The large picture houses in Berlin are palaces of distraction; to call them movie theaters [Kinos], would be disrespectful. The latter are still abundant only in Old Berlin and in the suburbs, where they serve neighborhood audiences, and even there they are declining in number. Much more than such movie houses or even the ordinary theaters, it is the picture palaces, those optical fairylands, that are shaping the face of Berlin. The UFA palaces (above all, the one at the Zoo), the Capitol built by Poelzig, the Marmorhaus, and whatever their names may be, enjoy sellouts day after day. The newly built Gloria-Palast proves that the style these palaces have initiated is still developing in the same direction.¹

Elegant surface splendor is the hallmark of these mass theaters. Like hotel lobbies, they are shrines to the cultivation of pleasure; their glamour aims at edification. But while the architecture does perhaps bombard the patrons in its attempt to create an atmosphere, it in no way relapses into the barbaric pomposity of Wilhelminian secular churches—like the Rheingold, for example, which seeks to give the impression that it harbors the Wagnerian Nibelungen treasure. Instead, the architecture of the film palaces has evolved into a form that avoids stylistic excesses. Taste has presided over the dimensions and, in conjunction with a refined artisanal fantasy, has spawned the costly interior furnishings. The Gloria-Palast presents itself as a baroque theater. The community of worshipers, numbering in the thousands, can be content, for its gathering places are a worthy abode.
The programs, too, display a well-wrought grandiosity. Gone are
the days when films were allowed to run one after another, each with a
corresponding musical accompaniment. The major theaters, at least,
have adopted the American style of a self-contained show, which inte-
grates the film into a larger whole. Like the program sheets which have
expanded into fan magazines, the shows have grown into a structured
profusion of production numbers and presentations. A glittering, reve-
like creature has crawled out of the movies: the total artwork [Gesamt-
kunstwerk] of effects.

This total artwork of effects assaults all the senses using every
possible means. Spotlights shower their beams into the auditorium,
sprinkling across festive drapes or rippling through colorful, organic-
looking glass fixtures. The orchestra asserts itself as an independent
power, its acoustic production buttressed by the responsiveness of
the lighting. Every emotion is accorded its own acoustic expression and its
color value in the spectrum—a visual and acoustic kaleidoscope that
provides the setting for the physical activity on stage: pantomime and
ballet. Until finally the white surface descends and the events of the
three-dimensional stage blend imperceptibly into two-dimensional illus-
ions.

Alongside the legitimate revues, such shows are the leading attrac-
tion in Berlin today. They raise distraction to the level of culture; they
are aimed at the masses.

The masses also gather in the provinces, but there they are subjected to
a pressure that does not allow them the spiritual and cultural [geistig]
fulfillment appropriate to their number and real social significance. In
the industrial centers where they appear in great numbers, they are so
overburdened as workers that they are unable to realize their own way
of life. They are handed down the rubbish and outdated entertainment
of the upper class, which, despite its repeated claims to social superior-
ity, has only limited cultural ambitions. In contrast, in the larger
provincial towns not dominated primarily by industry, the traditional
forces are so powerful that the masses are unable to shape the cultural
and spiritual [geistig] structure on their own. The bourgeois middle
classes remain segregated from them, as if the growth of this human
reservoir meant nothing, and thus they maintain the illusory claim that
they are still the guardians of culture and education. Their arrogance,
which creates sham oases for itself, weighs down upon the masses and
denigrates their amusements.

It cannot be overlooked that there are four million people in Berlin.
The sheer necessity of their circulation transforms the life of the street
into the ineluctable street of life, giving rise to configurations that
invade even domestic space. The more people perceive themselves as a
mass, however, the sooner the masses will also develop productive
powers in the spiritual and cultural domain that are worth financing.
The masses are no longer left to their own devices; rather, they prevail
in their very abandonment. Refusing to be thrown scraps, they demand
instead to be served at laid-out tables. There is little room left for the
so-called educated classes, who must either join in the repast or main-
tain their snobbish aloofness. Their provincial isolation is, in any case,
at an end. They are being absorbed by the masses, a process that creates
the homogeneous cosmopolitan audience in which everyone has the same
responses, from the bank director to the sales clerk, from the diva to the
stenographer. Self-pitying complaints about this turn toward mass taste
are belated; the cultural heritage that the masses refuse to accept has
become to some extent merely a historical property, since the economic
and social reality to which it corresponded has changed.

Critics chide Berliners for being addicted to distraction, but this is a petit
bourgeois reproach. Certainly, the addiction to distraction is greater in
Berlin than in the provinces, but the tension to which the working
masses are subjected is also greater and more tangible; it is an essentially
formal tension, which fills their day fully without making it fulfilling.
Such a lack demands to be compensated, but this need can be articu-
lated only in terms of the same surface sphere that imposed the lack in
the first place. The form of free-time busy-ness necessarily corresponds
to the form of business.²

A correct instinct will see to it that the need for entertainment is
satisfied. The interior design of movie theaters serves one sole purpose:
that these shows lack any authentic and materially motivated coherence, except possibly the glue of sentimentality, which covers up this lack but only in order to make it all the more visible; the fact that these shows convey precisely and openly to thousands of eyes and ears the disorder of society—this is precisely what would enable them to evoke and maintain the tension that must precede the inevitable and radical change. In the streets of Berlin, one is often struck by the momentary insight that someday all this will suddenly burst apart. The entertainment to which the general public throngs ought to produce the same effect.

Most of the time it does not, as is demonstrated in exemplary fashion by the programs of the large movie theaters. For even as they summon to distraction, they immediately rob distraction of its meaning by amalgamating the wide range of effects—which by their nature demand to be isolated from one another—into an “artistic” unity. These shows strive to coerce the motley sequence of externalities into an organic whole. To begin with, the architectural setting tends to emphasize a dignity that used to inhabit the institutions of high culture. It favors the lofty and the sacred as if designed to accommodate works of eternal significance—just one step short of burning votive candles. The show itself aspires to the same exalted level, claiming to be a finely tuned organism, an aesthetic totality as only an artwork can be. The film alone would be too paltry an offering, not primarily because one would want to increase the sheer quantity of distractions but because the show has pretensions to artistic form. The cinema has secured a standing independent of the theatrical stage, yet the leading movie theaters are once again longing to return to that stage.

This thespian objective of the movie theaters—an objective that may be considered symptomatic of Berlin social life as well—displays reactionary tendencies. The laws and forms of the idealist culture that haunts us today only as a specter may have lost their legitimacy in these movie theaters; nonetheless, out of the very elements of externality into which they have happily advanced, they are attempting to create a new idealist culture. Distraction—which is meaningful only as improvisation, as a reflection of the uncontrolled anarchy of our world—is fes-

to rivet the viewers’ attention to the peripheral, so that they will not sink into the abyss. The stimulations of the senses succeed one another with such rapidity that there is no room left between them for even the slightest contemplation. Like life buxys, the refractions of the spotlights and the musical accompaniment keep the spectator above water. The penchant for distraction demands and finds an answer in the display of pure externality; hence the irrefutable tendency, particularly in Berlin, to turn all forms of entertainment into revues and, parallel with this tendency, the increasing number of illustrations in the daily press and in periodical publications.

This emphasis on the external has the advantage of being sincere. It is not externality that poses a threat to truth. Truth is threatened only by the naïve affirmation of cultural values that have become unreal and by the careless misuse of concepts such as personality, inwardness, tragedy, and so on—terms that in themselves certainly refer to lofty ideas but that have lost much of their scope along with their supporting foundations, due to social changes. Furthermore, many of these concepts have acquired a bad aftertaste today, because they unjustifiably deflect an inordinate amount of attention from the external damages of society onto the private individual. Instances of such repression are common enough in the fields of literature, drama, and music. They claim the status of high art while actually rehearsing anachronistic forms that evade the pressing needs of our time—a fact that is indirectly confirmed by the artistically derivative quality of the respective works. In a profound sense, Berlin audiences act truthfully when they increasingly shun these art events (which, for good reason, remain caught in mere pretense), preferring instead the surface glamor of the stars, films, revues, and spectacular shows. Here, in pure externality, the audience encounters itself; its own reality is revealed in the fragmented sequence of splendid sense impressions. Were this reality to remain hidden from the viewers, they could neither attack nor change it; its disclosure in distraction is therefore of moral significance.

But this is the case only if distraction is not an end in itself. Indeed, the very fact that the shows aiming at distraction are composed of the same mixture of externalities as the world of the urban masses; the fact
tooned with drapery and forced back into a unity that no longer exists. Rather than acknowledging the actual state of disintegration that such shows ought to represent, the movie theaters glue the pieces back together after the fact and present them as organic creations.

This practice takes its revenge in purely artistic terms: the integration of film into a self-contained program deprives it of any effect it might have had. It no longer stands on its own, but appears as the crowning event of a type of revue that does not take into account its particular conditions of existence. The two-dimensionality of film produces the illusion of the physical world without any need for supplementation. But if scenes of real physicality are nevertheless displayed alongside the movie, the latter recedes into the flat surface and the deception is exposed. The proximity of action that has spatial depth destroys the spatiality of what is shown on the screen. By its very existence, film demands that the world it reflects be the only one; it should be wrested from every three-dimensional surrounding, or it will fail as an illusion. A painting, too, loses its power when it appears alongside living images. Nor should one fail to mention that the artistic ambitions behind the move to incorporate film into the pseudo-totality of a program are inappropriate, and hence remain unsuccessful. The result is at best applied art [Kunstgewerbe].

But the movie theaters are faced with more urgent tasks than refining applied art. They will not fulfill their vocation—which is an aesthetic vocation only to the extent that it is in tune with its social vocation—until they cease to flirt with the theater and renounce their anxious efforts to restore a bygone culture. Rather, they should rid their offerings of all trappings that deprive film of its rights and must aim radically toward a kind of distraction that exposes disintegration instead of masking it. It could be done in Berlin, home of the masses—who so easily allow themselves to be stupefied only because they are so close to the truth.