

The Czech embassy in Berlin: A contested architectural icon

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The Czech embassy in Berlin, by the architects Věra Machoninová and Vladimír Machonin, is an architectural icon built at the heart of divided Berlin, in close proximity to the Berlin Wall. Its architecture, often labelled »communist« or »Eastern«, is an outstanding achievement of European Brutalism, expressing the individual creativity of the architects, as well as their constructive abilities, art conceptions and craftsmanship, without the ambition of projecting a socialist or national ethos. In this paper, the embassy serves as a case study to examine the notion of ideologically charged architecture from the 1950s to the 1970s, framing it within discussions in Czechoslovakia between the architects and the investor – the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The embassy’s unique features transcend the East-West difference in terms of creativity and style. Despite these features, the building’s continued existence depends on its contested reception among experts and users.

Architecture production in the former socialist bloc is often labelled »East-Modern« (»Ost-Moderne«). The German term was coined to re-evaluate and direct more attention to the built heritage of the former German Democratic Republic (GDR), or East Germany. As Simone Hain recently noted, it served as a »Kampfbegriff« (battle slogan) to counter the exclusive West German perspective – the low regard for East German architecture and for the »East« in general: »Der Osten kann per se keine so gute moderne Architektur wie der freiheitliche Westen hervorgebracht haben; außerdem bilden die Bauten, die hier und da zu sehen sind, ohnehin nur ungeschickte Nachahmungen, noch dazu von Nachkriegsbauten, die man gleich am li-

ebsten abreißen würde.«¹ The quotation suggests a number of the prejudices faced by the GDR's built heritage, chiefly the limitation of freedom of expression, creativity and originality – the architecture of the GDR was considered a less valuable copy of »Western« architectural icons. Andreas Butter aims to advocate the singular achievement of the GDR within modernity: »The GDR is not to be measured merely by the standards of worldwide modernism, but must be understood precisely as an independent contribution to the discussion of these standards. In the post-war period, this included above all social content – higher health standards, democratisation of education, emancipation of women and the development of creative forces.«² This is a relevant and understandable aim in the internal German discourse; however, it is questionable whether the binary East-West opposition is still valid for Germany thirty years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, and whether a broader territorial (European) and historical reference framework would not be more productive.

In retrospect, we can see the shared European architectural history in many aspects of post-war development – the problems of housing shortage and post-war reconstruction and the advent of consumer society, mass housing, digitisation and telecommunication, etc. Accordingly, in the field of architecture, Hans Ibelings notes: »But no matter how vigorously East and West cultivated their antagonism in order to construct and maintain their respective identities, there were remarkable similarities in architecture. With the exception of Socialist Realism [...] the development of architecture in the East had parallels with that in the West, and one of these parallels is Brutalism.«³ Ibelings suggests that the difference between East and West was subject to political identity construction, and that in architecture as such the difference was less remarkable. He also notes that the self-understanding of the inhabitants of the region is by no means »Eastern« but rather »Central«, hinting at the predefined mental maps of »Western« writers and editors. The significant German art historians Adrian von Butlar and Gabi Dolff-Bonekämper present similar views: »In retrospect – as the recently used terms of »East Modernism« or »West Modernism« suggest – can preferred or obsolete building tasks and significant differences in type, style and urban spatial planning be identified for ideological reasons? [...] It would be a complete exaggeration to claim that all building projects of the 1960s and 1970s in Berlin were equally politicised and could only be adequately read in terms of system antagonism.«⁴ This urges us to proceed with caution before making too hasty and all-encompassing judgements on the ideological divide and on the politics and ideology directly influencing architecture. A more significant task may be to offer a more diversified reading, and to reframe architectural history and mental maps once again on a broader European perspective.

Ideology and architecture in Czechoslovakia

The relationship between ideology and architecture took different forms, at varying levels of intensity, during the 40-year existence of socialist Czechoslovakia. Initially, the socialist realism imposed on the entire Soviet bloc after 1945 (since 1948 known as »sorela« in Czechoslovakia) can be summed up by its central dictum: art should be »national in form and socialist in content«.⁵ The ideological official view condemned the avant-gardes, decadent capitalist formalism, individualism and the lack of social awareness. Socialist realism served as a tool for disciplining ideologically unstable artists and architects. However, the first cracks and a revision appeared after 1956 as the expert public became more eloquent on Western artistic inspirations and the existing technical deficits of sorela. In Czechoslovakia, three positions developed: »dogmatic sorela«, »westernisation« and the in-between singular socialist approach. The last-mentioned, according to Rostislav Svácha, defined moderate modernity without »capitalist excesses«, manifested as »inconspicuousness, non-exclusivity, non-expressivity and self-restraint«.⁶ This was the case with the award-winning Brussels Expo Pavilion in 1958, which marked the ideological turn towards the International style (named the »Brussels« style). Since then, architecture no longer manifested the ideological battle between capitalism and socialism. Rather, the attainment of a more democratic and accessible standard of living became the proclaimed aim of socialist architects. Only a few years later, in 1964, the theoretician Otakar Nový noted: »Many people, therefore, are now asking what is, essentially, the difference between Western and socialist architecture and construction? Isn't today's building art in the West, even in its exclusivity, basically a foretaste of the mass construction of the wonderful architectonic landscape of communism?«⁷ The fact that capitalist architecture moved from a despised ideological enemy towards a kind of model shows the extent of the discursive shift that took place.

In the late 1950s, the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs launched a wide building programme through architecture competitions. Notable buildings and artistic achievements were selected to represent the state and to compete in the international arena. Such competitions gave rise to outstanding works of architecture by the architects Karel Filsak (Beijing, Geneva, Cairo, New Delhi), Jan Šrámek and Jan Bočan (London, Stockholm) and the Machonin couple. The review of the Beijing jury decisions noted the high-quality results, and the winning project was strongly classically inspired but devoid of ideological iconography. The inner conflict of the time was revealed in the jury statement, based on a lack of ideological guidelines for architecture and a general need for an elaborate discussion.⁸ In 1965, in an article on foreign embassies, the head of the foreign building de-

partment outlined the main investment aims: »to implement the construction of buildings for our embassies in the most economical way while ensuring the necessary degree of state representation so that it is clear from the architectural expression and the whole concept of the building that it is a socialist state. Therefore, the conceptual design is always developed by a Czechoslovak architect, and where possible she produces also further stages of project documentation.«⁹ The political agenda lagged behind the functional and economic aspects, and the definition of the socialist state (not socialism) remained rather vague. The Czech nationality of the architects and designers was the relevant criterion. Věra Machoninová, who won numerous competitions, noted on her negotiation with the investors: »This is what the jury approved, that's it fixed for us, that's what we have to stick to.«¹⁰ The winning architecture design was binding, and officials and investors did not interfere with the architectural concept.

The personal style of the Machonin couple developed in the course of the 1960s. Vladimír Machonin had supervised the construction of the Brussels Expo pavilion, and the political thaw of the 1960s meant that architects became more connected to international trends in their field. The Machonins won a third prize for the university grounds in Dublin in 1963 (together with Karel Prager, Jiří Albrecht and Jiří Kadeřábek). The prize enabled them to travel abroad on study trips, with a special focus on cinemas, after winning the competition for the Thermal festival and spa hotel at Karlovy Vary (Karlsbad) in 1964.

Věra Machoninová recalls the 1970 Osaka exhibition as her last foreign trip until 1989. As a result of their disapproval of the Soviet invasion of 1968, she and her husband were not admitted to the newly established Union of Czech Architects, their semi-independent Studio Alfa was incorporated within a larger state planning office, and they were banned from architectural competitions, publications, and exhibitions. However, they were allowed to continue working on projects already under way, such as the Kotva and DBK department stores and the Czechoslovak embassy in East Berlin.

The architecture of the Machonin husband-and-wife team is characterised by self-confident structural solutions, combining the construction with generous spatial layout. The open plan of the Kotva department store is unique in its constructive use of an organic honeycomb structure, while the DBK shopping centre's atrium and open plan allow the space to flow from one floor to the other via an outdoor promenade towards a subway passage. Formally, the buildings are distinct in their outline; the Thermal hotel's orthogonal composition of a low pedestal and a high slender volume is disturbed by three oval cinema halls that dynamically react to the relief of the nearby river valley. A rather outstanding feature in the context of the Czechoslovak architecture of the time is the use of intense colours, such as red, or-

ange and yellow. In combination with splendid artworks, they created a design environment. A wide range of material uses, including concrete and glass, inventively dissolve the boundary between interior and exterior.

Architecture of the embassy

The establishment of the Czechoslovak embassy in the GDR falls within the period of the legal international acknowledgement of the GDR. Only close allies, such as Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, North Korea and the Soviet Union, were granted the right to establish their own free-standing buildings, and only the USSR and Czechoslovakia commissioned architects from their countries of origin.¹¹ The Czechoslovak embassy competition proposal from 1970 planned for the Leipziger Strasse a longitudinal slab divided into two volumes, erected on concrete load-bearing cores above the ground. On the second floor, a semi-detached pavilion would serve for representative purposes. The upper storeys began at the fourth floor. An additional lower structure included administration functions.

The East Berlin urban planners intended to temporarily re-establish the representative significance of the former Berlin centre in Wilhelmstrasse (from 1964 Otto-Grotewohl-Strasse). Thus, the plot for the Czechoslovak embassy shifted to Otto-Grotewohl-Strasse (at the corner of Mohrenstrasse) in the planned diplomatic quarter. The new situation required a new building concept, and is also a key to the building's characteristic as a solitary icon. The plot was adjacent to the Berlin Wall, with only little substance left at Wilhelmstrasse. Basically, it was a *terrain vague*. Between 1987 and 1992, the surrounding blocks of prefabricated housing were constructed. Thus, for nearly 20 years, the embassy served as the only reference point in the area (possibly the reason for the nickname »spaceship«). The architectural design by the Machonin couple from 1972 implied a closed cubic volume with an atrium on the upper floors of the building; the maximum floor space was 50 × 50 m, and the height 22 m. [Fig. 1] The dynamic floor plan was divided diagonally, with inserted circular halls. [Fig. 2]

The reworked final study is dated March 1973. The architects noted: »[W]ith the use of structural forms of planes intersecting each other, the architecture composition is based on the idea of revealing the functional elements of the embassy in the exterior in individual forms and materials.«¹²

The Machonins laid great emphasis on the expression of function and construction to reveal the representative purposes of the embassy in its exterior appearance. The house has two faces, the representative one facing Wilhelmstrasse and the more casual one turned towards the atrium. On the first floor, three glass capsules emphasise



[1] Věra Machoninová, Vladimír Machonin, Czech embassy in Berlin, winning competition design – north elevation, 1972, National Gallery Prague



[2] Věra Machoninová, Vladimír Machonin, Czech embassy in Berlin, floor-plan, 2nd floor, 1972, National Gallery Prague

the *piano nobile* of the embassy. They are lifted above the ground to provide a free basement and a diagonal access ramp. Above the representative capsules, on a finer scale, three floors of offices and maisonette apartments with horizontal window bands are wrapped around the inner, semi-open atrium. The difference in the construction span allowed for a differentiated treatment of the façade and composition – a large scale for the representative, public venue, and a smaller scale for functional purposes. Two expressive concrete staircase shafts, clad in grey anodised aluminium, mark two separate entrances to the building – one for the embassy and one for the separate amenities of the gallery, nowadays the Czech Centre (Tschechisches Zentrum) and the trade department.

The construction stands out as a visible element of the building. The monolithic reinforced-concrete frame, cast *in situ*, spans 14.4 m from the first to the third floors, and 7.2 m on the upper floors. The large spans are supported with two grates, on the first and third floors. Especially the grate on the third floor, which spans the entire building, is exposed as the concrete ceiling of the main auditorium, and protrudes as massive consoles on the façade. The raw concrete load-bearing columns support the glass capsules into the exterior and interior.

The façade creates a contrasting feeling of weight and lightness and gives the building a distinct character. The large windows and horizontal bands are formed with slanted window parapets, to form a cutting-edge geometry of the volume. The architects prescribed precise material and colour coding – raw concrete surfaces for the supporting structure, tinted glass windows, window frames of bronze anodised aluminium and bright colours (red, orange and blue) for the round volumes of the entrance ramp, which »leak« the interior colours into the rather dim exterior appearance.

The diagonal ramp, with a ceramic relief by Vlastimil Květenký and large glass walls, enables a fluent entrance transition, reminding one of the modernist attempt to dissolve the boundary between the exterior and interior through transparency and play with glass reflections. The foyer, clad in brown ceramic tiles with abstract circular motifs, provides a backdrop for an outburst of colour in (originally) four circular conference rooms with metal cladding painted bright red, yellow and orange. The small conference rooms, with their round tables and »Freischwinger« chairs, allude to the seating composition of Ludwig Mies van der Rohe's Villa Tugendhat in Brno. Segments of the circular rooms protrude through the glass walls.

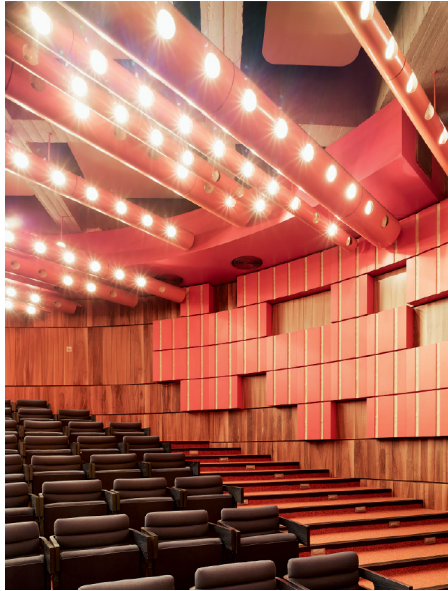
The main circular auditorium and cinema on the representative first floor is at the geometric centre of the building. It also forms negative spaces around it, and the circular and organic forms interfere with the orthogonal construction grid (a solution that had already been successfully tested for the Hotel Thermal). The second floor is



[3] Věra Machoninová, Vladimír Machonin, Czech embassy in Berlin, conference rooms on ground floor

entered diagonally via the central staircase beneath the auditorium, in a narrow space with a glass object by Stanislav Libenský and Jarmila Brychtová, squeezed between the main circular auditorium and the small, allegedly tap-proof oval conference room. To the left and right, along a diagonal axis, two foyers with bars and seating furniture offer the possibility to rest or observe traffic on the street outside. Large conference rooms located in three glass capsules are fitted with movable walls, which flexibly divide the space for parallel or singular events held by the embassy, trade department, etc.

The interior design was authored by the architects as a design environment, a unique symbiosis of colour, material and art in architecture, and to a great extent it remains intact today. The interior design suggests a great sensibility and a conscious play with the emotional effects of colours; the four entrance cabins on the ground floor can be perceived as experiments in their own right – an all-encompassing psychological and physical experience comparable to the colour experiments of Josef Albers, Mark Rothko, Barnett Newman or Verner Panton. [Fig. 3] Panton in particular significantly contributed to the transfer of artistic strategies into design environments, in the Astoria Hotel in Trondheim (1960) or the Cologne-Visiona furniture fair (1969). Le Corbusier's art brut paintings also inspired an intense treatment of colour in Brutalist architecture.



[4] Věra Machoninová, Vladimír Machonin, Czech embassy in Berlin, main auditorium and cinema

The embassy's representative first floor presents a differentiated use of colour and material. The auditorium/cinema and two foyers with bars are intended as intensive social spaces; the cinema has a capacity of approximately 200 people and combines orange elements (carpet, tiles, lighting) with fitted brown walnut wood veneer on the inside and outside of the circular form. [Fig. 4] The adjacent foyers are clad in orange metal ceiling sheets, orange window sun blinds and seating compositions in red and beige. The sanguine atmosphere is completed by glowing glass tubes by Libenský and Brychtová. [Fig. 5] The conference rooms and working rooms of the embassy have a more restrained atmosphere, with beige and brown being dominant. These areas are complemented with tapestries – an op-art wall tapestry with leaf motifs by Věra Drnková-Zářecká and two smaller figurative works by Alois Fišárek and Lubomír Fulla. Hidden highlights by other renowned artists are two chandeliers with blue and brown blossoms by Milada Kytková-Roubíčková, textile drawings and prints by Karel Lapka and Jiří Mareš, and an abstract metal relief by Adriena Šimotová.

The armchairs by the Machonins are made of bent lamellas from waste veneer produced by the Ton factory (a successor of the Thonet enterprise). The intense red and beige leather upholstery provides a sophisticated change in the room atmosphere. Bent lamellas are also used as conference tables, as well as for cantilever conference chairs in beige and dark grey upholstery. Further fitted furniture sets were used by the trade department and the consulate.



[5] Věra Machoninová, Vladimír Machonin, Czech embassy in Berlin, foyer

The contested reception of Brutalism

The oeuvre of the Machonin couple and the embassy received little expert acknowledgement, as the architects were on the publication blacklist. Until 1989, the only published mentions were one construction detail in *Architektura ČSR* in 1979, and one not necessarily positive review by Radomíra Valterová (Sedláková) in 1980, entitled »Cultivated Coldness«. On the one hand the author highlights the architectural qualities of the building, and on the other bemoans the Machonin style: »[I]t radiates coldness; coldness and enclosure and – saddest of all – a kind of dehumanization.«¹³ Only later was the technical character of the Machonins' architecture observed by Rostislav Švácha.¹⁴ Lukáš Beran, in the exhibition catalogue on the Machonins, correctly criticises the association of the embassy with the common-sense notions of »raw« and »aggressive«, and considers the building to be an example of post-brutalist, late modern architecture.¹⁵ In my opinion, given the formal and construction characteristics and colour expression of the building described above, it is possible to see the Czech embassy as one of the best examples of Brutalism in Berlin, its qualities transgressing the East-West divide.

Still, the question arises as to whether the representative architecture of a socialist state can comply with Rayner Banham's consideration of the New Brutalism. Does it fall into the category of ethic or aesthetic? Banham describes the ideological frontline in the UK of the 1950s

as being located between the brutalist leftist avant-garde and the dogmatic social-realist tendencies that promoted the revival of red-brick architecture and vernacular motifs, entitled »New Humanism«. The avant-garde Hunstanton School, by Alison and Peter Smithson, was criticised by the dogmatics as »antihuman, repulsive or brutal, meaning sub-human«, thus devaluing the anti-aesthetic and abstract qualities of the work.¹⁶ Perhaps one can to some extent relate this ideological frontline to the situation in Czechoslovakia. The Machonins were forced to accept socialist realism in their early works in the 1950s. Their individual style and architecture, developed in the 1960s, can be interpreted as a reaction to the ideological indoctrination. Thus, paradoxically, given their obvious sources of inspiration, the Berlin embassy, in spite of its representation task, can be considered anti-ideological in the sense that it subverted the »socialist« and »national« political dictum that remained valid in the Soviet bloc in a less restrictive form. Ironically, the Machonins were politically unacceptable figures after 1968, which points towards an attitude of resistance to the political power inscribed in the building.

In spite of the intertwined architectural and ideological interpretation of the embassy, popular opinion labels the architecture »communist« or »monstrous«. Given the great number of Czech embassies built internationally in the 1960s and 1970s, this can be considered a structural problem. The position of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the ambassadors is often decisive for the fate of these buildings. The ambassador František Černý (1998–2001) was a strong advocate of the building. He appreciated its style and uniqueness, even more so given the uninteresting new construction in its surroundings; he opened the fences on the ground floor and renovated the building. However, he remembered how the antipathy of some of his colleagues towards the old furniture contrasted with the excitement of other renowned visitors.¹⁷ Karel Schwarzenberg, the Minister of Foreign Affairs between 2007 and 2013, noted that the Berlin embassy is »poorly built and consumes too much money«. ¹⁸ He claimed it was unpractical, too big, ugly, and unrepresentative. Indeed, the ministry conceived a plan to swap the German embassy in Prague for a prestigious plot for a new Czech embassy in Berlin. As a consequence, the very existence of the building was threatened. The ambassador Tomáš Podivínský (2015–2020) generally considered the embassy unsuitable for the purposes of »democratic, open, accommodating and friendly« diplomacy. He acknowledged various views of the building, for example »socialist architecture« or »monumental mausoleum«, or »Ostalgie«, and primarily argued with its economic aspects – the high running costs and the size of the building.¹⁹ Two scenarios, demolition or reconstruction, were proposed, of which the costs of reconstruction were lower. Today, the building is up for reconstruction, and the current ambassador, Tomáš Kafka, favours its special »character«. ²⁰ Ho-

wever, rising construction costs and planning difficulties make the timetable for future refurbishment unclear once again. Only constant discussion and awareness-raising activities may convince officials of the unique architectural quality and cultural heritage value of the embassy.

Helena Huber-Doudová, curator of the Collection of Architecture of the National Gallery Prague, focuses especially on post-1945 architecture and its media overlap. From 2011 to 2012, Doudová interned at Munich's Pinakothek der Moderne museum of architecture. As a research assistant and curator of the »International Museum Fellowship«, she prepared an exhibition on Otto Neurath and Fritz Kahn's infographics (2016–2017) in cooperation with the German Federal Cultural Foundation, the University of Erfurt, and the Museum of Books and Writing in Leipzig.

Notes

- 1 Andreas Butter, Ulrich Hartung, *Ostmoderne. Architektur in Berlin 1945–1965*, Berlin 2004, 10.
- 2 »Die DDR ist nicht bloss an den Maßstäben des weltweiten Modernismus zu messen, sondern muss gerade als eigenständiger Beitrag zur Diskussion dieser Massstäbe verstanden werden. Dazu gehörten in der Nachkriegszeit vor allem soziale Inhalte – höhere Gesundheits-Standards, Demokratisierung der Bildung, Emanzipation der Frauen und Entfaltung kreativer Kräfte.« (Ibid., 15.)
- 3 »Doch ganz gleich, mit wieviel Nachdruck Ost und West ihre Gegnerschaft kultivierten, um die jeweils eigene Identität zu konstruieren, und zu pflegen: in der Architektur gab es bemerkenswerte Ähnlichkeiten. Mit Ausnahme des Sozialistischen Realismus [...] wies die Entwicklung der Architektur im Osten Parallelen zu der im Westen auf, und eine dieser Parallelen ist der Brutalismus.« (Hans Ibelings, »Osteuropa«, in: Oliver Elser et al. (ed.), *SOS Brutalismus: eine internationale Bestandsaufnahme*, Zürich 2017, 371.)
- 4 »Lassen sich im Rückblick – wie die neuerdings gebräuchlichen Begriffe der »Ost-Moderne« oder »West-Moderne« suggerieren – aus ideologischen Gründen bevorzugte oder obsolete Bauaufgaben und signifikante Unterschiede in Typus, Stil und städtebaulicher Raumordnung aufweisen? [...] Es wäre völlig übertrieben, behaupten zu wollen, dass alle Bauprojekte der 1960er und 1970er Jahre in Berlin gleichermaßen politisiert und nur im Systemantagonismus angemessen lesbar wären.« (Adrian von Butlar, Kerstin Wittmann-Englert, Gabi Dolff-Bonekämper, *Baukunst der Nachkriegsmoderne. Architekturführer Berlin 1949–1979*, Berlin 2013, XXI–XXII.)
- 5 Catherine Cooke, »Socialist Realist Architecture: Theory and Practices«, in: Matthew Cullerne Brown, Brandon Taylor (eds.), *Art of the Soviets: Painting, Sculpture, Architecture in a One-Party State*, Manchester 1993, 87–88.
- 6 For the in-depth debate in 1957, cf. Rostislav Švácha, »Jaké poučení? Československá debata o architektuře kapitalistického Západu v roce 1957«, unpublished manuscript, 2021, n. p.
- 7 Otakar Nový, *Konec velkoměst, Praha 1964, 275*; cited in Veronika Rollová, »Reality and Program: The Living Environment of the Socialist Person (1964–1975)«, in: Karolína Jirkalová (ed.), *The Future is Hidden in the Present*, Prague 2021, 45.
- 8 Karel Stránil, »Soutěž na velvyslanectví v Pekinu«, in: *Architektura ČSR 3* (1957), 125. The jury consisted of four deputies of the investor and Ministry of Foreign Affairs and eleven expert jurors.
- 9 Václav Hlinský, »Stavby zastupitelských úřadů ČSSR v zahraničí«, in: *Československý architekt 8–9* (1966), 4.
- 10 Petr Vorlík's interview with Věra Machoninová, *60/70. Věra a Vladimír Machoninovi*, eds. Pavel Směták and Klára Pučerová, Prague 2010, 32.
- 11 In 1972, the Basic Treaty (*Grundlagenvertrag*) with West Germany led to a sudden need for 74 foreign representations, or per-

manent legations, and a decision to locate these in Pankow in the new diplomatic quarter. The construction was directed by the GDR's state office for foreign representations (Dienstleistungsamt für Ausländische Vertretungen, DAV). As the newly established representations mostly fell into the category of prefabricated types Pankow I–III, this curious move of the DAV suggests a pragmatic, administrative and ideology-free decision, which completely lacks any kind of representative ambition or even the authorship of an architect. Cf. Kerstin Wittman-Englert, *Botschaften in Berlin*, Berlin 2004.

- 12 Věra Machoninová, Vladimír Machonin, *Stavba zastupitelského úřadu ČSSR v hlavním městě NDR Berlíně. Souhrnné projektové řešení*, 1973, 5. Archiv Ministerstva zahraničních věcí v Praze.
- 13 Radomíra Valterová, »Kultivovaný chlad«, in: *Mladá Fronta Víkend*, 12.07.1980, 7.
- 14 Rostislav Švácha, »Architektura 1958–1970«, in: Rostislav Švácha, Marie Platovská (eds.), *Dějiny českého výtvarného umění*, Prague 2007, 47, 53, 56.
- 15 Lukáš Beran, »Věra Machoninová, Vladimír Machonin: Works 1960–71«, in: Pavel Směták, Klára Pučerová (eds.), *60/70. Věra a Vladimír Machoninovi*, Prague 2010, 15.
- 16 Cf. Rayner Banham, *The New Brutalism: Ethic or Aesthetic?*, London 1966, 11, 41.
- 17 Michael Hagner, Anke te Heesen, Candida Höfer, *Berlin: Wilhelmstrasse 44*, Köln 2003, 104, 106–107.
- 18 Naďa Adamčková, Marie Königová, »Schwarzenberg: Rýsuje se diplomatická dohoda o ambasádách«, Právo, 11.5.2011, online: <<https://www.top09.cz/co-delame/medialni-vystupy/schwarzenberg-rysuje-se-diplomaticka-dohoda-o-ambasadach-5896.html>, 29.12.2021.
- 19 Reportéři ČT, »Dům za zdí«, Česká televize, 2015.
- 20 Jiří Hošek, »Debata s Německem na stejné úrovni očí, doufá náš nová muž v Berlíně«, in: *Seznam Zprávy*, online: <<https://www.seznamzpravy.cz/clanek/debata-s-nemeckem-na-stejne-urovni-oci-doufa-nas-novy-muz-v-berline-114182>, 2.1.2022.

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- [1]–[2] National Gallery Prague.
[3]–[5] Schnepf Renou, 2014.

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