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Die besten Plakate / Les meilleurs affiches

The Early Years of the National Poster Award, between Federal Support and Stylistic Authority

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In November 1994, the Museum für Gestaltung Zürich opened *Die 99 schlechtesten Plakate – prämiert weil jenseits* (The 99 worst posters—awarded because beyond [good and evil]), probably Switzerland’s most controversial graphic design exhibition at the time.¹ The museum’s then director Martin Heller had selected the 99 worst posters from recent years.² As Heller puts it bluntly in the exhibition catalog, the selection was made based on his personal tastes. According to him a bad poster is:

Everything that tries to fool me: aesthetically, intellectually, politically, ethically. (Alles was mich [...] für dumm verkauft: ästhetisch, intellektuell, politisch, ethisch.)³

Unsurprisingly, the exhibition provoked an uproar within the graphic design and advertising community that also reached a wider public. Not only specialist journals but also daily newspapers and the tabloid press reported about the polemic assessment and gave voice to the prominent “Heller-Opfer” (Heller victims).⁴ Most of them were offended, and harshly criticized Heller. For example, Rosmarie Tissi asked:

Why does a curator of a publicly funded museum think that he has the right to arbitrarily judge Swiss poster design? (Aber wie kommt ein Konservator eines städtischen Museums dazu, im Alleingang willkürlich Tadel auszu-teilen?)⁵

Heller’s provocative exhibition must be understood as a reaction to the annual national poster award *Die besten Schweizer Plakate des Jahres* that had been jointly organized by the Allgemeine Plakatgesellschaft (APG) (General Poster Company) and the Swiss Federal Office of Culture (SFOC) since 1942.⁶ By turning the award on its head and selecting ninety-nine “bad” posters, Heller intended to criticize the format, which, as he writes, “[...] aus einer Zeit [stammt] in der das gute Schweizer Plakat in unbestrittener Allianz gestalterisch und gesellschaftlich fortschrittlicher Kräfte zum nationalen Identitätsfaktor stilisiert wurde” ([...] dates from a time when the good Swiss poster was stylized to

become a national identity factor by an unquestioned alliance of creative and socially progressive forces).⁷ He compares the award with the taste dictates of Die gute Form (Good Form), and suggests abolishing it.⁸ Despite Heller's open attack, the poster award continued under the aegis of the SFOC (which is situated within the Federal Department of Home Affairs [FDHA]) until 2004.⁹

Unlike the case of the national book award *The Most Beautiful Swiss Books*,¹⁰ which is still held today by the SFOC, there has not been any scholarly debate about the national poster award up to the present day.¹¹ The present essay, however, takes the criticism voiced by Heller as an opportunity to look back at the establishment and first decade of the annual national poster award. Furthermore, the discourse that accompanied the poster award and its possible impact on Swiss poster production is examined. By identifying important stakeholders and analyzing the establishment of the poster award within the context of the Swiss graphic design community, this essay aims to lay the foundations for further in-depth studies on the subject.

Establishing a national poster award

According to Berchtold von Grünigen, the idea of a national poster award was born at a meeting at the famous Café Odeon in Zurich in the fall of 1940.¹² The graphic

designer Pierre Gauchat had invited Edwin Lüthy, the director of the APG, and von Grünigen, in his function as secretary of the Verband Schweizerischer Grafiker (VSG) (Swiss Graphic Design Association), to discuss the "subject of the menacing decline in the quality of the Swiss poster."¹³ There, Pierre Gauchat presented the idea of an annual award for the best posters, with the winners having their work published afterwards. The triumvirate then addressed a letter to Philipp Etter, Federal Counselor and head of the FDHA, to request the support of the Swiss government in this matter.¹⁴ That same year, the idea was discussed in the Federal Commission for Applied Arts (Eidgenössische Kommission für angewandte Kunst, hereinafter EKaK),¹⁵ where it met with approval, though it was decided that instead of the prize money originally envisaged, the winners would get a certificate signed by the Federal Counselor.¹⁶

At the same time, Gauchat, Lüthy, and von Grünigen organized the first edition of the award on their own accord.¹⁷ They chose twenty-four winners from all the posters that had been billboarded in Switzerland during the whole year, except for advertisements for political parties or referendums.¹⁸ The winning posters were subsequently displayed on two pages of the daily newspaper *Neue Zürcher Zeitung* (hereinafter NZZ) on December 28, 1941. At the same time, the federal annual national poster award was launched, to take place as of the next year.¹⁹

As the *NZZ* made evident, the guidelines for the award had already been determined before the federal takeover. The posters were judged according to their “künstlerische Haltung, Werbekraft und Druckqualität” (artistic approach, advertising appeal, and printing quality). The designer, the client, and the printer of the winning posters all received an award. The posters available for selection had to be in the standard Swiss format for posters, *Weltformat* (90.5×128 cm).²⁰ Only a few things changed when the EKaK took over the organization in May 1942. They first published a call for applications inviting designers, printers, and clients to submit their posters themselves from now on, though the jury was still allowed to suggest posters for evaluation.²¹ The assembled jury comprised important stakeholders from various backgrounds who were affiliated to relevant associations.²² Hermann Kienzle (president of EKaK and president of the jury), Adolf Guggenbühl (president of the Swiss Advertising Association Schweizerischer Reklameverband), Berchtold von Grünigen (secretary of the VSG), Edwin Lüthy (director of the APG), Percival Pernet (member of the EKaK from the French-speaking part of Switzerland), Henri Tanner (president of the Fédération Romande de publicité), and Hans Vollenweider (artistic director at the Orell Füssli printing company) were elected to the jury for a term of three years by the EKaK.²³

By February 1943, a total of 159 posters had been evaluated and brought forth

twenty-four Best Posters of the Year 1942. Again, the winners were publicly announced in the *NZZ*²⁴ and displayed at well-frequented public places in cities all over Switzerland, such as Basel, Zurich, Bern, Lucerne, St. Gallen, Lugano, Neuchâtel, Lausanne, and Geneva.²⁵ In addition, a brochure was published every year, listing the winners with images of their work, and also featuring a written commentary or essay on the year’s poster production.²⁶ [Figs. 6, 7]

The *Schweizer Filmwochenschau* (weekly Swiss film news, shown at every cinema throughout the country) took this first official year as an opportunity for a lengthy report on Swiss poster design and production.²⁷ This suggests that the new federal award must have been much discussed, and provided extra visibility for poster production and the whole graphic industry. Interestingly, the report presented a very particular image of the poster designer that would change completely over the next decade.²⁸ Hans Erni and Alois Carigiet are shown painting at their easels either in their studio or on a rooftop terrace, supposedly immersed in creative thoughts, while a voice from off camera discusses the fruitful cooperation of designer, printer, and client in Switzerland’s poster production industry. The printing process they both use, stone lithography, is explained in great detail, demonstrating how the printer’s contribution is crucial to the outcome of the poster.²⁹

Inclusion and exclusion

Given this backdrop, it is no surprise that an increasing interest in the field was already noticeable in the second official year of the award. Whereas in 1942 a total of 159 posters were submitted, by the following year the submissions had increased to 255.³⁰ Furthermore, the many letters received by the EKaK indicate that the commission had very quickly established itself as an authority in the field. Companies looking for a skilled graphic designer started to request a list of recent winners at the FDHA.³¹ The EKaK also received complaints,³² and was occasionally asked to give advice on advertising campaigns (which they then did).³³

Within the framework of the poster award, different design styles characterizing Swiss poster production were discussed right from the beginning. The essays in the annual brochures further fueled the discourse that had previously taken place mainly in specialist journals. Already in the brochure for 1943, Berchtold von Grünigen commented that the photographic poster was practically absent.³⁴ Accordingly, his advice to practitioners was to consider the photographic poster as an alternative to the predominant “[...] überspitzter Naturalismus [...]” (exaggerated naturalism) and “[...] pseudophotographischer Oberflächen-nachbildung [...]” (pseudo-photographic surface imitation).³⁵ In her text in the 1945 brochure, the art and design critic Georgine

Oeri also refers to von Grünigen’s criticism of the dominant poster style:

Speaking of exaggerated naturalism in contemporary poster design, one thinks above all of the so-called Basel School. (Wenn man von überspitztem Naturalismus in der gegenwärtigen Plakatkunst spricht, denkt man vor allem an die sogenannte Basler Schule.)³⁶

In another article, published by Oeri in the magazine *Werk* in 1946, she summarized the criticism that hyperrealistic poster illustration had received in recent years; Grünigen’s example had been followed by the graphic designer Hans Kasser, who had published an article in *Graphis* in November 1944 in which he had similarly criticized this style, which he too mainly attributed to Basel.³⁷ Oeri pointed out, albeit very subtly, that the poster award might itself have a role in these developments:

The Basel School is not Swiss poster design; [...] In terms of quantity, however, they make up a substantial part of the total production, and within the last year’s Federal Award, they accounted for half of the award-winning posters. They represent a certain classicism of the tried and tested, next to which new attempts to break new ground are apparently not easy to push through. (Die Basler Schule ist nicht die Schweizer Plakatkunst; [...].)



Fig. 6

Fig. 7



Fig. 6
Hermann Eidenbenz
(design), winner's certificate
for *Die besten Plakate des
Jahres/Les meilleurs affiches* in
French, 1942.

Fig. 7
Installation shot of the
exhibition *Die besten Plakate
des Jahres 1943* in Basel.

Fig. 8
Double spread of *Die besten
Plakate des Jahres 1946* mit
der Ehrenurkunde des eid-
genössischen Departemen-
ts des Inneren, ed. All-
gemeine Plakatgesellschaft
(1947): n.p.

Fig. 8



Gewichtsmässig bilden sie indessen einen wesentlichen Teil der Gesamtproduktion, und innerhalb der eidgenössischen Prämiiierung [sic!] für das vergangene Jahr bestreiten sie wieder die Hälfte der prämierten [sic!] Plakate. Sie repräsentieren eine gewisse Klassizität des Bewährten, neben der sich offenbar neue Versuche, neue Wege nicht leicht durchzusetzen vermögen.)³⁸

Although the award was intended to assess the whole of Switzerland's poster production, a closer look at the winners reveals that it was de facto a competition between Basel and Zurich. Every year, a few designers from French-speaking Switzerland, Ticino, or Central Switzerland were awarded as well. However, while a few new names almost always made the list, most of the winners stayed the same.³⁹ Regions such as Bern or St. Gallen were almost completely absent during the first decade of the award. For example, only one Bernese designer won an award during the 1940s.⁴⁰ How can this imbalance be explained? As the two main economic centers of the German-speaking part of the country, Zurich and Basel undoubtedly had a financially powerful clientele in need of skilled graphic designers. This was probably one reason for many professionals to settle there. Most importantly, Switzerland's most famous schools of applied arts were in Zurich and Basel, which is perhaps the most obvious explanation for the dominance of these two cities.⁴¹

However, the jury also played a role in the imbalance observed by Oeri. Of the seven members of the first jury who served until 1949, five came from Basel or Zurich. The links to the Allgemeine Gewerbeschule (AGS) Basel were especially close, as Herman Kienzle was a former director of the school, and Berchtold von Grünigen was the head of its design department at the time.⁴² Further criticism came from one of the award's founding fathers, who targeted the exclusion of posters for political parties and referendums. On behalf of the VSG, Pierre Gauchat requested in 1945 that submitting these posters should be allowed too.⁴³ Because this demand did not meet with approval, the VSG went so far as to leave the jury a few years later.⁴⁴ In this respect, the question arises as to whether the award simply reflected current production, or if it also influenced it decisively. This question is not easy to answer, but the aforementioned criticism indicates that the evaluations issued by the annual award jury had an influence on poster production that should not be underestimated. A sentence in the brochure text of the Swiss writer Carl Seelig about the year 1947 points in the same direction, at least concerning the jury's favored design style:

It would be wonderful if abstract avant-gardists also had a chance to draw attention to themselves for once. (Wie schön wäre es, wenn uns einmal [...] die abstrakten Avantgardisten eine

Chance bekämen, die Blicke der Passanten auf sich zu ziehen.)⁴⁵

However, Seelig could also have pointed out that the avant-gardist designers were hardly commissioned for posters during that time.

An article by Hans Neuburg in the specialist journal *Typographische Monatsblätter (TM)* from 1945 also shows a more diverse picture of Swiss graphic design production, observing several different design styles that he believed coexisted within the country. Illustrative designs were also central to Neuburg's article, but nevertheless he also includes a variety of Modernist and abstract designs. However, these were primarily printed on leaflets and in brochures, which suggests that poster design was at that time taking a path separate from the rest of graphic design practice.⁴⁶ [Fig. 8]

Towards a national poster style

Interestingly, Carl Seelig's brochure text for the year 1947 introduces another aspect. He suggests applying a Swiss national characteristic to poster design, thereby linking poster production with the political situation for the first-ever time in the context of these brochures:

The Swiss are a nation of individualists like no other people. In a time of re-dimensioning and adapting, this is

an invaluable advantage that we want to cultivate—also in poster art [...]. (Die Schweizer sind, wie kaum ein anderes Volk, ein Volk von Individualisten. In einer Zeit der Vermassung und Nivellierung liegt darin ein unschätzbare Vorteil, den wir pflegen wollen—auch in der Plakatkunst [...])⁴⁷

The essay in the 1949 poster award brochure is by the graphic designer Hans Kasser, who writes about a traveling exhibition called *The Swiss Posters* that had been organized by the Swiss Arts Council Pro Helvetia and the Swiss Office for the Development of Trade (OSEC). It featured 126 award-winning posters from recent years, most of which were in an illustrative style, with only very few photographic or abstract posters among them.⁴⁸ The catalog text, also written by Kasser, directly links Swiss poster design with the “Swiss national character”:

Among the arts, the graphic art is perhaps the one which has expressed the Swiss character most clearly over time. (Unter den Künsten ist vielleicht die graphische diejenige, in der sich schweizerische Art durch die Zeiten am eindeutigsten Ausdruck gab.)⁴⁹

This exhibition was at the time touring European countries, and would travel all around the world during the ensuing decade.⁵⁰ Kasser's 1949 essay uses the compliments the exhibition received from

abroad⁵¹ to praise Swiss poster production as an important cultural asset:

The mere thought of wanting to say something about the character of Switzerland, and to promote the country as a whole with a poster exhibition, is an acknowledgement of the intrinsic cultural value of our posters. (Allein im Gedanken, mit einer Revue von Affichen etwas über das Wesen der Schweiz aussagen und für das Land als Ganzes werben zu wollen, liegt eine Anerkennung des kulturellen Eigenwertes unserer Plakatpropaganda.)⁵²

More than fifty years later, the curator Martin Heller skillfully deconstructed the mechanics of the award with his selection of the ninety-nine worst posters. From his presentation of the posters in the exhibition space to his accompanying publication, the exhibition is like an act of investigative journalism whose aim is to open up the echo chamber of Swiss graphic design. The accusation of arbitrariness that was directed at Heller from various quarters can thus also be directed towards the juries of the national poster award. The difference is that Heller publicly declared that he alone was responsible for selecting the works for his exhibition, whereas the jury of the award, while beginning with a degree of self-criticism, over the years increasingly seemed to believe in their right to decide objectively on the Best Posters of the Year.

The traveling exhibition used a selection of the winners from the 1940s to represent Switzerland abroad, and at the same time showed what was regarded as being typical of “Swiss” poster design by “official” Switzerland—and what was not. Interestingly enough, the illustrative poster styles that were so heavily promoted in the 1940s, and which were so closely associated with Swiss graphic design, would soon be largely considered as second rate in an international context.

- 1 For an installation view, see Fig. 48, in the present volume.
- 2 For an in-depth discussion about Martin Heller's approach as a curator and director at the Museum für Gestaltung Zürich, see "Popular Culture," in the present volume.
- 3 Heller 1995: 49.
- 4 Fischer 1994: 27.
- 5 Ibid.
- 6 The original name of the poster award was Die besten Plakate des Jahres .../Les Meilleures Affiches parues en ... (The Best Posters of the Year ...). Later this was changed to Die besten Schweizer Plakate des Jahres .../Les meilleures affiches Suisses parues en ... (The Best Swiss Posters of the Year ...).
- 7 Heller 1995: 47–48.
- 8 The original text reads: "Der Mechanismus der solche Ideologisierung überhaupt ermöglichte, gleich jenem der nahezu gleichzeitigen Auszeichnung." Heller 1995: 47–48; about *Gute Form* (Good Form), see Menzi 2014: 192–197.
- 9 The original poster award under the name Die besten Schweizer Plakate des Jahres (The Best Swiss Posters of the Year) only took place until 2000. From 2003 until 2004 the SFOC created a new poster award named Plakat des Jahres (Poster of the Year); however, in 2004 no posters were awarded prizes because the jury was not satisfied with the entries. After that, the SFOC discontinued the award. See Matthieu Musy (SFOC), e-mail to the present writer, January 20, 2020. Since 2001, a new award called 100 beste Plakate (100 Best
- Posters) has been organized by an independent group of graphic designers from Switzerland, Austria, and Germany. Up to the present day, the 100 best posters from Austria, Germany, and Switzerland are selected each year. See <https://100-beste-plakate.de/> (accessed Mar. 20, 2020). Since 2002 the APG runs its own Swiss Poster Award, see <https://www.apgsa.ch/de/unternehmen-markt/veranstaltungen/swiss-poster-award/> (accessed Jun. 8, 2020).
- 10 In 1943 Jan Tschichold initiated the award The Most Beautiful Swiss Books, which was held the following year for the first time and still exists today. These two awards show many intersections, as, for example, within the composition of the jury. Also, Pierre Gauchat appears to have played a decisive role in establishing the award in its early years. Unlike the annual poster award, The Most Beautiful Swiss Books has mostly been organized by the Swiss Publishing Association. Only in 1971 did the FDHA (from 1975 SFOC) take over, and it remains in charge of the award today. Nevertheless, a comparison of the two graphic design awards could be an intriguing subject for further studies. See Früh & Neuenschwander 2016: 209–225; Fischer 2004: 13; Früh 2004: 122 (afterwards n.p.).
- 11 In 1991, Thomas Bolt also looked back on the early years of the poster competition, but with a focus on the dominant stylistic tendencies in Swiss poster design of the 1940s. See Bolt 1991: 360–369. Furthermore, the APG had published two books about the award that did not ask any critical questions about the endeavor. However, as they provide interesting insider information, they have been valuable sources for this essay. See APG 1968; 1991.
- 12 von Grünigen 1968: T43.
- 13 Ibid.
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 Swiss Federal Archive SFA, E3001B#1000/730#375*, AZ. 10.2.06.4, Beste Strassenplakate 1942, 1942–1943, Letter from FDHA office to E. Lüthy (APG) Dec. 6, 1941. (The proceedings of the EKaK meeting from November 1941 are missing in the Swiss Federal Archives.)
- 16 Swiss Federal Archive SFA, E3001B#1000/730#375*, AZ. 10.2.06.4, Beste Strassenplakate 1942, 1942–1943, Letter from FDHA office to E. Lüthy (APG) 06.12.1941.
- 17 von Grünigen 1968: T43; Welti 1941: n.p.
- 18 The posters for the selection were provided by the APG; about 300 posters were available for selection. See Welti 1941: n.p.
- 19 Ibid.
- 20 These guidelines would stay the same for many years to come. See *ibid.* Swiss Federal Archive SFA, E3001B#1000/730#375*, AZ. 10.2.06.4, Beste Strassenplakate 1942, 1942–1943, Reglement, Press Release 20.05.1942.
- 21 Swiss Federal Archive SFA, E3001B#1000/730#375*, AZ. 10.2.06.4, Beste Strassenplakate 1942, 1942–1943, Vie, Art, Cité (Lausanne), Schweizer Reklame, Schweizer. Graphische Mitteilungen, Typografische Monatsblätter, S.B.B. Revue, Das Werk.

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22	This was a topic of discussion at several meetings, so this task was apparently given particular attention. To ensure the awards' acceptance within the community, the commission considered it to be very important to include two members of French-speaking Switzerland and at least one member of every association and lobby organization connected with poster production and advertising. Swiss Federal Archive SFA, E3001B#1000/730#375*, AZ. 10.2.06.4, Beste Strassenplakate 1942, 1942-1943, Letter H. Kienzle to Mr. Du Pasquier, 04.II.1942.	Az. 0157-I, Schweizer Plakate, 17.09.1943, (Schweizer Filmwochenschau).	28 Regarding designers and their attire, see "Designer Portraits," in the volume <i>Visual Arguments</i> .	Ernst Morgenthaler was among the winners, but their other poster by the same designer, "Mit der Bahn hinaus ins Freie," which they considered much more popular, was not. In his reply, the secretary of the FDHA offered advice on the SBB's advertising strategy on behalf of the jury. Swiss Federal Archive SFA, E3001B#1000/730#376, Az. 10.2.06.4, Beste Strassenplakate 1943, 1943-1944, Letter SBB to FDHA, 24.03.1945.	
23	Interestingly, there was no official representative of the Schweizerischer Werkbund (SWB). Swiss Federal Archive SFA, E3001B#1000/730#375*, AZ. 10.2.06.4, Beste Strassenplakate 1942, 1942-1943, Letter H. Kienzle to Mr. Du Pasquier, 04.II.1942.	29 Swiss Federal Archive SFA, J2.143#1996/386#157-I#1*, Az. 0157-I, Schweizer Plakate, 17.09.1943, (Schweizer Filmwochenschau).	30 Swiss Federal Archive SFA, E3001B#1000/730#376, Az. 10.2.06.4, Beste Strassenplakate 1943, 1943-1944, Proceedings of the jury meeting 22.01.1944.	34 Fustier 1944: n.p	
24	NZZ 1943: n.p.	31 Swiss Federal Archive SFA, E3001B#1000/730#376, Az. 10.2.06.4, Beste Strassenplakate 1943, 1943-1944, Letter from the Schweizerische Zentrale für Verkehrsförderung to FDHA, 22.03.1944.	35 Ibid.	36 Oeri 1946a: n.p. Regarding the Basel School, see "The Basel School," in the present volume.	
25	The winners of the very first, non-governmental edition of the award in 1941 were exhibited by the lakeside of Zurich. von Grünigen 1968: T43.	32 For example, Pro Telephon expressed their extreme disappointment that Herbert Leupin's poster "Kristall" from 1943 was not among the winners and had thus been "downgraded." (The original reads: "Auch der Schöpfer des Plakates, Herr Herbert Leupin, der dieses Plakat zu seinen besten Arbeiten zählt, ist über die mit der Nichtprämierung verbundene Deklassierung sehr erstaunt.") See Swiss Federal Archive SFA, E3001B#1000/730#376, Az. 10.2.06.4, Beste Strassenplakate 1943, 1943-1944, Letter from Pro Telephon to FDHA, 31.01.1944.	37 Kasser 1945: 42.	38 Oeri 1946b: 239.	
26	The texts often bluntly communicated what the jury or the author thought was good or bad design, and sometimes gave direct advice for improvement. For example, designers, printers, and clients are either complimented or harshly criticized for mediocrity, the use of too many or too few colors, or dull images. Lüthy 1943: n.p.; Fustier 1944: n.p.; von Gunten 1947: n.p.; Seelig 1948: n.p.	33 A year later, the FDHA received a similar complaint from the Swiss Federal Railways (SBB CFF FFS) asking why their poster "Glückliche Jugend" by	39 For example: Géo Fustier from Geneva, Pierre Monnerat from Lausanne, Daniela Buzzi from Locarno, and Hans Erni (Lucerne) and Herbert Leupin (originally from Lucerne but living in Basel).	40 In 1943, the Bernese Karl Toggeweiler won an award for a poster for the shoe manufacturer Bata. See Fustier 1944: n.p.	
27	Swiss Federal Archive SFA, J2.143#1996/386#157-I#1*,			41 See e.g. Hollis 2006: 204-220; This issue is also discussed in "The Basel School," in the present volume.	
				42 Walter 2007: 49 (see especially footnote 78).	
				43 On behalf of the VSG, Pierre Gauchat requested in 1945 that political posters should be allowed for submission. Swiss Federal Archive SFA, E3001B#1000/730#377*, Az. 10.2.06.4, Beste Strassenplakate 1944: 1944-1945, Letter of 25 February 1945.	

- 44 Swiss Federal Archive SFA, E3001B#1978/62#162*, Az. 10.2.06.4, Wettbewerb "Beste Plakate des Jahres", 1951–1957. We can only speculate as to whether restricting the award to the Swiss standard poster format *Weltformat* could be regarded as a major intervention. It is possible that clients with a smaller budget could not afford the printing and paper costs of *Weltformat*. Therefore, the award would have only taken larger clients into account.
- 45 Seelig 1948: n.p.
- 46 Neuburg 1946: 235–262.
- 47 Seelig 1948: n.p.
- 48 Kasser 1950: n.p.
- 49 Pro Helvetia 1950: 7–8.
- 50 Kadelbach 2013: 178–179. This traveling exhibition is the focus of the PhD thesis of the present author.
- 51 The skilled craftsmanship, the close cooperation of graphic designers, printers, and clients, the standardization of the format, and the strict regulations on billposting in public spaces were especially well received abroad. Kasser 1950: n.p.
- 52 Ibid.