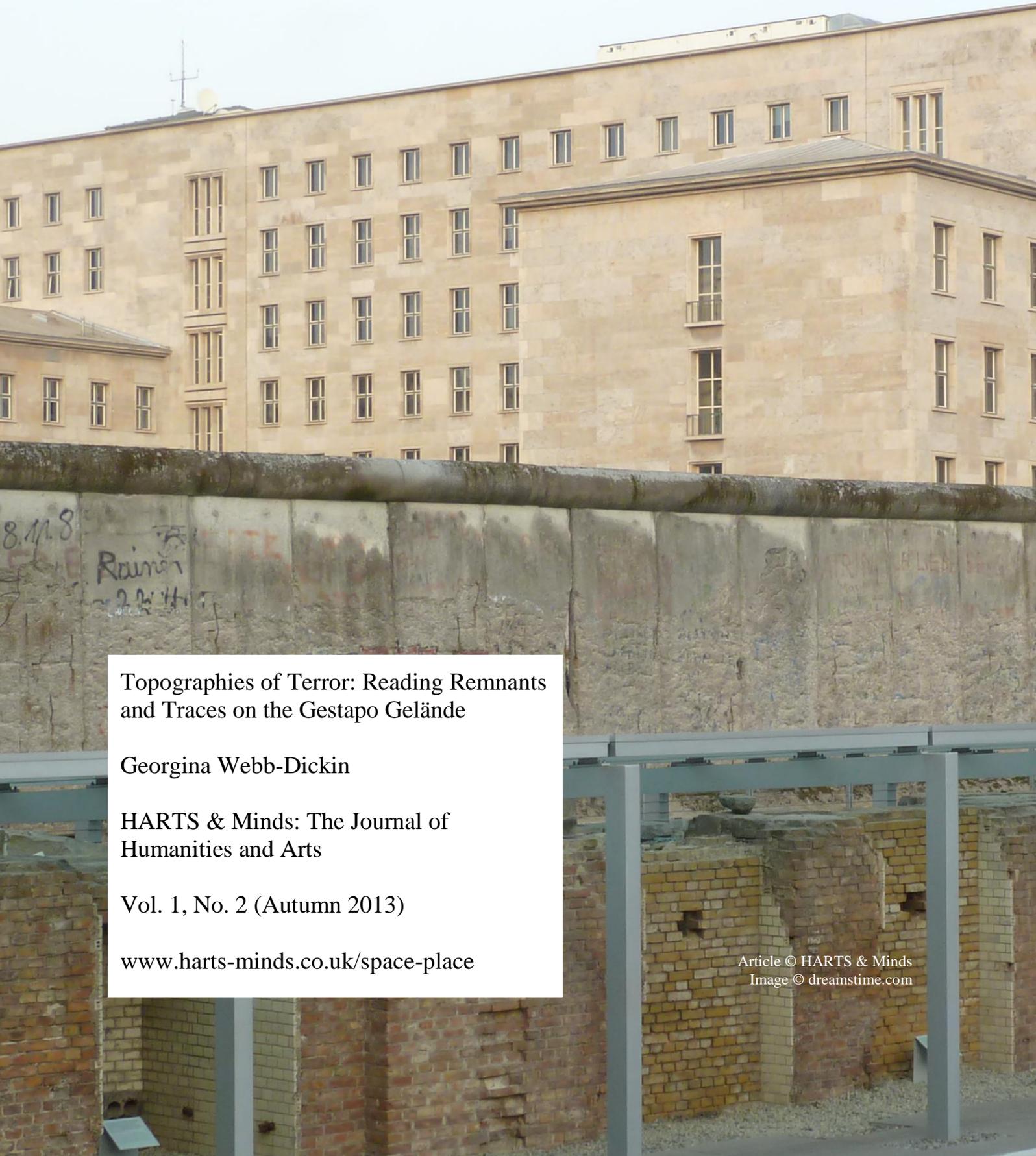


HARTS

& Minds



Topographies of Terror: Reading Remnants
and Traces on the Gestapo Gelände

Georgina Webb-Dickin

HARTS & Minds: The Journal of
Humanities and Arts

Vol. 1, No. 2 (Autumn 2013)

www.harts-minds.co.uk/space-place

Article © HARTS & Minds
Image © dreamstime.com

TOPOGRAPHIES OF TERROR: READING REMNANTS AND TRACES ON THE *GESTAPO GELÄNDE*

Georgina Webb-Dickin

Abstract

The Topography of Terror in Berlin marks the space where several historically significant buildings once stood. Constructed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries on Prinz-Albrecht-Straße, the buildings were associated with Prussian imperial grandeur until their appropriation by various factions of Germany's National Socialist government in the 1930s. These links with regrettable pasts led to their being razed in the mid-twentieth century and to their histories being temporarily forgotten. Material legacies were excavated some years later, however, and the process of negotiating the area's complex topographies continues into the present. Today, the site comprises an outdoor exhibition space and a documentation centre, but it also incorporates a long remnant of the Berlin Wall; a 210 metre segment of the West-facing border Wall which was given listed monument status in 1990. Surrounded by a protective fence, the segment is presented as separate from the rest of the exhibition and, to an extent, it is treated differently from the other objects on site.

This article explores the histories of the so-called *Gestapo Gelände* (Gestapo terrain), their rediscovery in the 1970s and their relationship with the Berlin Wall remnant, considering how the relics of seemingly different eras are presented as constituents of the same landscape. It uses a variety of theories, including those of Walter Benjamin, Jacques Derrida, Michel Foucault and Andreas Huyssen, to approach the site, investigating the potential of working through the landscape as a topographical document. Ultimately, the article suggests that by reading the Topography of Terror as a palimpsest of equally significant traces, diverse and varied images can be revealed. These images document a much wider period of time than anticipated, making new meanings available for the site and new interpretations possible.

Key Words: Topography of Terror, Berlin Wall, palimpsest, Gestapo, landscape, Benjamin, Foucault

The Topography of Terror is a site in central Berlin whose complex histories were neglected and rediscovered during the second half of the twentieth century. It is now most famous for its occupation by National Socialist organisations between 1933 and 1945, but this has not always been the case. This article explores the area's evolving landscape, in particular that of its bordering street, and investigates the rediscovery of the *Gestapo Gelände* at a time when the city was better known for its division by the Berlin Wall.¹ It also explains how the material legacies of apparently different pasts are presented on the site and proposes more inclusive ways of reading its intricate web of topographies. The article begins by detailing briefly the histories of the area, from the construction of Prinz-Albrecht-Straße in 1891 to its occupation by the Gestapo, SS and SD in the 1930s. It goes on to discuss the neglect of the street in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War and explains how its histories were renegotiated later. Finally, it considers the manifestation of the Berlin Wall border strip on the site and asks how its remnants can be read alongside the material legacies of earlier pasts.

Histories of the *Gestapo Gelände*

The street bordered by the Topography of Terror is currently named *Niederkirchnerstraße* in commemoration of the communist resistance fighter Käthe Niederkirchner, who died in Ravensbrück concentration camp in 1944.² As the allusion might suggest, the name was assigned in the early days of the GDR (specifically in 1951), at which time a number of German streets were being retitled with the aim of de-commemorating figures associated with past regimes.³ In this instance, that figure had been Prinz Albrecht, a popular prince of the Hohenzollern dynasty who lent his name to the spectacular Prinz-Albrecht-Palais nearby. When a new road was laid out in 1891, it was named Prinz-Albrecht-Straße precisely because the palace was such an important feature of the local landscape. The street was developed quickly. By 1905, it boasted a school of applied arts, the Prussian State Assembly building, the Hotel Prinz Albrecht and a school of industrial arts and crafts. Along with its name, the street's stately buildings generated the area's firm association with imperial grandeur and Prussian militarism.⁴

These associations were short-lived, however, since the road earned a more fearsome reputation in the 1930s when it was appropriated by various National Socialist government agencies. In 1933, the Gestapo moved into the school of industrial arts and crafts at Prinz-Albrecht-Straße 8 and in 1934, the SS headquarters were relocated from Munich into the Hotel Prinz Albrecht directly next door. In the same year, the Prinz-Albrecht-Palais became the headquarters of the SD.⁵ Lastly, between 1935 and 1936 a new building was constructed to house the Nazi Ministry of Aviation (Fig. 1). Known as the Air Ministry building, it lent a distinctly different aesthetic to the area because of both its newness and its design. It is an archetypal example of National Socialist 'built propaganda' and evidence of Adolf Hitler and Albert Speers' plans to 'consciously create an architectural legacy'.⁶

Figure 1: Air Ministry Building

Image: Georgina Webb-Dickin, 9 December 2011



These developments added to the street's already negative reputation. Indeed, it is often cited as having been 'one of the most feared addresses in Europe' because it made real for the public the possibility of interacting with members of these organisations.⁷ Prinz-Albrecht-Straße had become 'the nerve centre of the Nazis' security apparatus'.⁸

During the early 1940s, many of the buildings were damaged in Allied air attacks. The SS headquarters were almost completely destroyed by a bomb in 1943 whilst the Gestapo base at Prinz-Albrecht-Straße 8 was attacked on several occasions. Although it could have been

reconstructed, it was partially demolished in 1953-54 and its remains were blown up in 1956.⁹ Similarly, the interior of the Prinz-Albrecht-Palais was severely damaged by a bomb in 1943 and its remains demolished by the West Berlin government in 1949, even though it was in better condition than other structures nearby.¹⁰ This suggests that the reputations of the buildings played a role in their demise. Concurrent with this theory is the preservation of surrounding buildings which, although they had also been badly damaged, had not been quite so central to the National Socialist agenda. The school of applied arts, which was used by the Gestapo but only to store paperwork, had suffered considerably but it was not removed from the street.¹¹ Similarly, the Prussian State Assembly building on the other side of the road, which played an equally minor role in Nazi operations, was allowed to remain.

In *The Ghosts of Berlin*, Brian Ladd asks whether structures associated with the Third Reich can be 'denazified' or transformed into signifiers of alternative histories.¹² Here, it would seem, they could not be. The prince's name and the remaining stately architecture no longer conjured images of imperial Prussia but, instead, memories of events people wished to forget. Leo Schmidt explains that:

Objects, and buildings in particular, are identified with memory. By consequence, many intact buildings all over the world have been destroyed because they stood for a painful memory whilst other buildings, whose destruction by war or catastrophe could not be tolerated, have either been recreated or are the focus of highly emotional debates on reconstruction.¹³

One such recreation took place in 1978, when the school of applied arts was remodelled. Its destruction 'could not be tolerated' and it reopened in 1981 with a new name, Martin-Gropius-Bau. Martin Gropius was one of the building's celebrated architects and the association with his name evoked images of Berlin in the nineteenth century, bringing to light histories which were easier to negotiate than the street's more recent pasts. It is now used, as it was before the Nazi occupation of the street, as an exhibition space.

Also in situ is the vast and imposing Air Ministry building which has been used in various capacities and which, since 1990, has housed the German Ministry of Finance. Remarkably, it was left intact after the Allied air raids of 1943-44, so neither a demolition nor a reconstruction was called for. Agata Anna Lisiak considers that the recycling of this prominent piece of National Socialist architecture demonstrates Berlin's 'pragmatism in relation to its history'.¹⁴ Reusing a structure so clearly reminiscent of that era suggests an acceptance of difficult pasts and a renegotiation of their material legacies. Ladd, on the other hand, is sceptical. Prinz-Albrecht-Straße ran along the boundary between the eastern and western sectors of the city and he supposes that 'its redefinition took a different course because it stood in East Berlin'.¹⁵ In other words, it was only reappropriated because its destruction was prohibitively expensive for the newly established GDR. The discrepancy between Lisiak and Ladd's interpretations shows just how contentious an issue the management of Berlin's pasts became in the latter half of the twentieth century.

Despite the continuing presence of some structures and the incongruously vast spaces left by absent others, few people took interest in the *Gestapo Gelände* in the immediate aftermath of the Second World War. There were several causes of this temporary amnesia. James E. Young notes that 'only the Germans who had survived interrogations and beatings at the Gestapo headquarters [...] had any interest in preserving the remains'. He expands:

In fact, many feared that if the ruins of the Gestapo-Gelände were left, they might even be readopted by former SS soldiers as a memorial not to what they had perpetrated, but to what they had lost. Better, in the eyes of municipal authorities, to wipe the topographical slate clean of past crimes and suffering before starting anew. As the Germans had been liberated from the Nazi scourge, the land itself would now be liberated from all traces of its past, from the burden of memory.¹⁶

The image Young evokes of cleansing the landscape of its associations with heinous activities befits the removal of its most troubling buildings and suggests people's liberation not only from uncomfortable memories but from processing their complicity with the regime.

Berlin historian and former director of the Topography of Terror, Reinhard Rürup, adds that the problem was exacerbated by a lack of documentation regarding the use of the buildings, most of it having been destroyed by the Gestapo. He notes that:

After the end of the “Third *Reich*”, the buildings that had housed the *Reich* Security Main Office (RHSA) and the *SS* were barely noticed. Despite the Allies' efforts at re-education to confront the Germans with the Nazi regime's crimes, the population mostly tried to repress the horror of the war and Nazi rule. The Nazi crimes became a taboo subject or were relativized. Preoccupied with destruction and shortages, people concentrated on problems of survival.¹⁷

Gabi Dolff-Bonekämper supplements this analysis with an additional detail, explaining that, in terms of commemorative practice, ‘no importance was attached to smaller places of “minor” horror’.¹⁸ Whilst commemoration was taking place on the sites of the largest concentration camps from 1949 onwards, decades passed before the histories of the *Gestapo Gelände* were revisited, as the second part of this article will show.

In his article ‘Ticket to a New Decor’, Jean-François Lyotard explores the repression of memories of National Socialism:

Under the pretense of safeguarding that [modernist] project, the men and women of my generation in Germany imposed on their children a forty-year silence about the “Nazi interlude”. This interdiction against remembering stands as a symbol for the entire Western world.¹⁹

For him, the categorisation of the era as an ‘interlude’ is evidential of the modernist preoccupation with Hegelian linear history. Its presentation as a brief departure from the project of Enlightenment prevented a reappraisal of the conditions that brought National Socialism into fruition. In the case of the *Gestapo Gelände*, such a reappraisal would have necessitated the confrontation of the landscape and the working-through of its histories in a process of ‘anamnesis’.²⁰ At that time, such practices were not seen as conducive to processes of overcoming. Liberation from the past would be brought about by the erasure of its material legacies and the neglect of its memories, or so it was perceived. Andreas Huyssen finds that the Holocaust was symptomatic of ‘the repression of otherness [...] a fatal disease of the modern condition’. He adds that:

Without memory, without reading traces of the past, there can be no recognition of difference [...] no tolerance for rich complexities and instabilities of personal and cultural, political and national identities.²¹

For both Huysen and Lyotard, to forget is to risk reproducing the same attitudes that brought about the initial trauma and to disable processes of overcoming.²² The implications of forgetting are evidenced in the story of the rediscovery of the *Gestapo Gelände* and the representation of its many and varied histories on its landscape.

‘Let’s Dig’: Working through forgotten topographies

With its most threatening buildings and its fearsome name gone, and its histories all but forgotten, the area enjoyed a short spell of time without any presiding reputation. The street itself (soon to be reinvented as *Niederkirchnerstraße*) marked the boundary of the *Mitte* and *Kreuzberg* districts. Thus, when Berlin was divided into occupied zones, it delineated the border between Soviet and Allied sectors. This meant that it became a peripheral no-man’s-land and was used in various nondescript ways. Ladd notes, for example, that in 1956, a helicopter landing pad was constructed in the area and that the following year, plans were made to use the road as a large highway.²³ Rürup adds that ‘by the early 1960s it had become a huge vacant area’.²⁴ It is certainly arguable that these uses of the space reflect a desire to forget the traumatic events associated with the landscape. As well as its histories, though, the identity of the area as a liminal and undesirable zone between two sectors of the city restricted the potential for a more progressive approach.

When the Berlin Wall border strip materialised in 1961, it could only be established along the width of *Niederkirchnerstraße* since the school of applied arts (the future *Martin-Gropius-Bau*) and the Air Ministry building were still in situ at either end of the street. The entire border strip – both the border and hinterland Walls and the ‘controlled chemical desert’ known as the death strip – was therefore constructed along the road itself.²⁵ Indeed, the border was so close to the surrounding architecture that when *Martin-Gropius-Bau* opened in 1981, its main entrance was inaccessible and had to be moved to the rear of the building.²⁶ During the twenty-eight year division of the city, only border guards could access the street, so the ‘anamnesis’ of the area’s histories became all the more difficult.²⁷ The surrounding area remained desolate because its proximity to the border strip made it undesirable for real estate developers.

In the late 1970s, however, there was a surge of renewed interest in the *Niederkirchnerstraße* area. Karen E. Till observes that at this time, ‘urban renewal and historic preservation projects flourished in West Berlin and West Germany as part of a larger popular “memory boom”’.²⁸ Huysen interprets this ‘boom’ as a consequence of the postmodern critical turn, which promoted a surge of interest in discourses on memories and their representation. He notes that:

Memory discourses of a new kind first emerged in the West after the 1960s in the wake of decolonization and the new social movements and their search for alternative and revisionist histories. The search for other traditions and the tradition of “others” was accompanied by multiple statements about endings: the end of history, the death of the subject, the end of the work of art, the end of metanarratives. Such claims were frequently understood all too literally, but in their polemical thrust and replication of the ethos of avant-gardism, they pointed directly to the ongoing recodification of the past after modernism.²⁹

Huysen implicates modernity and its construction of metanarratives in both the rise of National Socialism and the desire of the public to forget its legacies. It follows suit, then, that the postmodern ‘recodification of the past’ should call the subject of memory into question and encourage a reappraisal of those forgotten histories.

One of the regenerative projects Till describes was the opening of Martin-Gropius-Bau. In 1981, it housed its inaugural exhibition, ‘Prussia: An Attempt at Reappraisal’. In preparation, research was conducted into the surrounding area. As well as the street’s imperial histories, its associations with the Third Reich inevitably came to light. Disbelief that such a terrain could ever have been forgotten was widely spread, especially in the light of the exhibition, which celebrated Prussian histories so nostalgically. The public responded to the neglect of the terrain with a determination to make amends. As Huysen explains, ‘in today’s Germany, redemption through memory is the goal’.³⁰

Although Niederkirchnerstraße and the territory immediately to the East remained inaccessible, occupied entirely by the Berlin Wall fortifications, the *Gestapo Gelände* was located on the Western side and was thus entirely accessible. This meant that the territory could be transformed or reinvented in any way deemed appropriate. Debates about the numerous possibilities for the site’s future continued for some time. Some groups called for a *Mahnmal* (warning monument) and others for a museum. Competitions were held and initiatives launched and the responsibility of the site was passed around from body to body for several years as a result of all the confusion over its future.³¹

Ultimately, the project that had the greatest impact was implemented by a citizens’ group led by Rürup in 1985. The group ‘disagreed with attempts to harmonize the history of the location with peaceful parks and playgrounds’ and responded to the indeterminacy of the commemorative efforts by taking action.³² They began operation ‘Let’s Dig’, encouraging the public to gather on site and excavate the area themselves. The initial aim, Rürup notes, was to dig until the outlines and foundations of Prinz-Albrecht-Straße 8 (the Gestapo and RSHA headquarters) were revealed. Hunting through waste and rubble, the anti-products of the site, the group revealed traces of histories which might otherwise have remained hidden; histories of both the victims and perpetrators associated with this landscape. So much significant material was revealed that professional archaeologists were enlisted to continue the dig. They discovered the remains of basements, kitchens and the foundations of other buildings. Amongst the most significant discoveries were parts of the cellars that had been converted into prison cells at Prinz-Albrecht-Straße 8 and where people had been tortured and interrogated by the Gestapo (Fig. 2).

Figure 2: The excavated cellars of Prinz-Albrecht-Straße 8. Immediately behind is the border Wall and behind that, the Air Ministry building (right) and Prussian State Assembly building (left)

Image: Georgina Webb-Dickin, 5 December 2011



The Let's Dig project constituted an active engagement with the histories of the area. Working in the shadows of both the border strip and a restored Prussian museum, the participants negotiated the boundaries between pasts rather than expressing National Socialism as an uncharacteristically traumatic 'interlude' in German history. By working through the landscape and crucially, by crossing the boundary represented by its undisturbed surface, the group facilitated the development of an area that was otherwise proving impossible to handle. Till recalls that:

Their goal in this protest action was not to interpret or cite the landscape objectively as a historical object but rather to resituate and combine texts, signs, things and locations, and create new meanings, new opportunities for the future. This was a multilinear way of thinking about time, in which past, present and future were understood as co-constitutive.³³

This corresponds to Lyotard's concerns about the 'forty-year silence' imposed upon his generation, which ended when this threshold – represented by constructions of linear time and the surface of the earth itself – was crossed.³⁴ Till's interpretation also supports Huysen's analysis of the 'memory boom' and its 'search for other traditions and the tradition of "others"'.³⁵ Michel Foucault finds that:

History has altered its position in relation to the document: it has taken as its primary task, not the interpretation of the document, not the attempt to decide whether it is telling the truth or what is its expressive value, but to work on it from within and to develop it.³⁶

The Let's Dig project did just this, reacquainting histories with the landscape by crossing into it, describing the relationships between artefacts and between the pasts, presents and futures of the site.

The act of digging has obvious significance within the disciplines of archaeology and anthropology but also has relevance to discourses of material and visual cultures. Walter Benjamin uses it as a metaphor to describe the reconfiguration of histories, in particular their relationship to lived experiences. In ‘A Berlin Chronicle’, he suggests that:

He who seeks to approach his own buried past must conduct himself like a man digging. [...] He must not be afraid to return again and again to the same matter. [...] For the matter itself is only a deposit, a stratum, which yields only to the most meticulous examination what constitutes the real treasure hidden within the earth: the images, severed from all earlier associations, that stand – like precious fragments or torsos in a collector’s gallery - in the prosaic rooms of our later understanding.³⁷

This theory can be used to interpret the excavation of the Gestapo terrain. Returning to previously neglected material and meticulously examining the landscape revealed images, memories and versions of forgotten histories. For Benjamin, ‘memory is not an instrument for exploring the past but its theatre’.³⁸ Although he wrote ‘A Berlin Chronicle’ in the 1930s and thus cannot be considered a postmodernist, Benjamin makes clear his discontent with the confines of a linear history. He finds that, by working through the landscape as a document and using histories as methodological tools, the negotiation of difficult pasts can be productive as well as interpretative. For both Benjamin and Foucault, history is not that which is discovered and interpreted but that which facilitates discovery.

The search for and negotiation of traces is significant not only to the Let’s Dig project but to many of the city’s landscapes. Berlin can be read as a palimpsest – ‘a disparate city-text that is being rewritten whilst previous text is preserved, traces are restored, erasures documented’ – and elsewhere, too, the material legacies of certain pasts impact upon future developments.³⁹ The Schlossplatz project is one such example. The site was home to the Hohenzollern city palace from 1443 until the early 1950s, and then to the GDR’s Palast der Republik between 1974 and 2008. In the near future, a version of the earlier palace will be replicated. Three façades will suggest that the new building is a remnant of the Baroque era and of imperial Prussia, whilst a fourth will communicate its contemporaneity. The contentious and politically charged project is delayed by a lack of funds but also by the discovery of foundations from the earlier Hohenzollern palace. How the replica will be informed by traces of its former self remains to be seen, but the project demonstrates the city’s ongoing struggle to work through the material legacies of its troubled twentieth century. It is no coincidence that the new structure will represent Prussian imperialism whilst traces of the Palast der Republik – a popular and important building used for political, cultural and social activities in the GDR – are all but erased.

For Jacques Derrida, traces function as others in a perpetual state of materialisation and erasure. They are signs left by that which is absent, but they are themselves never wholly absent nor present because they are self-effacing by nature. Whilst he resists a specific definition, Derrida explains the operation of traces within structures of difference:

It is in the specific zone of this imprint and this trace, in the temporalization of a *lived experience* which is neither *in* the world nor in “another world,” which is not more sonorous than luminous, not more *in* time than *in* space, that differences appear among the elements or rather produce them, make them emerge as such and constitute the *texts*, the chains, and the systems of traces. These chains and systems cannot be outlined except in the fabric of this trace or imprint.⁴⁰

This focus on the fabric of the trace is reminiscent of Benjamin's call for the 'meticulous examination' of images, which are equally elusive. Reading traces as images, and as the 'chains' which construct Berlin as a city-text, is helpful to an understanding of the articulation of histories upon these landscapes. In Berlin, even that which is forgotten remains present, whilst that which is rediscovered – such as the foundations of the Gestapo cellars and the Hohenzollern palace – signifies absence.

In 1987 a temporary documentation centre was constructed on the *Gestapo Gelände* to facilitate learning. Whilst digging its foundations, 'workers unexpectedly found more ruins – of what turned out to be a previously unknown outbuilding used as a kitchen by the Gestapo'.⁴¹ The discovery of such rich and varied material prompted the opening of the site to the public in the same year, in time for the celebrations of the 750th anniversary of Berlin. The exhibition was given the name Topography of Terror, which makes reference to both the reputation of Prinz-Albrecht-Straße and the significance of the three-dimensional landscape. In the light of its popularity, the exhibition was made permanent and another competition was launched, this time with the aim of finding a design for a documentation centre.

While the entrants finalised their proposals in 1989, the Berlin Wall was overpowered and started to disappear. With remarkable haste, the border Wall nearby was transformed from an inconvenient but seemingly permanent barrier into a relic of a bygone era. It was promptly covered with more graffiti, now on all sides, and further transformed by *Mauerspechte* (so-called 'Wall-peckers': the souvenir hunters who removed fragments from the border Wall) into a fragile ruin. Before the segment could be destroyed completely, the Topography of Terror Foundation took responsibility for its upkeep. The third section of this article investigates the motivations and effects of this appropriation in detail but it will suffice to say here that the remnant became officially integrated in the commemorative site. This development had the potential to change the progress being made on the *Gestapo Gelände*, but it did not. Instead, the Wall continued to act primarily as a witness to the unfolding events.

Although the 'fall' of the Wall itself posed no great problem on site, German reunification had a significant impact upon the plans for a documentation centre. In 1992, the Topography of Terror Foundation was established and the following year, a winning design was chosen. Swiss architect Peter Zumthor's design went into construction but difficulties soon arose. By October 1996, the project had already exceeded its budget by a quarter and was brought to a halt.⁴² Fredrik Torisson notes that 'by the time the foundations had been laid, the Berlin construction bubble had popped', and after several attempts to refinance and recommence the build, the site was cleared in 2004.⁴³

Despite the problems that had plagued the project, a new competition was launched in 2005. The winning proposal by Ursula Wilms and Heinz W. Hallmann was selected in January 2006 and constructed between 2007 and 2010. The resulting documentation centre, which opened on schedule on 7 May 2010, is a large grey pavilion, set into the ground and panelled with metal grids that render the outdoor components of the exhibition permanently visible from indoors (Fig. 3). One of its two storeys is below ground level and contains the library, archives and study rooms. This basement has floor-to-ceiling windows onto a central, empty, gravelled quad, whilst the upper floor houses a permanent exhibition about the histories of the *Gestapo Gelände*. Rather than dominating the site monumentally, as Zumthor's design would have done, this documentation centre responds to the histories of the area and its rediscovery. By extending downwards into the ground, the building makes reference to the actions of the Let's Dig group and creates visual connections between the exterior and interior components of the exhibition.

Figure 3: Documentation centre at the Topography of Terror
Image: Georgina Webb-Dickin, 25 November 2011



Reading the border Wall at the Topography of Terror

The Topography of Terror Foundation aims ‘to relay historical information about National Socialism and its crimes and to encourage people to actively confront this history and its aftermath since 1945’.⁴⁴ This motive suggests that the border Wall is displayed as a representative of the ‘aftermath’ of the Second World War. A *Fachkommission* (experts’ report) was made in 1990 regarding the future of the remnant.⁴⁵ It explained that:

Since the wall stands in a straight line on this site as a visible sign of the long-term consequences of Nazi rule, the Commission has - in accordance with their East Berlin counterparts - considered that the segment of the wall between the Martin-Gropius-Bau and Wilhelmstraße is a historic document to be included in the planning of the area.⁴⁶

Clearly, the border strip was seen to represent a legacy of National Socialism and as such, it was fitting that it be incorporated into the site. Of course, there are other possibilities, too. It can be argued that the removal of the Wall would have compromised the bounded territory of the exhibition and given cause for another kind of barrier to be built in order to separate the *Gestapo Gelände* from the road. It could also be the case that its removal would have damaged the cellars of Prinz-Albrecht-Straße 8, located directly underneath.

The *Fachkommission* also took into consideration the changes that were being made to the landscape of Berlin after reunification. It found that the absence of the border strip would result in a ‘profound change in the shape and character of the area’, the implication being that the Topography of Terror would not benefit from such change. This idea hints at a fear of forgetting. The destruction of the Wall in this location would have echoed the destruction of buildings in the 1950s and thus might have attracted criticism. It would have suggested that the lessons of previous decades had not been learned. Ladd agrees:

The fall of the Wall delayed and complicated the planning for the site, but the basic decisions remained unchanged. After all – as several supporters of the “Topography of Terror” pointed out – the unification of Germany and the return of the capital to Berlin made it all the more certain that the world would be watching how the Germans come to terms with the darkest chapter of their history.⁴⁷

On a street already characterised by absence and neglect, the preservation of the border suggested the city’s acceptance of its recent pasts rather than the obliteration of their traces. Schmidt notes that ‘memory clings to places and objects’ and that this can lead to either the destruction of those objects or their renegotiation. ‘The Berlin border provides examples for both positions’, he explains, and the remnant on Niederkirchnerstraße testifies to this.⁴⁸

It is important to locate this preserved segment in the context of others around the city, too. The Topography of Terror had been open to the public for two years in 1989 and, as such, the land was not available to developers. This is significant, because it meant that there was no profit to be made from removing the border Wall. A great deal of the territory once occupied by the border strip was becoming increasingly valuable (having been undesirable previously), so being able to preserve a section within a landscape that had already been assigned to a commemorative role was ideal. The presence of a long remnant so near to the city centre facilitated the removal of others in neighbouring areas such as Potsdamer Platz and Friedrichstraße, spaces which could then be redeveloped without attracting criticism.

The *Fachkommission* ‘asked the authorities to waive the demolition of one wall in this section to enable a subsequent decision on the inclusion or exclusion of this “monument”’.⁴⁹ In deciding whether to save the border Wall or the East-facing hinterland Wall, the report took into consideration the impact of a remaining barrier on the aesthetics and infrastructure of the area. Logistically, in order for the road to become a functioning thoroughfare once again, the hinterland Wall would have to be removed and the border Wall preserved. This would open the street to traffic and make both the Air Ministry building and the Prussian State Assembly building accessible. Another motivation for preserving the border Wall was its reputation as the best known of the fortifications. Being more recognisable to the area’s visitors than the hinterland barrier, which was all but invisible before reunification, it would operate as a tourist attraction and complement the functionality of the site.⁵⁰

With the future of the segment secured, the Foundation turned its attention to preservation and conservation. In 1990, before the remnant had been given *Denkmalschutz* (listed monument) status, the *Fachkommission* reported that if Niederkirchnerstraße were to be fully reactivated as a thoroughfare, a fence would have to be built around the Wall in order to protect it from passing traffic. This fence, it recommended, should ‘delineate the terrain significantly but without rendering it completely hermetic, as it was before’.⁵¹ It also served to protect the segment from further interventions by *Mauerspechte*. The result of the fence, which has been updated over the years but is still in situ, is that the Wall has been preserved in time. It represents the period between 1989 and 1990, when the border strip was still associated with graffiti and seen as a monumental structure but had also become a symbol of peaceful revolution.

The juxtaposition of the border Wall with other material legacies is inevitably confusing to visitors. Polly Feversham and Leo Schmidt observed people exclaiming that they ‘didn’t know Hitler built the Berlin Wall’, this being an understandable conclusion to draw on a site dominated by National Socialist legacies.⁵² Ladd adds that, conversely, ‘others had assumed that the entire exhibit was directed at the regime hiding behind that Wall’.⁵³ There are several identifiable causes of such confusion. One is the physicality of the surrounding environment. The Wall marks

the boundary of the Topography of Terror so it is not immediately apparent that it is a part of the exhibition. It also looks different on either side. From the road it is effectively inaccessible because visitors have to negotiate traffic to get near to it and because it is protected by its fence (Fig. 4).

Figure 4: Border Wall remnant and fence viewed from Niederkirchnerstraße
Image: Georgina Webb-Dickin, 25 November 2011



From inside the exhibition, however, it is elevated by its position above the Gestapo cellars. It is also cleaner since it is not as badly affected by traffic pollution (Fig. 5). In 2011, a path was constructed in front of the Wall, inviting visitors to interact with it more closely, but until then, the layout of the site only directed people towards the cellars beneath.

Figure 5: Border Wall remnant with the Air Ministry building behind and the excavated cellars of Prinz-Albrecht-Straße 8 beneath
Image: Georgina Webb-Dickin, 25 November 2011



As well as the physicality of the site, written information contributes to visitors' confusion about the border Wall. Whilst text panels illuminate the various traces of the *Gestapo Gelände*, there is very little information available about the Wall itself. A brief history of Berlin's division is outlined on panels at either end of the segment but no information is offered relating to this particular place. Nor do the panels explain which aspect of the fortifications is represented. Inside the documentation centre, the exhibitions focus entirely on the area's National Socialist pasts and even in the library, there are few sources relating to histories of division. A possible reason for this is site-specificity. This part of the Wall was not especially significant within the border strip as a whole. It was preserved due to its proximity to the Topography of Terror and its central location but not because anything especially remarkable took place here. Other preserved border elements stood witness to fatal escape attempts, for example, or had a particularly damaging impact on the local community. The *Gestapo Gelände* is a unique place so perhaps evidence of division is marginalised because it is not perceived to be of equal significance. The remnant also appears as distinct from the other objects on display because its inclusion was effectively a coincidence. Both the 'fall' and dismantling of the Wall were sudden, thus there was little time to formulate an alternative plan. As such, its incongruity with the site is inferred by visitors regardless of the Foundation's aim to portray it as 'a visible sign of the long-term consequences of Nazi rule'.⁵⁴

Another explanation for the independence of the Wall from other material legacies concerns time; namely the time that has elapsed since National Socialism and the comparatively few years that have passed since German reunification. Just as the *Gestapo Gelände* was overlooked immediately after 1945, so might the border strip have been forgotten after 1989. Fortunately, however, conservators were able to apply the benefit of hindsight to its preservation. Although much has been written about the absence of the border strip and the voids it left behind, its traces are plentiful in the city centre when compared with material legacies of the Third Reich. Take Hitler's bunker, for example. Currently hidden beneath a recreational area and a car park, only a small plaque denotes the presence (or rather, the absence) of the place where Hitler is alleged to have died. Torisson observes that:

The conscious effort to understate and to forget the *Führerbunker* is an effort to speed up time, to artificially let the bunker and its site fall out of memory unmarked. Under normal circumstances, this is a lengthy process, but here it has been accelerated with the assistance of bland architecture and anonymity. The surroundings are a conscious anti-monument dedicated to de-dramatising the historic site, and the plaque itself is an indication of the precariousness of ignoring something.⁵⁵

The surroundings of the segment on Niederkirchnerstraße could neither be called bland nor anonymous. It is flanked on all sides by historically significant structures and traces, but merely preserving the Wall for fear of 'the precariousness of ignoring something' is somewhat inadequate as a form of commemoration. That the remnant has been saved from destruction yet effectively abandoned behind a fence reveals an attitude towards material legacies that is not dissimilar to the attitude of the 1950s. The 'wish to extinguish history by extinguishing its witness' can still be detected because the Wall is not being illuminated in the same way as the other relics here.⁵⁶ People are not encouraged to engage with the remnant and are instead distracted from it by alternative objects, thus it is silenced.

Time affects processes of remembering; this we can infer from the rediscovery of the *Gestapo Gelände* in the 1970s. We can presuppose, therefore, that the Wall will be treated differently here in the future. When sufficient time has passed for division to be considered in retrospect, and when its memories are not so recent, attitudes towards its commemoration will have changed significantly. Indeed, there is already evidence of a shift in the Foundation's approach towards the Wall. Since 2004, Andreas Nachama notes, the Foundation:

Has been involved with the Senate for Science, Research and Culture. A working group convened to develop a new memorial concept for the state of Berlin regarding the handling of the Berlin Wall.

The segment on Niederkirchnerstraße was conserved, from that time, according to an overall global concept for all Wall remnants.⁵⁷ Nachama et al. explain how it has now been integrated into a walking tour that covers the whole site and that a multimedia Wall guide was launched in time for the twentieth anniversary of reunification in 2009.⁵⁸ These developments constitute significant improvements in the Foundation's handling of the remnant, yet there is still a long way to go if visitors are to receive the Wall as an object of equal value to the National Socialist relics on display.

The work of Benjamin and Foucault sheds light on the possibility of a more integrative approach. The main attraction of the site is the long trench that runs directly underneath the Wall, displaying the exposed cellars of Prinz-Albrecht-Straße 8 (Figs. 2 and 5). This vista constitutes a palimpsest for visitors to read. Rather than interpreting this stratified terrain as a series of different objects to be decoded, we can 'work on it from within [...] to develop it'.⁵⁹ This echoes the actions of the Let's Dig activists, who renegotiated the landscape by digging through its boundaries and making new meanings available. Benjamin observes that, if we keep returning to the same matter (rather than neglecting the histories of the *Gestapo Gelände* or abandoning the Wall behind a fence), it yields 'what constitutes the real treasure hidden within the earth: the images'.⁶⁰ Working through the palimpsest of traces at the Topography of Terror releases images of the area's many and varied pasts: not only are National Socialist legacies revealed but images of the former school of industrial arts and crafts, of imperial Berlin and of earlier histories, too. That the Berlin Wall was constructed directly on top of these material legacies makes clear that the site presents a 'complex web of historical markers'.⁶¹ It is not merely a place where the legacies of two disparate eras collide by coincidence but a site where pasts, presents and futures must be 'understood as co-constitutive'.⁶²

Notes

¹ The *Gestapo Gelände* is the name given to the territory formerly occupied by the Gestapo (*Geheime Staatspolizei* or State Police), SS (*Schutzstaffel* or Protection Squadron) and SD (*Sicherheitsdienst* or Secret Service) in Berlin.

² Niederkirchner was sent to Ravensbrück in 1943 as punishment for parachuting into occupied Poland the previous year. See for reference *Women and War: A Historical Encyclopaedia from Antiquity to the Present*, ed. by Bernard A. Cook (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2006), p. 428.

³ The German Democratic Republic (GDR) or *Deutsche Demokratische Republik* (DDR) was established in 1949, following the Soviet occupation of its territory at the end of the Second World War. It reunified with the Federal Republic of Germany in October 1990.

⁴ Modern day Germany was part of the state of Prussia, ruled by the Hohenzollern dynasty for several centuries. Various military successes, including the Franco-Prussian War of 1870-1871, came to characterise Prussia in the nineteenth century, thus names like Prinz Albrecht's conjure associations with that era.

⁵ In 1939, Prinz-Albrecht-Straße 8 also became home to various factions of the police force, who joined with the Gestapo and SD to form the Reich Main Security Office (RHSA).

⁶ Fredrik Torisson, *Berlin – Matter of Memory* (London: Ratatosk, 2010), p. 27.

⁷ See for examples Brian Ladd, *The Ghosts of Berlin: Confronting Germany History in the Urban Landscape* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1997), pp. 154-158; Frederick Baker, 'The Berlin Wall', in *Borders and Border Politics in a Globalizing World*, ed. by Paul Ganster and David E. Lorey (Oxford: SR Books, 2005), pp.21-50 (p. 39); and James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), p. 82.

⁸ Young, *Texture of Memory* (1993), p. 82.

⁹ See for reference Andreas Nachama, Erika Bucholz and Peter Steinbach, *Site Tour Topography of Terror: History of the Site*, trans. by Pamela E. Selwyn (Berlin: Stiftung Topographie des Terrors, 2010), p. 17.

¹⁰ See for reference Karen E. Till, *The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press 2005), p. 110.

¹¹ See for reference Young, *Texture of Memory* (2003), p. 82.

¹² Ladd, *Ghosts of Berlin* (1997), p. 141.

¹³ Leo Schmidt, 'The Berlin Wall: a Landscape of Memory', in *On Both Sides of the Wall: Preserving Monuments and Sites of the Cold War Era*, ed. by Leo Schmidt and Henriette von Preuschen (Berlin: Westkreuz Verlag, 2005), pp.11-17 (pp.15-16).

¹⁴ Agata Anna Lisiak, *Urban Cultures in (Post) Colonial Central Europe*, (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2010), p. 127.

¹⁵ Ladd, *Ghosts of Berlin* (1997), p. 146.

¹⁶ Young, *Texture of Memory* (1993), pp. 83-84.

¹⁷ *Topography of Terror, Gestapo, SS and Reich Main Security Office on Wilhelm – and Prinz-Albrecht-Straße: A Documentation*, ed. by Reinhard Rürup, trans. by Karen Margolis and Pamela E. Selwyn (Berlin: Stiftung Topographie des Terrors, 2008), p. 230.

¹⁸ Gabi Dolff-Bonekämper, 'Sites of Hurtful Memory', *The Getty Conservation Institute Newsletter*, Volume 17, Number 2 (Summer 2002), Los Angeles (2002), pp. 4-10 (p. 7).

¹⁹ Jean-François Lyotard, 'Ticket to a New Decor', *Copyright 1* (Fall 1987), pp. 14-15 (p.14).

²⁰ Lyotard, 'Ticket to a New Decor' (1987), p. 15. Lyotard describes anamnesis as 'a painful process of working through, a work of mourning for the conflicting emotions, loves and terrors, associated with these wounds', p.15.

²¹ Andreas Huyssen, *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia* (New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 252.

²² Both Huyssen and Lyotard warn against considering memory solely in its capacity as a burden or a vehicle for trauma, but in the context of this landscape, the memories being repressed are traumatic and the neglect of the area is symptomatic of the desire to forget them.

²³ Ladd, *Ghosts of Berlin* (1997), pp. 157-158.

²⁴ *Topography of Terror* (2008), ed. by Rürup, p. 230.

²⁵ Till, *The New Berlin* (2005), p. 63. The border and hinterland Walls constitute the two main facades of the Berlin Wall border strip. The border Wall faced West and was accessible. The hinterland Wall, on the other hand, was largely concealed from view behind a restricted zone and a deep system of fortifications. Between the two barriers was the area known as the death strip.

²⁶ Brian Ladd, *The Companion Guide to Berlin* (Woodridge: Boydell & Brewer, 2004), p. 128.

²⁷ Lyotard, 'Ticket to a New Decor' (1987), p. 15.

²⁸ Till, *The New Berlin* (2005), p. 63.

²⁹ Andreas Huyssen, *Presents Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), p. 12. Huyssen finds that the memory boom 'related to the evident crisis of the ideology of progress and modernization and to the fading of a whole tradition of teleological philosophies of history. Thus, the shift from history to memory represents a welcome critique of compromised teleological notions of history rather than simply being anti-historical, relativistic or subjective': Huyssen, *Twilight Memories* (1995), p. 5.

³⁰ Huyssen, *Present Pasts* (2003), p. 31.

- ³¹ Rudy Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces: Artifacts of German Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), p. 263.
- ³² Siobhan Kattago, *Ambiguous Memory: The Nazi Past and German National Identity* (Westport: Praeger, 2001), p. 142.
- ³³ Till, *The New Berlin* (2005), p. 95.
- ³⁴ Lyotard, 'Ticket to a New Decor' (1987), pp. 14-15.
- ³⁵ Huyssen, *Presents Pasts* (2003), p. 12.
- ³⁶ Michel Foucault, *The Archaeology of Knowledge*, (London: Routledge, 2002 [1969]), p. 7.
- ³⁷ Walter Benjamin, 'A Berlin Chronicle' in *Reflections*, ed. by Peter Demetz (New York: Schocken, 1986 [1932]), pp. 3-60 (pp. 25-26).
- ³⁸ Benjamin, 'Berlin Chronicle' (1986 [1932]), pp. 25-26.
- ³⁹ Huyssen, *Presents Pasts* (2003), p. 81. The website of UCLA's Hypermedia Berlin project features useful resources for reading the city as a palimpsest. It integrates digitised maps spanning almost 800 years and allows users to search synchronically and diachronically through the GIS-enabled databases. See for reference <www.berlin.ucla.edu> [accessed 20 July 2013].
- ⁴⁰ Jacques Derrida, *Of Grammatology*, trans. by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1997 [1976]), p. 65.
- ⁴¹ Ladd, *Ghosts of Berlin* (1997), p. 160.
- ⁴² *Topography of Terror* (2008), ed. by Rürup, pp. 245-270.
- ⁴³ Fredrik Torisson, *Berlin – Matter* (2010), p. 59.
- ⁴⁴ [No author], 'The Topography of Terror Foundation' <www.topographie.de> [accessed 6 January 2012].
- ⁴⁵ [No author], *Abschlussbericht: der Fachkommission zur Erarbeitung von Vorschlägen für die künftige Nutzung des "Prinz-Albrecht-Geländes" ("Gestapo Geländes") in Berlin-Kreuzberg. Vorgelegt im März 1990* (Berlin: Stiftung Topographie des Terrors, 1990) [trans. Final examination of the area: the technical committee for the development of proposals for the future use of the "Prinz-Albrecht-site" ("Gestapo premises") in Berlin-Kreuzberg. Submitted in March 1990]
- ⁴⁶ The passage quoted in the article is translated to English from the original German: [No author], *Abschlussbericht* (1990), p. 28, 'da die Mauer gerade an dieser Stelle aber auch als ein sichtbares Zeichen für die langfristigen Folgen nationalsozialistischer Herrschaft stand, hat die Kommission – in Übereinstimmung mit ihren Ost-Berliner Gesprächspartnern – erwogen, das Mauerstück zwischen Martin-Gropius-Bau und Wilhelmstraße als historisches Dokument in die Planung des Geländes einzubeziehen'.
- ⁴⁷ Ladd, *Ghosts of Berlin* (1997), p. 164.
- ⁴⁸ Schmidt, 'The Berlin Wall' (2005), pp. 15-16.
- ⁴⁹ The passage quoted in the article is translated to English from the original German: [No author], *Abschlussbericht* (1990), p. 28: 'Mit der bevorstehenden Beseitigung der Mauer in Zentrum Berlins wird auch eine tiefgreifende Änderung der Form und des Charakters des Geländes verbunden sein'.
- ⁵⁰ The selection of the most famous Wall is problematic, to an extent, because it perpetrates the myth that the border strip consisted of a single concrete barrier, covered with graffiti and peppered with holes, when really, it was a complex and multi-faceted system, of which this barrier was merely the most visible component.
- ⁵¹ The passage quoted in the article is translated to English from the original German: [No author], *Abschlussbericht* (1990), p. 28: 'In diesem Falle müßte entlang der Straße eine Einfriedung geschaffen werden, die das Gelände deutlich abgrenzt, ohne es, wie bisher, hermetisch abzuschließen'.
- ⁵² Polly Feversham and Leo Schmidt, *The Berlin Wall Today* (Berlin: Bauwesen, 1999), p. 158.
- ⁵³ Ladd, *Ghosts of Berlin* (1997), p. 166.
- ⁵⁴ The passage quoted in the article is translated to English from the original German: [No author], *Abschlussbericht* (1990), p. 28: 'Da die Mauer gerade an dieser Stelle aber auch als ein sichtbares Zeichen für die langfristigen Folgen nationalsozialistischer Herrschaft stand, hat die Kommission – in Übereinstimmung mit ihren Ost-Berliner Gesprächspartnern – erwogen, das Mauerstück zwischen Martin-Gropius-Bau und Wilhelmstraße als historisches Dokument in die Planung des Geländes einzubeziehen'.
- ⁵⁵ Torisson, *Berlin – Matter of Memory* (2010), p. 52.
- ⁵⁶ Schmidt, 'The Berlin Wall' (2005), 16.
- ⁵⁷ The passage quoted in the article is translated to English from the original German: Andreas Nachama, Peter Steinbach und Erika Bucholz, *Stiftung Topographie des Terrors: berichtet April 2003 bis März 2006* (Berlin: Stiftung Topographie des Terrors, 2006), p. 54: Die Stiftung hat sich seit November 2004 an der von der Senatsverwaltung

für Wissenschaft, Forschung und Kultur einberufenen Arbeitsgruppe zur Erarbeitung eines neuen Gedenkkonzepts des Lands Berlin zum Umgang mit der Berliner Mauer beteiligt. Mit ihrem Baudenkmal an der Niederkirchnerstraße ist sie Teil des neuen Gesamtkonzepts’.

⁵⁸ Andreas Nachama, Erika Bucholz und Britta Scherer, *Stiftung Topographie des Terrors: berichtet April 2006 bis Mai 2010* (Berlin: Stiftung Topographie des Terrors, 2011), pp. 42-43.

⁵⁹ Foucault, *Archaeology of Knowledge*, (2002 [1969]), p. 7.

⁶⁰ Benjamin, ‘A Berlin Chronicle’ (1986 [1932]), pp. 25-26.

⁶¹ Huysen, *Present Pasts* (2003), p. 81.

⁶² Till, *The New Berlin* (2005), p. 95.

Bibliography

Benjamin, Walter, ‘A Berlin Chronicle’, in *Reflections*, ed. by Peter Demetz (New York: Schocken Books, 1986 [1932])

Benjamin, Walter, ‘Berlin Childhood around 1900: final version’, in *Walter Benjamin: Selected Writings (Volume 3, 1935-1938)*, ed. by Howard Eiland and Michael W. Jennings (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006 [1938])

Cook, Bernard A. (ed.), *Women and War: a Historical Encyclopaedia from Antiquity to the Present* (Santa Barbara: ABC-CLIO, 2006)

Dolff-Bonekämper, Gabi, ‘Sites of Hurtful Memory’, *The Getty Conservation Institute Newsletter*, 17: 2 (Summer 2002), Los Angeles (2002), 4-10

Feversham, Polly and Leo Schmidt, *The Berlin Wall Today* (Berlin: Verlag Bauwesen, 1999)

Ganster, Paul and David E. Lorey (eds.), *Borders and Border Politics in a Globalizing World* (Oxford: S.R. Books, 2005)

Huysen, Andreas, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003)

Huysen, Andreas, *Twilight Memories: Marking Time in a Culture of Amnesia* (New York: Routledge, 1995)

Kattago, Siobhan, *Ambiguous Memory: The Nazi Past and German National Identity* (Westport: Praeger, 2001)

Koshar, Rudy, *From Monuments to Traces: Artifacts of German Memory* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000)

Ladd, Brian, *The Companion Guide to Berlin* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2004)

Ladd, Brian, *The Ghosts of Berlin: Confronting German History in the Urban Landscape* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1997)

Lisiak, Agata Anna, *Urban Cultures in (Post) Colonial Central Europe* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2010)

[No author], *Abschlussbereich: der Fachkommission zur Erarbeitung von Vorschlägen für die künftige Nutzung des “Prinz-Albrecht-Geländes” (“Gestapo Geländes”) in Berlin-Kreuzberg. Vorgelegt im März 1990* (Berlin: Stiftung Topographie des Terrors, 1990)

Nachama, Andreas, Erika Bucholz and Peter Steinbach, *Site Tour Topography of Terror: History of the Site*, trans. by Pamela E. Selwyn (Berlin: Stiftung Topographie des Terrors, 2010)

Nachama, Andreas, Peter Steinbach and Erika Bucholz, Stiftung Topographie des Terrors: bericht April 2003 bis März 2006 (Berlin: Stiftung Topographie des Terrors, 2006)

Nachama, Andreas, Erika Bucholz and Britta Scherer, Stiftung Topographie des Terrors: bericht April 2006 bis Mai 2010 (Berlin: Stiftung Topographie des Terrors, 2011)

Nachama, Andreas, Peter Steinbach, Reinhard Rürup and Andreas Sander, The “House Prison” at Gestapo Headquarters in Berlin: Terror and Resistance 1933-1945 (Berlin: Stiftung Topographie des Terrors, 2005)

Rürup, Reinhard (ed.), Topography of Terror, Gestapo, SS and Reich Main Security Office on Wilhelm – and Prinz-Albrecht-Straße: A Documentation, trans. by Karen Margolis and Pamela E. Selwyn (Berlin: Stiftung Topographie des Terrors, 2008)

Rürup, Reinhard, Andreas Nachama and Erika Bucholz, Stiftung Topographie des Terrors: bericht April 2001 bis März 2003 (Berlin: Stiftung Topographie des Terrors, 2003)

Schmidt, Leo and Henriette von Preuschen (eds.), On Both Sides of the Wall: Preserving Monuments and Sites of the Cold War Era (Berlin: Westkreuz-Verlag, 2005)

Till, Karen E., The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005)

Torisson, Fredrik, Berlin – Matter of Memory (London: Rataosk, 2010)

Young, James E., The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993)

Biography

Georgina Webb-Dickin is completing an AHRC-funded PhD in History of Art at the University of Bristol. She studied for her MPhil at the University of Birmingham and her BA at the University of Reading. Her research focuses on histories and legacies of the Berlin Wall border strip and its images.