THE EXHIBITIONIST
NO. 10 / JOURNAL ON EXHIBITION MAKING / OCTOBER 2014

OVERTURE

CURATORS' FAVORITES

BACK IN THE DAY

MISSING IN ACTION

ATTITUDE

ASSESSMENTS

RIGOROUS RESEARCH

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REAR MIRROR

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RIGOROUS RESEARCH

SELLING SOCIALISM: KLAUS WITTKUGEL'S EXHIBITION DESIGN IN THE 1950s

Prem Krishnamurthy

For the artists of the 20th-century European avant-garde, exhibition design played a crucial role. The Soviet architect, artist, and designer El Lissitzky was the pioneer, shaping innovations in two-dimensional abstraction (particularly the decisive forms of Suprematism and Constructivism) into sophisticated spatial rhetoric.[1] Through immersive, dynamic designs for the Soviet Union at international press, photography, hygiene, and trade fairs from 1928 to 1930, he put the radical forms of his comrades to work for political ends. During this brief period, Lissitzky redefined the propaganda exhibition—which began with the industrial and consumer displays of 19th-century World Expositions—as a revolutionary new mode of mass communication.

Militarismus ohne Maske (Militarism Without Masks) installation view, Bahnhof Friedrichstrasse, Berlin, 1957, showing a louvered display wall with three mechanically moving states. The first image is a collage of West German politicians and industrialists juxtaposed with Nazi officials, members of the Krupp family, and other Nazi sympathizers. The ghostly torso of Adolf Hitler looms over them. These figures float above a landscape of gold coins on which coiled serpents recline.

Others soon adapted his innovations as a new language of exhibitions, which would serve equally well the otherwise divergent political aims of Fascist Italy, Nazi Germany, and wartime America.[2] Although developed as tools for Communist ideology, such formal methods of photomontage, spatial immersion, and advanced exhibition display became pliable vehicles for varied agendas. These exhibitions frequently relied on modes of commercial

display—unsurprising, since many figures of the early Soviet avant-garde also created advertising as part of the revolutionary experiment. After World War II, the relationship between radical form and commercial technique became even more pronounced. The economic recovery of Western Europe and the start of the Cold War witnessed the rise of exhibition design as a crucial tool for mass advertising. From the standardized trade fair booth to ongoing programs of traveling cultural and political exhibitions, innovative exhibition displays undergirded foreign policy goals.[3] In England, continental Europe, and the United States, practical manuals for the effective design of exhibitions codified the techniques of prewar experiments into a functional and professional grammar to sell objects and ideas.[4]

A related transformation of Lissitzky's work occurred in Socialist East Germany, where the Soviet designer was lionized as the "untiring protagonist for . . . the spirit and the cultural-political aims of the great Socialist October Revolution."[5] The late 1940s and the 1950s represented a tumultuous period in Eastern Europe. In these years, Josef Stalin systematically remade the government and economy of the nations under his influence as identical models of Soviet society, through the installation of Kremlin-directed Socialist regimes, rapid industrialization, the dismantling of small businesses, and land collectivization.[6] During this transition, it became even more imperative that the East German regime put on a good show to convince its people of the positive value of the new order.

This is the context in which the designer Klaus Wittkugel (1910–1985) rose to prominence. Beginning his career as an apprentice at a 1920s Hamburg fashion shop, where it was his task to arrange display windows, by the early 1950s Wittkugel led the design of international trade fair presentations and internal propaganda exhibitions for the German Democratic Republic (GDR). His approach to constructing large-scale, immersive showpieces built upon Lissitzky's groundwork. On the surface, Wittkugel's exhibitions appeared to continue the Soviet optimism of the 1920s. On closer examination, however, these later exhibitions emerge as a significant repurposing of early Modernist ideas to suit a markedly different historical moment and political purpose.

Today, Wittkugel's exhibitions represent a blind spot within the established histories of 20th-century exhibition design. The near-invisibility of Wittkugel's work within established canons of design may lie not in its methods or significance, which are as innovative as those of his peers, but rather in the very fact that it served to sell East German and Soviet agendas—ideologies that are largely erased from dominant accounts of postwar Modernism. By wearing their ideologies on their sleeve, these Socialist showcases allow for an open analysis of goals and methodologies as well as future comparison with more extensively documented Western exhibitions of the period.

Introducing the design strategies and approaches of Wittkugel's two most significant exhibitions from the 1950s, this essay situates both in their political context, and within a larger examination of how such self-reflexive and formal innovations—despite their historical baggage—may continue to inform contemporary practice.

Early Graphic Design Work and Exhibitions

Beginning in the late 1940s, Wittkugel established a striking, modern look for key products of GDR cultural export—with the Modernist hallmarks of asymmetrical composition, bold typography, the use of photomontage, self-reflexive visual gestures, and the choice of abstraction over realistic representation.[7] His wide-ranging work moved fluidly from posters to book covers for key works of Socialist literature, film, and avant-garde theater, as well as later signage and identity programs for architectural icons of East Berlin, including Café Moskau, Kino International, and the Palast der Republik.

At the same time, Wittkugel's temporary exhibitions, which he designed and in some cases organized, focused upon the general East German populace. While serving as head designer for the GDR's Office of Information, Wittkugel directed *Qualität* (Quality, 1950), an exhibition emphasizing the high production standards of East German manufacturing and consumer goods. On the other hand, the exhibition *Bach in seiner Zeit* (Bach in His Time, Leipzig, 1950, and Berlin, 1952) allowed Wittkugel to hone his formal and spatial approach to historical objects—including original documents, artworks, and musical instruments—within a modularly constructed traveling exhibition devoted to Johann Sebastian Bach's life and work.[8]

These early exhibitions led to *Unser Fünfjahrplan* (Our Five-Year Plan, 1951), which presented the successes and goals of the Stalinist Two- and Five-Year economic plans to a broad public. Given the shortage of available spaces for large-scale temporary displays in war-damaged Berlin,[9] the exhibition was staged at the Museum für Naturkunde (Natural History Museum). *Our Five-Year Plan* proved a costly endeavor, with a budget of 960,000 DM.[10] This figure—for an exhibition intended to be on view only six weeks—evidences the project's importance to the aims of the nascent East German state, which was faced with an uncertain political and economic future. Such investment paid off: The exhibition boasted more than 350,000 visitors even before its run was extended, with queues of visitors willing to wait in the winter cold in order to catch a glimpse of the show.[11]

Unser Fünfjahrplan (Our Five-Year Plan) installation view, Natural History Museum, Berlin, 1951, showing the "Industrialization of Agriculture" display, with a mural painting by Bert Heller

Our Five-Year Plan combined the didactic and the demonstrative, presenting documentary information while invoking a sense of participation in the process of rebuilding East Germany after the war. Economic statistics mingled with motivational statements; tilted architectural models suggested the massive scale of future factory complexes. Individual rooms focused on specific topics such as child care, education, and Soviet agricultural teachings, while elegant vitrines showcased new books and publications of Socialist literature.[12] Socialist Realist murals showed a towering group of workers unfolding plans that would determine their collective future.[13] On the other hand, valuable consumer wares—music boxes, radios, waffle irons, sewing machines, handheld cameras, teakettles, and so on—were staged as playful tableaux in standing vitrines.[14] Evoking shop windows, these displays were intended to provoke wonder and desire in their proletarian audience, for whom such goods were mostly out of reach in a moment when even meat, fat, and sugar continued to be rationed.[15] *Our Five-Year Plan* functioned as an interior World's Fair pavilion, selling the full range of East German life, knowledge, and economy to its own citizens.[16]

Unser Fünfjahrplan (Our Five-Year Plan) installation view, Natural History Museum, Berlin, 1951, showing a display about the successes of the first two-year plan

From a contemporary perspective, *Our Five-Year Plan* is striking not only for its design, but also for including performative and participatory elements that emphasize the labor of its own production. Contemporary reports marveled at a functioning printing press within the exhibition, which produced take-away brochures for each visitor. In another room, workers gave live demonstrations of advanced weaving techniques on an industrial textile machine.[17] The new technology and its accompanying labor were on view for admiration and emulation. This approach followed closely the model of early World Exposition demonstrations of heavy machinery, which had proved extremely popular with the general public and commentators.[18] By the 1950s, such performative displays were a common and effective means of selling goods in Western European trade fairs.[19] In the context of a general-audience Socialist exhibition, the focus shifted away from marketing new technology to selling the idea of collective labor toward achieving the GDR's industrial production quotas.[20]

The last room of the exhibition featured the "Wall of Approval," a growing installation to which visitors could contribute—albeit within a circumscribed framework. Printed in the form of bricks, paper handbills affirmed, "I will work for the fulfillment of our Five-Year Plan, the great plan for freedom." Each visitor was encouraged to sign an individual "brick" with their name; two "bricklayers" on scaffolding then wheat-pasted these paper

"bricks" together to build a "wall" in the form of a white dove. According to exhibition descriptions, so many people took part that the wall expanded onto the street, well past its allotted space.[21] Although newspapers reported thousands of participants, including Chinese, Korean, West Berliner, and West German signatories,[22] the primary audience of the exhibition was always East German citizens themselves. The visitor was asked to engage not only as a consumer of the exhibition's content, but also as an active participant and worker in the Socialist project.

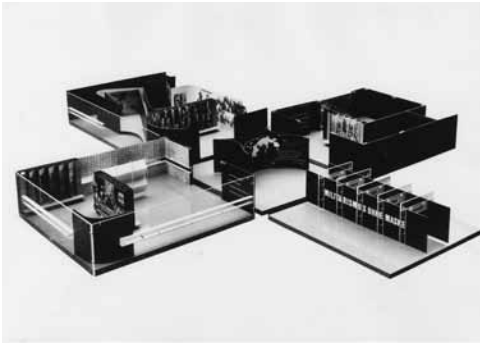
Earlier exhibitions, including Lissitzsky's Soviet Pavilion at the International Press Exhibition in Cologne in 1928 (widely known as *Pressa*) and Herbert Bayer's *Road to Victory* (Museum of Modern Art, New York, 1942), used dramatic staging of the visitor's choreography to create a sense of active involvement in the propagandistic aims of the exhibition.[23] Wittkugel's approach went one step further: It asked that viewers physically contribute to the installation and its spectacle.

Despite the exhibition's popular success, this proved to be a bittersweet moment for Wittkugel. Shortly after the exhibition opened, his poster design for the show, which adapted the visual language of the early avant-garde into a striking image of marching numerical years, was publicly criticized in the party organ *Neues Deutschland* as "Formalist," a denunciation following the Stalinist aesthetic line.[24] After the exhibition closed, a special commission of the Institut für Marxismus-Leninismus censured Wittkugel, with the conclusion that "his loyalty to the party is still very weak."[25] Wittkugel's written apology states, "I know that it is extremely important today [that I make time to train myself politically and theoretically in Communism], especially for my career."[26]

The following years witnessed a subtle change in Wittkugel's graphic design work, away from "formal," or abstract, solutions and toward a greater incorporation of figurative and human elements. Wittkugel's commissions from both the Sozialistische Einheitspartei Deutschlands (SED) and the party organ, *Neues Deutschland,* increased in the mid-1950s; his appointment as a full professor at the Kunsthochschule Berlin (now Weissensee Kunsthochschule Berlin) in 1952 signaled his heightened status as a designer. With the death of Stalin in 1953 and Khrushchev's subsequent denunciation of the Stalinist purges, the aesthetic regime in the GDR seemed to relax—while at the same time the political climate and economic competition between East and West Germany grew more heated.

Militarism Without Masks

Militarismus ohne Maske (Militarism Without Masks), which opened on June 7, 1957, represents Wittkugel's crowning achievement as an exhibition maker.



Model of the 1957 exhibition *Militarismus ohne Maske* (Militarism Without Masks) reconstructed in the late 1970s by Hannelore Lehmann and Günter Petzold

It combined the approaches and techniques of his earlier exhibitions into a total spectacle that was simultaneously factual and propagandistic. Working with a team of students from the Kunsthochschule Berlin, Wittkugel organized, conceptualized, and implemented the entire exhibition.[27] Staged on the border of East and West Berlin near the Friedrichstrasse train station, *Militarism Without Masks* was aimed at denizens of both city sectors (the building of the Berlin Wall in 1961 would later prohibit such free movement and dual address). Yet the exhibition's content, revealed only over the course of a complete walkthrough, belied its partisan aim of excoriating West German industrialists and politicians. In contrast to earlier works, it eschewed an open-ended and inclusive display in favor of a precise, accumulative, and all-encompassing ideological argument.[28]

Charting the development of the military-industrial complex in Germany from 1870 through 1957, the running narrative coupled the commercial and financial growth of the Krupp family, who had manufactured munitions for the German state, with the tragic history of the "Krausens," a fictional working-class family that loses successive children in Germany's wars. These "historical" family stories complemented an explicitly interpretive strand that conjoined the horrors of World War II with West German warmongering.

The strong fusion of form and content in *Militarism Without Masks* emerged from its unified conception. Writing years later about the exhibition design, Wittkugel explained his core strategy:

> The sequence and ordering of the exhibition elements is so determined, so that everything can be taken in—and most importantly—can be read, without slowing down your steps through the individual things. In this manner, one is in the flow, one takes in everything, [one] is captured by the atmosphere and is pulled along from document to document, from one kinetic three-sided curtain wall to another, from large-format photos and montages, short original film scenes, and audio recordings with the lying phrases of Hitler and Goebbels. The documentation is intentionally not "designed." Image and text documents were placed in an indirectly lit built-in vitrine row without any disturbing additional pieces.
> [. . .]
> Through this form, it was possible for the first time to show the horror of World War II unsparingly, yet so that it could be understood intelligibly and not only function in an emotionally terrifying way.[29]

As laid out above, the exhibition design strategy was complex and multitiered. Wittkugel recognized that the most effective way to convert skeptics was through an exhibition of "facts" in the form of "neutral" documents—an approach that built on his experience with historical materials in *Bach in His Time*—which were editorialized by their spatial montage with other, more po-

lemical, visual and multimedia elements. Modeled on the structure of a documentary film, the exhibition made an unfolding, room-to-room case, rather than overwhelming the viewer through immediate and complete immersion in its contents.

At the same time, like a shop window, the exhibition had to be seductive from the start. This corresponds with the British-Russian architect and designer Misha Black's injunction to the designers of propaganda exhibitions (in his 1950 book *Exhibition Design*): "The arrangement of sections must be such as to provide, at the entrance, sufficient excitement to arouse the visitor to a pitch of interest which will carry him through the exhibition on a sustained wave of attention."[30] The push and pull of these two poles determined the form and rhythm.

Militarism Without Masks began with a dramatic entrance that juxtaposed the bombastic, the poetic, and the polemical: a floor-to-ceiling photo mural of a nuclear explosion, a quotation by Bertolt Brecht on the self-destruction of Carthage, and a strong anti-military statement by Günther Kunert (who wrote all of the "poetic" wall texts in the exhibition): "If Germany wants to live, then militarism must die."[31] Branching off from this first, central room, three rooms were dedicated to different time periods of recent German history. Each room combined diverse images and objects, ranging from manipulated documentary photographs—"enlarged, reduced, added to, ordered together, juxtaposed, cut apart, put back together with other pieces, or placed as details beside large panoramas"[32]—to "straight" documents, physical objects (such as a soldier's helmet, a gravestone cross, artillery shells, and other war materials), and collections of other original materials, including death notices of soldiers culled from World War II newspapers. Consistent typographic treatments and custom-designed exhibition display pieces unified these disparate contents. Functioning like modern bus shelter advertisements, mechanical wall units cycled between three sequential states: the suffering of the Krausen family, the profits of the Krupp family, and a poetic summary by Kunert. Alternating dark and light spaces heightened the sense of a driving narrative.

Militarismus ohne Maske (Militarism Without Masks) installation view, Bahnhof Friedrichstrasse, Berlin, 1957, showing a large-format reproduction from an English newspaper of Alfried Krupp von Bohlen und Halbach in his study, juxtaposed with the helmets of fallen World War II soldiers and a makeshift battlefield grave. Opposite, a display of military armaments. The vitrines contain small-format photographs and captions of the Krupp and Krause family histories.

Dramatic multimedia elements such as antiwar film montages and aural "paintings"—featuring recorded sounds of cannons, gunfire, and battling troops from the different wars of 1870–71, 1914–18, and 1939–45—were calculated to trigger heightened psychological responses.[33] Further display strategies and details—such as graphics and messaging on the ceiling, large-

scale backlit typography, angled object labels, and recessed wall-vitrines inset into larger image walls—demonstrated Wittkugel's command of advanced display techniques.[34]

The visual rhetoric of *Militarism Without Masks* became increasingly virulent over the course of the exhibition. For example, one recurring motif featured the silhouetted heads of West German industrialists and politicians who enjoyed prominent careers in the postwar period despite their complicity with the Nazi regime.[35] Introduced in the last section of the first room, each "talking head" was presented in an "objective" manner: on a white background, flanked by texts contrasting their activities in 1945 with their current fortunes in 1957. The second room opened with a large photomontage of these same figures: shown from the chest up, hovering over a pile of gold coins and coiled serpents, with the spectral body of Adolf Hitler floating in their midst. The final montage of this room presented Hitler standing in full military garb next to the head of West German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, who was collaged onto a second Hitler torso. The continuation of the wall featured the faces of the same group of West Germans, each grafted onto an identical Hitler body—an unmistakable visual indictment.[36] Evoking John Heartfield's early photomontages, this strong graphic statement and its repetition took on a nearly meme-like quality in its persistence to persuade.

Militarismus ohne Maske (Militarism Without Masks) installation view, Bahnhof Friedrichstrasse, Berlin, 1957, showing West German politicians and industrialists, juxtaposing their wartime activities with present-day status. Opposite, a wall of death announcements from World War II German newspapers. Above, vitrine with original photographic materials.

One of the exhibition's most arresting displays was a floor-to-ceiling, dramatically curved, panoramic photograph of West Berlin's major shopping district, the Kurfürstendamm. Buildings, storefronts, and commercial signage emerged in ground-up perspective—an illusionistic and immersive simulacrum of Berlin's other side. The viewpoint was low, as if one were standing in the middle of the street; the uncanny scene was absent of people. Instead of a traditional semicircular panorama, this display was presented on two straight walls joined at a curved corner, which accentuated the image's disorienting perspective. In the center of the installation, an actual newspaper kiosk stood stocked with German newspapers from both the World War II

Militarismus ohne Maske (Militarism Without Masks) installation view, Bahnhof Friedrichstrasse, Berlin, 1957, showing the large-format Kurfürstendamm panorama and newspaper kiosk, with inset vitrines of original materials. The central ceiling graphic says, "Approximately 80 agent centers in West Berlin," while other circles list the names of different anti-Soviet and anti–East German groups centered in the western part of the city.

era and the day of the exhibition opening, all brandishing militaristic titles and headlines. This insertion collapsed the wartime period with the current moment through an act of spatial and temporal collage. As Hermann Exner has commented, the dramatic scene of the panorama—with the bombed-out spire of West Berlin's Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church in the background—transformed itself into a present-day, postapocalyptic vision of capitalist ruin.[37]

Several months after *Militarism Without Masks* closed, an exhibition in West Berlin employed a similar motif to different ends. *America Builds,* designed by Peter Blake (former curator of architecture and design at New York's Museum of Modern Art), opened at the Marshall House, Berlin, in September 1957. Organized by the United States Information Agency, the exhibition "featured full-scale, impeccably detailed mock-ups of the facades of some of the most noteworthy modern skyscrapers in the United States.… [The exhibition and its contents were] a deliberate and provocative contrast to the centrally controlled and ideologically dominated work being done in the eastern part of the city."[38] Like *Militarism Without Masks, America Builds* also featured a large-scale, curved panorama of an unpeopled landscape, but this photograph was of New York's skyscrapers. According to Blake, "A replica of the New York skyline and of the facades (in actual size) of a new type of city attempt to create the illusion that the visitor is actually among buildings instead of looking at pictures and models."[39] The mood and viewpoint of this American fantasy were radically different from its East German counterpart. The high, triumphal perspective emphasized New York as a marketplace of towering skyscrapers; the panorama offered a view of technological and economic progress as experienced by the very few at the top. How different from the street-level vantage point of Wittkugel's panorama, which positioned its viewer as a pedestrian in West Berlin who is confronted by the alarming conjunction of commerce and emptiness.

Reflections

In contrast with the Party's reception of his work on *Our Five-Year Plan,* Wittkugel received the GDR's National Prize, third class, for organizing and designing *Militarism Without Masks.* It was a watershed moment in his career. The exhibition was also symptomatic of larger changes that were occurring within the East German state. Largely abandoning the optimistic rhetoric and political idealism of the immediate postwar era, the GDR shifted to a harsh critique of the West German government as a gambit to retain its fleeing populace. Within the specific context of Wittkugel's oeuvre, *Militarism Without Masks* signaled a move away from inclusive and participatory gestures, toward a narrower and more controlled approach focused on convincing visitors through spectacular means. Unlike in early avant-garde ideological exhibi-

tions, the aim was no longer to "activate" viewers. Instead, they were corralled through a space; bombarded with objects, sounds, and images; and treated as docile consumers within an overwhelmingly persuasive environment.

The self-reflexive coda to *Militarism Without Masks* appeared in the exhibition *Klaus Wittkugel: Plakat, Buch, Ausstellung, Packung, Marke* (Posters, Books, Exhibitions, Packaging, Logos) in Berlin in 1961. This major retrospective included the entire range of graphic work by Wittkugel, as well as a selection of his exhibition designs, presented within the exhibition. An entire room was devoted to *Militarism Without Masks.* Photographic documentation of the 1957 exhibition dangled below a suspended grid. Hung at right angles, the boards' display implied a virtual room. Behind these images, the cinematic installation of the Kurfürstendamm—the most ambitious display in the original exhibition—stood reproduced at 1:1 scale. However, instead of a seamless, curved photographic reproduction as in the original, this time the panoramic backdrop was divided into panels; the modular grid-based display system ostensibly would allow for easy transport to the exhibition's other venues. Making a return appearance, the newspaper kiosk stood on a raised stage floor, which turned the entire reproduced display from a space to be entered into an object to be observed from a distance.[40]

Klaus Wittkugel: Plakat, Buch, Ausstellung, Packung, Marke (Posters, Books, Exhibitions, Packaging, Logos) installation view, Pavilion der Kunst, Berlin, 1961, showing the 1:1 reconstruction of the 1957 Kurfürstendamm installation from *Militarismus ohne Maske* (Militarism Without Masks) in panelized form. The newspaper kiosk is also represented here. Installation views of the original exhibition are mounted on boards and hung from the ceiling.

The logic of the immersive, total spectacle collided here with the idea of the exhibition's reproduction as a formal work, generating an exhibition within an exhibition that was diminished by its own desire for ubiquity and innovation. Significantly, the reproduced installation—ostensibly the one that Wittkugel was most proud of as a *designer*—was the most evocative and symbolic of the original exhibition, rather than a re-creation of the more plainly ideological and polemical displays.

Yet history plays its own tricks, even conspiring to shift the meaning and content of an exhibition while it still stands. Wittkugel's retrospective was on view from July 7 until August 26, 1961, in East Berlin. During the evening of August 13, 1961, the East German authorities began to erect the Berlin Wall. Euphemistically dubbed the "Anti-Fascist Protection Wall" by its creators, it was designed to prevent East Germans from escaping to the West—the very opposite of *Our Five-Year Plan*'s "Wall of Approval." In the midst of its exhibition run, Wittkugel's *mise en abyme* of West Berlin's premier shopping district suddenly and inadvertently began to represent something dangerously off-limits and inaccessible to the majority of the East German citizenry. A double separation had occurred.

Exhibition design, particularly in its more commercial or applied forms, is often maligned for catering to desire: as a means to close the gap between audience and object, or as a way of selling through display. However, as Brian O'Doherty's *Inside the White Cube* essays demonstrated almost 40 years ago, there is no neutral condition of exhibition; the white cube space cloaks its own market ideology and value proposition.[41] Wittkugel's major exhibition design work, particularly *Militarism Without Masks,* occupies the opposite end of this spectrum: the creation of spaces and experiences with clear ideological aims and transparent methods. Nevertheless, to a contemporary viewer, both devices appear dangerously charged. One sells an idea through the total mobilization of image, document, object, media, and display, and the other sells an object (or an idea) through the persuasive authority of a pristine and "undesigned" gallery presentation. The power of exhibition design—to create a complete world, to immerse, to beguile, and to convince—is one that is valued not only within advanced retail operations and repressive states, but also by many contemporary artists.[42] For exhibition makers and artists, especially those aspiring to challenge contemporary market constructs, counter-examples such as Wittkugel may serve as significant historical figures of both instruction and dissuasion.

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All translations are by the author unless noted otherwise.

Notes

1. "1926. My most important work as an artist began: the design of exhibitions." El Lissitzky, *Proun und Wolkenbügel* (Dresden: VEB Verlag der Kunst, 1977): 115, cited in Benjamin H. D. Buchloh, "From Faktura to Factography" *October* 30 (fall 1984): 102.

2. For further reading, see Mary Anne Staniszewski, *The Power of Display: A History of Exhibition Installations at the Museum of Modern Art* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1998) and Ulrich Pohlmann, "El Lissitzky's Exhibition Designs: The Influence of His Work in Germany, Italy, and the United States, 1923–1943" in Margaret Tupitsyn, *El Lissitzky: Beyond the Abstract Cabinet: Photography, Design, Collaboration* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999): 52–64.

3. Jack Masey and Conway Lloyd Morgan, *Cold War Confrontations: U.S. Exhibitions and Their Role in the Cultural Cold War* (Baden, Germany: Lars Müller, 2008).

4. Examples of such postwar manuals include Misha Black, *Exhibition Design* (London: The Architectural Press, 1950); Richard P. Lohse, *Neue Ausstellungsgestaltung = Nouvelles conceptions de l'exposition, New Design in Exhibitions* (Zurich: Verlag für Architektur, 1953); and George Nelson, *Display* (New York: Interiors Library, 1953).

5. Sophie Lissitzky-Küppers, ed., *El Lissitzky: Maler, Architekt, Typograf, Fotograf* (Dresden, Germany: VEB Verlag der Kunst, 1967), inside front book jacket. It is interesting to note that this, the major monograph on Lissitzky's life's work and still a primary reference work, first appeared in East Germany, under the same imprint as Klaus Wittkugel's monograph a decade later.

6. Tony Judt, *Postwar: A History of Europe Since 1945* (New York: Penguin, 2005): 167–73.

7. Wittkugel was fluent in both the idiom of the Modernist avant-garde and current "Western" design and advertising techniques. Axel Bertram, his student at the Kunsthochschule Berlin in the early 1950s, remembers him showing their class the work of the American corporate designer Paul Rand and El Lissitzky. Author interview with Axel Bertram, Berlin, November 23, 2009.

8. Heinz Wolf, *Klaus Wittkugel* (Dresden, Germany: VEB Verlag der Kunst, 1964): 8.

9. Bundesarchiv NY 4182 / 1030 (Nachlass Walter Ulbricht).

10. Bundesarchiv DC 20-I/3 32, page 110.

11. "350 000 sahen 'Unser Fünfjahrplan," *Berliner Zeitung* (February 22, 1951): 6.

12. Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Klaus-Wittkugel-Archiv, Mappe "Fotos 14."

13. Erhard Frommhold, *Klaus Wittkugel: Fotografie Gebrauchsgrafik Plakat Ausstellung Zeichen* (Dresden, Germany: VEB Verlag der Kunst, 1979): 181.

14. Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Klaus-Wittkugel-Archiv, Mappe "Fotos 14."

15. Mike Dennis, *The Rise and Fall of the German Democratic Republic 1945–199*0 (Essex, England: Pearson, 2000): 55.

16. The East German cultural scholar Ina Merkel has astutely observed, "It is wrong to say that socialist advertising was not competitive; yet its aim was not the hocking of brands or products but rather the legitimacy of the 'people's economy' itself." Ina Merkel, "Alternative Rationalities: Strange Dreams, Absurd Utopias" in *Socialist Modern: East German Everyday Culture and Politics* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008): 334.

17. "Ein Plan für uns," *Nacht-Express. Die illustrierte Abendzeitung* (January 9, 1951): 2.

18. Anna Jackson, *Expo: International Expositions 1851–2010* (London: Victoria and Albert Museum, 2008): 92.

19. Misha Black, *Exhibition Design* (London: The Architectural Press, 1950): 11–12.

20. Ironically, this very focus on performative labor was suggested by a wall-size quotation of Josef Stalin at the exhibition entrance: "One must finally understand that, of all the valuable forms of capital there are in the world, the most valuable and decisive capital are people themselves." Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Klaus-Wittkugel-Archiv, Mappe "Fotos 14."

21. Hermann Exner, in *Klaus Wittkugel: Plakat, Buch, Ausstellung, Packung, Marke* (Berlin: VBKD, 1961): 10.

22. St., "'Bitte, nehmen Sie auch meinen Baustein!' Ueberraschung in der Fünfjahresplan-Ausstellung / Tausende errichten eine Friedenswand," *Nacht-Express. Die illustrierte Abendzeitung* (January 18, 1951): 6.

23. Ulrich Pohlmann in Tupitsyn, 64.

24. Prem Krishnamurthy, "The People's Representation: On Staged Graphics in Klaus Wittkugel's Work," *The Highlights* no. XV (2011), http://thehighlights.org/wp/the-peoples-representation#the-peoples-representation.

25. Bundesarchiv DY30-IV2-11-v-4357. 21.

26. Bundesarchiv DY30-IV2-11-v-4357. 20.

27. The students included Margret Arnold, Karl-Heinz Bobbe, Manfred Brückels, Dietrich Dorfstecher, Ingrid Schuppan, and Wolfgang Simon. Frommhold, 263.

28. "In and through this exhibition, Klaus Wittkugel becomes a radical photomonteur. . . . The exhibition itself is a total montage." Frommhold, 176.

29. Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Klaus-Wittkugel-Archiv, Nr. 12.

30. Black, 31.

31. Frommhold, 161.

32. Frommhold, 176.

33. Peter Günther, "Militarismus ohne Maske" in *Neue Werbung* 10 (1957): 8–10, cited in Frommhold, 160.

34. Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Klaus-Wittkugel-Archiv, Mappe "Militarismus ohne Maske."

35. This criticism was far from groundless: Major figures in Konrad Adenaur's BDR government, such as Hans Globke, as well as West German industrialists such as Friedrich Flick (both of whom were featured in this part of the exhibition) did achieve material and political influence in the postwar period despite their wartime activities. At the same time, though, the exhibition was one-sided in that it did not mention the comparable complicity of East German politicians in the totalitarian Nazi regime. See also Judt, 59–61.

36. Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Klaus-Wittkugel-Archiv, Mappe "Militarismus ohne Maske."

37. Hermann Exner, "Dramatiker der Bildsprache," *Sonntag* (February 19, 1961): 8.

38. Jack Masey and Conway Lloyd Morgan, *Cold War Confrontations* (Baden, Germany: Lars Müller, 2008): 98.

39. Franck Klaus, *Exhibitions: A Survey of International Designs* (New York: Praeger, 1961): 130.

40. Akademie der Künste, Berlin, Klaus-Wittkugel-Archiv, Mappe "Fotos 16."

41. Brian O'Doherty, *Inside the White Cube: The Ideology of the Gallery Space* (San Francisco: Lapis Press, 1976).

42. Thomas Hirschhorn comes to mind as an artist with means that are related to Wittkugel's, though they are put to different ends. Not insignificantly, Hirschhorn was a graphic designer in the political collective Grapus before turning to art.