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IN HITLER'S SALON

The German Pavilion at the 1937 Paris Exposition
Internationale

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In a speech marking the opening of the German pavilion at the 1937 Paris Exposition Internationale (fig. 46), German Economics Minister Hjalmar Schacht asserted that the grandeur of his country's exhibit was testimony to its commitment to international peace and to "the reconstruction of a healthy and solid world economy."¹ He proclaimed that the time had come for France and Germany to move beyond the many years of war and "reparations psychosis" in order to work together in advancing the progress of humanity. French officials echoed Schacht's remarks in their stated desire that the World's Fair would forge a "solid bridge of peace" between the two countries, a sentiment that reflected the Popular Front's policy of rapprochement.² Léon Blum and the Popular Front had won the 1936 elections on an anti-fascist platform, yet once in office, pursued a course of appeasement and nonaggression toward the Third Reich. Rapprochement was intended to bring about a reconciliation between the two nations through peaceful diplomatic and cultural exchanges. However, in reality, it represented a diplomacy of compliance and concession through which the French government believed it could buy peace from its "hereditary enemy." It was Blum's government that finally secured Germany's acceptance to participate in the 1937 Exposition two years after France initially issued the invitation.³ The ensuing negotiations concerning the design and financing of the German pavilion reflected the larger political paradoxes inherent in the Popular Front's foreign policy directives.

Initially, the French strategy of rapprochement seemed successful, as Germany's new rhetoric of détente during the watershed years of 1936



Fig 46. Albert Speer, German pavilion, Exposition Internationale, Paris, 1937. From *Deutschland in Paris: Ein Bild-Buch von Heinrich Hoffmann* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1937).

and 1937 marked a radical shift away from the aggressive political and military actions that had come before: the repudiation of the Versailles Treaty, intervention in the Spanish Civil War, and remilitarization of the Rhineland. By shifting its strategy to diplomatic initiatives and goodwill propaganda campaigns—the 1936 Berlin Olympics being another example—the Third Reich moved to calm international anxieties, while buying time for its rearmament program. France, on the other hand, plagued by serious internal political and economic crises, joined England in its desire to avoid a second world war at nearly any cost. It was during this transitional period in Franco-German relations that the Third Reich used the German pavilion to transform its international profile and advance its political agenda.

The 1937 Paris Exposition also offered France and Germany an excellent opportunity to reinstate talks for a new Franco-German trade agreement. Trade between the two nations had dropped dramatically following the expiration of the Franco-German clearing accord in August 1935.⁴ France hoped to increase foreign trade in order to stimulate a troubled domestic economy that had not yet recovered from the Depression. Mean-



Fig 47. The German and Soviet pavilions, Exposition Internationale, Paris, 1937, as seen from the terrace of the Trocadéro, Paris, 1937. *Art et Décoration*, 1937.

while, Germany's economic reorganization and rearmament demanded an increased flow of foreign currency and raw materials into the country, despite Hitler's pronounced plan of achieving autarky. The pavilion organizers thus hoped to convince other nations to recommence or augment trade with Germany by portraying the Third Reich at the 1937 Exposition as a reliable and economically stable, commercial partner.

The Planning and Design of the German Pavilion

The importance of the German pavilion in Paris was underscored by its central location on the "Avenue of Peace," the primary axis of the fairgrounds. The French organizers positioned the German building so that it appeared to be in an architectural face-off with its Soviet counterpart when viewed from either the Eiffel Tower or Trocadéro (fig. 47). The pavilion, or Deutsches Haus, was designed by Albert Speer, who was selected by Hitler after the führer rejected the sketches initially chosen by the Ministry of Economics, the principal organizing body for the German participation. Speer responded to the führer's commission by creating an imposing neoclassical structure that consisted of a rectangular tower of ten attached fluted piers, connected to a long windowless hall. Speer's monumental pavilion was the largest foreign structure at the exposition, and he deliberately exaggerated the disparity between the great height and narrow width of the tower to make the structure appear even taller. His sober design shared with functionalist architecture the renunciation of superfluous or-

namentation and the use of a steel-supporting structure. Yet, overlaid onto the steel construction was a facade of native German limestone, with swastika-patterned red and gold mosaic tile applied in the recesses between the fluted piers. At night, reflecting the illumination of concealed lighting fixtures, the mosaics appeared to glow independently. Speer also used a darker German marble to accentuate the window and door frames. By harmonizing traditional and modern building vocabularies, Speer hoped to realize a transhistorical classicism that moved beyond pastiche.

The pavilion's large cut-stone, grandiose piers, simplified cornice, flat roof, and ceremonial entrance were intended to recall the architectonic dignity of ancient Rome.⁵ National Socialist ideologues celebrated the affinity between early antiquity and the Third Reich in both artistic and political terms. In the German pavilion's guidebook, Wilhelm Lotz, an architectural historian and Nazi official, celebrated Germany's revived classicism, asserting that the Nazi adaptation of antique elements was not simply an act of "mere slavish copying." Rather, he contended, the structural similarities stemmed from a shared worldview:

The explanation may perhaps be found in an attitude towards life and its problems which resembles that of the Ancient World. We no longer deny the things of this earth in fear, we train our young people to be strong in spirit and body. A further reason for the fundamental harmony of our buildings with those of the Ancient World is a similar attitude towards building as such. For building does not simply mean the provision of a roof to cover people's heads; building is a powerful display of the forces of a nation which expresses therein its vital energy. Today, peaceful work and the proud joy of doing things and of giving form to ideas cause the erection of buildings which personify our endeavour and ability. The country, and that means the entire people, stand behind these buildings, which are an expression of that force which has built the State, namely the unflinching creative spirit of the German Nation.⁶

Speer's pavilion owed much of its cultic power to its evocation of funerary architecture, which served to hermetically seal off the interior of the pavilion physically and symbolically from the clamor of the fair outside. As Dieter Bartetzko has noted, the Deutsches Haus exemplified the "architectural death cult" of National Socialism.⁷ The pavilion's long hall suggested an immense, windowless sarcophagus, while the heavy wooden vitrines resembled a series of coffins. Paul Westheim, a German art critic in exile in Paris at the time of the Exposition, grimly foreshadowed Nazi atrocities by comparing the architecture of the Deutsches Haus to a crema-



Fig 48. German pavilion, Exposition Internationale, Paris, 1937. Interior view with model of Paul Ludwig Troost's House of German Art. From *Deutschland in Paris: Ein Bild-Buch von Heinrich Hoffmann* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1937).

torium. In the German exile newspaper, *Die neue Weltbühne*, Westheim offered a sarcastic account of what he termed the National Socialist *Zigarrenkistenstil*: the feeble-minded technique of designing buildings out of cigar boxes.⁸ One box comprised the pavilion tower, which for Westheim, represented the crematorium chimney. The other box formed the crematorium's long hall and waiting room, where the mourners of the deceased would gather.

Within the pavilion were exhibited maquettes of other Nazi monuments that had served as precedent and inspiration for Speer's structure. The model for the newly built Haus der Deutschen Kunst (House of German Art) in Munich was placed on the elevated podium of honor as if on an altar (fig. 48). The museum, like Speer's pavilion, was designed in an austere neoclassical style and faced in limestone. Aside from the colonnade of fluted pillars and minimal cornice projections, the massive block structure displayed little ornamentation.⁹ Paul Ludwig Troost, the museum's architect, was greatly revered by Hitler and had died before the building's completion. The museum finally opened the same month as the 1937 Paris Exposition with a large exhibit of official Nazi art. The honorary placement of Troost's model, therefore, accentuated the importance bestowed on art and architecture by the Nazis and also commemorated Troost's death. At the opposite end of the hall from Troost's museum model, near the pavilion's entrance, stood Speer's maquette for the Nurem-

berg Party Grounds. This model held special significance within the context of the pavilion, since the Third Reich intended to transport and reconstruct the large tower of the Deutsches Haus at the Nuremberg complex after the closing of the Paris fair.¹⁰ As Speer himself proclaimed on the occasion of the 1937 Exposition, Troost's architecture as well as his own buildings were envisioned as "guide(s) for future construction in Germany."¹¹ The maquettes and pavilion, then, literally framed each other in a self-referential circle of homage.

Speer's design for the German pavilion cannot be fully understood, however, without examining it in conjunction with that of the Soviet Union. According to Speer's memoirs, the French organizers clearly intended the architectural confrontation between Germany and Russia.¹² Speer therefore explains that his principal objective when designing the German pavilion was to counter the forward thrust of the Soviet pavilion and dominate it in height.¹³ The Soviet architect, Boris Iofan, designed his building so that it would appear as though a pair of colossal bronze figures were being sprung forward and upward by the visual thrust from a series of immense stepped blocks. The two statues, a male worker brandishing a hammer and a female kol'khoznitsa (collective farm worker) grasping a sickle, symbolized the anticipated alliance between Soviet industrial and agricultural production.¹⁴ As Speer described it, the two Bolshevik figures seemed to be "striding triumphantly toward the German pavilion. . . . I therefore designed a cubic mass, also elevated on stout pillars, which seemed to be checking this onslaught, while from the cornice of my tower an eagle with the swastika in its claws looked down on the Russian sculptures."¹⁵ In opposition to the dynamic, multiplanar structure of the Soviets, Speer's structure was to appear stoic, stable, and immutable. The Soviet Union was cast as the aggressor, while Nazi Germany became the defender against world communism. The symbolic competition between the two nations was not lost on French audiences of the period. A cartoonist for the French right-wing newspaper *Candide* satirized the rivalry with the caption, "It's them fighting again!" (fig. 49). The Soviet pavilion bends across the street, as the Bolshevik figures and Nazi eagle engage in a screaming match. The female farm worker is depicted lunging at the squawking bird, while her male comrade has been reduced to tears.¹⁶

The question arises as to how Speer achieved this visual domination, given that the two pavilions were supposed to be designed in secret competition with each other. Speer claims that he gained the upper hand in the architectural contest when he "by chance stumbled into a room containing the secret sketch of the Soviet pavilion" while in Paris inspecting his site.¹⁷ Having glanced at the plans, he was thus able to guarantee that

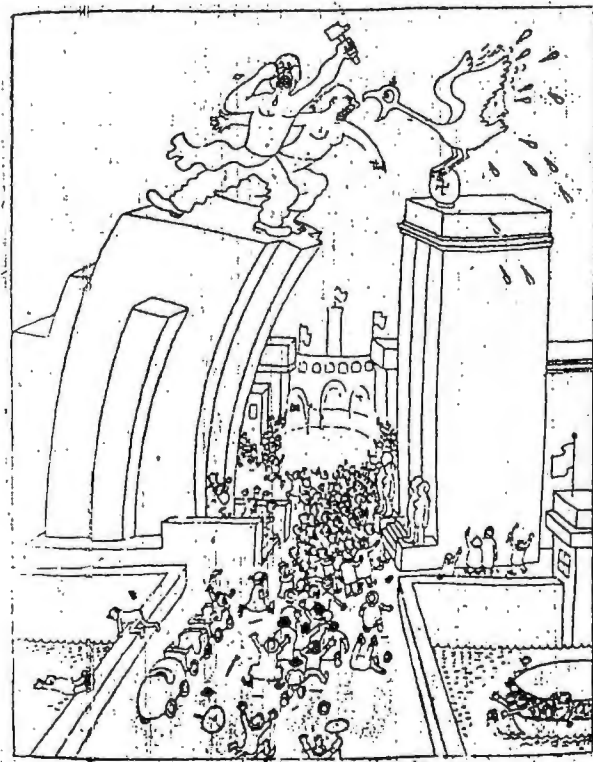


Fig 49. "C'est encore eux qui se disputent!" (It's them fighting again!). Cartoon from the French newspaper *Candide*, July 15, 1937.

the height of his tower would exceed that of the Russians by six meters.¹⁸ However, it is unlikely that Speer's story is true, for among Speer's papers now housed in Munich is a copy of the plan for the side elevation and principal facade of the Soviet building, marked with annotations in French.¹⁹

Although the following remains speculative, one possible scenario is that Jacques Greber, the chief architect for the 1937 Exposition, furnished Speer with the Soviet plans.²⁰ Speer has written that Greber was very supportive of his project.²¹ Though responsible for overseeing the entire fair, Greber was particularly involved in the negotiations for the German participation, and in the fall of 1936, visited Germany as a guest of the Nazi regime. The trip was arranged at the request of Greber, who, a great admirer of Nazi architecture, wanted to tour the recent projects in Berlin and Nuremberg.²² While in Germany, Greber met with Speer and representatives of the Ministry of Commerce to discuss the Third Reich's participa-

tion. German documents reveal that Nazi officials saw the trip as an opportunity to develop a closer and more personal relationship with Greber in anticipation of extracting, with his help, considerable financial concessions from the French.²³

After his trip, Greber did indeed actively work to insure that nearly all of the economic and political demands made by the Third Reich were fulfilled. He arranged special building subsidies from the French government and obtained the additional French francs needed to finance the expensive Nazi pavilion through a series of trade and currency transactions. He also convinced the French commerce minister to open the borders to additional German imports beyond the fixed quotas, while entreating his Nazi colleagues to keep the special arrangement confidential.²⁴ In addition, Greber arranged for the transfer of purchase orders worth several million francs from French companies to German ones for materials needed to build the French portion of the fair.²⁵ Greber thus stripped much-needed business from French companies battered by an economy in recession. Finally, he allowed for the German pavilion to be built by imported German workers using exclusively German materials, so that the Third Reich could claim it to be a purely Nordic accomplishment.²⁶ The rest of the buildings at the fair, including the Soviet pavilion, were constructed primarily by French workers in compliance with the exposition's guidelines requiring that French companies be hired in order to ameliorate unemployment.²⁷ The Third Reich received permission from the French government to employ three teams of one thousand German workers for around-the-clock shifts to insure that the structure would be completed on opening day.²⁸ This intensive schedule violated the forty-hour workweek recently legislated by the Popular Front and sparked numerous articles in the left-wing press accusing the French government of betraying the trade unions.

According to German documents, Greber was supportive of the Nazi efforts because their pavilion had acquired "great political meaning" in France. The French architect reported to his German colleagues that many Frenchmen believed that "the fact that National Socialist Germany [was] participating with such a costly pavilion was the best proof that it did not want war!"²⁹ Indeed, by the time Greber and the Nazi organizers completed their special financing arrangements, the cost of the German pavilion was six to nine times greater than that of any other foreign structure at the fair.³⁰ German potlatch thus came to signify a kind of insurance against Nazi military aggression; the more the Nazis invested in "cultural affairs," the less likely they were to act on their destructive impulses.³¹

The Mythical Harmony of Tradition and Modernity

In contrast to the austere grandeur of Speer's facade, the interior of the pavilion presented a scene of opulence and refinement (fig. 50). The architect Woldemar Brinkmann created an elaborate pastiche of nineteenth-century salon decor, complete with oversized chandeliers, oil paintings, tapestry, and classical statuettes. Even the political symbol of the swastika was domesticated, interlaced as a repetitive decorative motif throughout the pavilion, appearing in the dense wallpaper, the silk lining of the display cases, and in the metalwork of the doors and stair railings. Brinkmann deliberately rejected the modern propensity for white walls, large glass windows, and sleek exhibition spaces used in other foreign pavilions, such as those of Sweden, Switzerland, and the United States. These buildings contained spacious modernist showrooms that boldly exhibited their wares.

The retardataire design of the Deutsches Haus was intended to veil the status of the displayed objects as commodities for sale. According to leading Nazi ideologues, the Third Reich had overcome the soulless system of capitalism, which they claimed had been dominated by an international oligarchy of Jewish financiers.³² Under National Socialism, capitalist exchange would no longer be purely profit driven but rather would be geared toward the nation's needs and racial struggle.³³ It was in 1936 that the



Fig 50. German pavilion, Exposition Internationale, Paris, 1937. Interior view from the Podium of Honor. From *Deutschland in Paris: Ein Bild-Buch von Heinrich Hoffmann* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1937).

Nazis began to plan a course of action that would result in the complete expulsion of Jews from the German economy (*Entjudung der deutschen Wirtschaft*).³⁴ It was during this same year that the balance of economic power shifted from big business to the regime itself largely through the implementation of the Four-Year Plan.³⁵ The process was furthered in 1937, when the regime established a large state-owned and -operated industrial complex to facilitate the reorientation of the German economy toward rearmament.³⁶

Yet, Hitler's economic policy would remain deliberately ambiguous and often contradictory. The führer's goal of total economic self-sufficiency conflicted with the agenda of his Economics Minister, Hjalmar Schacht, who wanted to increase foreign currency reserves by encouraging German trade with other nations. Schacht, who was an avid supporter of National Socialism but never a Nazi party member, also met serious opposition from other Nazi officials, in particular, Hermann Göring. Schacht's dissenting position on economic priorities and the cost of rearmament would lead to his resignation from the Economics Ministry in November 1937 (though he would remain head of the Reichsbank). Göring, as head of the Four-Year Plan organization, would become the dominant force in the economic sphere. The German pavilion, conceived and executed during this watershed period in Nazi economic development, reflected the competition between different government factions. The exhibit can be read as a compromise between the desires of Schacht to increase foreign commerce and the ideological imperatives of other Nazi officials, particularly those in the Propaganda Ministry, who wished to demonstrate that National Socialism had spiritually revitalized every sector of German life.³⁷

In order to attract foreign customers, the pavilion displayed a wide variety of products manufactured mostly by private German companies. However, these goods were not organized according to the commercial logic of a trade show but were exhibited as if they were the rare finds of a private collection or museum. The disparate objects—which ranged from chemical products and fine china to film cameras and children's toys—were contained within heavy, inlaid wooden vitrines, lined with swastika-emblazoned silk, or mounted on white pedestals. In several sections of the pavilion, the merchandise was arranged amidst elegant furniture and potted plants, as if on display in a private residential estate. The official German guidebook for the exposition attempted to cloak its marketing venture by asserting that individual commercial interests had nothing to do with the exhibit. Defending the primacy of the *Volk* over economics, the guidebook argued that "the dignified arrangement of the pavilion [did] not lure visitors into some cheap show," but rather led them to discover

the spirit of the German people and German architecture.³⁸ The interests and character of the community remained paramount:

Viewed from the entrance, the great hall creates the effect of a unit . . . the individual departments are not in competition with each other. . . . They are all housed under the same roof, organized according to the will of one man, united in the ideal of the community of the German people. . . . This will and this spirit accompany the visitor as long as he is in the pavilion. It is as though they were inscribed above every showcase, on every table, on every column.³⁹

Under the gaze of the *führer*, the disparate objects were released from the world of capitalism and incorporated into the transcendental realm of race, blood, and spirit.

The grandiose visual style chosen by the pavilion designers to mask the contradictions between Nazi *völkisch* rhetoric and political-economic reality corresponds closely to what the German philosopher, Ernst Bloch, termed an aesthetic of the *gute Stube*, or parlor. Bloch discusses the visual and ideological properties of the parlor in his study of fascism entitled *Erbschaft dieser Zeit* (Heritage of our Times), originally published in 1935 and later expanded.⁴⁰ The parlor, like the German pavilion, marked a reactionary turn back to nineteenth-century aesthetic codes, back to the portentous style of empire. This sumptuously decorated salon, complete with its plush chairs, deluxe editions, silver bowls, and "marble splendor," was the centerpiece of the twentieth-century bourgeois home. By creating "an imitation of old culture," the bourgeoisie attempted to gain the social status and historical legitimacy of the established aristocracy.⁴¹

However, according to Bloch, any authentic form of "old culture" had ceased to exist; the same forces of capitalism and technology that had given rise to the new monied classes simultaneously destroyed "authentic tradition." The parlor suppressed this economic reality; here trade and industry were allegorized as "veritable gods," while any connection to "the very sober working day" was eliminated.⁴² The parlor thus functioned as an escape from the harshness of daily life: in Bloch's words, the parlor's "pneumatic door-catch . . . locks itself with a sigh and muffles reality."⁴³ The resulting shelter formed a space of deception and false consciousness, a space in which ideological contradictions and self-aggrandizing myths could thrive. In the case of German politics, Bloch infers that the National Socialists shared the bourgeois ambition to "dream in the conquered bed of nobility," to recreate itself in "feudal terms."⁴⁴ Within four years of the founding of the Nazi regime, the German pavilion was erected in order

to propagate the fictional historical legacy of the thousand-year Reich abroad.

Bloch defines the parlor as a "kitsch-mythological structure" and associates its grand scale and lavish decor with contemporary Wagnerian performance.⁴⁵ Both the parlor and the Wagnerian *Gesamtkunstwerk* (total work of art) were composites of "overlapping historical faces" and symbolic fragments, fused together in the illusion of a seamless totality. Within the seductive ambience of this "dream-kitsch" (and here Bloch used Walter Benjamin's term), Romantic mythologies could be made to seem real.⁴⁶ In the case of National Socialism, *Volk*, Reich, and "blood and soil" were offered as salvation from the alienation of modern life under capitalism. The parlor, along with "youth, bourgeois storm-trooping, expressio and primeval times" satiated the "irrational longings" of rural and urban populations alike.⁴⁷ This insight was Bloch's unique contribution to the analysis of National Socialism; he understood it not only as a political and economic phenomenon but as a cultural one as well.

The Third Reich synthesized a national culture out of preexisting and invented elements, which proved capable of bringing together divergent class segments into a mass movement. What these different groups shared was the desire to revive the past for the present. According to Bloch, it was not the "theory of the National Socialists" that was dangerous but rather "their energy."⁴⁸ The Marxists, on the other hand, remained too rational and abstract and thus failed to address the spiritual longings of the populace. Bloch contends that Marxist propaganda refused to provide "any *opposite land* to myth, any transformation of mythical beginnings into real ones, of Dionysian dreams into revolutionary ones."⁴⁹

Bloch's writings of this period were also exceptional in that they analyze specific manifestations of Nazi culture, whether a poster slogan, harvest festival, or new official monument. He did not simply denounce these cultural products as banal as did many of his colleagues; rather, he attempted to understand their popular success by examining the intersection of aesthetic, political, economic, and emotive factors. His concept of the parlor represented one such intersection; it functioned as both a physical and metaphorical space through which Bloch attempted to analyze several other Nazi exhibitions and performative events of the prewar period.⁵⁰

Within the German pavilion, the reactionary aesthetic of the parlor described by Bloch allowed Nazi Germany to depict itself as a peaceful nation, free from the alienation and social fragmentation plaguing capitalist states. The Third Reich offered the illusion of having forged an organic community that could stand on the cutting edge of technological advancement. This dual achievement was conveyed through the deliberate jux-



Fig 51. German pavilion, Exposition Internationale, Paris, 1937. Interior view with Mercedes racecar. From *Deutschland in Paris: Ein Bild-Buch von Heinrich Hoffmann* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1937).

taposition of stylistically regressive examples of Nazi art with advanced industrial machines displaying a distinctly modernist aesthetic. Technological products, such as a Mercedes racecar and Zeppelin diesel engine, stood next to oil paintings of picturesque German landscapes and allegorical compositions (fig. 51). When placed within the overall decor of the pavilion, the machinery took on the fetishized quality of the exotic objects gathered together in the traditional *Kunstkammer*, in which the selection of artworks and other possessions served to define the identity of the collector.

The Nazi preference for academic art was elucidated in the pavilion guidebook by Adolf Ziegler, president of the Reich Chamber for the Visual Arts. Ziegler was the principal organizer of the 1937 Munich exhibition of *Entartete Kunst*, or Degenerate Art, which denigrated artworks considered to be the products of a decadent, Judeo-Bolshevist modernism. He was also authorized by Hitler to purge undesirable artists from the obligatory Nazi professional organizations and to remove their art from public display.⁵¹ In the guidebook, however, Ziegler avoided any reference to these oppressive actions. He insisted that Germany's antimodernist visual style developed "purely as a consequence of an appeal to the best instincts of the nation and to the idealism of the artists."⁵² Modern art was rootless,

cosmopolitan, and spiritually bankrupt. National Socialism brought German art back to its racial origins; according to Ziegler, it understood that "the creative substance is always present in the blood of a nation, and that it only needed to be called into life." This renewed racial legacy manifested itself in the revival of academic and artisanal craft techniques, for the contemporary German artist had inherited from his predecessors a "genuineness of material and methods."⁵³ Therefore, the largest artworks within the pavilion were composed of stained glass, mosaic, oil paint, and tapestry.

In an age of industrial sophistication, these labor-intensive crafts served as a guarantor for the purity and immutability of the German soul. The photographer and writer Gisèle Freund, in an article on the 1937 Exposition, commented on the surprising lack of mass media in the German pavilion.⁵⁴ In stark contrast to the other countries represented in Paris, which, regardless of ideological orientation, all used photography and photomontage as powerful propaganda tools, the Germans, Freund asserted, were simply "too material" a people for the ephemeral, physically insubstantial products of photography.⁵⁵ Rather, the Third Reich required the prestige and auratic presence of traditional media and handcrafted objects to produce what Freund termed its "symbolic cocoon," a concept corresponding closely to the dream-kitsch of Bloch's parlor.

When compared with the interior of the Soviet pavilion, for example, which contained Social Realist artworks, photomurals, and modernistic architectural accents, the Victorian-like decor of the German exhibit appears elegant but antiquated (fig. 52).⁵⁶ On the other hand, Soviet machinery, as exemplified by the ZIS automobile at the center of the hall, seems aesthetically and technologically retrograde in relation to the aerodynamic lines of the German racecar. Thus, while Nazism attacked modernist painting and sculpture as degenerate, it fully embraced modernist aesthetics and production methods in the technological sphere. By sustaining this paradox visually, Germany was thus able to appear simultaneously traditional and avant-garde.

The tension between aesthetic conservatism and modern technological production was also apparent in the pavilion's immense wall compositions, which were devoted primarily to the theme of "work" in the Third Reich. Traditional craft techniques were employed to depict labor under Nazism as a spiritually organized force rather than as a technologically or economically driven necessity. The media of the artworks, then, comprised their message: their anachronistic method of production reflected the type of labor represented. According to the pavilion's guidebook, the Third Reich was a country animated by its love of work, "a country of joyful



Fig 52. Soviet pavilion, Exposition Internationale, Paris, 1937, interior. From Edmond Labbé, *Exposition Internationale des Arts et Techniques, Paris, 1937. Ministère du Commerce et de l'Industrie. Rapport général X* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1940).

labor and of smiling peace."⁵⁷ So as not to belie these claims, images of workers performing industrial or assembly line production were omitted deliberately from the pavilion's decoration. Rather, workers were depicted more like artisans or representatives of medieval guilds. Placed within a series of abstracted allegorical conceits, these figures conveyed little about contemporary Nazi society. For example, the stained glass window (fig. 53) that hung above the pavilion's podium of honor contained four figures representing the "spirit" of work in Nazi Germany.⁵⁸ Clearly an allusion to Christian imagery, each Nazi "saint" or "evangelist" held as an attribute a relevant tool or instrument: industry was represented by a man grasping a sledgehammer, an image of manual rather than technical production; intellectual work by the blueprint of the honored Nazi architect; agricultural work by the shovel; and artistic work by a female figure holding a violin. The figures stand symmetrically around a large swastika, under the protective wings of the German eagle, and above the coats of arms of German cities.

The abstraction of labor was further elaborated in two enormous mosaics entitled *Work and Strength through Joy*, the latter a reference to the Nazi leisure organization of the same name (figs. 54, 55). Work was personified by four bare-chested male icons, each measuring more than three

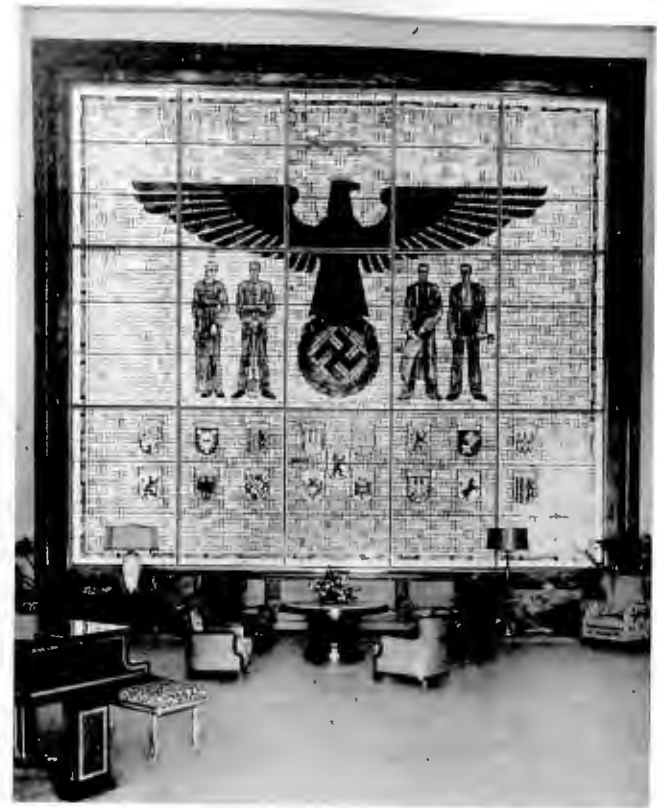


Fig 53. Stained glass window, workshop of August Wagner. German pavilion, Exposition Internationale, Paris, 1937. From *Deutschland in Paris: Ein Bild-Buch von Heinrich Hoffmann* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1937).

times life size. Placed upon pedestals like statues, the four figures dwarfed the generic industrial landscape behind them. Each held a rudimentary piece of equipment, which again alluded to manual rather than to technical or mass production. The composition intentionally elided any reference to the actual working conditions or class context of the German proletariat, emphasizing instead what the guidebook described as the "ideal of powerful, healthy beauty of man and work."⁵⁹

The companion mosaic illustrating leisure, which recalled allegories of the four seasons, reinforced the utopian image of nonalienated community. Four young female figures, two dressed in classically inspired athletic costume and two in *völkisch* and Nazi uniform, were shown performing wholesome outdoor activities: sport, music making, hiking. Exploiting the

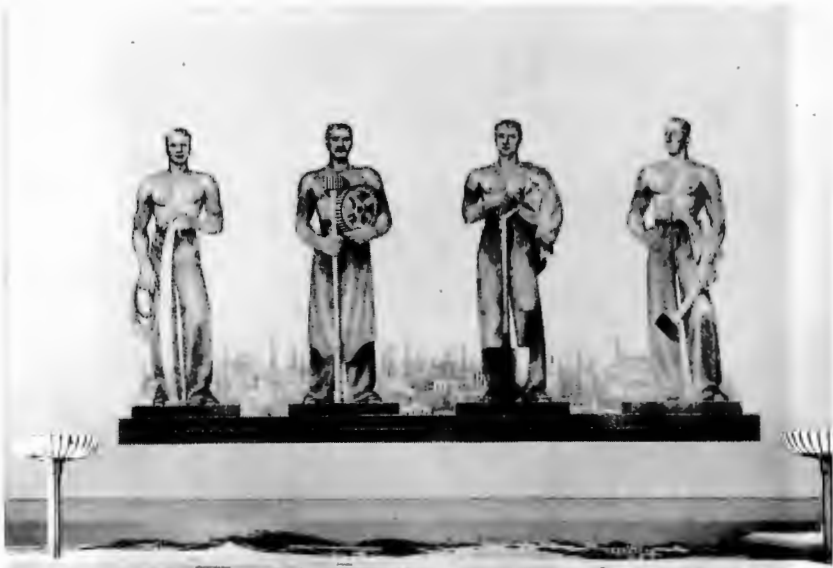


Fig 54. *Work*, wall mosaic, workshop of August Wagner, Berlin-Treptow. German pavilion, Exposition Internationale, Paris, 1937. From *Deutschland in Paris: Ein Bild-Buch von Heinrich Hoffmann* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1937).



Fig 55. *Strength through Joy*, wall mosaic, workshop of August Wagner, Berlin-Treptow. German pavilion, Exposition Internationale, Paris, 1937. From *Deutschland in Paris: Ein Bild-Buch von Heinrich Hoffmann* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1937).



Fig 56. Rudolf Hengstenberg, *Comradeship*, oil painting, German pavilion, Exposition Internationale, Paris, 1937. From *Deutschland in Paris: Ein Bild-Buch von Heinrich Hoffmann* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1937).

woman/nature paradigm, this mosaic emphasized the supposed purity and robustness of the "Aryan" female. Behind the figures, the rural landscape intermingled traditional and contemporary elements with rustic farmhouses and church spires bordering a newly built highway. Under National Socialism, the mosaics suggested, industrial advancement was possible without the ill effects of capitalist exploitation. Germany could maintain its Romantic pastoral tradition, the integrity of its racial community, and its timeless connection to the soil.

In a similar vein, the large painting on wood by Rudolf Hengstenberg entitled *Comradeship*, which also hung above the podium of honor, served as an allegory of class harmony rather than as a representation of actual construction practices (fig. 56). Occupying nearly the entire wall of the podium, with figures significantly larger than life size, this work took on the dimensions of traditional salon or history painting. The canvas portrayed the building of a modest house by an architect and his workshop—a common 1930s metaphor for collective production. All references to modern building methods and equipment have been eliminated. The didactic title emphasized that the team has been brought together by their

shared dedication to both their project and leader, much like an Amish barn raising. Yet it is clear in this painting that a peaceful hierarchy is nevertheless in place. The architect, framed by the repetitive triangular roof beams and distinguished by his more elegant attire, is unquestionably the figure of authority. The plain-clothed workers await directions from the central group of engineers, who bear the professional markers of jacket and tie. The painting's simple facture and schematic backdrop make its polemical message easily comprehensible. This immense painting, in combination with the other allegorical compositions discussed above, propagated a mythical and romanticized image of the laboring community under National Socialism. Submerged within the discourse of *völkisch* tradition and heroic servitude, these artworks conveniently avoided any reference to the fact that the Third Reich had viciously suppressed trade unions, frozen wages, and pushed workers to increased levels of Taylorized production.⁶⁰

The Power of Myth and the Failure of "Utopian Promise"

The designers of the German pavilion chose to decorate the interior space with traditional art forms in order to shift the viewer's attention away from the militarism and racism of the Nazi regime toward the proclaimed cultural, spiritual, and scientific achievements of Germany. They deliberately avoided the didactic charts, wall texts, political portraits, and oversized slogans that characterized some of the other foreign exhibits, such as that of the Soviet Union described above. Rather, the visual propaganda contained within the Deutsches Haus was intended to be discreet and nonconfrontational. The range of acceptable subjects used in the monumental artworks was limited to a few generalized images: the German eagle, the worker, the countryside. Most significantly, representations of Hitler, which permeated German exhibits and public life at home, were consciously excluded from the pavilion.

Several French critics called attention to the conspicuous absence in the Deutsches Haus of what they understood to be political propaganda. A writer for the socialist newspaper, *Le Populaire*, noted that Nazi political symbols were neutralized through their incorporation into the pavilion's overall decorative program:

With scrupulous care, [the organizers] have pulled together all that symbolizes the traditional production of a hard-working Germany. The organizers have visibly avoided, and this must be applauded, all political allu-

sions that have no place here. . . . [T]he swastika [has been] more or less camouflaged in the Greek-styled interlacing pattern as the sole decorative motif.⁶¹

The effectiveness of this representational strategy was reflected in the radical socialist newspaper, *L'Oeuvre*, which proclaimed the German pavilion to be "an imposing manifestation of the civilizing energies of Germany, of a Germany that has cast off its warrior gear and is speaking to the world through the voices of its scholars, engineers, and artists."⁶² The historicizing and stately decor was thus considered by some viewers to be a signifier for civility and productivity. The Third Reich's declarations of peaceful coexistence and economic cooperation were endorsed by the elaborate display of German *Kultur*.

The German pavilion therefore proved to be a propagandistic success by offering its spectators an illusory retreat, not only from the political to the aesthetic, but also from the modern to the preindustrial. The great hall thus assumed the function of the parlor as defined by Bloch; it offered the willing participant a respite from the political and economic anxieties of contemporary European life. Within the pavilion, visitors were invited to believe both in the dream of international peace and in the possibility of restoring a fragmented society to its precapitalist, communal roots.

It was the ability of National Socialism to satisfy the romantic, precapitalist longings of the masses that concerned Ernst Bloch. He understood that tradition was not merely the handed down relic of previous generations but something that still contained powerful, emotive fragments for the present. National Socialism used the energy produced by what Bloch termed *Ungleichzeitigkeit*, or nonsynchronicity, a state of historic and temporal discontinuity between the lives of urban and rural social classes.⁶³ Although Bloch openly condemned the destructive impulses of National Socialism, he reluctantly admired its capacity to resurrect and manipulate the past in order to unite the German masses. However, Bloch also made it clear that National Socialism misused Germany's cultural heritage, neutralizing the potentially revolutionary force still remaining in this "cultural rubble."⁶⁴

In contrast, this cultural inheritance, when applied to what Bloch viewed as a true revolutionary (Marxist) cause, could release "utopian promise," transforming ancient myth and archaic desire into a redemptive future. Bloch identified this type of subversive energy with the *Jahrmarkt*, or populist fair. In opposition to the insidious character of the parlor, the fair, he argued, deliberately called attention to itself as garish artifice,

"loosening up myth where it is at its thickest."⁶⁵ In allowing for a certain openness, a dialectical intervention, the fair can transform folklore into a usable future. Bloch condemned Marxist ideologues for failing to appeal to such irrational, though authentic impulses; their modes of addressing the public remained too concrete, too stale and dry. They failed to take seriously the power of myth, thus ceding the realm of nostalgia and fantasy to fascist colonization.⁶⁶

Appeasement

One could argue that an oppositional mass appeal could have come from the dynamic class synthesis that produced the Popular Front in France. In its electoral campaign, the Popular Front did indeed draw upon its cultural heritage, modeling its own populist momentum after the historical precedent of the French Revolution.⁶⁷ Yet, once in office, the Popular Front did not live up to this call to arms. Indeed, within a month after the opening of the Paris Exposition, Léon Blum resigned, effectively marking the end of the Popular Front alliance. Blum was brought down for a number of reasons, though his demise resulted primarily from the Popular Front's failure to resolve the French economic crisis and to forge a consistent foreign policy.⁶⁸

Within the context of the 1937 Exposition, this ideological weakness was evident in the extensive efforts to accommodate Germany in the creation of the Deutsches Haus. Yet, the French capitulation to the Nazis went beyond facilitating the actual construction of the pavilion. The French government helped to insulate the German participation by actively suppressing all anti-Nazi activity at the exposition. As one of the primary destinations for German refugees, Paris had also become the base for several anti-Nazi exile organizations. At the request of the Third Reich, French officials agreed to ban such émigré groups from exhibiting at the World's Fair. In a letter to the German Embassy, Edmond Labbé, commissaire général for the 1937 Exposition, assured the Third Reich that "no group composed of German nationals would be allowed to take part in the Exposition outside of the official participation of the German government."⁶⁹ A few months later, Labbé further assured Nazi officials that artists of German origin would also not be allowed to exhibit in any of the French sections of the fair without the authorization of the German commission.⁷⁰

Nevertheless, German émigrés did organize alternative anti-Nazi events outside the established fairgrounds. One month after the exposi-

tion's inauguration, the group Schutzverband deutscher Schriftsteller (Protective Association of German Writers) opened the exhibit, *German Literature in Paris, 1837-1937*. The installation of photographs, texts, and other documents was intended to underline the "spiritual ties" between France and a free Germany, to strengthen public opinion against the Nazi regime, and to emphasize that modern German literature continued to flourish despite Nazi oppression.⁷¹ While this show took place without government interference, another exhibit, *Five Years of Hitler Dictatorship*, which opened a few months later in January, was subject to French censorship. The exhibition was organized by the French Thälmann-Committee in collaboration with another exile group, the Deutsche Künstlerbund (German Artists' League).⁷² Composed of mostly agit-prop boards displaying photographs, documents, and statistics, the exhibit's purpose was to publicize and denounce the political, artistic, and racial oppression taking place in the Third Reich.⁷³ Within days of the opening, the French police confiscated several documents at the insistence of the German Embassy. They also removed the exhibition brochures and covered four additional displays with white cloth. In protest, the German exiles painted onto the cloth, "Forbidden according to the intervention of the German ambassador!" The next day, the police returned to have the words "of the German ambassador" crossed out, while also canceling the lecture series organized in conjunction with the show.⁷⁴ All these oppressive actions occurred under the Popular Front government led by the Radical Camille Chautemps, who had succeeded Blum as prime minister.⁷⁵

The French compliance with the Nazi directives exemplifies the political paradoxes inherent in the Popular Front's foreign policy of rapprochement and its pronounced position of anti-fascism. In attempting to maintain an amicable relationship with Germany, the French government silenced one of the only voices capable of dispelling the deceptive discourse and Nazi self-idealization constructed within the Deutsches Haus. The truths about Nazi oppression would not be allowed to shatter the exposition's illusory promise of international peace and progress. For many, France's future political prestige depended on the success of the World's Fair. The nation needed to reaffirm its preeminent role as a global power in order to compensate for the turmoil of its own domestic political situation (eight failed governments in just four years). Within the microcosm of the exposition, France was able to cast itself as the effective ringmaster for this peaceful gathering of nations. In the process, however, the Third Reich also acquired new legitimacy as a viable political movement in the world arena. By the end of the exposition, the road to the 1938 Munich Accord was already half built.

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Notes

1. "L'Inauguration du pavillon de l'Allemagne: Une imposante manifestation," *L'Oeuvre*, May 27, 1937, 2.
2. "L'Inauguration du pavillon de l'Allemagne."
3. Letter from the German Embassy in Paris to the Ministère des Affaires Étrangères (French Foreign Ministry), October 14, 1936. Politisches Archiv des Auswärtigen Amtes, Bonn (PA), Paris 774d.
4. The new trade agreement was signed in July 1937. On the Franco-German trade negotiations, see Raymond Poidevin, "Vers une relance des relations économiques franco-allemandes en 1938-1939," in Klaus Hildebrand, ed., *Deutschland und Frankreich 1936-1939* (Munich: Artemis, 1981), 351-63; Hans-Jürgen Schröder, "Deutsche-Französische Wirtschaftsbeziehungen 1936-1939," in *Deutschland und Frankreich 1936-1939*, 388-98; "À l'Exposition" *Echo de Paris*, May 27, 1937, 3.
5. For more information on the relationship between Speer's architecture and Roman antecedents, see Alex Scobie, *Hitler's State Architecture: The Impact of Classical Antiquity* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990).
6. Wilhelm Lotz, "The German Pavilion," in *Internationale Ausstellung Paris 1937 für Kunst und Technik. Deutsche Abteilung* (Berlin: Ala Anzeigen, 1937), 24 (hereafter referred to as *Deutsche Abteilung*), 18-19.
7. Dieter Bartetzko, "Tödliches Lächeln—Der deutsche Ausstellungspavillon von Albert Speer." in "Die Axt hat geblüht . . ." *Europäische Konflikte der 30er Jahre in Erinnerung an die frühe Avantgarde* (Städtische Kunsthalle Düsseldorf, 1987), 337-43.
8. Paul Westheim, "Karton mit Säulen," *Die neue Weltbühne* (1937), reprinted in *Paul Westheim: Kunstkritik aus dem Exil*, ed. Tanja Frank (Hanau: Müller and Kiepenheuer, 1985), 151.
9. Barbara Miller Lane, *Architecture and Politics in Germany, 1918-1945* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968), 191.
10. "Rapport concernant les conditions de la participation de l'Allemagne à l'Exposition Internationale de Paris 1937," n.d., in PA, Paris 774d. See also Christian Megret, "Sur les Chantiers de l'Exposition. Les Allemands du Pont d'Iéna," *Candide*, January 21, 1937.
11. Signed statement by Albert Speer in *Deutschland in Paris: Ein Bild-Buch von Heinrich Hoffmann* (Munich: F. Bruckmann, 1937), 5.
12. Albert Speer, *Inside the Third Reich*, trans. Richard and Clara Winston (New York: Macmillan, 1970), 96.
13. Speer, *Inside the Third Reich*, 96.
14. The immense Soviet sculpture was created by Vera Mukhina, a former student of Antoine Bourdelle at the Grande Chaumière in Paris. Jean-Louis Cohen, "U.R.S.S." in

Cinquantenaire de l'Exposition internationale des arts et des techniques dans la vie moderne (Paris: Institut français d'architecture and Paris-Musées, 1987), 186; and Sarah Wilson, "The Soviet Pavilion in Paris," in Matthew Cullerne Bown and Brandon Taylor, eds., *Art of the Soviets: Painting, Sculpture and Architecture in a One-Party State, 1917-1992* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1993), 106.

15. Speer, *Inside the Third Reich*, 96.
16. "C'est encore eux qui se disputent!" *Candide*, July 15, 1937, 9.
17. Speer, *Inside the Third Reich*, 96.
18. The Soviet pavilion and bronze figures combined measured 57 meters, while the Nazi building and bronze eagle measured 63 meters. See Edmond Labbé, *Exposition Internationale des arts et techniques, Paris, 1937. Ministère du Commerce et de l'Industrie. Rapport général*, vol. 10 (Paris: Impr. nationale, 1937-40), 209 (hereafter referred to as *Rapport général*).
19. Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv, Munich. Büro Speer Pläne 2010.
20. Jacques Greber, an established architect in Paris, had previously worked in the United States, where he designed Philadelphia's Fairmount Parkway, among other projects. Later, during the occupation, Greber would be among those French cultural figures to cooperate with the Nazis. For example, he served on the Comité d'honneur for the infamous 1942 exposition of Arno Breker at the Orangerie. Among the other committee members were the well-known collaborationists Abel Bonnard, Robert Brasillach, and Pierre Drieu La Rochelle. See David B. Brownlee, *Building the City Beautiful* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 1989), 30-31; and André Lortie, "Détour par les Etats-Unis," *Les Cahiers de la recherche architecturale* 32-33 (1993): 13-24; and Laurence Bertrand Dorléac, *L'Art de la Défaite, 1940-1944* (Paris: Seuil, 1993), 95.
21. Albert Speer, diary entry from December 3, 1949, in *Spandau: The Secret Diaries*, trans. Richard and Clara Winston (New York: Macmillan, 1976).
22. Greber to Gesandtschaftsrat Karl von Campe, Reichskommissariat für die Internationale Ausstellung Paris 1937, August 31, 1936, and to Werner March, September 24, 1936, in PA, Paris 774c.
23. Von Campe to the Auswärtiges Amt (AA, German Foreign Ministry), September 10, 1936, in PA, Paris 774c.
24. Memorandum from the German Embassy in Paris, December 7, 1936, in PA, Paris 775e.
25. Among the costly items bought by the exposition committee were the motor pumps and projectors used in the spectacular light and music performances on the Seine, ready-made iron infrastructures for several French pavilions, and a planetarium for the Parc d'attractions. Letter from von Campe to the AA, November 16, 1936, PA, Paris 774e.
26. About 3,000 tons of steel and 3,500 tons of native Jura stone were transported by train from Germany to Paris to build the pavilion. Labbé, *Rapport général*, 10: 14.
27. The guidelines stipulated that only a portion of the construction work be completed by French companies, though nearly all the participating nations employed French workers to build the majority of their respective pavilions. In order to satisfy the terms of the agreement, the German government hired the French branch of Siemens, a German construction company, to complete the initial foundation work. The workers brought in from the Third Reich then built the pavilion's aboveground structure. In this

way, the Third Reich could satisfy the French proviso while still being able to celebrate the pavilion as a completely German achievement. In contrast, the Soviet pavilion was built completely by French workers, using French materials, with the exception of the large bronze sculpture and the marble facade. See Labbé, *Rapport Général*, 10: 208.

28. Labbé, *Rapport général*, 9: 14–15; letter from the Economics Ministry to the AA, 17 September 1936, and memorandum dated September 21, 1936, in PA, Paris 774d; *Deutsche Abteilung*, 137–9.

29. Memorandum of the German Embassy in Paris, December 7, 1936, in PA, Paris 775a.

30. Labbé, *Rapport général*, 2: annex D, 81.

31. The grandeur and highly organized nature of the 1936 Berlin Olympic Games elicited a similar response from the French ambassador to Germany, André François-Poncet. According to the ambassador's memoirs, the extensive cultural efforts on the part of the Nazis led to a renewed sense that peace was possible. The Olympics produced the "feeling of détente"; all the world "was in ecstasy." He expressed similar sentiments about the Exposition of the Hunt, which took place in Berlin in November 1937 under the patronage of Hermann Göring: "In this atmosphere, just as in that which surrounded the Olympic Games, one could believe that peace had been solidly established, that war had been banished forever." André François-Poncet, *Souvenirs d'une ambassade à Berlin. Septembre 1931–Octobre 1938* (Paris: Flammarion, 1946), 262, 277–78.

32. Jeffrey Herf, *Reactionary Modernism: Technology, Culture, and Politics in Weimar and the Third Reich* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 207–8.

33. R. J. Overy, *War and Economy in the Third Reich* (London: Oxford University Press, 1994), 243; Avraham Barkai, *From Boycott to Annihilation: The Economic Struggle of German Jews, 1933–1943*, trans. William Templer (Hanover: University Press of New England, 1989), 10. Although Gottfried Feder, the authoritative spokesperson on Nazi economic policy in the 1920s, fell out of favor with Hitler, vestiges of his philosophy were still apparent in the 1930s. For example, Feder's notion of "creative" versus "rapacious" capital would continue to prove useful. When appropriate, Nazi ideologues could espouse populist anticapitalist and anti-Semitic arguments to drum up mass support while still protecting their relationship with the German business community.

34. German Jews had already suffered economically before 1936 as a result of previous boycotts, violence, and legal restrictions (including the Nuremberg Laws of 1935). However, the process of legal exclusion escalated between the years 1936 and 1938, when most of the anti-Semitic ordinances were passed into law. See Barkai, *From Boycott to Annihilation*, 57, 116.

35. Timothy W. Mason, *Social Policy in the Third Reich*, trans. John Broadwin (Oxford: Berg, 1993), 290.

36. Overy, *War and Economy*, 245.

37. Barkai, *From Boycott to Annihilation*, 10.

38. Lotz, *Deutsche Abteilung*, 16.

39. Robert Kain, "The Interior of the German Pavilion," in *Deutsche Abteilung*, 23–7.

40. Most of the essays in this book were written in the 1930s, although the oldest sections date back as early as 1924. The English translations of Bloch's text that I use in this essay have been taken from, *Heritage of Our Times*, trans. Neville Plaice and Stephen Plaice (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990). This vol-

ume is a translation of the enlarged and revised edition of *Erbschaft dieser Zeit* (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1962). This version contains several additional essays dating from the late 1930s. See the translator's introduction for further information on the evolution and publication of Bloch's book.

41. Bloch, *Heritage of Our Times*, 348.

42. Bloch, *Heritage of Our Times*, 339.

43. Bloch, *Heritage of Our Times*, 348.

44. Bloch, *Heritage of Our Times*, 347.

45. Bloch, *Heritage of Our Times*, 340, 344.

46. Bloch, *Heritage of Our Times*, 339.

47. Bloch, *Heritage of Our Times*, 78.

48. Bloch, *Heritage of Our Times*, 60.

49. Bloch, *Heritage of Our Times*, 60.

50. For example, Ernst Bloch designates the Haus der deutschen Kunst by Paul Ludwig Troost, discussed above, as the ultimate example of "the newly arisen parlor." He denigrates the Nazi-approved art exhibited in this "Munich Temple" as "obedient petit-bourgeois kitsch" and contrasts it to the invaluable modernist artwork being condemned by the regime in the companion exhibit of *Entartete Kunst*, or Degenerate Art. Bloch, *Heritage of Our Times*, 75–80.

51. Jonathan Petropoulos, *Art as Politics in the Third Reich* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996), 52–62.

52. Adolf Ziegler, "The Fine Arts in Germany," in *Deutsche Abteilung*, 49.

53. Ziegler, "The Fine Arts in Germany," 47.

54. Gisèle Freund, "La Photographie à l'Exposition," *Art et Métiers Graphiques* 62 (1937): 38.

55. While Freund fails to mention that the Nazis did make substantial use of photography and film in many of their other propaganda efforts, she rightly discerns the Nazi desire to create an insular and self-generating web of signifiers in Paris.

56. The interior of the Soviet pavilion was designed by Nikolai Suetin, whose free-standing vertical constructions had their origins in Kazimir Malevich's *Architectonics* of the 1920s. See Jean-Louis Cohen, "U.R.S.S.," *Cinquantenaire*, 187–88; and Sarah Wilson, "The Soviet Pavilion in Paris," in Bown and Taylor, *Art of the Soviets*, 111.

57. Kain, "The Interior of the German Pavilion," in *Deutsche Abteilung*, 31.

58. *Die Entstehung der Mosaiken und des Glasfensters*, n.p.

59. Ziegler, "The Fine Arts in Germany," *Deutsche Abteilung*, 47.

60. Anson Rabinbach, "The Aesthetics of Production in the Third Reich," in *International Fascism*, ed. George Mosse (London: SAGE, 1979), 195.

61. Jean-Maurice Herrmann, "Le Pavillon allemand. Symbole du IIIe Reich," *Le Populaire*, May 30, 1937.

62. "L'Inauguration du pavillon de l'Allemagne: Une imposante manifestation," *L'Oeuvre*, May 27, 1937.

63. Bloch, *Heritage of Our Times*, 37–96.

64. Bloch describes how this misuse resulted in part from the symbiotic relationship between National Socialism and big business: "[T]he things of the nineteenth cen-

ture are only now decaying, because they are rotting and phosphorescing like dung. National Socialism is doing its bit as a specter to use the parlor very *directly*. It rejects precisely those elements of the nineteenth century 'pointing to the future,' hence its first or engineering aspect; but it lives closely in the second one, in plush. And the more clearly the previous instruments of power for suppressing real socialism fail, the more exactly big business needs fascist dictatorship and narcosis as well, as dictatorship in a different form" (*Heritage of Our Times*, 350). See also Anson Rabinbach, "Unclaimed Heritage: Ernst Bloch's *Heritage of our Times* and the Theory of Fascism," *New German Critique* 11 (spring 1977): 5-21.

65. Bloch, *Heritage of Our Times*, 168.

66. Rabinbach, "Unclaimed Heritage," 19; Bloch, *Heritage of Our Times*, 60, 136-9.

67. Indeed, for Bloch, the revolutionary Tricolor, as part of the "Enlightenment constellation," was a symbol still containing "unexhausted and unfulfilled semantic potential." See David Kaufmann's discussion of Bloch's *Natural Law and Human Dignity* in "Thanks for the Memory: Bloch, Benjamin and the Philosophy of History," *Yale Journal of Criticism* 6, no. 1 (1993): 149.

68. Julian Jackson, *The Popular Front in France: Defending Democracy, 1934-1938* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 271-87.

69. Edmond Labbé to von Campe, February 2, 1937, PA, Paris 775b.

70. Edmond Labbé to Reichskommissar Julius Ruppel, May 10, 1937, Archives Nationales, Paris, F12 12358.

71. Dieter Schiller et al., *Exil in Frankreich. Kunst und Literatur im antifaschistischen Exil 1933-1945*, vol. 7 (Leipzig: Philipp Reclam, 1981), 136, 261-6. For more on this topic, see the article by Keith Holz in this anthology.

72. The Thälmann-Committee stood under the patronage of the Paris trade unions, the French League for Human Rights, and the International Central Organization for Justice and Freedom in Germany. See Keith Holz, "Modern German Art and its Public in Prague, Paris and London, 1933-1940," (Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1992), 192. See also Gilbert Badia, "Fünf Jahre Hitlerregime. Eine Ausstellung des Pariser Thälmann-Komitees im Februar/März 1938," *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung* 4 (1980): 552-67.

73. Holz, "Modern German Art," 193.

74. Holz, "Modern German Art," 194.

75. It should be noted that these actions were part of a much larger pattern of oppression directed against the émigré population. As the decade progressed, French bureaucratic measures made daily survival increasingly difficult. They severely restricted residency permits, limited employment opportunities, and instituted forced expulsions. Already six months before the outbreak of war, the government began to intern émigrés and suspected Nazi agents in the same camps.

THE EXILED ARTISTS FROM NAZI GERMANY AND THEIR ART

Keith Holz

An Artistic Exodus: Why, Who, When, and Where?

Following the Nazi Party's accession to power, increasingly severe laws were implemented to rid Germany of its "undesirables." Political and ideological opponents of the regime, as well as Jews, homosexuals, and gypsies were among the targeted. By decade's end, the new government had approximated the racist fantasy inherent in Nazi ideology of a Aryan society cleansed of Jews, Bolsheviks, and unwanted others. Persecution, pillory, incarceration, torture, forced emigration, and expatriation were all instruments used to suppress dissidence and sanitize the fatherland. While eradication of German and European Jewry developed into the most nefarious and comprehensive of the state's policies, its reprisals against communists and other Marxists counted among its earliest, most brutal crimes. Under duress, the targeted and threatened often chose emigration, leaving homes and homeland behind. Among the tens of thousands who fled, intellectuals and artists counted for a disproportionately high percentage.¹

Dissident and nonconformist artists, critics, and art students, as well as other professionals in the visual arts, looked beyond German borders for places to continue their careers and gain political asylum.² For many of these art professionals, the big cities of the democracies neighboring Germany appealed most. The Americas (North, South, and Central) also exerted their allure (George Grosz had relocated to New York weeks before the Nazi accession to power, and Josef and Anni Albers would be teaching by late 1933 at the newly founded Black Mountain College in North Caro-

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