RESHAPING IDENTITY

An architectural thesis about co-option of ‘taint-ed’ buildings by their successor regimes

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Introduction

"Yet, how truly deplorable the relationship between state buildings and private buildings has become today! If the fate of Rome should strike Berlin, future generations would someday admire the department stores of a few Jews as the mightiest work of our era and the hotels of a few corporations as the culture of our times….

Thus, our cities of the present lack the outstanding symbol of national community which, we must therefore not be surprised to find, sees no symbol of itself in the cities. The inevitable result of a desolation whose practical effect is the total indifference of the big city dweller to the destiny of his city. This too is a sign of our declining culture and our general collapse. The epoch is stifling in the pettiest Unitarianism , or better expressed, in the service of money." – Adolf Hitler in Mein Kampf[1]

This quote is directly taken from Mein Kamp, Hitlers political manifesto written while serving time in Landsberg Prison after his failed Beer Hall Putsh2. It underlines his desire to elevate Berlin to the same monumental heights as Rome. Berlin would need to be transformed and its architecture would be monumental, eclipsing anything previously build in the history of humankind, its ruins would long be standing after his Thousand Year Reich had vanished. The utter size of these buildings cannot be understated and only when looking at drawings by Hitler himself does their size become apparent, with figures appearing more like ants than actual humans [fig 1].

Over their twelve years in power (1933-1945) the Nazi regime built numerous buildings all over Germany, the occupied territories and especially in its capital Berlin. While at the same time waging a war of destruction and extermination that caused 50 million people to lose their lives. Although no monumental buildings were constructed to the size imaged by Hitler, ruins and buildings did stand after the Nazi regime fell. Hereby Hitler succeeded in what he described in Mein Kampf, leaving behind a legacy in the form of architecture. This left the victors with a tough decision: 'what to do with these buildings that are so closely connected with the Nazi regime and its ideology?'

The regime's successors, both in the form of the Allied Occupational Powers as well as the BRD and the DDR needed to decide what to destroy and what to keep. Their decisions on what to do with these 'tainted' buildings lays bare their attitude and policies towards a dark chapter of German history. Through the study of primary and secondary sources the following research question will be answered: 'How did the co-option of buildings constructed by the Nazi regime in Berlin compare between the democratic capitalist west and the communist east?'

The city of Berlin, Germany has been chosen as the central case for this research. As the capital of the Third Reich, Berlin was the centre point of the architectural ambitions of the Nazi regime and extensive construction efforts took place, causing numerous buildings to still stand until this day. The city was moreover divided between ideologically opposing regimes in the form of the democratic west and the communist east.

As analysis of all building constructed by the Nazi regime in Berlin is too extensive of a scope for this thesis, four buildings have been selected to serve as cases for this research. For this the following criteria were outlined:

- The buildings were not demolished after the Second World War
- The building was constructed in the 'National Socialist' style
- The building was constructed by the Nazi regime
- The buildings were actively used after the war

Although multiple buildings met these criteria the following four were selected: The Reichssportfeldes and Tempelhof Airport in West Berlin, and the German Aviation Ministry and the Reichsbank building in East Berlin. These buildings played a central roll as some of the Nazi Regimes 'prestige' projects meant to leave behind their legacy in a transformed city. They were moreover extensively used after the war and are still in use until this day, providing a good amount of available sources to research.

This thesis follows a chronological structure and is divided in three distinct eras with each era making up a separate chapter. These eras are: the Nazi regime 1933-1945, the post-war occupation 1945-1949, and East and West Germany 1949-1990. The first chapter goes over the aspirations of the Nazi regime through the use of architecture, the second chapter goes into the immediate post-war occupation and how the occupational powers dealt with the architecture of the Nazi regime and the last chapter will continue with the eastern and western successor regimes view of their history and its associated architecture. Each of these chapters will start with historical and ideological context after which the previously mentioned cases will be analysed. The last chapter will contain a comparison between the cases and the conclusion to the research question.

1 Hitler, A. (2018). *Mijn strijd.* (W. Melching, Red.). Amsterdam, Nederland: Prometheus.

2 A failed coup d'état that started in a beer hall

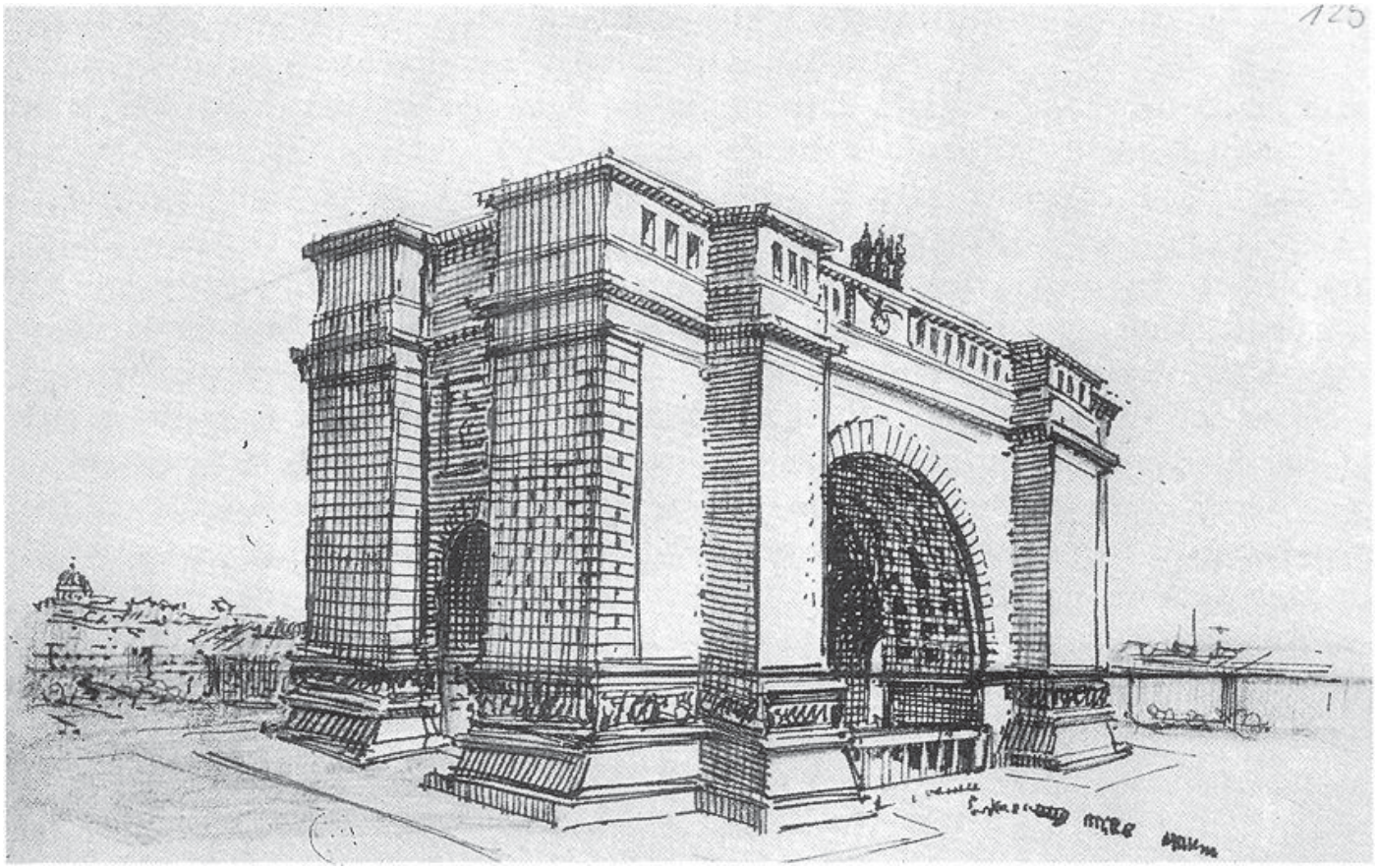

Fig 1: A sketch by Hitler depicting his Arc of Triumph in Germania
(Hitler, 1924)

1.1 Nazism and Architecture

Architecture and the Nazi regime are inseparably intertwined. Political ideology and historical context had major influences on why and how architectural projects were planned, designed and executed in the way they were. Although this thesis is about how the post-war regimes dealt with the Nazi legacy in the form of its architecture, the surrounding context needs to be understood first.

The Nazi party itself pre-dates Hitler, originally being founded in 1919 as the Deutsche Arbeiterspartei. Like many other far-right political parties it emerged after the Germany's defeat in the First World War, following nationalist, anti-Semitist, anti-Marxist viewpoints and opposing the Versailles Treaty. The party was still an upstart when Hitler joined, but his influence quickly grew, and he started to shape its ideology into what would become Nazism. This ideology has its basis in fascism combined with populist viewpoints and Hitlers personal beliefs. Like all fascist ideologies it directly opposes communism and liberal democracy viewing these as obsolete, believing in a unified one-party state under a strong leader (a dictator or Führer). Nazism moreover adds the element of racial supremacy, seeing violence as a justified means to achieve this homogeneous society based on racial purity and the unity of all Germanic people. Additional lands would be conquered through the principle of Lebensraum to enable the growth of this society, while exterminating what Nazism believes to be inferior races (Kershaw, 2008).

Hitler quickly became the party's sole leader or Führer with its name changing to the Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterspartei (Nazi Party). A major influence on Hitler was Bernito Mussolini's National Fascist Party in Italy. The party followed the same fascist ideology as Nazism with the goal to return Italy to its heights as the Roman Empire. Under Mussolini's leadership it had taken power in a coup d'état in 1922. Inspired by this, Hitler tried to overthrow the Weimar Republic in similar fashion but failed, leading to prison sentences for Hitler and his associates (Kershaw, 2008). During his sentence he wrote Mein Kampf, outlining Nazism and his vision for Germany. Here, architecture makes its first official appearance and from henceforth would be intertwined with Nazism. In his writing Hitler mentioned that he painted for a living and studied architecture for pleasure, adding multiple sketches of future monuments that he had envisioned (Fig 1). He saw himself as the architect of a new Germany, but only once the party came to power did these architectural ambitions become a reality (Balfour, 1990)

The possibility for this came in 1933. The Nazi Party had won a majority in the Reichstag the previous year, leading to Hitler becoming Chancellor, although at the head of a minority cabinet. The opportunity to solidify power came in the form of the 1933 Reichstag fire that burned down the building. The Nazis blamed Bolshevik Jews and quickly suspended all political opposition. Edicts were introduced that gave the cabinet the right to introduce laws without approval of the parliament, giving Hitler dictatorial powers in all but name (Kershaw, 2008). The burning down of the Reichstag building was both a political as well as a symbolic turning point. Since its completion it had housed the Imperial German Reichstag parliament and later the Parliament of the Weimar Republic. Its neo-renaissance front façade even carried the inscription: 'to the German people.' Its destruction marked both the end of democracy in Germany for the next twelve years as well as the start of a new chapter in the history of Germany. This chapter would not be represented by the neo-renaissance or the modernist but by the architecture of the 'National Socialist' (Balfour, 1990).

Before 1933, the Party had only undertaken small building projects such as the renovation of the Brown House Party Headquarters in Munich. This building was renovated in a neo-classical style by Paul Troost under close supervising of Hitler. Troost became the foremost architect for the Nazi Party and would come to determine its 'National Socialist' style. These early projects were all monumental propaganda, party or government buildings designed in a neo-classical style combined with art deco and art & crafts influences. The detailing was simple and straightforward, making it possible for the masses to understand it without being depended on culture or education. Ornamental statues depicting either animals (such as eagles) or the ideal 'Aryan' form were used to link the regime with the ancient Greeks and Romans, further reenforced by elements like standardization, rhythm and symmetry (Hagen & Ostergren, 2019).

Troost planned many of the regimes early 'prestige' projects, but because of his death in 1934 he was unable to see their completion. His replacement, Albert Speer, took over many of these projects and took Troosts place as Hitlers favourite architect. Even though Hitler saw himself as the architect of the Reich, he did not claim to have invented the hallmarks of its architecture. Instead, propaganda depicted him as the inspirational leader who inspired others to great artistic heights (Hagen & Ostergren, 2019). Speer was to be one of these inspired artists, who Hitler admired for his ability to materialize his ideas of spatial megalomania. They believed architecture was about creating power through monumental forms. The spatial forms would instil a sense of intensity in the person viewing them. To achieve this effect size was the most important element. Together they saw the empires of Rome, France and the United States as rivals meant to surpass. The Volkshalle would be bigger than either the Roman Pantheon or the United States Capitol building, the Nuremburg Stadium would hold more people than the circus Maximus in Rome and the new Arc of Triumph would be monumental compared to the Arc de Triomphe in Paris (Gordillo, 2014). In his autobiography, Speer described how Hitler was filled with excitement when told how the new architecture of Berlin would exceed all others in size (Fest, 2000).

The size of the architecture was meant to impose and to stun, overwhelming the viewer and taking away their sense of individualism. This principal is made obvious in the Nuremburg Rally Grounds, taking neo-classical architecture and expanding it to monumental size. Filled with thousands of spectators and troops, making it impossible to separate the militaristic authoritarianism from the architecture (Gordillo, 2014). This effect was amplified by the mass use of militaristic regalia and Nazi iconography such as eagles, swastikas and oak wreaths. The reason behind the use of these elements in their architecture was twofold. Firstly, these elements were cheap and simple, while making an impression on the viewer, following the rule: minimum expense and maximum effect (Antoszczyszyn, 2017). The second reason is the fact that Joseph Goebbels, the Regime's propaganda minister, passed a decree that that all prominent buildings projects dedicate a certain portion of their budget to the visual arts and handicrafts (Hagen & Ostergren, 2019).

Such weaponization of architecture by Nazi Germany is not a new phenomenon, but one that dates back to empires of the past. The imitation of architectural elements from Ancient Rome and Greece is a clear reference to the power of the state that was required to construct these monumental buildings. The buildings that these empires constructed cemented their legacy and their ruins still leave an impression to this day. Hitler had already outlined the necessity of an architectural legacy in Mein Kampf (for this see the quote in the introduction) and Speer consequently made this his 'theory of ruins' which underlined the fact that the buildings should still impose an atmosphere on the observer even if it is turned into a ruin (Gordillo, 2014). This mindset of a building not being something that would be used for a few decades and thereafter demolished is also visible in the planning process that the regime employed. Hitler thought about his architectural projects not in a matter of decades or even centuries but on a millennial timeframe. This made budgets and planning inconsequential, allowing for projects to be planned that were megalomanic in size (Hagen & Ostergren, 2019).

One of these projects was the transformation of Berlin into the new world capital Germania. The city would be organised and filled with monumental architecture in order to commemorate the victories of the regime and cement its legacy. Germania was Hitler's pet project and he appointed Albert Speer to turn his megalomanic ideas into a reality. This new reality would see a new monumental centre created besides the old core of the city with two intersecting boulevards meeting in the middle (Fig 2). The first going from north-south axis and the second going from east-west. The former axis had some obstacles in its way: multiple rail yards, the Tiergarten and tens of thousands of appartements. Speer got permission to tear it all down. Either side of the boulevard would be lined with monumental new buildings such as: government offices, corporate headquarters, theatres etc. These buildings would display the power of the Third Reich. The Königsplatz would be enlarged to be able to hold a million people. The only building that was to remain was the Reichstag which would lay opposite the new Führer's palace. The enormous Volkshalle would dominate the north of the square with a dome of 250 metres in diameter (Fig 3). Hitler boasted that the boulevard would be wider than the Champs Élysées and the Arc of Triumph would be bigger than the Arc de Triomphe. At the end of both sides would be massive rail stations. All visitors to Germania would begin and end their visit with the most spectacular and intimidating architecture known to men (Friederich, 2016).

The costs of planning and execution of such massive undertakings were of no importance to the regime. Building costs were frequently underreported or not reported at all. This ethos of 'whatever it takes' went all the way to Hitler himself. When estimated that the Nuremburg Stadium would cost 250 million Reichsmark Hitler scoffed at the number. He instructed Speer to not

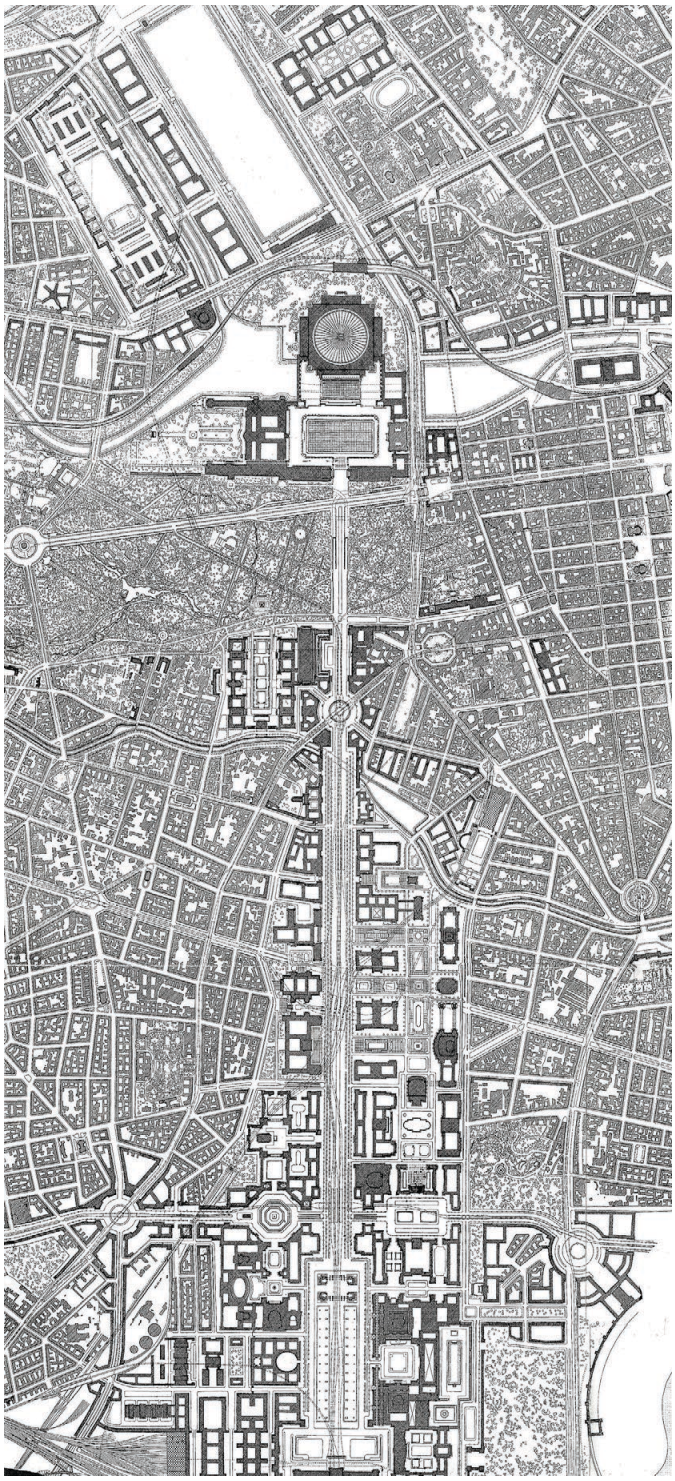

Fig 2: The plan for Germania, note the Volkshalle at the top and Tempelhof Airport in the bottom right (Bundesarchiv, 2000)

Fig 3: Model of Germania (Bundesarchiv, 2000)

Fig 4: Heimatschutz style schoolhouse (Zumbuehl, 2012)

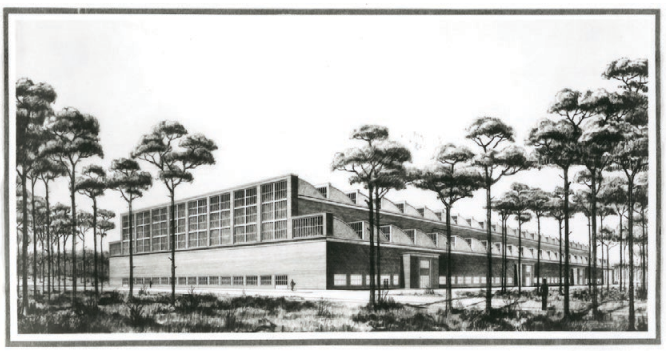

Fig 5: V2 rocket factory at Peenemünde (Wikimedia, Unkown)

answer any questions from the Finance Minister about the cost instead instruction him: *'Say that nobody has any experience with building projects of such size ….. If the Finance Minister could realize what a source of income to the state my buildings will be in fifty years'* (Hagen & Ostergren, 2019).

Besides the monumental architecture that was designed in the 'National Socialist' style, the regime employed many more different architectural styles depending on the function of the structure. Residential buildings used the more rural Heimatschutz style (Homeland Protection Style), which was influenced by nationalistic ideals of regional building traditions (Fig 4). Buildings such as barracks and army buildings were much more functionalist, being designed to use as little material as possible to fulfil their function. Technical, industrial and factory buildings often feature the newest technical construction methods, use of glass and steel was common, etching almost on modernism (Fig 5) (Weihsmann, 1998).

The importance of architecture for the Nazi regime and moreover Hitler personally cannot be understated. After the defeat of France in 1940, Hitler and Speer visited Paris. After their short three hour visit Hitler told Speer 'Wasn't Paris Beautiful? But Berlin must be made far more beautiful.' He then gave the order to continue with the construction in Berlin with maximum urgency (Fest, 2000). Officials who brought up the fact that Germany was fighting on multiple fronts were ignored by Hitler. The name of the order is quite telling: 'decree for the preservation of our victory.' He saw the construction of these monumental buildings as a way to safeguard his victories of 1939-1940 and as a powerful weapon vital for the German war Effort. It took until December of 1941 until Hitler allowed the vital resources used for his architectural projects to be shifted to the war effort on the eastern front (Gordillo, 2014).

Even during the final weeks of the war when Berlin was surrounded by Soviet forces, Hitler in his delusion was still talking to Speer about how after the inevitable victory they would rebuild the now ruined Berlin into a new capital (Fest, 2000). As Friedrich (2016) write in Hitler's Berlin, Abused City: *"When Hitler took his own life in his Chancellery bunker on 30 April 1945, he took with him not only his plan for Germany's military domination of Europe but also his attempt to turn Berlin into the capital of the world, 'Germania'- the two plans were not only closely connected, but each was also a precondition and expression of the other. Berlin continues to the present day to bear the burden of both these foolhardy schemes."*

1.2 Reichssportfeldes

A project that was quickly co-opted by the Regime was the planning of the Berlin Olympic games of 1936. Work was already underway when Hitler visited the site in the Grünewald district in western Berlin (Fig 6). The original plan was to renovate the existing stadium designed by Otto March for the cancelled 1916 Olympic Games under the directorship of his son, Werner March. Like many other projects Hitler intervened almost immediately unsatisfied with the direction of the project. Following his instructions, the stadium was enlarged, redesigned and shifted 150 meters eastward. By shifting the building enough room was made to build the Reichssportfeldes complex (Hagen & Ostergren, 2019).

This ambitious complex was 131 hectares featuring an Olympic square, the new stadium, May Field parade grounds, the Waldbühne amphitheatre, more stadiums and sports fields, and auxiliary buildings to house and administer the complex (Fig 7 & Fig 8). Underneath the parade fields would be a hall to honour the German Soldiers who died in the Battle of Langemark. All of these buildings would be aligned with the east-west axis that was planned for the transformation of Berlin into Germania. The grounds of the park would be extensively landscaped to seem both modern and naturalistic. Heroic statures symbolizing the Aryan race would be scattered throughout the park (Fig 9). The stadium would be able to hold 110,000 spectators in an oval shape (Kluge, 1999). The sweeping colonnade flanked by columns were reminiscent of the Roman Colosseum and were admired by Nazis and non-Nazis alike (Ladd, 2008).

Made out of granite and stone columns, the stadium was regarded as a marvel of modern architecture as well as a powerful statement by the regime, signalling the resurgence of Germany and the efficiency of the regime to undertake big projects (Hagen & Ostergren, 2019). The regime also tried to pass the stadium and games as a symbol to its commitment of peace, however keen observers saw through this thin veil. The British diplomat Sir Robert Vansittart observed that the Germans ‘are in strict training now, not for the Olympic Games, but for breaking some other and emphatically unsporting world records, and perhaps the world as well (Ladd, 2008)’. The complex was not solely designed for athletic events, after the 1936 Olympics it would fulfil a ‘national’ use which in line with Germanys nationalist spirit would mean military or quasi military use (Fig 10). Frequently parades or demonstrations were held at the complex, showing the prowess of the ‘Aryan’ race. Instead, the following Olympics would be permanently held in the new German Stadium planned at the site of the Nuremburg Party Rally grounds (Kluge, 1999).

Fig 6: A map of Berlin in 1938 with the Reichssportfeldes circled (Bundesarchiv, 1938)

Fig 7: Reichssportfeldes closely after completion, in the background the stadium with the Haus der Deutsche Sport in the foreground(Pahl, 1936)

Fig 8: The Dienstvilla at the Reichssportfeldes (Bergfels, 2010)

Bundesarchiv, Bild 102-17850 / Fotograf(in): Pahl, Georg

Fig 10: Amphitheatre during a Nazi party rally in 1938 (Pahl, 1938)

Fig 9: 'Aryan' statues at the Reichssportfeldes (Zimmerman, 1999)

1.3 Tempelhof Airport

Tempelhof Airport along with the rail station would be the south ending of the north-south axis going through the new Germania (fig 2). The airport was originally established in 1923 when the Weimar Republic was at its height. When the Nazi party took power, the building became one of their earliest building projects. Tempelhof in 1934 was already one of the busiest airports in the world, but it consisted of multiple loose buildings such as hangars, warehouses, offices and a small terminal (fig 11) (Hagen & Ostergren, 2019). Hitler almost immediate ordered it to be reconstructed in a grander style. For this he appointed Ernst Sagebiel, an architect who during the 1920's had a successful career working under Jewish architect Erich Mendelsohn but lost his job during the depression. Sagebiel joined the party after its rise to power in 1933, it is unclear if he joined out of belief for their ideology or for opportunism, but he soon became one of its leading architects specialised in aviation. Together with the influence of Troost he set the course for the 'National Socialist' style that would become a hallmark of the regime. The facades features stripped classicism with a strong emphasis on rhythm and repetition. The sandstone bricks that made of the exterior gave the building a heavy presence (Fig 12). The interior was luxuriously detailed with heigh ceilings and windows supported by rectangular Doric Columns (Fig 13) (Dittrich, 2005).

Construction on the new Tempelhof Airport was completed between 1936 and 1941, becoming one of the worlds largest buildings at over 285,000 square-meters. The building consisted of an arch that was 1.2 km long made from a steel frame. Allegedly Hitler intervened here, as he was known to do when concerning architecture, changing the original shape from a series of rectangular buildings to the arc shape as so to resemble an eagle spreading its wings. Rallies, ceremonies and displays were kept in mind during the design stage, leading to seating for 100.000 spectators on top off the building. The departure area consisted of a half circle followed by a square courtyard flanked by two eagles reliefs. The main entrance featured an eagle holding a swastika surrounded by a wreath and was made of limestone. The main hall featuring banks of windows on both sides illuminated the almost cavernous limestone lobby (Hagen & Ostergren, 2019).

In contrast to the extravagant reception areas the boarding areas of Tempelhof were quite modern in their functionality. The steel beams of the building extending out of the façade, creating a canopy over the boarding area sheltering passengers from the weather. Although the building was taken into use it was not truly finished for civilian use. Multiple of the interior spaces as well as hangars doubled as airplane assembly lines after 1940 (Hagen & Ostergren, 2019). When Soviet forces started their assault on Berlin, the airport was to be defended to the last and Hitler gave orders to destroy all facilities. The concrete floor of the main hall was destroyed with explosives making the hall unusable as well as the underlying baggage area. Soviet forces quickly occupied the area without much resistance, all the new buildings survived the war although damaged (Fig x) (Heisig, 2012).

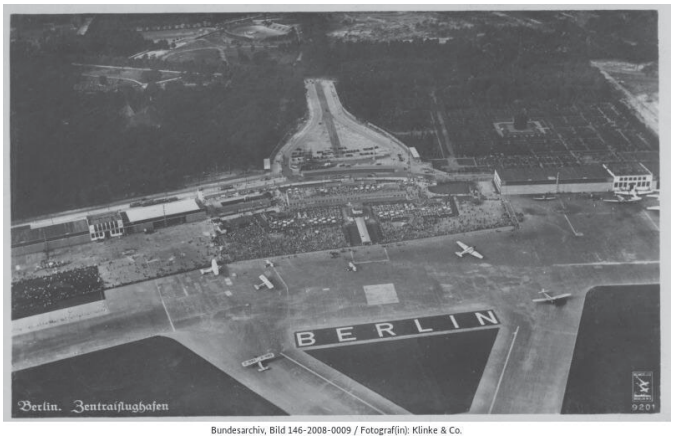

Fig 11: Tempelhof Airport before construction of the new buildings (Klinke, 1930)

Fig 12: Tempelhof Airport main entrance in 2010 (Coenen, 2010)

Fig 13: Tempelhof Airport main hall in 2018 (The Independent, 2018)

Fig 14: Tempelhof Airport shortly after Soviet occupation (Unknown, 1945)

1.4 German Air Ministry

After getting the commission for Tempelhof Airport, Sagebiel also got the commission for a new office building that would house the Ministry of Aviation along with the headquarters of the Luftwaffe (the German airforce). The Ministry would be of equal monumental size taking up an entire block of Wilhelmstrasse in the centre of Berlin (Fig 15). It consisted of seven stories with 2,800 rooms, made of limestone and travertine. The building was heavy and intimidating in style with facades topped with corniches and rows of symmetric windows. The building was completed with incredible speed being finished in August of 1936, just 18 months after construction began, becoming the largest office building in the world at the time. The construction of such a large building in a short timeframe showed the regimes ability to direct manpower and resources when it was available (Fig 15) (Hagen & Ostergren, 2019).

The monumental style of the building along with the endless hallways and numerous grand staircases reflected the monumental size of the Nazi bureaucracy. The regime used the building to show off their style of 'National Socialist' architecture that combined practical modernism with neoclassical grandeur (Hagen & Ostergren, 2019). Friedrich Paulsen, the editor-in-chief of the architecture magazine Bauwelt, wrote enthusiastically about the flatness of the outer walls, which was designed according to a grid, the only interruptions being for larger windows that emphasized the enormous halls (Wilderotter, 2000). These enormous halls were used by Hermann Göring, the commander in chief of the Luftwaffe and President of the Reichstag, to entertain, receive and intimidate guest (Fig 17). A guidebook said of the building 'a document in stone displaying the reawakened military will and the re-established military readiness of the new Germany' (Ladd, 2008).

Fix 15: Berlin government district depicted in a 1945 Soviet map, Air Ministry circled (Bundesarchiv, 1945)

Fig 16: Ministry of Aviation shortly after completion (Hagemann, 1936)

Fix 17: The Festhalle was one of the enormous halls used to receive guests (Köster, 1938)

1.5 Reichsbank

The Reichsbank was one of the projects that played a central part in the remaking of Berlin. Only a month after Hitlers rise to power a design competition was written out and he took a personal interest in the project. The regime described the competition as: 'the solution of a building problem of no less than national importance' (Wilderotter, 2000). Thirty of Germany's leading architects send in their designs, some of which were prominent modernists such as Walter Gropius and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe (Friedrich, 2016). Six designs were shortlisted, including the design by van der Rohe. These six entries were split between 'modern' and 'conservative' designs, although even the conservative designs tended to be remarkably modern (Wilderotter, 2000). Hitler rejected all short listed designs, instead choosing the design of Hermann Wollf, the manager of the bank's housing department. The design would be sparce neoclassicism with oversized proportions when it came to style, but the layout and construction would be modern, executed in steel and concrete (Friedrich, 2016).

It was one of the earliest prestige projects of the regime, during the cornerstone-laying ceremony in May 1934 the Reichsbank president Hjalmar Schacht called the building: 'an example of what patriotic will can do in times of stress' (Hagen & Ostergren, 2019). Hitler immediately saw a propaganda opportunity in the amount of jobs the construction of the building would provide. Furthermore his intervention had stopped a modernist building being constructed in the heart of the capital. Instead the building signalled the plans of the regime to remake Berlin in the 'National Socialist' style (Fig 18) (Friederich, 2016). When the building was finished it filled an enormous plot in the already dense government quarter (Fig 19). However it took some time for the old buildings in front of the main entrance to be demolished. Above this main entrance was the symbol of the eagle, wreath of oak leaves and swastika. The hallway after the front door had eagles clapping their wings painted on them. The plinth was constructed in dark Beucha granite with the above stories being made out of sandstone, as well as the window jambs, pillars and corniches. The hall of honour was furnished with stained glass windows. As radiators would spoil the look of the hall, it was decided that the hall would be heated via an underfloor heating system. The interior of the building consisted of limestone and wood panelling (Fig 20). Large public spaces such as the tellers hall featured 'Germanic' murals depicting: trade and industry, music, the fine arts, engineers and architect,

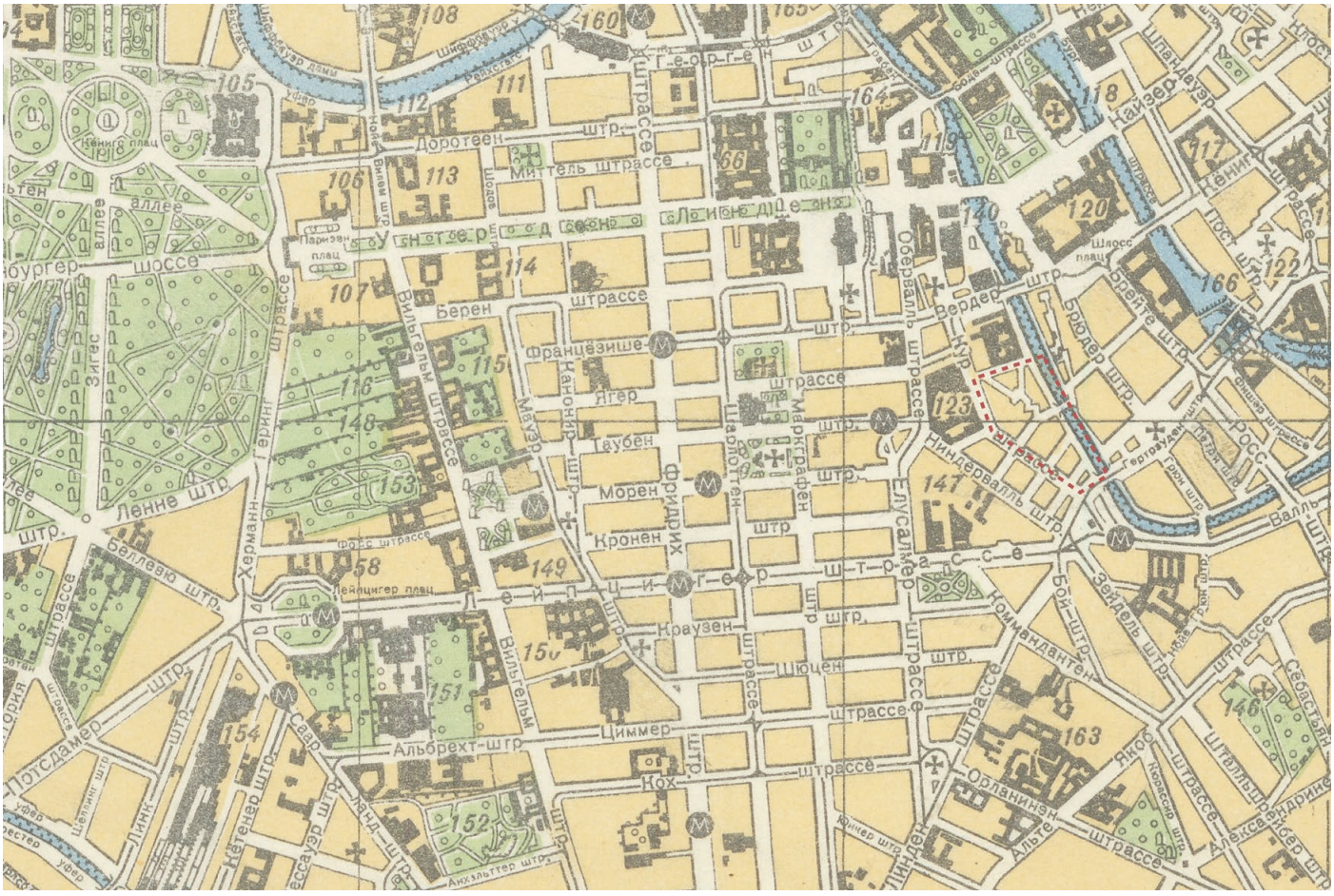

Fig 19: Berlin government district depicted in a 1945 Soviet map, Reichsbank circled (Bundesarchiv, 1945)

and the armed forces. Such murals were quite common even in less public areas such as the dining room and the employee transit hall. Reminders of the Nazi regime were present throughout the building (Fig 21 & 22). Images of eagles and swastikas were common and even doorhandles features the eagle with a wreathed swastika in its claws. During the war, valuable works of art were stored in the vaults of the Reichsbank. The basement was also used as an air raid shelter, during the frequent Allied bombings. After the war had ended, most of Berlin laid in rubble, but the Reichsbank survived the interior however was burned out from the frequent fires caused by the bombings (Fig 23) (Wilderotter, 2000).

Fig 18: Backside of the Reichsbank and the Jungfernbrücke (Unknown, 1930-1940)

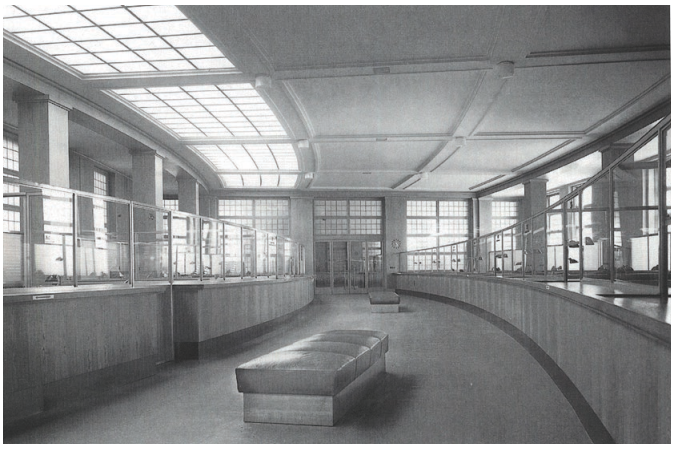

Fig 20: Tellers hall 2 of the Reichsbank (Unkown, 1940)

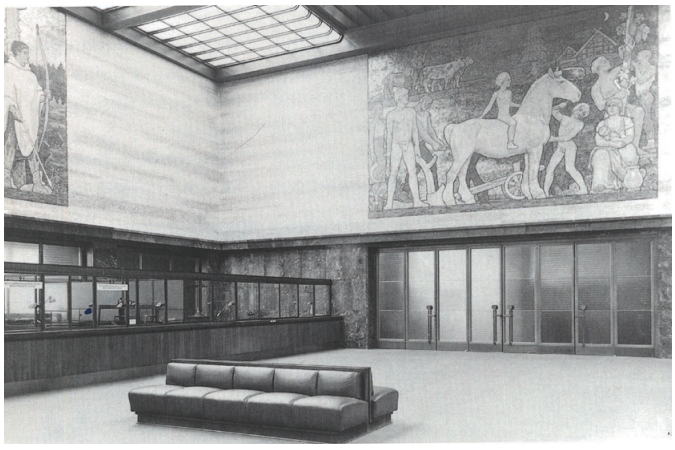

Fig 21: Teller Hall 1, note the murals in the background (Unkown, 1940)

Fig 22: Porch over the main entrance with an eagle relief by Ludwig Gies (Unkown, 1940)

Fix 15: Berlin government district depicted in a 1945 Soviet map, Air Ministry circled (Bundesarchiv, 1945)

1.1 The Occupational Powers and Architecture

On the night of 8 May 195 German representatives met with the representatives of the Allied Powers in Berlin to sign the German Instrument of Surrender ending the Second World War in Europe. Europe lay in rubble and the Allies had found the worst of humanity in the Nazi construction and death camps. At the same time the continent was swarmed with refugees from liberated camps, fleeing civilians and returning prisoners of war. It was now up to the Allied powers to deal with the consequences of the Nazi Regime (Hasting, 2012).

During the 1945 Potsdam conference the three leading Allied Powers (the United Kingdom, the United States and the Soviet Union) planned the post-war order. All territory Nazi Germany had annexed would be returned to their country of origin, the German lands east of the Oder and Neisse rivers would be seeded to Poland and the remaining territory would be occupied by the United Kingdom, the United States, French and the Soviet Union. The capital Berlin was also split between the four Allies, although it laid deep in the Soviet Sector (Fig 24) (Knowles, 2014). Germany as a sovereign nation ceased to exist, shifting all admirative and legal responsibilities to the Occupational Powers. Each of the occupying nations had absolute control over their own sector, but it was expected that they would consult one another as to administer Germany as one entity. This cooperation would come in the form of the Allied Control Council, which was seated in Berlin. (Windsor, 1963).

Three major issues were on the mind of the Occupational Powers. The first was the denazification of Germany and its people. The second was the rebuilding process that needed to take place. The third was the fact that any sense of administration had fallen apart in the closing months of the war, leading to the possibility of starvation and a refugee crisis (Elkins, 1988).
Denazification started almost immediately, with every nation in essence being responsible for their own sector. This led to some stark difference in the intensity of the process and end result. It quickly proved impossible to handle everything on a case-by-case basis as at one point 10% of the German population had been a member of the Nazi Party and a further 35 million people had held membership to an affiliated organisation. The Western Allies quickly abandoned this approach, finding that they were unable to run their occupation zones without the help of people that had Nazi ties.

The Soviets were more thorough in their denazification arresting members of the party (as well as anti-communists) and placing them in Gulag camps were many of them would die. They found this critical in the process of turning Germany in a socialist society, but also because the war that Germany had waged on the east was a different war in nature than the one against the west. The war in the east was a war of ideology extermination whereby the Nazi regime had tried to eradicate communism, leading to a much more brutal war (F. Taylor, 2011).

The Nazis had attempted to Nazify every element of society, and this made denazification of culture necessary. Many of the cultural attachés from the Allied nations were German refugees and viewed all art produced under the regime as a direct expression of its ideology. This came with the fact the regime had outlawed any art that they found ‘degenerate’ (enterarte kunst) causing a complete lack of any art that did not satisfy the regime. As a consequence, many artists fled Germany (many of them also being Jews), while others changed their work to ingrain themselves with the regime. After the war many artists that had worked under the Nazi regime overplayed amount of control the regime had in their art, instead promoting a ‘zero hour’ theory wherein art would flourish after the liberation of Germany. Styles such as modernism that had been fiercely rejected by the Nazi regime were taken up as to distance post-war Germany as much as possible from its Nazi past (B. Taylor, 1981). Any symbol related to the regime, especially swastikas, eagles and wreathes, were removed from sight (the swastika was moreover outlawed entirely). The Allies used this part of the denazification process for their own propaganda purposes. The destruction of the enormous swastika on top of the Zeppelinfeld in Nuremburg was spectacularly blown up by the Americans in front of the camera. Street names were changed from prominent Nazi names to anti-Nazi activists or well-known names from the occupational powers (F. Taylor, 2011).

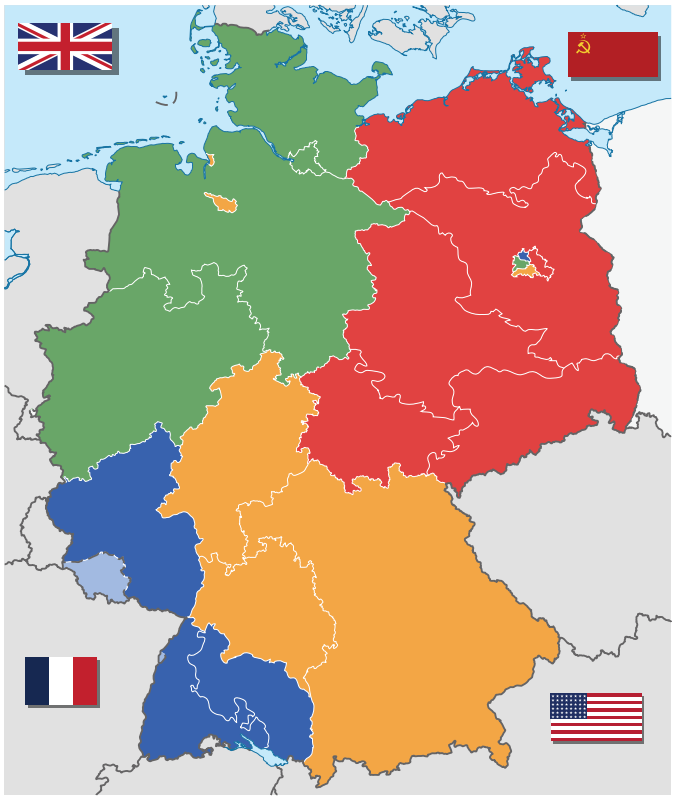

Fig 24: The occupations zones divided by the Occupational Powers, note Berlin deep inside the Soviet zone (Wikimedia, 2010)

These measures however, were quite surface level. Hitler had attempted to cement his legacy in stone and many of his architectural projects were still standing. The cities in which they stood however were not. Allied bombers had devastated many of Germany's cities through carpet bombing campaigns meant to destroy moral. 90% of Dresden had been destroyed and 80% of Berlin lay in rubble even before the Soviet assault on the city (Fig 25 & 26). There were mixed feelings about rebuilding these German cities. The opinion of Air Chief Marshall Sir Arthur Tedder was common under military leadership:

'The ruins of Berlin should be preserved as a modern Babylon or Carthage – as a memorial to Prussian militarism and the Nazi regime. The city is completely deserted. You can drive miles through smoking ruins and see nothing that is habitable, this city can never be rebuilt. – Air Chief Marshall Sir Arthur Tedder.'

The monuments erected by the Regime however were mostly still standing, with the exception of the Reichs Chancellery building which was so badly damaged that the Soviet occupiers decided to demolish it. The question if the style, date of construction and their constructor 'tainted' these buildings and disqualified them from further use is not one that came up in the immediate years after the war. Buildings that were intact were far too valuable to resign to oblivion (Ladd, 2008).

Fig 25: Destruction of Berlin after the Soviet assault on the city in May of 1945 (Cürlis, 1945)

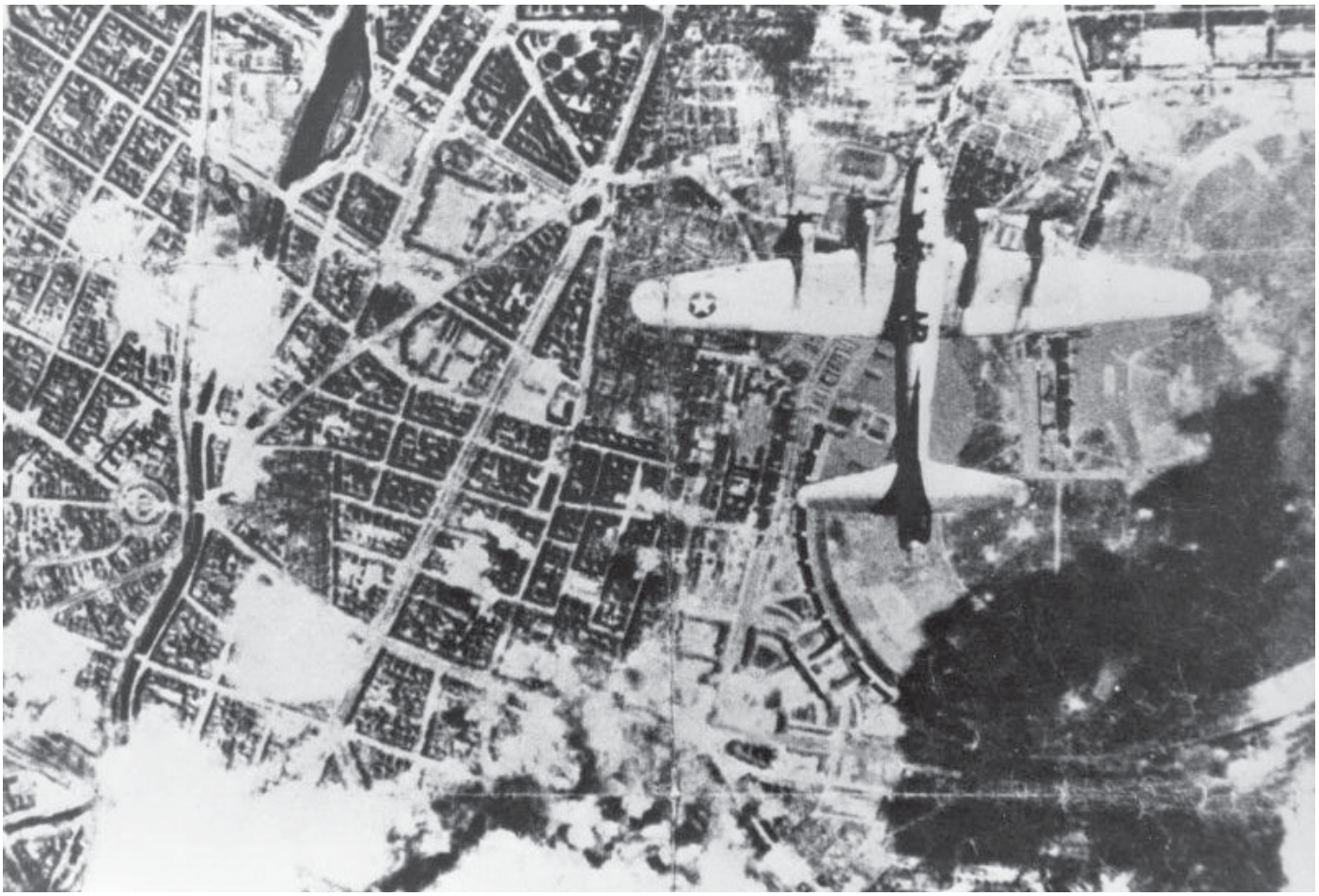

Fig 26: The destruction of Berlin during an American bombing raid in January of 1945, note Tempelhof Airport on the right side (Unkown, 1945)

Tedder's sentiment was quite common under Allied leadership and let to a policy of limiting Germany's economic growth through capping its industrial output. It however became apparent by 1947 that this policy would not stave of starvation or alleviate the refugee crisis. Germany would need to be rebuilt, not only to solve these problems but also to restore the economy of Europe as a whole. Foreign aid was provided to western Europe in the form of the Marshall plan. The Soviet Union at the same time was extracting as many reparations out of Germany as possible by disassembling infrastructure and through the use of the Occupation Mark. They also filled key political and administrative posts in their zone with communists. As cooperation between the West and Soviet Union grinded to a halt it turned into a standoff with the Soviets imposing a blockade on Berlin from June 1948 until May 1949. In June the Western zones formed the Federal Republic of Germany (Bundesrepublik Deutschland or BRD), the east followed in October establishing the German Democratic Republic (Deutsche Demokratische Republik or DDR) (Elkins, 1988).

Reconstruction of key infrastructure was relatively quickly completed by army engineers of the Allied nations, but the rebuilding of Germany would take until the 1980's. Millions of people had lost their homes and the reconstruction of cities was a cumbersome process. The destruction was initially welcomed by Hitler and his architects, who saw it as making room for their building projects. In the same vein, post-war architects saw the reconstruction as the perfect stage to test out their modernist theories about urbanism and architecture. The following decades saw massive architectural projects in the form of new infrastructure and mass housing projects. In West Germany alone, 5.3 million new apartments were built in the first 15 years after the war. The east saw the construction of prefab residential blocks to house the socialist workers. Buildings that were not destroyed were too valuable and thus quickly repaired. Monuments of the past were also restored and some old city centres reconstructed to their original state (although mostly pre 1933 state) (Broadbent & Hake, 2010).

Berlin, more so than any other city in occupied Germany was a special case. In Hitlers vision the city would have been remade into the monumental Germania. Now the city was no more than a pile of rubble and it was to be up to the occupiers what to do with it. The Soviets decided to restructure the city according to their principles of socialism in the Stalinist classicist style. Their plan was as nationalistic and imperialistic as that of Hitler and Speer (Fig 27 & 28). Showing the convergence of extreme left and right (Balfour, 1990). The west, on the other hand, was less confident in their reconstruction of the city. During the Soviet Blockade the city had become completely isolated from the rest of the world. Only through the airlift was West Berlin able to advert starvation and a western withdrawal from the city. This however still left the city in a precarious position with a weak economy that needed to be subsidized by the west and investors unwilling to risk loss. It would take until the late 1950's for confidence to return to West Berlin. In the meantime both sides were forced to give up on the notion of a reunited Germany and the city became the epicentre of a cultural battle that would last the next two decades (Elkins, 1988).

Fig 27: Model of Germania (Bundesarchiv, 2000)

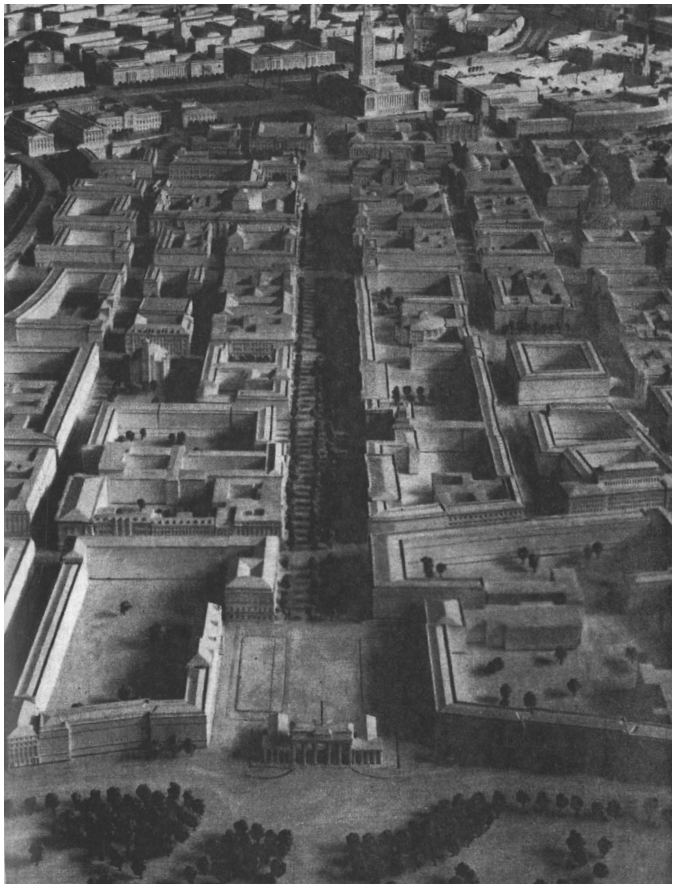

Fig 28: Model of the Soviet reconstruction plan for Berlin (Bundesarchiv, 1950)

2.2 Reichssportfeldes

The Reichssportfeldes complex were a central piece of the regime's propaganda effort during the 1936 Olympic Games. As previously discussed, the stadium would fulfil 'national' use after the war, meaning military or quasi-military activities. The complex already fulfilled this purpose in the closing months of the war when hundreds of accused deserters were summarily executed into a ravine located in the park. At the same time the very young and very old were gathered and inducted into the 'Volkssturm' (last ditch defence militia's) in the stadium. In April 1945 the site saw heavy fighting that left two thousand dead, mostly boys who were thirteen or fourteen (Ladd, 2008).

The complex would now be used to house the British garrison in Berlin. Much of the complex however lay in rubble and this would first need to be cleared before its buildings would be usable. The bell tower of the Langemark Hall was so badly damaged that British engineers decided to demolish it as it proofed dangerous for the troops stationed nearby. Denazification also started with the removal of all eagles and swastikas present at the complex. However the statues depicting the ideal 'Aryan' form were not removed, the British administration evidently did not find these statues important enough of a piece of Nazi iconography to remove them. The peripheries of the complex featured multiple large villa's and houses, designed in the more vernacular Heimatschutz style, these buildings were originally meant to house dignitaries (Fig 28). As these buildings remained mostly intact and were comparatively 'luxurious' in contrast to the few remaining living quarters, they would be used to house British officers and the garrisons headquarters. Most of the public sports buildings were too damaged for use and all public sporting activities were seized as the complex was cleared and subsequently repaired. Thousands of Berliners, many of them former Nazi's, were pressed into service to achieve this goal. Repairs and reconstruction would continue over the next few decades as more of the complex returned to its originally athletic function (Kluge, 1999).

Fig 28: The Dienstvilla at the Reichssportfeldes that served to house British officers (Bergfels, 2010)

2.3 Temeplhof Airport

Although Tempelhof Airport was one of the largest structures built by the Nazi regime that survived the war, it also has a distinct link with the western Allied Powers and later the BRD. The airport was meant to be the entrance to the newly constructed Germania and was designed in the monumental 'national socialist' style, but the building fulfilled a mostly utilitarian function. This utilitarian function and the fact that the increase in airfare was not exclusive to the Nazi regime quickly lessened the relation between the building and the regime that constructed it. As part of the widespread denazification process the swastika surrounded by wreaths were removed from the facades of the building, however the eagles with its spread wings that had clutched the swastika remained. This provided a continual reminder of the buildings original constructor (Fig 29) (Ladd, 2008).

Tempelhof Airport is most known for being the main airport during the Berlin airlift of 1948-1949. When the Soviet military administration blocked access to West Berlin in an attempt to deprive the city of precious resources such as coal and food. In April 1949 the peak amount of a million tons of supplies with a day record of 13,000 tons via Tempelhof Airport. This caused 3,946 landings and take-offs or an aircraft movement every 22 seconds. The airlift was successful but only through the support and endurance of the population. Coal rations were incredibly low in a very bitter winter, electricity was only available for a few hours every day and most food rations were in the form of dried or powdered goods to safe weight (Fig 30) (Elkins, 1988). Through these hardships Berliners formed a special bond with Tempelhof Airport and the American soldiers stationed there. A first-hand account of a Berliner at that time reads: "As I walked past the barracks at Tempelhof Airport at 7 a.m., as usual, a group of US soldiers came out of the building and walked towards a bus. Suddenly, one of the soldiers walked over to me and pressed two or three oranges int my hands. Nice, juicy, sweet oranges. That was something. I was totally flabbergasted. Even though I had learned English in school, I could only come up with a short "Thank you." Then he ran away and disappeared into the bus.' In the mind of Berliners, Tempelhof was no longer an airport constructed by the Nazi Regime but as their lifeline to the democratic west (Grier, 2008).

Fig 29: Nazi eagles such as these are still present on the façade of Tempelhof Airport, the Swastika underneath them has been removed (Joe, 2008)

Fig 30: American airforce planes unloading during the Berlin Airlift (Unknown, 1949)

2.4 Air Ministry Building

Unlike Tempelhof Airport, the German Air Ministry was a martial building in nature, housing the headquarters of the Luftwaffe. The building was massive both in square meters as well as materialisation. Its façade was clad in the typical 'National Socialist' granite and sandstone blocks, while the construction was made out of steel and concrete. This had caused the building to survive the war mostly intact in contrast to the rest of Wilhelmstrasse. The building besides was firmly in the Soviet controlled sector, making it especially interesting for the Soviet military administration now in charge of East Germany. The building was quickly repaired of the little damage it sustained. The Hall of Honours was the only part of the building that was altered. The neo-classicist 'National Socialist' style was replaced by the Stalinist neo-classicist style (Fig 31). These changes were in essence quite minor and one could perhaps come under the impression that the iconography of one totalitarian party was replaced by that of another. The giant eagle clasping a swastika was removed being replaced by socialist rhetoric, while the previous red, white and black Nazi flags made way for the communist red ones (Ladd, 2008).

After the renovations were completed the Soviet military administration used the building until 1948. Between 1947 and 1949 the German Economic Commission (the administrative body of the Soviet Occupation Zone or DWK) was also housed in the building, changing its name to: 'Haus der DWK' (Fig 32). The DDR was founded in 1949 during a ceremony in the Festival Hall (Fig 31) (Elkins, 1988). The building seems to have been chosen for multiple reasons. The first was the simple fact that it was one of the few buildings in Berlin that was in a fine state and large enough to host a large number of guests. The second was for propaganda purposes, the building was known as a symbol of the Nazi regime and would now be the place were a socialist Germany was born. The third and perhaps more sinister, coming from the fact that the building housed the Soviet occupational administration. By declaring the DDR inside the building, a message was sent that the new socialist Germany existed through the grace of the USSR. In the decades to come, the Soviet Leadership would have considerable influence on the politics of the DDR.

Fig 32: The German Air Ministry after its renaming to the House of 'DWK' (Unknown, 1949)

Fig 31: The DDR is declared during a ceremony in the Hall of Honours (Kolbe, 1949)

2.5 Reichsbank

For the communist the Reichsbank was the symbol of the alliance between government and capitalism that had brought Hitler to Power. The Soviet authorities however had no problem with using the building. It was located deep inside the government quarter of Berlin and thus was heavily bombed, but thanks to its solid construction of concrete, steel and stone cladding it was still standing, although quite damaged. Surrounding buildings were not so lucky however and were torn down. The Reichsbank however contained an enormous amount of Nazi iconography which needed to be removed (Wilderotter, 2000).

First the Berliner Stadkontor was moved into the building (Fig 33). This office was setup by the Allied Control Council to take over banking functions, issuing of loans and the flow of money between the occupation zones in the east and west (Elkins, 1998). Essential repairs began almost immediately to make the building usable. The building had originally contained quite luxurious interior fixture, these were now removed to provide either materials for essential repairs or to be taken as loot by senior Soviet officials. Most functions however were situated on the ground and first floor. Plans to restore the other floors was planned, but did not start in time (Wilderotter, 2000). The office was forced to leave the building when cooperation between the occupation powers grinded to a halt and both the east and the west introduced their own separate currencies (Elkins, 1988).

Fig 33: The bridge between the counting house and the Reichsbank extension (Unkown, 1948)

3.1 Architecture of the Successor Regimes

With the establishment of the BRD with is capital in Bonn, West Germany was officially granted self-governance. Certain exceptions were however still included such as the continued control over defence and final approval of the introduction of laws in West Berlin by the three Allied Powers. The BRDs eastern counterpart, the DDR, was established in the same year with a merger of the two socialist parties into the SED. The state that was established had its basis in a single-party, centralized, totalitarian socialist regime. Its government headed by the SED leadership was nominally independent but was heavily influenced by the Soviet Union. The 1950's were marked by economical turmoil for the DDR. The Soviet Union had taken about 33% of East Germany's industrial capacity as war reparations and continued to extract more still. The lack of economical reconstruction efforts, like the ones in West Germany, led to an enormous increase in migration from the east to the west. The DDR closed its border with West Germany to try to counteract this, although people were still able to migrate through West Berlin (Elkins, 1988).

The BRD was going through an economical miracle causing the government to set up a design contest for the reconstruction of West Berlin in 1957. The competitors were allowed to see the area as a clean slate with only a few historic buildings being off limit. Submissions were sent in from all over the world and contained modernists like Le Corbusier (Fig 34). These modernists designed a city where all signs of the past were removed, making way for rationalist modernism. The second-place entry is perhaps also the most memorable. The design by Hans Sharoun was the antithesis of the classical order that Hitler would have impost and placed modernist buildings in a sea of green (Fig 35). In response the DDR held two new competitions for their redesign of the city. The first competition did not declare a winner, but many of its designs held true to the original reconstruction plan although the Stalinist classicist architecture was now replaced with a more Bauhaus modernist style showcasing the return of a national identity. The winner of the second competition was Peter Schweitzer. His design only focused on the eastern part of the city (although he was unaware of the coming separation) incorporating many of the city's monuments and creating more public monuments for the workers (Fig 36). Upon reflecting, the designs of both east and west show the emergence of two new Germanies who had converging visions of the future designed in the rational modernism (Balfour, 1990).

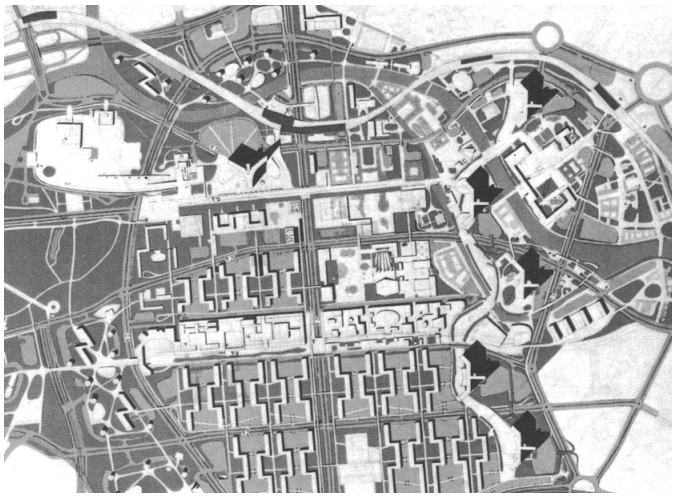

Fig 34: Le Corbusier's plan for the redesign of Berlin (Le Corbusier, 1957)

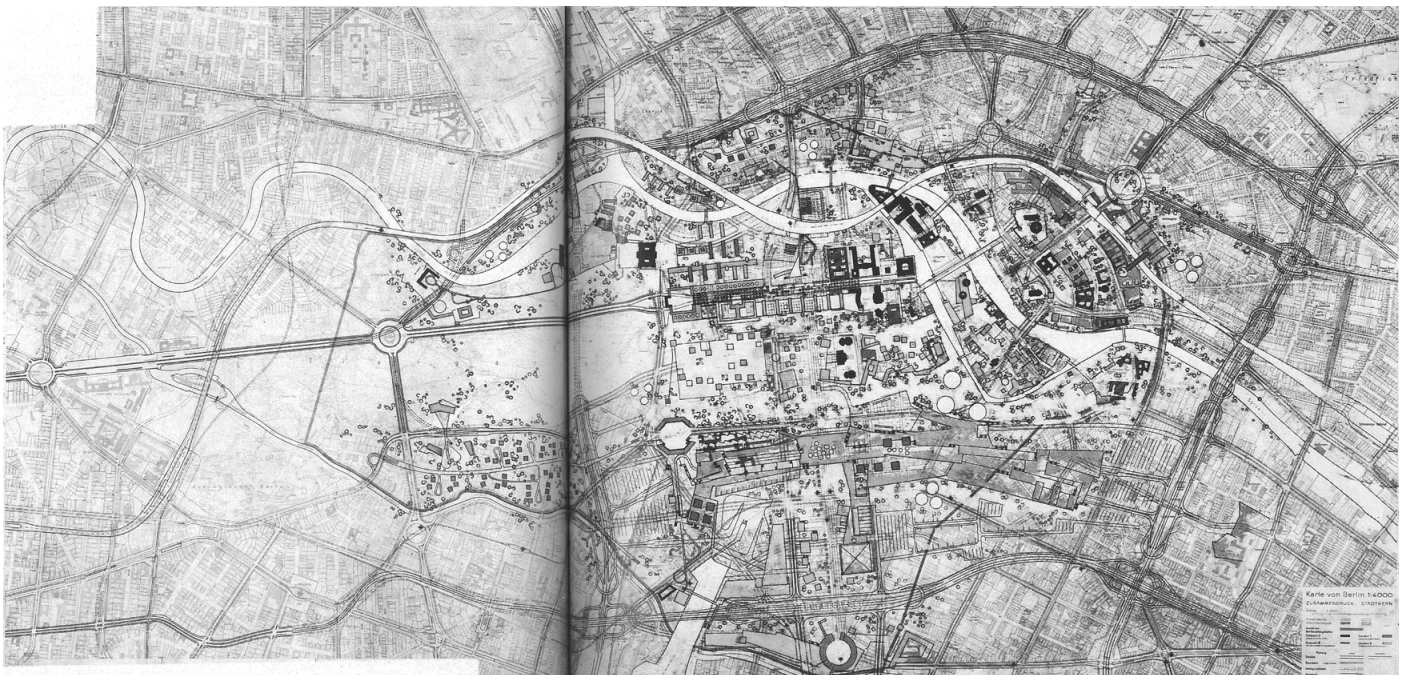

Fig 35: Winning design of Hans Scharoun for the redesign of Berlin (Scharoun, 1957)

None of these plans could have anticipated the creating of the Berlin Wall. Migration from East Germany to the west was a continuous issue as people could still get to the BRD through West Berlin. With consent from Moscow the border was finally sealed off on the 13th of August 1961. Over time the border was increasingly militarised, the end result would feature various walls, minefields, guard towers and patrol strips. West Berlin was still accessible to the west, but the freedom of movement that Berliners had previously enjoyed had now ended, completely changing the structure of the city for the next 28 years (Fig 37 & 38) (Ludtke, 1993).

As both the BRD and DDR were now sovereign nations they would need to deal with their Nazi history. The BRD had introduced restitution laws in the 1950's to compensate people that had suffered under the Nazi regime, but these laws were incredibly precise limiting the amount of people that could receive compensation. Many of the high-ranking officials in its government also had played an active part in the Nazi regime and the memory of the Nazi period was minimalised as much as possible. The Federal Republics official stance was that all people were equal victims of the war. The Nazi regime was portrayed as a small group of criminals that did not represent the German people (Ludtke, 1993). The DDR on the other hand completely denounced the Nazi regime and its ideology. The Soviets had prided themselves on being the only one of the Occupational Powers that had completely denazification, removing anybody and anything that was connected to the regime. Memorials to murdered communists and Soviet soldiers were quickly established after the war. The elites of the DDR however did feature multiple officials with connection to the Nazi regime, but these officials like the nation had submitted their loyalty to the socialist cause (Remy & Salheiser, 2010).

The 1960's saw a change in the political order of West Germany. The old guard that had been in power since the formation of the BRD were outed through political intrigue and demand for change. The past of the holocaust was still present in German society and education became more focused on the crimes of the Nazi regime and the holocaust. At the same time a new legal precedent made it more difficult than ever to prosecute people carrying out murders if these were on government orders. Citizens of both West and East Germany were hit with slowing economic growth and the introduction of laws that increasingly limited personal freedoms. This caused large scale student movements who brought issues like emancipation, colonialism and democracy to the forefront, as well as an increased will to know more about the Nazi history of their countries (Ludtke, 1993)
These issues reached their peak in the 1970's and 1980's. The former in a violent conclusion, unsatisfaction with the limited amount of change, students began to grow increasingly more militant. Splitting apart in multiple factions, one of which led to the Red Army Faction. The later issue concluded on a more positive note, with an increased awareness about the crimes perpetrated by the regime. The sites of concentration camps that previously were left in ruin by lack of maintains started to begin to transform into museums and sites of remembrance. Berlin also saw approval for the first national holocaust memorial in the BRD. Discontent however grew in East Germany towards the end of the 1980's caused by accusations of vote rigging during the 1989 election and the desire for a democratic government. Ultimately leading to the fall of the Berlin Wall and the start of the reunification process (Ludtke, 1993).

Fig 36: The Schweitzer Proposal for the rebuilding of the Soviet sector of Berlin (Schweitzer, 1960)

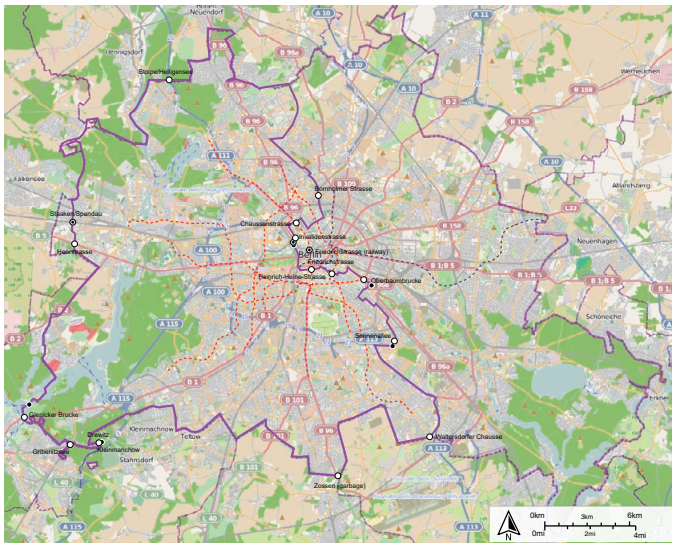

Fig 37: Map showing a current map of Berlin (anno 2012) with the Berlin Wall highlighted in purple (Wikimedia, 2012)

Fig 38: The Berlin Wall and its death strip near Checkpoint Charlie, West Berlin on the right and East Berlin on the left (Unkown, 1986)

3.2 Reichssportfeldes

Of the three Allied brigades stationed in Berlin, the British one was garrisoned at the Reichssportfeldes. Some repairs were made to the buildings immediately after the war, but much of the sports facilities were still out of service. The Maifeld, which had seen German soldiers parading in front of Nazi officials was now used by British ones to celebrate the King's or Queen's Official Birthday. Throughout the rest of the year it was used by the brigade for a variety of sports such as cricket (Ladd, 1977). By 1949 some of the sports facilities were released back to public use such as: the stadium, one of the swimming pools, the open-air stage, the equestrian area and the hockey fields. The other buildings were either to damaged and needed extensive repairs or were used by the British garrison (State Monuments Office Berlin, 1999).

In 1950, the Berlin Senate decided to rename the Reichssportfeldes to the Olympiastadion. The Senate planned to restore the complex to its former glory and open it back to the public. Changing the name would shift focus from the Nazi Regime who constructed the complex and planned it for post-war national use and place it upon the Olympics that had taken place there. This would associate the buildings with the values of the Olympics: excellence, respect and friendship. Moreover the BRD would pay the millions of Marks that reconstruction would cost (Szymanksi, 2001). Nazi iconography had already been removed, but special care was taken to de-Nazify the stadium. The 'Führerloge' or Honorary Stand was lowered by two meters to lessen the visual imposing effect and make is less likely to become a site for neo-nazi's to gather (Fig 39). The Stadium itself was only lightly damaged with bullet holes throughout the structure. These holes were left in the building as a continuous reminder of the war (Fig 40). The original bell tower was demolished and its bell had fallen during the war and consequently cracked. During the reconstruction, a replica of the tower was constructed to original plans under the supervision of the original architect Werner March.

Fig 39: The Füherloge with Hitler present during the opening of the 1936 Berlin Olympics (Unknown, 1936)

Fig 41: The Olympiastadion during a sports match (Beier, 1958)

Fig 40: The Materials of the Reichssportfeldes with visible bulletholes (Zimmerman, 1999)

The decision to restore buildings so closely associated with the Nazi regime can perhaps be seen as peculiar, but can be explained through the post-war context. The post-war BRD government avoided putting the spotlight on its Nazi history, many officials had been involved with the Nazi Regime and they did not want to underline their involvement. By restoring the complex, but without the Nazi iconography, they gave the message that they rejected the direct representation of Nazism that the complex had, while ignoring the influence that the Nazi Regime had on its design. Berlin, furthermore had just survive the Soviet Blockade but was economically in bad shape. By supporting the reconstruction of sporting facilities for use by the civilians of West Berlin, the BRD government gave the signal that they did not abandon the West Berliners (Kluge, 1999).

At the end of the 1950's sporting returned back to the stadium itself (Fig 41). American teams from either the American brigade or the American high school in Berlin played football exhibition matches inside the stadium. Hundreds of thousands of Berliners frequently came to view these matches. The Bundesliga also organised football matches inside the stadium with the Hertha BSC representing West Berlin. Other competitions that were held at the stadium consisted of rugby and polo. The stadium was renovated in preparation for the 1974 FIFA World Cup which was hosted by West Germany. A partial roof was added to the building as to cover 26.000 seats (Fig 42). The structure was made out of plexiglass and steel, contrasting to the heavy construction of the original stadium. This renovation also added stands for the press, new restrooms and reporters trenches on the field. These international sporting events not only helped foster a bond between western nations but also showed West-Berlin to be an important part of the BRD even though it laid deep inside the DDR (Szymanski, 2001).

Fig 41: The Olympiastadion in 1980, note the later added roofing structure (Unkown, 1980)

3.3 Tempelhof Airport

During the Berlin airlift its then major Ernst Reuter demanded: 'People of the world, look upon this city!' The people that looked saw a city filled with 'freedom' loving people that were besieged by the Soviet Union. Only four years previously the city was also besides by Soviet forces but instead of standing with the Nazi regime, the people of Berlin were now standing with the pro-democratic Western Allies. This visual image along with the photographs and films depicting airplanes landing and taking off from Tempelhof became the symbol of West Berlin (Ladd, 2008).

In 1951 a monument was erected in front of the main building. The winner of the design contest was Eduard Ludwig. Ludwig was an Bauhaus educated architect and one of the favourite students of Mies van der Rohe. It was a conscious decision to select a Bauhaus modernist as the winner of the contest. The school was closed in 1933 by the Nazi regime and many of its students and staff fled Germany. The fact that the modernist movement was so opposed by the previous regime would see it become the style of West Germany in the post-war decades, providing a clean break between the architecture of the Nazi era and that of its successor regime. The monument features three arcs, one for every air corridor used during the airlift (Fig 42). Berliners themselves likend the arcs more to claws and dubbed it the 'Hungerkralle' (hunger claw) (Richie, 1998)

After the airlift, the airport was partially released to civilian use in 1950. The main hall was damaged ruing the war and had not yet been repaired, delaying the opening until 1951. Rights to the air corridors was however restricted to aircraft belonging or being registered to one of the three Allied Powers. Although Berlin had multiple airports, commercial traffic was concentrated at Tempelhof but the amount of passengers grew increasingly larger until it reached in excess of 5 million passengers annually (Elkins, 1993). West Berlin was accessible by road and train, but civilian passengers were subject to searches by the DDR border police. Travel by air was the only way to reach the city unmolested. Tempelhof moreover provided international flights to major centres in western Europe. In an attempt to handle the increase of traffic, some of the unfinished parts of the buildings were completed and others restored. The building was built with the typical 'National Socialist' materials of concrete and steel cladded with natural stone. Natural stone was a commodity in West Berlin, as the city laid deep inside the DDR almost everything needed to be imported from the BRD, the size and weight of natural stone made it importation practically impossible. Without easy important it was decided to install a concrete intermediate floor in the entrance hall (Fig 43). This lowered the original monumental ceiling height of 15 metres to 5 metres. The ceiling in the main hall was also lowered as to alleviate the necessity for repairing the stucco ceiling (Richie, 1998).

Fig 42: The Berlin Airlift monument in front of Tempelhof Airport (Brodde, 1954)

Traffic kept increasing during the 1960's and although capacity was increased, the airport was located in a urban centre and thus unable to expanded. The majority of the civil air traffic was diverted to Tegel Airport by 1975. Tempelhof remained the main terminal for all American military air traffic and a permanent detachment of the United States Airforce was garrisoned there. The only civilian flights from and to the airport would be business flights that made use of smaller planes (Elkins, 1993).

1985 the square in front of the entrance hall was renamed Eagle Square. The square contains an statue of the head of an eagle. The eagle was part of the original design by Sagebiel and stood on top of the airport. Unexpectedly in its claws it held not an swastika but instead an globe. The statue remained on the roof until 1962 when it was removed to install a new radar dish. The head of the eagle was first housed in the United States, who's national bird was the eagle. Upon its return it got a new meaning, to commemorate the cooperation between the people of West Berlin and the United States (Fig 44). The use of the same can be seen as the transformation of an icon representing Nazism to one representing liberal democracy (Ladd, 2008).

Fig 43: The unused upper part of the entrance hall created by the installation of the intermediate floor (Wikimedia, 2008)

Fig 44:The eagle head memorial at Eagle Square in front of the main entrance (Getty Images, 2012)

3.4 German Air Ministry

The Air Ministry building holds a symbolic roll in East Germany. It was in the Festsaal in 1949 that the DDR was established, transforming the Soviet Occupation Zone into a socialist nation. This represented two things. The first the victory of socialism over Nazism and secondly the fact that this socialist sovereign nation was created through guidance of the Soviet Union. To commemorate the construction a mural was created in the north loggia of the building, this would provide a continues reminder to all who visited the building (Ladd, 1997). The artist of the mural, Max Ligner, however did have to concede to the party before his design for the mural was approved. Such struggles with artist and party leadership had already been common during the time under the Nazi regime where artists were banned when the leadership disapproved of their art. The first version of the design depicted families, workers and protesters, but according to the party it was not clear enough that these people were members of socialist organisations. More protesters with socialist banners and signs would replace the families and workers. The background also depicts Stalinallee which at the time was under construction. Stalinallee was to be the flagship project of the DDR's reconstruction effort. It was designed in the style of socialist classicism and would contain luxury apartments for worker as well as entertainment (Fig 45) (Federal Ministry of Finance, 2019).

The mural was completed mere months before the 1953 uprising, when workers of Stalinallee protested the demand from the DDR government that they increase their productivity. They were quickly joined by others in East Berlin and throughout Germany. The East Berliners saw the building as a symbol of the government and thousands marched on it, making the final design of the mural almost poetically ironic (Fig 46). The DDR government and the Soviet leadership feared a democratic revolution and put down the uprising with the help of Soviet tanks (Fig 47). Just like the regime that was previously housed in the building its new occupier decided to crush any opposition to their ideology with brutal force. Any trace of the uprising was removed, it took until after reunification for a plaque to be placed at the building. This gives the building a certain amount of tension, competing as a monument for and against the DDR regime, but forgetting the destructive bombing campaigns planned there by the Nazi regime (Ladd, 1997).

For the protesters the heavy symmetric building represented the closed system in which the privileged bureaucrats that administered the plan of the Politburo worked. Since the declaration of the DDR it had housed 16, with 6.000 employees filling 2.000 offices, closely mirroring the enormous bureaucracy of the Nazi regime that previously occupied the building. The building was almost a city of its own and provided everything that was

Fig 45: Recently finished Stalinallee (Weiß, 1954)

needed. It had two medical centres (one for normal employees and one for higher-ranked officials), a bank, a hairdresser's, a railway ticket office, a dressmaker's, a florist, a grocery store, a shop to buy lottery tickets, a stocking repair shop, a bookshop and a pharmacy. Even recreational activities were provided for including two tennis courts. These 'luxurious' facilities were exclusively reserved for the upper bureaucratic echelon (Federal Ministry of Finance, 2019).

It was in the great hall that Ulbricht reaffirmed that no wall would be constructed between East and West Berlin. Construction on the Berlin Wall however started only two months later. The wall would run within meters of the House of Ministries offering a clear view of West-Berlin and the death zone that separated east from west (Federal Ministry of Finance, 2019).

Fig 46: The newly installed mural at the Haus der Ministerien (Kemlein, 1953)

Fig 47: Soviet tanks in front of the Haus der Ministeren (Unkown, 1953)

3.5 Reichsbank

After the foundation of the DDR, the Berliner Stadkontor left the building making place for the new DDR ministry of Finance. Renovations of all the floors were quickly started as until now the Stadkontor had only used a small part of the building. Most of the interior partitions that were made out of wood were removed, making place for stone dividing walls. This once and for all transformed the former open modernist layout into a linear cell structure made out of small offices. The foundation of the DDR and the consequent reorganisation of the government only exacerbated the shortage of available office space. This forced the buildings to be shared by multiple government departments. Most of the renovations were completed by 1950 and the Ministry of Finance moved in (Ladd, 2008). Some of the windows were bricked off for 'architectural reasons', only worsening the look of the façade and increasing the distrust of the average citizen about what went on behind the solid stone walls. The teller's hall was transformed into a multifunctional room meant for expositions and ceremonies, now called the festival hall, with an area of 1.650 m2. Such large rooms were a rare commodity in the devastated city. The previous shiny natural stone was covered in white stucco, giving the room a monotonous feeling. The hall immediately came under criticism of political leaders, who found its appearance subpar. It however was too late for the 1951 World Youth Encounter and all the walls were covered with banners as a temporary solution (Fig 48). The hall was subsequently renovated between 1951 and 1958. It was again renamed to the 'Congress Hall of the Ministry of Finance.' Although much of the building was a government office it also peculiarly contained shops on its ground floor such as: a textile goods shop, a dairy store, butcher shop, a grocery store and a hairdresser (Wilderotter, 2000).

In 1957 the Ministry was told to move out of the building to make room for the Central Committee of the SED. The Central Committee was previously spread over East Berlin and now desired to move into one building. The Reichsbank building was the only building with enough space at that time to house it. More office space would be needed as well as multiple large halls to host large assemblies. Large structural renovations took place to allow for these changes. As the headquarter of the Central Committee is quickly got the nickname 'The Big House' (Fig 49). In 1959 the overhaul of the façade began. The holes that were previously filled with mortar were now properly restored with sandstone. More renovations of the interior would take place in the 1960's and 1970's. These renovations were meant to increase security and comfort. The building became one of the most secure places in the DDR as the SED leadership was extremely paranoid of espionage and political intrigue. It was almost impossible for a regular citizen of the DDR to enter the building disconnecting the rulers from the ruled.

Fig 48: Festival Room during the World Youth Encounter in 1951 (Bundesarchiv, 1951)

This is exemplified by the fact that the politburo had a private elevator that brought them directly from their car to their offices. The continuous renovations also upgraded the décor to better fit the 'socialist ideology', this however more or less meant the taste of the First Secretary (or his wife) and the members of the politburo (Fig 50 & 51) (Kroos & Marx, 2000).

Administrative buildings were not a main architectural interest in the DDR, instead focusing on urban design, mass housing and public functions. The building went through many changes and renovations with only the outside staying true to its original design. These changes however were always of the highest quality, using the best materials and craftsmen that the DDR had to offer. Thus, reflecting the architectural ideology of the DDR (Wilderotter, 2000).

Fig 49: Previously known as the Reichsbank, now the office of the Central Committee of the SED, (Kohls, 1966)

Fig 50: Interior of the cafetaria in the building of the Central Committee of the SED (Marx, 1980)

Fig 51: Interior of the congress room of the Central Committee (Marx, 1980)

4.1 Analysis & Conclusion

The four buildings analysed and discussed in this thesis all share common factors outlined in the introduction. This analysis was carried out to answer the main research question: 'How did the co-option of buildings constructed by the Nazi regime in Berlin compare between the democratic capitalist west and the communist east?'

Although the ideology of West Germany and East Germany is vastly different, the former being a liberal capitalist democracy and the latter socialist totalitarian, they share a common factor in their use of architecture constructed by the Nazi Regime. This being the need for a scarce resource above all else. As Ladd (2008) notes, intact buildings were too valuable a resource to dismiss without thought. In the immediate period after the war, these buildings were needed to house the occupational apparatus that would administer the occupation of Germany. Such as the Stadkontor housed in the Reichsbank, the Soviet military administration in the Air Ministry Building and the British military headquarters at the Reichssportfeldes. The post-war years severely limited the resources that were available for new construction, what was still standing was restored and what was damaged beyond repair was torn down. Large buildings as the ones found in the east or buildings concerning vital infrastructure such as Tempelhof Airport could not be easily replaced by new construction. The location of West Berlin deep inside the DDR made construction even more difficult especially after the construction of the Berlin Wall, as material would need to be imported from the west. The isolation of West Berlin furthermore made it unattractive for investors to develop new construction.

All of these buildings went through a denazification process, but the decree of this process dependent on their location in either east or west. The west was less thorough in its denazification process. The post-war government of the BRD which contained many former Nazi officials wanted to minimalize the connection between Nazism and the German people as much as possible. Instead portraying the regime as a small group of criminals. By quietly assimilating the buildings their connection to Nazism was minimalised. The east on the other hand was much more absolute when it came to denazification of the population, their culture and their architecture. Nazism had waged a war of ideological extermination against socialism with socialism being victorious in the end. The Soviet Administration (and later the DDR government) made sure to strip anything related to Nazism like their iconography. They however did not choose to destroy the architecture of the Nazi regime instead choosing to co-opt it.

East Berlin as the capital of the DDR had a prominent symbolic position. It had been the capital of Nazi Germany and now it was to be the capital of socialist Germany. The architecture of the DDR was to be focused on urban design, mass housing and public works. New buildings were constructed in the capital, but two of the most prominent institutions were housed in buildings constructed by the Nazi regime: the House of Ministers and the Central Committee. Through co-option of these buildings that represented Nazism, the socialist DDR showed that their ideology was victorious over the very regime that had tried to exterminate it. This is further reenforced by the multiple renovations the buildings went through. The swastika made way for the hammer and sickle, the Germanic mural made way for the socialist mural and bloated bureaucratic institutions were replaced bloated bureaucratic institutions. Although the exterior of these two buildings are hallmarks of the 'National Socialist' style, their interiors clearly belong to their new masters. This is evident by the fact that during the 1953 uprising East Berliners marched on the former Air Ministry building. For them the building no longer represented the Nazi regime that had constructed it but the socialist bureaucracy against which they marched.

The west was not as extreme in its quest to reshape the architecture of the Nazi regime into its own. Both Tempelhof Airport and the Reichssportfeldes were in part restored to their original designs, the Reichssportfeldes even being overseen by its original architect. The reasons behind the lack of physical transformation were multiple. The west did not wage an ideology war of extermination, and although it opposed Nazism it was not with the same ferocity as the east. The is exemplified with the fact that the BRD government contained many former high-ranking Nazi officials and thus wished to minimalize the Nazi legacy as much as possible. By letting the buildings be as is, they placed no spotlight on their connection to Nazism. Moreover, as in the east the identity of their buildings was transformed in the minds of West Berliners. By the time that a new generation started asking questions about the Nazi legacy of their country and its people, the identity of the buildings was already reshaped. They were no longer a symbol of the Nazi regime, but instead a symbol of the cooperation between West Berlin, The BRD and its Western Allies.

To summarise the co-opting of buildings constructed by the Nazi regime is dependent on three different factors: the first is need for a resource that is scarce, the second is circumstance both political as well as economical, and the last is ideology. It is in ideology were the approach between east and west concerning their Nazi legacy greatly differs. For the east, socialism had been victorious over Nazism in a war of extermination, leading to the creation of a socialist nation. Co-opting the building that had represented Nazism represented the ideological victory over its constructors. In the west, it had been a war between the Allied powers against the Axis powers. They war consequently was portrayed to have been perpetrated by a small group of criminals. By the time that questions arose over the Nazi legacy of Western Germany, the identity of the buildings had already transformed.

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