

# Dizajni krizaDe signàn dCrisis

# Dizajni krizaDe signan dCrisis

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AIDA ABADŽIĆ HODŽIĆ

Funkcionalni  
dizajn  
dizajna u politički  
(i) u vidnom  
rigidnom  
okviru: Primjer  
Selmana  
Selmanagića

Functional  
design(s)  
in a politically  
rigid framework:  
Case of  
Selman  
Selmanagić

Arhitekta, urbanista, dizajner i univerzitetski profesor Selman Selmanagić (Srebrenica, 1905. – Berlin, 1986.) jedini je arhitekta s područja nekadašnje Kraljevine Jugoslavije koji je u cijelosti završio studij i diplomirao arhitekturu u školi Bauhaus u Dessau (1932. godine), a time i jedino ime iz Bosne i Hercegovine koje se, u prvoj polovici 20. stoljeća, izravno veže uz evropsku umjetničku avangardu. Mies van der Rohe, Josef Albers, Wassily Kandinsky, Paul Klee, Hannes Meyer – samo su neki od Selmanagićevih profesora tokom školovanja od 1929. do 1932. godine u najznačajnijoj umjetničkoj školi evropske avangarde. Ime i opus Selmana Selmanagića čine danas integralni dio evropske historije moderne arhitekture i dizajna.<sup>1</sup>

Kroz odnos prema arhitektonsko-urbanističkom i dizajnerskom opusu Selmana Selmanagića u godinama nakon Drugog svjetskog rata, u ideološki rigidnom i politički zatvorenom kontekstu Njemačke Demokratske Republike (DDR), u kojem je živio i djelovao, mogu se pratiti različiti modaliteti recepcije i razumijevanja naslijeđa Bauhauusa. Kroz promjenjiv odnos prema tradiciji modernizma mogu se pratiti i modaliteti oblikovanja i reprezentacije državnog identiteta DDR-a u hladnoratovskom kontekstu.

U ovome radu bit će riječ prvenstveno o Selmanagićevom dizajnu namještaja u kontekstu društveno-političkih i ekonomskih prilika u DDR-u i pitanju kako su se kroz dizajn i arhitekturu

Selman Selmanagić (Srebrenica, 1905-Berlin, 1986), an architect, urban planner, designer and university professor is the only architect of the former Kingdom of Yugoslavia who completed his architectural studies and graduated from the Bauhaus School in Dessau in 1932, and thus the only name from Bosnia and Herzegovina that is directly linked to the European avant-garde art in the first half of the 20th century. Mies van der Rohe, Josef Albers, Wassily Kandinsky, Paul Klee, Hannes Meyer were just some of Selmanagić's professors during his education at the most important art school of the European avant-garde from 1929 to 1932. The name and opus of Selman Selmanagić is an integral part of the European history of modern architecture and design.<sup>1</sup>

Different levels of acceptance and understanding of the Bauhaus legacy can be closely observed through the attitude towards architectural, urban planning and design opus by Selman Selmanagić in the years after the WWII, in an ideologically rigid and politically closed context of German Democratic Republic (DDR), in which Selmanagić lived and worked. Also, by observing the changing position towards the tradition of modernism, one could see the modalities of forming and representing the state identity of DDR in the Cold War context. This paper is primarily about Selmanagić's furniture design in the socio-political

<sup>1</sup> Abadžić Hodžić, *Selman Selmanagić i Bauhaus*, 9.

<sup>1</sup> Abadžić Hodžić, *Selman Selmanagić i Bauhaus*, 9.



reflektirale tada aktualne polemike: od "debate protiv formalizma" (početkom 1950-ih godina), kada je Bauhaus tumačen kao "tuđi, neprijateljski fenomen", do "potrošačkog obrata" i labavljenja staljinističke doktrine (toko-rom 1960-ih) i postepenog otvaranja prema Zapadnom bloku, uslijed teških ekonomskih prilika i nastojanja da se poboljša životni standard i potakne ubrzani razvoj jedne mlade socijalističke države kakva je bila tadašnja Njemačka Demokratska Republika. Zanimljiv segment analize predstavlja i usporedba tada aktualnih prilika u predmetnoj oblasti unutar dviju socijalističkih država: Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije (SFRJ), iz koje je Selmanagić bio porijeklom, a u kojoj nije bio zvanično prisutan svojim projektima, te DDR-a, u kojem je bio jedna od središnjih ličnosti u oblasti dizajna, arhitekture, obnove i umjetničke edukacije.

## **Selman Selmanagić – dizajner Njemačkih radionica s iskustvom Bauhauusa**

Selman Selmanagić počeo je raditi kao dizajner namještaja za *Njemačke radionice* (*VEB Deutsche Werkstätten*) u Dresden-Hellerau 1945. godine. Radionice za umjetnički obrt osnovane su u Dresdenu 1898. godine, a kasnije su se iz njih, nakon spajanja s Münchenskim radionicama za uređenje stanova, razvile *Deutsche Werkstätten* (Dresden-Hellerau, od 1907.), s ciljem proizvodnje kvalitetnog domaćeg na-

and economic context of GDR and the contemporary controversies which reflected in the design and architecture of that time: from "a debate against formalism" (early 1950s), when the Bauhaus was interpreted as "a foreign, hostile phenomenon" to "a consumer turnaround", and slacking off of the Stalinist doctrine (during the 1960s), the gradual opening towards the Western Bloc due to dire economic situation and the efforts to improve the standard of living and accelerate the development of a young socialist state, as was the then Democratic Republic of Germany. An interesting segment of the analysis is a comparison of situation in the field of design within the two socialist states: the SFRY (Selmanagić's country of origin where his projects were never officially present) and the GDR (where he was one of the central figures in the field of design, architecture, restoration and art education).

## **Selman Selmanagić – The German Workshops designer with Bauhaus experience**

In 1945 Selman Selmanagić started working as a furniture designer for *the German Workshops* (*VEB Deutsche Werkstätten*) in Dresden-Hellerau. The Workshops for craftsmanship were founded in Dresden in 1898, and after joining the Munich interior design workshops they transformed into the *Deutsche Werkstätten* (Dresden-Hellerau, since 1907), with the aim of



Selman Selmanagić, Sjedeća garnitura (izvedba: Deutsche Werkstätten Dresden-Hellerau).  
Fotografija: Arhiva Selmana Selmanagića, Berlin  
Selman Selmanagić, A Sofa and Chairs (Produced by the Deutsche Werkstätten Dresden-  
Hellerau). Photography: Selman Selmanagić's archive, Berlin



mještaja, uz snažnu ulogu mašine u procesu proizvodnje, a kako bi proizvodi bili dostupni široj publici pristupačnijom cijenom. Ovi principi vodilje *Njemačkih radionica* snažno su se vezali na iskustvo Selmanagićevih godina u Bauhausu.<sup>2</sup> Njegove početne godine studiranja bile su u vrijeme mandata Hannesa Meyera (1928–1930), nasljednika Waltera Gropiusa, i ovaj je švicarski arhitekt inicirao radikalnu reviziju temeljnih programskih i metodoloških načela Bauhausa. Meyerovo vrijeme označilo je otklon od naglašenog individualiteta u procesu obrazovanja i od svojevrsne ekskluzivnosti bauhausovskih proizvoda, što je u značajnoj mjeri obilježilo Gropiusov period “oplemenjenih zanatlija”, kako je navedeno u tekstu Programa novootvorene škole iz 1919. godine u Weimaru, kao svojevrsni eho Gropiusovog romantičarskog nastojanja oko materijalne, ali i duhovne obnove društva na zgarištu Prvog svjetskog rata. Iako je od zimskog semestra 1927/1928. godine uvedena klasa slobodnog slikanja i u nastavi su bili prisutni i umjetnički i znanstveni aspekti, Meyerove godine označile su radikalan otklon od Gropiusovog “istraživanja principa oblikovanja” prema “proučavanju životnih procesa budućih korisnika”. Meyer je, naime, smatrao da je Bauhaus napustio svoje izvorne principe “oblikovanja za čovjeka” i da je većina proizvoda škole bila suviše skupa i namijenjena samo ekskluzivnim grupama, pa je njegov novi slogan za Bauhaus glasio: “potrebe naroda, umjesto potrebe za luksuzom” (*Volksbedarf statt Luxusbedarf*). Tako je u vrijeme mandata Hannesa Meyera, a u cilju proizvodnje “za potrebe naroda”, došlo do primjene jeftine šperploče kao najvažnijeg radnog materijala. Namještaj i oprema od šperploče postigli su tada visoku mjeru specijalizacije, poput prilagodljivih stolica za radnike na traci. Nadalje, Meyer je insistirao na radu u tzv. “združenim ćelijama” i formiranju tzv. “vertikalnih brigada”, koje su činili studenti različitih godina studija prakticirajući timski rad. Upravo će osnovni principi Meyerovog programa – rad u zajednici (timski rad), standardizacija i harmonično usklađivanje pojedinca i zajednice – biti bliski studentima lijeve, komunističke orijentacije kojima je pripadao i Selmanagić još od studentskih dana, a koji će ove teze preuzeti i dalje razvijati, s uvjerenjem da su oni u potpunosti ostvarivi jedino u socijalističkom okruženju.

Selmanu Selmanagiću stolarski rad činio je primarno, obrtničko obrazovanje koje je izučio na Stručnoj školi u Sarajevu (1919–1923), a koje je, uz polaganje majstorskog ispita, usavršio u Ljubljani 1927. godine. Upravo iz želje da olakša proizvodni postupak u stolarskom radu, kroz obuku u primjeni mašina, odlučio je nastaviti školovanje u Njemačkoj, a sasvim neočekivano i sudbonosno završio je na Bauhausu. Vezanost uz kvalitetan, obrtnički, ručni rad ostala je važna komponenta u Selmanagićevom radu – bilo da je riječ o radu na zemlji, kada je kao mladić pomagao u sezonskim radovima na velikom obiteljskom imanju, ili kada se kao profesor u berlinskoj Umjetničkoj školi, mnogo godina kasnije,

2 Isto, 177–179.

producing high quality home furniture strongly relying on the machinery in the manufacturing process to make the products accessible to the general public at a more affordable price.

These guiding principles of *the German Workshops* strongly relied on the Selmanagić's Bauhaus experience.<sup>2</sup> During his early years of study the school was ran by Hannes Mayer (1928–1930), a Swiss architect and successor of Walter Gropius, who initiated a radical revision of the fundamental curriculum and methodological principles of Bauhaus. Meyer's tenure was marked by a departure from an overt individuality in the education process and exclusivity of Bauhaus products, which was particularly emphasized during Gropius's period of "ennobled craftsmen" – as stated in the 1919 Curriculum of a newly founded school in Weimar – as a kind of romantic echo of Gropius' effort to restore society after the WWI, materially and spiritually. Although in the winter semester of 1927/1928, the school offered free painting classes along with artistic and scientific aspects of the course, the Meyer's tenure was marked by a radical departure from Gropius's "exploration of the principles of design" in favor of "studying life processes of future users". Meyer represented the standpoint that the Bauhaus had abandoned its idea of designing "for the people": most of the Bauhaus products were too expensive and therefore reserved for an exclusive group of buyers. As a result, Meyer's new slogan was: "The people's needs instead of the need for luxury!" (*Volksbedarf statt Luxusbedarf*). Thus, for the purpose of producing "for the needs of the people" cheap plywood was introduced as the most important production material. Plywood furniture and equipment attained a high degree of specialization, such as the adjustable chair for the workers working in the assembly line. Furthermore, Meyer insisted on work on "a cooperative basis" and forming of so-called "vertical brigades" that united the students of various academic years in the implementation of projects, practicing teamwork. These basic principles of Meyer's curriculum – community work (teamwork), standardization and harmonious organization between the individual and the community – were very appealing to the left-wing, communist oriented students such as Selmanagić, who followed up and developed these ideas convinced that they are fully possible only in a socialist environment.

Selman Selmanagić was primarily a carpenter, who graduated carpentry from the Sarajevo Vocational School (1919-1923), and passed his master's exam in Ljubljana in 1927. Driven by desire to facilitate the production process in carpentry business through the training in the use of machinery he decided to pursue his education in Germany, and rather unexpectedly ended up in Bauhaus. Dedication to quality, craftsmanship and handicrafts remained an important component in Selmanagić's work – whether in the farm work, when he as a

2 *Ibidem*, 177–179.

nije libio jednom radniku pokazati kako se kosi trava u dvorištu škole.<sup>3</sup> I najranija sjećanja iz stolarske radionice u Dessauu, početkom 1929. godine, vezivala su se uz zadatak oblikovanja jednog ormara. U početku je mladi Selmanagić, vezan uz tradiciju bogate dekoracije osmanskog drvorezbarstva, koju je baštinio iz rodne Bosne, vjerovao da se ljepota i vrijednost jednog ormara krije u što bogatijem ornamentu i intarzijama.<sup>4</sup> O samoj funkcionalnosti predmeta tada još nije vodio računa, već je u klasi profesora Alfreda Arndta, tokom drugoga semestra, počeo ozbiljnije promišljati potrebe i navike budućih korisnika kao osnovu u oblikovanju, uz nužnost uvažavanja socijalnih i ekonomskih parametara. Navodio je primjer vježbe oblikovanja jednog ormara i pitanja koja im je postavio profesor Arndt u radionici u drugom semestru: "Šta se stavlja u taj ormar?", kao i objašnjenja da u svakoj fazi oblikovanja moraju kretati od ideje cjeline, od stvarnih potreba korisnika i od funkcije predmeta, a ne od oblikovnih detalja.<sup>5</sup> Metoda oblikovanja bila je uvijek ista i polazila je od potreba i mogućnosti ciljanih korisnika, bez obzira na to da li se radilo o oblikovanju pepeljare ili kuće, kako je to jednom prilikom Selmanagić slikovito rekao, podsjećajući na tvrdnju Waltera Gropiusa da onaj ko zna projektirati jednu stolicu, zna projektirati i kuću.<sup>6</sup>

Osnovne postulate Bauhauusa Selmanagić je počeo naslućivati već na *Pripremnom tečaju* koji je u vrijeme njegovog školovanja vodio profesor Josef Albers. Prvo što im je Albers rekao bilo je: "Želimo da zaboravite sve što ste ranije naučili – osim obrta." U svojim vježbama Josef Albers je poticao studente da istražuju kvalitete različitih materijala (metala, drva, papira, kože i dr.), kao i mogućnosti njihova korištenja. Prema Albersovim riječima, temelj podučavanja o formi jeste izum, pronalazak (*Erfindung*), pa je otuda početak poučavanja o oblikovanju – proučavanje samoga materijala.<sup>7</sup> Selman Selmanagić je često navodio jedno sjećanje s Albersovog *Pripremnog tečaja*, u kojem se izvanredno ocrtavao način Albersovog rada. Selmanagić je na stolu imao rječnik čije su se stiješnjene stranice, pričvršćene daskom, otvarale poput lepeze, kako bi olakšao i ubrzao njegovo prelistavanje. Kada je profesor Albers u prolazu primijetio ovu Selmanagićevu praktičnu "invenciju", pohvalio je to kao primjer najbolje studije prirode i iskoristivosti materijala te je naglasio sljedeće: "ono što papir čini konstruktivnim jesu ekonomija, konstrukcija i forma".<sup>8</sup> Ova znanja iz *Pripremnog tečaja*, kao i Meyerovo naglašavanje potreba korisnika/naroda, Selmanagić će slijediti i u dizajnu namještaja u dugogodišnjoj suradnji s *Nje-mačkim radionicama*.

3 Hain, "Berlin 'schöner denn je' – Stadtideen in Ostberliner Wiederaufbau", 79.

4 Wüsten, *Selman Selmanagić*, 8.

5 Hirdina, "Selman Selmanagić über das Bauhaus", 68.

6 *Isto*.

7 Albers, "Gestaltungsunterricht", 16–19.

8 Hirdina, "Selman Selmanagić über das Bauhaus", 67.

young man was helping his family in the large family estate as a seasonal worker or in the teaching, when years later as a professor at the Berlin Art School he approached a worker, showing him, without hesitation, how to trim a lawn in the school yard.<sup>3</sup> His earliest memories of the Dessau carpentry workshop from early 1929 were linked to a task of designing a wardrobe. Tied to the tradition of rich decoration of Ottoman woodcarving fostered in his homeland, Bosnia, the young Selmanagić initially believed that the beauty and the value of a wardrobe lies in the rich ornaments and inlays.<sup>4</sup> Back then he did not think much of the functionality of the product. Only during the second semester of his studies in the class of Professor Alfred Arndt he started considering more seriously the needs and habits of future users as a basis for design, along with the required social and economic parameters. He often referred to the exercise of designing a wardrobe and questions raised by Professor Arndt in the workshop: "What is to be put in the wardrobe?" He argued that each stage of design must start with an idea of the whole, the real needs of a user and the functionality of the object, not the design of details.<sup>5</sup> The design method was always the same and driven by the needs and possibilities of the target users, whether it was an ashtray or a home design, as Selmanagić once confirmed recalling the words of Walter Gropius who claimed that those who know how to design a chair will know how to design a house.<sup>6</sup> Selmanagić began to perceive the basic Bauhaus postulates already at the *Preparatory Course* led by Professor Josef Albers. The first thing Albers said to the students was, "We want you to forget everything you've learned before – except for the crafts." In his course, Josef Albers encouraged students to explore the qualities of different materials (metals, wood, paper, leather, etc.) as well as the possibilities of their use. According to Albers, invention is fundamental for teaching the form (*Erfindung*), hence the design study should start from studying the material itself.<sup>7</sup> Selman Selmanagić often quoted a memory of Albers' *Preparatory Course*, which remarkably outlined the Albers' work. Selmanagić kept on his desk a dictionary whose squeezed pages fixed by a piece of board opened like a fan to facilitate and accelerate going through them. Having seen the Selmanagić's practical "invention" Albers praised it as an example of the best study of nature and use of material, emphasizing the following: "what makes paper constructive is the economy, construction and form."<sup>8</sup> Over the long-term cooperation with the *German Workshops* Selmanagić

3 Hain, "Berlin 'schöner denn je' – Stadtideen in Ostberliner Wiederaufbau", 79.

4 Wüsten, *Selman Selmanagić*, 8.

5 Hirdina, "Selman Selmanagić über das Bauhaus", 68.

6 *Ibidem*.

7 Albers, "Gestaltungsunterricht", 16–19.

8 Hirdina, "Selman Selmanagić über das Bauhaus", 67.

Selmanagić je često isticao da se pri dizajniranju jedne stolice treba obratiti pažnja na način kako ljudi sjede i kako se osjećaju radeći ili odmarajući se na tom komadu namještaja, nakon koliko vremena ustaju ili naslanjaju ruke, da li više sjede na prednjem ili na stražnjem dijelu stolice, kada ih sjedenje počinje umarati i slično. Naglašavao je da je želio stolice numerirati serijski, poput košulja: 41, 42, 43.<sup>9</sup> Primarni interes za potrebe korisnika i kulturu svakodnevica Selmanagić je pokazivao i u poznim godinama kada je uočio da mlade generacije 1980-ih nose ležernu odjeću i jeans, te da im zato ne trebaju ormari za ispeglana odijela jer uglavnom sjede i odlažu odjeću na tlu. "Životne procese", ono nevidljivo – kako je to isticao Paul Klee u nastavi na Bauhausu – treba kroz oblikovanje učiniti vidljivim, treba proučavati sadašnjost i oblikovati za sadašnjost. To je profesor Selmanagić naglašavao svojim studentima kao središnje mjesto pedagogije Bauhausa.<sup>10</sup>

## Modaliteti recepcije Bauhausa u DDR-u: tri dominantne faze

Vrijeme suradnje Selmanagića s *Njemačkim radionicama* korespondiralo je s burnim debatama koje su u DDR-u vođene o naslijeđu Bauhausa i modernizma, te ideološkim vrijednostima koje je ono posredno reflektiralo, prvenstveno u odnosu na susjednu Saveznu Republiku Njemačku i Zapad. S obzirom na to da su oblasti urbanizma i arhitektonskog planiranja bile isključivo pod kontrolom države, modaliteti recepcije Bauhausa u nekadašnjem DDR-u bili su, prije svega, političko pitanje. Kroz promjenjiv odnos prema tradiciji modernizma mogu se pratiti i modaliteti oblikovanja i reprezentacije državnog identiteta DDR-a u hladnoratovskom kontekstu.

Obično se u ovim promjenjivim stavovima prema Bauhausu razlikuje nekoliko dominantnih faza: rana faza (1945–1950), u kojoj je odnos prema Bauhausu bio pozitivan i na istočnoj i na zapadnoj strani, te je istican kao paradigma antifašističke kulture, uz koju su se željele vezati obje Njemačke; potom vrijeme snažno obilježeno duhom staljinizma i tzv. "debatom protiv formalizma" u DDR-u, kada je Bauhaus smatran "tuđim, neprijateljskim fenomenom" (1951–1955); zatim period nakon Staljinove smrti, kada je, istina, i pod pritiskom teških ekonomskih prilika, došlo do "labavljenja" staljinističke doktrine i do početka svojevrzne rehabilitacije pozitivnih iskustava Bauhausa u Istočnoj Njemačkoj (1955–1970), što će osobito u godinama 1976–1990. voditi k postepenom otvaranju prema zapadnom bloku i kapitalizmu.<sup>11</sup>

9 Isto, 68.

10 Abadžić Hodžić, *Selman Selmanagić i Bauhaus*, 251.

11 Thöner, "From an 'Alien, Hostile Phenomenon' to the 'Poetry of the Future'", 115–137.

followed up and later incorporated this knowledge from the Preparatory Course and Meyer's focus on the needs of users/people in his furniture design.

Selmanagić often stressed that designers, when designing a chair, should pay close attention to how people sit, how they feel while working or resting on that piece of furniture, how long does it take before they stand up or place their arms on the armrests, whether they sit at the front or at the back of the chair, how long does it take before sitting becomes tiring for them, and so on. He claimed to have wanted to numerate the chairs by size like shirts: 41, 42, 43.<sup>9</sup> Selmanagić continued to show his interest in the needs of the users and requirements of every day life even in his late years. Having noticed that the young people of the 1980s were wearing casual clothes and jeans he realized that they no longer need wardrobes for nicely pressed suits since they were mostly putting it on the ground. "The Life processes", i.e., the invisible processes – as Paul Klee taught it in the Bauhaus – should be made visible through design. "We should study the present and design for the present", taught Selmanagić his students about core principle of the Bauhaus pedagogy.<sup>10</sup>

## Modes of acceptance of Bauhaus in the GDR: three dominant stages

Selmanagić's work with *the German Workshops* corresponded with the heated debates about the Bauhaus legacy, modernism and ideological values in the GDR, which were indirectly reflected in the relations with the neighboring FRG and the West. Since urban and architectural planning were solely under control of the State, the modes of acceptance of Bauhaus in the former GDR were primarily a matter of politics. The changing attitude towards tradition of modernism vividly demonstrates the change in the modes of design and representation of the identity of GDR in the context of Cold War.

These changing attitudes towards Bauhaus can be divided into several dominant stages: Early stage (1945–1950) in which both the Eastern and the Western side accepted Bauhaus as a paradigm of anti-fascist culture which both Germanys were striving for; then, the period characterized by the Stalinist spirit and so-called "debate against formalism" in the GDR, when the Bauhaus was perceived as alien, hostile phenomenon" (1951–1955); then the period after Stalin's death, when – truth be told, under a heavy pressure of dire economic situation – the Stalinist doctrine "loosened" thus creating space for rehabilitation of positive experiences of Bauhaus in East Germany (1955–1970), and gradual opening towards the Western Bloc and capitalism, especially in the period from 1976 to 1990s.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>9</sup> *Ibidem*, 68.

<sup>10</sup> Abadžić Hodžić, *Selman Selmanagić i Bauhaus*, 251.

<sup>11</sup> Thöner, "From an 'Alien, Hostile Phenomenon' to the 'Poetry of the Future'", 115–137.



U prvoj fazi, neposredno nakon okončanja Drugoga svjetskog rata, dominirao je koncept razvoja grada kao "urbanog pejzaža", organički povezanog s prirodnim okolišem, snažno oslonjen na modernističku tradiciju, a kakav je, na primjer, bio plan berlinskog *Kolektiva za planiranje* iz 1946. godine, u kojem su djelovali nekadašnji studenti Bauhausa poput Selmana Selmanagića i Wilsa Eberta. U tim prvim poslijeratnim godinama, kada je barem kratko vrijeme vladala pozitivna recepcija Bauhausa, Mart Stam prihvatio je mjesto direktora Kunsthochschule Weißensee, a ponudu da tamo predaje, na Stamov poziv, prihvatio je kao veliki izazov i Selman Selmanagić 1950. godine. Kao uvjereni komunist, Selmanagić je duboko vjerovao u to da se (tek) u novom, komunističkom okruženju mogu primijeniti i dalje razvijati pozitivna iskustva koja je stekao tokom školovanja, kroz posvećenost potrebama zajednice.

## **"Debata protiv formalizma" i uloga arhitekture i dizajna kao "odraza" partijskih vrijednosti**

Situacija se drastično promijenila 1949. godine nakon uspostavljanja Savezne Republike Njemačke, s jedne strane, te Demokratske Republike Njemačke, s druge strane, čija su kultura i umjetnost bile apsorbirane unutar sovjetske kulturne orbite u ime denacifikacije i demokratizacije. Modernistički koncepti došli su u sukob s principima socijalističkog realizma koji je propagirala Partija socijalističkog jedinstva Njemačke (SED), a svoj vrhunac ovaj sukob doživio je u tzv. "debati protiv formalizma", nedugo nakon posjete vodećih istočno-njemačkih arhitekata Sovjetskom Savezu 1950. godine i nakon proklamiranja "Šesnaest načela urbanizma", koja su od tada postali imperativ i uzor gradnje u DDR-u. Na Trećem zasjedanju SED-a, održanom od 20. 7. do 24. 7. 1950. godine, marksističko-lenjinistička doktrina službeno je proglašena ideološkim utemeljenjem. Provođenje proklamiranih načela kontrolirala je Njemačka građevinska akademija (DBA) sa sjedištem u Berlinu, na čijem je čelu bio K. Liebknecht. Već 23. 8. 1950. godine Ministarsko vijeće DDR-a i istočnoberlinski Magistrat na zajedničkom sastanku potvrdili su "Principe novog uređenja centra grada Berlina" (*Grundsätze über die Neugestaltung der Berliner Innenstadt*) i doveli su do konačnog odstupanja od plana *Kolektiva za planiranje*, u kojem je i Selman Selmanagić sa svojim kolegama promišljao uređenje grada u pojasevima. Arhitektura je na tragu teorije socijalističkog realizma smatrana osobito pogodnim medijem ideološke indoktrinacije i razumijevanja umjetničke produkcije kao "odraza" partijskih vrijednosti i načela. U "borbi protiv formalizma u umjetnosti i arhitekturi" uzor se tražio u tzv. "nacionalnoj tradiciji" i u oživljavanju historijskih stilova gradnje. U hladnoratovskom kontekstu suprotstavljenih blokova, modernistički principi i tehnike oblikovanja postali su paradigmom zapadnjač-

The most dominant concept in the first years after the WWII was the concept of “a townscape” organically connected to natural environment, relying strongly on modernist tradition such was the 1946 Berlin *Kollektivplan* in which the former Bauhaus students like Selmanagić and Wils Ebert worked. In the early post-war years when Bauhaus was positively regarded – at least for a short time – Mart Stam accepted the post of a director of Kunsthochschule Weißensee and made a proposition to Selmanagić to come and teach in his school, which he accepted as a great challenge in 1950. A convinced Communist, Selmanagić deeply believed that the positive experiences he gained during schooling can be applied and further developed in a new, communist environment through the commitment to the needs of community.

## **“Debate against formalism” and the role of architecture and design as a “reflection” of party values**

The situation dramatically changed in 1949, after the establishment of the Federal Republic of Germany on one hand, and the Democratic Republic of Germany on the other, whose culture and art were absorbed within the Soviet cultural orbit in the name of denazification and democratization. The modernist concepts clashed with the principles of socialist realism promoted by the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) to escalate in the so-called “debate against formalism” shortly after the visit of leading East Germany architects to the Soviet Union in 1950 and the proclamation of “Sixteen Principles of Urban Development”, which from that point on became imperative and the model of construction in the GDR. In the third session of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany held in the period from 20 June to 24 July 1950 the Marxist-Leninist doctrine was officially proclaimed an ideological foundation. The German Building Academy (DBA) headquartered in Berlin under leadership of K. Liebknecht was responsible for overseeing the implementation of the proclaimed principles. In a joint meeting of the Ministerial Council of GDR and East Berlin Magistrate of 23 August 1950 “the New Town Planning Principles of Berlin” (*Grundsätze über die Neugestaltung der Berliner Innenstadt*) were agreed, leading to the final departure from the urban development plan designed by *Kollektivplan* under which Selman Selmanagić and his colleagues anticipated a zone-based townscape. Architecture based on theory of socialist realism was considered a particularly suitable medium of ideological indoctrination and understanding of artistic production as “the reflection” of party values and principles. In “fighting the formalism in art and architecture” they resorted to so-called “national tradition” and reviving of historic building styles. In the Cold War context of opposing blocs, the modernist principles and design techniques became a paradigm of

kog imperijalizma, a oživljavanje klasicističke kulture 19. vijeka prepoznato je kao najbolje sredstvo oblikovanja novog identiteta Istočne Njemačke u obrani protiv dominacije Internacionalnog stila i sve snažnijeg utjecaja sjevernoameričkog kulturnog kruga.<sup>12</sup> U ovome je kontekstu Bauhaus bio napadan kao "korozivno-buržoaski element koji utjelovljuje antinacionalne (kozopolitske, formalističke) i antisocijalističke elemente".<sup>13</sup> Na Petom plenumu Centralnog komiteta Partije socijalističkog jedinstva Njemačke (CK SED), održanom 17. 3. 1951. godine, ozvaničena je "borba protiv formalizma u umjetnosti i književnosti u ime progresivne njemačke kulture" (*Kampf gegen den Formalismus in Kunst und Literatur, für eine fortschrittliche deutsche Kultur*). Pozicija Selmana Selmanagića u ovome kontekstu nije bila osobito povoljna. Iako se, nakon pohvala njegovog projekta *Stadiona "Walter-Ulbricht"* (1950), činilo da "stoji među prvacima njemačke arhitekture", mada isti tekst koji navodi ovu visoku pohvalu ne spominje njegovu bauhausovsku prošlost, Selmanagić je već tada pao u nemilost generalnog sekretara SED-a, W. Ulbrichta. Nakon izgradnje ovoga stadiona Selmanagić više nije imao priliku realizirati niti jedan veći graditeljski projekt.<sup>14</sup> Uz M. Stama i F. Ehrlicha, Selmanagić je bio prozivan i kritiziran u onodobnim govorima i tekstovima predsjednika Njemačke građevinske akademije, K. Liebknechta, a u vezi s tim da "snažno pristaje uz tradiciju Bauhauusa".<sup>15</sup>

Već 1952. godine M. Stam, utemeljitelj Instituta za industrijski dizajn pri Visokoj umjetničkoj školi Weißensee (Kunsthochschule Weißensee) u Istočnom Berlinu, organizirao je edukativnu izložbu o kiču s ciljem da se ljudima jasno ukaže što ne bi smjeli imati u svojim domovima. Nažalost, nedugo nakon izložbe, ambiciozne projekcije o ulozi dizajnera u socijalističkom društvu bile su kruto zaustavljene. Nakon što je ideološki i politički pritisak postao snažniji, u jeku formalističke debate i nakon Stamovog napuštanja ove škole, svojevrsan "ideološki geto" za nekadašnje Bauhausovce i Stamove suradnike bio je u školi u Halleu, gdje su se početkom pedesetih godina 20. stoljeća okupili i neki od Stamovih najboljih studenata: Albert Krause, Martin Kelm i Hans Merz. Ova grupa nekadašnjih studenata umjetničkih škola u Berlin-Weißenseeu i u Halleu bila je svojevrsna avangarda industrijskog dizajna u DDR-u, koja je primjeni plastike u svakodnevnom životu dala estetsku vrijednost.<sup>16</sup> U malom studiju, nedaleko od škole, oformljen je Institut za dizajn i razvoj konsumerizma, kojem nije odoljelo ni mlado socijalističko društvo, osobito ako se ima na umu obaveza hvatanja koraka s ideološkim takmacem sa Zapada – dobiti i prešutni politički pristanak i konsenzus.

<sup>12</sup> Abadžić Hodžić, *Selman Selmanagić i Bauhaus*, 154–156.

<sup>13</sup> Betts, *Die Bauhaus Legende*, 42–44.

<sup>14</sup> Abadžić Hodžić, *Selman Selmanagić i Bauhaus*, 158.

<sup>15</sup> Durth, Düwel, Gutschow, *Architektur und Städtebau in der DDR*, 165.

<sup>16</sup> Rubin, *Synthetic Socialism*, 58.

Western imperialism, while the revival of the 19<sup>th</sup> century classicist culture was recognized as the best means to design the new identity of East Germany in defense against domination of international style and increasingly influential North American cultural circle.<sup>12</sup> In this context, Bauhaus was attacked as “a corrosive bourgeois element embedding anti-national (cosmopolitan, formalist) and anti-socialist elements”.<sup>13</sup> In the fifth plenary session of the Central Committee of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (CKSED) held on 17 March 1951 “the fight against formalism in art and literature on behalf of progressive German culture” (*Kampf gegen den Formalismus in Kunst und Literatur, für eine fortschrittliche deutsche Kultur*) was officially proclaimed. In this context Selman Selmanagić found himself in a not so good position. Whilst he appeared to be among the champions of German architecture, particularly after a highly praised project of “Walter-Ulbricht” stadium (1950) – although the article in which his project was praised does not mention his Bauhaus past – Selmanagić fell into disgrace of W. Ulbricht, the Secretary General of SED. After the stadium, Selmanagić never had an opportunity to work on any other major architectural project.<sup>14</sup> The Head of the German Building Academy, K. Liebknecht often labelled and criticized Selmanagić in his speeches and texts, along with M. Stam and F. Ehrlich, for being “strongly supportive of Bauhaus tradition”.<sup>15</sup>

As early as 1952, M. Stam, the founder of the Industrial Design Institute within Kunsthochschule Weißensee in East Berlin, organized an educational show about kitsch to make clear to people what they should not have in their homes. Unfortunately, shortly after the show, the ambitious projections on the role of designers in the socialist society were rigidly stopped. In the wake of formalist debate Stam left the school due to increasing ideological and political pressures. The former Bauhaus students and Stam’s associates found refuge in the Halle School, a kind of “ideological ghetto” which in early 50s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century gathered some of Stam’s best students such as Albert Krause, Martin Kelm and Hans Merz. This group of former students of art schools in Berlin-Weißensee and Halle was a kind of avant-garde in industrial design of GDR, which brought aesthetic value to the use of plastics in everyday life.<sup>16</sup> In a small studio not far from the school a Design and Consumerism Development Institute was established, which the young socialist society keen on keeping up with ideological competitor from the West could not resist, and which as such gained a tacit political consent and consensus.

12 Abadžić Hodžić, *Selman Selmanagić i Bauhaus*, 154–156.

13 Betts, *Die Bauhaus Legende*, 42–44.

14 Abadžić Hodžić, *Selman Selmanagić i Bauhaus*, 158.

15 Durth, Düwel, Gutschow, *Architektur und Städtebau in der DDR*, 165.

16 Rubin, *Synthetic Socialism*, 58.



Selman Selmanagić, Stolica za seminare (izvedba: Deutsche Werkstätten Dresden-Hellerau), 1949. Fotografija: Arhiva Selmana Selmanagića, Berlin

Selman Selmanagić, A Chair for Seminars (Produced by the Deutsche Werkstätten Dresden-Hellerau), 1949. Photography: Selman Selmanagić's archive, Berlin



Selman Selmanagić, Polifunkcionalni ležaj (izvedba: Deutsche Werkstätten Dresden-Hellerau). Fotografija: Arhiva Selmana Selmanagića, Berlin

Selman Selmanagić, A Polyfunctional Bed (Produced by the Deutsche Werkstätten Dresden-Hellerau). Photography: Selman Selmanagić's archive, Berlin

Selman Selmanagić postao je nešto ranije cijenjen kroz svoj projekt stolice za seminare (*Seminarstuhl*) koju je razvio 1949. godine u suradnji s L. Falkenbergom i H. Hircheom, a koja se koristila u brojnim obrazovnim institucijama, između ostaloga i na Humboldtovom univerzitetu u Berlinu. Osobita vrijednost ovih stolica bili su kraći podupirači za ruke koji nisu smetali pri pisanju.<sup>17</sup> Te iste 1949. godine tim *Njemačkih radionica* na čelu s Erichom Menzelom proizveo je tzv. "furnir-stolicu 50642" (ili tzv. *Menzel-stolicu*). Inovaciju ove stolice predstavljala je primjena novoga proizvodnog postupka kojim se, kroz primjenu 29 slojeva laminiranog furnira, presovanih pod vrućom parom, omogućilo oblikovanje sjedišta i naslona stolice iz jednog komada. Time je dizajnirana jedna iznimno lagana stolica koja je bila vrlo elegantna, a cilj je bio da bude dostupna najširem krugu kupaca. Ovu tehniku presovnog furnira koristio je i Selmanagić za svoje stolice i ležajeve. Čak mu se pripisuje prvenstvo u primjeni ove tehnike.<sup>18</sup>

## Obrat k funkcionalnom dizajnu krajem 1950-ih godina: ekonomski i ideološki razlozi

Godine 1958. bila su tri vrlo značajna događaja u Istočnoj Njemačkoj koja su

Selman Selmanagić has become well known through his project of a seminar chair (*Seminarstuhl*), which he designed in 1949 in collaboration with L. Falkenberg and H. Hirche. The chair was used in many educational institutions, including Humboldt University in Berlin. The special value of these chairs reflected in the shorter armrests, which did not hinder writing.<sup>17</sup> The same year, a team of *German Workshops* led by Erich Menzel produced a so-called "plywood chair 50642" (Menzel chair). This innovative chair was made in a special process of a chipless deformation of a 29-resin impregnated plywood under hot steam to shape the seat and the back of the chair in one piece. The chair was extremely lightweight and elegant, designed to be available to the widest range of customers. Selmanagić used the same technique of impregnated plywood for his chairs and beds. He was often called pioneer in using this technique.<sup>18</sup>

## Turning to functional design in later 1950s: economic and ideological reasons

Three very significant events happened in 1958 in East Germany, which mirrored the dominant ideological patterns of the political, economic and

<sup>17</sup> Heisig, "Die Dinge um uns".

<sup>18</sup> Wüsten, *Selman Selmanagić*, 25.

<sup>17</sup> Heisig, "Die Dinge um uns".

<sup>18</sup> Wüsten, *Selman Selmanagić*, 25.

ukazivala i na dominantne ideološke obrasce tadašnjeg političkog, ekonomskog i društvenog sistema, a posredno i na karakter svakodnevice i razinu životnog standarda običnog građanina. Bili su to Peti kongres SED-a, Konferencija o hemijskom programu i Četvrta izložba njemačke umjetnosti u Dresdenu. U pozadini svih spomenutih događaja bio je rastući imperativ unapređenja životnog standarda i ekonomskog razvoja zemlje u godinama zaoštrene hladnoratovske atmosfere, što će rezultirati slabljenjem rigidne doktrine “borbe protiv formalizma” i otvaranjem prema naslijeđu modernističkog funkcionalizma. Razvoj hemijske industrije kao osnove za razvoj potrošačkog društva započeo je u Sovjetskom Savezu 1956. godine, a odatle je program planski proširen i na sovjetske satelite. Hemijski program i proizvodnja plastičnih predmeta kao nadomjestaka (“Ersatz”) za proizvode od skupih, nedostajućih prirodnih sirovina činili su osnovu tzv. Sedmogodišnjeg ekonomskog plana (1959–1965) kojim se DDR trebao transformirati u moderno, industrijsko i potrošačko društvo kakvo se u punom zamahu, a zahvaljujući Marshallovom planu snažne ekonomske potpore, odista razvijalo u neposrednoj blizini, u Zapadnoj Njemačkoj. U isto vrijeme, 1957. godine započeo je novi Stambeni program u DDR-u, kojim se, sve snažnijim procesom montažne stanogradnje, trebao riješiti gorući nedostatak stambenih jedinica i unaprijediti nivo stanovanja porodica koje su stanovale u zajedničkim domaćinstvima, u potpuno neodgovarajućim uvjetima.<sup>19</sup>

Ubrzani razvoj hemijske industrije, proizvodnja plastičnih predmeta široke namjene, kao i zamah novog programa stanogradnje, mogu se na stanoviti način razumijevati kao simptomi, ali i kao poticaj “potrošačkom obratu” koji je obilježio ovaj period i imao snažan utjecaj na ideološke dušobrižnike i postepeno distanciranje od nekadašnjih uzornih, staljinističkih obrazaca.<sup>20</sup> Pristajanje uz moderni dizajn i arhitekturu i “tupljenje oštice” formalističke kritike početkom šezdesetih godina 20. stoljeća imalo je sasvim jasne ekonomske uzroke jer je trebalo “brzo, učinkovito i jeftino” (kako je glasio vodeći slogan Honeckerovog programa masovne stanogradnje) odgovoriti na potrebe mladoga socijalističkog društva.

U ovome periodu Selmanagić realizira i drugi najznačajniji model serijski proizvođenog namještaja kao dizajner *Njemačkih radionica*: tzv. “model 53693 fotelje s naslonom za ruku” (*Armlehnsessel Modell 53693*) iz 1957. godine, koji je, uz Ehrlichov model namještaja iz serije 602 (*Typensatzserie 602*) iz 1956. godine, bio poznat i izvan granica DDR-a, te se izdigao na rang klasike DDR-ovskog dizajna.<sup>21</sup> Selman Selmanagić polazio je od obojenog namještaja. Nositelj boje bile su perive, umjetne navlake koje su oblagale površine namještaja, kao i namještaj za sjedenje i ležanje. Velike obojene plastične površine nudile su raznolike umjetničke mogućnosti i kroz to je Selmanagić dokazao svoju sposobnost oblikovanja bojama u brojnim interijerima i izložbenim prostorima.<sup>22</sup>

19 Abadžić Hodžić, *Selman Selmanagić i Bauhaus*, 183–184.

20 Rubin, *Synthetic Socialism*.

21 Höhne, *Das Große Lexikon der DDR-Design*, 67.

22 Exner, “Zu neuen Möbeln von Franz Ehrlich und Selman Selmanagić”, 194.



social systems at the time, and indirectly the character of everyday life and the standard of living of ordinary citizens. These were the Fifth Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED), the Conference on the Chemical Program and the Fourth Exhibition of German Art in Dresden. A growing imperative to improve the standard of living and economic development of the country during the years of a heated Cold War atmosphere, which later resulted in the weakening of rigid doctrine of “fight against formalism” and opening towards the legacy of modernist functionalism was in the background of all these events. In the Soviet Union the development of chemical industry as a basis for the development of a consumer society began in 1956, and then the program was expanded in a planned manner to include Soviet satellites. The chemical program and the production of plastics as a substitute (“Ersatz”) for the expensive and lacking raw materials were the backbone of the so-called Seven-year Economic Plan (1959–1965), which was supposed to transform the GDR into a modern, industrial and consumer society, which indeed boomed in the vicinity of West Germany thanks to the Marshall Plan of strong economic support. At the same time, a new housing program was launched in 1957 the GDR in an attempt to address the burning problem of housing and improve the standard of living of families living in shared households in completely inappropriate conditions through more intensive construction of prefabricated houses.<sup>19</sup>

The accelerated development of chemical industry, the production of consumer products made of plastics and the momentum of new housing program could be in a way understood as both the symptoms and the incentive for “consumer turnaround”, which marked this period and made a strong impact on ideological advocates and the gradual departing from the former exemplary Stalinist patterns.<sup>20</sup> Dire economy and the need for “a quick, efficient and cost-effective” solution (which was the motto of Honecker’s mass housing program) for housing problem of the young socialist society brought about siding with modern design and architecture and “bending the blade” of formalist criticism in early 60s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In 1957, Selmanagić as a designer of *the German Workshops* made his second most important mass production model: the so-called Model 53693 Easy chair (*Armlehnsessel Modell 53693*), which along with the Series 602 furniture by Ehrlich (*Typensatzserie 602*) was also known outside of the GDR, rising to the level of a classic GDR design.<sup>21</sup> Selman Selmanagić brought in colors in furniture production, using washable furniture paints and artificial fabric to cover the surface of furniture on both the seating and lounging furniture. The large colored plastics surfaces

19 Abadžić Hodžić, *Selman Selmanagić i Bauhaus*, 183–184.

20 Rubin, *Synthetic Socialism*.

21 Höhne, *Das Große Lexikon der DDR-Design*, 67.

Godine 1958., kada je na spomenutoj dresdenskoj izložbi prvi put izložen modernistički dizajn bez ornamenata i referenci na tradicionalno zanatstvo, dizajneri iz berlinske Umjetničke škole Weißensee pokrenuli su časopis *Form + Zweck*, koji je ubrzo postao glavni forum debate o modernom i funkcionalnom dizajnu i tradiciji Bauhauusa, što je samo nekoliko godina ranije bilo proglašeno politički opasnim djelovanjem.<sup>23</sup> Upravo će “potrošački obrat” dati funkcionalističkim dizajnerima priliku da pokažu svoju vrijednost za novi režim i novo društvo, u čemu će Selmanagićeva škola u Weißenseeu imati iznimnu ulogu. Potrošački obrat i s njim povezana promjena ukusa manifestirali su se, između ostalog, i u sve većoj potražnji za Selmanagićevim modelom namještaja “582” iz radionica u Hellerauu, koji je ranije režim kritizirao kao suviše “formalistički”. Jedan od najprodavanijih proizvoda ovih radionica (Dresden-Hellerau) bila je upravo serija multifunkcionalnih zidnih regala i transformabilnih kauča-kreveta *Intecta*, prema dizajnu S. Selmanagića i F. Ehrlicha, koji su svoje mjesto tih godina našli u gotovo svakom domaćinstvu u DDR-u.

## Selmanagićevi projekti interijera i sajamskih paviljona: “slika novog društva”

Značajni primjeri planiranja interijera u poslijeratnom opusu Selmana Selmanagića bili su projekti unutrašnjeg uređenja Visoke partijske škole “Karl Marx” u Kleinmachnowu (nedaleko od Berlina, 1946–1950) godine, kao i uređenje prostorija u Upravnoj akademiji na lokalitetu Forst Zinna, nedaleko od grada Jüterboga u periodu 1947–1950. godine. Osobito funkcionalno bile su riješene studentske sobe u Kleinmachnowu, gdje su u vrlo maloj kvadraturi bile usklađene funkcije odmora, rada i boravka, a gdje je Selmanagić morao oživjeti svoja bauhausovska iskustva iz klase profesora L. Hilberseimera. U ovome projektu sudjelovao je arhitektonski kolektiv (Selmanagić/Falkenberg/Hirche) koji je ovaj prostor uspio oblikovati kao ideološki prostor socijalističke zajednice, i to ne kroz programatske natpise, nego kroz, kako je tada bilo naglašeno, “same elemente oblikovanja: boju, formu i svjetlo”.<sup>24</sup> Projekt Upravne akademije u mjestu Forst Zinna, za obuku političke elite DDR-a, također je bio vrlo složen zadatak, a osobito elegancijom i prostranošću isticalo se rješenje sale za dnevni boravak, koju je Selmanagić postigao izuzetnim izborom materijala i odnosa boja, ali i prostornom dispozicijom sjedećih garnitura – fotelja i okruglih stolova. Umjesto simetrično postavljenih nizova, Selmanagić se opredijelio za dinamični suodnos dvaju koncepata – duha kolektiviteta koji proizlazi iz činjenice zajedničkog boravka i principa “slobodnog kretanja” u ležernoj dispoziciji namještaja u prostoru.

<sup>23</sup> Rubin, *Synthetic Socialism*, 59.

<sup>24</sup> Butter, *Neues Leben, Neues Bauen*, 476.

offered a wide range of artistic possibilities, which Selmanagić skilfully used to prove his ability of designing the interior and showrooms by colors.<sup>22</sup>

In 1958, following the Dresden exhibition in which a modernist design without ornaments and references to traditional craftsmanship was presented for the first time, designers of the Berlin Art School Weißensee launched a *Form + Zweck Magazine*, which soon became the main forum for debate on modern and functional design and Bauhaus tradition, which only a few years earlier was considered a politically dangerous activity.<sup>23</sup> This “consumer turnaround” gave the function-oriented designers an opportunity to prove their value for the new regime and the new society, where the Selmanagić’s school in Weißensee played an important role. The consumer turnaround brought about a change in taste manifested, *inter alia*, in an increasing demand for Selmanagić’s model “582” from Hellerau, which the former regime criticized as being too “formalist”. One of the best-selling products of Dresden-Hellerau workshops were the multi-functional, wall mounted cabinets and a transformable couch *Inecta* designed by S. Selmanagić and F. Ehrlich, which were pieces of furniture present in almost every household in the GDR.

## Selmanagić’s interior design and exhibition pavilion projects: “an image of a new society”

Significant examples of post-war interior design projects in the opus of Selman Selmanagić included the interior design of “Karl Marx” Party School in Kleinmachnow (near Berlin, 1946–1950) and interior design of the German Academy of Public Administration in Forst Zinna near Jüterbog (1947–1950). Resorting to his Bauhaus experiences from the class of Professor L. Hilberseimer Selmanagić offered a particularly functional design for student rooms in Kleinmachnow that accommodated, on a very small surface, the functions of rest, work and residence. The architectural collective Selmanagić-Falkenberg-Hirche that worked on this project managed to develop this area as an ideological space of the socialist community not using the signs and inscriptions but “the fundamental design elements: color, form and light”.<sup>24</sup> The project of the German Academy of Public Administration in Forst Zinna, which trained the GDR political elite, was a very complex task. The elegant and spacious design of the living room was achieved by an excellent selection of fabric and color balance and arrangement of seating furniture – armchairs and round tables. Instead

22 Exner, “Zu neuen Möbeln von Franz Ehrlich und Selman Selmanagić”, 194.

23 Rubin, *Synthetic Socialism*, 59.

24 Butter, *Neues Leben, Neues Bauen*, 476.



Selman Selmanagić, Klupske prostorije Upravne akademije, Forst Zinna (izvedba: Deutsche Werkstätten Dresden-Hellerau), 1950, Fotografija: Arhiva Selmana Selmanagića, Berlin

Selman Selmanagić, Club Premises of the Academy for Administration, Forst Zinna, (Produced by the Deutsche Werkstätten Dresden-Hellerau, 1950, Photography: Selman Selmanagić's archive, Berlin

Tadašnja kritika ocijenila je uređenje ovih klupskih prostorija Upravne akademije “baroknim”, upravo zbog “neuobičajeno čulnih kontrasta boja i materijala”.<sup>25</sup>

Uz rad na unutrašnjoj opremi pojedinih dijelova berlinskog Humboldtovog univerziteta, partijskih škola i akademija, Selman Selmanagić, kao dizajner interijera, od 1946. godine bavio se i arhitekturom izložbenih prostora i sajamskih paviljona. Sajamska arhitektura i unutrašnje uređenje paviljona imali su izuzetno važnu propagandnu ulogu – sajmovi su bili “izlog prema svijetu” i slika “novog društva”.<sup>26</sup> Često istican primjer unutrašnjeg uređenja jednog objekta trgovačke namjene u opusu Selmana Selmanagića jeste vrlo zanimljivo rješenje interijera jedne berlinske prodavaonice tekstila (*Konsum Textil*) iz 1951/1952. godine, na čijim je prodajnim pultovima Selmanagić u valovitim formama parafrazirao dinamične elemente sa Stadiona “Walter Ulbricht” i interijera klupskih prostorija u Akademiji Forst Zinna te je diskretno unio rafiniranu dozu elegancije i potrošačke strasti. Realizaciju ovoga projekta, prema nacrtima Selmana Selmanagića, izvele su radionice iz Dresden-Helleraua.

## Selmanagić – Jugoslavija – DDR

Zanimljivo je primijetiti da je u tadašnjoj Jugoslaviji situacija bila drugačija

of symmetrically set rows Selmanagić opted for a dynamic correlation of the two concepts – the spirit of collectivity, arising from the functionality of the living room and the principle of “free movement” allowed by a convenient furniture arrangement in the space. Due to “unusually sensual contrast of colors and fabrics, critics of the time described the design of the German Academy of Public Administration as ‘baroque’”.<sup>25</sup>

In addition to the work on interior design of Berlin's Humboldt University, party schools and academies, Selman Selmanagić was involved as an interior designer in the architectural projects of showrooms and fair pavilions since 1946. Fair architecture and interior design of pavilions played an extremely important propaganda role – the fairs were “a window to the world” and a picture of the “new society”.<sup>26</sup> Often quoted example of interior design by Selmanagić is an interesting design solution for a Berlin textile store (*Konsum Textil*) from 1951/1952. In designing counters of the textile store Selmanagić used wave forms, rephrasing the dynamic elements of “Walter Ulbricht” stadium and interior of Forst Zinna Academy, while introducing discreetly a dose of elegance and consumer passion. This project was implemented by Dresden-Hellerau workshops using Selmanagić's design.

25 Hain, “Berlin ‘schöner denn je’ – Stadtideen in Ostberliner Wiederaufbau”, 87.

26 Butter, *Neues Leben, Neues Bauen*, 366–367.

25 Hain, “Berlin ‘schöner denn je’ – Stadtideen in Ostberliner Wiederaufbau”, 87.

26 Butter, *Neues Leben, Neues Bauen*, 366–367.



Selman Selmanagić, Dnevna soba (izvedba: Deutsche Werkstätten Dresden-Hellerau).  
Fotografija: Arhiva Selmana Selmanagića, Berlin

Selman Selmanagić, A Living Room (Produced by the Deutsche Werkstätten Dresden-Hellerau). Photography: Selman Selmanagić's archive, Berlin

u odnosu na ostale zemlje Istočnog bloka, te da je već nakon 1948. godine u jugoslavenskoj politici (pa tako i u kulturnoj politici) nastupilo, između ostalog i iz strateških razloga, postepeno balansiranje između utjecaja s Istoka i sa Zapada. Proces dekonstrukcije i odbacivanja doktrine socrealizma započeo je već 1950. godine, od kada osnažuju glasovi koji se zalažu za slobodu umjetničkog izraza i za autonomiju umjetničkog djela kao "stvarnosti za sebe". Značajan je podatak o posjeti grupe sarajevskih arhitekata izložbi *Interbau* 1957. godine u tadašnjem Zapadnom Berlinu, koja je osmišljena kao protuteža gradnji Aleje Staljina u Istočnom Berlinu. Na ovoj izložbi sarajevski arhitekti neposredno su se mogli upoznati s tada najsuvremenijim arhitektonskim ostvarenjima (kasnog) modernizma, što je bilo značajno iskustvo u godinama osnivanja Tehničkog fakulteta u Sarajevu s Odsjekom za arhitekturu i urbanizam.<sup>27</sup> Kroz djelovanje grupe EXAT-51 u Zagrebu i eksperimentalni studijski *Smjer B*, koji je u studijskoj godini 1960/1961. pokrenuo profesor Edvard Ravnikar (1907–1993) na Fakultetu za arhitekturu u Ljubljani, nastavljeno je u jugoslavenskom prostoru analitičko i eksperimentalno istraživanje na zasadama iskustva modernizma i Bauhausa, a poznati modularni, lagani "crveni kiosk" Saše Machtiga (*K67*), koji je naišao na najširu primjenu i stekao internacionalnu reputaciju, bio je jugoslavenski ambasador u inovacijama tehnološki podržanog industrijskog oblikovanja

## Selmanagić – Yugoslavia – GDR

Interestingly, the situation in the then Yugoslavia was different comparing to other countries of the East Bloc. Namely, already in 1948 the Yugoslav politics (and thus cultural policy) driven, *inter alia*, by strategic reasons gradually started balancing the influences from the East and West. Deconstruction and rejection of doctrine of social realism started already in 1950, with the strong voices advocating for the freedom of art expression and autonomy of art work as "a reality in its own right". It is interesting to note that a group of Sarajevo architects visited the 1957 *Interbau Show* in the West Berlin, which was organized in response to the construction of Stalin's Ally in East Berlin. At this exhibition, the Sarajevo architects were able to see the state-of-the-art architectural solutions of (late) modernism, which was a very beneficial experience for the founding years of the Sarajevo Faculty of Engineering and its Architecture and Urban Planning Department.<sup>27</sup> An experimental and analytical research based on the experience of modernism and Bauhaus in Yugoslavia was continued through the activities of the EXAT-51 group from Zagreb and the experimental study course called *Smjer B* launched by Prof. Edvard Ravnikar (1907–1993) in academic year 1960/1961 at the Ljubljana School of Architecture. Internationally known

27 Štraus, 99 arhitekata sarajevskog kruga 1930–1990., 37–47.

27 Štraus, 99 arhitekata sarajevskog kruga 1930–1990., 37–47.

široke i dostupne primjene i novo, vedrije lice sumornog socijalističkog, urbanog dizajna. I u projektima poslijeratne obnove, urbanističkog planiranja, izgradnje sportskih i industrijskih objekata, te masovne stambene gradnje, u tadašnjoj jugoslavenskoj arhitekturi u periodu od 1945. do 1955. godine bila je vidljiva linija kontinuiteta s prijeratnim modernizmom, koja se može prepoznati kako u pojedinačnim primjerima, tako i u vidu širih urbanističkih zahvata.

Odnosi između Titove Jugoslavije i dvije Njemačke bili su vrlo složeni i to je značajnim dijelom moglo biti razlogom nepostojanja Selmanagićevih projekata u Jugoslaviji. S jedne strane, Jugoslavija je bila prva socijalistička država koja je priznala Saveznu Republiku Njemačku 1950. godine, ali i prva država na koju je primijenjena Hallsteinova doktrina prema kojoj SR Njemačka nema odnose s onim zemljama koje priznaju DDR (a Jugoslavija je to učinila 1957. godine). To će trajati sve do 1968. godine kada su ponovno uspostavljeni odnosi Beograda i Bonna posredstvom nove Istočne politike (*Ostpolitik*) ministra vanjskih poslova, a potom i kancelara SR Njemačke Willyja Brandta, što je rezultiralo i međusobnim priznanjem dviju njemačkih država.<sup>28</sup> Tako je 12. 6. 1965. godine uslijedila i prva službena posjeta Josipa Broza Tita DDR-u, a bračni par Selmanagić dobio je tom prilikom i službeni poziv da prisustvuje tom povijesnom događaju. Ovakvo "relaksiranje" političkih okolnosti dovelo je i do češćih Selmanagićevih posjeta Jugoslaviji tokom šezdesetih i sedamdesetih godina 20. stoljeća. On je s velikom pažnjom pratio i fotografski dokumentirao gospodarski razvoj zemlje. Nakon odlaska u penziju Selmanagić je bio čest gost-predavač na različitim visokim umjetničkim školama, akademijama i fakultetima širom svijeta. Posebno intenzivnu saradnju Selmanagić je imao s Tehničkim univerzitetom u Grazu, gdje je predavao i njegov nekadašnji kolega s Bauhausa Hubert Hoffmann (1904–2000). S obzirom na to da je bio čest gost u Grazu, Selmanagić je na poziv Fakulteta za arhitekturu, građevinarstvo i geodeziju (FAGG) u Ljubljani također održao gostujuća predavanja o temi *Arhitektura Bauhausa* tokom 1973. godine. Prema sjećanjima pojedinih studenata Akademije likovnih umjetnosti u Sarajevu, profesor Selman Selmanagić održao je predavanje o Bauhausu i studentima prve generacije tada tek otvorene Akademije likovnih umjetnosti, 1972. godine, a to predavanje održao je i 1973. godine. Nema mnogo podataka o boravcima Selmana Selmanagića u tadašnjoj Jugoslaviji, a od tri realizirana projekta – projekti kuća u Zvorniku iz 1931. i 1938. te u Srebrenici iz 1969. godine, za članove obitelji – do danas je, djelimično, sačuvan tek onaj iz Srebrenice, a nije zabilježena niti jedna saradnja u oblasti dizajna.

28 Jakovina, "Nijemci, Njemačka i slavenski Jug 1919.–1961.", 32–33.



and widely used famous modular, lightweight “red kiosk” designed by Saša Machtig (K67) was a Yugoslav ambassador in the innovations of technologically assisted industrial design of consumer products and a new, brighter face of a dreary socialist, urban design. In the Yugoslav architecture from 1945 to 1955 a visible line of continuity of pre-war modernism reflected in both the individual examples but also in the wide urban planning projects was evident in post-war reconstruction projects, urban planning projects, construction of sports and industrial halls and mass housing projects.

The relations between Tito's Yugoslavia and the two Germanys were very complex and this could be a reason for the absence of Selmanagić's projects in Yugoslavia. On one hand, Yugoslavia was the first socialist state to recognize the Federal Republic of Germany in 1950, but also the first state to which Hallstein's doctrine denouncing the countries that recognized the GDR applied (Yugoslavia recognized it in 1957). This estrangement lasted until 1968, when Belgrade re-established the relations with Bonn through the new Foreign Policy (*Ostpolitik*) of the Foreign Minister and Chancellor Willy Brandt FRG, which resulted in the mutual recognition of the two German states.<sup>28</sup> On 12 June 1965 Josip Broz Tito made his first official visit to the GDR, and Selmanagić and his wife were officially invited to attend this historic event. As a result of “relaxed” political relations Selmanagić frequently visited Yugoslavia in 60s and 70s of the 20<sup>th</sup> century to closely observe and document by photos the economic development of the country. Following his retirement, Selmanagić was a frequent guest lecturer at various art schools, academies and faculties around the world. He had a particularly intense collaboration with the Technical University in Graz, where his former Bauhaus colleague Hubert Hoffmann (1904–2000) taught. Being a frequent guest in Graz, Selmanagić was invited by the Faculty for Architecture, Construction and Geodesy in Ljubljana to deliver lectures on *Bauhaus architecture* in 1973. According to recollections of some students of the Academy of Fine Arts in Sarajevo, Professor Selmanagić also delivered a lecture on Bauhaus to the students of the first generation of the then newly opened Academy of Fine Arts in 1972 and once again in 1973. There is little information about Selmanagić's presence in Yugoslavia at the time. There is no much information about Selmanagić's stays in the then Yugoslavia, and out of three projects he did – the house projects in Zvornik from 1931 and 1938 and a family house project in Srebrenica, only the Srebrenica House was partly preserved. There is no record of any cooperation in the area of design.

28 Jakovina, “Nijemci, Njemačka i slavenski Jug 1919.–1961.”, 32–33.

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