. Carola Sachse, "Anfänge der Rationalisierung der Hausarbeit in der

Weimarer Republik," in *Haushaltsträume: Ein Jahrhundert Technisierung und Rationalisierung im Haushalt,* ed. Barbara Orland (Konigstein, 1990), 50.

32. Gert Selle, *Kultur der Sinne und ästhetische Erziehung* (Cologne, 1981), 45.

33. Sibylle Meyer, *Das Theater mit der Hausarbeit: Bürgerliche Repräsentation in der Familie der wilhelmischen Zeit* (Frankfurt, 1982), 72–96.

34. Nancy Reagin, "The Imagined Hausfrau: National Identity, Domesticity, and Colonialism in Imperial Germany," *Journal of Modern History* 73, no. 1 (March 2001): 59–60.

35. Among the most important titles are Volker Fischer, ed., *Ernst May und das neue Frankfurt* (Frankfurt, 1986); Norbert Huse, *Neues Bauen, 1918 bis 1933* (Berlin, 1985); Michael Müller, *Architektur und Avantgarde: Ein vergessenes Projekt der Moderne* (Frankfurt, 1984); and Barbara Miller Lane, *Architecture and Politics in Germany, 1918–1945* (Cambridge, 1968).

36. Sonja Günther, *Das deutsche Heim* (Giessen, 1984), 58–95.

37. Heinz Hirdina, "Rationalisierte Hausarbeit: Die Küche im Neuen Bauen," *Jahrbuch für Volkskunde und Kulturgeschichte* 26 (1983): 45–80.

38. Karen Hagemann, *Frauenalltag und Männerpolitik: Alltagsleben und gesellschaftliches Handeln von Arbeiterfrauen in Weimarer Republik* (Bonn, 1990), esp. 99–153; and Nancy Ruth Reagin, "Die Werkstatt der Hausfrau: Bürgerliche Frauenbewegung und Wohnungspolitik im Hannover der Zwanziger Jahre," in *Altes und neues Wohnen: Linden und Hannover im frühen 20. Jahrhundert,* ed. Sid Auffarth and Adelheid von Saldern (Seelze-Velber), 156–64.

39. On industrial Taylorism, Charles Maier, "Between Taylorism and Technocracy: European Ideologies and the Vision of Productivity in the 1920s," *Journal of Contemporary History* 5 (1970): 27–51. On domestic Taylorism, Gisela Stahl, "Von der Hauswirtschaft zum Haushalt, oder wie man vom Haus zur Wohnung kommt," in *Wem gehört die Welt: Kunst und Gesellschaft in der Weimarer Republik* (Berlin, 1977): 87–107.

40. Mary Nolan, *Visions of Modernity: American Business and the Modernization of Germany* (New York, 1994), 206–26.

41. Lore Kramer, "Die Frankfurter Küche," in *Frauen in Design: Berufsbilder und Lebenswege seit 1900,* ed. Angela Oedekoven-Gerischer (Stuttgart, 1989), 160–74.

42. It should also be noted that the homes of the high bourgeoisie often had large Wohnküchen, where servants would prepare meals and even sleep on occasion. Meyer, 92–96; Petsch, 154ff.

43. Günther Uhlig, *Kollektivmodell Einküchenhaus: Wohnreform und Architekturdebatten zwischen Frauenbewegung und Funktionalismus, 1900–1933* (Giessen, 1981), 72–138.

44. Erna Meyer, *Das neue Haushalt* (1927), 6, quoted in Nolan, 217.

45. Nolan, 207.

46. Walter Winzer and Karl Artur Stützer, *Vom deutscher Heimkultur* (Berlin, 1939), esp. the introduction.

47. Christine Wittrock, "Das Frauenbild in faschistischen Texten und seine Vorläufer in der bürgerlichen Frauenbewegung der 20er Jahre" (Ph.D. diss., Johann-Wolfgang-Goethe-Universität, Frankfurt am Main, 1981).

48. Nolan, 232–33.

49. Gabriele Huster, "Die Verdrängung der Femme Fatale und ihrer Schwestern"; and Szilvia Horvath, "Reorganisation der Geschlechterverhältnisse: Familienpolitik im faschistischen Deutschland"; both in *Inszenierung der Macht: Ästhetische Faszination im Faschismus,* ed. Klaus Behnken and Frank Wagner (Berlin, 1987), 129–42, and 143–50, respectively.

50. "Hohe Geburtenziffern in den Siedlungen," *Der Mitteldeutsche,* 4 April 1940, as well as the pamphlet *Das Siedlungswerk sichert deine Familie*, published by the German Labor Front's Federal Homestead Office, 1937, NSD 50/255, BAK.

51. Ottilie Schratz, *Wohnungspflege der praktischen Hausfrau: Ein Handbuch für Haus und Schule* (Berlin, 1937).

52. *Heimgestaltung mit Deutschen Hausrat* (Berlin, 1939).

53. Christiane Maurer, "Küchen: Design für die Hausfrau," in *Design in Deutschland, 1933–1945: Ästhetik und Organisation des Deutschen Werkbundes im 'Dritten Reich,'* ed. Sabine Weissler (Giessen, 1990), 88–97.

54. Reagin, "Die Werkstatt der Hausfrau," 161.

55. Hans Vogt, *Die Gerätesättigung im Haushalt* (Berlin, 1940), 9.

56. Wildt, 145. Yet we ought not to lose sight of the fact that state-sponsored introduction of home refrigerators was part of the regime's policy of economic autarky, in that prolonged food preservation was seen as helping cut down dependence on imports. Loehlin, 66.

57. Hans Dieter Schäfer, *Das gespaltene Bewußtsein: Deutsche Kultur und Lebenswirklichkeiten, 1933–1945* (Berlin, 1984); Robert Ley, "Der Volkskühlschrank," *Deutsche Bergwerkszeitung,* 25 April 1941.

58. W. Gebhardt, ed., *Deutscher Hausrat: Ein Ratgeber für die Einrichtung von Kleinwohnungen und Siedlungen* (Berlin, n.d.), 1–4; and "Richtlinien des Reichsstättenamtes der Deutschen Arbeitsfront für Siedlerhausrat, insbesondere für Möbel," in *Deutscher Hausrat: Grundlegende Bestimmungen über Siedler-Hausrat* (Berlin, 1936).

59. Elke Pahl-Weber, "Im fließenden Raum: Wohnungsgrundrisse nach 1945," in *Grauzonen Farbwelten: Kunst und Zeitbilder 1945–1955,* ed. Bernhard Schulz (Berlin, 1983), 105–24.

60. Ruth Geyer-Raack and Sibylle Geyer, *Möbel und Raum* (Berlin, 1955), 5.

61. Law quoted in Pahl-Weber, 105.

62. Margarete Richter, *Raumschaffen unserer Zeit* (Tübingen, 1955), 6.

63. Sigfried Giedion, *Befreites Wohnen* (1929), quoted in Werner Durth, "Vom Überleben: Zwischen totalen Krieg und Währungsreform," in *Von 1945 bis heute Aufbau Neubau Umbau,* vol. 5 of *Geschichte des Wohnens,* ed. Ingeborg Flagge (Stuttgart, 1999), 47.

64. Lotte Tiedemann, *Menschlich Wohnen* (Bonn, 1956), 16.

65. Alexander Koch, *Praktisch Bauen + Schön Wohnen = Glücklich Leben* (Stuttgart, 1955).

66. Otto Niedermoser, *Schöner Wohnen, Schöner Leben* (Frankfurt, 1954), 126.

67. Ibid., 56ff.

68. Max Hauschild, *Einbauküchen im Sozialen Wohnungsbau* (Baden-Baden, 1953), 3.

69. On the shift in representation, see, for example, Uta Poiger, "A New 'Western' Hero? Reconstructing German Masculinity in the 1950s," in *The Miracle Years: A Cultural History of West Germany, 1949–1968,* ed. Hanna Schissler (Princeton, 2001), 412–27. On body language, Ulf Preuss-Lausitz, "Von gepanzerten zum sinnstiftenden Körper," in *Kriegskinder, Konsumkinder, Krisenkinder,* ed. Preuss-Lausitz (Weinheim, 1983), 89–106.

70. Loehlin, 106–26.

71. On wartime husbands, Adelheid von Saldern, *Häuserleben: Zur Geschichte städtlichen Arbeiterwohnens vom Kaiserreich bis heute* (Bonn, 1995), 247.

72. Margret Tränkle, "Neue Wohnhorizonte: Wohnalltag, und Haushalt seit 1945 in der Bundesrepublik," in *Von 1945,* ed. Flagge, 754.

73. Wildt, 138.

74. Gert Selle and Jutta Boehe, *Leben mit den schönen Dingen* (Hamburg, 1986), 26.

75. Sachse, 49–61. By 1953 one-third of West German households already owned refrigerators.

76. Angela Delille and Andrea Grohn, *Blick zürück aufs Glück: Frauenleben und Familienpolitik in der 50er Jahre* (Berlin, 1985), 26. See also the special 1956 issue of *Bauwelt* entitled "Technik—Helfer im Haus."

77. Angela Delille and Andrea Grohn, "Komfort im Reich der Frau," in *Perlonzeit,* ed. Delille and Grohn, 129.

78. One critic has even offered a brief photographic documentary of West German female domestic labor, arguing that the conspicuous paucity of images represents a suppressed dimension of "worker photography." Edith Sperling, "Hausfrauen: Eine Fotodokumentation über arbeitende Hausfrauen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland," in *Ästhetische Erziehung und Alltag,* ed. Hermann K. Ehmer (Giessen, 1979), 31–43.

79. "Ein Haus in der Ostzone: Vom Zusammenbruch des bürgerlichen Lebensstils," *Wirtschafts-Zeitung,* 29 August 1947; and F.-J. Wuermeling, "Leitwort."

80. Tränkle, 749.

81. Wildt, 140.

82. Carter, 58 and n. 33.

83. On the East German resonance, Ina Merkel, . . . *Und Du, Frau an der Werkbank: Die DDR in den 50er Jahren* (Berlin, 1990).

84. Edmund Meier-Oberist, *Kulturgeschichte des Wohnens im abendländischen Raum* (Hamburg, 1956), 331; and Erika Brödner, *Modernes Wohnen* (Munich, 1954), 5–8.

85. Loehlin, 60.

86. E. T. Hall, *Die Sprache des Raumes* (Düsseldorf, 1976), 138, cited in Tränkle, 701.

87. Anton Maria Keim and Alexander Link, eds., *Leben in Trümmern* (Munich, 1985).

88. Michael Z. Zimmermann, *Schachtanlage und Zechenkolonie: Leben, Arbeit, und Politik in einer Arbeitersiedlung, 1850–1980* (Essen, 1987), 218; quoted in von Saldern, 308.

89. Tilman Harlander, "Wohnen und Stadtentwicklung in der Bundesrepublik," in *Von 1945,* ed. Flagge, 238.

90. Hannelore Brünhöber, "Wohnen," in *Die Geschichte der Bundesrepublik Deutschland,* vol. 2, *Gesellschaft,* ed. Wolfgang Benz, 189, as quoted in Saldern, *Häuserleben,* 301.

91. Albrecht Lehmann, *Erzählsstruktur und Lebenslauf: Autobiographische Untersuchungen* (Frankfurt, 1983), 165.

92. Charlotte Beradt, *Das Dritte Reich des Traumes* (Frankfurt, 1981), 19. For a suggestive analysis, Reinhart Koselleck, *Futures Past: On the Semantics of Historical Time,* trans. Keith Tribe (Cambridge, Mass., 1985), 213–30.

93. Ilse Wild, "Leben in den 50ern," in *Fifty-Fifty: Formen und Farben der 50er Jahre,* eds. Robert Hiller and Dieter Zühlsdorf (Stuttgart, 1987), 15.

94. Uta Poiger, *Jazz, Rock, and Rebels: Cold War Politics and American Culture in a Divided Germany* (Berkeley, 2000).

95. Thomas Ziehe, "Die alltägliche Verteidigung der Korrektheit," in *Schock und Schöpfung: Jugendästhetik im 20. Jahrhundert,* ed. Willi Bucher and Klaus Pohl (Darmstadt, 1986), 254–58.

96. Ernest Zahn, *Soziologie der Prosperität* (Cologne, 1960), 178.

97. Hans Ottomeyer and Axel Schlapka, *Biedermeier: Interieurs und Möbel* (Munich, 1991); and Sabine Thomas-Ziegler, "Aufbruch in eine neue Zukunft," in *Petticoat & Nierentisch: Die Jugendzeit der Republik,* ed. Thomas-Ziegler (Cologne, 1995), 26.

98. Norbert Muhlen, "Das Land der grossen Mitte: Notizen aus dem Neon-Biedermeier," *Der Monat* 6 (1953): 237–44.

99. Ralf Dahrendorf, *Society and Democracy in Germany* (New York, 1967; orig. pub. 1965), 412, 295, 296.

100. Axel Schildt, *Moderne Zeiten: Freizeit, Massenmedien, und 'Zeitgeist' in der Bundesrepublik der 50er Jahre* (Hamburg, 1995), 66.

101. Jürgen Habermas, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere,* trans. Thomas Burger (Cambridge, Mass., 1989; orig. pub. 1962), 162.

102. Jürgen Habermas, "Der Abstraktion gewachsen sein . . . ," *Magnum* 12 (April 1957): unpaginated.

103. Wildt, 195–13.

104. Zahn, 103.

105. Wildt, 200–210; Carter, 93.

106. *Wir bauen ein besseres Leben: Eine Ausstellung über die Produktivität der Atlantischen Gemeinschaft auf dem Gebiet des Wohnbedarfs,* organized by the American High Command for Germany (Stuttgart, 1952), 3–6.

107. Alfons Leitl, "Die Wohnkultur der westlichen Völker," *Baukunst und Werkform* 4, no. 12 (1952): 39–41.

108. See Schildt; Heide Fehrenbach, *Cinema in Democratizing Germany: Reconstructing National Identity after Hitler* (Chapel Hill, 1995); and Paul Ginsborg, *A History of Contemporary Italy* (London, 1990), 239–50.

109. Fehrenbach, chapter 3; and Christopher Wagstaff, "The Place of Neo-Realism in Italian Cinema from 1945–1954," in *The Culture of Reconstruction: European Literature, Thought, and Film,* ed. Nicholas Hewitt (New York, 1989), 67–87.

110. Michael Geyer, "Cold War Angst: The Case of West German Opposition to Rearmament and Nuclear Weapons," in *The Miracle Years,* ed. Schissler, 376–408.

111. Peter Alter, "Nationalism and German Politics after 1945," in *The State of Germany,* ed. John Breuilly (London, 1992), 154–76; and Eric Santner, *Stranded Objects: Mourning, Memory, and Film in Postwar Germany* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1990), esp. 1–31.

112. Leonard Krieger, *The German Idea of Freedom* (Boston, 1957), 458–71; and Winfried Schulze, *Deutsche Geschichtswissenschaft nach 1945* (Munich, 1989). The situation was different for Italy, where the strong presence of the Italian Communist Party and its mass-produced myth of the Resistance meant that its linkage to a salutary past remained partly intact.

113. Michael Geyer, "Looking Back at the International Style: Some Reflections on the Current State of German History," *German Studies Review* 13, no. 1 (February 1990): 112–27.

114. Sabine Behrenbeck, *Der Kult um die toten Helden: Nationalsozialistische Mythen, Riten, und Symbole, 1923 bis 1945* (Vierow, 1996), esp. the conclusion.

115. Hans Oswald, *Die überschätzte Stadt: Ein Beitrag der Gemeindesoziologie zum Städtebau* (Otten/Freiburg, 1966), 131, cited in von Saldern, 294.

116. Klaus Novy, ed., *Anders leben: Geschichte und Zukunft der Genossenschaftkulturen* (Berlin, Bonn, 1985).

117. Von Saldern, 294–96.

118. Carter, 21, 23.

119. Karl Pawek, "Das Malheur mit der Schönheit," *Magnum* 10 (1956), quoted in Paul Maenz, *Die 50er Jahre: Formen eines Jahrzehnts* (Cologne, 1984), 33.

120. Klaus Harpprecht, "Die Lust an der Normalität," *Magnum* 29 (April 1960), unpaginated.

121. Detlev Peukert, *Inside Nazi Germany,* trans. Richard Deveson (New Haven, Conn., 1987; orig. pub. 1982), 247.

122. Ibid., 242.

123. Jörg Petruschat, "Take Me Plastics," in *Von Bauhaus bis Bitterfeld: 41 Jahre DDR-Design,* ed. Regine Halter (Giessen, 1991), 111–12. More generally, Merkel, esp. 76–105.

124. Karl Bednarik, *An der Konsumfront* (Stuttgart, 1957), 11.

125. For fuller discussion, see my "The Politics of Post-Fascist Aesthetics: 1950s West and East German Industrial Design," in *Life after Death: Violence, Normality, and the Reconstruction of Postwar Europe,* eds. Richard Bessel and Dirk Schumann (Cambridge, 2003), 291–321.

Conclusion. Memory and Materialism

1. Tomás Maldonado, "Ulm Revisited," *Rassegna* 19 (1984): 5.

2. "Spiritueller Stoßtrupp einer humanistischen Idee," *Staatsanzeiger für Baden-Württemberg,* 11 May 1968, 1–2.

3. Note Consul General Eugen Betz's introduction to the English edition of

the exhibition catalogue, *50 Years Bauhaus,* 7–8. The overemphasis on Gropius in the 1968 exhibition prompted Josef Albers and Mies van der Rohe to complain about this misleading image. Reginald Isaacs, *Walter Gropius: Mensch und Werk,* vol. 2 (Berlin: Gebrüder Mann, 1980), 1148ff.

4. Wolf Schön, "Was blieb vom Bauhaus?," *Rheinischer Merkur,* 10 May 1968; and Ulrich Seelmann-Eggebert, "Das Bauhaus: Idee und Wirklichkeit," *Darmstädter Echo,* 29 May 1968.

5. As reported in Karl Diemer, "Das Bauhaus wirkt," *Stuttgarter Nachrichten,* 6 May 1968, 18.

6. Mia Seeger, "Ist guter Rat teuer?," *Form* 30 (June 1965): 18–23.

7. "Sieben Fragen an Gustav Stein: Zur Unabhängigkeit des Rates für Formgebung," *Form* 46 (May 1969): 37–39.

8. The cozy connections between the BDI and the council were as follows: Ernst Schneider was simultaneously director of the Design Council and president of BDI's Gestaltkreis; Philip Rosenthal was secretary of both the Design Council and the BDI; and Gustav Stein was secretary general of the Design Council and the legal advisor to the BDI. Heinz Pfaender, "Rat für Formgebung," 1987, 23, typescript, RfF.

9. Johann Klöcker, "Die Industrie übernimmt die Verantwortung selbst: Zur Gründung des Gestaltkreises im Bundesverband der Deutschen Industrie," *Süddeutsche Zeitung,* 14 April 1965.

10. Ernst Schneider and Philip Rosenthal, "Die Formgestaltung als Wirtschafts- und kulturpolitischer Faktor: Eine Denkschrift des Rats für Formgebung," June 1967, Rat für Formgebung, Frankfurt.

11. See Wagenfeld's 15 April 1966 letter, "Lieber Herr G.," reprinted in *Der deutsche Werkbund 1907 1947 1987,* ed. Ot Hoffmann (Berlin, 1987), 49.

12. Ernst Bloch, "Formative Education, Engineering Form, Ornament," trans. Jane Newman and John H. Smith, *Oppositions* 3 (1988): 45–46.

13. Theodor Adorno, "Functionalism Today," *Oppositions* 3 (1988): 39, 31, 40.

14. Hans Eckstein, "Marginalien zur Gebrauchsform," *Werk und Zeit* 9, no. 1 (January 1960): 4.

15. Hermann Peter Piwitt, "Authoritär, betulich, neckisch und devot," *Konkret* (1979), 33–34. I thank Dagmar Herzog for this reference.

16. Wolfgang Haug, *Critique of Commodity Aesthetics,* trans. Robert Bock (Minneapolis, 1986; orig. pub. 1971), Appendix, 137.

17. Elisabeth Noelle-Neumann, "Majority Views Debate on Class of '68 as Closed Chapter," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung,* English edition supplement to the *International Herald Tribune,* 20 March 2001, 3.

18. Manfred Sack, "Zwei Stunden: 'Die große Zahl,'" *Form* 42 (June 1968): 5; and "Make love—not design," *Werk und Zeit* 17, no. 9 (September 1968): 1.

19. Hans Wehrhahn, "Opas Werkbund ist tot," reprinted in Anna Teut, "Werkbund Intern: Werkbund Kontrovers, Kommentar, and Dokumenten, 1907–1977," special issue of *Werk und Zeit* 3 (1982): 49.

20. See the extensive coverage of the Die große Landzerstörung conference in the autumn issues of *Werk und Zeit* 8, nos. 10–12 (October–December 1959).

21. Hans Schwippert, "Die große Landzerstörung," *Werk und Zeit* 8, no. 12 (December 1959): 1–2.

22. This shift was given further impetus by the 1973 oil crisis, which curtailed plastics production and so fostered a turn toward more "organic" design materials like wood and natural fiber synthetics.

23. Eckhard Siepmann, ed., *Alchimie des Alltags: Das Werkbund-Archiv, Museum der Alltagskultur des 20. Jahrhunderts* (Giessen, 1987).

24. Volker Albus and Christian Borngräber, *Design Bilanz: Neues deutsches Design der 80er Jahre in Objekten, Bildern, Daten, und Texten* (Cologne, 1992).

25. Heinz Fuchs and Francois Burckhardt, *Product Design History* (Stuttgart, 1986); and Klaus-Jürgen Sembach, ed., *1950: Orientierung nach dem Kriege* (Munich, 1980).

26. Angela Schönberger, ed., *The East German Take-Off: Economy and Design in Transition* (Berlin, 1994).

27. Hugh Aldersey-Williams, *Nationalism and Globalism in Design* (New York, 1992), esp. 30–39. On the Design Council, *Designkultur, 1953–1993: Philosophie, Strategie, Prozess* (Frankfurt, 1993); and Michael Erlhoff, ed., *Deutsches Design, 1950–1990* (Munich, 1990).

28. Herbert Lindinger, "Germany: The Nation of Functionalism," in *History of Industrial Design,* vol. 3, ed. Enrico Castelnuovo (Milan, 1991), 86–101.

29. Paul Betts, "The Twilight of the Idols: East German Memory and Material Culture," *Journal of Modern History* 72, no. 3 (September, 2000): 731–65.

30. "Heimweh nach den falschen Fünfzigern," *Der Spiegel* 32, no. 14 (April 3, 1978): 90–114; and "Mit Pepita voll im Trend: Der neue Kult um die 50er Jahre," *Der Spiegel* 38, no. 14 (April 3, 1984): 230–38.

31. Rainer Gries, Volker Ilgen, and Dirk Schindelbeck, *Gestylte Geschichte: Vom alltäglichen Umgang mit Geschichtsbildern* (Muenster, 1989), 132–35.

32. Volker Fischer, *Nostalgie: Geschichte und Kultur als Trödelmarkt* (Lucerne, 1980).

33. Marianne Bernhard, Angela Hopf, and Andreas Hopf, eds., *Unsere Fünfziger Jahre: Eine Bunte Chronik* (Munich, 1984), 6; and Dieter Franck, ed., *Die fünfziger Jahre: Als das Leben wieder anfing* (Munich, 1981), 28.

34. "Die Sehnsucht nach den 50er Jahre," *Quick* 44 (1983), quoted in Axel Schildt, *Moderne Zeiten: Freizeit, Massenmedien, und 'Zeitgeist' in der Bundesrepublik 50er Jahre* (Hamburg, 1995), 18.

35. Useful corrective histories can be found in Arne Andersen, *Der Traum vom guten Leben: Alltags- und Konsumgeschichte vom Wirtschaftswunder bis heute* (Frankfurt, 1997); Michael Wildt, *Vom kleinen Wohlstand: Eine Konsumgeschichte der 50er Jahre* (Frankfurt, 1996); Ilona Stölken-Fitschen, *Atombombe und Geistesgeschichte: Eine Studie der fünfziger Jahre aus deutscher Sicht* (Baden-Baden, 1995); and Klaus Voy, Werner Polster, and Claus Thomasberger, *Gesellschaftliche Transformationenprozesse und materielle Lebensweise* (Marburg, 1993).

36. Angela Delille and Andrea Grohn, eds., *Perlonzeit: Wie die Frauen ihr Wirtschaftswunder erlebten* (Berlin, 1985); Angela Delille and Andrea Grohn, *Blick zurück aufs Glück: Frauenleben und Familienpolitik in den 50er Jahren* (Berlin, 1985), esp. the introduction.

37. Dagmar Herzog, "'Pleasure, Sex, and Politics Belong Together': Post-Holocaust Memory and the Sexual Revolution in West Germany," *Critical Inquiry* 24 (winter 1998): 398–99.

38. Helga Reimann and Horst Reimann, eds., *Gastarbeiter: Analyse und Perspektiven eines sozialen Problems* (Opladen, 1987); and, more generally, Elisabeth Lichtenberger, *Gastarbeiter: Leben in zwei Gesellschaften* (Vienna, 1984).

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40. Heinz Friedrich, ed., *Mein Kopfgeld: Die Währungsreform—Rückblick nach vier Jahrzehnten* (Munich, 1988); and Martin Broszat and Klaus-Dietmar Henke, eds., *Von Stalingrad zur Währungsreform: Zur Sozialgeschichte des Umbruchs in Deutschland* (Munich, 1987).

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43. Horst Heidtmann, ed., *Das ist mein Land: 40 Jahre Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Baden-Baden, 1988); Sigrid Wachenfeld, *Unsere wunderlichen fünfziger Jahre* (Düsseldorf, 1987); and Rainer Petto, *Ein Kind der 50er Jahre* (Saarbrücken, 1985).

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45. Harold James, *A German Identity, 1770–1990* (New York, 1989), esp. 177–209.

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47. Ernest Zahn, *Soziologie der Prosperität* (Cologne, 1960).

48. Andreas Huyssen, "After the Wall: The Failure of German Intellectuals," *New German Critique* 52 (winter 1991): 109–43.

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