1 PROFESSIONAL GRAPHIC DESIGN AND COLD WAR POLITICS: NATIONAL AND TRANSNATIONAL DESIGN ORGANIZATIONS

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The entwined histories of modernism, modernization, industrialization and the professional practice of design, offer a significant challenge for the study of design history. Historically, the role of the designer as a full-time professional occupation has appeared in societies where increasingly complex production systems have resulted in the fragmentation of work, further emphasized by the introduction of mechanical devices into production systems.[1] For instance, the development of paper and printing systems enabled the development of new ways of reproducing and distributing texts and images, from manuscripts produced one by one, to the mass printing of texts and books by a number of skilled workers dedicated to specialized tasks in graphic reproduction.[2] Similarly specialization occurred in the pottery and textiles industries in Europe during the nineteenth century, where a division of labour was established to increase production, differentiating the act of designing from that of making.[3]

However, one needs to consider the possible underlying conundrum within the very own concept of design. Considering design – as suggested by design historians Grace Lees-Maffei and Kjetil Fallan – as an activity that 'extends to everything that is planned and/or made […] not limited to high or official culture',[4] offers an opportunity for design to be seen as an activity independent of modernization, modernity or industry. Instead, if one considers the professional practice of design or its connection to mass production, the story takes a different

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[1] Peter Dormer, *Design since 1945* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1993).
[2] Philip B. Meggs and Alston W. Purvis, eds., *Meggs' History of Graphic Design*, 5th ed. (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, [1998] 2012).
[3] Dormer, *Design since 1945*.
[4] Grace Lees-Maffei and Kjetil Fallan, 'Introduction: National Design Histories in an Age of Globalization', in *Designing Worlds: National Design Histories in an Age of Globalization*, ed. Grace Lees-Maffei and Kjetil Fallan (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2016), 3.

turn. It could be said that the tensions between design practice and modern design practice lie between two extremes; on the one hand, that of design as a human-led process that is independent of mechanization, and, on the other, that of design as a profession that is primarily related to mass production and, therefore, seen by some as inevitably linked to industrialization.

Yet it is important to consider that the development of design into a field of professional practice was not determined by specialization itself. According to sociologists Andrew Abbott[5] and Pierre Bourdieu,[6] professional boundaries depend on a number of social conventions that separate fields of practice from each other in order to regulate entry and limit competition. The separation of fields of practice not only delineates what is considered to be legitimate practice but also, more importantly, defines which practitioners are allowed to perform certain occupations.

An important part of the process of professionalization is the establishment of forms of control that help regulate the professions and professionals, such as 'schools that train practitioners, the examinations that test them, the licenses that identify them, and the ethics codes they are presumed to obey'.[7] In the case of design, as in many other professions, the history of such institutions has favoured Eurocentric perspectives, not only due to the fact that the history of professional boundaries and professional organizations are somewhat rooted in European traditions, but also because design, or at least its modern form, was generally understood as a specialized practice associated with industrial production and, therefore, intrinsically connected to the industrial revolution that took place in Europe. In the past decades, these ideas have been under scrutiny for they restrict the comprehension of design to industrial development, compromising equitable comparisons and inevitably promoting Eurocentric ideas around design practice.[8]

Issues of professionalism

Professionalism is related to the creation of institutions and boundaries considered as professional practice, and the professional organizations were and are established to be the gatekeepers of such boundaries. Yet professional design organizations have not yet been approached from the perspective that these were

initially developed within European social contexts and frameworks of knowledge. Professional organizations as we know them today were not necessarily common in other regions of the world – certainly not previously to colonization – such as the Americas, Africa and Oceania. As stressed by sociologist Aníbal Quijano, in nations that have been colonized, native forms of social organization and local knowledge have been suppressed and substituted by the colonizer's social structures, eliminating knowledge about their stories and forms of social organization predating colonization.[9]

Even though design has been portrayed, particularly in its modern version, as if it could not have originated anywhere else but in Western Europe, this does not mean that there was no design practice elsewhere. Particularly, if one disconnects its practice from industry and formal organizations. The issue at stake is that the act of designing outside of Western Europe and, later, the United States might not have been organized in the same way or not use the same vocabulary and methodologies, but that does not mean that it did not take place. It is only a matter of how design is defined. Alternative design practices have been overlooked or misunderstood in the past when analysed in comparison to the way design practice was established and developed in Europe and in the United States.[10]

One could say that the idea of professionalism fits within the definition coined by historian Dipesh Chakrabarty in his book *Provincializing Europe*. As put by him, certain categories and concepts – whose genealogies 'go deep into the intellectual and even theological traditions of Europe'[11] – are so entangled with the idea of modernity that it becomes impossible to address modernity without them, in such a way that European thought becomes 'both indispensable and inadequate' when addressing 'the various life practices that constitute the political and the historical'.[12]

Historical knowledge has reflected the structural reality of organizations related to the design profession, which inevitably consider the first organizations dedicated to the promotion and development of design practice, to have been established in Western Europe. From the second half of the twentieth century onwards, designers located in other regions shaped their vocabularies and methodologies in an attempt to integrate themselves into the international scene of professional

[5] Andrew Abbott, *The System of Professions: An Essay on the Division of Expert Labor* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988).

[6] Pierre Bourdieu, 'Political Representation: Elements for a Theory of the Political Field' [1981], in *Language and Symbolic Power*, ed. John B. Thompson, trans. by Gino Raymond and Matthew Adamson (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), 171–202.

[7] Abbott, *The System of Professions*, 79.

[8] Daniel J. Huppatz, 'Globalizing Design History and Global Design History', *Journal of Design History* 28, no. 2 (2015): 182–202.

[9] Aníbal Quijano, 'Colonialidad del poder, cultura e conocimiento en América Latina', *Dispositio/n* 24, no. 51 ([1997] 1999): 137–48.

[10] H. Alpay Er, 'Development Patterns of Industrial Design in the Third World: A Conceptual Model for Newly Industrialized Countries', *Journal of Design History* 10, no. 3 (1997): 293–307; Anna Calvera, 'Local, Regional, National, Global and Feedback: Several Issues to Be Faced with Constructing Regional Narratives', *Journal of Design History* 18, no. 4 (2005): 371–83; Dora Souza Dias, 'International Design Organizations and the Study of Transnational Interactions: The Case of Icogradalatinoamérica80', *Journal of Design History* 32, no. 2 (2019): 188–206.

[11] Dipesh Chakrabarty, *Provincializing Europe: Postcolonial Thought and Historical Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000), 4.

[12] Ibid., 6.

design, by structuring local practice and organizing professionals in similar ways to those seen in Europe. This process gave rise to the flawed idea that all design practice – only considered as valid in its modern form – was born in and exported by Europe to the rest of the world.

Even though design can be considered 'a fundamental human activity'[13] that takes place regardless of institutions and forms of controls, the way in which design was shaped into a profession, delimited its access and its definitions.[14] Understanding the formation of professional design organizations offers an opportunity to locate the symbolic systems and conventions established by them. It also allows for a critique of the ways in which particular perspectives of design became perceived to be of universal significance and value, ideas that became particularly relevant in the formation of international non-governmental design organizations after the end of the Second World War. Looking at distinct design organizations operating in the post-war period, this chapter focuses more intently on those associations dedicated to graphic design practice and on the formation of international non-governmental design organizations whose establishment was based on the belief of the universalism of Western design values.

From promotional to professional organizations

One of the earliest design organizations on record is the Swedish *Svenska Slöjdföreningen* that was established in 1845 to safeguard the quality of Swedish craft.[15] This organization was responsible for one of the first design periodicals, launched in 1904 as *Svenska Slöjdföreningen Tidskift* and renamed in 1932 as *Form*.[16] In the early twentieth century, other organizations and groups concerned with the quality of industrial production were slowly established in other European countries. In 1907, the *Deutscher Werkbund* was established in Germany, bringing industrial workers, craftsmen and artists together with the aim of refining industrialized production and improving the quality of the products available nationally. The organization of exhibitions by the *Deutscher Werkbund* became the main means of promotion of its achievements and relevance, serving as stimuli for the foundation of other nations to establish organizations dedicated

to similar goals in the 1910s.[17] In 1912, the Austrian *Österreichischer Werkbund* and US American *National Alliance of Art and Industry* were founded, while the Swiss, Czech and Hungarian Werkbunds were created in 1913 and the *Design and Industries Association* was established in Britain, in 1915.[18]

These early promotional organizations, however, usually included both industrialists and practitioners, while also not distinguishing between specializations within the realm of design practice. Organizations entirely dedicated to exclusively gathering professional practitioners – which defined the symbolic systems and regulations for design practice and professional designers – were established later, entangling the history of design as a professional practice with the history of European design. In the world of European design, the creation of professional organizations was not only a way to set standards and internal codes, it also 'became a means of creating business networks and social arenas'.[19]

Graphic design organizations

It was between 1900s and 1930s that organizations dedicated to graphic arts and design started taking shape: the *American Institute of Graphic Arts* was established in the United States in 1914, the German *Bund Deutscher Gebrauchsgraphiker* was created in 1919, the Austrian *Bund Österreichischer Gebrauchsgraphiker* and the US American *Society of Typographic Arts* were both created in 1927.[20] The number of associations for practitioners of graphic arts increased with the establishment of a number of other associations in the 1930s such as the French *Syndicat National des Graphistes Publicitaires*, the Finnish *Taidepiirtäjäin Liitto GRAFIA Tecknarförbund*, the *Association of Commercial Artists* in Israel and the Swedish *Svenska Affischtecknare*.[21]

The increasing interest in graphic arts and advertising in the early twentieth century also created an opportunity for the development of specialized periodicals. In the United States, the emphasis on advertisements led to the creation of the *Art Directors Club* and the development of a dedicated publication – the *Advertising*

[13] Christine M. E. Guth, 'Design Before Design in Japan', in *The Routledge Companion to Design Studies*, ed. Penny Sparke and Fiona Fisher (London: Routledge, 2016), 508–17.

[14] For an interesting paper on debates about graphic design regulation in the 1990s see: Jacques Lange, 'Tested and Detested Designers: Conflicting opinions on title protection and industry regulation', in *Image & Text: Journal for Design* no.8 (1998).

[15] Katarina Öhlin, 'Svenska Slöjdföreningen (1845–1976)', *Riksarkivet* (22 March 2010). https://sok.riksarkivet.se/ [accessed 23 December 2019].

[16] Jonathan M. Woodham, 'Form', in *A Dictionary of Modern Design*, ed. Jonathan M. Woodham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 152.

[17] Winfried Nerdinger, ed., *Deutscher Werkbund: 100 Anos de Arquitetura e Design na Alemanha*, trans. Virginia Blanc de Sousa (São Paulo: CCSP and VG Bild-Kunst, Boon, 2007).

[18] Jonathan M. Woodham, 'Timelines', in *A Dictionary of Modern Design*, ed. Jonathan M. Woodham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 490–506.

[19] Gerry Beegan and Paul Atkinson, 'Professionalism, Amateurism and the Boundaries of Design', *Journal of Design History* 21, no. 4 (2008): 305–13.

[20] AIGA, 'How AIGA is Organized', *AIGA* (n.d.). http://www.aiga.org/ [accessed 23 August 2017]. E. Hölscher, 'Germany', in *Who's Who in Graphic Art: An Illustrated Book of References to the World's Leading Graphic Designers, Illustrators, Typographers and Cartoonists* (Zürich: Amstutz & Herdeg Graphis Press, 1962), 180.

[21] Icograda, *Societies Participating at the I Icograda General Assembly* (1964). University of Brighton Design Archives, Icograda Archive, ICO/6/1/4; Grafia, 'About Grafia', *Grafia* (n.d.). www.grafia.fi/in-english/about-grafia/ [accessed 11 April 2017]; H. E. Kjellberg, ed., *Svenska Dagbladets Årsbok* (Stockholm: Åhlén & Holms Boktryckeri, 1937).

Arts – first published in 1921. In Britain, the magazine *Commercial Art* 'devoted to all aspects of graphic design and display was launched at a time when "commercial artists" were striving hard to be recognized as design professionals'.[22] In 1924, the German association *Bund Deutscher Gebrauchsgraphiker* published the first issues of its magazine known as *Gebrauchsgraphik* or *International Advertising Art*. These were soon followed by other publications, such as the Swiss *Typographische Monatsblätter* (1932–), the Italian magazine *Campo Grafico* (1933–1939) and the US American *Print* (1940–).[23]

Yet, before graphic design was widely recognized as a professional practice in its own right, a number of other professionals undertook the task of designing graphic solutions to resolve communicational needs. Between 1920s and 1960s, the vocabulary and symbolic systems of the graphic design profession were being developed and defined, which meant that throughout this time there was no specific term used to indicate the professional who later became widely known as the 'graphic designer'. The term 'graphic designer' dates back to the early 1920s when coined by William Addison Dwiggins to define his own professional practice.[24] During the first half of the twentieth century, terms such as 'graphic artist', 'graphic designer', 'commercial artist' and 'advertising artist' transitioned between numerous languages, and their meanings usually varied depending on which country one was in. In Europe, commercial artists were known to employ their talents to fulfil commercial needs, while in the United States, art directors led the way towards recognition.[25] In many Latin American countries, graphic artists worked on advertisements and packaging while architects became known for their involvement in the design of corporate identity and information systems.[26]

Before the Second World War there was already a sense of recognition, but it was after its end that the numbers of professional graphic design associations had the most significant increase. In many countries, design became part of governmental strategies for modernization and development, not only in the democratic but also in the socialist world.

Design associations in the Cold War period

After the end of the Second World War, an undeclared state of war between the Soviet Union and the United States dominated the global scene. At the core of the conflict known as the 'Cold War' was a competition between these 'superpowers' for allies who would embrace either of their opposing ideologies, dividing the world between socialist nations, democratic nations and those that refused to embrace either.[27]

These underlying ideologies defined the ways in which social and cultural life was organized on each side, being a 'clash of ideas and cultures as much as a military and strategic conflict'.[28] Inevitably, designers, as other professionals, had to adapt to the political frameworks within their contexts, be it Western and capitalist ideals based on individual liberty, liberalism and market values; or socialist or communist values of collectivism and state planning or any other forms of national or federal government. Yet, differently from other professionals, designers needed to be aware of the aesthetics and values associated with the ideologies promoted by their governments.

Between 1945 and the early 1960s, even though professional associations and unions were still more significantly concentrated in Western Europe and the United States, design organizations appeared around the globe, following the overall trends of the Cold War. On the side of the US allies, these organizations appeared in the shape of professional associations and design councils, whilst in socialist and communist states the professional practice of design mostly occurred within governmental structures, within governmental divisions, cultural institutions or research centres, while unions seem to be the only form of design organization to appear in both.

The political polarization created challenges for the exchange of knowledge between designers and associations based in countries of opposing perspectives, as technological development was a central part of the dispute. Yet there were also efforts to foster transnational connections with the intention to overcome

[22] Jonathan M. Woodham, 'Commercial Art', in *A Dictionary of Modern Design*, ed. Jonathan M. Woodham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 90.

[23] Jeremy Aynsley, 'The Cultural Representation of Graphic Design in East and West Germany, 1949 to 1970', in *The Routledge Companion to Design Studies*, ed. Penny Sparke and Fiona Fisher (London: Routledge, 2016), 242–65; Campo Grafico, 'Welcome', *Campo Grafico* (n.d.). www.campografico.org/ [accessed 11 July 2019]; PRINT, 'About us', *PRINT* (n.d.). www.printmag.com/about-us/ [accessed 11 July 2019].

[24] Philip B. Meggs, *A History of Graphic Design*, 3rd ed. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, [1983] 1998); Paul Shaw, 'Tradition and Innovation: The Design Work of William Addison Dwiggins', *Design Issues* 1, no. 2 (1984): 26.

[25] Ellen Lupton and J. Abbott Miller, *Design Writing Research: Writing on Graphic Design*, 2nd ed. (London: Phaidon, [1996] 1999).

[26] Chico Homem de Melo and Elaine Ramos, eds., *Linha do Tempo do Design Gráfico* (São Paulo: Cosac & Naify, 2011); Pedro Álvarez Caselli, *História del Diseño Gráfico en Chile* (Santiago: Pontificia Universidad Católica de Chile, Escuela de Diseño, 2004); Luz del Carmen A Vilchis Esquivel, *História del Diseño Gráfico en México, 1910–2010* (México, DF: INBA-Conacultura, 2010); Giovani Tronconi, ed., *Diseño Gráfico en Mexico: 100 años, 1900–2000* (México, DF: Artes de México, 2010); Rafael Cardoso, *O Design Brasileiro antes do Design: aspectos da história gráfica, 1870–1960* (São Paulo: Cosac & Naify, 2015); Silvia Fernández and Gui Bonsiepe, ed., *Historia del diseño en América Latina y Caribe: Industrialización y Comunicación Visual para la Autonomía* (São Paulo: Blücher, 2008).

[27] Odd Arne Westad, *The Global War: Third World Interventions and the Making of Our Times* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Shu Guang Zhang, 'The Sino-Soviet Alliance and the Cold War in Asia', in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, Volume I: Origins*, ed. Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 353–75.

[28] Odd Arne Westad, 'The Cold War and the International History of the Twentieth Century', in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, Volume I: Origins*, ed. Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 1–19.

the restrictions created by national governments and promote cosmopolitan ideals of international understanding, further motivated by the foundation of the United Nations. As is going to be seen later in this chapter, international design organizations founded in the post-war period attempted to create a forum for exchange across political division, with the aim to allow for the encounter between designers and representatives of design associations of different ideologies. But before looking into the formation of international organizations dedicated to graphic design, it is important to briefly understand the distinctions between the national design organizations being established in the post-war period.

In China, the birth of the People's Republic of China in 1949 and its alliance with the Soviet Union in 1950 defined the practice of graphic arts under tight state control. Before 1949, a number of civil associations existed within Chinese society, but the new government reorganized existing associations and established new ones, such as the *China Federation of Literacy and Art Circles*.[29] Propaganda policies were defined by the Chinese Communist Party and implemented through hierarchical networks and mass union organizations. Posters took central stage as the main means to promote the governmental ideologies given the high illiteracy rate of the population, being produced by either governmental propaganda units or independent groups allied with the government. The production of posters by peasants and workers with no professional training was encouraged, yet being usually aided by trained experts who were not given due credit.[30]

In Cuba, the domestic frameworks within which social, political and cultural changes took place were shaped – to a very large extent – by Soviet Union's interventionist strategies. In the 1950s, graphic design in Cuba was dominated by advertising agencies, magazines following US and European styles and Cuban brands for export products such as cigars, sugar and rum. However, after the Cuban revolution in 1959, the government suppressed advertising spaces on radio and television and in the press, creating a number of cultural institutions owned by the state, such as the *Instituto Cubano del Arte y la Industria Cinematográfica*, known as ICAIC for short.[31] The nationalization of the cinema circuits in 1961 made the ICAIC the only institution in Cuba allowed to produce national films and to import foreign ones; while also being responsible for the production of film posters having an in-house graphic design team.[32] In 1961, a union was established – the

Unión de Escritores y Artistas de Cuba – including writers, artists and also graphic designers that became renowned for their posters.[33]

In the USSR, as put by writer and critic Igor Lvov in the early 1960s, 'graphic design in the Western sense has made comparatively little headway in the USSR'. It was only in 1962 that an organization dedicated to design matters was established within the Soviet Union.[34] As other organizations in Western Europe and the United States, the *Vserossiyskiy Nauchno-Issledovatel'skiy Institut Tekhnicheskoy Estetiki* (VNIITE – All-Union Scientific Research Institute for Technical Aesthetic) was created for the improvement of the quality of industrial production and some consumer goods through research and development of design practice and theory. The name of the organization reflected the avoidance of words associated with the 'West' such as design, where 'industrial design' became known as 'artistic engineering' and industrial design theory as 'technological aesthetics'. Despite attempts of the Soviet government to prevent transnational contact, VNIITE was unusually open to international connections and exchange of knowledge.[35]

In Czechoslovakia, after the political coup in 1948, significant interventions began to occur adapting current social structures and organizations to the Soviet model. This included the introduction of a system to supervise and control artists, grouping them according to their disciplines and the liquidation of existing associations. All remaining associations became part of a federal union, the *Svaz Ceskoslovenskych Vytvarnych Umelcu*, which dictated the rules of operation within each association and united members on a federal level. In the early 1950s, the existing associations went through a process of 'cleansing' that decreased significantly the number of its members, who were selected accordingly to their position within the socialist establishment.[36] All changes were subject to revision by the government and to political requirements.[37] In countries aligned with the rules of the Soviet State, any practice related to cultural expression was followed by close governmental watch and regulated in a way that those professionals endorsed as members of unions and associations were aligned with the federal policies.

However, in socialist but non-aligned countries, the situation was significantly different. In Yugoslavia, the *Savez Likovnih Umjetnika Primenjenih Umetnosti*

[29] Chen Guangjin, 'Organizational Structure', in *Social Structure of Contemporary China*, ed. Xueyi Lu (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing, [2011]2012), 337–96.

[30] Lincoln Cushing, 'Revolutionary Chinese Posters and Their Impact Abroad', in *Chinese Posters: Art from the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution*, ed. Lincoln Cushing and Ann Tompkins (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2007), 7–23.

[31] Jorge Bermúdez, 'Eduardo Muñoz Bachs: una sonrisa en la pared', *La Jiribilla: Revista de Cultura Cubana* 6, no. 338 (2007). www.lajiribilla.co.cu/ [accessed 16 May 2018].

[32] Bermúdez, 'Eduardo Muñoz Bachs'.

[33] Héctor Villaverde, *Testimonios del Diseño Gráfico Cubano: 1959–1974* (La Habana, Cuba: Ediciones La Memoria, Centro Cultural Pablo de la Torriente Brau, 2009).

[34] Triin Jerlei, Industrial Designers within the Soviet Estonian Design Ideology of the Late Socialist Period, 1965–1988, Doctoral Thesis, Brighton: University of Brighton, 2005.

[35] Dmity Azrikan, 'VNIITE, Dinosaur of Totalitarianism or Plato's Academy of Design?' *Design Issues* 15, no. 3 (1999): 45–77.

[36] For more on Czech graphic artists, see the section on Czechoslovakia on *Who's Who in Graphic Art: An Illustrated Book of References to the World's Leading Graphic Designers, Illustrators, typographers and cartoonists* (Zürich: Amstutz & Herdeg Graphis Press, 1962), 98–118.

[37] Alena Binarová, *Svaz Výtvarných Umělců v Českých Zemích V Letech 1956–1972: Oficiální Výtvarná Tvorba v Proměnách Komunistického Režimu,* Doctoral Thesis, Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, 2016; Oskar Brůža, 'Poúnorové a Normalizační Svazy', *UVUCR* (2010). http://www.uvucr. cz/archiv/ [accessed 12 July 2019].

Jugoslavije was the federal union in operation in the early 1960s, while there were also associations operating within the constituent republics, such as the Slovenian *Drustvo Likovnih Umetnikov Uporabne Umetnosti Slovenije,* the *Udruženje Likovnih Umjetnika Primijenjene Umjetnosti Hrvatske* established in Croatia in 1950,[38] and the Serbian *Udruzenje Likovnih Umetnika Primenjenih Umetnosti i Dizajnera Srbije* founded in 1953.[39] As part of the non-aligned movement, Yugoslavia was home for a number of events during the Cold War period that allowed designers from every side of the war to meet.[40] As in many other non-aligned countries, Yugoslav design threaded the tensions between traditional and modern approaches where the 'strict separation and often mutual demeaning between applied arts and design unfortunately greatly reduced the possibilities of both areas'.[41]

At the same time, in Western Europe, the combination of capitalist crises and previous two world wars led to the collapse of European colonial empires and growing disbelief in totalitarianism. In many nations, design became part of the efforts of reconstructions and economic stability. An increasing number of associations appeared in the region, such as the *Associazione Italiana Artisti Pubblicitari,* created in Italy in 1954, and the *Agrupació de Directors d'Art, Dissenyadors Gràfics i Il·lustradors,* established in Barcelona, Spain, in 1961.[42] Publications specialized in design also increased, such as in the United States, *Design Quarterly* published for the first time in 1946[43] (–1996), the British *Design* in 1949 (–1999) and the German magazines *Ulm* in 1958 (–1967) and *Form* in 1957 (–present).

The number of publications dedicated to graphic arts and graphic design also grew considerably, and some publications – particularly from Western Europe and the United States – travelled internationally, such as the Swiss *Neue Graphik* or *New Graphic Design* (1958–1965), *Graphis* (1944–1964, 1966–present) and US American *Communication Arts* (1959–present). These titles became reference for designers world-wide and its issues were collected in many libraries of educational institutions dedicated to design, helping to build a connected transnational design scene that was not restrained by national borders or, even, political alliances.

In countries that were under US American interventionism, conforming to the Western and capitalist rules was part of the game. In the second half of the twentieth century, modernization and development seemed to be the only option for 'Third World'[44] designers to escape the stigmas of 'underdevelopment', by modernizing themselves and incorporating the First World's structure for design practice and professional organizations. The so-called 'Third World' was seen as the collective of underdeveloped nations deemed to have non-existent or inferior technology and industry that did not fit into either the capitalist or the communist alliances. Yet it was no mere coincidence that the disputed 'Third World' was mainly composed of nations that had been colonies impoverished by colonialism.[45]

In Latin American countries, the injection of US capital in the post-war period spurred industrialization, but also suffocated these nations under the clauses of the financial agreements and dictatorial regimes. In Africa and the Caribbean, the disintegration of the imperial order allowed for newly decolonized nations to focus their efforts on reconstruction through the development of national governments as well as cultural and social life, nations disputed by the Cold War 'superpowers'. As in Japan, many governments framed 'their own political agendas in conscious response to the models of development presented by the two main contenders of the Cold War',[46] and local elites either kept connections with former colonies or established completely independent nations, depending on what served better their own ends.

The struggle for development, however, proved an uphill battle for many 'Third World' countries, primarily – it could be argued – because they were forced to compete within an international system that was geared towards the interests of their 'allies'. Across the 'Third World', in nations allied with the 'Western' ideals, many professional associations were founded, aiming at the organization and further development of the design profession within their nations. These professionals were frequently caught in debates about the development of a national design and the conflicts and contradictions on their engagements with design from the US and Western Europe. Most design associations established in these nations during this period were dedicated to the whole of design practice as, for example, the *Society of Industrial Artists and Designers of South Africa* created in 1953[47] and the Brazilian *Associação Brasileira de Desenho Industrial* founded in 1963.[48] In India, the magazine *Design* – very similar to the British *Design* – had its first number published in 1957, preceding the foundation of the Indian *National Institute of Industrial Design* set up in 1961. In Latin America, during the 1950s

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[38] ULUPUH, 'O nama', *ULUPUH* (n.d.). http://www.ulupuh.hr/hr/onama.asp [accessed 12 July 2019].

[39] ULUPUDS, 'Istorijat', *ULUPUDS* (2010). http://www.ulupuds.org.rs/Istorijat.htm [accessed 12 July 2019].

[40] Cvetka Požar, 'Continuity and Change: The Biennial of (Industrial) Design over the First Twenty Years', *Journal of the Museum of Applied Art,* no. 11 (2015): 18–26. https://mpu.rs/zbornik/lat/svi_zbornici.php?zbornik=11 [accessed 8 September 2021].

[41] Dejan Kršić, 'Graphic Design and Visual Communications 1950–1975', in *Socialism and Modernity. Art, Culture, Politics 1950–1974,* ed. Ljiljana Kolešnik (Zagreb: Muzej Suvremene Umjetnosti, 2012), 211.

[42] Jonathan M. Woodham, 'Japan Advertising Artists Club', in *A Dictionary of Modern Design,* ed. J. M. Woodham (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 407–9; ADG F AD, 'About ADG-Fad', *ADG FAD* (n.d.). www.adg-fad.org/ca/about-adg-fad [accessed 12 July 2019].

[43] Between 1946 and 1953, the magazine was known as Everyday Art Quarterly having its name changed to Design Quarterly in 1954.

[44] Even though the 'three worlds' theory is problematic, its concepts are used in this chapter to contextualize the way transnational power relations took place during the Cold War.

[45] Gearóid Ó Tuathail, 'Introduction: Thinking Critically About Geopolitics', in *The Geopolitics Reader,* ed. Gearóid Ó Tuathail, Simon Dalby and Paul Routledge (London: Routledge, 2003 [1998]), 6.

[46] Westad, *The Global War.*

[47] Lange, 'Tested and Detested Designers'.

[48] Marcos da Costa Braga, *ABDI e APDINS-RJ,* 2nd ed. (São Paulo: Blücher, [2011] 2016).

and 19560s, a number of higher education design courses appeared all over[49] as did the publications dedicated to design, such as the Argentinian *Nueva Visión* (1951–1957) and *Summa* (1963–1993), Mexican *Artes de México* (1953–), and Brazilian *Produto e Linguagem*.[50]

In Africa by the end of the Second World War most territories were still colonies. Since early interactions, African indigenous art and design practices had been exoticized and debased by the European gaze. In the twentieth century, Western artists and intellectuals assumed African cultural production to be 'the antithesis of modernity' and a reflexive tool for the modern condition without ever considering their original use and meaning.[51] With the end of the Second World War, liberation movements sprung across the continent resulting in a significant change in the way local practices were seen. By the mid-1960s, most of the territories in the continent had become independent nations, yet the conflict between traditional, modern and vernacular African art and design persisted.[52] In the Nigerian and Kenyan postcolonial contexts, for example, modern design was approached carefully, mostly because it was seen as a foreign practice, distant from indigenous ones and, therefore, not seen with good eyes by the newly established nation-states.[53]

Yet higher education institutions that included design – as understood within the Western European and US American framework – in their curriculum slowly appeared all over the continent. For instance, in 1969, a Department of Industrial Design was established at the University of East Africa in Nairobi, Kenya,[54] while other active higher education courses in the early 1970s in Khartoum, Sudan, and in the 1980s in Port Harcourt, Nigeria.[55] Attempts to stablish graphic design organizations which followed the European structure also took place, such as the *Society of Industrial Artists and Designers of South Africa* mentioned previously and the *Nigerian Association of Graphic Designers* that was active in the 1980s.

In Japan, the Americanization of popular culture that was intensified after the war and US American lifestyle became a fashionable symbol of 'modern life'.[56] Design associations emerged reflecting the same structures and terminology as those from the 'West'. According to specialist in Japanese design Christine Guth the 'ideology of rupture intended to promulgate an image of Japan as a country that had undergone a radical transformation'.[57] In the 1950s, the first association related to graphic design was founded – the *Japan Advertising Artists Club* – and two specialized magazines had their first numbers published: *Idea* or *International Advertising Art* (1953–) and the グラフィックデザイン or *Graphic Design* (1959–1986).[58]

International design organizations

Even though the end of the Second World War resulted in somewhat divided world, the establishment of transnational organizations changed the political landscape by facilitating transnational connections and exchanges. The foundation of the United Nations in 1945 prompted a global political turn that transformed the nature of the relationships between nation-states and peoples, in many ways surpassing the limitations imposed by national and federal governments. This new context favoured connections among actors across the globe with common problems and interests, stimulating the creation of a number of international non-governmental organizations.[59]

The first international organizations related to the design profession appeared in the early 1950s. The *Alliance Graphique Internationale* (AGI), for example, was formulated by five Western European graphic artists, who conceived the alliance as a way to formalize their friendships into an official professional network. The Alliance was established in 1952 and originally gathered 65 members from 10 countries with the aim to 'share common interests and friendships across national and cultural borders'.[60] In 1957, another international design organization was established, the *International Council of Societies of Industrial Design* (ICSID). Differently from the AGI, ICSID was a council dedicated to gathering Industrial

[49] Silvia Fernández, 'The Origins of Design Education in Latin America: From the HfG in Ulm to Globalization', *Design Issues* 22, no. 1 (2006): 3–19.

[50] Verônica Devalle, 'Hacia la síntesis de las artes. El proyecto cultural y artístico de la revista Nueva Visión', *Anclajes* 13, no. 13 (2009): 61–70; JSTOR, 'Artes de Mexico', in *JSTOR* (n.d.). www.jstor.org/journal/artesmexico [accessed 12 July 2019]; Dora Souza Dias and Marcos da Costa Braga, 'A revista Produto e Linguagem e a arte gráfica de Fernando Lemos', *Agitprop* 5, no. 52 (2013): n.p.

[51] Carole Sweeney, *From Fetish to Subject: Race, Modernism, and Primitivism: 1919–1935* (Westport: Praeger, 2004), 13.

[52] Prita Meier, 'Authenticity and its Modernist Discontents: The Colonial Encounter and African and Middle Eastern Art History', *Arab Studies Journal* 18, no. 1 (2010): 12–45; Dipti Bhagat, 'Designs on/in Africa', in *Designing Worlds: National Design Histories in an Age of Globalization,* ed. Kjetil Fallan and Grace Lees-Maffei (New York: Berghahn Books, 2016), 23–41.

[53] Icograda and UNESCO, Regional Seminar: Design for Development, programme (1987). University of Brighton Design Archives, Icograda Archive, ICO/10/18/4; and Haig David-West ed., 'Port Harcourt Protocol', Dialogue on Graphic Design Problems in Africa, ed. Haig David-West (Unknown: NAGD, 1983), 121. University of Brighton Design Archives, Icograda Archive, ICO/10/18/2.

[54] Walter Plata, 'Visual Communication in East Africa', *Icographic*, no. 4 (1972): 6–7.

[55] Icograda and UNESCO, *Regional Seminar*.

[56] Sayuri Guthrie-Shimizu, 'Japan, the united States, and the Cold War, 1945–1960', in *The Cambridge History of the Cold War, Volume I: Origins*, ed. Melvyn P. Leffler and Odd Arne Westad (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 248.

[57] Guth, 'Design Before Design in Japan', 509.

[58] Sarah Teasley, 'IDEA: International Graphic Arts, Japan (1953–)', in *The Bloomsbury Encyclopedia of Design, Volume 2*, ed. Clive Edwards (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2016), 175–6; Tadasu Fujii (藤井 匡), '展覧会報告:勝見勝 桑澤洋子 佐藤忠良ー東京造形大学 教育の源流 (Exhibition Report: Masaru Katzumie, Yōko Kuwazawa and Churyo Sato)', *Tokyo Zokei University Research Report* (東京造形大学研究報) no.19 (2018): 100–18; Woodham, '*Japan Advertising Artists Club*', 407–9.

[59] John Boli and George M. Thomas, 'Introduction', in *Constructing World Culture: International Nongovernmental Organizations since 1875*, ed. John Boli and George M. Thomas (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999), 1–10.

[60] AGI, 'How it all began', *AGI* (n.d.). preview.a-g-i.org/about/ [accessed 21 November 2016].

Design associations rather than a congregation of individual designers. ICSID was registered in France and its first meeting held in the headquarters of the British *Society of Industrial Artists* (SIA) in London, being attended by representatives and proxies from societies from Denmark, Italy, Norway, Sweden, the Netherlands, India, Japan and United States.[61] ICSID was established with the aim to promote the interests of industrial designers and its success stimulated graphic designers within the SIA to push for the creation of a parallel body that, instead, would be dedicated to graphic design associations.[62]

The International Council of Graphic Design Associations, known as Icograda for short, was founded in 1963 during a meeting convened in London by the SIA and became an important network in the international scene of graphic design practice.

International Council of Graphic Design Associations

Icograda was established to be an international forum for national graphic design associations aiming to improve the standards of professional practice and the status of the graphic designer within their nations. The Council aimed to unify codes of conduct and professional practice internationally, exchange information on the training of graphic designers on an international level, organize international assemblies and congresses, distribute information about member societies and, 'to include […] organizations of graphic designers and supporting organizations in all countries of the world and thus contribute to *international understanding*' as well as 'to function as a *non-political* organisation'.[63] However, even though the Council was meant to be an international affair, Icograda was, initially, more regional than global.

From the 41 associations invited, only delegates and observers from 24 associations were able to attend the inaugural meeting (see Figure 1.1), amounting to a total of 17 countries represented from which only two were situated outside of Europe, namely the Australian Commercial and Industrial Artists Association and the Association of Commercial Artists in Israel. The majority of European representatives inevitably meant that the decisions regarding the Council's
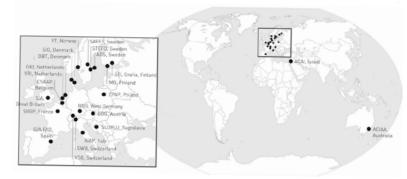

FIGURE 1.1 Map projection showing only the associations with representatives at the Icograda Inaugural Meeting. Map by the author

formation privileged a Western European perspective.[64] Associations in Socialist and Communist countries such as Czechoslovakia, East Germany and Yugoslavia were also invited, but were unable to send representatives.

In the first years, a number of documents were drafted in order to eliminate what was seen as wasteful duplication of effort by a number of associations and unify codes of practice. According to Icograda's First President Willy de Majo, it seemed incredible that a number of graphic design organizations in Europe were all engaged in drawing up similar documents, such as codes of practice and constitution.

This explains the focus of the Executive Board in preparing a number of model-documents in the interim between the inaugural meeting and the first General Assembly, namely *The International Code of Ethics and Conduct for Graphic Designers*, the *Conditions of Contract and Engagement for Graphic Designers*, and the *Regulations Governing Conduct of International Competitions*.[65]

Within Icograda, the fact that activities were restricted to a small area of the world was not perceived as an issue, at least until the Council was informed that UNESCO's only reason to withhold Icograda's recognition was its lack of geographical spread.[66]

However, there was a failure to understand within the Council that design practice was not necessarily shaped in the same way in different parts of the globe. The Council insisted on gathering associations that fulfilled a set of restrictions,

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[61] Tania Messell, Constructions a 'United Nations of Industrial Design': ICSID and the Professionalisation of Design on the World Stage, 1950–1980, Doctoral Thesis, Brighton: University of Brighton, 2018.

[62] F.H.K. Henrion, 'speech', in Icograda, *Minutes Inaugural Meeting*, 1963. University of Brighton Design Archives, Icograda Archive, ICO/1/1/1.

[63] Icograda, *Icograda Constitution: As Agreed at the Inaugural Meeting Held in London from April 26th to April 28th 1963 and Amended by the Executive Board at a Meeting Held in Amsterdam on July 19th/20th 1963 and Stockholm on January 23rd 1964* (1964). University of Brighton Design Archives, Icograda Archive, ICO/1/2/1.

[64] Dora Souza Dias, *Icograda: The International Council of Graphic Design Associations, 1963–2013: Transnational Interactions and Professional Networks in Graphic Design,* Doctoral Thesis, Brighton: University of Brighton, 2019.

[65] Icograda, *Report on the 1st ICOGRADA General Assembly and International Congress* (1964). University of Brighton Design Archives, Icograda Archive, ICO/6/1/2.

[66] Knut Iran, Icograda President 1966–1968. Icograda, *Minutes III General Assembly* (1968), 9. University of Brighton Design Archives, Icograda Archive, ICO/6/3/7.

which proved impossible to satisfy. Icograda President Knut Iran affirmed that even though representatives from the Council had travelled throughout Asia, Africa and South America during the 1960s, 'it had unfortunately become apparent that in many countries, a designers' association which fulfilled the membership conditions of ICOGRADA did not exist'.[67]

As a way to circumvent what was seen as a setback, a new category of membership was created. The Corresponding Member was an individual appointed honorarily who would be responsible for acting as a liaison between Icograda and designers and design educators in their own countries, but who had no right to vote in the Council's matters.

There was no consideration whether Icograda's 'membership conditions', or even Icograda's attitude towards design practice in other continents might be the reason preventing the expansion of Icograda's reach. As an association of associations, the membership of Icograda was predicated on the existence of professional associations formed mainly by commercial artists and graphic designers, and based on the assumption that in countries where there was graphic design practice, practitioners would always be organized in associations similar to Western European ones.

However, the awareness created by UNESCO's repeated rejection directed the Council in a new direction, understanding that an international organization was not simply inter-nations, but had to be more globally representative. In the 1970s, the Council entered a new phase in which it became an organization not only interested in expanding its reach but actively working towards it. During the early 1970s, Icograda gathered members from all sides of the Cold War, including the Czech Svaz Ceskoslovenskych Vytvarnych Umelcu, Verband Bildender Kuenstler Deutschlands from East Germany, Savez Likovnih Umetnika Primenjenih Umetnosti from Yugoslav and three associations from the United States, namely the American Institute of Graphic Arts, the Society of Typographic Arts and the Art Directors Club.

In 1975, for the first time, an Icograda event was held outside of Europe.[68] The conference *Education for Graphic Design, Graphic Design for Education, Edugraphic* for short, was held in Edmonton, Canada, and became an important milestone in the Council's activities, opening Icograda to expand not only its geographical reach but also its knowledge about graphic design practice in other regions of the world. With the shift in the Council's approach to its geographical reach in the mid-1970s, Icograda's Membership grew considerably in numbers as well as in spread. For instance, between 1964 and 1977, the Council's membership grew from 23 members representing 17 countries to 27 member associations representing 20 countries,[69] while between 1977 and 1983, the membership almost doubled. By 1983, the Council gathered 51 member associations representing 30 countries, with at least one association in every continent.[70]

One of the ways in which Icograda reached to designers outside of Europe was the organization of regional meetings. Icograda Regional Meetings were events sponsored by Icograda but financed and organized by its hosts. The regional meetings held in Latin America, Africa and Asia were organized by individuals connected to these regions, who had the opportunity to be also connected with Icograda. The organizers of the regional meetings, as members of the Council, believed in the value of design but also in the value of Icograda as a professional network.

From Icograda's point of view, the main intention of these meetings was to foster the creation of associations that could become Icograda members and a way to engage with graphic designers in other regions of the world. These meetings were not, however, considered as an opportunity for the exchange of knowledge about professional practice between Icograda and designers practising in these regions. The Council's main goals with such meetings was to 'spread over the globe as widely as possible'.[71] Yet, inevitably, this resulted in the Council's awareness that there was design practice outside of Europe and Anglo America, and that it should be acknowledged. As a result of the regional meetings, throughout the 1980s the policies, governance schemes and, more importantly, the Council's discourse were quickly adapted to this newly found perspective of the state of design practice in other areas of the globe.

However, even though there was a shift in the discourse, professional associations were still expected to be aligned with the Council's parameters, even if the professional practice was not originally understood or organized by them in the same way. This meant that they had, at times, to adapt to meet Icograda's parameters. For example, in Nigeria, the structure of the Nigerian Association of Communication Designers was reassessed in the early 1980s 'to delimit its scope to address itself to the specificity of graphic design' and further align its programmes and definitions with those of Icograda, being renamed as the Nigerian Association of Graphic Designers.[72] In Latin America, new associations dedicated exclusively

[67] Knut Iran, Icograda President 1966–1968. Icograda, *Minutes III General Assembly* (1968), 9.
[68] Edugraphic, 'Edugraphic Conference', press release (1975). University of Brighton Design Archives, Icograda Archive, ICO/6/6/4.

[69] Icograda, *Minutes VII General Assembly* (1977). University of Brighton Design Archives, Icograda Archive, ICO/6/7/3.
[70] Icograda, *Minutes X General Assembly* (1983). University of Brighton Design Archives, Icograda Archive, ICO/6/11/3.
[71] Icograda Executive Board (1977–1979), *Minutes of Board Meeting Number 6* (1979), 5. University of Brighton Design Archives, Icograda Archive, ICO/2/2/7. Two years after the event, in 1982, a similar event occurred in Nigeria, with the aim of promoting a dialogue about the situation of graphic design in Africa. However, these were Regional events. It wasn't until the late 1980s that the International Congresses started taking place in countries that were not part of Europe or North America.
[72] NAGD, NAGD University of Brighton Design Archives, Icograda Archive, ICO/10/18/2.

to gathering graphic design practitioners were founded after the 1980s, allowing for the possibility to become members of the Council.

By the late 1980s, Icograda counted 54 member associations between professional and promotional memberships. In a book prepared to celebrate its 25th Anniversary, the diversity of accounts shows how in the late 1980s the Council had embraced the diversity of graphic design practice, including accounts from graphic designers from India, China, Argentina, Mexico, Soviet Union, Middle East, United States and so on. Beyond the geographical spread, the diversity in participation resulted in a shift in the Council's discourse, in terms of how to address practice in different areas of the world. The book prepared to celebrate Icograda's 25th Anniversary *Graphic Design, World Views* evidenced such shift. As stated by then former President of Icograda Jorge Frascara, the book created 'space for a wide range of voices' facing 'the complexity of graphic design head-on, without attempting to present a simple picture'.[73] Frascara's statement about the book was an echo of Icograda's newly espoused disposition.

During the 1980s, the Council embraced in its move towards diversity with the organization of regional meetings in areas of the world not previously approached by the Council and election of increasingly diverse Executive Boards. From 1980 – when the first regional meeting was held – to the end of the decade, the events that drove the growth in the remit of Icograda also altered the Council's perception of itself, its discourse and the practice of graphic design. There was a significant change in the Council's approach to the practice of graphic design in different regions of the world, as well as an abandonment of absolute values and standards of graphic design practice.

Beyond the Cold War

The increased opportunities for travel and communications combined with the end of conflicts of the Cold War period in the early 1990s, allowed the Council to enter a new phase of more ambitious goals in terms of its global remit. The ease of global communications and the transnational movements gave people unprecedented opportunities to connect with others 'wherever on earth they might be'.[74] However, the intensification of processes of globalization also led to global anxieties about the uncertainty of the future. One the one hand, these changes enabled the development of the belief in worldwide cooperation, while on the other, they stimulated a fear that globalization could mean the end of diversity through global cultural homogenization.

From the mid-1990s onwards, the fear of 'globalization' was replaced within Icograda by an effort towards change. The terms 'globe', 'global' and 'world' became frequent, as members of the Executive Board and representatives of member associations constantly referred to the 'global situation' and 'world changes'. From the early concerns with the inevitability of globalization, the Executive Board members went on to treat the world as a globalized entity and, rather than speculating over what a globalized world would look like, or what the role of the profession was, focused on defining 'the future of Icograda'.

For Icograda, embracing globalization meant becoming 'a global community',[75] benefiting from the opportunities of globalization and allegedly addressing its potential issues. Within Icograda, there was a growing sense of duty towards collective solidarity that surpassed regional, national or local identities. For instance, Icograda President Guy A. Schockaert advocated that Icograda members needed 'to learn to say "us" instead of "them"' and 'to communicate and work together, far beyond all divisions'.[76] His statement evidences a self-conscious awareness of postcolonial debates, and an attempt to erase social difference within the Council by eliminating otherness, through the symbolic suggestion of eliminating the use of the pronoun 'them' in favour of the pronoun 'us'.

Conclusion: The limitations of professionalism

This chapter has shown that professionalism in design practice has acted as a restricting and Eurocentric framework within which transnational design connections were being established during the Cold War. The limitations imposed were even more relevant in the context of international design organizations such as Icograda, where the delimitations of professional practice and its definitions deterred the Council from an earlier more comprehensive networks with professionals in diverse regions of the world. The broadening of Icograda's scope resulted in a shift of discourse towards diversity and inclusion and an expansion of its remit and influence farther than ever before. Within graphic design, professionalism does not necessarily act as a restriction to practice given that it can be understood to embrace practice by non-professional designers, but so is the nature of professions as professional associations certainly exclude all but those designers officially recognised as professionals. As such, Icograda and its regulations reflect the normalisation of graphic design practice within the realm of Western European practice, perpetuating models and standards which were, to some extent, extended as a transnational normalization of the profession during the Cold War period by the Council.

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[73] Jorge Frascara, 'Preface: A Celebration of Graphic Design', in *Graphic Design, World Views: A Celebration of Icograda's 25th Anniversary*, ed. Jorge Frascara (Tokyo: Kodansha, 1990), 92.
[74] Jan Aart Scholte, *Globalization: A Critical Introduction*, 2nd ed. (Hampshire/New York: Palgrave Macmillan, [2000] 2005), 241.

[75] Icograda, *A Global Community*, folder (April 2001). Personal Archive of Ruth Klotzel.
[76] Guy-A. Schockaert, 'The Winds of Change: Guidelines for a Presidency', XVII Icograda General Assembly (1997), item 7.1. University of Brighton Design Archives, Icograda Archive, ICO/6/18/7.