THE CULTURAL PRODUCTION OF DOMINATION IN NAZI GERMANY:

ARCHITECTURE AS PROPAGANDA

by

Jeffrey D. Narver

B.A. University of Toronto, 1982

B.A.A. Ryerson Polytechnic Institute, 1986

THESIS SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF

THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

in the Department

of

Communication

© Jeffrey D. Narver 1990

SIMON FRASER UNIVERSITY

September 1990

APPROVAL

NAME: Jeffrey David Narver

DEGREE: Master of Arts (Communication)

TITLE OF THESIS: The Cultural Production of Domination in
                        Nazi Germany: Architecture as Propaganda

EXAMINING COMMITTEE:

     Chairman: Dr. Linda M. Harasim

                        _____
                        Dr. Martin Laba,
                        Associate Professor,
                        Senior Supervisor

                        _____
                        Dr. Alison C.M. Beale,
                        Assistant Professor

                        _____
                        Dr. Peter M. Buitenhuis,
                        Professor,
                        Department of English,
                        External Examiner

DATE APPROVED: 17 September 1990

ABSTRACT

While the communicative potential of designed objects has been researched and documented, the articulation of specific political messages through such media has not received significant attention. The central concern of this thesis addresses how political messages are transmitted through material culture, specifically architecture, and how those messages are conceived, designed and communicated. In particular, this thesis focuses on a process of political communication in terms of propaganda, ideology and cultural production (architecture).

This thesis considers architecture as an aesthetic medium that is subject to the political communication encoding process. As an art form/cultural production which is profoundly interactive, architecture can simultaneously modify behaviour by constricting or expanding enclosed spaces, thus forcing a desired type of communicative interaction, and alter perception by emphasizing or de-emphasizing symbolic or historic stylistic elements. As well, emotional responses (around patriotism, for example), can be evoked through a thorough command of the symbolic environment with architecture as both a visual and ideological focus.

The thesis employs the historical example of the official, national architecture of Nazi Germany, and analyzes the architectural strategy of the Nazis against the broader background of the propagandistic treatment of art. Nazi design and architecture are examined as a constructed symbolic environment meant to propagate and reinforce the Nazi political and social agenda; that is, architecture in Nazi Germany is approached as a tool of state propaganda, which serves to spread the message of the state while acting as a material reminder of the dominance of the state.

Conclusions are presented concerning the political power and communicative purpose, method and function of architecture. The ways in which government-directed architectural design and strategy define and legitimate political agendas are detailed, and analyzed in the context of the state-sponsored cultural production of domination.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

An ongoing issue of international concern is the structure, function, and relationship between art and government. With budgetary deficits, recessions, or dramatic political shifts, as seen in Eastern Europe in 1989 and 1990, governments must continually rethink artistic funding policies and objectives. One example of such change is the newly elected president of Czechoslovakia, Vaclav Havel, who until recently was a dissident artist and state prisoner. His newly formed government, however, will certainly place a priority on the necessity of free expression in the arts as an essential component of the democratic process. Conversely, American senator Jesse Helms created a great debate in his country, as he pushed for the "Helms amendment," which would have effectively banned the National Endowment for the Arts, the American federal funding agency, from supporting any arts projects that might have offended anyone. This amendment, transparently designed to placate moralist voters, was eventually rejected, but the debate is far from over, and in the months ahead, the issue of government subsidies and freedom of expression will occupy center stage, as congressional subcommittees discuss whether the NEA should continue to exist. [1]

In a strange shift in the seemingly "natural" order of things, Eastern Europe is becoming more open to personal expression, and the West, subject to economic setbacks and moralistic lobby groups, is rethinking its position. These fluctuations threaten to disrupt perceptions that have existed since the Second World War. For many generations the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe have,

----

[1] Allan Gotlieb and Joyce Zemans, "A Helping Hand for Canada's Arts." in The Globe and Mail (Wed. Jan. 31, 1990), p12.

in Western eyes, subjugated and enslaved their artists, forcing them to submit to the bidding of Moscow. Western artists, so the story goes, have retained their freedom of personal expression, producing emotional and often oppositional opinions and views which have kept their governments honest. Eastern artists, on the other hand, have been forced to cooperate in state collectives which indoctrinate and "encourage" a favourable presentation of the state. These differences, although part of a much larger societal and ideological debate were, in reality, not too divergent in practice and objective.

The question of governmental participation in the arts - film, literature, theater, painting, music, sculpture, photography and architecture - focuses on the question of access. The communicative potential of the arts is too powerful, many governments feel, to be left in the hands of mere artists. Throughout history the arts have been regarded by the Egyptian, Greek, Holy Roman, and Napoleonic empires as privileged expressive media which when managed effectively supported and augmented the dominant political, economic and social power base. In this century, art continues to preoccupy governments as it speaks directly to the audience, and possesses an emotional significance and an immediacy which, many times, takes on politically oppositional overtones. In the West, the arts are hailed as a sacred vestige of free speech, not to be sullied by the demands of government. In Eastern Europe, at least until recently, the arts were clearly within the dictatorial jurisdiction of government. The practitioners of both political systems desired greater social control, and perceived the arts as an avenue to achieve that objective.

In the writings of many art and design theorists and historians, "cultural productions," a term coined by Dean MacCannell to describe all creative or designed objects or events in a society, reflect the economic and political

environments of their creation. Donald Horne suggests that designs, and especially monumental architecture, contain succinct ideological facsimilies of their creators. 2 Human relations are mediated by things which express, conceal, shield or distance our motives and objectives. 3 Cultural productions are the most significant of these objects. Governments, therefore, necessarily require and demand a hand in the development and production of such ideologically significant objects. Bill Nichols believes that governments could not possibly avoid involvement in artistic issues as they are one important "arena of ideological contestation." 4

Governments of the East and West were and still are concerned with limiting access to cultural productions, and converting them to state use. Although the methods vary radically, especially in the severity of application, the objectives of governments, with respect to the arts, usually require legitimation. In order to naturalize the existing hegemonic relationship, cultural productions are invaluable as influential elements of the environmental surround. If a government is intent upon creating a favourable reaction to a particular policy or issue, their people must be "conditioned" to accept it. Official information is certainly one way, but a more subtle, and therefore effective method, is through cultural productions. An understanding of the environment of public interpretation and the encoding processes are vital, but if a government can convert significant symbols, which act as material reminders of the existing

----
2 Donald Horne, The Great Museum: The Re-presentation of History (London, 1986) p.27

3 William Leiss, Steve Kline, and Sut Jhally, Social Communication in Advertisting: Persons Products and Images of Well Being (Scarborough Ont., 1988) p261

4 Bill Nichols, Ideology and the Image: Social Representation in the Cinema and Other Media (Bloomingtom, 1981), p5

relations of production, their power is much more secure. As Donald Horne points out, the re-presentation of history through the recreation and recoding of key material symbols (architecture above all) goes a long way in establishing a firm power base through legitimating the present regime with the achievements of the past. The preferred method of achieving such control has been a constant campaign of propaganda with censorship: legislative censorship in the East, and economic censorship in the West.

In the West, most governments carefully negotiate their extreme vulnerability to public pressures for the funding of controversial works of art, or for the curtailing of such funds. At the same time, they can be accused of supporting artistic immorality, as is often the case in the United States, or accused of limiting freedom of speech and artistic expression through censorship. It is, therefore, paramount that there is little perceived direct government involvement in the funding or direction of arts policies. However, a firm yet invisible control can be achieved through the three-tiered process of funding, the granting of official recognition, and licensing. Generally appointed by the government in power, arts funding bodies can very easily restrict the funding to "unwanted" artists by pointing to budgetary restrictions, rather than to the political expediency of public pressure groups. Since the entire capitalist art world requires some degree of financial support, either through purchases or governmental funding, such controls are effective. If an artist is deemed unsuitable, or does not display the appropriate national identity desired by the government in power, funding, and the accompanying recognition, could easily be withheld. Justification for such government action could simply be attributed to moralist or free expression advocates and the fact that, "of all the human activities governments fund, the arts are the most susceptible to criticism from

the public." 5 There are indeed artists who do not require public funding to make themselves seen and heard, but the majority do. Political expediency, disguised as the more objective evaluations of artistic peers could, however, keep many silent. As with the funding issue, licensing could also be used as an aesthetic gatekeeper to stall or refuse the showing or the production of deemed "unacceptable" art forms.

Although the objectives and intentions correspond to Western economic censorship, the controls of pre-Gorbachev Eastern Europe were much more brutal and forthright. Communist governments have, since the time of Lenin, understood and respected the need to control and produce art to justify and explain their world. Not constricted by the search for true public acceptance, but desiring the illusion, artistic requirements such as Stalin's compulsory elements for his new artistic style of Soviet Socialist Realism, left little to the independence of the artist, or the viewing public. Organized and legislated, communist artists were employees of a state which subsisted on the creed of buying the artist, rather than the art. With the limits of "acceptable" art carefully outlined, and with dissenters being severely punished, communist artistic control was authoritarian.

With all the other media avaliable to the opportunistic government, why would they need art? The arts offer a communicational potential which, due to their symbolic power, governments cannot afford to overlook. Many people view art for its innovative perspective of the world, and are reasured by what they perceive as a bastion of "free speech." If, however, the artistic medium could be co-opted and subtle governmental promotion inserted, then the viewers' bias could be potentially altered in favour of the ruling party. MacCannell believes

----
5 Gotlieb and Zemans, p12.

5

that the arts have the power to build in these biases, and could be used to legitimate the actions of government, naturalize its policies, and stabilize its existing relations of power. Such a condition could function as ideology, and indoctrinate one to accept and even fight to preserve the traditions of the existing regime. Tradition dictates, as does ideology, which offers an unquestioned, severely limited, and predetermined personal choice. Cultural control, with special emphasis on the arts, plays an important role in the success of such an ideological system.

Walter Lippmann, writing in the early 1920's, describes a system of "governmental cultivation of symbols which serve to organize their following." 6 Under the impact of propaganda, not necessarily in the sinister meaning of the word alone, the governments are manufacturers of consent. 7 While Lippmann is primarily referring to the organization of the media and political opinion, the same sets of public conditioning applies to the world of art. I am interested in exploring this relationship, and the process and results of political programs which are mediated and promoted through the arts.

Through a systematic investigation and definition of both propaganda, the active component of the process, and ideology the conditioning content component, my thesis will explore their relationship and propose an interdependent model. With this relationship established, I will proceed to study the practice and precision of political policies articulated through the arts. What is the political communicative potential of the arts, and what was the most effective authoritarian historical model? What are the requirements for effective political expressions in the arts? And what does this potential for the

----

6 Walter Lippmann, Public Opinion (New York, 1957), p234

7 Lippmann, p248.

6

politicization of the arts mean to Canadians, who generally perceive art as an untainted vehicle of free speech?

Within the broader question of the political influences of cultural productions, I have chosen to concentrate on a specific cultural production, architecture, and a specific historic political system, National Socialist Germany. Nazi Germany is the most profound modern example of the complete governmental domination of the arts. Nazi architecture in particular exemplified this domination and the extent to which practical or aesthetic questions could be subverted by political objectives. In the realm of cultural productions, architecture is unique in its size, function, enduring presence, design and construction time, physical nature, and degree of necessary governmental involvement in funding and licensing. Although the architectural possibilities are endless, even within my historical case study, I selected national structures and monuments, designed and built for the public with public funds. Such large scale structures - museums, galleries, offices, seats of government, and monuments, - are subject to the direct articulation of governmental intentions, and perform the dual function of pronouncing governmental priorities, and creating an "eternal" monument to the present regime. Donald Horne refers to the encoding of political ideology through architecture as "the rhetoric of monuments," and suggests that such structures are important clues to the understanding of the society in which it stands. 8 My thesis will examine the encoded messages of such structures, and examine their place in the process of securing a natural ideological state.

I believe that architecture is a rarely considered but critical component of cultural production which may be used in the political legitimation process. As

----
8 Horne p2

7

an aesthetic medium, architecture is subject to political encoding on several levels: metaphoric, historical, and the more obvious physical applications. Although all objects contain material and symbolic characteristics, the architectural combination is unique in its presentation and integration. As a physical art which is profoundly interactive, architecture can simultaneously alter behaviour, by constricting or expanding enclosed spaces, forcing the desired interaction with others, and alter perception by emphasizing or deemphasizing symbolic or historic stylistic elements. The evoking of emotional reactions like patriotism, through a command of the symbolic environment in which the structure stands, can also be amplified by the inclusion of a ritualistic event which serves to strengthen the social relationship which is being celebrated. Architecture, therefore, can function as a tool of state propaganda, spreading the message of the state similar to other media, while simultaneously acting as a material reminder of the dominance of the state.

Although examples of governmental architectural propaganda exist today (for example the mammoth buildings of deposed Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu) the best examples are historical. The seven wonders of the ancient world are all examples of architectural state propaganda, or the articulation of politics by other means. The Greeks, Romans and Byzantines left impressive architectural legacies. The Roman Catholic Church has for centuries awed the faithful into submission with the size and splendour of its cathedrals, which were as much monuments to the power of the Vatican as to God. I believe the best historical example of architectural propaganda, however, was Nazi Germany.

The period of National Socialist control in Germany, from 1933 to 1945, was unique for its many excesses. Notable among these excesses was the Nazi devotion to architecture as an essential political medium. Nazi social control,

one of the most complete in history, segmented, coopted, politicized, and eventually conducted and regulated not only art and architecture, but every creative practice in the Reich. Adolf Hitler, an architectural afficionado, understood and sought to exploit the potential political power of architecture from its design to its completion. Through a practice known as "total architecture," Nazi buildings became the impetus for the absolute reconstruction of the entire Nazi society, mental and physical. Unprecedented in history, Nazi aesthetics were amalgamated with political theory, converting questions of design and style into statements of political significance.

By continually proclaiming that the function of architecture was to dominate and conquer, it became a surrogate forum for the playing out of Nazi political objectives. Nazi political issues began to appear in the faces of their structures. The question of racial superiority manifested itself as decoration in the application of quintessential Aryan sculpted forms. The love of war emerged metaphorically in the many commemorative military structures, and in the columns which stood in ranks of military precision in many buildings. Further, the foreign policy role of architecture was envisioned in the architectural subjugation of conquered people, who would be forced to live in the shadows of huge Nazi buildings as material reminders and evidence of the dominant social power. My case study will, most importantly, illustrate the process of control and re-presentation of the symbolic environment through architecture, and exemplify this cultural control as a way to legitimize, naturalize and eventually rule through an authoritarian cultural concensus rather than through force.

Having explained the selection of my case study, my methodology requires the investigation of the encoding process. I am interested in the transformation of the political message through the medium of architecture, and in attempting

to determine the boundaries of propaganda and ideology, must limit myself to the investigation of the conscious encoding practice. Propaganda, as a conscious practice, can most easily be identified through an investigation into the motives and objectives of its creators. The Nazi example, unique in the vast volumes of memoirs, speeches, diaries, and primary accounts of intentions and reflections, will allow me to do this. My determination to strictly limit my examination to the encoded message, and to the intended meaning, is partly a feature of this work, but more importantly, I see the encoded message as the only objective goal of any interpretational process. The question -- What did the architect mean to say? -- can only be answered through an investigation into original intentions, which in this case are reasonably clear.

My approach to this question begins with an examination of related literature in four areas: propaganda concepts and definitions, ideology, the relationship between politics and art, and the communicative potential of architecture. An overview of the unique position and application of Nazi aesthetic policy, its relation to the political objectives, and an international historical comparison, will comprise chapter three. My case study encompasses an in-depth investigation of Nazi monumental architecture, and the nature of its message. Finally, the analysis and conclusion will apply the theory of chapter two to my case study, examine its present significance, and propose further investigation.

The importance of architecture as cultural production and cultural production as political communication can not be overstated. Architecture stands as a physical, symbolic, propagandistic and ideological medium which both contains and transmits information and perspectives advantageous to the government in power. The meaning of such architectural forms are designed to

change in accorance with the changes in policy objectives, so that the structure continually supports rather than contradicts official governmental action. This thesis then analyses issues in politics, culture, and communication studies and seeks to clarify this interrelationship through an architectural example.

CHAPTER II

PROPAGANDA, ARCHITECTURE AND POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

A Cultural Analysis

Since the Romans supposedly quelled their mutinous citizens with bread and circuses, history has given us many examples of governments who appear to use the arts as a means of quelling dissent, soothing dissatisfaction and inspiring populations to look beyond the sordid present. [1] Government sponsored national architecture, the most physically interactive, and the most publically funded of the arts, lends itself best to this persuasive form of governmental control and manipulation. The policies, values, and ideology of a government are filtered through the architectural medium, which stands as a constant reminder of the all-powerful state. The resulting limitation of personal freedom through rigid ideological doctrines, designed to "naturalize" political realities, alters behaviour and perception through fear of the panoptic (all-seeing) state. [2] Although dependent on a unified interpretation of architecture, usually achieved through education/propaganda and information control, the subtlety of the architectural medium is unsurpassed in its indoctrination of unaware citizens. Architecture is a premier, yet often undervalued, medium of political communication with strong propagandistic potential.

This communicative and propagandistic potential will be examined through an evaluation of relevant writings and theories in four related areas: propaganda, ideology and cultural production, art and politics, and architecture

----

1 John Pick,The Arts in a State: A Study of Government Art Policies from Ancient Greece to the Present (Bristol, 1988), p116.

2 Stuart Ewen, All Consuming Image (New York, 1988), p200-203.

as communication. The validity of propaganda, a term which is constantly under siege, will be argued and defined within the context of this work. Secondly, a consideration of ideology and its relationship with both propaganda and cultural productions is necessary for an understanding of the third section, the coexistence of art and politics. Finally, the communicative potential of architecture will be analyzed through an investigation of the encoding and decoding process, with emphasis on interpretational tools offered by theorists. These four areas constitute the required foundation upon which my examination of the articulation of politics through the propaganda of architecture can proceed.

Propaganda: Definitions and Concepts

Propaganda is perhaps the most problematic word in contemporary writings on persuasional theory and practice, because its definitions are as varied as the politics of its creators. To many, especially writers in the early twentieth century, propaganda denoted total manipulation of a passive and receptive mass, similar to the hypodermic needle theory in communication studies. Heavily biased information was thought to be, literally, injected into the minds of the people. Propaganda, therefore, was perceived as evil intent, and total falsehood, especially in times of war, when its first victim was thought to be the truth. Adolf Hitler confirmed this notion of propaganda, when he wrote, "the bigger the lie, the more its chance of being believed." [3] Other authors, however, argue the neutrality of propaganda. David Welch, a historian of propaganda, writes that, "propaganda is ethically neutral." [4] And Harold Lasswell, author of

----
3 Adolf Hitler, Mein Kampf (Boston,1943), p43.

4 David Welch, (ed.) Nazi Propaganda: The Power and the Limitations (London,

several works on propaganda, notes, "propaganda as a tool is no more moral or immoral than a pump handle." 5

Welch and Lasswell's opposition to the popular perceptions of propaganda as a moral issue, illustrates the fundamental disagreement which surrounds the term. Because propaganda has come to have prejorative connotations, the term propaganda is too often devalued in its usage. 6 To further complicate the issue, propaganda has been categorized by theorists into various shades of black, white and grey, indicating the relationship with "truth" or "fact." Propaganda also runs the gamut from truth to deception, and at the same time, is always laden with values and ideology. 7 It is this definitional conflict that Jacques Ellul addresses in his seminal work, Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes. Ellul identifies the opposing views and illustrates the possible consequence of propaganda as a loosely defined term, "in this modern definitional confusion," he writes, "either everything is labeled propaganda, or the term is abandoned completely." 8

The word propaganda was first used in 1622 by Pope Gregory XV, when he instituted the congregation for the propagation of the faith, Sacra Congregatio do Propaganda Fide. This organization was designed to check the advances of the Protestant Reformation, and to spread the Catholic faith to the new world. The original intent of the word propaganda was to be informative,

----

4(cont'd) 1983), p2.

5 Katka Selucky, Propaganda and Ideology (Montreal, 1982) p.2

6 Welch, p8.

7 Garth Jowett and Victoria O'Donnell, Propaganda and Persuasion (Beverly Hills, 1986), p19.

8 Jacques Ellul, Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes (New York, 1973) p x.

rather than coercive, persuasive rather than manipulative, and an attempt to encourage voluntary embracement of Catholicism. The practice of propaganda, however, predates the origin of the word and has been continuously utilized throughout history. Julius Caesar was a master propagandist, equaled only by Napoleon and Hitler in his understanding of meaningful symbols, and his ability to understand instinctively the psychological needs of his audience. [9]

The need for propaganda runs parallel to the totality of governmental control. If a state controls all informational sources and can limit news to one officially sanctioned version, then there is less of a need to employ propaganda. Ellul believes that democracies require the use of propaganda more than totalitarian regimes precisely because they presume to act upon the wishes of the people, and are less apt to use force to convince voters of the merits of their policies. A move to greater political freedom in the eighteenth century, aided by the technological assistance of the printing press and improved transportation, was instrumental in the origins of public demands for a voice in government. Once the domination of government was threatened by such a democratic process and their official "truths" came under scrutiny, as in the case of the Catholic Church during the Reformation, and the monarchy during the French Revolution, propagandistic organizations had to be organized to lead the counterattack. The first training of such "propagandists" was organized by Pope Urban VIII in 1627.

Although the task of the first propagandists was to persuade and to convince the masses, propaganda itself had not yet accumulated its intensely negative connotations. It was the First World War that inextricably linked propaganda with sinister intent. Throughout the war, horrific British and

----
9 Jowett and O'Donnell, p41.

German atrocity reportage, much of which was fabricated, encouraged intense hatred of the enemy. A competition ensued among rival correspondents to spin tales more and more outrageous, feeding the anger of civilians and promoting enlistment in the army. The British, in an effort to add credence to their efforts, labeled their reports information and education. while the German news effort, deemed ememy lies, they labeled propaganda. Jan Fedorwicz, author of Propaganda, an episode of the CBC Radio Ideas program, wrote of the British mentality of the time, "we engage in truth, in public relations, in information, in education, other people use propaganda, propaganda is what everybody else does." 10 Perception of the word, distorted by political and historical motives, had changed from a persuasional practice to lies and evil.

Propaganda, however, despite its popular perceptual evolution, remains a persuasional practice. Victoria O'Donnell, co-author of Propaganda and Persuasion, makes a definitional distinction between the two words, based on the intent of the producer.

> Propaganda is a form of communication that is different from persuasion because it attempts to achieve a response that furthers the desired intent of the propagandist. Persuasion is interactive and attempts to satisfy the needs of both persuader and persuadee. 11

This rather simplistic comparison is refuted by David Welch, who writes that, "propaganda implies nothing less than the art of persuasion." 12 Marshall McLuhan, would also see O'Donnell's comparison as limiting, and suggested that the whole propaganda machine was a totally enveloping system which reflected the interests of both the ruled and the rulers. 13 And J.A.C. Brown, author of

----

10 Jan Fedorowicz, "Propaganda," Ideas CBC transcript,(Toronto, 1983), p9.

11 Jowett and O'Donnell, p13.

12 Welch, p2.

13 Marshall McLuhan, Understanding Media, (New York, 1964) pp.182-193,

<u>Techniques</u> <u>of</u> <u>Persuasion</u> , clearly labels propaganda a persuasional practice. 14 Propaganda, as a communicative practice, is not unidirectional, from the government to the public, but is more of a negotiated hegemony. If the only difference between propaganda and persuasion is in the intent of its producer, then the only definitional recourse is an examination of the intentions of the encoder. Both propagandist and persuader manipulate their message, presenting their views in the most favourable light. Perhaps only the degree of manipulation, a factor of intent, constitutes the difference.

The inability to confirm a comprehensive definition of propaganda has, as Jacques Ellul predicted, led to two results: the abandonment of the word in favour of ideology, or the conclusion that the term has outlived its usefulness and should be retired. However, these are not real options, since ideology suffers a similar definitional dilemma, but is a fundamental and independent element in the practice of propaganda. Pressure has also been applied by writers anxious to ensure the survival of propaganda as a manipulative practice which shares nothing with the related but respectable practices of advertising, social marketing, or public relations. While a definitional comparison is not my intention, propaganda does share obvious similarities with these consumer-oriented persuasional practices, the details of which have never been formally articulated. An examination of the essential elements of propaganda will identify it as a unique concept, testify to the value of its continued use, and reveal the historical peculiarities in its definition.

13(cont'd) 294-300.

14 J.A.C. Brown, <u>Techniques</u> <u>of</u> <u>Persuasion:</u> <u>From</u> <u>Propaganda</u> <u>to</u> <u>Brainwashing</u>, (New York, 1983) <u>p9.</u>

1) Propaganda is an active and conscious production process. If the goal of the propagandist is, as Ellul writes, to encourage a person to act, based on specifically selected information, then the propagandist is the conscious element of the selection process. Objectives and issues from the governing ideological "data base" are chosen, to meet the requirements of specific situations, then are channeled through the most effective medium. Terence Qualter, author of <u>Propaganda</u> <u>and</u> <u>Psychological</u> <u>Warfare</u>, defined propaganda, "as the deliberate attempt by some individual or group to form, control, or alter the attitudes of other groups by the use of the instruments of communication, with the intention that in any given situation, the reaction of those so influenced will be that desired by the propagandist". 15 The essential definitional element of propaganda is, therefore, the conscious intent of the propagandist, while the unconscious dissemination of biased information is ideological rather than propagandistic.

2) Periodic use is the second characteristic of propaganda. Campaigns of propaganda are designed and disseminated in response to specific political, civil, or military unrest, or insurrection. The reaction of the Chinese government to its massacre of students at Tiananmen Square in Beijing, June 1989, exemplifies the unique nature of each campaign in responding to specific issues. Now concerned with international public opinion, and its effects on the economy of their emerging tourist industry and international trade, the government is attempting to justify its over-reaction to the student's demonstrations for reform, by labelling them as "counterrevolutionary hooligans." 16 Propaganda is the

----

15 Selucky, p5.

16 Jill Smolowe, "China's Big Lie," <u>Time</u> (June26, 1989), p12.

government's response to a specific state problems which lasts only as long as the problem itself. Propaganda is, therefore, a tool to be used when required and then retired.

3) Propaganda serves ideology. The purpose of propaganda is to achieve acceptance by the people of its ideological base. 17 If the raw material for a campaign of propaganda is drawn from the ideological foundations of the government, then propaganda is the dissemination of ideology. Simply put, propaganda is practice and ideology is the content. Steven Neale, writing in Screen, agrees that content does not inevitably fall within the jurisdiction of the propagandist, "propaganda can exist in production, distribution and consumption, but does not necessarily exist in content." 18 Aldous Huxley in Brave New World Revisited writes, "the effectiveness of political and religious propaganda depends upon the methods employed, not upon the doctrines taught, the doctrines may be true or false, wholesome or permissive it makes little or no difference." 19 The characteristics of each medium are considered and selected to enhance the propaganda value and appeal, so that the persuasional impact of the message is shared by both media and content. Propagandists, however, must select their objectives and campaign content from within the ruling government's body of ideology.

4) Propaganda requires the participation of the population, for most effective indoctrination. Action speaks louder than words in propaganda, and it is through participatory action that indoctrination occurs. Hitler understood this principle, "the first task of propaganda," he wrote, "is to win the people for

---

17 Jowett and O'Donnell, p152.

18 Selucky, p7.

19Aldous Huxley, Brave New World Revisited , (New York, 1958), p61.

19

subsequent organizations; the first task of an organization is to win men for the continuation of propaganda." 20 Jacques Ellul also believed that personal participation was paramount in any successful campaign of propaganda, and wrote, "belief need not produce action, but action - almost inevitably - produces belief." 21 His definition of propaganda is worded accordingly: "propaganda is a set of methods employed by an organized group that wants to bring about the active or passive participation in the actions of a mass of individuals, psychologically united through psychological manipulations and incorporated in an organization." 22 The fact that indoctrination occurred through action, was well known by an eighteenth-century military theorist, J. Servan, who wrote that, "a stupid despot constrains his subjects with iron chains, but a true politician binds them even more strongly by the chains of their own ideas." 23

5) Intrinsic to the use of propaganda is political power, its achievement, legitimation, and consolidation. Behavioral or perceptual modification through propaganda may alter the power relationships in a society. Intimidating a military or political opponent, domestic or foreign, through the use of propaganda changes the perceived adversarial power relationship without resorting to war. Once power has been achieved, convincing the public that the present government has the right and power to rule is the legitimation function of propaganda. In Ellul's eight categories of propaganda, agitation and integration are closely linked to the process of, attaining, or consolidating power. Eugen Hadamovsky, a deputy in the Nazi Ministry of Propaganda and Public

---

20 Hitler, p612.

21 Ellul, pxiv.

22 Ellul, p61.

23 Ewen, p201.

Enlightenment, wrote that, "propaganda is the art of creating power without the requisite means, it is the secret of the weak defeating the strong."24

6) Preparatory work ensures that the propaganda is accepted and acted upon in the manner prearranged by the propagandist. The dilemma, however, is that this preparation process which has been labeled, by several authors, "pre" or "sub" propaganda is in reality ideological in nature. The "pre-propaganda" of Ellul, and the "sub-propaganda" of Leonard Doob, are synonyms for this necessary ideological process. "The goal of sub-propaganda," writes Ellul, "is to create in the individual a new Weltanschauung (World View) inside which each of the propositions of propaganda will become logical and in which each of its demands will be indisputable." 25 This preparation stage, according to Ellul, is similar to Pavlov's classical conditioning which is used until the masses react in the desired manner to the propagandists stimulus. Doob, in Public Opinion and Propaganda, writes, "sub-propaganda puts people into a receptive state of mind, and includes information, education, advertising, film and even culture itself." 26 The prepatory state is an ideological one which constantly feeds and reinforces the masses, reducing the diversity of man's nature to some kind of manageable uniformity which narrows options and creates greater probability of initiating the desired response of the propagandist. The relationship between propaganda and ideology is therefore mutually beneficial with ideology paving the way for unquestioned acceptance of propaganda, and propaganda, when called upon, works towards a return to the state of ideological normalization.

----

24 Eugen Hasomovsky, Propaganda and National Power(New York, 1972), p10.

25 Ellul, p32.

26 Brown, p23.

7) In a quest for effective domination, propaganda must be ubiquitous. All media sources must be utilized, in conjunction with all the technical and artistic means at one's disposal - press, radio, television, film, posters, sculpture, architecture, trade shows, sporting events, air shows, the economy, and history. The totality of propaganda increases its effectiveness, its resemblance to the ideological state, and its chances for success. In attaining this objective, the traditional media - print, film, and television - disseminate propaganda through familiar channels and methods. Technology assists and improves the range of media, while showcasing the scientific merits of the government in question. And the arts, used as a persuasive force, spread the culture of a state internationally, priorizing and materializing national aspirations which would be difficult to express in other forms. The propagandistic potential of everything must be examined and tested to achieve as thorough and as effective a system as possible.

8) Effective propaganda requires the simplification of information. If issues are reduced to black and white, or good and evil, it allows greater control for the propagandist, and a reduction of public uncertainty through a reduction and simplification of perceived choice. The utilization of symbols and myths in propaganda, often permit a simplification of issues, and guide public decisions through value laden appeals to patriotism, honour, and chivalry.

Symbols, a representation of abstract or intangible attributes by a culturally significant object, is often vital to the propagandists. In Germanic culture, for example, the oak tree symbolized strength, courage, and a national will to survive. O'Donnell, understanding symbolic significance describes propaganda, "as the manipulation of the symbolic environment." 27 Fedorowicz

----
27 Jowett and O'Donnell, p177

22

calls propaganda, "a complete system of symbolic communication." 28 And Lasswell describes "propaganda as the management of collective attitudes by the manipulation of significant symbols." 29 Ellul believes that the manipulation of symbols in propaganda is necessary for three reasons.

> First of all, it persuades the individual to enter the framework of an organization. Second, it furnishes him with reasons, justifications, motivations for action. Third, it obtains his total allegiance. 30

Myths, collective symbols and values rendered in a historical tale of explanation, can also benefit the propagandist. Myths shape perception, perception produces policy, and policies cause events and situations. 31 Ellul writes of myths as, "models for social actions, which when utilized by the propagandist go a long way in destroying the barriers of resistance." 32 The importance of myths and symbols are their familiarity in the minds of the masses, and in many cases, are ideas to which people already subscribe. 33 If the meanings of certain symbols and myths are unquestionable within a society, then mass reaction to their use becomes more certain and public reaction to a propagandists message becomes more predictable. A seemingly insignificant symbol could therefore be a rather powerful cultural catalyst, which could be read and shared by specific cultural groups who understand the interpretational codes. The inclusion of myths in propaganda, can, as author Garth Jowett

----

28 Fedorowicz, p22.

29 Selucky, p3

30 Ellul, p23.

31 Bill Kinser and Neil Kleinman, The Dream That Was No Longer a Dream: A Search for Aesthetic Reality in Germany 1890-1945(Cambridge Mass., 1969), p13.

32 Jowett and O'Donnell, p.156

33 Ellul, p11.

indicates, assimilate opposing groups by a "reinforcement of societal myths and stereotypes that are so deeply embedded in a culture that it is often difficult to recognize a message as propaganda." 34

Roland Barthes in <u>Mythologies</u>, discusses myth in terms of its transitional nature. "Myth," writes Barthes, "has the task of giving a historical intention a natural justification, and making contingency appear eternal." 35 Myth transforms history into nature, and "naturalization is the essential function of myth." 36 For Barthes, myth obscures history and presents the illusion of historical inevitability, which strengthens the position of the mythologist's government. The anthropological definition of myth as creation tale substantiates Barthes position because with the obfuscation of history comes the opportunity to create and rewrite the historical base upon which public perspectives rest. 37

9) Finally, the ultimate goal of propaganda, after successfully furthering or defending its ideological objectives, is its own demise. When the problem, initiating its creation, has been solved, and the tension alleviated, the campaign is withdrawn. The implementation of propaganda is the exception rather than the rule. It must work towards the goal of self-elimination and a return to a state of normalcy, returning the task of cultural, political, and educational stability to ideology.

----

34 Jowett and O'Donnell, 153.

35Roland Barthes,<u>Mythologies</u> (New York, 1972), p142.

36 Barthes, p131.

37 The stories of the Grimm brothers are a classic example of the codification of Germanic myth which much like Homer's Iliad, became the single authorized and accepted version of previously oral cultural traditions. The Grimm tales explained and united "Germanness" presenting a unified cultural experience, the first step to nationhood.

The definitional confusion surrounding propaganda remains prominent, for two reasons: its relationship with ideology, and the many political perspectives of its users. My working definition is subject to similar personal, experiential and contextual limitations, but emphasizes aspects which are often neglected. Propaganda is the deliberate and systematic attempt to persuade or direct behaviour or perception with symbols and information, for the purpose of achieving power or the legitimation of power. The provisional nature of the use and definitions of propaganda have saddled the word with an uncomfortable elusiveness, resulting in a hesitation to use the word. A detailed examination of the relationship between ideology and propaganda, therefore, is essential to the understanding the continued validity of the term propaganda.

Coming to Terms: Ideology and Cultural Production

Ideology, like propaganda, is context-bound and subject to an enormous variety of definitions. Political, economic, historical, geographical, and cultural differences condition the formation of differing personal perspectives of the word. My task, then, is not a universal definition or exploration, but an application of ideology to this work. Again, the most useful methodology is an examination of its essential elements. Ideology is a form of consent to a particular kind of social order, and a conformity to the rules within a specific set of social, economic and political structures, assigning roles to gender, racial, religious, and social groups. 38 Like propaganda, the overriding objective of ideology is always power. Unlike propaganda, however, ideology is ever present and conditions every personal activity and thought.

----
38 Jowett and O'Donnell, p155.

Ideology is the cornerstone of political, cultural, and economic life, and plays a part so omnipresent as to be almost invisible to those living within its confines. Ideology is so universal, that altered perceptions and behaviour, a result of its presence, are not generally perceivable and seem to stem from individual free will rather than from indoctrination. Ideology is the "natural state of being" which, if nurtured for an appropriate length of time, becomes "tradition." Tradition, an unquestioned belief, ritual, or behaviour, conditions automatic responses, requisite for the successful propagandist. No longer cognizant that their actions support the present government, people are encouraged to limit their personal freedom and options through adherence to a dogmatic set of ideological state traditions. Like Ellul's process of "horizontal propaganda," ideological values are unconsciously advocated not only in conversations and actions, but through all the means of a society, education, religion, law, and culture. Ideology and the guidelines of traditions are more subtle, thorough, and, many times, are more effective means of persuasion than the more obvious and sporatic methods of the propagandist. Katka Selucky, confirms the distinction between propaganda and ideology.

> Ideology is not merely a "single set of symbols" or a prefabricated argument ready to be seized by a propagandist and imposed on an audience. On the contrary, it permeates the entire life of a society which inevitably functions in and through ideology and politics. Even seemingly objective messages and free choices are overdetermined by ideological positions; in fact, their apparent objectivity is often precisely a sign of their ideological character. 39

Ideology is not, necessarily, forced on the public: it can be conscious or unconscious, willingly or unwillingly advocated by them, but is usually a shared set of cultural values which ensure continued governmental control. As long as this hegemony remains secure, propaganda remains unnecessary. As Bill Nichols writes in Ideology and the Image, "ideology involves the reproduction of the

----
39 Selucky, 6.

existing relations of production - those activities by which a society guarantees its own survival and operates as a constraint, limiting us to certain places or positions within these processes of communication and exchange." 40 The main function of ideology is to provide an acceptable world view within which its citizen can make sense of their existence.

Stuart Ewen, in <u>Captains</u> <u>of</u> <u>Consciousness</u>, explores the network of social controls which, he believes, are necessary to "educate" the public ideologically. Although referring to consumer culture, Ewen describes a total process of ideological indoctrination through advertising, religion, education, legislation, police and military force. These same forces are also applicable to the process of political indoctrination. The goal of such a process is a conditioned response to a stimulus, and a separation of thinking from doing, similar to Ewen's example of Frederick Taylor's theory of scientific management. Such an indoctrination process persuades the populace to live like model citizens, and to prepare them for the acceptance of propaganda, should it be required.

Cultural Productions

One of the most effective, although often neglected, channels of ideological social control is through the regulation of cultural productions. Cultural productions are every artistic, entertainment, or educative event which occurs in a nation. These events, as varied as ballets and tractor pulls, poetry and comic books, 4H Clubs and the Goethe Society, usually contain a unified ideological thread. If the cultural organization is even partly funded by the government, then the products of such an organizations are likely to be ideoligially significant and reflect governmental concerns and objectives. Dean MacCannell

----
40 Bill Nichols, <u>Ideology</u> <u>and</u> <u>the</u> <u>Image:</u> <u>Social</u> <u>Representation</u> <u>in</u> <u>the</u> <u>Cinema</u> <u>and</u> <u>Other</u> <u>Media</u> (Bloomington, 1981) p1

has written in depth on the subject of cultural productions and their influence in society. In The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class, he argues that governments of all levels are increasingly interested in controlling cultural production, because, "working through them people can communicate emotions and complex meanings across class, group, and generational lines." 41 The function of cultural productions, writes MacCannell, is to unite people, and to differentiate them from other national groupings. A feeling of homogeneity simplifies the necessary ideological construct, making it more difficult for an individual to slip through the indoctrination process.

Cultural productions, according to MacCannell, contain, in a simplified and symbolic form, the essence of a society, and are "the ultimate deposit of its values." They are not only a showcase for those values, but also, "organize the attitudes we have toward the production and cultivation of these values." 42 Cultural productions, like propaganda, are a component of the proliferation of ideology. Unlike propaganda, however, cultural productions can be an unconscious form of governmental promotion, by the artist in production and by the public in consumption. With ideological indoctrination intrinsic to both the work of the artist, and to the reactions of the audience, a common value system is shared and reinforced through repetition. Cultural productions therefore have become powerful agents in defining the scope, force and direction of a civilization. 43

----

41 Dean MacCannell, The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class(New York, 1976), p32

42 MacCannell, p26

43 MacCannell, p26

Most importantly, however, MacCannell argues that cultural productions are designed to build in biases. If ideology guides and limits perception, assuring the maintenance of power, then its reflection in a cultural production would necessarily do the same. Cultural productions reproduce ideology in an easily digestible form. Through emotionally charged symbols and rituals, in art, theater, architecture and film, the audience is influenced without realizing the ideological content of the event. The biases of government and the existing relations of productions, are reproduced and reinforced through the artistic output of cultural productions.

Ideology, however, is only one of the ways governments influence the production of culture. More obvious methods of government financing, the granting of official art status, the purchasing of works for national exhibition, and censorship are more conscious and direct controls of cultural productions. Like propaganda, these more direct measures can be employed when the ideological hegemony is being threatened. In a country, such as Canada, where a large portion of cultural financing comes from the government, the governmental regulatory body acquires the power of censorship and veto through selective funding and presentation. John Pick, author of The Arts in a State, writes that in Western countries especially, "licensing systems, taxation, and the state education system, can all become partial instruments for state censorship and control, even as they proclaim that they stand for freedom of the artist." [44] Donald Horne writes "art has always been a form of legitimation...and justifies the power of the government." [45] Brandon Taylor, in Art and Politics, has suggested that culture has become a tool with which to order the masses

----

44 Pick, p86.

45 Donald Horne, The Great Museum: The Re-presentation of History(London, 1986), p37.

into tight authoritarian structures. This essential relationship between art, culture and political ideologies has existed in most forms of government throughout history. Whether by the unconscious infusion of ideology by the artist into their work, or by direct legislative control, the powerful communicative potential of art is appreciated by governments, and is therefore inexorably linked to politics.

Art and Politics

In the classic study, "The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," Walter Benjamin examined the role and function of art in society. He wrote that art had a presence, or an "aura," which surrounded each piece. The authority of this aura was produced by time, space, reputation, and the fact of its uniqueness. The elimination of this tradition-bound aura, principally through reproduction, would emancipate art from its elitist bonds, democratize it, and make it more meaningful to the public. Benjamin concluded that art, instead of being based on ritual and tradition, should instead look to politics. His theory of this new relationship between art and politics envisioned the mobilization of the masses through a more meaningful art medium. For Benjamin, this mobilization implied mass political emancipation, enlightenment, and freedom, in a world based less on traditions, and more on the political realities of life.

Although inspired by different motivations, Hitler and the leaders of other dictatorial regimes, would agree with Benjamin's theory of art and politics. Artists should look to politics for inspiration, but should inspire the masses to support governmental rather than individual concerns. Hitler thought that the

relationship between art and politics was much closer than traditionally perceived, and was in fact the same profession, often referring to them interchangeably. 46 Joseph Goebbels carried the relationship further: "politics is an art, perhaps the highest and most far-reaching one of all, and we who shape modern German politics feel ourselves to be artistic people, entrusted with the greatest responsibility of forming out of the raw material of the masses a solid, well-wrought structure of a volk (people). 47 Politics had become more than a source of artistic inspiration, it had become a manipulative art itself.

The close association of art and politics is not a phenomenon limited by political affiliations. The Soviet Union has, since 1917, been obsessed with the production of art for the state. Understanding the significance of cultural productions to a regime, Lenin in 1918 was in a hurry to produce "art" for the first anniversary of the revolution, calling for a monument competition and a dismantling of structures produced by or dedicated to the Tsar. 48 Nikita Khrushchev, forty years later, stated,

> We call upon our writers, theater, and cinema workers, musicians, sculptors and painters to raise the ideological and artistic level of their works, to remain in the future, active helpers of the government in the communist education of the workers, in the propagandistic principles of communist morality the development of a multi-national socialist culture and the formation of aesthetically good taste. 49

"Politics and life penetrate each other," writes political historian George Mosse, "this means that all forms of life become politicized. Literature, art,

---

46 Barbara Lane,Architecture and Politics in Germany 1918-1945(Cambridge Mass., 1983), p188.

47 Rainer Stollmann, "Fascist Politics as a Total Work of Art,"New German Critique(Spring 1978), p55.

48 Henry A. Millan, and Linda Nochlin (ed) Art and Architecture in the Service of Politics.(Cambridge Mass., 1978), p 185.

49 Vaughan C. James, Soviet Socialist Realism (New York, 1973), p94.

architecture, and even our environment are seen as symbols of political attitudes." 50 John Walker, author of Art in the Age of Mass Media, agrees that art is based on politics, if not directly in content, then indirectly through censorship. Despite this, however, many writers continue to regard art as a realm of value which transcends ideology, politics and class struggle althogether, even though it is impossible to understand art as a social phenomenon without examining its links with ideology. 51

Governments must control, or at least have a voice in the production of art, the only variable being the degree to which controls are imposed and regulated. Bill Nichols agrees and writes, "governments must control art since it is an arena of ideological contestation." 52 Control of such a potentially powerful medium becomes an essential stabilization factor to many governments. In recognizing this fact, Walker stresses the importance of asking three questions when examining this relationship: what kind of art? for whom? serving what purpose?

The power of art and the artist in society has long been realized and admired. All art is a social and public statement, and many artists are often spokespeople of the masses. Whether used to ridicule authority, such as Jonathan Swift's Gulliver's Travels, to condemn fascism, as Picasso's Guernica, or to challenge corporate concentration and control, as in Punk music, art is a powerful tool of individual or collective expression. Formal twentieth century art movements like Futurism, Dadaism, and Socialist Realism were aligned

----

50 George Mosse, The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars Through the Third Reich (New York, 1975), p215

51 John Walker, Art in the Age of Mass Media (London, 1973), p10.

52 Nichols, p5.

politically, and published manifestos akin to political parties. Whether agitating for greater freedom, toeing the censorship line, or attempting a simple non-allied existence within a society, art in the modern state is perceived by governments as being too powerful to be left to artists.

A harnessing of the artistic potential of a nation can fluctuate from the extremes of total physical and legislative enslavement, as in China, to the financial and corporate controls as seen in the United States. The most recent example of the latter is the controversy generated by Senator Jesse Helms in regard to funding restrictions from the National Endowment for the Arts, the equivalent of the Canada Council. If passed, this government body would identify and fund, what they considered to be "acceptable" art, restricting and guiding artists dependent upon government financing. The American model, which doesn't require artists to belong to sanctioned collectives, or to produce work which favorably portrays the government, still consciously limits artistic freedom and amounts to censorship, corresponding to the Chinese model. John Pick agrees, and writes that Western governments, "seek to constrain artists more than encourage them." 53

Why do governments strive to control the arts? Art historian, Herschel Chipp, writes that art is a potential weapon, and artists potential soldiers. 54 Miklos Haraszti, Hungarian dissident artist, and author of The Velvet Prison: Artists Under State Socialism writes that, "art has become a sphere of ideological battle." 55 "Art," he writes, "plays a vital ideological, ethical, and

----

53 Pick, p128.

54 Herschel B. Chipp, Theories of Modern Art (Berkeley, 1968), p496.

55 Miklos Haraszti, The Velvet Prison: Artists Under State Socialism (New York, 1987), p54.

psychological role in the formation of the personality." 56 The production and organization of community perception, through cultural production seems to be too great a job for the artist without some direction from the government. Many countries directly control artists' work which becomes another channel through which governmental ideology can be disseminated. According to Haraszti, the artist under a socialist government control is forced to become an educator, a political elite, a cheerleader,and a state employee. 57 He describes the process of artistic control in Hungary as an evolution from coercion and force, to the desired self-censorship of the "velvet prison," as artists anticipate the limits of expression and regulate themselves accordingly.

Lewis Mumford called art, "the transmission of attitudes and values with all their force and meaning." 58 This transmission can be the unconscious ideological dissemination of an indoctrinated artist, or a conscious program of governmental policy objectives. Daniel Miller believes that all art is inspired and produced unconsciously, in the more natural ideological state. Selucky, on the other hand, identifies art as a conscious production, sharing many characteristics attributed to propaganda, "art is by definition subjective, often "one-sided", and plays upon emotional attitudes and feelings." 59 Peter Buitenhuis exemplifies the production of art as propaganda, in his book, The Great War of Words, which outlines the emotional, patriotic and propagandistic value of governmental appropriation of Allied writers during the First World War. Art, however, can function in both a subtle unconscious ideological

----

56 Haraszti, p56.

57 Haraszti, p61.

58 Lewis Mumford, Art and Technics (New York, 1952), p17.

59 Selucky, p7.

capacity, or as propaganda, depending upon the intentions of its producers or policy makers. Art as propaganda contains the ideological content inherent in most artistic productions, but is directed by governmental controls or legislation. It is, finally, the intention of the artist/producer that dictates the propagandistic potential of art.

Social control is subsidized through the control and direction of the arts. The arts express popular sentiments, organize and carry ideological values, modify behavioural norms, mobilize the masses, legitimize the regime, and are a powerful tool in the hands of a government. The relationship between art and politics is intimate. Architecture in Paris, for example, has often been called "symbolic politics." President Francois Mitterrand believed that architecture was not neutral, and described the relationship between architecture and politics, as an expression of "political, social, economic, and cultural finalities." 60 Architecture best illustrates this close relationship between art and politics. More than any other art, architecture alters the environment, perception and the behaviour of its viewer or user, and offers the greatest possibility as a tool of social control.

Architecture as Political Communication

The basic model of communication requires four components: an encoder, a decoder, a medium, and a message. All manufactured objects, including automobiles, clothing, and architecture contain these four components, and therefore have a communicative potential. The designer of the object is the encoder, the consumer is the decoder, and the meaning, is negotiated by both.

----

60 Julia Trilling,"Architecture as Politics,"Atlantic Monthly(1983), p35.

William Leiss, Steve Kline, and Sut Jhally examine this discursive potential of objects in Social Commmunication in Advertising. They contend that peoples' lives are mediated through a "discourse through and about objects". Through the communication of objects, social interaction is simplified, behaviour and perceptions are altered, and personal aspirations are conveyed to others in the culture. One of the most significant communicative objects, with power to modify behaviour, is architecture.

Juan Bonta, in Architecture and Its Interpretation, writes, "the designers are speakers, buildings are statements and the interpreters are the audience." 61 A building is a medium, which uses non-linguistic syntax and words, allowing for the possiblity of a more universal interpretation of a structure. However, the complete understanding of an architectural message is specific to a cultural group who must learn the interpretive rules of the "language." Such a nonverbal message system is subject to many variables, and is therefore more subjective. Both verbal and nonverbal media share the ideological imperatives of their designers, but an interpretational consensus in a nonverbal medium, although not always critical, is much more difficult to achieve.

Architecture, as a part of the arts, can be a powerful tool of social control, and has authoritative potential in the modification of behaviour and perception. The practical considerations of land allocation, zoning, and funding aside, the multi-communicational potential of architecture - spatial, tactile, and visual, - compel governmental involvement and control. An examination of the communicative potential of architecture will illustrate its inherent power, and the inevitability of governmental involvement.

----

61 Juan Pablo Bonta,Architecture and its Interpretation: A Study of Expressive Systems in Architecture (London, 1979), p42.

Many architectural theorists, including Charles Jencks, Christian Norberg-Schulz, Niels Prak, Bruno Zevi, and Nelson Goodman, write of architecture as a language, and stress the need for an efficient and unaltered flow of meaning from architect to public. According to these writers, architecture has the structure of language with a parallel alphabet, word selection, grammar, syntax, and sentences. This comparison dominates the work of architectural meaning and interpretations. Peter Collins writes of an " architectonic alphabet," McLuhan of a grammar of architecture, and Robert Venturi of an architectural vocabulary. Harold A. Innis and Donald Horne refer to architecture as expressions of power, either essential in the control of space (Innis), or as the symbol of social change (Horne).

Robert Venturi, in <u>Learning from Las Vegas</u>, identifies three message systems through which architecture communicates: heraldic, physiognomic and locational. The heraldic system entails an investigation of the applied signs and symbols which dominate the structures. These applications are, according to Venturi, a more reliable system of communication with generally established meanings, which leave little room for doubt. The physiognomic, on the other hand, is the face of the structure "speaking" for itself. The structural form, rather than heraldic applications, express the function and program (intended function) of the building. The physiognomic system, however, is problematic in its application of a unified meaning to the architectural form. The denotative meaning of the more explicit heraldic system contrasts with the connotative meanings of the more subjective physiognomic system. The third system, locational, examines the context of the structure within its environment, investigating the reason, for example, why churches are on the highest ground

in a community, visible from the surrounding area. The inherent interpretational difficulties of all three systems are obvious to Venturi, although he believes they could be used as starting points to counter what he sees as the architect's egotistical insistence of their one view of the use and perception of architecture.

Charles Jencks, in The Language of Post-Modern Architecture, presents four modes of architectural communication - metaphor, words, syntax, and semantic - as tools to assist and clarify the architect with intended meaning, and the public in the interpretation of those meanings. The metaphor is the most simplistic, and most used communicative device. Jencks argues that metaphors are good examples of the subjective nature of architectural interpretation, and one reason that it is even more at the mercy of the perceiver than poetry. [62] Words, Jenck's second tool, correspond directly to linguistics. Within the lexicon of words such as partitions, cantilever, and columns, "architectural words are more elastic and polymorphous than those spoken or written language and are based more on their physical context." [63] To further complicate the issue, he points out that architecture, as a language, is much more malleable than the spoken word, and is subject to the transformation of shortlived codes. [64] The third category, syntax, is the way in which the various words of "door", "wall," and "window" are combined. And finally, the semantic mode is the expressive nature of architectural styles.

The dominance of style as an expressive form has been identified by many authors. Peter Collins writes of style as the key communicative device of

----

[62] Charles Jencks and George Baird, Meaning in Architecture (New York 1969), p50.

[63] Jencks and Baird, p54.

[64] Charles Jencks, The Language of Post-Modern Architecture (London, 1987), p50.

architecture, and considers it a language itself. Jencks believes in the primacy of style within the language of architecture, and believes it is "a social contract between people, who agree that certain elements of architecture should mean certain things, and like language style also comprises a set of rules for the use of those elements." 65 Venturi agrees, and writes that specific architecural styles, "evoke explicit associations and romantic allusions to the past, to convey literary, ecclesiastical, national, or programmatic symbolism,...and contain a message beyond their ornamental contributions to architectural space." 66 Again, however, a consensus, usually acquired through time and repetition, is necessary to unify stylistic meaning. In ancient Greece, for example, the stylistic differences of the three forms of column capitals, each had specific characteristics, based on the gods whose temples they adorned. The ornate Corinthian column was for the temples of the goddesses Venus and Flora, Doric columns were to be used for virile figues like Mars, and the Ionian column for deities like Juno who were between the two. 67 The Doric column, today has generally kept its original connotation expressing the masculinity, rationality, and stability of banks, libraries, and government buildings. Architectural styles, if culturally entrenched, can serve as a stable informational system.

Nelson Goodman, in an effort to unify the meaning of architectural forms for both the architectural encoder and the public decoder, attempts to explain how buildings communicate, using the four categories - denotative, exemplification, expression, and mediated references. Buildings allude, express, evoke, invoke, comment, quote, and are syntactical, literal, metaphorical,

----

65 Jencks and Baird, p50.

66 Robert Venturi, Learning From Las Vegas (Cambridge Mass., 1986), p7.

67 Bonta, p11

dialectical, ambiguous or even contradictory, writes Goodman, but are complicated by the fact that a building can stand for something that has nothing to do with its architecture. 68 He uses as an example the Bastille, which was transformed ideologically, from a relatively unimportant prison, to a primary symbol of revolutionary France.

Denotation, Goodman's first category, includes all applied sign and symbols, pictoral and literary descriptions, and all applied works of art and sculpture. Similar to Venturi's heraldic mode, the denotative tries to identify only the most obvious intentions of the encoder. The second category, exemplification, similar to Venturi's physiognomic, is to Goodman the most important code of meaning. References within the form of the structure, such as its stone material, literally expresses safety, stability, and longevity, qualities that the building was intended to possess. Expression, the third category, is a metaphoric comparison of the structure with another object or property. The Sydney Opera house in Australia is an often cited example of expression, as it metaphorically contrasts the freedom of a sailing ship with the architectural freedom of a boldly designed structure. Goodman's final interpretational category, is the mediated reference. This rather complicated tool is the previous category of expression, mediated through a number of interconnected ideas or objects. A church which resembles a bird means freedom from earth, and signifies spirituality. Therefore, the church is an inspirational structure. These mediated links, like Goodman's other tools, complicate the reading of structures, making them of questionable value for public use.

Juan Bonta, author of Architecture and Its Interpretation, is concerned with the cultural specificity of architectural meaning and function. Attempting

----

68 Nelson Goodman, "How Buildings Mean," Critical Inquiry June (1985), p644.

to circumvent this problem, Bonta turns to a semiotic analysis of architecture. A very complex system of indicator, meaning, and interpreter, perhaps serviceable to a semiotion, but one which would bewilder the average "reader." Further complications include his use of intentional indices, meanings intended by the encoder, and pseudo-signals, coincidental or unintended signals. Bonta acknowledges the limitations of his semiotic method, but the fundamental question remains of the compatability and adequacy of semiotics as an analytical tool for architecture. While proven useful in the analysis of film, semiotics has yet to be successfully applied to architecture, primarily because of the difficulties outlined by Bonta.

Architectural Meaning

The problems associated with architectural readings are well documented, as is the question of interpretational validity. Donald Horne, especially interested in the changing historical meanings of monuments, underlines the problems of intended meaning, and states that "many structures were interpreted and reinterpreted to meet shifting political demands about how things should be." 69 Architectural theorists tend to emphasize the validity of the encoded meaning, placing the architect in the privileged position. Janet Wolff, contrarily, writes in The Social Production of Art, "the reader or audience is actively involved in the construction of the work of art and without the act of reception/consumption, the cultural production is incomplete." 70 Umberto Eco suggests that perhaps there are two readings to every produced object. Primary meanings intended by the designer, and secondary meanings appear later, which are beyond the designer's control.

----

69 Horne, p66.

70 Janet Wolff, The Social Production of Art (London, 1981), p99.

41

Although formulated in an advertising setting, Leiss, Kline and Jhally's theory of "double ambiguity," consolidates both the encoding and decoding positions, and can successfully be applied to architecture. This theory explains the fact that advertisers (or architects) can never achieve, under normal circumstances absolute manipulative control over their audiences. A total knowledge of the motives and behavioral patterns of their audience is not possible, and therefore the encoder can not anticipate, predict or adequately respond to the idiosyncrasies of the population. Concurrently, the audience works with a different perspective and can never totally comprehend or decode the intentions of the encoder. This theory goes a long way in explaining the interpretational confusion of architectural meaning, and the battle for validity. The problems of an architectural medium are obvious, and greatly complicate the investigation of its meaning. However, a brief look at both the architectural encoding and decoding positions will illustrate the problems and potential of the architectural medium.

The dominance of the decoded meaning is emphasized by Amos Rapoport, Wolff, Prak, and Bonta, who support the view that meanings are in people, and not objects or things. All these writers understand the problems of interpretation and attempt to address it by defending the validity of individual interpretation. Rapoport, author of The Meaning of the Built Environment, believes that people react to their own environments in terms of the meanings the environments have for them, and that, "designers and users are very different in their reactions." 71 There will always be variations in decoding, one of the shortcomings of semiotics based on differing experiences and backgrounds, but the use of a shared set of interpretational tools will, according to Rapoport,

----

71 Amos Rapoport, The Meaning of the Built Environment: A Nonverbal Communication Approach (Beverly Hills, 1982), p15.

42

unify and streamline architectural communication. The goal, for the author, is not a strict translation of the original encoded meaning, but rather educating the viewer to make a more informed analysis of the structure.

The three models Rapoport suggests as interpretational tools, are linguistic, symbolic and nonverbal. The linguistic, or semiotic model, is again rejected by Rapoport as too complex for the average person. The symbolic model is the most popular for writers, but also has limitations because of the ephemeral nature of symbols. Symbols, by their very nature, writes Rapoport, are multivocal, while signs are univocal and have only one meaning. But Rapoport theorizes, "the arbitrary nature of symbols is eliminated when examining only the encoding process. 72 Donald Horne illustrates this ambiguity of symbolic interpretation in his example of the Big Ben clock tower in London.

> Big Ben tower in London, to traditionalists, symbolizes a royal aristocratic past, to chauvinists a reminiscence of British greatness, to parliamentarians governmental authority, to democrats democracy, and to populists, the British people. 73

Finally the nonverbal model, as suggested by Rapoport, has even less value since it has yet to be codified, and therefore may be the most arbitrary.

Architectural decoding is frequently radically different from the designer's intentions. People want to see their own meanings, "with their own systems of value, for their own frames of reference, shaped by the expressive systems they share with the community but not necessarily with the designer." 74. Double ambiguity in architecture restricts the accuracy of the intended meaning, and limits its communicative potential, through an inablilty to coordinate the

----

72 Rapoport, p38.

73 Horne, p103.

74 Bonta, p233

encoded and decoded meaning. Governments intent upon improving the transmission of their messages through their structures, are forced to repeat styles, symbols, and architectural elements endlessly, attempting to cast associations and meaning in stone.

The dominance of the architectural encoding process, on the other hand, is argued by E.D.Hirsch,

> Even though we can never be certain that our interpretive guesses are correct, the goal of interpretation as a discipline is constantly to increase the probability that they are correct,... only one interpretive problem can be answered with objectivity, however, what in all probability did the author mean to convey?" 75

Peter Collins has taken this approach and has reviewed the encoding process of architecture in <u>Changing Ideals in Modern Architecture</u>, to understand the significance of stylistic changes and the motivations of the designers. Mumford agrees with this approach and writes, " architects attempt to use the constructional forms in such a way as to convey the meaning of the building to the spectator and user, and enable him, with a fuller response on his own side, to participate in its functions."76 An examination of the architectural encoding process, therefore, is essential to the investigation of the persuasional power of architecture, the manipulation of nonverbal communication, and the attempts of governments to stabilize and legitimate their power base.

The interpretational validity of both the encoding and the decoding of architecture have limitations and strengths. Goodman writes that "both the absolutist's view that a work means what the architect intended, and the extreme relativist's view that a work means whatever anyone happens to say, have serious shortcomings...therefore, consideration of what constitutes the

----

75 Wolff, p99.

76 Mumford, <u>Art and Technics</u>, p112

difference thus becomes obligatory." 77 However, the goal of this investigation, the use of architecture as political communication, necessitates a concentration on the motives and intentions of the encoder. The architectural encoding process is active, Bonta writes, as opposed to the passive decoding process. While this distinction may not be absolute, the active encoder shares many characteristics with the propagandist.

Architecture as Propaganda

Harold A. Innis, in his essay The Problem of Space, addresses the question of the political and propagandistic use of architecture through history. The rise and decline of empires, Innis believes, are due to the failure to consolidate control. A reliance on military or on technological improvements were options, but a more permanent method, Innis believed, was architecture. The stone used in early architecture, like the Babylonians, emphasized permanence and durability, and created recognizable and lasting reminders of the power and glory of the builders. Innis looked to the Egyptians for the best example and writes, "the pyramids, reflected the power of a far reaching and comprehensive centralization by a controlling mind." 78 The Gothic cathedrals of Europe, another example of architectural control, were obvious reminders, to the masses, of the power of the Catholic Church, and of architecture as a form of political control.

> The arts were almost exclusively at the service of the churches; architecture and the performing art mostly so; almost all ceremony - state and folk, as well as religious - was conducted or influenced by the churches. The churches provided dominant views of what life meant and their monopoly outdid that of even a modern one-party

----

77 Goodman, p650

78 H.A.Innis, The Bias of Communication (Toronto,1984) p93.

state.79

A piece of architecture, writes Goodman, works to the extent that it enters into the way we see, feel, perceive, conceive, and comprehend in general. "A building alters our environment physically; but moreover as a work of art it may, through various avenues of meaning, inform and reorganize our entire experience." 80 Harold Laswell adds, that "architecture serves the psychological control - of the population by the government - no less than the more mundane and practical functions of shelter or storage. 81 The organization of the architectural environment through ideologically inspired design is therefore the goal of the architectural propagandist. Mumford writes of the architectural environment as a guide to order every other department of activity. 82 Rapoport suggests that environmental meaning has to do with perceived control and that, " he who designs and controls the architectural environment, can also control perception." 83 Control of the design is the essence of architectural propaganda, as Venturi noted, "total design means total control." 84 McLuhan, too, understood the importance of controlling the designed environment, and wrote,

> "environments are not passive wrappings, but are rather active processes which are invisible, the environment as a processor of information is propaganda." 85

----

79 Horne, p46.

80 Goodman, p653.

81 Harold Laswell, Propaganda and Promotional Activity (Chicago: 1969), p.28

82 Lewis Mumford, The Culture of Cities (London, 1958), p406.

83 Rapoport, p19.

84 Venturi, p149.

85 Marshal McLuhan, The Medium is the Massage (New York, 1967), p142.

The design and manipulation of the architectural environment has become a potential tool in the arsenal of the propagandist. In Haraszti's view, "architecture must be controlled because it represents the state tangibly, alters perception and behaviour by its 'concrete' nature [86] Bill Kinser and Neil Kleinman, in their aesthetic history of modern Germany, write of the powerful means of persuasion and coercion in the nonverbal architectural medium.

> Since the nonverbal has no tangible arguments, one cannot argue with it; there is nothing to disprove. And because its meaning cannot be paraphrased, it is difficult to destroy; one either employs it or one does not. It must be taken whole, complete and intact. For these reasons, the medium of the nonverbal is an effective way for a culture to train its youth to transmit symbolic meanings. [87]

Summary

The potential political and aesthetic duality of architecture, and the other arts, is understood. All works of art, consciously or unconsciously, reflect the ideological values of their creators, and are inseparable from the political, economic, and cultural environment of their conception. The environment, a factor of ideological objectives and governmental tools of social control - advertising, education, religion, legislation, and the military - ensure, as Bill Nichols notes, "the reproduction of existing relations of productions." [88] The biases, inherent in the artistic yeild of these cultural productions, reinforce the ideology of a government, limiting personal choice and perception, while guaranteeing state survival.

For architecture to be used as propaganda, two conditions must be met. First, the intent of the architect must be congruent with the objectives of the

----

86 Haraszti, p105.

87 Kinser and Kleinman, p17.

88 Nichols, pi.

governing ideology. Second, there must be a mutually understood architectural language, through which meaning can be received, and distortion minimized. These conditions are, of course, subject to the specifics of differing political and cultural systems, and are therefore difficult to apply generally. In many cases, however, cultural productions, architecture in particular, when used in the service of politics, may form a hybrid, exhibiting characteristics of both ideology and propaganda. Works of art, can not necessarily be organized to respond to specific occurrences, of interest to propagandists, but can condition public reaction and perception. Architecture can encourage greater public participation, in controlled rituals, designed to legitimate the governing party, or it can become a symbol of the struggle of that party. 89 Essential, however, in the identification of architectural propaganda, is the conscious alliance of the architect with the stated ideological objectives of the government. This question, however, can only be resolved through my intended examination of the architects written intent, with reference to the political circumstances of the time.

----
89 As in the case of the Bastille during the French Revolution.

CHAPTER III

NAZI AESTHETIC POLICY: ITS POLITICAL SIGNIFICANCE

Art in Nazi Germany

In a speech delivered after the surrender of France in 1940, Hitler declared, "we will win the war, but we will secure our victory through our buildings." 1 The perception of architecture as a powerful political tool was emphasized by Hitler, who made its position in his regime unique in history. Architecture, augmented with ideological and propagandistic offerings, was elevated in Nazi Germany to heights of influence and power unprecedented in history. Through an exaggerated perception of architecture as essential to both art and politics, the Nazis, utilizing a campaign of propaganda, injected it with a power and significance unequalled in its severity and in the totality of its application. The Nazis integrated architecture in their social and cultural organizations, their propaganda efforts, and their political policies, molding it into a tool of conquest, and subjugation of political opposition.

How was it possible for an art form to be distorted to such an extreme political objective? How did architecture come to be seen as synonymous with politics, and achieve such a authoritative position in Germany? How did Nazi structures communicate National Socialist ideology, and how successful were they in their stated purpose of "securing the victory?"—In a world of absolute governmental controls and influences, both in democratic and totalitarian forms, legitimation, through the promotion of ideology, often entails some degree of control, manipulation, or influencing of the arts.—An examination of one of the

----
1 Berthold Hinz. Art in the Third Reich (New York, 1979), p204

most extreme examples of governmental regulation of the arts, Nazi Germany, will illustrate the potential duality of art as; a vehicle of free speech or of censorship, of personal expression or enforced collective will, of education or propaganda. The political appropriation of the arts, while not limited to authoritarian regimes, reveals there, most obviously, its dual nature, and its ultimate abstraction. Presented with extreme historical examples, it is vital for citizens of a democracy to be aware of the potential of more subtle government intervention, and to realize the importance of the independent position of the artist for free speech. While not advocating constant vigilance, democracies, I believe, may require the legitimation function of art more than an authoritarian regime, which tends to control artists through the use of force, legislation, or censorship restrictions. Democracies, therefore, must convince their artists, through more covert means, that the governmental view is correct, and therefore, have a greater stake in the political "use" of their artists. John Pick, author of The Arts in a State, suggests that democracies wish the arts to play a part which is both "inspirational" and "educational," and one which "celebrates and emphasizes the governmental view." 2

However, before I begin my case study, an examination of the political role of architecture in the promotion and distribution of Nazi ideology, a clear understanding of the uniqueness of the Nazi situation is crucial. A more general approach, therefore, of examining the objectives of Nazi art policy, its relationship with politics and propaganda, and the process and organization of Nazi cultural control, is essential. A further investigation of the historic and stylistic influences of Nazi architecture will clarify the communicative potential of its references. This more general historical and aesthetic approach is essential

----
2 John Pick, The Arts in a State: A Study of Government Arts Policies from Ancient Greece to the Present (Bristol, 1988), P117.

50

and will provide the necessary base from which a deeper understanding of the political function of architecture, and its general application, can be appreciated.

— Nazi Germany is unique in its devotion to the appropriation of art in the fulfillment of its political objectives. In no other modern nation, with the possible exception of Stalinist Russia, have the arts been perceived as being so essential to the stabilization, retention, and representation of political and military power. The result of such an outlook, much of which can be attributed to Hitler's personal taste and aesthetic policy, was an unparallelled regulation and control of what was thought to be a nationally vital cultural sector. In a 1935 speech, Hitler presented his opinion of the indispensable nature of art: "I am convinced that art, since it forms the most uncorrupted, the most immediate reflection of the people's soul, exercises unconsciously by far the greatest direct influence upon the masses of the people." 3 Through an involved system known as Gesamtkunstwert, or "total work of art," musicians, poets, painters, dancers, and architects were urged to abandoned their individual interests, and to volunteer to collaborate with the government in working towards a common Nazi objective. The "total work of art" in Nazi Germany included not only the arts, but the political philosophy of its leaders, history, and people as new material, which would be molded into a great work of art. (4) The Nazi hierarchy believed that a single unified political/cultural entity, could be more easily designed, regulated, and controlled. If politics, the economy, culture, law, and every other segment of society contained the essence of Nazi ideology, then

----

3 Robert Taylor, The Word in Stone: The Role of Architecture in National Socialist Ideology (Berkeley, 1974), p31.

4 John Hanson, "Nazi Aesthetics," in Psychohistory Review (1981), p257. or Rainer Stollman, "Fascist Politics as a Total Work of Art: Tendencies of the Aesthetization of Political Life in National Socialism," New German Critique. (Spring 1978), p42.

they could be subjected to the same rules, and be encouraged to aspire to commonly imposed objectives. Hitler, voicing the necessity of a unified Germany, the dominant position of the arts, and the representation of Nazi ideology in its cultural productions, wrote, "literature, art, architecture, and even the environment, are seen as symbols of political attitudes."5

The Nazi move towards a "total work of art" was aided by a process of Gleichschaltuung, or the bringing into line of all spheres of political, cultural and social activity. 6 This process of domination, and the complete control of every communicative activity, was prompted by Weltanschauungskreig, 7 or ideological warfare, which was designed to intimidate, homogenize and idealize all Germans. The objective of such a campaign was a vision of absolute unity of the totalized community (Gemeinschaft), and the making of all things, and all people, one. The banner behind which the Nazis used to rally the German people behind this campaign of total unity was art and culture. Historian Robert J. Lifton wrote,

> all political, social, and cultural institutions were to be totally idealized and controlled by trusted Nazis. Gleichschaltuung could be a euphemism for the elimination of all possible opposition, whether by exclusion, threat, or violence. 8

Other historians, George Mosse and Jeffrey Herf among them, emphasize the significance of Hitler's cultural beliefs, as paramount to the understanding of the Third Reich. "Hitler's role in Germany was as cultural revolutionary," wrote

----

5 George Mosse, The Nationalization of the Masses (New York, 1975), p215.

6 Elain Hochman, Architects of Fortune: Mies van der Rohe and the Third Reich (New York, 1989), p70.

7 Richard Bessel, Life in the Third Reich (Oxford, 1986), p70.

8 Robert J. Lifton, The Nazi Doctors (New York, 1986), p34.

Herf.9 Mosse agrees, and writes that the arts in Nazi Germany were revolutionary because they "clarified the Nazi world view (Weltanschauung), spread it, and evoked an enthusiastic reception for it." 10

Aesthetization

The aesthetization of life in the Third Reich, which has been identified and examined by Walter Benjamin, Susan Sontag, Anson Rabinach and Rainer Stollmann, among others, highlights the fundamental difference between National Socialism and other totalitarian regimes of the right or left. Benjamin pointed out the inverted relationship between art and politics as early as 1936, when he introduced the phrase, "aethetization of political life." 11 He believed that the true artistic accomplishment and success of German fascism were to be found in its political methods. Benjamin's fusion of politics and art has been elaborated on by Sontag, in her essay, "Fascinating Fascism." 12 To Sontag, fascist art complements and promotes fascist political ideology, and nurtures the notion of life as art. Rabinach points out in his essay, "The Aesthetics of Production in the Third Reich", that, "the attempt to legitimize political rule through aesthetic symbolization is perhaps the decisive characteristic distinguishing twentieth century fascist regimes from other forms of authoritarian domination." 13 For Stollman, the concrete elements of Nazi

----

9 Jeffrey Herf, Reactionary Modernism (Cambridge, Mass.,1984), p46.

10 Mosse, p xxix.

11 Walter Benjamin, "Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in Marxism and Literature, (ed.) Burl Lange and Forest Willians, (New York, 1972), p282.

12 Susan Sontag, Under the Sign of Saturn, (New York, 1981), p42.

13 Anson Rabinach, "The Aesthetics of Production in the Third Reich," in

ritualized culture - the Nuremberg Rally grounds, the Thingspiele theaters, 14 and monumental architecture - became the "window-dressing of fascism and created an enduring political shell as a total work of art." Next to terror, writes Stollman, the principle of beauty is a chief element of the political praxis of National Socialism. 15 Politics especially, but also the economy, military, and other social institutions, were perceived by the Nazis as art forms, with the design and manipulation of the people as their main objective. Both Adolf Hitler and Joseph Goebbels, the Minister of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, spoke of politics as art, the people as its medium, and public molding as the greatest possible artistic creation.

The Nazi process of aesthetization attempted to simplify the consolidation of power through the unification and homogenization of people, state organizational apparatus, and ideological objectives. Robert Boettcher, the top ranking Nazi authority for art education, wrote of the role of art in the process of aesthetization, as "a social cement which has the important function of eliminating unrest and pacifying the nation." 16 Hitler, in his role as Kunstpolitiker, or political artist, personified aesthetization through his actions and his imposed controls. He redirected his architectural projects, and his political policies, along similar aesthetic lines, initiating grand-scale design in every sphere of activity, from the economy to culture, in an effort to solidify controls.

13(cont'd) International Fascism: New Thoughts and New Approaches. (ed.) George Mosse, (New York, 1979), p189.

14 Greek inspired amphitheaters which produced ideological plays

15 Stollman, p46.

16 Helmut Lehmann-Haupt. Art Under a Dictatorship (Oxford, 1954), p176.

Aesthetization ensured art a prominent place in Nazi Germany, and eventually assumed a position of far greater influence than in other Western countries. Germany emphasized art, according to Hitler, because the strength of a nation could be seen in the products of its artists and designers. Applying this theory to history, Hitler, in his "Address on Art and Politics," delivered in Nuremberg in 1935, said, "the great cultural achievements of humanity were at all times the highest achievements of the life of the community...no people lives longer than the evidence of its civilization." 17 Although the arts and architecture were Hitler's second passion after politics, 18 their exaggerated importance served functions other than just the aesthetic. Berthold Hinz, author of Art in the Third Reich believes that, "art and aesthetics were not mere attractions or eccentricities, but necessary conditions for the existence and political practice of a system suffering from an overwhelming lack of legitimation." 19 Susan Sontag wrote that Nazi art complemented its racial policies and displayed, "a utopian aesthetics - that of physical perfection." 20 Typical Aryan human forms, athletic blue-eyed blonds, featured in paintings, and sculpture, naturalized and augmented Nazi racial myths. According to one author, the function of the artist in Nazi society was chiefly an illustrator of ethnological specimens, furnishing approved biological models for the eugenic breeding program of future warriors for the party. 21 An alliance of

----

17 Norman Baynes, (ed.) The Speeches of Adolf Hitler (New York, 1942), p573-574.

18 Hitler liked to think of himself as an architect and for a time, while living in Vienna, he survived by selling painted postcards of the citys' famous architecture.

19 Hinz, piv

20 Susan Sontag, Under the Sign of Saturn (New York, 1981), p317.

21 Lehmann-Haupt, p40.

authoritarian society and the arts therefore provided a model and a guideline for Nazi racial, economic, military, and expansionist ideology.

Aesthetization called for the total usurpation of the art world to promote the political aims of the Nazis. The objectives of Nazi politics and art were forged by the same ideology, and worked in tandem to further political power. Hitler, recognizing the necessity of this relationship, stated, "henceforth, German art would be clear, without contortion and without ambiguity." 22 He would not tolerate any "cultural auxiliary to political destruction," and he demanded that "art become a functioning part of the Nazi program." 23 Hitler understood the expressive potential of art, and for this reason, the Nazis were unable to view art as anything more than functional. They demanded that all art, particularly dramatic art (theater, film, and radio programs), be purposeful, with clearly delineated objectives that would unquestionably further the aims of National Socialism. 24 Those arts which directly furthered such practical or moral ends achieved prominence. As Helmut Lehmann-Haupt notes in his pioneering work Art Under a Dictatorship, "mystified Nazi art theory became corrupted from an instrument of social integration into a weapon of aggression and was deprived of its autonomy and made a means towards an end." 25 The linking of art policy with a revolutionary political and ideological thesis gave a powerful impulse to their (artists) action, and moreover identified their work with a political movement. 26

----

22 Henry Grosshans, Hitler and the Artists (New York, 1983), p74.

23 Grosshans, p74.

24 Bruce Zortman, Hitler's Theater: Ideological Drama in the Third Reich. (El Paso Texas, 1988). p6.

25 Lehmann-Haupt, p 431.

26 Hildegard Brenner "Art in the Political Power Struggle of 1933 and 1934."

German artists were forced into the role of translators of Nazi ideology, from the dense ramblings of Mein Kampf, and other Nazi "theoretical" works, to the more easily understood and digestible symbolic form of art. The artists' social position, and their work in Germany, changed from an autonomous expression of personal and public sentiment to the vanguard of the National Socialist movement, carrying its banner and faithfully depicting Nazi ideals. Susan Sontag wrote that some Nazi artists, in their zeal, shifted their portrayals from "representation to idealization," in their desire to present National Socialism in its most favorable light. 27 "The artist," wrote Hitler, encouraging such notions, "must be a seer, not a mere entertainer and, therefore, must present a definite, clearly recognizable conception of the German self that would promote certainty in confronting the dangers of modern history." 28 Through such sentiment, artists were elevated along with their craft to the status of educators, ideologists, politicians, warriors, and perfect party members.

Nazi Art as Propaganda

Propaganda carries within itself the necessity to take over everything that could serve it. Art, to the Nazis, was certainly one area that could serve them well in their propaganda. In fact, Hitler stated that "art is propaganda for the German spirit." 29 This was indeed the function that Hitler and Goebbels envisioned for German artists. Similar to Stalin's compulsory elements of Soviet

----

26(cont'd) in Republic to Reich: The Making of the Nazi Revolution. (New York, 1972), p401.

27 Sontag, p316.

28 Grosshans, p67.

29 Baynes, p598.

Socialist Realism, Nazi artists were also given guidelines by which the Ministry of Propaganda pressed artists into the service of the Reich. Homogenization of the population, still a primary objective, could be accomplished more thoroughly through artistic media than through any other. Art encouraged the integration of the population into the Nazi fold, and, as Sontag wrote, "functioned in immortalizing its leaders and doctrines." 30 Operating as propaganda, art reinforced the dominance of Nazi ideology, historical legitimacy, - through the introduction of ancient Germanic themes - and a constant terror of reprisals for political or cultural dissidents.

It is difficult to overestimate the importance of the role and perception of propaganda in Nazi Germany. The totality of its objectives and utilization have never been surpassed in an industrialized country. Hitler and Goebbels exploited their unique positions of total power, bringing the entire industrial, economic, technological and cultural sectors of German society behind their propagandistic objectives. Hitler believed propaganda to be the single most important element in his retention of power.

In Mein Kampf, Hitler devoted two chapters to what he believed were the most effective methods of propaganda deployment. The British propaganda legacy of the First World War explains, to a large extent, Hitler's fascination with it. The British were indeed early masters of propaganda: half of their reputation was earned through innovative and effective campaigns, and the other half was mythologized and distorted out of proportion by the Germans. British propaganda, for the Germans, became a more comfortable way to accept their 1918 defeat by placing the blame not on the military, but on the power of enemy propaganda. The British efforts, according to the German story,

----
30 Sontag, p317.

encouraged German civilians to revolt against the war effort, effectively halting the conflict. The resulting "Dolcshtoss," or the stab-in-the-back legend, implied that the German army had not been defeated in the field, but at home, through unrest supported by British propaganda efforts.—The Dolcshtoss legend and the theory that propaganda contributed significantly to the German defeat in the First World War, became an essential part of Nazi mythology and, in Hitler's mind, greatly inflated the value of propaganda as a weapon.—

Hitler's perception of propaganda, and its application, became a unique and opportunistic combination of international perspectives. The British treated propaganda as versions of the truth, designed to most effectively erode the enemy's will to resist. To the Soviets, propaganda was a means of passing the Marxist doctrine down to the masses. As a form of "education," propaganda was not to be confused with agitation, which encompassed the more familiar traits of propaganda. The Nazis, however, made no distinctions, and used the word for the total indoctrination, education, and utilization of the German people. The dominant aim of Nazi propaganda, writes propaganda historian David Welch, "was extraordinarily ambitious, amounting to the reconstruction of a value system." 31

Goebbels, wrote in 1933, that "propaganda has no policy, it has only purpose." 32 The inflated nature of propaganda lead to its rivalling ideology as the dominant agenda-setting practice, and became, to some degree, Nazi ideology itself. The purpose of propaganda was a ruthless assimilation of German hearts and minds for the sake of total power. Harold Lasswell, foreshadowing the

----
31 David Welch, (ed.) Nazi Propaganda: The Power and the Limitations (London, 1983), p7.

32 Z.A.B. Zeman. Nazi Propaganda (London, 1973), pxiv.

eventuality of this sort of total propaganda, wrote in his 1927 book, Propaganda Technique and the World War,

> A newer and subtler instrument must weld thousands and even millions of human beings into one amalgamated mass of hate and will and hope. A new flame must burn out the canker of dissent and temper the steel of bellicose enthusiasm. The name of this new hammer and anvil of social solidarity is propaganda. 33

. Hitler utilized propaganda precisely in this manner, and came to regard it as "having not a specific, but a total validity." 34 Indiscriminate absorption and exploitation of any medium perceived as useful to propaganda, and a bombardment of their distribution channels with the Nazi message, became the norm.

Lehmann-Haupt writes that "propaganda is always most effective, and therefore most dangerous, when it strikes into the subconscious layers of the mind, imperceptibly coloring, influencing, and forcing emotions and reactions." 35 This was exactly the dual, propagandistic/ideological role that Hitler envisioned for the arts. Eugen Hadomovsky, a deputy in Goebbel's ministry, commented that "the artist is the promoter of our own most sacred ideals." 36 Artists and their work became pure and unimpeded funnels for Nazi ideology. 37 Art could go a long way in furthering the propagandistic objectives of the Nazis, as it

----

33 Garth Jowett and Victoria O'Donnell, Propaganda and Persuasion, (Beverley Hills, 1986), p99.

34 Ernest K. Bramsted, Goebbels and National Socialist Propaganda 1925-1945 (Michigan, 1965), p454.

35 Lehmann-Haupt, p105.

36 Eugen Hadomovsky, Propaganda and National Power (New York, 1972), p180.

37 Zortman, p54.

glorified surrender (to the Fuehrer), exalted mindlessness, and glamourized death. 38

Artists were immersed in the fabrication of a Nazi culture of persuasion. Each contribution to that culture legitimized and traditionalized it, and augmented Hitler's plans of power. Mass suggestion had to pervade every area of German culture; literature, painting and sculpture, the theater, films and education. As a "total culture," it would animate the basic nationalist prejudices of the people, overcome their feeling of isolation, and direct their creative drives into the proper channels of race and soil. 39

Nazi art, however, was part of something even larger than propaganda. It was part of a requisite and carefully crafted "tradition," which was necessary for National Socialism to be accepted as a legitimate political entity. Contradictory as it may seem, Hitler was intent upon the rapid fabrication of Nazi traditions as a path to legitimacy. He wrote, "If popularity and force are combined, and if in common they are able to survive for a certain time, an authority on an even firmer basis can arise, the authority of tradition, which may be regarded as unshakable." 40 Traditions, to Hitler, were essential for legitimacy, but more importantly as ideological tools of mass control. Traditions which entail non-cognitive ritualized behaviour could be of great benefit to an authoritarian regime. In the search for the stabilizing effect of such a tradition, Hitler looked to propagandized art for a medium to be be used in their presentation.

----

38 Sontag, p316.

39 George Mosse, Nazi Culture: A Documentary History (New York, 1981), pxxv.

40 Adolf Hitler, Mein Kampf (Boston, 1943), p518.

Before achieving power in 1933, the Nazis had formulated a plan to integrate German art and artists into their "persuasional culture," but were vague on their specific role. They had not, and never really did achieve a coherent art policy, but what little existed was guided by opportunism, and a desire for synchronization of art and politics. Expressionism, although courted briefly by Goebbels, was finally rejected, because of Hitler's personal taste, but more importantly as an attempt to broaden political appeal. Through a policy of anti-modernism, the Nazis envisioned a control of art through "spiritual example," followed by legislation, organization, and finally, coercion. Goebbels' criteria were not artistic but political, and were not concerned with creating a Nazi style, but with effecting total cultural and administrative control. Art was therefore intended as a medium of integration, to achieve the greatest possible unity in hatred for the Weimar Republic, as a convenient representative of all evils in Germany, and to illustrate the dramatic changes under the Nazis. 41

The real battle for the arts, however, began shortly after the Nazi assumption of power, with the establishment of the Ministry of Public Enlightenment and Propaganda, in March 1933. The goal of this ministry was as sweeping and ambitious as the Nazi definition of propaganda. The accomplishment of this task required more than just police and military force, and terror. Only through a total system of control of all forms of expression could Goebbels envision his goal of "binding men with the chains of their own beliefs." "Censorship and legislation were not enough," wrote Goebbels, "man must be made to think the thoughts of his censor." 42 This objective, which

----

41 Hinz, 45.

42 John Pick, The Art of Dr. Goebbels (London, 1942), p25.

resembled the "velvet prison" as described by Hungarian dissident artist Miklos Haraszti and which could be achieved through time, required the participation, or as Goebbels put it, the "breeding," of "writers, editors, artists, who know nothing else but Nazism, and who will therefore act according to Nazi rules without knowing that they have been forced to do so." 43

To achieve this objective, all ministries and all social and cultural groups within the Reich were brought under the control of a single entity. On November 22, 1933, the Reichskulturkammer, or Reich Chamber of Culture was formed, under the watchful eye of the Propaganda Ministry. This was the first Nazi organization to unite Germans according to their professions, and replace all former organizations by a state institution with enforced membership. The Main Chamber had seven sub-chambers: there were Reich Chambers for Literature, the Press, Broadcasting, the Theater, Music, Art, and Films, each of which were directly responsible to Goebbels.

The chambers became highly effective instruments of control and intimidation. The comprehensive nature of, especially, the art sub-chamber, was due to Nazi belief that the creative potential of a people was of crucial ideological importance, and therefore worthy of the most careful supervision and guidance. 44 In addition to the seven sub-chambers, libraries, museums, festivals, pseudo-religious rituals, national emblem designs (flags, uniforms, seals, stamps, and coins), sporting events, and even aspects of science and education were realigned to support Nazi cultural policy. The organization of art, according to author Jesse Delia, was of particular consequence to the Nazis, as

----

43 The Art of Dr. Goebbels p.25

44 Lehmann-Haupt, p70.

it assumed a rhetorical dimension in support of their philosophy.45

The art sub-chamber gained special significance within the chamber, as membership was required for all artists and architects. No art exhibit could be staged without the permission of the chamber, and no buildings could be constructed without submitting the plans to the careful scrutiny of the chamber authorities. Membership grew quickly and reached considerable numbers by the end of 1936 it included,

> 15,000 architects, together with 730 interior decorators and 500 landscape architects; 14,300 painters, 2900 sculptors, 2300 arts-and-crafts workers, 4200 graphic artists, 1260 designers, 2600 art publishers and art dealers - a total of 42,000 men and women. 46

In 1933, the government published a five-point manifesto entitled <u>What German Artists Expect from the New Government</u>. This pamphlet outlined the proposed role of the artist in the state, which was to "serve the growth and strengthening of the national community." 47 Artists were expected to serve on the "front line" of the cultural battle against Communism, and foreign interests. In the visual arts this meant:

1. all non-German art must be removed.
2. all museum directors who "sinned against the nation" by buying works of modern art will be suspended.
3. all artists subscribing to Bolshevism will no longer be allowed to exhibit, and their names will no longer appear in print.
4. modern architecture will be abolished and all architects who grew rich on such structures will be treated as criminals.
5. offensive sculptures will be removed from buildings and public places.

48

----

45 Jesse Delia, "Rhetoric in the Nazi Mind: Hitler's Theory of Persuasion," in <u>Southern Speech Communication Journal</u> (1971) p138.

46 Lehmann-Haupt, p68.

47 Hinz, p28.

48 Hinz, p28.

These and other guidelines on acceptable art, many from Alfred Rosenberg's competing office for the Supervision of the Cultural and Ideological Education and Training of the Nazi Party, "educated" artist and designers in the understanding, approval and production of Nazi art. Artists began to produce works based on the controlled criteria of the state, rejecting artistic independence and integrity, to become cogs in the propaganda machine. The "Decree Concerning Art Criticism," issued November 11 1936, effectively eliminated public discussion or criticism of art, and aligned it permanently to propaganda. Art critics were replaced by art editors, who were allowed only a description of the work, rather than an evaluation. 49 The decree not only affected the reception of art, but also had an influence in its production. To have work shown, German artists had to censor their own work, which effectively extended the scope and power of propagandists, who became artistic gatekeepers.

Some German Expressionist painters, such as Emile Nolde, who originally joined the Nazi party hoping for official recognition and artistic rebirth, were either expelled or were willing to compromise and produce the desired products. Nolde, however, along with other cultural figures, including Bertolt Brecht, Thomas Mann, John Heartfield, and Oskar Schlemmer, either fled the country, worked in hiding (risking a trip to a concentration camp), or joined a resistance movement. Many dissident artists, in fact, were forced into an oppositional role, as the distance between art and politics diminished, and enthusiasm for banned art forms, such as Jazz music, became grounds for persecution. 50 One

----

49 Ian Dunlop, The Shock of the New (New York, 1972), p257

50Mike Zwerin, La Tristesse de Saint Louis: Jazz Under the Nazis (New York,

Expressionist painter, Otto Dix, managed to remain in Germany, but because of the aesthetic restrictions imposed by the government, and the volatile political nature of his subject matter, he was, "exiled into landscapes." Such strict measures were justified by Wilhelm Weiss, head of the press sub-chamber who wrote,

> If a work of art and its presentation contains a National Socialist idea we favour it. If the opposite is the case we have not only the right but the duty to be against it. Art is not primarily an aesthetic question but a political one. 51

. Many other artists, however, saw Nazism as an opportunity to gain influence through the rejection of modern art, and were only too willing to comply and cooperate.

The objective of this process of consolidation was the total synchronization of all cultural fields under the administrative control of the propaganda ministry. Goebbels worked to produce "reliable" people, wholly submissive, wholly indoctrinated, and wholly Nazi. Artists, being respected and privileged, through their expressive form, were high on the list for Nazi conversion. The logical products of these "frontline" cultural warriors were mass produced, idealized visions of Nazi utopia, presented as glorification of battle, sacrifice for Fatherland, ideal Aryan forms, and the sanctity of German peasants.

Anti-Modernism: the Search for Nazi Style

National Socialist art, in concert with the directives of the propaganda ministry, aspired to an integration of the people, and the new "traditions" of the state. But one looks in vain for any consistent ideology on which Nazi artistic policy was based. Most often it was an opportunistic use of prevalent

----

50(cont'd) 1985),

51 Dunlop , p215.

conservatism, plus a muddled application of racial and political prejudice. 52 Aesthetic styles, however, were manipulated, and history was plundered in search of a representational Nazi style, which was never really found. The desire for such an art style and tradition, however, was strengthened by its rejection of modernism. Although Germany was one of the leading producers of modern art, many of its citizens rejected it as difficult to understand and symptomatic of eroding national morality, physical deformity, and disease. To the unsophisticated German public, the appeal of Nazi art, on the other hand, was its rejection of modernism: it was simple, figurative, emotional, and had a non-intellectual presence, a relief from the the demanding complexities of modernist art. 53 Artists, too, who could not, or did not, desire to indulge in the modern schools of art, relished the prospect of a return to the simple form of realism.

The Nazis concluded that Modernism, and its many adherents in Germany, such as Dadaism, the Bauhaus, Surrealism, and even Expressionism were contaminated with an immoral reputation, which must be stamped out before it spread. The competition of styles, Modernism verses Nazism, culminated in Munich in 1937, with simultaneous exhibits. The "Great German Art Exhibition," and the "Degenerate Art Exhibition," were organized by the Nazis to finally settle the art question, and to provide examples and guidelines of acceptable German art. By juxtaposing examples of modern art in one exhibit, with true German art in the other, the Nazis hoped to ridicule the abstractions of Modernism as harmful reflections of the artists' spiritual and physical health. The German exhibition, selected by a panel of judges subject to Hitler's

----

52 John Elderfield, "Total and Totalitarian Art," Studio International (April, 1970), p152.

53 Sontag, p318.

approval, offered art that the Nazis considered typical examples of healthy Germanness. Germanness was critical, and was perceived as a disctinctive racial entity, discernible everywhere in painting, architecture, politics and the theater. 54 The Degenerate Art Exhibit, organized by the president of the art sub-chamber, Adolf Ziegler, was composed of works confiscated from public and private collection across Germany. An enormous selection of 1400 paintings, sculptures, drawings, and prints, spanned the entire range of modern art, from Vincent Van Gogh to Max Ernst. The works were selected, organized and hung in a haphazard manner, without regard to the artist or their stylistic school. The positioning of the art, and the accompanying catalogue condemned and derided it and the artists as racially and politically unsound. This art exhibition, one of the most ambitious Nazi propaganda attempts with art, attracted thousands of people, becoming the most popular ever mounted, while the Nazi art exhibit attracted very little attention.

Through a barrage of propaganda, however, Modernism came to be seen not only as the symbol of a disintegrating and failed society, but as its very cause. To the Nazis Modernism was "the harbinger and carrier of amorality, internationalism, and hedonism." 55 For the first time, art became synonymous for political change. The flat roofs of Bauhaus structures, labeled "architectural Bolshevism," and the contorted figures of Expressionist paintings became the cause, rather than a reflection, of a changing Germany. The Nazis introduced into an aesthetic dispute the iron fist of national authority, and for the first time in modern Western European history, an official political attitude toward

---

54 Hochman, p112

55 Hochman, p75.

art was adopted and conformity to that attitude enforced.56

The Nazi answer to this perceived moral decay in the arts was an identification with, and a revitalization of, the German spirit which supposedly guided "true" artists. This spirit, according to Hitler, was only held by true creative civilizations, and could be traced through the high points of human culture, from the Ancient Greeks to Germany. Hitler believed in the existence of one eternal spirit and one eternal art style, the Greco-Nordic, best exemplified by neoclassism in architecture, the perfect human form of classical Greek sculpture, and nineteenth century German Romantic painting. Paul Schulz-Naumburg, a prominent Nazi spokesman in architectural matters, promoted this Greek-German connection as an antidote to what he saw as the moral corruption of modernism. He believed that classical Greek architectural styles, as represented by Nazi designers, could serve as a bulwark against racial and cultural decline. "Works of art have a political-biological significance," wrote Schulz-Naumburg, "they have a powerful effect upon the forms of states, on politics and on human selection." 57

Art, in the Nazi view, was not to be thought of as fashion, changing every several years. Instead, art was eternal, never changing, consisting of one creative spirit and one creative people. There is no such thing as a revolution in art, wrote Hitler, there is only one eternal art, Greek-Nordic art. 58 The Nazis saw only one art in the centuries since the decline of Greece, and expected its continuance in the projected thousand years of the new Reich.

----

56 Grosshans, p8.

57 Barbara Lane, Architecture and Politics in Germany 1918-1945, (Cambridge Mass., 1968), p142.

58 Baynes, p567.

Eternity and the Greek connection were stressed in the search for historical legitimacy, to underline the permanence of the Nazi state, and to make Germany the heir to Greek creativity, and Greek ideals of the classic human form. To achieve the eternal in architecture, Hitler demanded an up-to-date expression of "such a uniform character that in coming centuries one can easily recognize it as a work of the German people and of this our own epoch." 59 He concluded that Germany must build as large as modern engineering permits and that most importantly they must build for eternity.

The Nazi obsession with eternity lead to the scrutiny of other ancient cultural remains. The Egyptians, Romans, and the Babylonians provided the Nazis with additional stylistic references. National mystique through pagan rites and rituals labelled, "rationalized mystification," by art historian John Elderfield, 60 encouraged the population to authenticate, through participation, Germany's perceived links with the past. A combination of the pagan rituals of Teutonic Germany with the architectural achievements of Classical Greece and Rome, provided the Nazis with a working combination. Permanent symbols, monuments, and neoclassical structures reinforced these historical, mythological, and cultural relationships, as the sites became rallying points for rites of Nazi affirmation.

German thought had long stressed the importance of myth in creating social coherence; the prominent Nazi style, however, was the culmination of the search for societal myth. 61 Nazi art became a demonstration of an enveloping mythology and an instrument of social integration. 62 Style was translated into

----
59 Elderfield, p154.

60 Elderfield, p149.

61 Hanson, p253

62 Elderfield, p150.

70

personal or political expediencies, and varied greatly from district to district. Much of the question of the suitability of a piece of art was left to the taste of individual leaders, political usefulness, and to the interpretation of entrenched Nazi art policy. It is only in the neoclassical style, as exhibited in the architecture of large federal buildings and monuments, that a consensus was achieved, and that one form of a Nazi style can be seen. Still subject to the whims of Hitler, however, national structures and monuments, more than any other form of art, were intended as eternal representations of Nazi ideology, stressing size, infinity, beauty, and mythical associations. The size, mystery, and longevity of Egyptian pyramids, the beauty of the Greek sculpted form, the *a. Italy; going back to classics.* domination and severity of Imperial Rome, the submissiveness and feeling of mortality when experiencing Gothic cathedrals, and the massive and numerous monuments to victory built by Napoleon, were the inspirational cornerstones of Nazi architecture.

Nazi Architectural Stylistic Influences

Classical Greece and Rome became the two most important stylistic models for the Nazi state. Architectural elements from both civilizations, reworked as neoclassism, and empowered with Nazi myth, became the fundamentals of Nazi aesthetic practice. Hitler utilized these neoclassical references for their associations with power, military conquests, and the subjugation of peoples, which he believed could be read, in ancient structures, and recreated in Nazi buildings. His passion for classical architectural form reflected his belief in style as a language of control. Moreover, Hitler thought of Nazi neoclassism as legitimate, since the true course of European history had run from south to north, from Greece and Rome to Germany, and that these characteristics derived

from the architecture of classical peoples were legitimately embodied in Nazi Germany. 63

In 1941, Hitler confirmed that ancient Rome had been his inspiration for his building programme. Stipulating that granite should be used on the construction projects, he hoped that they would last 4,000, or perhaps even 10,000 years, and rival Roman ruins. During his plans for the reconstruction of Berlin, Hitler wrote that:

> "Our only rival in the world is Rome and we shall succeed in eclipsing it. Berlin must change its face for its great new mission... it will be the capital of the world, comparable only to ancient Egypt, Babylon, or Rome, Paris will be nothing compared to this. 64

Donald Horne, in his discussion of the similarities between Nazi Germany and Imperial Rome, wrote that the Roman empire was a military state based on bombast, superstition and terror, with torture, mutilation and execution...in short, a society of spectacle. In their ordered cruelty, he continued, and in their self-justifying through myth, ceremony and monuments, Europe's fascist movements expressed the entrenched values of the Romans. When the Nazis adopted neoclassical style, he concluded, they had a right to do so; they were among the heirs of Rome. 65

The pyramids of Egypt also held special significance for Hitler. These large, and long-lasting man-made structures contained desirable elements which German architects were expected to duplicate. For centuries to come, Hitler wanted awe-inspired tourists to visit his structures, as they presently visited the

---

63"When asked about our ancestors," wrote Hitler, "we should always point to the Greeks." Grosshans. p83.

64 Hochman, p259

65 Donald Horne, The Great Museum: The Re-presentation of History (London, 1986) p234.

pyramids, and to feel dwarfed by their size, spectacle, and projection of their power. German architects had, for centuries, revered the pyramids as symbols of the mysterious, the reverential, the astounding, and the eternal, and the Nazis were no different. 66 Egyptian-inspired war memorials, or "Totemburgen," to the dead would be constructed in the conquered eastern territories, once the war ended. These structures were to be eternal, monumental architectural reminders of German colonization, and German victory.

The Gothic cathedrals of Germany were also admired by Nazi architects for the religious and psychological powers they held over the faithful. Enormous cathedrals, often requiring generations of craftsmen to complete, directed attention of the common people away from their miserable existence, to the beauty of their communal efforts, and to the power of God who inspired the structure. Once completed, their size, and the religious rituals which consecrated the structure awed the congregation, and reinforced the power of the Lord. The Nazis aspired to emulate the submissive power of Gothic church architecture, its religious message of present sacrifice for the future glory of the community, and its acclamation of the divine being - in their case, Hitler. The Propagandistic potential of Gothic architecture is expressed by Jan Fedorowicz,

> When you go into a late Gothic cathedral, you are impressed by the tremendous height. What they (the designer or propagandist), are after is impressing the church-goer with a feeling of being as little and as insignificant in the house of God as they can possibly be. 67

The preceding four historical influences constituted Nazi stylistic references, but it was the Napoleonic building program which they imitated. The victory monuments and structures of Napoleon, and the reconstruction of Paris as a

----

66 Nationalization of the Masses, p39.

67 Jan Fedorowicz, Propaganda (Toronto, 1983) p22

world-class captial city, both inspired and frustrated the Nazis. Although Hitler admired the Napoleonic legend, and his cult of personality, drive, and determination as a political, cultural and military leader, it was Napoleon's city plans and monuments that offered the most ambitious rival to Nazi architectural aspirations. The Paris Opera House, the Arc de Triomphe and the Champs-Elysees were exactly the awe inspiring structures worthy of a world power like Germany. Hitler believed that he would have to out-scale and out-build Napoleon if Berlin and Nazi Germany were to be the worthy architectural heirs to the ancients.

Nazi domination of the arts, unique in its totality, provided an extremely useful addition to the existing propaganda channels. The aim of both art and propaganda, united under the umbrella of Gesamtkunstwerk, was to fashion a new world view, and to create a new unified and "reliable" German. "The poet will walk hand in hand with the statesman," wrote Goebbels, as he dictated the unification, of art and politics, in support of the government. 68 The new Germany would, he believed, be built upon the foundations of this new political-aesthetic man, with a combination of indoctrination and self-censorship. Art would become a possession and a servant of the government, while artists would become front-line soldiers of the Nazi creed. This total political and artistic unity of purpose, designed for the retention of power, was organized through all spheres of society, and coordinated in the chambers of culture, under the auspices of the propaganda ministry.

The Nazi search for legitimation was paramount for a regime lacking both tradition and history, and it was through the cultural sphere that the Nazis intended to achieve their legitimation and authority. Historical traditions of

---

68 Brenner, p419.

ancient civilizations anchored the regime within the continuum of history, while the selected Egyptian, Greek, and Roman architectural styles legitimized and mystified the new structures. The opportunistic rejection of Modernism, in favour of ancient references, provided the Nazis with a opportunity to re-present history, and to control the past with the goal of controlling the present. With a firm control of perception, through presentation of Nazi myth, repetition of select architectural elements, and public participation in consecration rituals, the Nazis established, as thoroughly as possible, one unambiguous meaning in their architecture.

Nazi art and architecture were nurtured and developed to complete the system of control and power, while complementing the desired image of the Reich. The Nazi strategic concept of art was accomplished only through a unique organization of German life, under the direction of the propaganda department. The campaign against Modernism which mocked, and then outlawed, modern artists, was designed to isolate the German art public from harmful foreign influences, and to turn them back to the roots of Germanic art. What the Nazis presented as true German art, however, was a propagandized culture of deceit. Artists became employees of the propaganda department, who worked to convince their peers and the masses of the credibility of the Nazi leadership, and the legitimacy of the Third Reich. As Aldous Huxley said, "a propagandist is a man who channelizes an already existing stream. In a land where there is no water, he digs in vain." Many German artists were indeed willing to relinquish artistic and personal freedom and by taking advantage of the new political climate, became obedient advocates of Nazi propaganda.

CHAPTER IV

CASE STUDY : ARCHITECTURE AS POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

They've made a mistake, the tomb should never have been put below eyelevel. People should be able to look up, to be overwhelmed by the size of the memorial. This was a great man; he should have a greater monument. I'll not make such a mistake, I'll keep hold on the people long after I've passed on. So great will be the monument built to my memory that people who see it will never forget the sight.

Hitler at Napoleon's Tomb. 1

"Architecture," wrote Hitler, "is politics in stone." 2 National Socialism could, he believed, speak actively, and its doctrines be represented accurately through the architectural medium. Hitler's faith that the power of architecture could precisely articulate the Nazi message was demonstrated through his devotion to it as a vital, functioning element of German state apparatus. Selected by Hitler as a primary vehicle of Nazi ideological promotion, dissemination, and representation, architecture was intended to be simultaneously timeless and timely, existing both within its cultural context and above it. 3 Hitler's notion of the dual purpose of architecture for both immediate and future political objectives inflated its importance, and rendered it a monumental spokesman for Hitler, the party, the foreign office and the military.

Hitler envisioned his future architectural environment functioning as a surrogate for his own dictatorship. When he was gone, the buildings that he had constructed and consecrated with his presence would educate, intimidate,

---

1 John G. Hughes, Getting Hitler into Heaven (New York,1987), p137

2 Bernhard Leitner, "Albert Speer the Architect," October Spring 1982, p15

3 Elaine S. Hochmann, Architects of Fortune: Mies van der Rohe and the Third Reich (New York, 1989), p53

and propagandize. He vowed that through architecture, he would keep a hold on the German people long after he died. According to Hitler, architecture would, "bear powerful witness to the strength of the new German phenomenon, help to unite and strengthen the people, and fill the citizens of the German community with an everlasting self-consciousness of what it meant to be German." 4 Hitler further claimed that his aggressive use of architecture would not be domestically limited. Architecture, he believed, could prove useful as a weapon of conquest in the colonization of the coveted territory of Eastern Europe. Immense monuments would become tangible memorials to the achievements of Hitler, and would claim forever the eastern territory, which would be conquered militarily, but secured through architecture. Joseph Goebbels summarized the Nazi total allegiance to the power and the political contributions of architecture during the completion ceremony of the Heidelberg theater, when he stated, "from these stones will spring the renewal of Germany." 5

Historian Barbara Lane has suggested that architecture came to be seen as the spiritual expression of the Nazi spirit. 6 In Architecture and Politics in Germany 1919-1945, Lane outlines the unique political significance of architecture in the Third Reich. The Nazis exercised control over architectural style, she writes, because they saw it as a symbol of a specific political view. 7 Never before had politics been so closely connected to a style of architecture. Proponents of certain architectural styles which were viewed negatively by the

----

4 Hochmann, p191

5 George L. Mosse, The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars Through the Third Reich (New York, 1975), p187

6 Barbara Lane, Architecture and Politics in Germany 1918-1945 (Cambridge Mass., 1968), p165

7 Lane, p3.

Nazis were condemned as political subversives, and were subject to the same punishments as political opponents. Architecture in Nazi Germany truly became "politics in stone."

In an effort to understand this relationship, it is first necessary to achieve an overview of the role of architecture in Nazi ideology, and to examine the specifics of their unique and monumental building plans. A detailed analysis will summarize the communicative potential of architecture as a propagandized medium, and will argue the existence of an authoritative presence contained within national monuments and governmental architecture.

The Nazi Building Program

The Nazis initiated the largest and most ambitious building program ever conceived in modern times. Accompanied by a campaign of propaganda which preached the necessity and the significance of these structures, architecture, in the Nazi state, realized an unprecedented political, as well as social and cultural, importance. Sustained by a constant barrage of Hitler's speeches, projects of massive proportions were designed without the realistic possibility of construction. These huge new structures, Hitler proclaimed, would exhibit Germany's new creative spirit, bind internal diversities, and solve an assortment of social ills. Speaking of his architectural plans and aspirations, Hitler stated,

> The greater the demands a modern state places on its citizens, the mightier that state must appear to its citizens...These (architectural) works will become for Germans a part of a feeling of proud togetherness. They will prove how ludicrous our petty differences are in the face of these mighty and gigantic evidences of our community. [8]

----

8 Rainer Stollman, "Fascist Politics as a Total Work of Art: Tendencies of the Aesthetization of Political Life in National Socialism," New German Critique Spring 1978, p46.

Great buildings could, Hitler believed, create the kind of common will which he had earlier called their necessary prerequisite. "They would awaken national consciousness and thus contribute more than ever to the political unification and strengthening of our people." 9

Barbara Lane, writing on the "politicization" of Nazi architecture, identified the three necessary components of the Nazi building program as ideology, a campaign of propaganda, and a construction agenda. Nazi ideology, however, torn by internal rivalry and contradictions, proved difficult to embody in architecture. The corresponding campaign of propaganda, which lacked a consistent ideological direction, also lacked the necessary authority. The building program itself sometimes followed the prescriptions of ideology, more often ignored them, and occasionally stood in considerable contradiction to them. 10 There was, therefore, little consensus among the Nazi leadership in what was perceived to be the proper application of Nazi political theory to architectural projects. Most minor projects were left to the discretion of local leaders who advocated and constructed a wide variety of architectural styles. Housing, local community structures, and small factories did not usually gain national attention, and therefore the intervening architectural eye of Hitler. Larger regional or national structures and monuments, however, including museums, party and government buildings, opera houses and memorials to the party, or to the war dead, usually attracted the personal attention of Hitler, who advocated a specific and a personal neoclassical style. It is only in these larger projects, which were subject to Hitler's personal designs or veto power, that the beginnings of a unified and centralized Nazi architectural style can be identified.

----

9 Lane, p183

10 Lane, p187

It is in this style, and in these structures, that architecture as a propagandistic "tool of conquest," can best and most clearly be examined and understood. Nevertheless, an architectural overview is required before we can focus on the more dominant and representational Nazi monumental structures.

Based on its utilization, many architectural historians conveniently divide Nazi architecture into three distinct categories. Historian George Mosse identifies them as ritualistic, expressive and functional. Ritualistic architecture, he contends, included one-sided structures like parade ground observation platforms, and acted as a setting or backdrop for ceremonial or the ritualistic events of the party. Expressive architecture included structures like government buildings, museums, or youth hostel buildings which, based on the principles of Nazi ideology, symbolized a return to Germanic cultural values. The functional category, unlike the others, was subject to very few restrictions, and according to Mosse, emphasized efficiency rather than aethetics. Functional architecture included factories, transportation facilities, and military installations.

Architectural historian Robert Taylor, as well, identifies three categories of Nazi architecture, but labels them community, social order and unity, and volkish health. Community architecture, he argues, was designed to explicitly communicate the power and authority of the Nazi state, and to create the feeling of belonging to a great and glorious community. 11 Indeed, Hitler stated that architecture should allow Germans to forget their differences and focus on the fact of their homogeneity. The 1936 Olympic Stadium in Berlin, with a capacity of 65,000 people, was the best example of this type of architecture. Inspiring the Olympic ideal of physical perfection, and reminding Germans of

----
11 Robert Taylor, The Word in Stone: The Role of Architecture in National Socialist Ideology (Berkeley, 1974), p157

their racial and cultural link with Greece, the stadium personified the ascendancy of Germany under its new leadership. Architecture designed for social order and unity encompassed many community structures, but were intended to emphasize military style order (Ordnung). These buildings served many functions, but were given shape by the "soldiery of the spirit" in the Nazi Weltanschauung. 12 Social order and unity architecture included monuments to "glorious" past wars, and the war dead, the most impressive being the Totenbergen (Castles of the Dead), 13 and the Soldiers' Hall in Berlin. The numerous columns of many neoclassically styled Ordnung structures replicated the tight ranks of soldiers who often drilled on a parade ground in the shadows of such constructions. Finally, architecture for volkish health reflected the various indigenous styles of rural Germany promoted as the best possible environment for the education of German youth. Youth hostels, Hitler Youth Camps, and many schools were built in this style, to assist Nazi instructors in their presentation and elevation of all things German. Nazi architect Wilhelm Pinder announced the intentions of the "volkish health" advocates, as "wanting to create a high-quality human being, without an overrefined brain, without excessive prudence, but with a healthy body, a healthy mind and a healthy soul."14

Barbara Lane has also identified three categories of Nazi architecture, entitled modernized neo-classicism, neo-romanesque, and rustic, but differentiates them by style rather than function. She suggests that stylistic differences resulting from the internal conflict between the "urbaners," who advocated the

---

12 Taylor, p183

13 Immense Egyptian inspired pyramids to be situated on the Atlantic coast and deep inside conqored Soviet territory to commemorate German war dead.

14 Taylor, p220

neoclassical style, and "anti-urbaners," who championed the purity of the indigenous rural styles, typified the conflict within Nazi architectural theory, propelling the question of style to the forefront. Lane's category of modernized neo-classicism, which dominated the design of most large national structures, was championed by Hitler as an expression of his desired Greek-German parallelism. The neo-romanesque structures, a later historical appropriation and much more German in its stylistic influence, were mainly used in educational institutions (Ordensbergen) for the training of future Nazi leaders. The final category, rustic, was the simple indigenous rural style used primarily in youth training centers.

However, despite the seeming lack of uniformity in both ideology and architecture, there were many structural and functional similarities between these three Nazi styles. Most of Nazi architecture, like the other media, was dedicated to the legitimation and the glorification of the Nazi state. Many of the most impressive buildings, regardless of style, were not practical in use except as vehicles of propaganda. Hitler viewed practicality as an architectural liability, and believed that true architectural art must necessarily be non-practical. Style became all-important, and articulated the Nazi message through a carefully designed regimentation and mythological ceremony, typified by the Nuremberg Party Rallies, which situated the building within the Nazi ideological fold. All important buildings were designed to be eternal and instructional in nature, and to present a clear picture of Nazi ideology for present and future Germans. These special and shared characteristics, many of which were of particular interest to Hitler, were incorporated into the most enduring and dominant neoclassical monumental style. This monumental style of architecture, planned for both the Nuremberg Rally Grounds and for the

reconstructed capital city of Berlin, illustrate the essential ingredients of Hitler's style.

Nuremberg Rally Grounds

The annual Nuremberg Party Rallies were the largest and most calculatingly impressive of Nazi ceremonies. Designed to dominate and conclude the rituals of the Nazi calendar, the Rallies were an affirmation of faith for party members and a conspicuous show of national power and unity for the world. After Hitler proclaimed Nuremberg the "City of the Rallies," in 1933, it was vital that suitable buildings be erected on a tract of land large enough to accommodate the envisioned event. The city zoo and a Zeppelin field outside of the city were selected and a young architect, Albert Speer, was chosen to design and draft the plans. Following the relocation of the zoo, the construction of the other structures began in 1935.

In the first phase of construction, a rectangular stone reviewing stand was added to the Zeppelin field. This stand had a capacity of 240,000 people, with a main spectators' tribune (a classically styled dais from which military parades are viewed) and side-tribunes, interspaced with rectangular stone towers. The main tribune was 350 meters long with a raised platform for Hitler, and was flanked by pylons or towers bearing shallow ornamental metal bowls. The whole structure was crowned with a gold-plated swastika within a laurel wreath. The Zepplin field and the reviewing stand served as a parade ground and an observation platform for the political leaders, the National Labour Service, and for the events in celebration of the "Day of Armed Forces." One of the most spectacular of Speer's theatrical structures, this neoclassical construction became an early propagandistic focal point of the Rallies.

The structure with the most obvious classical stylistic affilitations, however, was the New Congress Hall, which was started in 1935. Designed to resemble, though much larger than, the Roman Colosseum, the construction material of this Nazi structure was ordered changed from reinforced concrete to granite block, so that even in centuries to come it would resemble its Roman model. The hall was sixty meters high, with a curving horseshoe facade. Two rows of arched windows, set in heavy rectangular frames, gave the impression of order and permanence. 15 With a free-standing roof stretching 160 meters across the floor, and space for 60,000 people, the New Congress Hall was a true structure of propaganda.

The proposed German Stadium was the most ambitious of all the Nuremberg projects. Designed to be the largest stadium in the world, it was to be a horseshoe-shaped grandstand 350 meters long and 150 meters broad, with a facade 80 meters high and built of varying colours of marble. The stadium was to seat 405,000 and would have been, as in ancient Greece, the arena for sporting contests between the best men of the people. In accordance with its "community" function, the German Stadium would "fuse spectator and contestant into a unity." 16

These buildings became the setting for a mass political experience. In connection with the marching and parade facilities of the Great Road (two kilometers long and 60 meters wide) and the March Field (1,000 meters long and 600 meters wide, flanked with 28 towers) a vast architectural network was organized. The rallies, within the architectural setting, fulfilled an important function in National Socialist ideology. They demonstrated the absolute and

----
15 Taylor, p172

16 Taylor, p173

unqualified leadership of Hitler, and were intended to bear witness to the absolute unity between the leader and those who were led. Vast numbers of people took part, uniformed and perfectly disciplined, as a demonstration of their unconditional acceptance of the Fuehrer's will, and of their perfect harmony and accord. Both participants and onlookers were intended to experience for themselves the unity of a nation and to demonstrate it to the outside world.

The Plans for Berlin

Nuremberg exemplified the Nazi plans for a strictly ceremonial form of architecture. The plans for Berlin, however, imposed many of these same architectural and ceremonial characteristics on the urban dwellers of the capital. Berlin, according to Hitler, would become the show city for the new Germany, a city worthy of a renewed nation. Like Nuremberg, Berlin was to proclaim to the world the economic, political, cultural and military power of Germany, and the unity of the German people. The idea of the plan, wrote Speer, was primarily to impress foreign visitors, "as soon as the travellers stepped out of the train station they would be overwhelmed, or rather stunned, by the urban scene and the power of the Reich. [17]

The new Berlin was to be bisected by two long and very wide ceremonial boulevards with two massive train stations at either ends of the north/south axis. The main plaza to the north would be crowned by an Arch of Triumph, planned to rival Napoleon's Arc de Triomphe in Paris. The arch, 300 meters wide, 130 meters deep, and 128 meters high, would have towered over all other buildings in the area and would have literally dwarfed them. [18] Through its

----
17 Albert Speer, Inside the Third Reich (New York,1970), p134

18 Speer, p135

opening, a visitor would see at the southern end of the six kilometer road the Great Hall and its enormous dome. Eleven ministries would have lined the road, including a huge new city hall, a police headquarters, and the command buildings of the army, navy and airforce.

All of these structures, however, were designed to sit in the symbolic shadow of the largest building in all of Germany, the Great Hall. Developed on the basis of Hitler's youthful dream, this structure was the greatest assembly hall ever conceived up to that time. Designed to hold between 150,000 and 180,000 people, the building, Speer wrote, would be essentially a place of worship, in which time and tradition would bestow upon it an importance similar to that of St.Peter's Basilica in Rome. The Pantheon in Rome was the model for the dome, but it would have been dwarfed by the Nazi structure.

> From outside the dome would have loomed against the sky like a green mountain, for it was to be roofed with patinated plates of copper. At its peak we planned a skylight turret 33 meters high, of the lightest possible metal construction. The turret would have been crowned by an eagle with a swastika. [19]

The construction of such structures was possible, but two problems with the dome were the formation of rain clouds caused by the condensation resulting from so many people under one roof, [20] and the fact that Hitler's visibility inside the dome, despite architectural emphasis, dwindled to an optical zero. [21] To Berliners, the dome would have meant twenty years of construction irritation until the 1955 completion date, and a massive disruption of a functioning city for the sake of prestige. Following Hitler's notion of the practicality and function of architecture, the plans for Berlin would transform

----

19 Speer, p153

20 Elias Canetti, The Conscience of Words(New York,1979), p151

21 Speer, p153.

the city from the practical to the ceremonial.

The Role of Architecture in National Socialist Ideology

Much of the Nazi building program was fueled by Hitler's personal and lifelong architectural passion. To Hitler, architecture was an art and a tool of social control, and was not to be sullied with practical human concerns. Large structures inspired awe and respect, and cultivated the appropriate submissive behaviour in its viewers. In addition, the state-financed and constructed monuments to Hitler's glory would then double as architectural achievements. Hitler's architectural path, he believed, was dependent upon two factors in his buildings, size and permanence.

Hitler was obsessed with the size of his architectural monuments. To him, the larger the structure, the more magnificent and inspirational it would be. He often used the seven wonders of the ancient world as architectural guides and examples. Hitler was convinced that the reason they were all wonders was because of their excessive size. Early in 1939, in a speech to construction workers, Hitler undertook to justify the dimensions of his architectural "wonders":

> Why always the biggest? I do this to restore to each individual German his self-respect. In a hundred areas I want to say to the individual: we are not inferior, on the contrary, we are the complete equals of every other nation. [22]

Speer believed that Hitler was obsessed with his huge structures as if his architectural work would be the measure of his greatness. The construction of enormous buildings would leave lasting reminders of his presence, and, as Speer

----
[22] Speer, p69

87

wrote, Hitler willed and projected himself into history. 23 Plans for the reconstruction of Berlin were designed to dwarf the closest modern rivals of Paris and Vienna. The German Stadium at Nuremberg would be three times larger than the pyramids of Cheops. Speer wrote that in "A.D. 64 Emperor Nero erected a colossal figure 119 feet high, the statue of liberty in New York was 151 feet high, but our statue was to be 46 feet higher. 24 The primary criterion of Nazi architecture was always size; Nazi structures had to surpass every man-made structure. "The suspension bridge for Hamburg will surpass San Francisco's Golden Gate Bridge, Zentralbahnhof in Berlin should rout New York's Grand Central Station, the dome of the Great Hall ought to contain Washington's Capitol Building, Rome's St. Peters and a few other buildings," Hitler boasted. 25

Hiter was also intoxicated with the thought of creating stone witnesses to history. 26 His architecture was comprehensible only in terms of his goal of creating everlasting structures. Architectural projects were constructed as much for eternity as for the present. To achieve this objective, stone became the only building material capable of lasting and spreading the Nazi message through the ages. Stone gives a sense of continuity and a deceptive assurance of life: the shell seems to pledge continuity by the fact that it continues to exist outwardly, unaffected by the passage of time. 27

----

23 Speer, p69

24 Speer, p67

25 Canetti, p151

26 Canetti, p151

27 Lewis Mumford, The Culture of Cities (London, 1958), p435.

To facilitate this eternal objective, Speer developed a "theory of ruin value," which fascinated Hitler, despite its blasphemous nature to Hitler's entourage, who could never conceive of a Nazi period of decline. Ruin value was the idea that buildings of modern construction were poorly suited to form that "bridge of tradition" to future generations as demanded by Hitler. "But," writes Speer, "by using special materials and by applying certain principles of statics, we should be able to build structures which even in a state of decay, after hundreds or thousands of years would more or less resemble the Roman models." 28 Hitler agreed with this plan and ordered that in the future all buildings should be built with ruin value in mind.

Hitler's obsession with eternal architecture, and the construction of structures for the future representation of the Nazi party, was inspired by his personal philosophy of life, and architecture's role in it. He believed that one could ascertain from architecture whether a civilization was in decline or ascendancy. 29 His goal, therefore, was to prove to the present world that Germany's star was rising, and to prove to future generations that Germany had been a civilization to rival ancient Egypt or Rome. Hitler hoped that centuries later, the stones of German architecture would still speak of personal and national greatness.

To Hitler, architecture was better suited than any other art to express German national superiority. He wrote that "every historical period finds the final expression of its value in its buildings," and that "architecture not only expressed the unity of a nation, but also helped to create it." 30 A control of

----
28 Speer, p56

29 Taylor, 10

30 Lane, p183.

the peoples' actual and perceived future through architecture provided Hitler with almost unlimited power. He wanted to remind Germans of the presence and authority of the party and government in every town of the Reich.31 Hitler as the "master builder" would, through the articulation of architecture, organize and restructure German society along the same lines as the Chamber of Culture had done with art. Total architecture, a term coined by author Helmut Lehmann-Haupt, illuminates Hitler's notion of the necessity for the complete control and organization of the built environment and its social implications. Total architecture was Hitler's co-ordinated efforts to fabricate and control not only the built environment, but the lives of the people who live in its shadow. According to Lehmann-Haupt, total architecture was the fact that...

> every building planned or constructed was part of a master plan for the rebuilding of the entire city in which it stood. But that was not enough, every city was to be fitted into a gigantic pattern, a project that envisaged the complete remodeling of the whole of Germany in the Nazi image. Every house, every bridge, every tree was destined to become a monument to the power, glory and beauty of the Third Reich.32

The Foundation of Nazi Architecture

Hitler's conception of architecture, although never unanimously accepted by party functionaries, was based on four architectural notions: it had to operate simultaneously in didactic, theatrical, representational, and most importantly, dictatorial capacities. Stephen Hans, an advisor to Albert Speer, explained the didactic nature of architecture,

> The aim of the new German architecture was to train people to an appreciation of the community, to give it political schooling, to raise its joy in life and its strength in life, and to reflect its strength and

----

31 Taylor, p127

32 Helmut Lehmann-Haupt, Art Under a Dictatorship(Oxford, 1954), p106.

accomplishments. 33

Essentially instructional and propagandistic in nature, didactic architecture allowed for the dissemination of biased information through stylistic, mythological, locational and ceremonial conduits. The theatrical nature of Nazi architecture existed within the "aesthetizied" community in which the sheer spectacle, size, and pageantry of Nazi architecture, together with its mandatory inaugural celebrations (which were much like theater) attracted the attention and participation of the populace. Organized like mammoth theatrical productions arranged around one-dimensional architectural "props," these periodic celebrations were calculated to manipulate the emotions of the audience, putting them into a more receptive and vulnerable mood for Nazi indoctrination. In its representative function, Nazi architecture became the symbol of the party, inextricably coupled to political directives. Nazi architecture symbolized not only the cultural strength of Germany, but its ideological, economic, military, racial, and spiritual vitality. Finally, the dictatorial element dominated and combined the three previous categories, and became the most obvious objective of Nazi architects. Total design of the urban environment, Hitler believed, ensured total control of the structure and behaviour of human life. Architecture would be built to dominate Germans physically and ideologically, becoming as historian Golo Mann wrote, "like a huge fist over the city." 34

----

33 Taylor, p235

34 Henry Grosshans, Hitler and the Artists (New York,1983), p18

Nazi Architecture as Propaganda

The Nazi use of architecture as a weapon of propaganda presupposed three facts. First, that the language of its architecture could be clearly articulated through style, material, construction techniques, location, symbolic applications and the accompaniment of ceremony. Second, that this language, and its message, could be received and understood in its intended form and meaning. And thirdly, that architecture had a persuasive communicative power that could be manipulated to convince or otherwise coerce people into altering their opinion or behavior in a manner beneficial to the architect or government. Hitler firmly believed in the persuasive and communicative power of architecture, and believed that these three essential elements were in fact present in his architecture. The essential ideology of National Socialism, he believed, could be read into his structures like a document. Many Nazi architects, following Hitler's lead, expressed their faith in his vision of architecture. Architect Rudolf Walters wrote "our buildings document themselves and their age in stone." 35 Another, Rolf Badenhausen, agreed, and wrote that "architecture is ideology in stone." 36

For Hitler, architecture spoke through a myriad of channels, style being the most important. As related in the previous chapter, the Nazis replicated aspects of Roman architecture because of its "ruin value", but more importantly because of its associations with the power of Roman empire, and world domination. The skill and might of the Roman military, which in its time conquered the known world, was an enticing example for Hitler to imitate. Other historical styles, with established architectural meanings such as Egyptian pyramids or Gothic cathedrals, were incorporated into Nazi architecture to

----

35 Taylor, p43

36 Taylor, p43

complement and support the dominant and official neoclassical style. Materials were also believed to be influential agents of information in most Nazi structures. The new Reich Chancellory in Berlin, for example, was composed of stone from all 43 Gaus (districts,) and were intended to speak of the sacred nature of the German fatherland and of the symbolic unity of Germany under Hitler. Construction techniques emphasized the classical influence, with an army of faithful workers dedicating their life (much like the craftsmen who toiled on the medieval cathedrals) to the completion of inspirational structures. Locational significance was often enhanced through Nazi myth, and many monuments were constructed on the sites of ancient Teutonic victories, or in the ruins of ancient castles, providing a link between present and past. Architectural locations were selected to legitimize and complement Nazi myths, which attempted to present the Nazis as the logical heirs of German political power. The swastika and other symbolic applications, such as eagles, oak leaves, and mottos from Hitler's speeches, were the most obvious forms of architectural communication. Many of these also provided an association with tradition, while their new Nazi meanings were represented through propaganda. Finally, the ceremony which either consecrated architecture with the presence of Hitler, or which used it as symbolic theatrical backdrop for the reconstruction of Nazi myths, presented emotionally charged narratives signifying and justifying mass architectural expenditures in Nazi culture.

For Hitler, the impression made by a building had paramount importance. The design and organization of this first impression was the key to Nazi image management and therefore, Hitler believed, to successful architectural propaganda. However, it was more than just the structure itself which had to be designed for maximum impact. The surrounding spectacle of pomp and

ceremony, which was essential to the proper presentation of these Nazi structures, also received the most intense design scrutiny. The greatest emotional, patriotic, and inspirational feelings could be engineered for the participants and viewers alike through rallies, rituals and cermonies.

Architectural historian John Gloag, in The Architectural Interpretation of History, examined the result of the involvement of architecture with such ceremony. The resulting social engineering, he concluded, resulted in a form of manipulation which involved the "pushing around of people and filing them away in approved accommodating units." 37 Sustained by Nazi ceremony, especially during the Nuremberg Rallies, architecture had become an emotional and manipulative form of theater in which participants were transformed into willing pawns, moving themselves under the watchful eye of the Fuehrer. Lewis Mumford understood the theatrical use of structures, and wrote of architecture as, "the permanent setting of a culture against which its social drama can be played out with the fullest help to its actors." 38 Nazi architects, with the assistance of rally designers and politicians, produced some of the grandest politically motivated cermonies.

The two most ambitious Nazi architectural projects, Berlin and the Nuremberg Rally Ground, were both constructed with the Nazi theater in mind. In Nuremberg, each structure was constructed so that the assembled group always faced Hitler, and the architecture was designed to express the inequitable relationship between the people and their leader. 39 The redesigned city of Berlin would have become an awe-inspiring parade ground from the

----

37 John Gloag, The Architectural Interpretation of History (London, 1975), p310

38 Lewis Mumford, Art and Technics (New York, 1952), p112

39 Werner Rittich, New German Architecture (Berlin, 1941), p35.

Victory Arch to the Great Hall, underscoring the insignificance of those who marched subserviently past their deity and through his kingdom. This avenue, according to Speer, was meant to spell out in architecture the political, military, and economic power of Germany, and of Hitler. 40

Speer, although trained as an architect, took on the role of stage designer for such massive Nazi displays. Hitler, paradoxically, regarded Speer's work as both eternal monuments and as "stage setting and instant propaganda intended to be viewed from a passing car." 41 Many buildings were designed as backdrops for parades, writes Lehmann-Haupt, effective when seen from a passing car, but extremely boring to the eyes of a pedestrian. 42 What Hitler ultimately wanted was a temple that would draw the entire population of a city into participation in the official celebrations of his party. 43 Mass participation in the rites of national worship was stressed, with the form and nature of public festivals determining the function of many national monuments. 44

The involvement of the German population in national ceremony was organized and encouraged to control the masses through the creation of a deep sense of community under a single leader. 45 The Nazi Ministry of Propaganda,

----

40 Speer, p138

41 Barbara Lane, "Ernst May and Albert Speer, a Comparative Analysis," in Robert Rotberg and Theodore Robb (ed.) Art and History: Images and Their Meaning (Cambridge Mass., 1988), p301

42 Lehmann-Haupt, p32

43 Lehmann-Haupt, p65

44 Mosse, p72

45 Jesse Delia, "Rhetoric in the Nazi Mind: Hitler's Theory of Persuasion," Southern Speech Communication Journal Vol2,37, 1971, p148

had, in fact, worked out a detailed pattern for managing such mass rallies and ceremonies, the variants of which depended on political and propagandistic factors. From the gathering of school children to cheer a foreign guest, to the mobilization of millions of workers expressing "the will of the people," the Propaganda Ministry had a prepared scenario. 46

The masses, however, became more than just spectators, or even willing participants in large rallies: they were transformed into both human architecture and human ornamentation. Speer often used the formations of uniformed Nazi party members to accent the sparsity of his structures. Architectural theatrical backdrops turned men into objects, purposeful constructs that could be coaxed, controlled, manipulated and dismantled: in fact, turning them into a raw material. 47 People became sculpture, accentuating the architecture. 48 Hinz explains the role of such human ornamentation in Nazi architecture as organized and uniformed masses providing National Socialist architecture with the complementary "ornamentation" it needed. Along with the intellectually paralyzing and authoritarian aura of these buildings, they gave an explicit command to the individual, together with thousands of his compatriots, to submit himself "ornamentally" to Hitler. 49

Both the architecture and the communal experience of the rallies, however, were more powerful than the emotional experience of a play or a film, they became religious experiences. The Nuremberg Rallies, wrote Speer, were meant to

----

46 Speer, p156

47 Bill Kinser and Neil Kleinman, The Dream That was no More a Dream: A Search for Aesthetic Reality in Germany 1890-1945 (Cambridge Mass., 1969), p15

48 Leitner, p21

49 Berthold Hinz, Art in the Third Reich (New York, 1979), p199.

serve a quasi-religious purpose. 50 These mass rallies were meant as a renewal of faith, and was a chance for the party members to view their deity and to pledge their submission and their blind faith. Baldur von Schirach, the Hitler Youth Leader, promoted this view of the experiential nature of Nazi architecture, and wrote that, "building is something like religion, which means that it has less to do with stone and mortar than with experience and faith. 51

Working in tandem, the Ministry of Propaganda and the architects of the Third Reich forged a partnership in social engineering. In order to assure the best possible conditions for manipulating an audience, the persuader must carefully stage the setting in which the persuasional ceremony will occur. 52 Nazi architects, under the personal supervision of Hitler, created such a stage. Hitler's quasi-religious temples elevated him to sainthood, and the architectural backdrops made him a star. Illusion became reality to Hitler, and as he and his propagandists convinced Germany, he also convinced himself that what he was building was not the vanities of one man, but the required architectural evidence of a nation.

In a regime of total control, Hitler imposed a political aesthetic significance upon architecture far in excess of its traditionally defined role. "Our buildings arose in order to strengthen my authority," wrote Hitler, but his real aim was the legitimizing force of cultural production. Desperate for a Nazi historical tradition and link with the past, Hitler believed that through the language of architecture he could rule, dominate, manipulate, and awe long after he was

----

50 Leitner, p43

51 Taylor, p83

52 Delia, p66

97

gone. The objective of his architectural theory and projects, however, was to parallel his political objectives, both of which were inspired and sustained by an overwhelming desire for power. Speaking of the eagle which would grace the top of the Great Hall in Berlin, Hitler wrote,

> Here the eagle shall no longer stand over the swastika, it will rule the entire globe. The crowning of this biggest building in the world must be the German eagle over the globe.[53]

---

53 Canetti, p163

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

"Design," wrote British design historian Adrian Forty, "has the capacity to cast myths into an enduring and tangible form so that they seem to be reality itself." 1 Such potential, whether realized in the design of art, sculpture, consumer or industrial objects, or in architecture, contains a powerful political potential for governments. In the critical struggle for the control of the power to shape an understanding of society, the enduring form of architecture is an essential component.

Many authors, including Herschel Chipp and Lewis Mumford, argue that art (and design) contains an important element of persuasion. Theodor Levitt contends that art carries a natural persuasive element, and much like advertising, is designed to change popular perception and alter behaviour. Further, it has been demonstrated that art shares many of the characteristics of propaganda, with a consciously emotive, subjective, and impressionistic presentation of an issue or idea. The question, therefore, should not be one of establishing the existence of a persuasive quality in the design of art and architecture, but one of examining the degree of its application. It is only through an inquiry into the conscious intent of the encoder that the existence of propaganda can be conclusively determined.

The arts are especially useful, although vulnerable, to modifications encouraged by governmental pressure. Whether it is a Canadian arts group competing for funding by the Canada Council, or Chinese artists working under

----

1 Adrian Forty, <u>Objects of Desire: Design from Wedgwood to IBM</u> (New York, 1986), p9.

a more repressive regime, political biases in art are ever present. Either passively advocated through ideological limitations, or actively promoted through the practice of propaganda, many artists still have to censor their own work, and function within what Hungarian dissident artist Miklos Haraszti called "the velvet prison." In the case of artists in a democracy, self-censorship is necessary for the application of government funding, and in the case of an artist in a more oppressive regime, self-consorship is required merely to exist. Both models are effective, work towards the same goal, and place governmental control, one indirectly and one directly, on the illusion of artistic free will.

Over fifty years ago, Walter Benjamin wrote about the primary relationship between the arts and politics. Dean MacCannell echoed and elaborated on this relationship, and suggested that art, or cultural productions as he labels them, "contain in a simplified and symbolic form the essence of a society." 2 Cultural productions, MacCannell suggests, "are more than just billboards for government policies, they are designed to build in biases." 3 These biases, which relate to Theodor Levitt's argument of the persuasive nature of art, can be organized by governments to maximize their political objectives. The arts offer an ideological medium through which governments can, directly or indirectly, pass information designed to naturalize and legitimate their policies and practices. As a justification for the actions and power of government, the arts in many cases, became a requirement for the smooth running total state. Necessary in the establishment of a power based not on force, but on the much more enduring cultural and ideological authoritarianism, the arts are a key factor in the formation of a government's power to establish a frame of social understanding.

----
2 Dean MacCannell, The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class (New York, 1976), p26

3 MacCannell, p26

Within these cultural struggles, architecture enjoys special significance.

Architecture, the most interactive of the arts, requires the physical presence of the viewer, which offers the possiblity of behavioural or perceptual modification. Both Nelson Goodman and Lewis Mumford recognize the power of architecture to "reorganize our entire existence," and to modify behaviour. 4 As Mumford noted, architecture encourages conformity to the expected behavioural norms of the various architectural environments one experiences. For example, one feels more pious when entering a church, more courtly when entering a palace and more efficient and business like when entering an office. 5 More than an individual experience, however, architecture functions as an indication of the economic, military, and cultural strengths of the nation. Architecture, although subject to the reinterpretation of meaning over history, and the political agenda of the present regime, remains in material form, together with its cultural, political, and symbolic environment, a reminder of the dominant social power.

Donald Horne has labelled the communicative potential of architecture as "the rhetoric of monuments." 6 Its communicative potential, he suggests, is greater than other art forms because architecture, being used to "turn the past to new purposes," is a good indicator of the social interests it serves. 7 Paramount in this process is the close control of the codes of meaning - style, symbols, metaphor, and ritual - intended to regulate meaning, avoid

----

4 Nelson Goodman, "How Buildings Mean," in Critical Inquiry (1985), p653.

5 Lewis Mumford, Art and Technics (New York, 1952), p112.

6 Donald Horne, The Great Museum: The Re-presentation of History (London, 1986), p2

7 Horne, p2

misinterpretation, and present the encoded message in its intended form.

All media, in their initial encoding process, alter the information which is being transmitted through them. Architecture, however, offers an even more difficult transmission, and therefore the inherent problem of controlling and directing the encoded meaning. Denotative meanings in architecture, composed of applied symbols, mottos, and sculpture generally offer the encoder more control and precision. The much more difficult and subjective connotative architectural meanings, contain a greater problem of accuracy transmission.

Further complicating the issue, the decoding process, similar to the process of encoding, usually reflects the biases of the active participant. This "double ambiguity" greatly complicates the mediation of meaning in its intended form. The problem for the encoder, therefore, is to reduce the connotative confusion of an image-based medium, such as architecture, through a restructuring of the significant material objects or structures, associated symbols, and the interpretational environment. The creation of such an environment would allow a government the power to restructure public understanding of society and control, or at least predict public interpretation of significant objects which reinforce the legitimacy of the status quo. The resulting state, relying on ideological rather than propagandistic means, would regulate public decision-making capacity, and through what Walter Lippmann calls the "manufacturing of consent", secure the government firm control. Such a situation existed in Nazi Germany.

The unique situation of architecture as a persuasive communicative force in Nazi Germany was unquestionable. Many countries throughout history have used architecture as a legitimizing force, but Nazi Germany was unrivalled in

the intensity of its application. The magnitude and scope of the Nazi building program, their notion of "total architecture," as a guide to the restructuring of the entire society, and the conversion of architecture to the role of an active political proxy, displayed its supreme authority. Nazi ritual and tradition was presented in architecture in exactly "the enduring and tangible form" as described by Forty, strengthening its social significance through mythological associations. Through a control of the architectural codes of meaning, based on an equally controlled media, Nazi structures interpreted, explained, and legitimated the regime. To support the structures, Nazi ritual was employed in the form of symbolic applications, ceremonial events (like the Nuremberg Rallies), a large body of accompanying design and aesthetic theory, and personal consecration by Hitler, who permanently connected each structure to Nazism through a pseudo-religious ceremony. However, what really differentiated the development of Nazi architecture from the rest of European architectural history was, according to Barbara Lane, "the degree of ideological significance attached to it by the Nazi leaders and intensity of the political propaganda which surrounded it." 8

Nazi architectural policy, although never articulated as a unified body of literature, can be ascertained through an examination of the completed structures, the plans and intentions of their architects, speeches, diaries, memoirs, and interviews, and through the blueprints which proposed a unique restructured community. Gleichschaltuung, or the bringing into line of all spheres of political, cultural and social activity, gave way to the notion of Gesamtkunstwert, total work of art, and the forging of all creative activities into one persuasive force. A single unified national objective, based on the idea

----

8 Barbara Lane, Architecture and Politics in Germany: 1918-1945 (Cambridge Mass.,1968), p216.

of total design, rendered total control, and provided the regime with a convenient aesthetic diversion to otherwise complex political questions. The masking of such complexities in seemingly harmless aesthetic, or emotional patriotic questions, disarmed opposition and proved resistant to criticism.

Architecture proved to be an aesthetic emissary which abstracted and re-presented German ideological objectives as strictly aesthetic goals, rather than the more alarming political or military goals. Issues of national unity and self-determination were simplified and made palatable, to many Germans through architecture. The resulting homogenization of the population achieved the desired intent of the propagandists, who found it much easier to justify Nazi policy through the aesthetized metaphoric communication of architecture. Hitler's mission, then, was to establish and entrench his personal view of architecture, and then to naturalize and traditionalize it, locking into the consciousness of the population, while rendering the practice of propaganda obsolete. The architects, like artists working within the "velvet prison," would in Hitler's view eventually internalize and naturalize Nazi aesthetic policy, producing a new generation of indoctrinated architects and architecture, who would produce and design out of conviction, rather than political expediency. The practice of architectural propaganda would replace itself with the more stable and natural ideological sphere, in which the essence of a society would be mutually shared and promoted horizontally, rather than by the vertical propagandistic model. This goal, therefore, was the apparently contradictory task of the rapid formulation and stabilization of Nazi ideological traditions, which were obscured in traditional Germanic myth. This idea became Hitler's ultimate objective and was also the centerpiece of the reconstruction of German society and the state

around the notion of domination.9

Nazi architecture could, therefore, be considered a carefully designed combination of both propaganda and ideology. Initially, the search for political legitimation was consciously directed through architectural design and construction. Although the war prevented the establishment of a national security required for the continuation of such a process, the logical second step would have been the abandonment of the more obvious propaganda campaigns, and a self-regulating and self-promoting cultural sector, educated by Nazi values and reinforced by enduring Nazi architecture. Although the question of effects is outside the realm of my investigation, the resulting community feeling produced through the carefully designed material and symbolic architectural environment was, in twelve years, successful in uniting at least a portion of the German people, and in disarming many more critics in the critical period of power consolidation. Helmut Lehmann-Haupt concluded that the function of art (or architecture) in the Nazi dictatorship was finally to serve in the complete absorption of the individual into totalitarian society, to demonstrate the aim of this society, to glorify it, and ultimately to become the supreme expression of this society. 10

The architectural medium when designed to enhance political power has the potential to solicit the response desired by a government. In association with a carefully designed multi-faceted campaign of propaganda, Nazi architecture in particular was a communicative force which succinctly articulated and promoted the Nazi cause. As a prime aesthetic cultural creation

----

9 Richard Bessel, Life in the Third Reich (New York, 1986), p60.

10 Helmut Lehmann-Haupt, Art Under a Dictorship (Oxford, 1954), p236

architecture justified Nazi power and reinforced the legitimacy of its governing body. As noted by Peter Buitenhuis in The Great War of Words, "language conditions response and culture controls perception." 11 The carefully designed "language" of Nazi architecture converted political to cultural issues, limiting the parameters of debate, conditioning, anticipating, and successfully manipulating the response of the populous. The emphasis on architecture within this Nazi cultural production contributed to a culture specifically formulated to and dominated by the Nazi creed that culture would control perception, and that perception would control action.

11Peter Buitenhuis, The Great War of Words (Vancouver, 1987).p8.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Adorno, Theodor W.. "Culture Industry Reconsidered,"New German Critique 6, 1975. p.12-19.

Baraclough, Geoffrey. "Hitler's Master Builder,"New York Review of Books New York: January 7, 1971. p.6-15.

Barthes, Roland. Mythologies.(trans.) Annette Laven New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1973.

Baynes, N.H.(ed.) The Speeches of Adolf Hitler. New York: Howard Fertig, 1969.

Benjamin, Walter. "Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction," in Illuminations London: Fontana, 1973.

Berger, John. Ways of Seeing New York: Pluto Press, 1972.

Bloch, Ernst, (ed.) Aesthetics and Politics London: New Left Books, 1977.

Bonta, Juan Pablo. Architecture and its Interpretation: A Study of Expressive Systems in Architecture. London: L. Humphries, 1979.

Bramsted Ernest K.. Goebbels and National Socialist Propaganda 1925-1945 Michigan State University Press, 1965.

Brenner, Hildegard. "Art in the Political Power Struggle of 1933 and 1934," in Republic to Reich: The Making of the Nazi Revolution New York: Pantheon Books, 1972.

Brown, J.A.C.. Techniques of Persuasion: From Propaganda to Brainwashing New York: Penguin Books, 1983.

Burdon, Hamilton T. The Nuremberg Party Rallies: 1923-1939. London: Pall Mall Press, 1967.

Buitenhuis, Peter. The Great War of Words. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987.

Canetti, Elias. Conscience of Words. New York: Farrar Strauss Giroux, 1979.

Canetti, Elias. trans. Carol Stewart. Crowds and Power New York: Continuum, 1978.

Carmilly, Moshe. Fear of Art: Censorship and Freedom of Expression in Art. New York: Bowker, 1986.

Causton, Bernard. "Art in Germany Under the Nazis," Studio. November 1936, p.235-249.

Childs, Harwood L.. (ed.) Propaganda and Dictatorship Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1936.

Chipp, Herschel B.. Theories of Modern Art Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968.

Collins, Peter. Changing Ideals in Modern Architecture London: Faber and Faber, 1965.

Dal Co, Francesco. "The Stone Void," in Oppositions No. 26 Spring 84. p105-116.

Deecke, Thomas. Degenerate Art in Nazi Germany Goethe Institute Lecture, September 22, 1988.

Delia J.. "Rhetoric in the Nazi Mind: Hitler's Theory of Persuasion," Southern Speech Communication Journal 37,2. 1971. p.136-149.

Doob, Leonard. "Goebbel's Principles of Propaganda,"Public Opinion Quarterly Fall 1950. P.418-442.

Dunlop, Ian. The Shock of the New. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1972.

Eichberg, Henning. "The Nazi Thingspiel: Theater for the Masses in Fascism and Proletarian Culture," New German Critique. 9(Spring 1977) p.133-150.

Elderfield, John. "Total and Totalitarian Art," Studio International April, 1970. p152.

Ellis, David W.. Music in the Third Reich: National Socialist Aesthetic Theory as Government Policy Kansas: University of Kansas, 1970, (unpublished PHD thesis)

Ellul, Jacques. Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1973.

Ewen, Stuart. Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of Consumer Culture. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1977.

Ewen, Stuart. All Consuming Image: The Politics of Style in Contemporary Culture. New York: Basic Books, 1988.

Fedorowicz Jan. "Propaganda," Ideas Toronto: CBC Transcript, 4-ID-029, 1983.

Feuerstein, Gunther. New Directions in German Architecture. (trans.) Thomas E. Burton. New York: George Braziller, 1968.

Fischer, Ernst. The Necessity of Art: A Marxist Approach Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1963.

Forty, Adrian. Objects of Desire: Design from Wedgwood to IBM New York: Pantheon Books, 1986.

Gay, Peter. Weimar Culture: The Outsider as Insider. New York: Holms and Meyer 1983.

Gloag, John. The Architectural Interpretation of History. London: A.and C. Black, 1975.

Goodman, Nelson. Language of Art: An Approach to a Theory of Symbols Indianapolis Indiana: Bobbs-Merrill, 1968

Goodman, Nelson. "How Buildings Mean," Critical Inquiry June, 1985. p.642-653.

Gombrich, E.H.. Art and Illusion New York: Pantheon Books, 1961.

Gropius, Walter. The Scope of Total Architecture New York: Collier Books, 1966.

Grosshans, Henry. Hitler and the Artists.. New York: Holms and Meyer, 1983.

Hadomovsky Eugen, trans. Alice Mavgogovdato, Propaganda and National Power New York: Arno Press, 1972.

Hanson, John. "Nazi Aesthetics,"The Psychohistory Review Volume 9, number 4, Summer 1981.

Haraszti, Miklos. The Velvet Prison: Artists Under State Socialism New York: Basic Books Inc. Publishers, 1987.

Herf, Jeffrey. Reactionary Moderism. Cambridge Massachusetts: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

Hinz, Berthold. Art in the Third Reich. New York: Pantheon, 1979.

Hitler, Adolf. (trans. by Ralph Manheim) Mein Kampf Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1943.

Hochman, Elaine S.. Architects of Fortune: Mies van der Rohe and the Third Reich New York: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1989.

Horne, Donald. The Great Museum: The Re-presentation of History. London: Trefoil, 1986.

Hummel, William and Keith Huntress. The Analysis of Propaganda New York: William Slone Associates Inc., 1949.

Huxley, Aldous. Brave New World Revisited New York: Bantam Books, 1960.

Innis, H.A.. The Bias of Communication Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984.

James Vaughan C.. Soviet Socialist Realism New York: MacMillan Publishing Limited, 1973.

Jencks, Charles and George Baird. Meaning in Architecture. New York: George Braziller, 1969.

Jencks, Charles. "Rhetoric and Architecture," Architectural Association Quarterly Summer,72. p.4-17.

Jencks,Charles. The Language of Post-Modern Architecture London: Rizzoli International Publications, 1987.

Jowett, Garth and Victoria O'Donnell. Propaganda and Persuasion Beverly Hills California: Sage Publications Incorporated, 1986.

Keen, Sam. Faces of the Enemy: Reflections of the Hostile Imagination. San Francisco: Harper and Row Publishers, 1986.

Kecskemeti, Paul. "Totalitarian Communications as a Means of Control," Public Opinion Quarterly Fall 1950. P.224-234.

Kinser, Bill and Neil Kleinman. The Dream That Was No More A Dream: A Search for Aesthetic Reality in Germany 1890-1945 Cambridge Mass.: Schenkman Publishing Co.Inc., 1969.

Kumata, Hideya and Wilbur Schramm. Four Working Papers on Propaganda Theory Chicago: Chicago Institute of Communications Research, 1955.

Lane, Barbara. Architecture and Politics in Germany 1918-1945. Cambridge Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1968.

Lane, Barbara Miller. "Albert Speer 1905-1981," Skyline: The Architecture and Design Review. December 1981,p.8-9.

Lane, Barbara Miller. "The Berlin Congress Hall 1955-1957," Perspectives in American History. Cambridge University Press, Series 1, 1984.

Lasswell,Harold D.,Ralph Casey and Bruce Smith,(ed.) Propaganda and Promotional Activities: An Anotated Bibliography Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1969.

Lee Alfred McClung, How to Understand Propaganda New York: Rinehart and Co. Inc., 1952.

Lee, A.N. and E.B. Lee, The Fine Art of Propaganda San Francisco: International Society for General Semantics, 1979.

Lehmann-Haupt,Helmut. Art Under a Dictatorship. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1954.

Leiss,William, Stephen Kline, and Sut Jhally. Social Communication in Advertising: Persons Products and Images of Well Being Scarborough Ontario: Nelson Canada, 1988.

Leitner, Bernhard, trans. Sophie Wilkins. "Albert Speer the Architect." in October Spring 1982, p15-50.

Levitt, Theodore. "The Morality of Advertising,"Harvard Business Review volume 48, May-June 1970. p84-92.

Lindemann, Gottfried. History of German Art: Painting, Sculpture and Architecture London: Pall Mall Publishers, 1971.

Lippmann, Walter. Public Opinion New York: MacCillian Company, 1957.

MacCannell, Dean. The Tourist: A New Theory of the Leisure Class. New York: Schocken Books, 1976.

Mackenzie, A.J. Propaganda Boom. London: Right Square Books, 1938.

Marx, Karl and Frederick Engels. On Literature and Art New York: International General, 1973.

McCracken, Grant. Culture and Consumption: New Approaches to the Symbolic Character of Consumer Goods and Activities Indiana: University of Indiana Press, 1988.

McDowall, Duncan. (ed.) Advocacy Advertising: Propaganda or Democratic Right? A Report from the Public Affairs Research Division of the Conference Board of Canada. May 1982.

McLuhan, Marshal. Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. 1964.

McLuhan, Marshal. The Medium is the Massage: An Inventory of Effects New York: Bantam Books. 1967.

Millan, Henry A. and Linda Nochlin (ed.). Art and Architecture in the Service of Politics. Cambridge Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1978.

Mosse, George L. The Crisis of German Ideology: The Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich. New York: Grosset and Dunlap, 1964.

Mosse, George L. The Nationalization of the Masses: Political Symbolism and Mass Movements in Germany from the Napoleonic Wars Through the Third Reich. New York: Meridian Books, 1975.

Mosse, George L. Nazi Culture: A Documentary History. New York: Schocken Books, 1981.

Mumford, Lewis. Art and Technics New York: Columbia University Press, 1952.

Mumford, Lewis. From the Ground Up New York: Harcourt, Brace and World Inc., 1956.

Mumford, Lewis. The Culture of Cities London: Seckar and Warburg, 1958.

Neumann,Franz. Behemoth:The Structure and Practice of National Socialism New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1944.

Nichols, Bill. Ideology and the Image: Social Representation in the Cinema and Other Media Bloomington Indiana: Indiana University Press. 1981.

Norberg-Schulz, Christian. Intentions in Architecture: Meaning in Western Architecture Cambridge Massachusetts: M.I.T. Press, 1964.

Nova, Fritz. Alfred Rosenberg: Philosopher of the Third Reich New York: Hippocrene Books. 1986.

O'Donnell, James P. "Conversations With Speer," Encounter. October 1976, p.6-17.

Pearlman, Leonard I. and Morris Rosenberg. "Propaganda Technique in Institutional Advertising," Public Opinion Quarterly Spring 1952. 5-26.

Perris, Arnold. Music as Propaganda. London: Greenwood Press, 1985.

Pick, F.W.. The Art of Dr. Goebbels London: Robert Hale Ltd., 1942.

Pick, John. The Arts in a State: A Study of Government Arts Policies from Ancient Greece to the Present Bristol: Bristol Classic Press, 1988.

Prak, Niels Luning. The Language of Architecture: A Contribution to Architectural Theory. The Hague: Mouton, 1968.

Qualter, Terence,H.. Propaganda and Psychological Warfare New York: Random House.1972.

Quantrill, Malcom. Ritual and Response in Architecture. London: L. Humphries, 1974.

Rapoport, Amos. The Meaning of the Built Environment: A Nonverbal Communication Approach Beverly Hills California: Sage Publications, 1982.

Read, J.M. Atrocity Propaganda 1914-1919 New York: Arno Press, 1972.

Rittich, Werner. New German Architecture. Berlin: Terramare, 1941.

Rhodes, Anthony. Propaganda: The Art of Persuasion in World War II. New York: Chelsea House Publishing, 1976.

Rotberg, Robert and Theodore K. Robb. (ed.) Art and History: Images and Their Meaning Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Schmeer, Karlheinze. Das Regie des offentlichen heben in dritten Reich. Munich: Pohl, 1956.

Schoenbaum, David. Hitler's Social Revolution. New York: Harper and Row, 1967.

Scruton, Roger. The Aesthetics of Architecture. London: Methune, 1979.

Selucky, Katka. Propaganda and Ideology Montreal: McGill University Press, Working Papers in Communications, 1982.

Sontag, Susan. Under the Sign of Saturn. New York: Random House, 1981.

Speer, Albert. Neue Deutsche Baukunst. Berlin: Volk und Reich Verlag, 1941.

Speer, Albert. Inside the Third Reich New York: MacMillan, 1970.

Speer, Albert. Spandau: The Secret Diaries. New York: MacMillan, 1976.

Speer, Albert. Architekur Berlin: Propylaen Press, 1978.

Stern, J.P.. The Politics of Cultural Despair: A Study of the Rise of German Ideology Berkeley: University of California Press, 1974.

Stollman, Rainer. "Fascist Politics as a Total Work of Art: Tendencies of the Aesthetization of Political Life in National Socialism," New German Critique. Spring 1978.

Taylor, Brandon.(ed.) Art and Politics Hamshire: Winchester School of Arts Press, 1977.

Taylor, Robert Ratcliffe. The Word in Stone: The Role of Architecture in National Socialism Berkeley: University of California Press. 1974.

Thompson, Dorthy. "Culture Under the Nazis",Foreign Affairs New York: xiv,1936. p407-23.

Trilling, Julia. "Architecture as Politics," Atlantic Monthly October,1983, P.26..

Venturi, Robert. Learning From Las Vegas. Cambridge Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1986.

Walker, John A.. Art in the Age of Mass Media London: Pluto Press, 1983.

Warner, Benjamin. "Berlin - The Nordic Homeland and the Corruption of the Urban Spectacle." in Architectural Design No 11/12 1983 p72-80.

Welch, David. (ed.) Nazi Propaganda: The Power and the Limitations London: Croom Helm, 1983.

Willett, John. Art and Politics in the Weimar Period: The New Sobriety 1917-1933. New York: Panetheon Books, 1978.

Williams, Raymond. Marxism and Literature Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977.

Wolff, Janet. The Social Production of Art London: Macmillan, 1981.

Wulf, Josef. Dei bildenden Kunste im Dritten Reich: ein Dokumentation Gutersloh: S.Mohn, 1963.

Zeman, Z.A.B. Nazi Propaganda. London: Oxford University Press, 1973.

Zortman, Bruce. Hitler's Theater: Ideological Draman in Nazi Germany El Paso Texas: Firestein Books, 1984.

Zwerin, Mike. La Tristesse de Saint Louis: Jazz Under the Nazis New York: Beech Tree Books, 1985.