

Striving for Integrated Commemoration: The Presentation of the Holocaust and the  
Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, Berlin

Lauren Burger

A Thesis  
in  
The Department  
of  
History

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of Master of Arts (History) at  
Concordia University  
Montreal, Quebec, Canada

August 2006

© Lauren Burger, 2006



Library and  
Archives Canada

Bibliothèque et  
Archives Canada

Published Heritage  
Branch

Direction du  
Patrimoine de l'édition

395 Wellington Street  
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4  
Canada

395, rue Wellington  
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4  
Canada

*Your file* *Votre référence*  
*ISBN: 978-0-494-20668-3*  
*Our file* *Notre référence*  
*ISBN: 978-0-494-20668-3*

#### NOTICE:

The author has granted a non-exclusive license allowing Library and Archives Canada to reproduce, publish, archive, preserve, conserve, communicate to the public by telecommunication or on the Internet, loan, distribute and sell theses worldwide, for commercial or non-commercial purposes, in microform, paper, electronic and/or any other formats.

The author retains copyright ownership and moral rights in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

#### AVIS:

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque et Archives Canada de reproduire, publier, archiver, sauvegarder, conserver, transmettre au public par télécommunication ou par l'Internet, prêter, distribuer et vendre des thèses partout dans le monde, à des fins commerciales ou autres, sur support microforme, papier, électronique et/ou autres formats.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur et des droits moraux qui protègent cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

---

In compliance with the Canadian Privacy Act some supporting forms may have been removed from this thesis.

Conformément à la loi canadienne sur la protection de la vie privée, quelques formulaires secondaires ont été enlevés de cette thèse.

While these forms may be included in the document page count, their removal does not represent any loss of content from the thesis.

Bien que ces formulaires aient inclus dans la pagination, il n'y aura aucun contenu manquant.

  
**Canada**

## ABSTRACT

Striving for Integrated Commemoration: The Presentation of the Holocaust and the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, Berlin

Lauren Burger

This thesis investigates Holocaust commemoration at the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe in Berlin, Germany. Completed in *Mitte* in May 2005, the *Mahnmal* has come to be understood as Germany's central Holocaust Memorial. It is, however, dedicated exclusively to the Jewish victims of Nazi crimes. During the Memorial's 17 year-long genesis, many criticized those responsible for the project for institutionalizing a hierarchy of the victims of National Socialism. Discontent about how a new memorial to the murdered Jews of Europe would *centralize* a diverse landscape of memory – both physically, by eclipsing numerous memorial institutions and historical sites in Germany, and interpretively, by establishing that the Nazi persecution of Jews overshadows that of other victim groups – fuelled the long debate over the *Mahnmal*.

Pointing to aspects of the *Mahnmal*'s history, its current tourist literature, the presentation at its attached Information Centre and the programme of its governing body, this study counters such criticism. I contend that the *Mahnmal* is a site where a determined attempt to *integrate* the memorialization of European Jews murdered during the Holocaust – into the landscape of the capital, into the network of historical and memorial sites pertaining to National Socialism and the Third Reich, and into other histories of suffering during that period – emerged as a predominant theme, and a clear goal of the memorial-Makers. The project, I demonstrate, engenders such integrated commemoration, and fosters dynamic opportunities for ongoing Holocaust commemoration in Germany.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis, and my studies at Concordia were supported by the financial aid I received from two sources: the Harriet and Abe Gold Entrance Bursary, and the Naim Mahlab Fellowship. This assistance allowed me to pursue my course work, and to travel to Germany to conduct research. I must, therefore, express my sincere gratitude to these donors, and to the Concordia University Institute for Canadian Jewish Studies, for making this work possible.

I must also thank my advisor, Professor Chalk, for his enthusiastic support of this project, and for always challenging me to demand more of my sources. His rigorous questions not only led me to learn much about research methods, but also helped me to clarify the most salient issues pertaining to my topic.

I am also indebted to Professor Schade, whose availability to discuss with me the challenging issues at the core of this thesis, whose assistance in translating German language material, and whose thorough editing helped me significantly in the completion of this work. Professor High's teaching about the challenges of charting popular reception of meaning, and of working with sources in a language that is not one's own, expanded my understanding of the limits of my research. His suggestions will, no doubt, influence my future work, and I thank him for them.

Of course, I could not have completed my studies without my family's backing, and unwavering encouragement. Mark, as you know, you have been beside me at every stage of this project. Your ongoing support means the world to me.



# Striving for Integrated Commemoration: The Presentation of the Holocaust and the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, Berlin

Table of Contents	page
<i>List of Figures</i> .....	vi
<i>Introduction: A Constellation of Meaning in Berlin Mitte</i> .....	1
<i>Chapter:</i>	
1. The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe: Presentation, Management and Current Concept.....	13
2. The <i>Mahnmal</i> in Context.....	25
3. The <i>Mahnmal</i> and Twenty-First Century Germany: A Question of Identity.....	46
4. “Memory is not a zero-sum game”: The <i>Mahnmal</i> and Diverse Histories of Victimhood.....	70
5. German Memorial Precedents in New Combination: The <i>Mahnmal</i> ’s Integration of Jewish, with Other Histories of Suffering During the Third Reich .....	103
<i>Conclusion: The Mahnmal and Public Holocaust Memorialization in Germany Today</i> .....	112
<i>Figures</i> .....	118
<i>Bibliography</i> .....	129
<i>Appendices</i> .....	137

## List of Figures:

Unless otherwise stated, all photographs are by the author and Mark Huddleston

### figure

- 1 – 2. Stelae at *Mahnmal*, Berlin, 5 August 2005.
3. Woman sitting on stele, *Mahnmal*, Berlin, 5 August 2005.
4. Man and stelae, *Mahnmal*, Berlin, 5 August 2005.
5. Visitors in west side of field of stelae, *Mahnmal*, Berlin, 5 August 2005.
6. Young woman “skipping” from stele to stele, *Mahnmal*, Berlin, 5 August 2005.
7. M.H. on mid-sized stele, *Mahnmal*, Berlin, 5 August 2005.
8. Rules for Visitors to the Field of Stelae, *Mahnmal*, Berlin, 18 August 2005.
9. Dagmar von Wilcken, Information Centre: concept, June 2004.<sup>1</sup>
10. Visitors at Information Centre foyer, Berlin, 5 August 2005.
11. Portraits of Victims at Information Centre foyer, Berlin, 5 August 2005.
12. Visitors reading illuminated text panels inset in floor, “Room of Dimensions,” Berlin, 5 August 2005.
13. von Wilcken, photograph of model, “Room of Dimensions.”<sup>2</sup>
14. Gunter Lepkowski, “Room 2: Fates of Jewish Families in Europe.”<sup>3</sup>
15. von Wilcken, photograph of model, “Room of Names.”<sup>4</sup>
16. von Wilcken, photograph of model, “Room of Places.”<sup>5</sup>
17. Historic map of *Mahnmal*’s surrounding area.<sup>6</sup>
18. Contemporary map of *Mahnmal*’s surrounding area.<sup>7</sup>
19. “Through Jewish Berlin in Four Stages” tourist map.<sup>8</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Printed in FMMJE, *Materials on the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe* (Berlin: Nicolaische Verlagsbuchhandlung GmbH, 2005), 43.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.

<sup>3</sup> Posted on FMMJE, *The Memorial: Information Centre*, “Family Fates,” <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/thememorial/informationcentre/familyfates> (accessed 1 August 2005).

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 47.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 48.

<sup>6</sup> Günter Schlusche, “A Memorial is Built: History, Planning and Architectural Context,” in FMMJE, *Materials*, 17.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, 18.

<sup>8</sup> Jewish Museum Berlin *et al.*, *Jewish Berlin* (Berlin: 2005), 4.

## **Introduction: A Constellation of Meaning in Berlin *Mitte***

On 5 August 2005, my travel companion and I took 41 photographs at Berlin's Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe. The majority of these feature some of the Memorial's 2,711 stelae as their main subject. These columns are silhouetted against the bright blue sky, and cast dramatic, geometric shadows. Their concrete glows a soft grey in the afternoon sunlight, and the rows of stelae make for photographs stunning in their simplicity. The *Mahnmal* itself is a powerful public sculpture, and our photos of it are pieces of art in their own right. Just as captivating as these, however, are three photographs that show people interacting with the Memorial. In one, a young woman sits on one of the shorter stele, gazing in the direction of the Brandenburg Gate. In another, a man pauses to consult his tourist brochure, while the last captures a number of visitors dispersed throughout the site (see figures 1 through 5).

“When you turn a project over to clients, they do with it what they want – it's theirs and they occupy your work”, said architect Peter Eisenman in an interview about his recently completed *Mahnmal*. “You can't tell them what to do with it...people are going to picnic in the field. Children will play tag in the field. There will be fashion models modeling there and films will be shot there. I can easily imagine some spy shoot'em ups ending in the field”, he predicted.<sup>1</sup>

The field of concrete stelae is only one part of the Memorial. An Information Centre comprises the *Mahnmal*'s second component. It is located underground, accessible from the southeast corner of the Field of Stelae. An official inauguration

---

<sup>1</sup> Charles Hawley and Natalie Tenberg, “How Long Does One Feel Guilty?” Interview with Peter Eisenman, *Spiegel Online* (9 May 2005). <http://service.spiegel.de/international/0,1518,355252,00.html> (accessed 8 November 2005).

ceremony had turned the entire project over to the public on 10 May 2005.<sup>2</sup> As Eisenman predicted, my companion and I had relative freedom to make our own experience at the site. We chose which turns to make along its pathways. Tired from walking about the city all morning, we rested for a while on a stele as one would on a park bench. We stood atop a mid-sized column to get a good view of the site – that is, until we heard a security officer reprimanding other visitors for doing the same (figures 6 and 7). We watched these other visitors and wondered what kind of experiences they were having. Had they deliberately planned a visit to this memorial? Did they know that the vast field of concrete columns was a memorial at all? If they did, were they remembering the Jews of Europe murdered during Germany’s Third Reich? What did *remembering* mean to them? Was it in any way similar to what it meant to us? Or, were these people thinking altogether differently? Perhaps they were wondering where to go for dinner, or about whether to walk home or to take the *U-bahn*.

Reflecting on that afternoon, now eight months past, it strikes me that our photographs may have caught our human subjects in the midst of incredibly disparate experiences. I cannot be certain of this. Yet competing statements of *intent* for the Memorial assure me that a similar polarity may characterize the *Mahmmal*’s popular *reception*. A few examples prove revealing: even at the 10 May inauguration, an event that was to mark the end of the Memorial’s highly contested seventeen-year genesis and was expected to have wide media coverage, speeches highlighted ongoing disagreement about the Memorial’s identity and function.<sup>3</sup> Paul Spiegel stressed his “respect and

---

<sup>2</sup> Though the official ceremony of the *Mahmmal*’s opening took place on this date, the Field of Stelae and Information Centre were open for public access two days later, on 12 May 2005.

<sup>3</sup> The Foundation for the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, (hereafter FMMJE), “The Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe is Handed over to the Public,” (Berlin: 12 May 2005)

appreciation” for the project. In his previous breath, however, this President of the Central Council of the Jews in Germany had mentioned his objections to the “incomplete message of the memorial.” This message, he stated, could have been more “complete” had it included a strong narrative about the motives of the perpetrators. He said that the debate over the memorial had threatened to create a hierarchy of the victims of National Socialism. Further still, he warned that authentic sites of Nazi atrocities such as concentration camps in Germany may come to “pay a price for the creation of the ‘Holocaust Memorial.’”<sup>4</sup> These words cast a sombre shadow on the positive themes of the Bundestag President’s speech that had preceded it. Just minutes before, Wolfgang Thierse had celebrated the value of the *Mahnmal* as the first memory project in a reunited Germany. He had termed the initiative an “avowal of faith” that the nation acknowledges its history, and called it a project of great significance for Germany’s present and future.<sup>5</sup>

These statements show that it is not only different intentions that intersect at the *Mahnmal*. They indicate that broad sets of meaning pertaining to victims and perpetrators, to multiple histories of victimhood, to “authentic” historical sites and constructed sites for memory, and to the place of public Holocaust memorialization in the culture of Berlin coalesce at the *Mahnmal*. This constellation of meaning exists right now, in 2006, at a site in the centre of Berlin *Mitte*. At this site, the Memorial-makers

---

<http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/news/press/20050512> (accessed 16 June 2005). For a statement of the anticipated media interest, see FMMJE, “Inauguration of the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe in Berlin, 10 May 2005,” (Berlin: 30 March, 2005) <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/news/press/20050330/?highlight=press%20release%20english>, sentence 2 (accessed 16 June 2005).

<sup>4</sup> Paul Spiegel, speech at *Mahnmal* opening, (Berlin: 10 May 2005) <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/news/speeches/speechspiegel/?highlight=when%20in%201945%20the%20Allies> paragraphs 3, 5 and 6 (accessed 16 June 2005).

<sup>5</sup> Wolfgang Thierse, speech at *Mahnmal* opening, <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/news/speeches/speechthierse/?highlight=honoured%20guests%20from%20all%20parts%20of%20europe>, paragraphs 5 and 7 (accessed 16 June 2005).

give public expression to the relationship that they feel today's Germany has with its Nazi past. It is a big challenge to erect a public referent to such a difficult history. The Memorial-makers take up that challenge, and go a step further. Thierse's words show plainly that the *Mahnmal* is to be a referent to the nation's present and future as much as it is to be a referent to Germany's past. In their respective speeches at the *Mahnmal*'s inauguration, Spiegel, as well as the Director of the Association for the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe Lea Rosh, Holocaust survivor Sabina van der Linden, and Peter Eisenman echo this idea. Present in each of their speeches is a sense that the *Mahnmal* marks a turning point for the nation, and that it signals a new identity for a new Berlin, and for a new, united Germany.<sup>6</sup> The *Mahnmal* is the nation's first central, federally sponsored memorial constructed primarily for, and dedicated primarily to, the Jewish victims of the Holocaust. What's more, it sits right in the middle of the nation's capital, in the space of the former no-man's land between the front and rear ramparts of the Berlin Wall. With stakes as high as these, it is little wonder that contention marked the Memorial building process.

If studying the Memorial gives us a view into the project of public Holocaust memorialization in Berlin, itself a part of the project of identity construction in Germany today, what makes the *Mahnmal* an even more exciting and dynamic subject is that *its* meaning is under constant construction, too. Every visit to the *Mahnmal* from an

---

<sup>6</sup> Chapter three discusses the emergence of this theme in greater detail. See Lea Rosh, Sabina van der Linden and Peter Eisenman, speeches at *Mahnmal* opening, <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/news/speeches/speechrosh/?highlight=lea%20rosh>, <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/news/speeches/speechvanderlinden/?highlight=not%20even%20in%20my%20wildest%20dreams>, and <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/news/speeches/speecheisenman/?highlight=I%20speak%20as%20an%20architect>, respectively (accessed 16 June 2005).

international head of state,<sup>7</sup> every new event that the website of the Memorial's governing Foundation reports on, and every travelling exhibition in which this Foundation will involve itself, will alter the dynamic relationship between the broad sets of meaning that the words of Spiegel and Thierse evoke. For example, in spring 2007 the Foundation for the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, in cooperation with other memorial associations, will launch a temporary exhibition entitled "Victims of National Socialist Military Justice." The "projects" portion of the Foundation's website describes this exhibition as one that will focus on injustice and arbitrary procedures in National Socialist military justice in order to integrate the ongoing rehabilitation of its victims into the memorialization of the Nazi era. The presentation will include biographies of members of the resistance in Nazi-occupied Europe, as well as case stories of individuals sentenced as deserters, and of those found guilty of such offences as "demoralizing the defence forces" or "exercising a destructive influence on the folk community."<sup>8</sup> The exhibition's accompanying catalogue will offer more detailed information than the exhibit itself. In addition to memorialising the victims of such military courts, this publication will describe the system of Nazi military justice and the "central core of its injustice." Further, it will include biographies of some Nazi military judges in order to show just how willingly even those not closely allied with the regime absorbed National Socialist thinking and the ideology of the folk community into their judicial practice. The Foundation labels these judges as perpetrators of injustice, yet marshals information

---

<sup>7</sup> For example, the FMMJE website reports that, on his 7 February 2006 visit, the Federal President of the Republic of Austria was impressed by the exhibition in the Memorial's Information Centre, and took special interest in a description of the fate of the Austrian family Turteltaub. FMMJE, *News*, "Visit of the Austrian Federal President," <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/news> (accessed 27 February 2006).

<sup>8</sup> This is a project of the FMMJE, the Foundation Memorial Sites in Saxony, and the Memorial of the German Resistance and the National Association of Victims of National Socialist Military Justice. See FMMJE, *Projects*, "Travelling Exhibition 'Victims of National Socialist Military Justice'," <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/projects/travellingexhibition> (accessed 27 February 2006).

on them to teach about their victims' realities. "The biographies of individual judges and the section (of the catalogue) on the exclusion and failure to deal with victims of military justice in the two post-war Germanies make abundantly clear the continuity in discrimination down into the most recent period", reads the description of this catalogue on the Foundation's website.<sup>9</sup> Such a focus might satisfy Spiegel's desire that the *Mahnmal* teach more than it does at present about perpetrators and their motivation. Yet it is exactly this kind of project that has the capacity to spark dispute between persons like him, and Lea Rosh. Rosh has stated categorically that the *Mahnmal* is "not a memorial that intends to prove enlightenment about the perpetrators. It is a memorial for the victims."<sup>10</sup>

This is but one example of a possible point of contention over the *Mahnmal*'s boundaries. While it is, of course, impossible to predict the topic of future debates, this hypothetical issue would be in keeping with the very *real* debate that transpired over whose experience the *Mahnmal* should represent. At the Memorial, this issue of representation intersects with that of how to relate the *Mahnmal* to the many memorials and "authentic" historical sites that already exist in Germany. It also intersects with the vast issue of the place of public Holocaust memorialization in the culture of the present and future German nation. When they coalesce like this, what can these issues tell us about approaches to public Holocaust memorialization in Berlin today? In this thesis, I study the *Mahnmal* case to reveal certain ways that these issues interact in Germany in our present. My chief aim is to highlight one important product of their interaction: the

---

<sup>9</sup> FMMJE, *Publications of the Foundation Memorial*, "Catalogue for the Travelling Exhibition 'Victims of National Socialist Military Justice'," <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/publications/?highlight=utrich%20baumann> (accessed 05 April 2006).

<sup>10</sup> Lea Rosh, speech at *Mahnmal* opening, <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/news/speeches/speechrosh/?highlight=lea%20rosh> (accessed 16 June 2005).



realization of a site where a determined attempt to *integrate* the memorialization of European Jews murdered during the Holocaust – into the landscape of the capital, into the network of historical and memorial sites pertaining to National Socialism and the Third Reich, and into other histories of suffering during that period – emerged as a predominant theme, and a clear goal of the Memorial-makers.

All the same, though the *Mahnmal*'s dominant narrative is clearly that of Europe's Jews as victims of National Socialism, it is important to remember that this narrative only emerged as dominant through protracted competition. Spiegel's speech reminds us, for example, of demands made in 1989 that the *Mahnmal* include Sinti and Roma victims of Nazism in its memorial agenda.<sup>11</sup> I believe that competition regarding this and other issues was, and remains, dynamic and constructive in character. Though different parties make competing demands of the Memorial, I argue in this thesis that a unified, and constructive approach to public memory can emerge from their disparity. Methodologically, I approach the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe as a case study in contemporary public memory of the Holocaust in Germany. It is my central argument that analysis of this case – through examination of certain realities of the Memorial's production, the ceremony of its dedication, of the physical site and its supporting literature - demonstrates a significant, and concerted attempt to integrate public memorialization of the European Jews murdered during the Holocaust with other memorial sites in Germany and with other histories of suffering under National Socialism.

---

<sup>11</sup> For an example of such demands, see "Aufruf des Zentralrats Deutscher Sinti und Roma an den Bundeskanzler, den Regierenden Bürgermeister von Berlin und die Ministerpräsidenten für die zentrale Gedenkstätte des Völkermords," *Der Tagesspiegel*, 11 April 1989. Reprinted in Hans-Georg Stavinski, *Das Holocaust-Denkmal Der Streit um das "Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas" in Berlin (1988-1999)* (Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2002), 311.

To be sure, the Memorial itself exists as an integral part of a long tradition of public remembrance and commemoration of Nazism's victims in the Federal Republic of Germany. Like the *Mahnmal's* individual life story, this tradition has been, and continues to be, characterized by dramatic contention and change through time. I believe the historian's task is neither to predict whether this tradition will have an *end*, nor to *judge* certain stages of this tradition as more successful than others. For these reasons, this paper determinedly avoids arguing for the Memorial as a more *complete*, or more *successful* public memory project than any that preceded it. My paper positions the *Mahnmal* project in a tradition of public Holocaust remembrance in Germany, and my argument pertains not to the quality, but rather to the kind of memory that this Memorial encourages, and therefore allows for on the part of the public. It is not a statement of my belief in the project's unbridled success, but rather of my belief in the vast symbolic significance of its realization that I argue here that the *Mahnmal* is a momentous addition to the German *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, or process of coming to terms with the past. The one-year anniversary of the *Mahnmal's* dedication provides a unique occasion for reflection on how the Federal Republic of Germany interprets its relationship to its Nazi past, and expresses this relationship in this Memorial.

It is important, at this point, that I outline two limits of this thesis. The first concerns my near exclusive reliance on English-language sources, such as those accessible through the English version of the Memorial's website. If she were to compare it with the German version of the site, the memorial's online visitor would notice that the German site features, in many cases, more extensive descriptions and different images than does the English version. We must recognize that the Memorial

does not, necessarily, communicate the same information to its German-speaking public as it does to English-speaking tourists, or website visitors. This reality does not render my conclusions invalid. Rather, it reminds us of the international breadth of the Memorial's public, and the corresponding potential for great disparity in the ways different visitors receive information and interpret the Memorial's meaning. I have studied the *Mahnmal* from my position as a young, English-speaking Canadian woman, and my conclusions reflect that position, and the resources that have been available to me in the course of my research.

The second, and related, matter that I encourage my reader to keep in mind pertains to the *production*, as opposed to the *reception*, of meaning. This thesis comments solely on the memorial-makers' production of the *Mahnmal*. The matter of how Germans and international tourists have received the project, though fascinating, lies outside the limits of this thesis. English researchers fluent in German and interested in public opinions of the *Mahnmal* could put to appropriate use the edited collections of German-language newspaper articles that appeared throughout the process of the Memorial's creation to comment on this issue.<sup>12</sup>

The first chapter of this study offers a brief explanation of the Memorial's presentation, of its management structure, and of the basic role the German Bundestag and the Foundation for the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe have ascribed to the *Mahnmal*. This chapter functions, primarily, as a reference point for the subsequent critical analysis of the *Mahnmal*'s presentation. It also shows that the *Mahnmal* does

---

<sup>12</sup> See, for example, Ute Heimrod, Günter Schlusche and Horst Seferens, eds., *Der Denkmalstreit. das Denkmal? Die Debatte um das „Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas“ Eine Dokumentation* (Berlin: Philo, 1999), and Stavginski, *Das Holocaust-Denkmal*, and Perspektive Berlin, *Ein Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas: Dokumentation 1988-1995* (Berlin: Bürgerinitiative Perspektive Berlin e.V., 1995).

include non-Jewish victims in its presentation, that the Memorial and Information Centre facilitate visitor learning about other historical and memorial sites in Germany, and that both aspects of this presentation follow from the very foundational tenets of the German Bundestag's Resolution to establish the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe.

The second chapter locates the *Mahnmal* with regard to trends in postwar public memory in the former East and West Germany. This section makes clear that tensions similar to those that mark the *Mahnmal* project have long characterized public memory of the Holocaust, of the experience of the Second World War, and of the Third Reich in Germany. This chapter explains that marked attempts to highlight the uniqueness of the Jewish genocide, to incorporate its memorialization into the newly reunified German nation, and to integrate that memorialization with that of other of Nazism's victims prove that the *Mahnmal* embodies German memorial precedents in a new combination. This "new combination," I suggest, sets this memorial project apart from preceding ones.

The subsequent three chapters critically analyze documented facets of the *Mahnmal*'s production, the official ceremony of its dedication, the actual presentation at the Field of Stelae and Information Centre, publications of the Foundation for the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, and the Foundation's ongoing programme. Chapter three examines the relationship between the Memorial's symbolic location, the ongoing project of national rebuilding and reunification, and the place of Holocaust memorialization in twenty-first century Germany. It shows, first, how the Memorial-makers publicly stress the *Mahnmal*'s genuine and organic integration of public Holocaust memorialization into twenty-first century Berlin. I argue that the Foundation for the Memorial reifies the *Mahnmal*'s effective integration into the capital to make

more prominent the memorial's important role in constructing a new identity for a unified German nation. Second, this chapter reveals how the Federal Government worked, at the Memorial's official dedication ceremony, to publicly emphasize that the *Mahnmal* operates under the auspices of the nation. Finally, this chapter demonstrates how the Foundation for the Memorial conveys that the *Mahnmal* is part of a network of historical, memorial and commemorative sites related to National Socialism and its victims in Germany.

Chapter four explains that pressures to integrate Jewish with non-Jewish histories of suffering at the *Mahnmal* marked the memorial-building process. A summary history of the process makes clear that the Federal Government wanted the *Mahnmal* to highlight the uniqueness of the Jewish genocide, yet also wanted the Foundation for the Memorial to incorporate the commemoration of non-Jewish victims of the Nazis into its programme. Finally, chapter five outlines certain aspects of the Foundation's work that demonstrate how the *Mahnmal* has integrated public commemoration of the murdered Jews of Europe into a broader project that includes public memorialization of other of Nazism's victims in Germany.

The *Mahnmal* project has, certainly, engendered its fair share of bitter political divisions. I have no doubts about this. This paper aims to show that the project has also, however, facilitated the development of a constructive, integrative approach to public Holocaust memorialization. This thesis explains that, in response to criticism that the *Mahnmal* is the Federal Government's convenient "final solution" to the dilemma of public Holocaust remembrance, the Memorial-makers have assured that this project is part of a network of *existing* memorial museums in Germany, and is one link in an

*ongoing* public memory project.<sup>13</sup> It is only when we understand the *Mahnmal*'s relationship to past public memory projects in Germany, and when we have established what kind of project the Memorial constitutes, that we can foresee the possible futures of such commemoration projects. Reflecting on the type of remembrance the Berlin *Mahnmal* makes accessible to the public, the conclusion considers possibilities for future public commemoration projects in Germany.

---

<sup>13</sup> Thomas Lutz, Head of the Memorial Museums Department of the Topography of Terror Foundation, gave me the clearest expression of this concept of the *Mahnmal* as part of an ongoing memory project. Chapter Four explains his statement, and this concept, in further detail. James E. Young writes of how the provisional Topography of Terror exhibit at the site of the former Gestapo headquarters may reflect the city of Berlin's attempt to avoid prescribing "final solutions" to the dilemma of memorializing Nazi crimes. See Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 89.

## **Chapter One: The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe: Presentation, Management and Current Concept**

Though it took the groups involved in making the Memorial 17 years to realize the project, the completed *Mahnmal* is currently only eleven months old. Although the *Mahnmal* is built, the work of its governing body continues. The German Bundestag charged the Foundation for the Memorial with the weighty task of ensuring that the historical discrimination, persecution, deportation, and annihilation of fellow human beings remains salient in the collective memory.<sup>14</sup> In carrying out this mandate, since the *Mahnmal*'s May 2005 dedication the Foundation for the Memorial has been involved in such activities as organizing and initiating lecture series,<sup>15</sup> launching exhibition projects,<sup>16</sup> and issuing diverse publications.<sup>17</sup> The Foundation invests significant resources in presenting, and explaining the *Mahnmal* to the public. The "news" portion of the Foundation's website, for example, reports on a February 2006 conference at Berlin's Humboldt University where the Foundation presented new database technology for use in the Information Centre.<sup>18</sup> In another case, the Foundation set a May 2006 completion and release date for an interactive DVD "Virtual Tour" through the Information Centre. This "tour" offers supplementary information on the content of the individual theme rooms in the Centre, interactive panoramas of the underground

---

<sup>14</sup> FMMJE, *Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe: Foundation*, "Advisory Board," <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en> (accessed 14 January 2006).

<sup>15</sup> Head of the Memorial's Scientific Department Thomas Kranz and Dieter Pohl of Munich's Institute for Contemporary History are facilitating the next scheduled lecture/discussion entitled, "the Dead of Majdanek – new numbers of the Mass Murder in the SS camp of Lublin." FMMJE, *Home*, "Discussion," <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/> (accessed 20 April 2006).

<sup>16</sup> FMMJE, *Room of Sites*, "Expansion of the Exhibition: the Room for the Sites of Persecution and Destruction," <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/projects/roomofsites> (accessed 20 April 2006).

<sup>17</sup> FMMJE, *Publications*, "Publications of the Foundation Memorial," <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/publications> (accessed 20 April 2006).

<sup>18</sup> FMMJE, *News*, "Conference at the Humboldt University," <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/news> (accessed 12 April 2006).

exhibition and the Field of Stelae, and film sequences capturing the *Mahnmal*'s construction.<sup>19</sup> This technology adds to the Memorial's current presentation, and has the potential to radically alter the way an individual can experience the Memorial site.

Not only is this relatively new institution engaged in ongoing self-explanation and definition, but, as it approached its one-year anniversary, it was increasingly involved in self-reflective, and commemorative activity as well. The *Mahnmal*'s "news" web page reported on Hamburg artist Klaus Frahm's photography exhibit documenting the building of the Memorial from June 2002 to 2005. This exhibit marked the anniversary of the Memorial's opening to the public – an event that the Foundation also remembered with a press conference entitled "The Memorial – Striking the Balance of One Year," and concluded with an overnight vigil at the *Mahnmal* on 13-14 May 2006.<sup>20</sup> Perhaps from the vantage point of a few more years' time it will be clearer if, or how, the Memorial's meaning changed when *it* became an object of commemoration itself.<sup>21</sup>

What is apparent from our current perspective is that, as the institution ages, details of its actual presentation, and of the statements its governing body makes about the Memorial's aims, may evolve. While it is important to recognize these possibilities for change, this chapter establishes descriptions of the current status of these fundamental realities. It begins by describing the two actual components of the *Mahnmal*: the Field of Stelae, and the Information Centre. It then explains who manages the institution, and how this body currently expresses both its concept for the project, and its sense of the *Mahnmal*'s function.

---

<sup>19</sup> FMMJE, *Publications*, "Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe: A Virtual Tour through the Information Centre," <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/publications> (accessed 12 April 2006).

<sup>20</sup> This date falls one day later than the one-year anniversary of the *Mahnmal*'s actual opening to the public.

<sup>21</sup> FMMJE, *News*, "Berlin's Holocaust Memorial in Photographs," <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/news> (accessed 12 April 2006).



The component of the *Mahnmal* that the visitor encounters first is the 19 073 square metre field of concrete stelae. The width of each of its 2,711 pillars measures 0.95 metres by 2.38 metres. These stelae are hollow, feature inclinations of between 0.5 and two degrees, and vary in height from flush with the ground to over four metres, with the majority measuring between one and two metres in height.<sup>22</sup> Their arrangement follows a grid pattern, and the ground beneath them features slight undulations. The American firm, Eisenman Architects, designed the pillars to be spaced 95 centimetres apart – a decision, reads their project text for the Memorial, which was made to permit only individual passage through the grid.<sup>23</sup>

As his aforementioned comments suggest, Eisenman points out that the visitor can enter the *Mahnmal* from any side.<sup>24</sup> The literature of the Foundation for the Memorial also encourages visitors' freedom of movement; the first panel of the free pamphlet available at the site tells the visitor that she can find her own way in, through, and out of the complex.<sup>25</sup> In accordance with Eisenman's design, no explanatory text accompanies the Field of Stelae.<sup>26</sup> One small square plaque, flush with the ground and inset from

---

<sup>22</sup> FMMJE, *Information: The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe*, English pamphlet (Berlin, 2005), "Figures on the Memorial," no pagination.

<sup>23</sup> Eisenman Architects, *Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, Berlin: Project Text*. Reproduced with the permission of Eisenman Architects at Sarah Moughty, website producer, *Frontline: A Jew Among the Germans: Germany's Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, Berlin*, <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/germans/memorial/eisenman.html>, no pagination (accessed 8 November 2005).

<sup>24</sup> See Eisenman's statement in interview about visitor interaction with the Field of Stelae, page 1 of this paper.

<sup>25</sup> FMMJE, *Information*, English pamphlet, "Figures on the Memorial," no pagination.

<sup>26</sup> Eisenman explained his design for the Field of Stelae in a May 2005 interview: "The world is too full of information and here is a place without information. That is what I wanted." See Hawley and Tenberg, "How Long?" Interview with Eisenman. In fact, Eisenman initially disagreed with the idea of including an Information Centre at the *Mahnmal*. After the five-member finding commission that governed the final artistic competition for the Memorial accepted Eisenman and New York sculptor Richard Serra's joint design for the Field of Stelae ("Eisenman I"), Chancellor Kohl pushed for alterations to the measurements to this design, while cultural representative to the Federal Government Michael Naumann pressured for the addition of an Information Centre in 1998-1999. It was reportedly in response to these demands for compromise on the original design that Serra abandoned the project. See Gunter Schlusche, "A Memorial is

Behrenstraße, however, outlines rules for visitors to the Memorial site. These rules dictate decorum and warn the visitor about her safety. For example, the first regulation dictates that the visitor can only enter the Field of Stelae on foot, and must proceed through it at a normal walking pace. This text also offers precautionary information about the narrow walkways, and the limited visibility that they offer. It then prohibits the visitor from engaging in such diverse activity at the site as playing musical instruments, sunbathing on top of a stele in a bathing suit, jumping from stele to stele, barbecuing, and camping.

This information is an incredibly subtle part of the *Mahnmal* landscape – indeed, these bizarre regulations only caught my attention on my third visit to the site, and only then after I had almost stepped on the plaque. Most noteworthy is that the *only* indication this plaque offers of what the Field of Stelae represents is in a final piece of text that runs along its bottom: *Stiftung Denkmal für die Ermordeten Juden Europas, Stresemanstraße 90, 1063 Berlin* (see photograph of plaque, figure 8 and translation of its text, Appendix 1).

From the southeast corner of the Field of Stelae the visitor can access the *Mahnmal*'s second component: the underground Information Centre. Designed by German exhibition designer Dagmar von Wilcken, the Centre “takes up the formal language” of the aboveground sculpture, and provides information on the victims, the places of their murder, and today’s memorial sites.<sup>27</sup>

---

Built: History, Planning and Architectural Context,” in FMMJE, *Materials on the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe* (Berlin: Nicolaische Verlagsbuchhandlung GmbH, 2005), 22.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*

The tour is comprised of a foyer, and five differently themed rooms. The visitor typically moves through these rooms in order (see layout, figure 9).<sup>28</sup> The foyer, entitled “Introduction” in the tourist’s pamphlet, features a series of text and pictures that trace the development in Nazi policy between 1933 and 1945 that led to the Holocaust “and the process of the extermination of the European Jewry,” states the visitor pamphlet, “as well as the persecution and murder of other victim groups.”<sup>29</sup> The disabled, German and foreign political opponents of the Nazis, Sinti and Roma, and Soviet prisoners of war are among the “other” victim groups that this historical narrative includes.<sup>30</sup> Further, the many photographs that accompany this narrative include such images as SA men publicly humiliating German Jews and leading boycotts against Jewish professionals, *Wehrmacht* soldiers herding Polish civilians together, and *Einsatzgruppe* units conducting mass shootings of Jewish women in areas of the Soviet Union.<sup>31</sup> This section provides basic information on the historical context of 1933-1945 so that the visitor may understand the material in the Information Centre’s subsequent four themed rooms (see a photograph of a visitor reading this information, figure 10). Exhibition designer von Wilcken has written that the visitor, depending on what she already knows, can choose whether to get

---

<sup>28</sup> As the Information Centre’s final room connects with the entrance foyer, the visitor is able to move through the rooms “backwards,” if she is so inclined. Further, nothing prohibits this visitor, once in the exhibition, from retracing her steps to revisit an earlier part of the exhibit. I was at the Information Centre for approximately 2.5 hours, however, and I did not notice any other visitor travel “backwards” in these ways through the exhibit.

<sup>29</sup> FMMJE, *Information*, English pamphlet, “Figures on the Memorial,” no pagination.

<sup>30</sup> FMMJE, “Introduction” (presentation in Foyer 1 and 2), *Mahnmal* Information Centre, Berlin, and “Chronology of Genocide: Escalation of the Extermination Policy (Text Displayed in Foyer 1 and 2),” *Materials*, 50-55.

<sup>31</sup> FMMJE, “Introduction” (presentation in Foyer 1 and 2), *Mahnmal* Information Centre, Berlin, and “Documentation of Suffering: A chronological sequence of photographs about the Holocaust 1933-1945,” *Materials*, 56-59.

information from the text or the images. In doing so, she can prepare herself for the theme rooms ahead.<sup>32</sup>

Six large, striking, black and white portrait-style photographs of Jewish victims line the end of this foyer. They represent the six million Jewish victims of the previously described political events. These images are intended to represent all age and gender groups of victims: men and women, children, adults, and the elderly.<sup>33</sup> These portraits mark the entrance to the first themed room (see figure 11). The foci of this first “Room of Dimensions” are fifteen personal accounts written by Jewish men and women from throughout Europe during their persecution. Fragments of diaries, notes, and letters that these individuals wrote, often during moments of great distress in order to tell loved ones about what was happening to them, appear in illuminated panels set in the floor (see a photograph of visitors reading these panels, figure 12, and a design model of this room, figure 13). A list of the number of Jewish victims in all the countries that were under National Socialist domination runs horizontally along the room’s four walls.<sup>34</sup> This room strives to convey the European dimension of the Holocaust, yet also to supplement the statistical data with information on individual fates.<sup>35</sup>

The second room, the “Room of Families,” employs a similar tactic, this time relating individual stories of fifteen Jewish families from different parts of Europe. The expressed aim of this room is to both reflect the diversity of European Jewish culture and tradition before the Holocaust, and to contrast life before, during and after the Nazi

---

<sup>32</sup> Sibylle Quack and Dagmar von Wilcken, “Creating an Exhibition About the Murder of European Jewry: Conflicts of Subject and Design in the ‘Information Centre,’” in FMMJE, *Materials*, 46.

<sup>33</sup> FMMJE, *The Memorial: Information Centre*, “Prelude,” <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/thememorial/informationcentre/prelude> (accessed 10 May 2006).

<sup>34</sup> This list refers to these countries according to their 1937 borders.

<sup>35</sup> FMMJE, *The Memorial: Information Centre*, “Room of Dimensions,” <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/thememorial/informationcentre/dimensions> (accessed 06 August 2005).

persecution.<sup>36</sup> Family photographs, some personal documents and explanatory text, arranged on large display surfaces suspended from the ceiling in a grid pattern, illustrate the splitting up, expulsion and destruction of these families and their members (see a design model of the “Room of Families,” figure 14).<sup>37</sup>

In keeping with this concentration on individual fates, the third “Room of Names” relays names and short biographies of Jews across Europe murdered, or presumed dead. This room is empty but for a few benches. A recorded reading conveys each biography, in German and subsequently in English, while the name, year of birth and death of each individual is projected in white text on the room’s four black walls. Yad Vashem has placed its collection of the names of Jews murdered during the Holocaust at the disposal of the *Mahmmal*, in the form of a database. The visitor may access a room with computer terminals for use of this database at the end of her tour, or directly from this “Room of Names.” In the adjacent room, visitors can use the database connected with Yad Vashem in Jerusalem to research the approximately 3.5 million Jewish victims whose names are known<sup>38</sup> (see layout, figure 9, and image of this room, figure 15).

The exhibition maintains the ongoing focus on the individual in the fourth “Room of Places” (see a model of this room, figure 16). Here, the aim is to document the geographic dimension of the genocide of the Jews, and the National Socialist terror against Roma, Prisoners of War and non-Jewish civilians across Europe. Photographs, explanatory text and pieces of historical film illustrate some two hundred locations of mass executions, deportations and death marches, as well as the places of ghettos,

---

<sup>36</sup> FMMJE, *Information*, English pamphlet, “Figures on the Memorial,” no pagination.

<sup>37</sup> FMMJE, *The Memorial: Information Centre*, “Room of Families,” <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/thememorial/informationcentre/familyfates> (accessed 06 August 2005).

<sup>38</sup> Quack and von Wilcken, “Creating an Exhibition,” in FMMJE, *Materials*, 47.

concentration and death camps. Eight audio stations in this room allow the visitor to listen, in German or in English, to accounts of the viewpoints of victims facing persecution and death at the largest of the organized death camps: Auschwitz, Belzec, Kulmhof (Chelmno), Treblinka, Sobibor, Majdanek and Malyj Trostenez (near Minsk).<sup>39</sup> Though it was not the site of an organized death camp, this room also affords special attention to the ravine at Babi Yar, near Kiev, where members of an *SS-Einsatzkommando* murdered approximately 33,371 Jews on Yom Kippur, 1941.<sup>40</sup>

The final room of this exhibit focuses on the present by facilitating visitor learning about other sites of remembrance and persecution in Berlin, as well as throughout Germany and the rest of Europe. The visitor pamphlet refers to this room as “the Holocaust memorials.database,” while the Memorial’s current website and chief interpretative publication uses the succinct term, “portal.”<sup>41</sup> Computer terminals in this final room allow visitors to search for historical and memorial sites and museums pertaining to National Socialism and the Holocaust. The visitor can organize her search by *Bundeslander*, by site, or by theme such as “Nazi ideology,” or “‘Euthanasia’ crimes.” This database also contains material on similar sites and research institutions throughout

---

<sup>39</sup> FMMJE, “Room of Places,” (presentation in Room 4), *Mahnmal* Information Centre, Berlin, and Uwe Neumärker, 24 April 2006, personal email message (accessed 26 April 2006); Neumärker, “Strategies of Terror: Places of Persecution and Extermination,” in FMMJE, *Materials*, 138-155, and *The Memorial: Information Centre*, “Room of Places,” <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/thememorial/informationcentre/sites> (accessed 01 April 2006).

<sup>40</sup> Yom Kippur is the holiest day of the Jewish year. This mass murder occurred on 29 and 30 September 1941. FMMJE, “Room of Places,” (presentation in Room 4), *Mahnmal* Information Centre, Berlin, and Neumärker, “Strategies of Terror,” in FMMJE, *Materials*, 143.

<sup>41</sup> FMMJE, *Information*, English pamphlet, no pagination, and *The Memorial: Information Centre*, “Portal: The historical memorial sites,” <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/thememorial/informationcentre/portal> (accessed 01 April 2006), and Quack and von Wilcken, “Creating an Exhibition,” in FMMJE, *Materials*, 42.

Europe, such as the House of the Wannsee Conference, Poland's Majdanek State Museum, and the Ukrainian Centre for Holocaust Studies in Kiev, to name but a few.<sup>42</sup>

That this last room of the exhibit facilitates visitor education about non-Jewish victim groups and other historical and memorial sites is highlighted in the "Information Centre" component of the *Mahnmal*'s website as evidence that it upholds its mandate. While the web pages corresponding to the Information Centre's previous five rooms contained a basic summary of the theme and content of each, this web page focuses almost *entirely* on paraphrasing its mandate to honour all victims of Nazism. The web page refers directly to a resolution of 1999 declaring that: "the Federal Republic of Germany remains committed to commemorating the other victims of the Nazi Regime."<sup>43</sup> Addressing the issue of the *Mahnmal*'s relation to other historical and memorial sites, the description on this web page continues: "the Information Centre for the commemorated victims and the historical sites of remembrance where atrocities were committed will be meaningfully integrated into the ensemble of memorial sites in Berlin. Moreover, the Centre will have its own specific remit and not compete with the other sites of remembrance; on the contrary, it aims to draw attention to them."<sup>44</sup> This page includes a web link to the full-text of the 1999 Bundestag Resolution. It was this Resolution that embodied the decision that the Federal Republic of Germany would erect a Memorial to

---

<sup>42</sup> The portion of the *Mahnmal*'s website devoted to explaining the Information Centre also facilitates this educational function for the exhibition's virtual visitor. See FMMJE, *The Memorial: Information Centre*, "Portal: 'The historical memorial sites,'" <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/thememorial/informationcentre/portal> (accessed 01 April 2006), and *The Memorial: Partners*, "Links," <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/thememorial/partners> (accessed 05 December 2005).

<sup>43</sup> German Bundestag. *Resolution concerning the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe*. 25 June 1999, section 1.5. Reprinted at FMMJE, *The Memorial: Resolution*, "Resolution Passed by the German Bundestag," <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/thememorial/history/resolution> (accessed 09 January 2006).

<sup>44</sup> FMMJE, *The Memorial: Information Centre*, "Portal: 'The historical memorial sites,'" <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/thememorial/informationcentre/portal> (accessed 01 April 2006).

the Murdered Jews of Europe in Berlin. This document outlined the goals for the *Mahnmal*, and described plans for the establishment of a Foundation to oversee the Memorial.<sup>45</sup>

The Foundation for the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, established 17 March 2000, operates under federal law, and with its headquarters in Berlin (see Appendix 2 for a more detailed explanation of the Foundation's constituent bodies and current members).<sup>46</sup> The Foundation was responsible for the realisation of Eisenman's Field of Stelae, and for the planning and realisation of the Information Centre.<sup>47</sup> Funds from the federal budget financed both components of the *Mahnmal*, and the Federal Government continues to subsidize the Foundation annually, while the maintenance of the Memorial remains this Foundation's ongoing responsibility.<sup>48</sup>

The German Bundestag expressed its intentions for the Memorial in three strong statements in their 1999 Resolution; the Foundation then took up responsibility for implementing these goals with their 2000 Charter. It is the Foundation's objective to "honour the murdered victims of National Socialism," and to "keep alive the memory of these inconceivable events in German history." Third, it seeks to "admonish all future generations never again to violate human rights, to defend the democratic constitutional

---

<sup>45</sup> German Bundestag. *Resolution*.

<sup>46</sup> German Bundestag, *Act concerning the establishment of a "Foundation for the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe" of 17 March 2000*. Federal Law Gazette, Part 1 No.10, published in Bonn on 22 March 2000, section 1: "Establishment and legal form." Reprinted at FMMJE, *The Memorial: Foundation*, "The Foundation's Charter," <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/foundation/foundationsscharter> (accessed 14 January 2006).

<sup>47</sup> German Bundestag, *Act*, section 2, "The Foundation's Objective."

<sup>48</sup> The Federal Government spent Euro 27.6 million from Federal budget funds on the Memorial: Euro 14.8 million on the Field of Stelae and Euro 12.8 million on the Information Centre. See *Ibid.*, section 3, "The Foundation's assets, non-profit character," and FMMJE, *Information*, English pamphlet, FAQ's, "How much did the memorial cost?"



state at all times, to secure equality before the law for *all* people and to resist *all* forms of dictatorship and regimes based on violence.”<sup>49</sup>

It is these fundamental concepts of the *Mahnmal* that were at the root of the heated contest that marked the project’s long development. That the Federal Government of Germany produced *one central memorial* to victims of National Socialism, included only murdered *Jews* in its title, and placed this Memorial in the middle of the *capital city*, is an act contentious to its core. The Foundation Memorial’s mandate to facilitate public remembrance of other, non-Jewish victims of the Nazi regime, and to balance the *Mahnmal*’s identity as a *central* monument and place of remembrance with the idea of it existing within a *network* of other memorial centres and institutions within and beyond Berlin, reflects the Federal Government’s accommodation to what were the often conflicting demands of different interest groups.

The following chapter locates the *Mahnmal* with regard to trends in postwar public memory in Germany. Though it focuses mainly on patterns of memorialization in the FRG, this chapter also explains certain GDR memorial traditions. An understanding of the differences between East and West German approaches to memorialization of the Nazi period will inform our understanding of how the *Mahnmal* embodies elements of both traditions in its presentation, and in its programme for the Memorial’s governing body. This chapter reveals that the most contentious aspects of the long-standing engagement with the past in Germany crystallize in the fundamental concepts at the root of the *Mahnmal*. It also demonstrates, however, that the very realization of the

---

<sup>49</sup> German Bundestag, *Act*, section 2, “The Foundation’s Objective” begins: “The objective of the Foundation is to implement the Resolution by the German Bundestag of 25 June 1999...concerning the establishment of a Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe.” German Bundestag, *Resolution*. The Resolution outlines these goals under section 1.2. Emphasis added.

*Mahnmal* constitutes the attainment of a significant precedent – one that may allow new trajectories for public memorialization of the Holocaust, of the experience of the Second World War, and of the Third Reich in Germany.

## Chapter Two: The *Mahnmal* in Context

Public Holocaust commemoration in Germany has changed much through time. So, too, has academic writing in English on that topic. This chapter highlights select points of both developments. I aim for this survey to inform our understanding of the type of *Mahnmal* Germany's Federal Government created, and how this project allows for a unique kind of memorial activity on the part of the public. This chapter does *not* offer a comprehensive history of the *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*. Rather, it seeks to describe the former East and West German memorial precedents the *Mahnmal* embodies, and to explain how my thoughts on the *Mahnmal* are related to other recent scholarly writing in English on memorialization in Germany in general, and on the *Mahnmal* project in particular.

Many authors have written about how West Germans avoided public remembrance of the Nazi past in the immediate postwar years. In an early example, German Jewish refugee and sociologist Hannah Arendt wrote in her 1950 article "The Aftermath of Nazi Rule: Report from Germany" that Germans in the Allied zones of occupation denied the full reality of the crimes of the Nazi regime. "The sight of Germany's destroyed cities," she wrote, "and the knowledge of German concentration and extermination camps have covered Europe with a cloud of melancholy."<sup>50</sup> Despite omnipresent destruction, the reaction of citizens to this material trauma was one marked by avoidance and denial – not only of material realities, but also of the moral suggestions that they posed, wrote Arendt. Though "reality" was the horror of the recent past and the dead who had been forgotten, citizens refocused all resources and energies on clearing

---

<sup>50</sup> Hannah Arendt, "The Aftermath of Nazi Rule: Report from Germany," *Commentary* 10 (1950): 342.

rubble and rebuilding. This intense preoccupation had, she wrote, become urban Germans' chief defense against remembering their recent Nazi past.<sup>51</sup>

Philosopher Theodor Adorno also condemned Germans in 1959 for their inability to come to terms with the Nazi past. West Germans hoped only to put this past behind them, he criticized, and not to face their own accountability for crimes committed under the Third Reich.<sup>52</sup> Similarly, in their 1967 study *The Inability to Mourn: Principles of Collective Behavior*, the German psychoanalyst and head of the German Medical Commission to the American Military Tribunal at Nuremberg dealing with medical war crimes, Dr. Alexander Mitscherlich, and Dr. Margerite Mitscherlich argued that West Germans avoided remembering National Socialism. Expressing Adorno's thesis in psychoanalytic terms, the Mitscherlichs argued that the population was entirely unable to confront its responsibility for the Nazi past.<sup>53</sup>

By the end of the twentieth century, scholars of German memory, though they recognized the groundbreaking nature of the Mitscherlich study, had subverted its thesis. Historian Gavriel D. Rosenfeld, in his 2000 work *Munich and Memory: Architecture, Monuments and the Legacy of the Third Reich*, credited the Mitscherlich's study with introducing an effective and influential model of Germans' repression of the Nazi past to the idea of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*.<sup>54</sup> Rosenfeld himself, however, wrote that with the rise of new generations the Third Reich – a relatively brief period of Germany's history – had not only come to dominate the nation's collective memory, but also to

---

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>52</sup> Theodor W. Adorno, "What Does Coming to Terms with the Past Mean?" in *Bitburg in Moral and Political Perspective*, ed. Geoffrey H. Hartman (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 124.

<sup>53</sup> Alexander and Margerite Mitscherlich, *The Inability to Mourn: Principles of Collective Behaviour*, trans. Beverley R. Placzek (New York: Grove Press, 1975), xxiv and 19.

<sup>54</sup> Gavriel D. Rosenfeld, *Munich and Memory: Architecture, Monuments and the Legacy of the Third Reich* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000), 2-3 and 321.

disproportionately influence its contemporary identity and to become an “obsessive preoccupation” among Germans.<sup>55</sup> Both Rosenfeld and historian Rudy Koshar have examined how Germany has articulated its Nazi past through public architecture. In his 2000 *From Monuments to Traces: Artifacts of German Memory, 1870-1990*, Koshar, like Rosenfeld, studied material artifacts of German memory such as postwar reconstructions of damaged buildings, normalization of Nazi architecture, restoration of prewar monuments after 1945 and the construction of postwar memorials. Just as did Rosenfeld, Koshar demonstrated that Germans’ historical memory had grown receptive to the recognition of guilt and complicity to Nazi crimes, and to participation in programs of mourning for their victims.<sup>56</sup> Though he argued for a “dilation” of memory in contemporary Germany, Koshar’s argument featured a caveat to that of Rosenfeld: it stated that Germans’ preoccupation with their nation’s past did not just begin after reunification. Instead, he argued, Germans had been remembering much about their past since 1871.<sup>57</sup> While Rosenfeld’s monograph focused on competitions over how to rebuild Munich’s destroyed landscape after 1945, Koshar’s work pointed to such examples as public monuments to the Franco-Prussian War and post-World War I battlefield tourism in Germany to illustrate this theme.<sup>58</sup> Both scholars’ positions resembled James Young’s argument in his 1993 study *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*. In it, Young had demonstrated that, in Germany as in other nations, public memorialization of the war years began immediately after war’s end. The first massive antifascist memorial demonstration in Germany, he wrote, organized by a

---

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>56</sup> Rudy Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces: Artifacts of German Memory, 1870-1990* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000), 153.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 6-7.

<sup>58</sup> *Ibid.*, 30 and 104.

municipal coalition that claimed to represent all victims' groups, attracted thirty-five thousand people to its "Commemorative Rally for the victims of Fascist Terror" in an arena in the Berlin borough of Neukölln on 9 September 1945. "German memory of this time would begin when its citizens remembered their own as victims – even as victims of themselves", Young wrote.<sup>59</sup>

Other recent studies of postwar West German memory have since added further nuance to the interpretation that German politicians and people denied, or entirely avoided remembering Nazi crimes in the immediate postwar years. Historian Robert G. Moeller investigated how remembrance became an integral part of a West German political consciousness in the 1950's in his *War Stories: The Search for a Usable Past in the Federal Republic of Germany*, published in 2001. Writing of the need for a clearer understanding of how Germans transformed their pasts into public memory in the early history of the Federal Republic, Moeller examined historical accounts, print media and movies to show how individual memories shaped a *public* memory that allowed West Germans to acknowledge the war as a part of their past, yet, at the same time, to distance themselves from the Nazi state.<sup>60</sup> West Germans created a myth of their own suffering, Moeller argued, and established the idea of Germany as a "nation of victims." The war stories that dominated in the 1950's, he contended, were those about the experiences of non-Jewish, non-communist Germans. These stories allowed West Germans to reject charges of "collective guilt" for support of the National Socialist state, and create an image, instead, of themselves as "heroic survivors" of the regime.<sup>61</sup>

---

<sup>59</sup> Young, *Texture of Memory*, 49-50.

<sup>60</sup> Robert G. Moeller, *War Stories: The Search for a Usable Past in the Federal Republic of Germany* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001), 20 and 3.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

“Remembering selectively”, Moeller wrote, “was not the same as forgetting”;<sup>62</sup> his argument about postwar West German *culture* recalled what Jeffrey Herf had written in his 1997 *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys* about the national *politics* of postwar memory in the FRG. Herf had argued that the Federal Republic’s first Chancellor, Konrad Adenauer, quickly realized that he could not lobby for harsh denazification measures, and still hope to win votes.<sup>63</sup> “Democratic renewal went hand in hand with silence and the forgetting of a dark past. Too much memory would undermine a still fragile popular psyche”, Herf argued of Adenauer’s approach.<sup>64</sup> West Germans did not forget, or deny their relationship to National Socialism in the early postwar years, Herf demonstrated – rather, they deliberately opted for avoiding a focus on Nazi crimes because such avoidance was politically necessary for the creation of a stable democracy.<sup>65</sup> In the earliest postwar days and months, in Adenauer’s FRG and Ulbricht’s GDR, politicians silenced memory of the Holocaust and focused on non-Jewish German suffering, wrote Herf.<sup>66</sup> Israeli Historian Gilad Margalit forwarded a similar argument in his 1999 essay “Divided Memory? Expressions of a United German Memory.” In it, he pointed to such examples as the FRG’s 1952 introduction of a “People’s Memorial Day for Civilian Victims of World Wars, Fallen Soldiers, and the Victims of Nazism” as evidence for West German politicians’ attempts to equate the

---

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, 16.

<sup>63</sup> Jeffrey Herf, *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 203.

<sup>64</sup> *Ibid.*, 225.

<sup>65</sup> *Ibid.*, 266.

<sup>66</sup> Herf’s argument appears, in a more condensed form, in his “The Holocaust and the Competition of Memories in Germany, 1945-1999,” in *Remembering the Holocaust in Germany: German Strategies and Jewish Responses*, ed. Dan Michman (New York: P. Lang, 2002), 9-30. For this point, see 26.

suffering of non-Jewish Germans with the fate of the Jewish victims of Nazism.<sup>67</sup> As Moeller, Koshar and Rosenfeld argued a few years later, Margalit and Herf staunchly refuted the perception that West Germans had no involvement with the Nazi past until the 1960's.<sup>68</sup>

To be sure, Moeller, Margalit and Herf did agree with other scholars of German politics, culture and society that the place for memory in West Germany became much bigger in the 1960's, and has been growing ever since.<sup>69</sup> Most identify the same key benchmarks for Holocaust memorialization in the FRG, most often beginning with how the 1961 trial of Adolph Eichmann in Jerusalem, and the 1963-1965 trials of former Nazis alleged to have committed some of the worst crimes at Auschwitz, expanded the memory of the mass murder of European Jewry among West Germans.<sup>70</sup> In December 1970 FRG Chancellor Willy Brandt fell to his knees in front of Nathan Rapaport's monument to commemorate the Warsaw Ghetto Uprising of 1943. In a 2004 article, Herf repeated the widely held interpretation that Brandt's *kniefall* marked the first time a German Chancellor had publicly expressed remorse for German persecution of Jews, as well as of populations in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.<sup>71</sup> Professor of language

---

<sup>67</sup> Gilad Margalit, "Divided Memory? Expressions of a United German Memory," in Michman, ed., *Remembering*, 38.

<sup>68</sup> Herf, *Divided Memory*, 9.

<sup>69</sup> *Ibid.*, 268.

<sup>70</sup> For the impact of the Eichmann trial broadcast, see Herf, "Politics and Memory in West and East Germany since 1961 and in Unified Germany since 1990," *Journal of Israeli History* 23, no.1 (2004): 40, and Moeller, *War Stories*, 176. For Auschwitz trials, see Rebecca Wittmann, "Indicting Auschwitz? The Paradox of the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial," *German History* 21, no.4 (2003): 505. Wittmann wrote that the concept of Auschwitz on trial "is at the core of German public confrontation with the Nazi past in the 1960s."

<sup>71</sup> Herf, "Politics and Memory," 46. Other recent work that also highlights the symbolic significance of Brandt's *kniefall* include Young, *At Memory's Edge: After Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture*, (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000), 217, Moeller, *War Stories*, 177; Bill Niven, *Facing the Nazi Past: United Germany and the Legacy of the Third Reich* (New York: Routledge, 2002), 176, and Peter Carrier, *Holocaust Monuments and National Memory Cultures in France*



and literature Susanne Vees-Gulani's *Trauma and Guilt: Literature of Wartime Bombing in Germany* (2003) also highlighted the significance of Brandt's gesture, but reinforced the argument that the "true start" of a nationwide discussion on the Nazi murder of the European Jews came with the 1979 television broadcast in West Germany of the NBC miniseries *Holocaust*.<sup>72</sup> Pointing to Helmut Kohl's 1982-1990 West German Chancellorship, scholars label the *Historikerstreit*<sup>73</sup> of 1986-1987 one of its major watersheds for Holocaust memorialization.

The controversies over the *Mahmmal*'s commemoration of Jewish above other victims of Nazism, and over its potential to eclipse other important public memorial sites in Germany, reflect issues at the core of the *Historikerstreit*. The debate, waged primarily among West German historians, involved such contested issues as the historicization of the Third Reich, the comparability of the Nazi crimes to other events of the past, and the singularity of the Jewish genocide. This debate emerged in the public sphere with German philosopher and historian Ernst Nolte's publication of his lecture, "The Past that Will Not Pass: A Speech That Could be Written but Not Delivered" in the *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* on 6 June 1986. In it, Nolte called for allowing Germany's National Socialist past to be subject, as are other pasts, to the process of passing into history. Nolte treated the Bolshevik murder campaign as precedent to the

---

*and Germany since 1989: The Origins and Political Function of the Vel' d'Hiv' in Paris and the Holocaust Monument in Berlin* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2005), 120.

<sup>72</sup> Susanne Vees-Gulani, "Confronting the Past? The Role of Guilt and Shame in Postwar Germany," in Vees-Gulani, *Trauma and Guilt: Literature of Wartime Bombing in Germany* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003), 52. This broadcast is also frequently cited as a benchmark for West Germans' confrontation with the past. Ian Kershaw wrote that the film "did more than countless academic studies already in print at the time to lay bare the psychological scars of a country that, for decades, had avoided confronting head-on the full horror of the murder of the Jews and the role of ordinary people, not just Nazi leaders, in those terrible events." See Kershaw, *The Nazi Dictatorship: Problems & Perspectives of Interpretation*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 255.

<sup>73</sup> *Historians' Dispute*

Nazi crime of genocide. “Was the Gulag Archipelago not primary to Auschwitz?” demanded Nolte. “Did Auschwitz in its root causes not originate in a past that would not pass?”<sup>74</sup> Not surprisingly, this revisionist view solicited vehement response.<sup>75</sup> Philosopher Jürgen Habermas’ published response to Nolte, for example, argued that identity-formation in a Germany forty years after the end of the Second World War need not entail liberating German history from the guilt associated with its National Socialist past.<sup>76</sup> Rather, he maintained that German national identity should be grounded in the non-conventional relationship of the German people to their recent past. To ignore the unbreachable chasm of Auschwitz in order to restore a sense of German national historical continuity, he argued, was to rid the Nazi reign of its unique brand of terror.<sup>77</sup> The Nazi murder of the Jews was entirely unique, historian Eberhard Jäckel added to the debate. Jäckel would be the future co-founder, with Rosh, of the East and West German citizens’ initiative that would petition for a memorial in Berlin to Jews murdered during the Holocaust.<sup>78</sup> At no time before the Nazi genocide of the Jews, Jäckel wrote, had a nation, under a leader, not only declared its intention so clearly to kill off an entire people, but actually acted on that intention.<sup>79</sup>

---

<sup>74</sup> Ernst Nolte, “The Past That Will Not Pass: A Speech That Could Be Written but Not Delivered,” in *Forever in the Shadow of Hitler? Original Documents of the Historikerstreit, the Controversy Concerning the Singularity of the Holocaust*, trans. J. Knowlton and Truett Cates (New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1993), 22.

<sup>75</sup> “Revisionism” is a title that Nolte ascribed to his own views on history writing about the Third Reich. See Nolte, “Between Historical Legend and Revisionism? The Third Reich in the Perspective of 1980,” in *Forever in the Shadow*, 1.

<sup>76</sup> Jürgen Habermas, “A Kind of Settlement of Damages,” in *Forever in the Shadow*, 41.

<sup>77</sup> *Ibid.*, 43.

<sup>78</sup> Jäckel would also come to sit on the Board of Trustees of the Foundation for the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe as a representative of the Association Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe. See FMMJE, *The Memorial* “Foundation: Board of Trustees,” <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/thememorial/foundation/boardoftrustees> (accessed 5 July 2006).

<sup>79</sup> Eberhard Jäckel, “The Impoverished Practice of Insinuation: The Singular Aspect of National-Socialist Crimes Cannot be Denied,” in *Forever in the Shadow*, 76.

Just as did the West German historians that took part in the *Historikerstreit*, the *Mahnmal* conveys a particular historiographical interpretation.<sup>80</sup> Indeed, we must be mindful that, as a central, public, national memorial, the *Mahnmal* has the potential to contribute to its visitors' historical understanding in a powerful way. Professor of Contemporary German Studies Bill Niven dedicated a portion of his 2002 *Facing the Nazi Past* to addressing the *Mahnmal*'s historiographical agenda, as he believed it pertained to the representation of the fates of Jewish and of "other" victims of Nazism. Though he contended that the debate over the Memorial served to enhance understanding of the Holocaust in the public realm, and was generally driven by a genuine concern for establishing the most appropriate form of remembrance, Niven highlighted the problematic aspects of the institution's historiographical agenda.<sup>81</sup> For Jäckel and Rosh, the initiators of the Memorial project, Niven wrote, a memorial in the middle of downtown Berlin dedicated to the murdered Jews of Europe reflected the centrality of the Holocaust among Nazi crimes, and the uniqueness of the Jewish genocide in history. Niven reflected that the Memorial may represent the "triumph of left-liberal historians", such as Jäckel, over revisionist conservative historians such as Nolte.<sup>82</sup> Niven made clear that Jäckel and Rosh, through the Memorial, expressed an *intentionalist* interpretation of the Holocaust.<sup>83</sup> Subsequent chapters of this thesis will demonstrate that Rosh has spoken and written about the *Mahnmal* in ways that echo Jäckel's emphasis, during the

---

<sup>80</sup> Carrier asked what understanding of history the Memorial underpins. "The meaning of the monument as a contribution to historical understanding thus results from the interaction of artistic and political forms of representation", he wrote about the *Mahnmal*. Carrier, *Holocaust Monuments*, 100.

<sup>81</sup> For Niven's argument that the *Mahnmal* has enhanced public understanding of the Holocaust, see *Facing the Nazi Past*, 197.

<sup>82</sup> *Ibid.*, 218-19.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 219.

*Historikerstreit*, on the unprecedented nature of the Nazi murder of the Jews.<sup>84</sup> One of the two main historiographical schools of thought pertaining to Holocaust history, intentionalism holds that the primal cause of the genocide was Hitler himself. Hitler's desire to murder the Jews of Europe was absolutely central to his worldview, and reason for beginning war, adherents to this school argue.<sup>85</sup> For example, one of the most influential works of the intentionalist school has been Lucy S. Dawidowicz's 1975 *The War Against The Jews*. In it, Dawidowicz argued that "hatred of the Jews was Hitler's central and most compelling belief and that it dominated his thoughts and actions all his life. That obsession led him, very early in his life, to latch on to the mad notion that the 'solution to the Jewish problem' could be achieved only by ... murdering, the Jews. It became his fixed idea, one to which he remained steadfast all his life."<sup>86</sup> According to the intentionalist paradigm, no other victim group of the Nazis was the target of the same comprehensive hatred, and systematic murder that Hitler afforded the Jews. Referring to Jäckel's expressed intentionalist interpretation of Holocaust history, Niven argued that the *Mahnmal* was thus "planned as an aesthetic and commemorative enshrinement of the intentionalist paradigm."<sup>87</sup>

Though the 1989 published appeal of Rosh and Jäckel's group for a memorial in Berlin supports Niven's assessment of the *original* historiographical agenda of the *Mahnmal*'s instigators, I contend that the Memorial eventually came to integrate the

---

<sup>84</sup> See Jäckel, "The Impoverished Practice of Insinuation," in *Forever in the Shadow*, 76, and my descriptions of Rosh's rhetoric in Chapter 3, pages 50-1, and 55, and in Chapter 4, page 70.

<sup>85</sup> The functionalist (also referred to as the "structuralist") approach takes issue with the intentionalist interpretation of the Holocaust. Kershaw explains that the functionalist view concentrates on the "structures" of Nazi rule, and on the "functional" nature of Nazi policy decisions. This view does not hold that the murder of the European Jews was central to Hitler's worldview. Instead, it highlights the way that solutions to the "Jewish problem" spiralled towards genocide. See Kershaw, *The Nazi Dictatorship*, 74.

<sup>86</sup> Lucy S. Dawidowicz, "1984 Introduction to the Tenth Anniversary Edition," in Dawidowicz, *The War Against the Jews, 1933-1945* (New York: Bantam Books, 1986), xxi.

<sup>87</sup> Niven, *Facing the Nazi Past*, 219.

narrative of the Nazi murder of the European Jews into a *broader* history of suffering under the Third Reich than these individuals' original intentionalist interpretation would allow for.<sup>88</sup> Niven published his *Facing the Nazi Past* three years before the *Mahnmal's* construction would be complete, and wrote that the relationship between the Memorial and historiography would depend on the documentation centre that would accompany Eisenman's Field of Stelae.<sup>89</sup> His assessment, therefore, needs to be updated. I argue that, though the Memorial highlights the uniqueness of the Jewish genocide among Nazi crimes, the Memorial-makers' determination that the project not eclipse, but rather be integrated into Germany's existing diverse memorial landscape supports the notion that the *Mahnmal* does *not* aim to commemorate Jewish suffering alone. Furthermore, the composition of the Foundation for the Memorial, its ongoing programme to commemorate non-Jewish victims, and elements of the presentation at the Information Centre, add nuance to what could otherwise be called the Memorial's exclusively intentionalist historiographical presentation.<sup>90</sup> These elements demonstrate that the *Mahnmal*, considered as a whole institution, genuinely strives to integrate memorialization of the Jews murdered during the Holocaust into memorialization of other victims of the Nazis.

Today, many German intellectuals recognize that the Memorial embodies former East and West German memorial precedents in new combination: it conveys the uniqueness of the Jewish genocide among Nazi crimes, but also includes elements of a

---

<sup>88</sup> For the open letter, see: "Aufruf der Bürgerinitiative *Perspektive Berlin* an den Berliner Senat, die Regierungen der Bundesländer, die Bundesregierung," *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 30 January 1989, reprinted in Stavginski, *Das Holocaust-Denkmal*, 309. See my Chapter 4, pages 73-4 for a discussion of this document.

<sup>89</sup> Niven, *Facing the Nazi Past*, 219.

<sup>90</sup> Chapters 4 and 5 discuss these elements in detail.

historically GDR narrative that conflated disparate experiences of persecution in public memorial dedications to *all* victims of fascism. Herf explained how the Holocaust came to persist in West German public memory in his 1997 *Divided Memory*, and his 2004 article “Politics and Memory in West and East Germany since 1961 and Unified Germany since 1990.” Following from his argument that memory of the Jewish genocide took root in the ‘40’s and ‘50’s in West Germany, Herf cited such evidence as Brandt’s *Ostpolitik* of the late 1960’s and early 1970’s,<sup>91</sup> debates during that same time in the West German Bundestag about extending the statute of limitations on the ability to prosecute Nazi crimes, and chancellor Schmidt’s 9 November 1978 speech on the fortieth anniversary of the Nazi anti-Jewish pogrom, in support of his claim that West German politics facilitated public remembrance of the Nazi murder of the Jews.<sup>92</sup>

Similarly, other scholars of FRG memorialization have proven that public, material commemoration of the Jewish genocide in the FRG also expanded with time. Historian Harold Marcuse, for example, pointed to commemorative plaques that municipal authorities in Cologne placed on the sites of destroyed synagogues in the 1950’s, and in Freiburg in the 1960’s, to illustrate the beginnings of this trend.<sup>93</sup> Young cited such work as artist Horst Hoheisel’s 1987 replica of a fountain built in Kassel by a Jewish businessman, and destroyed by Nazis, to explain the nature of “memory work” in

---

<sup>91</sup> Herf wrote that Brandt’s *Ostpolitik* in foreign relations involved reflecting on German war crimes in the East in order to facilitate rapprochement with Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Though Herf conceded that Brandt’s rhetoric was not primarily about the Holocaust, he did illustrate that remembering the Jewish victims of Nazi aggression followed from West German foreign policy during Brandt’s tenure of office. See Herf, “Politics and Memory,” 46 and 52, and *Divided Memory*, 344.

<sup>92</sup> Herf explained that Schmidt’s speech was the “most forthright yet made by a West German chancellor about the Nazi attack on German Jewry and about the failure of the German population to protest that persecution.” See Herf, *Divided Memory*, 346. For his discussion of debates over extending the statute of limitations, see “Politics and Memory,” 43-45.

<sup>93</sup> Harold Marcuse, “West German Strategies for Commemoration,” *Dimensions* 3 (1987): 13.

West Germany in the years before German reunification.<sup>94</sup> Geographer and ethnographer Karen Till has also written much in recent years about the politics of memory and material memorialization in West Berlin before reunification, and in the city post-1990. Though Till argues in her 2005 *The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place* that the *Mahnmal* became understood as a defining site through which Germany's post-unification politics of memory are negotiated, she also reminds us of the West German memory climate at the time of the project's emergence in the late 1980's.<sup>95</sup> Her monograph, along with her earlier studies of such memorial sites as the *Neue Wache*<sup>96</sup> and the German Historical Museum in Berlin,<sup>97</sup> corroborates Herf's position on Kohl's *Erinnerungspolitik*.<sup>98</sup> Herf had argued that chancellor Kohl's insistence that American President Ronald Reagan visit a cemetery near Bitburg in 1985, a place where Waffen-SS soldiers were buried, represented an attempted return to the memorial discourse of Adenauer. Herf described this discourse as one "in which distinctions between perpetrators and victims gave way to reference to vague, unspecified and generalized victims that made no such distinctions."<sup>99</sup> Till wrote that Kohl's November 1993 re-dedication of the *Neue Wache* – a structure that had been dedicated as a memorial to Germany's fallen soldiers of the First World War in 1930, had subsequently served as memorial of honour under the National Socialists, and, most recently, as an anti-fascist

---

<sup>94</sup> Horst Hoheisel, "Negative-Form" *Monument to the Aschrott-Brunnen, 1987*. Kassel, Germany. Photograph of scale model, detail. In *The Art of Memory, Holocaust Memorials in History*, ed. James E. Young (New York: Prestel-Verlag, 1994), plates 16-17.

<sup>95</sup> Karen E. Till, *The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005), 162.

<sup>96</sup> See Till, "Staging the Past: Landscape Designs, Cultural Identity and *Erinnerungspolitik* at Berlin's *Neue Wache*," *Ecumene* 6, no. 3 (1999): 251-283.

<sup>97</sup> Till, "Re-imagining National Identity: 'Chapters of Life' at the German Historical Museum in Berlin," in *Textures of Place: Exploring Humanist Geographies*, ed. Paul C. Adams et al. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2001), 273-299.

<sup>98</sup> Till defines this term as "West German memory politics." See Till, "Staging the Past," 251.

<sup>99</sup> Herf, "Politics and Memory," 56, and Hartman, "Introduction, 1985," in Hartman, ed., *Bitburg in Moral and Political Perspective*, 4.

site of memory under the communist regime of the GDR – sparked considerable debate in the national media in 1992-3 over how the memorial conflated victims’ identities.<sup>100</sup> A plaque at its entrance dedicated the memorial to the victims of two World Wars and two dictatorships.<sup>101</sup> Members of the Social Democratic opposition party, Till explained, protested that neither the Central Council of the Jews in Germany nor the Central Council of German Sinti and Roma, neither the Victims of Euthanasia-Politics nor the Persecuted Homosexuals had the opportunity to discuss the project with the Federal Government.<sup>102</sup> Ignatz Bubis, then President of the Central Council of the Jews in Germany, protested that the *Neue Wache* seemed to elevate the suffering of non-Jewish Germans above that of the Jews. Interestingly, on 8 May 1985,<sup>103</sup> FRG President Richard von Weizsäcker had delivered a speech in which he listed the dead “of the war and the tyranny” that West Germans mourned on that anniversary, and began this list with “the six million Jews who were murdered in German concentration camps.”<sup>104</sup> In a move that recalled Weizsäcker’s ranking, Kohl promised a future memorial dedicated exclusively to the Jews murdered under the Third Reich.<sup>105</sup>

Insofar as the *Mahnmal* sanctions the type of focus on the singularity of the Nazi murder of the Jews that emerged in the FRG, it refutes the characteristically East German trope that marginalized Jewish victims in public memorial projects. At the same time,

---

<sup>100</sup> Till, “Staging the Past,” 257-268.

<sup>101</sup> *Ibid.*, 262.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 266.

<sup>103</sup> Weizsäcker delivered this speech three days after Reagan’s wreath-laying visit at Bitburg, on the fortieth anniversary of the end of the war in Europe.

<sup>104</sup> After commemoration of the murdered Jews, von Weizsäcker called for the remembrance of Soviet and Polish victims, German soldiers and civilians, Sinti and Roma, homosexuals, mentally ill and those who the Nazis murdered for their religious or political beliefs, as well as members of the German resistance and Communists. See “Speech by Richard von Weizsäcker, President of the Federal Republic of Germany, in the Bundestag during the Ceremony Commemorating the 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the End of the War in Europe and of National Socialist Tyranny, May 8, 1985,” in Hartman, ed., *Bitburg in Moral and Political Perspective*, 263.

<sup>105</sup> Till, “Staging the Past,” 266 and Niven, *Facing the Nazi Past*, 195.



however, the Foundation for the Memorial's expressed dedication to also commemorating the "other" victims of Nazi violence recalls elements of GDR memorial precedents – and thus mitigates an exclusive focus on Jewish victimhood - in calling for fair commemoration of all victim groups.<sup>106</sup> While West German foreign policy increasingly reinforced the memory of the Holocaust, Herf wrote, "East German foreign policy and its drive for recognition led away from that memory."<sup>107</sup> Until the end of the regime in 1989, Ulbricht and his successor Honecker forged relations with the Arab states, the PLO and Yasser Arafat.<sup>108</sup> "Antifascism" defined an East German outlook not only on the Nazi past, but also on the contemporary Federal Republic, wrote Moeller. It was East Germans' official understanding of history, Moeller wrote, that in the FRG one form of fascism had merely replaced another. In this view, West Germany was the home of former Nazis, while the GDR was the home of those who had resisted fascism, and been its victims.<sup>109</sup> From the GDR's beginnings, therefore, ideological and political forces assured that the Jews murdered by the Nazis in the Soviet Union would *not*, in any way, be commemorated separately from the millions of Soviets who died during WWII. All Jewish victims, Young concluded in his 1994 *The Art of Memory: Holocaust Memorials in History*, "would be remembered as having been martyred in the name of the Soviet motherland during what was called the 'Great Patriotic War.'"<sup>110</sup> A Soviet war memorial in Berlin's Treptower Park, for example, completed in 1949, featured a thirty-eight foot tall figure of a soldier who holds a sword in one hand, cradles a small child in

---

<sup>106</sup> German Bundestag, *Resolution*, section 1.5.

<sup>107</sup> Herf, "Politics and Memory," 48.

<sup>108</sup> *Ibid.*, 50.

<sup>109</sup> Moeller, *War Stories*, 18.

<sup>110</sup> Young, "The Art of Memory: Holocaust Memorials in History," in Young, ed., *The Art of Memory*, 27.

the other, and tramples on a swastika.<sup>111</sup> Such memorials celebrated the working class for its courage, and consoled it for its victimization at the hands of “Hitler Fascists.”<sup>112</sup> In another example, the burial of the Jewish genocide under general Soviet suffering was incredibly apparent at the site of the Buchenwald concentration camp near Weimar, Germany, even in the years following German reunification, argued historian Claudia Koonz. Her article, “Germany’s Buchenwald: Whose Shrine? Whose Memory?” in Young’s 1994 study explained that the Communist GDR government had transformed the site of mass murder into a “celebration of antifascism.”<sup>113</sup> In 1991, Koonz wrote, a sign at the entrance to the Buchenwald Museum noted only that “Hitler Fascists” had interred Soviet prisoners of war at that site, and that at a nearby stable 8,483 Soviet POWs were shot in the head.<sup>114</sup> Not only did the Communist rhetoric disallow memorialization of murdered Jews, it did the same for religious dissidents of the Nazis, and persecuted ethnic groups.<sup>115</sup>

The *Mahnmal*’s commitment to ensuring the appropriate commemoration of *all* victims of Nazism recalls such a characteristically GDR “antifascist” memorial trope, while the institution’s primary focus on the Jewish genocide reinforces a memorial tradition that emerged in the FRG on the *uniqueness* of the Jewish genocide among Nazi crimes. During the Memorial’s seventeen-year genesis, and in its first year since completion, this combination of German memorial precedents has found reflection in the debates about the *Mahnmal*, as well as in the founding tenets of the institution and the

---

<sup>111</sup> This memorial commemorates the 20,000 Soviet soldiers that fell in the battle of Berlin in April and May 1945. See Brian Ladd, *The Ghosts of Berlin* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997), 194.

<sup>112</sup> Mary Nolan, “The Politics of Memory in the Berlin Republic.” *Radical History Review* 81 (Fall 2001): 113.

<sup>113</sup> Claudia Koonz, “Germany’s Buchenwald: Whose Shrine? Whose Memory?” in Young, ed., *The Art of Memory*, 112.

<sup>114</sup> *Ibid.*, 117.

<sup>115</sup> *Ibid.*, 112.

expressed aims of its governing body.<sup>116</sup> The institution's historiographical approach has also been manifest in the actual presentation at the *Mahmmal*'s Information Centre, and in the ongoing work of the Foundation for the Memorial. It is for these reasons that I argue in this thesis that the *Mahmmal* represents a significant, and concerted attempt to integrate public memorialization of the European Jews murdered during the Holocaust with other memorial sites in Germany, and with other histories of suffering under National Socialism. My point of view is at odds with much of what scholars have written in English on the Memorial. As most such literature was published before the *Mahmmal*'s official dedication,<sup>117</sup> I aim in this thesis not only to challenge existing interpretations of the Memorial, but also to update them, as I have benefited from being able to study the functioning institution *after* its completion.

Scholarship on the Memorial largely agrees with Till's assertion that the *Mahmmal* became understood as a defining site through which Germany's post-unification politics of memory were negotiated.<sup>118</sup> Caroline Wiedmer, for example, wrote in her 1999 *The Claims of Memory: Representations of the Holocaust in Contemporary Germany and France* that the international pressure for an appropriate memorial was immense, especially since Germany had lost its "protected" status as a divided nation. Wiedmer, like Till, took the view that opinions expressed during the debate about the Memorial reflected how the new German nation wanted to be understood, and how they wanted to represent their role in the ongoing *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*.<sup>119</sup> Niven's

---

<sup>116</sup> See German Bundestag, *Resolution*, section 1.5, "The Foundation shall ensure that all victims of the Nazi regime are remembered and honoured appropriately."

<sup>117</sup> The Memorial's official dedication occurred approximately fourteen months prior to my time of writing.

<sup>118</sup> Till, *The New Berlin*, 162.

<sup>119</sup> C.A. Wiedmer, *The Claims of Memory: Representations of the Holocaust in Contemporary Germany and France* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999), 142.

belief that the *Mahmmal* has helped Germans to shape a new perspective on the past, and to confront that past more openly than in the years before unification<sup>120</sup> echoes Rudy Koshar's argument that there has been a "dilation" of memory in contemporary Germany,<sup>121</sup> and bears resemblance to Young's perspective that the completed *Mahmmal* will continue to encourage ongoing memorialization on the part of Germans.<sup>122</sup> In fact, though Young initially feared the *Mahmmal*'s completion would mark the end of "Germany's Holocaust memory-work," his thinking has since changed: a few weeks after the Memorial's official dedication, he wrote about the persistence of the question, "what will Germany's national Holocaust narrative be?" The question of the Memorial's historical content and interpretation, Young predicted, will continue to evoke dynamic debate.<sup>123</sup>

Indeed, interpretations of the *Mahmmal* have focused squarely on the institution's historiographical agenda, and have underscored the flaws inherent in, and resulting from, that agenda. Just as did Niven's study, such work has most often operated from the understanding that the *only* historical interpretation of the Holocaust that the *Mahmmal* propagates is that of the unique nature of the Jewish genocide.<sup>124</sup> This literature has implied that Germany's continued public transmission of that view of history does not offer an appropriate route for identity construction in Berlin of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. For example, in his 1997 *The Ghosts of Berlin: Confronting German History in the Urban Landscape*, historian Brian Ladd highlighted what he referred to as the "unseemly

---

<sup>120</sup> Niven, *Facing the Nazi Past*, 1. Niven wrote that, in united Germany, "the Germans set about debating the Nazi past as never before."

<sup>121</sup> Koshar, *From Monuments to Traces*,

<sup>122</sup> Young, [jeyoung@english.umass.edu](mailto:jeyoung@english.umass.edu) "MfG 7: Young on Berlin's New *Mahmmal*," 01 June 2005, <http://www.h-net.org/~german/>, paragraph 1 (accessed 1 June 2005).

<sup>123</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>124</sup> Niven, *Facing the Nazi Past*, 218-19.

squabble,” and the “ugly debate” among representatives of different victim groups in his description of the *Mahnmal* project as one that enshrined a hierarchy of the victims of Nazism, and threatened the specter of a landscape of segregated victims’ memorials.<sup>125</sup> Similarly, Professor of German and Comparative Literature Dagmar Barnouw vehemently criticized the *Mahnmal* project – most often by attacking the actions and rhetoric of Lea Rosh - in her 2005 *The War in the Empty Air: Victims, Perpetrators and Postwar Germans*. Barnouw wrote that Rosh’s private interest group, *Perspektive Berlin*, used all the “familiar strategies of generalizing, moralizing, and emotionalizing in the attacks on German...insufficient mourning of Jewish victims.”<sup>126</sup> At the *Mahnmal*’s Information Centre, a voice reads continuously the names and short biographies of the known 3.5 million Jews that the Nazis killed, Barnouw wrote. At the same time, however, the representatives of Sinti and Roma, homosexuals, Poles, Russian POWs and non-Jewish Germans who were victims of the Nazis wait for their own memorials, she lamented. “I wish there could have been one simple, silent monument in memory of *all* the dead of WWII in the center of the European city of Berlin”, she wrote.<sup>127</sup> Barnouw’s view resembled historian Mary Nolan’s assessment in 2001 of disparate groups’ competing statements of intent for the *Mahnmal*. The Memorial project, Nolan had concluded, revealed that the Berlin Republic had *not* overcome divided memories of Jews and Germans, of victims and perpetrators. Instead, the capital had only embodied these “divided memories” in new commemorative forms. The effect of moving the German capital back to Berlin was an increase in the centrality of the victims of Nazism and the

---

<sup>125</sup> Ladd, *The Ghosts of Berlin*, 169.

<sup>126</sup> Dagmar Barnouw, *The War in the Empty Air: Victims, Perpetrators and Postwar Germans* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 202.

<sup>127</sup> *Ibid.*, 203-4.

awareness of the loss to Germany represented by their murder, she continued. While a representation of the resultant void in German culture is at Berlin's center, it is impossible to construct a "coherent historical narrative and commemorative culture" in the capital, Nolan asserted.<sup>128</sup> Niven echoed Nolan, Barnouw and Ladd's concern about how the *Mahnmal* conveys the stories of non-Jewish victims of the Nazis. The Memorial is to be dedicated to "the most terrible atrocity, yet in being such it excludes and may play down other atrocities", he stated. He mentions some critics' belief that Germans want only to remember the murdered Jews so that they can "continue to overlook" the murdered Sinti and Roma, and homosexuals. The *Mahnmal* could give memory of the Holocaust a central status, Niven speculated. Conversely, he added, the central Memorial could detract from regional centers of memory.<sup>129</sup>

In this thesis, I address the concerns that Niven raised in his 2002 study. Having studied the Memorial a year after its official dedication, I have been able to take stock of the whole institution – including the debates that marked its production, the ceremony of its dedication, the physical site and its supporting literature, and the Foundation for the Memorial's ongoing programme. It is my contention that the *Mahnmal* determinedly attempts to integrate a narrative of Jewish victimhood under the Third Reich with the histories of other victim groups, and that the institution works to integrate the commemoration of Nazism's victims into the fabric of the capital and a united Germany.

The following chapter explains the latter of these two phenomena. It begins by demonstrating that the Memorial-makers publicly stressed the *Mahnmal*'s genuine and organic integration of public Holocaust memorialization into Berlin, and made

---

<sup>128</sup> Nolan, "The Politics of Memory," 127-8.

<sup>129</sup> Niven, *Facing the Nazi Past*, 196.

integration salient in ascribing to the Memorial an important role in shaping the identity of the new German nation.

### Chapter Three: The *Mahmmal* and Twenty-First Century Germany: A Question of Identity

Before setting out for my first visit to the *Mahmmal* last August, I picked up some tourist brochures from our hostel lobby to peruse over breakfast. “German history and Jewish history are woven inextricably together in Berlin” began a pamphlet from a consortium of the city’s Jewish institutions, entitled, simply, “Jewish Berlin.” It described that many of the city’s sites “testify” to Jewish life, as well as bear witness to its destruction.<sup>130</sup> Another brochure explained that Berlin became “the mover and shaker” of Europe as a result of the dramatic change it saw in the course of the twentieth century – change that left imprints on the cityscape. Areas of the former Berlin Wall death-strip now make up a “futuristically charged city centre,” this *Insider Tour* brochure continued, listing numerous sites of interest surrounding Potsdamer Platz (including the *Mahmmal*) that fill this once-wasteland and evoke the breakneck pace of the 1920’s. The tour company placed Berlin at the “crossroads” of the past, present, and future, and implied that the tourist could gain special insight into the city’s dynamic past by traversing its landscape.<sup>131</sup> The last pamphlet I consulted that morning related historical memory and the city’s spaces in a very similar way, promising to tell stories of Nazi Berlin through an afternoon’s walking tour of select locations in the *Mitte* district.<sup>132</sup>

Though their aim is clearly to advertise, these pamphlets also indicate the human proclivity for attaching memory to physical sites – a phenomenon to which many besides tour guide companies have responded powerfully. Artist Shimon Attie explained his 1991-1993 Berlin installation “The Writing on the Wall,” for example, as a project that

---

<sup>130</sup> Jewish Museum Berlin *et al*, *Jewish Berlin* (English pamphlet), edited by Martina Dillmann and Judith Prokasky (Berlin: 2005), 3.

<sup>131</sup> Insider Tour, *The Insider Guide : Berlin* (English pamphlet), (Berlin: 2005), 1.

<sup>132</sup> Brewer’s Berlin Tours, *Walking Tours in English* (pamphlet), (Berlin: 2005), 2.



aimed to reconstruct the linkages between past events and actual places in *Mitte* that the passage of time had hidden. “I am most interested in the relationship between place, memory and identity and how this relationship might be distilled and expressed through visual and aesthetic means,” reads Attie’s preface to a catalogue of his European installations.<sup>133</sup> Attie’s projections of archival photographs onto building facades in the city’s *Scheuenviertel* district involved, literally, superimposing images of the past on places in the present. My last chapters’ discussion of the work of scholars such as Rudy Koshar, Gavriel Rosenfeld and James Young demonstrates that there is a substantial body of *academic* work on the power of grounding historical memory in material sites in Germany, as well. Indeed, even subsequent to great political, economic and material change, argues sociologist Jennifer Jordan’s recent analysis of collective memory in postwar Berlin, one of the places where we feel that traces of the past persist is in such iconic locales in the urban topography.<sup>134</sup> As if testaments to Jordan’s argument, and enticed by the last tourist brochure I consulted, two days later my companion and I made a return trip to the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe as part of a “Third Reich Walking Tour.”<sup>135</sup> Our guide first led us around such places as the Ottoman-style New Synagogue, and the Old Jewish Cemetery on Große Hamburger Straße. He took us to the site of the Nazi mass book burning at *Bebel Platz* and to the memorial to the victims of war and dictatorship at the *Neue Wache*, and then led us to the *Mahnmal*. We dispersed through the Field of Stelae for approximately ten minutes, and followed this respite with

---

<sup>133</sup> Shimon Attie, *Sites Unseen: European Projects: Installations and Photographs and The Writing on the Wall: Projections in Berlin’s Jewish Quarter*, 9-12 (Heidelberg: Edition Braus, 1994), 9.

<sup>134</sup> Jennifer Jordan, “A Matter of Time: Examining Collective Memory in Historical Perspective in Postwar Berlin,” *Journal of Historical Sociology* 18, no.1/2 (March/June 2005): 37.

<sup>135</sup> Brewer’s Berlin Tours, *Third Reich Walking Tour* (English, guided, approximately 5 hours), Berlin: 7 August 2005.

stops at the site of the infamous *Führerbunker* (adjacent to the *Mahnmal*, now the parking lot of an apartment building), and the formidable complex on Wilhelmstraße built to house *Reichsmarschall* Hermann Goring's Air Ministry. Our tour concluded at the *Topography of Terror* installation at the site of the former *Gestapo* headquarters.<sup>136</sup>

Through this design, *Brewer's Berlin Tours* offered us not only a definite way of seeing the urban landscape, but also a clear historical and political frame of reference for our visit to the *Mahnmal*. Of course, that my companion and I went to Berlin as students of history with this specific research project in mind only further shaped and limited the way we viewed space in the city.<sup>137</sup> I nonetheless contend that one needs neither to participate in such a guided tour, nor to be actively researching public history of the Holocaust in Berlin, to recognize that the space the *Mahnmal* occupies possesses clear political and historical import.

Recall the image of the young woman sitting on the stele (figure 3). She gazes northwest: immediately across Behrenstraße, the *Mahnmal's* northernmost border, she faces the massive construction site of the new American Embassy on Pariser Platz, set to open in the spring of 2008.<sup>138</sup> From her position, she would also easily be able to see the Brandenburg Gate, located directly behind this construction site. If she were to cast her gaze slightly further northwest, over the trees that line the west side of Ebertstraße, she

---

<sup>136</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>137</sup> In his study of the *Mahnmal*, Joel McKim fears constructing a misweighted analysis that argues for the monumentality of its space simply because he chose it as his sole object of study from the city's "many offerings." He resolves this anxiety only by assuring his reader that the cityscape genuinely affected him, and that he writes in the spirit of a critical *flâneur*. I maintain that the landmarks surrounding the Memorial and the information in the Foundation's publications unmistakably indicate the site's significance to its visitor, and therefore render such an apology unnecessary. See Joel McKim, *Filling in the Voids: Berlin's "Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe"* (M.A. Thesis, Department of Communications, Concordia University, 2003), 16.

<sup>138</sup> *United States Diplomatic Mission to Germany*, "About the New Embassy Building," [http://berlin.usembassy.gov/germany/new\\_embassy.html](http://berlin.usembassy.gov/germany/new_embassy.html) (accessed 12 March 2006).

would see the glass cupola that caps the newly refurbished Reichstag.<sup>139</sup> If our subject were to re-orient her sitting position ninety, and then a full 180 degrees to her right, she would face two streets that form the eastern, and southern boundaries of the Memorial, respectively. Built in 2004-2005 following decisions reached by the Berlin *Mitte* District Administration in 1998 and 1999, they bear the names of two Jewish women who experienced Nazi persecution: Cora Berliner and Hannah Arendt.<sup>140</sup> Finally, if this young woman were to rotate another ninety degrees to the right, she would face the historic Tiergarten, and the high-rises at the modern financial and business hub of Potsdamer Platz that dominate the skyline to the immediate southwest. It is little wonder that, in her most recent study of place and memory in Berlin, lecturer in geography Karen Till refers to the *Mahnmal* as part of the city's "memory district." Till writes of this district as delineated by the Memorial, Libeskind's famous Jewish Museum, and the pieces of the Berlin Wall that remain at Potsdamer Platz, the nearby Checkpoint Charlie, and the *Topography of Terror*.<sup>141</sup>

As the Memorial abuts these important landmarks, it seems unlikely that even the uninitiated visitor would fail to appreciate the importance of this piece of real estate in the middle of downtown Berlin. In the event that she were to, though, two of the Foundation for the Memorial's publications clearly teach of the significance of the *Mahnmal*'s location. The first is the Foundation's free tourist brochure, available in multiple languages to every visitor to the site.<sup>142</sup> This site - "at the heart of Berlin and in

---

<sup>139</sup> British architect Lord Norman Foster designed this renovation, which took place between 1995 and 1999. The first Bundestag meeting in this "new Reichstag" occurred on 19 April, 1999. *Deutscher Bundestag, Outlooks: Berlin Panorama – View from the Cupola*, (English pamphlet), (Berlin: 2005).

<sup>140</sup> Schlusche, "A Memorial is Built" in FMMJE, *Materials*, 27.

<sup>141</sup> Till, *The New Berlin*, 7.

<sup>142</sup> This brochure, also available for downloading from the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe website, is available in fourteen languages, including Arab, Japanese, Polish and Hebrew. See FMMJE,

the vicinity of embassies, cultural institutions, business and residential premises, as well as the Tiergarten, expresses the memorial's public character" - this brochure states. This description evokes a politically, culturally, economically and socially vibrant *Mitte*, and very obviously cites the *physical position* the Memorial occupies within Berlin's city centre to explain its *public character*. "(The *Mahnmal*'s) integration into the historic urban space and the parliament and government district", it continues, "highlights the fact that the memorial is directed towards the civil society." This information appears in the "Frequently Asked Questions" portion of the pamphlet, in response to the question: "why was the memorial built in this location?" This format conveys to the visitor a sense that the Memorial-makers deliberately chose this exact site for the Memorial because its historic character and current dynamism agrees with their specific functional goals for the project.<sup>143</sup> The Federal Government has, according to this pamphlet, most successfully integrated the *Mahnmal* into the richly symbolic public space of Berlin *Mitte*.

To be sure, the Foundation for the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe neither fabricates, nor grossly over-exaggerates the centrality and historical significance of the *Mahnmal*'s site. This location's history does extend well beyond that which is immediately apparent to the visitor. The Foundation for the Memorial showcases this meaning in a conspicuous way in a second piece of tourist literature: its 183-page interpretive guide to the *Mahnmal*. This book stresses even more explicitly for its reader than does the free visitor's pamphlet the relationship between place, historical memory and the *Mahnmal*'s identity. *Materials on the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe*

---

*Information* (English pamphlet), and FMMJE, *Home*, "Flyers to Download," <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en> (accessed 16 June 2005). The visitor can obtain this pamphlet at a security/coat check facility near the entrance to the Information Centre, but still at street-level, in the Field of Stelae's southeast corner.

<sup>143</sup> FMMJE, *Information* (English pamphlet).

is available for purchase at a reasonable cost, and is easily found in abundant supply in German and English translations at the *Mahnmal*'s bookshop. Its readers will find a summary history of the Memorial site in the article "A Memorial is Built: History, Planning and Architectural Context," by Gunter Schlusche, coordinator for planning and construction of the *Mahnmal* since 1996.

Schlusche writes that the Memorial's location comprises part of the former "Ministry Gardens," an area defined in 1688 as an extension of medieval Berlin. Today's Memorial stands on two plots of land in particular – numbers 72 and 73 Wilhelmstraße. These plots housed members of the Prussian royal family until 1918, after which time they served such purposes as the office and home of the Reich President. During the Third Reich, Schlusche writes, they were home to the office villa of Reich's Propaganda Minister Joseph Goebbels, and the office of the Reich's Foreign Minister Joachim von Ribbentrop (see historic and contemporary maps of the *Mahnmal* and surrounding area, figures 17 and 18).<sup>144</sup> Severely bomb-damaged during the War, the government of the German Democratic Republic demolished these ruined buildings only in 1961 when construction began on the Berlin Wall. The site, at that time, then became part of the so-called "deathstrip."<sup>145</sup>

Given Schlusche's role as coordinator for planning and construction, it is not surprising that his narrative, complemented with numerous maps of the historic and current layout of the site, emphasizes the Memorial's actual location, and the evolution of

---

<sup>144</sup> Schlusche, "A Memorial is Built" in FMMJE, *Materials*, 15-19.

<sup>145</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

its physical form.<sup>146</sup> The photographs and maps that Schlusche includes underscore his theme of the evolution of the site through time. They include a 2004 aerial photograph of the construction site, a detail of a Berlin city map of 1748, as well as a detail of a 1940 map superimposed on a 1986 one. This overlay of representations of the Berlin of the past is reminiscent of Attie's photo projections; Schlusche also uses a historical map of the Memorial's current layout that includes highlighted bunker configurations. He finishes his article by reflecting on the contemporary and future relationship between the site's location, character and function in a passage that closely resembles the message in the Foundation for the Memorial's free visitor brochure. "The formal features and references of the memorial can unfold in a special manner in the memorial's chosen location", he writes. He predicts that the Memorial's "integration into the network of spaces, buildings and levels of meaning in the centre of Berlin" will allow for a space for remembrance with numerous connotations. Finally, he closes his article with the hope that future interpretations and meanings of the Memorial will "develop in concert with the changing urban environment."<sup>147</sup>

The Foundation's interpretive guide and its free brochure work in concert to impress the notion that there is a very real relationship between the *Mahnmal*'s physical location and its identity. Both read like testimonials to the effective integration of this memorial into Berlin's landscape. The very fact that the Foundation presses this theme is noteworthy: the Memorial's governing body clearly wants to teach its visitors that the site is of historic and political significance. Moreover, both sources evince the Foundation's

---

<sup>146</sup> *Ibid.*, aerial photograph of the construction site (page 14), detail of a Berlin city map of 1748 (16), detail of a 1940 map superimposed on a 1986 map (17), and a map of the Memorial's current layout including highlighted historical bunker configurations (18).

<sup>147</sup> *Ibid.*, 28-29.

desire to link the Memorial's character and function to the physical landscape of historic and contemporary Berlin – they imply that the Federal Government has implanted and integrated public Holocaust memorialization into the middle of the nation's capital in a natural, organic and genuine way.

This is the sense of the *Mahnmal*'s identity that the Foundation for the Memorial wants to convey to the public. Speeches at the Memorial's 10 May 2005 ceremony of dedication, the text of which the Foundation posted on its website shortly after the event, underlined the nuances of that constructed identity.<sup>148</sup> Five individuals spoke at the ceremony, and they expressed new variations on the theme of the *Mahnmal*'s organic integration into *Mitte*'s symbolic public space.<sup>149</sup> For them, the completed *Mahnmal* confirmed a multifaceted new identity for the German nation.

Wolfgang Thierse delivered the ceremony's first address. He focussed attention on the moment of the *Mahnmal*'s dedication by opening with a dramatic description of the gravity of the occasion. "Two days ago, on 8 May, the Federal Republic of Germany commemorated the end of the war and the liberation of our country and continent from Hitler's barbarism", he stated. It is now the Memorial's job, he continued, to remind us today of the worst crime of Nazi Germany: the attempt to murder an entire people.<sup>150</sup>

With these words, Thierse succinctly and plainly named the Memorial's crucial historical referent. He then focused on what the *Mahnmal* revealed about *contemporary*

---

<sup>148</sup> In this section, I use these speeches to illustrate the way that the Foundation for the Memorial publicly expresses the *Mahnmal*'s identity and role. It is important to note, however, that the ceremony of the Memorial's dedication was not freely accessible to the public. Rather, the Foundation's website reports that only 1200 journalists, as well as national and international invited guests were permitted access to this ceremony. This chapter will discuss the ceremony in greater detail, below. See FMMJE, *History*, "Chronology" <http://www.holocaust-mahnmal.de/en/thememorial/history/chronology/?highlight=chronology> (accessed 21 May 2006).

<sup>149</sup> FMMJE, "The ceremony of the Foundation on 10 May," (Berlin: English Press Release, 2005).

<sup>150</sup> Thierse, speech at *Mahnmal* opening, paragraphs 1 and 2.

Germany, explaining with absolute clarity his concept of the contribution of the *Mahnmal* – a key turning point for Germany realized in the symbolic centre of Berlin - and its role as signalling a new identity for the nation. The Memorial, he explained, reflected a moment of dramatic change for Germany. Though it owed its creation to a decision made “at the highest possible level in this nation: a decision by the German Bundestag”, Thierse reminded that the German people agitated for this Memorial, as well. Lea Rosh’s citizens’ initiative for a central memorial to the European Jews murdered under the Nazi regime, Thierse stated, “sprang from the very centre of our society, and pressed forward with unwavering engagement down to today.”<sup>151</sup> The decision for the creation of a Memorial in Berlin was one of the last that the Bundestag made in Bonn, before its return to the capital of newly unified Germany, Berlin, and its renovated Reichstag, Thierse reminded. Of the momentous nature of this decision, he states that it was the “first joint project of memory in a reunited Germany and the avowal of faith that this united Germany acknowledges its history: this Memorial *in the centre of its capital* recalls the greatest crime in its history.”<sup>152</sup> Emphasizing the symbolism of the *Mahnmal*’s location and identifying the Berlin of the Third Reich as the nerve centre of the Nazi regime, Thierse reiterated that it is “in the centre of that city” where the Federal Republic has located this unique Memorial. There, it marks a place from which individuals conceived, planned organized and administered the systematic killing of millions.<sup>153</sup> Calling up the Memorial site’s symbolic value to explain his statement about the *Mahnmal*’s liminality, Thierse cited a comment made by James Young. As a member of the five-person *Findungskommission* that oversaw the artistic competition for the *Mahnmal*’s design,

---

<sup>151</sup> *Ibid.*, paragraph 4.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, paragraph 10, emphasis added.

<sup>153</sup> *Ibid.*, paragraph 12.



Young had remarked that Germany's taking on of the "experiment" of commemorating its own crimes - on its own soil, "in the geographic centre of its capital" - rendered it unique among nations. This project was, Thierse dramatically stated, a task "at the very boundary of what is possible for a society."<sup>154</sup> According to the Bundestag President's address, the *Mahnmal* marked an exciting turning point for the nation: its final realization constituted the attainment of a near-impossible task, not just for Germany, but for any country. As such, in Thierse's expression, it signalled an entirely new identity for the country.

In varying degrees, and in ways similar to those of Thierse, Spiegel, Eisenman, van der Linden and Rosh reinforced Thierse's expressed concepts of the Memorial as constituting a turning point for the country, and thus signalling a new sense of Germany's identity. Of how the *Mahnmal* represents the very real attainment of a new benchmark for Holocaust memory in Germany, Spiegel reinforced Thierse's notion that, though the Federal Government endorsed this project, the push for this endorsement had even deeper roots in German society. He stated how impressed he had been by the Bundestag's historic decision to establish the Memorial and to engage in a long-term commitment to preserving the memory of the crimes Germans committed during the Second World War, as well as expressing his respect for the "tenacity and passion" with which those who conceived of the *Mahnmal* and those involved in its planning and genesis worked in the "struggle against forgetting."<sup>155</sup>

Also focusing on the present, Eisenman explained that, from the very *moment* of its dedication onward, the *Mahnmal* would allow future generations to reflect freely on

---

<sup>154</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>155</sup> Spiegel, speech at *Mahnmal* opening, paragraph 4.

the meaning of remembering the Holocaust.<sup>156</sup> Sabina van der Linden emphasized the turning point that the Memorial's completion represented for memory, and for Germany itself. "Not even in my wildest dreams could I have dreamed of this extraordinary day", she began her emotional address. A Holocaust survivor, she explained how that very day marked the end of many years of controversy, public dispute and debate over the Memorial in Germany. This day, she continued, allowed for a wholly new perspective from which to face the future, "confident in the triumph of the human spirit over brute force."<sup>157</sup>

Lea Rosh, the final speaker of the *Mahnmal*'s dedication ceremony, delivered an address that put the themes of all of the speakers in sharp focus. On the symbolic significance of the *Mahnmal*'s location and on how the realization of the project at this site constituted a crucially important precedent for Germany, she was unequivocal. "Nowhere to date on this planet has a people recognized its greatest crime, making it forever visible in the centre of its capital, so clearly and unmistakably honouring the memory of those it murdered." On how the Memorial's dedication signalled a new Germany, she was even more explicit. "Now", she quoted her husband Jakob Schulze-Rohr, "it is easier to live in this country."<sup>158</sup>

In her short chapter in the Foundation's official interpretive guide to the Memorial, Rosh had reflected on just how significant an achievement the *Mahnmal*'s completion was. Throughout the long Memorial-making process, she had written, her citizens' initiative had wanted to remember the crime, to honour the memory of the dead, and to "prevent Germany from simply getting down to the business of reunification,

---

<sup>156</sup> Eisenman, speech at *Mahnmal* opening, paragraph 1.

<sup>157</sup> Van der Linden, speech at *Mahnmal* opening, paragraphs 1 and 7.

<sup>158</sup> Rosh, speech at *Mahnmal* opening, paragraph 16.

rebuilding, affluence – as if nothing had happened.”<sup>159</sup> I contend that the *Mahnmal*'s dedication ceremony unmistakably indicates that Germany's Federal Government incorporates Holocaust commemoration - in the form of the *Mahnmal* project - into what Rosh referred to as the “business” of national reunification and rebuilding.

Though Rosh used the most dramatic rhetoric of any of the ceremony's speakers, each one of them spoke of the Memorial's dedication as a seminal moment for public Holocaust memorialization in Germany. I also believe that the *Mahnmal* constitutes a genuinely important addition to the *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, and that the Memorial's inauguration did, indeed, mark a crucial moment for public memory in Germany. My argument rests on assessment of what this moment reveals about the Federal Government's determination to incorporate public Holocaust remembrance physically into the geographic centre of Berlin, and symbolically into the fabric of today's Germany. We have seen that the Foundation's tourist literature highlights the importance of the Memorial's location, and that the speakers at the *Mahnmal*'s dedication called on that site's symbolic significance in explaining how the Memorial signalled a new national identity. Further analysis of the ceremony of dedication and its associated events reveals that the Foundation for the Memorial used the *Mahnmal* as an anchor for new German national identity by publicly conveying that commemoration of Jewish victims occurred under the auspices of the German state. I do *not* intend to imply that the Federal Government exploited Holocaust remembrance for the political purpose of state building. Rather, I argue that the government and the Foundation for the Memorial determinedly attempted to integrate memorialization of the murder of the European Jews into the heart of the capital and into a network of memorial sites in Germany. Media events prior to

---

<sup>159</sup> Rosh, “From Three to Four Years, Into Seventeen,” in FMMJE, *Materials*, 9.

the dedication, and the full programme of the ceremony evince how the Federal Government and the Foundation for the Memorial made attempts to convey that sense of integration to the public.

Three official press events preceded the 10 May inauguration, and the Press Office of the Bundestag made all arrangements for media representatives' attendance at, and accreditation for, these events.<sup>160</sup> The first of these, a press briefing on the exhibition in the *Mahnmal's* Information Centre, occurred on 6 May 2005. At the Representative Office of the Rhineland-Palatinate adjacent to the Field of Stelae, and in German only, historians, the museum educator and exhibition designer explained the concept of the exhibition and its contents to accredited media organizations.<sup>161</sup> Staff from the Foundation for the Memorial answered questions and provided further explanations in English after the event, and distributed English press kits to these media representatives. Though the Press Office allowed no possibility to film or take photographs, it allotted television teams and photographers time to do so in the Information Centre on the morning of 9 May, and scheduled a press conference with Thierse and Eisenman at the Office of the Federal Government, *Presse-und Informationsamt*, on the afternoon of the same day.<sup>162</sup> That this conference included only Eisenman and Thierse, the then-President of the Bundestag and Chairperson of the Foundation for the Memorial, created

---

<sup>160</sup> FMMJE, "Inauguration of the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe in Berlin, 10 May 2005" (Berlin: English Press Release, 30 March 2005), 1.

<sup>161</sup> The historians Dr. Ulrich Baumann, Dr. Eva Brucker and Dr. Jürgen Lillteicher work with Executive Director and researcher Uwe Neumärker at the Foundation's Executive Office. In cooperation with exhibition designers, they produced the Information Centre's exhibition of photographic and text material. Among other responsibilities, Lillteicher has worked since 2002 with the Foundation and Yad Vashem on the research and presentation of Holocaust victims' biographies in the *Mahnmal's* "Room of Names." See FMMJE, *Foundation: Executive Office*, "Staff" <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/thememorial/foundation/executiveoffice/staff/?highlight=baumann> (accessed 21 May 2006), "Authors," in *Materials*, 176, and Toby Axelrod, "Memories Carved in Stone," *The Jewish Week* (13 May 2005), <http://www.thejewishweek.com/news/newscontent.php3?artid=10876> (accessed 21 May 2006).

<sup>162</sup> FMMJE, "Inauguration of the Memorial" (Press Release), 2.

an image for public consumption that directly and unmistakably linked the Federal Government with the project. Finally, a “Memorial Concert” on the occasion of the opening, the only official event associated with the *Mahnmal*’s dedication that was accessible to the general public, ostensibly connected the Association for the Memorial and the Foundation for the Memorial with Berlin’s municipal government and cultural institutions. The Young German Philharmonic Orchestra and the Radio Choir of Berlin performed at the Berlin Philharmonic and, though the Association and the Foundation were its sponsors, the Foundation’s press release for events in connection with the dedication acknowledged the support of the Mayor of Berlin, Klaus Wowereit. The press release states that, among other pieces, the programme included a first performance of “*Memoria – Three Requiem Fragments*”, a composition that the Foundation for the Memorial had commissioned from contemporary German composer Wolfgang Rihm.<sup>163</sup>

Further, a glance at the actual programme and structure of the dedication ceremony reveals that the Foundation for the Memorial wanted to publicly represent the *Mahnmal* as an institution about Jews, and the entire project as one made possible through the support of the Federal Government.<sup>164</sup> In addition to the German Chancellor, the President, the President of the Bundesrat and the Mayor of Berlin, the Chairman of Yad Vashem also attended this ceremony. Representatives from the Association for the Memorial and from the constituent bodies of the Foundation for the Memorial were also among the ceremony’s 1 200 attendees, as were a number of rabbis and representatives of

---

<sup>163</sup> FMMJE, “Schedule in Connection with the Formal Opening in Berlin of the Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe” (Berlin: English Press Release, 4 April 2005), 1.

<sup>164</sup> Though only journalists and invited guests could attend this ceremony, I maintain that the dedication was a public event. Three national, public television networks – ARD, ZDF and Phoenix – broadcast the event live. The Foundation also posted two press releases about the Memorial’s inauguration, the programme of the 10 May ceremony, the full text of all speeches, and photographs from the event on their website shortly thereafter.

Jewish communities and families from throughout Europe. Many Jewish Holocaust survivors and their families, as well as the families of victims, had shared information, documents and photographs, from the time before and during the genocide, that the Foundation had used in the Information Centre's "Room of Families," as well as in the *Mahnmal*'s official interpretive publication.<sup>165</sup> These individuals also attended the ceremony, and simultaneous translation was made available through headphones to all who required it.<sup>166</sup> These were the individuals and groups that Thierse, Spiegel, Eisenman, van der Linden and Rosh specifically addressed in their respective speeches. This chapter has already established that, to this audience, and to those watching the simultaneous broadcast from home, their speeches conveyed the sense that the *Mahnmal*'s final completion signalled a new identity for the German nation.<sup>167</sup> That it was Thierse's address that opened the dedication ceremony the following afternoon only reinforced the Bundestag President's personal role in the project, and, by extension, the role of the Federal Government.<sup>168</sup> All other elements of this ceremony of dedication stressed that the *Mahnmal* commemorates Jewish victims.

With the exception of Rosh, all of the speakers that followed Thierse were Jewish, and all made reference to their Jewish identity. While Rosh made clear that she is not Jewish, and included herself among the "progeny of the perpetrators," her address reflected the emotional determination with which she had pursued the project since its beginnings. She stated her determination to make the *Mahnmal* a "grave" for the

---

<sup>165</sup> Thierse, formal address of speech at *Mahnmal* opening, and paragraphs 13 and 17; Spiegel, formal address of speech at *Mahnmal* opening. On families' donation of material for use in the Information Centre, see Hans-Erhard Haverkamp, "Acknowledgements," in FMMJE, *Materials*, 175.

<sup>166</sup> *Deutsche Welle*, "Deutschlands zentrales Holocaust-Mahnmal eröffnet," <http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,1564,1578044,00.html> (accessed 21 May 2006).

<sup>167</sup> See page 9 of this chapter for my explanation of this theme.

<sup>168</sup> FMMJE, "The ceremony of the Foundation on 10 May," (ceremony programme, English) <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/news/ceremony/?highlight=lea%20rosh> (accessed 14 January 2006).

millions of Jewish victims who had none.<sup>169</sup> Signifying these faceless victims, she held up a tooth and a yellow fabric star of David, and pledged to bury the molar that she took from the ground at the former death camp of Belzec, Poland, and the yellow star that a Dutch survivor's daughter had given to her, inside one of Eisenman's stele.<sup>170</sup> Her explanations near mythologized her mission to commemorate these victims: of the moment when she plucked the tooth from the sand at Belzec, she said that she held it tight, and "swore that we would build a memorial for those murdered." Rosh similarly recounted that she "promised" the Dutch woman that her mother's yellow star "would receive a worthy, dignified place."<sup>171</sup> In his speech, Spiegel more modestly and appropriately expressed his "solidarity" with the Jewish community, including himself by using the possessive article "our" in reference to the historic desecration of "our synagogues" and community centres under National Socialism, while van der Linden identified herself as the "voice" of the six million tortured and murdered Jews.<sup>172</sup> Even Eisenman, a native of the United States and resident of New York, stated that the Memorial-making experience had brought him closer to his "Jewishness" – a sentiment that he had also expressed in an interview on the previous day. "Whenever I come (to Germany), I arrive feeling like an American. But by the time I leave, I feel like a Jew",

---

<sup>169</sup> Rosh, speech at *Mahnmal* opening, paragraphs 7-8.

<sup>170</sup> *Ibid.*, paragraphs 18-20. This plan immediately met with alarm and disgust from Jewish communities, as Spiegel later explained, because immortalisation of any part of the body is clearly against Jewish religious law. See "Berlin Holocaust Memorial Hits a Snag," *Spiegel Online* (12 May 2005) <http://service.spiegel.de/cache/international/0,1518,355715,00.html> (accessed 22 May 2006). Though she was surprised by the outrage her actions caused, in the face of this controversy, Rosh abandoned the plan within a few days of her speech. See FMMJE, postscript to Rosh, speech at *Mahnmal* opening.

<sup>171</sup> Rosh, speech at *Mahnmal* opening, paragraphs 19-20.

<sup>172</sup> Spiegel, speech at *Mahnmal* opening, paragraph 5; Van der Linden, speech at *Mahnmal* opening, paragraph 1.

he had told reporters.<sup>173</sup> To close the ceremony, the cantor of New York's Fifth Avenue Synagogue, Joseph Malovany, sang a medley of Hebrew and Yiddish songs. Soloists of *Staatskapelle Berlin*, the choir of the White Stork Synagogue of Wroclaw, Poland, and the Lower Silesian German-Polish Philharmonic Youth Orchestra accompanied him.<sup>174</sup> This segment featured Berlin's oldest orchestra, while at the same time the geographic distribution of the performers worked to indicate that the *Mahnmal* is a place of memory for Jews worldwide. Finally, reinforcing that the *Mahnmal*'s dedication was a ceremony for Jewish remembrance and mourning - one that brought together Holocaust survivors and representatives from Jewish communities internationally - it closed in the traditional Kaddish prayer for the dead.<sup>175</sup>

At this public dedication, all aspects of the ceremony that stressed Jewish remembrance and mourning combined with those that emphasized the Federal Government's sponsorship of the memorial ceremony. These elements also converged with the speakers' theme that the *Mahnmal*'s completion signaled a turning point for the reunited Germany. More than a year after the dedication, the Foundation for the Memorial continues to make all documents pertaining to this ceremony accessible to the public, in both German and English, through its website.<sup>176</sup> These documents complement what one learns from the Foundation's official interpretive guide to the *Mahnmal* and the free pamphlet available at the Memorial site. As I demonstrated at the

---

<sup>173</sup> FMMJE, *Field of Stelae: Architecture*, "The Architect Peter Eisenman" <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/thememorial/fieldofstelae/architecture/bioeisenman/?highlight=eisenman> (accessed 21 May 2006); Spiegel, at *Mahnmal* opening, paragraph 5; Hawley and Tenberg, "How Long...?" Interview with Eisenman, 3.

<sup>174</sup> FMMJE, "The ceremony of the Foundation on 10 May" (ceremony programme), and Richard Bernstein, "Holocaust Memorial Opens in Berlin," *New York Times* (11 May 2005) <http://www.isjm.org/news/051005nyt.htm> (accessed 21 May 2006).

<sup>175</sup> FMMJE, "Inauguration of the Memorial" (Press Release), 2, and *Staatsoper*, "*Staatskapelle Berlin*," [http://www.staatsoper-berlin.org/en/fs\\_f7.htm](http://www.staatsoper-berlin.org/en/fs_f7.htm) (accessed 21 May 2006).

<sup>176</sup> FMMJE, *News: Press*, "Press Releases," <http://www.holocaust-mahnmal.de/> (accessed 24 May 2006).



beginning of this chapter, each source implies that the *Mahnmal*'s location in a central, symbolic space in Berlin attests to the Federal Government's authentic integration of Holocaust memorialization into the landscape of twenty-first century Germany. The interpretive literature and the documented aspects of the dedication ceremony are parts of the public image that the Foundation has created for the Memorial. All of these elements work in concert to produce an impression of the *Mahnmal* as an institution that incorporates the remembering of Jewish victims into the symbolic centre of Germany, and an impression of twenty-first century Berlin as a capital that locates the memorialization of the European Jews murdered during the Third Reich at its core.

We will recall that two of the tenets of the 1999 Bundestag Resolution for the construction of the Memorial were that the Foundation would "meaningfully" integrate the project into the network of memorial sites in Berlin, and would not strive to *centralize* a diverse national memorial landscape through competition with other sites of remembrance, but would seek to *draw attention to them*.<sup>177</sup> It remains to explain, therefore, how the Federal Government and the Foundation for the Memorial balance their celebration of the project's realization with indications that the *Mahnmal* is part of a larger network of historical, memorial and commemorative sites related to National Socialism and its victims in Germany. Evidence for the Memorial-makers adherence to this mandate emerges most clearly in three domains: the "Jewish Berlin" brochure that I mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, the actual presentation at the Information Centre, and the Foundation's website descriptions of the last two rooms of the Information Centre.

---

<sup>177</sup> See chapter 1, page 20, and German Bundestag, *Resolution*, section 1.3.

The “Jewish Berlin” tourist brochure is a joint publication of the Foundation for the Memorial, the Jewish Museum Berlin, the *Neue Synagoge-Centrum Judaicum* and the Topography of Terror, in cooperation with the private tourism company Berlin Tourismus Marketing.<sup>178</sup> It presents these four memorial and historical sites as part of a geographic and thematic network in the capital in a way that recalls Schlusche’s writing on the *Mahmmal*’s integration into Berlin’s historic spaces.<sup>179</sup> The 22 page pamphlet features English translations adjacent to all German text, and begins by emphasizing that all four participating institutions are within close walking distance of each other. It explains that they combine to form a “historic path” through *Mitte*. Under the heading “Berlin and the Jews: a Link between the Past and the Future,” it states that, when traversing this path, the tourist will see confirmed what each of these institutions also reveals on its own: that the Jews’ experience in Berlin is an “integral” part of German history, and, thus, also an integral part of the nation’s present and future.<sup>180</sup> These institutions convey the same sense of their combined organic integration into the landscape of today’s Berlin as the Foundation for the Memorial stressed in the aforementioned sections of its own free brochure, and in its own official interpretive guide. Furthermore, the “Jewish Berlin” pamphlet explains that these four institutions do not only lie close together geographically (and thus make for a convenient walking tour), they also complement each other “in substance” (see “Through Jewish Berlin in Four Stages” tourist map, figure 19).<sup>181</sup> For example, while the *Mahmmal* presents Jews

---

<sup>178</sup> Berlin Tourismus Marketing GmbH is a service agency for single and group travelers, and an information broker for the travel industry. See *Berlin Tourism*, “About us,” <http://www.berlin-tourist-information.de/english/ueber-uns/index.php> (accessed 24 May 2006).

<sup>179</sup> Schlusche, “A Memorial is Built” in FMMJE, *Materials*, 28-29.

<sup>180</sup> *Judisches Museum Berlin et al, Jewish Berlin* (English pamphlet), 3.

<sup>181</sup> *Ibid.*, 4.

predominantly as victims of National Socialism, the Jewish Museum situates them within a longer chronology, and a broader focus on Jewish culture: it's presentation of two thousand years of German-Jewish history draws a "historic arc" from the Middle Ages to the present day, reads this pamphlet's description.<sup>182</sup> Finally, this pamphlet stresses that the *Neue Synagoge Berlin-Centrum Judaicum*, along with the many historic sites in Berlin's old Jewish Quarter in the "*Spandauer Vorstadt*," is an "archive" of German-Jewish history, a link between past and future, and a bridge between east and west European Jewry.<sup>183</sup> The inclusion of an index of additional museums and monuments pertaining to "Jewish Berlin," as well as separate indices of the city's synagogues and Jewish cemeteries, reinforces a sense that the *Mahnmal*, the Jewish Museum, the Topography of Terror and the *Neue Synagoge* exist with these "other" places in a network of memorial and historic sites in Berlin.<sup>184</sup>

Indeed, the Information Centre's last two rooms – those that the Foundation has titled the "Room of Sites" and the "Portal"- themselves act as channels to other historical and memorial sites in Berlin, in Germany, and throughout Europe. As I described in my first chapter, the first of these rooms points the visitor to sites where the Nazi persecution and murder of Jews, Roma, Prisoners of War and non-Jewish civilians occurred. Although the "Room of Sites" has operated as a functioning part of the Information Centre since the *Mahnmal*'s opening to the public in May 2005, Executive Director Neumärker is planning to expand its presentation. Currently, silent sequences of images in this room show 120 places of persecution and destruction in Europe. The Memorial's website reports that Dusseldorf-based digital media production company MMCD is

---

<sup>182</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

<sup>183</sup> *Ibid.*, 10 and 14.

<sup>184</sup> *Ibid.*, 16-19. The first of these indices is titled "Other Museums and Monuments."

producing one hundred additional films under contract with the Foundation for the Memorial.<sup>185</sup> These films will be based on historical footage and photographs, and are scheduled for installation on four screens in the Room of Sites in autumn, 2006.<sup>186</sup> They will include text in both German and English, and will document sites in western and southern Europe, as well as in the former Soviet Union and in areas of Nazi-occupied eastern Europe. The Foundation's online description of this project stresses that, in order to supplement the Room of Sites' current special focus on the seven largest death camps and Babi Yar,<sup>187</sup> these films will highlight hundreds of less prominent camps, ghettos, sites of mass shootings or points of departure for deportation.<sup>188</sup> For example, the Foundation speculates that cities in the former German eastern territories such as Breslau, Stettin and Königsberg may have not, as yet, been as "anchored in cultural memory" as sites such as Auschwitz-Birkenau, or Treblinka.<sup>189</sup> It is to draw attention to these lesser-known places where the historical persecution and murder of Jews and other victims of National Socialism occurred that the Foundation is expanding the presentation in the Room of Sites.

While the "Room of Sites" makes information on such places of actual, historical persecution and annihilation throughout Europe available to the Information Centre's visitor, we will recall that the "Portal" room seeks to draw attention to present-day

---

<sup>185</sup> FMMJE, *Projects: Room of Sites*, "Expansion of the Exhibition: the Room for the Sites of Persecution and Destruction," <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/projects/roomofsites> (accessed 25 May 2006), and MMCD, *Projekte: Ort der Information*, "Raum der Orte," [http://www.mmcd.de/raum\\_der\\_orte.html](http://www.mmcd.de/raum_der_orte.html) (accessed 25 May 2006).

<sup>186</sup> MMCD, *Projekte: Ort der Information*, "Raum der Orte."

<sup>187</sup> As stated in chapter 1, p. 19 these camps are: Auschwitz, Belzec, Kulmhof (Chelmno), Treblinka, Sobibor, Majdanek and I. See FMMJE, *The Memorial: Information Centre*, "Room of Sites," <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/thememorial/informationcentre/sites> (accessed 25 May 2006).

<sup>188</sup> FMMJE, *Projects: Room of Sites*, "Expansion of the Exhibition," <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/projects/roomofsites>.

<sup>189</sup> *Ibid.*

historical and memorial sites, as well as to museums and research centres pertaining to the Holocaust, National Socialism, and the Third Reich.<sup>190</sup> In a similar manner to the “Jewish Berlin” pamphlet, the “Portal”’s extensive database, available through computer terminals in this last room of the exhibit, indicates historical and memorial sites in the *Mahnmal*’s immediate vicinity such as the Topography of Terror, the Jewish Museum Berlin and the House of the Wannsee conference. This database provides practical information for the tourist to Berlin, such as institutions’ opening times, transit routes and connections, and opportunities to participate in organized visits to such sites.<sup>191</sup> Moreover, the database’s geographic coverage also extends well beyond Berlin: at the time of the *Mahnmal*’s opening, it included information on 350 institutions throughout Europe such as Amsterdam’s Anne-Frank-House, the Documentation Centre at the Nazi Party Rally Grounds in Nuremberg, and Warsaw’s Jewish Historical Research Institute.<sup>192</sup> The expansion of this index is another ongoing project of the Foundation. On the *Mahnmal*’s website, historians in the Foundation’s Executive Office, Eva Brucker and Juergen Lillteicher, report that they are currently managing the preparation of 450 additional texts for incorporation into this database. Their description of the project states that the Foundation has developed close cooperative relations with a large number of memorial sites over the course of the ongoing database expansion. Their report states

---

<sup>190</sup> FMMJE, “Portal,” (presentation in Room 5), *Mahnmal* Information Centre, Berlin, and *The Memorial: Information Centre*, “Portal: ‘The historical memorial sites,’” <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/thememorial/informationcentre/portal> (accessed 01 April 2006).

<sup>191</sup> FMMJE, “Portal,” (presentation in Room 5), and *The Memorial: Information Centre*, “Portal: ‘The historical memorial sites,’” <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/thememorial/informationcentre/portal>.

<sup>192</sup> FMMJE, “Portal,” (presentation in Room 5). The Foundation also includes these institutions in a listing of international museums, memorial and historical sites, documentation and research centres, associations and action groups, virtual exhibitions and art projects that it maintains online, through its website. This site features links to the individual website of each institution listed. See FMMJE, *The Memorial: Partners*, “Links,” <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/thememorial/partners> (accessed 2 June 2006).

further that the Foundation receives regular requests from institutions throughout Europe that would like to be included in the listing.<sup>193</sup>

The Foundation's work with the Topography of Terror in compiling this database deserves special mention for what it indicates of the cooperation that the *Mahnmal* project engenders with other historical and memorial sites. Former Executive Director of the *Mahnmal*'s Foundation, Hans-Erhard Haverkamp, made clear in the Memorial's official interpretive guide that the Topography of Terror Foundation took part in a portion of the research for the information that the "Portal" room presents, and it assisted in the actual developing of the "Sites of Memory" database.<sup>194</sup> Indeed, it is in the Topography of Terror Foundation's remit to advise the State of Berlin on all projects that memorialize the victims of National Socialism.<sup>195</sup> The following chapter will explain how the *Mahnmal* continues the work, begun by the Topography of Terror's Memorial Museums Department, of incorporating the memorialization of Jewish victims with that of all groups murdered under the Third Reich. The link between the *Mahnmal* project and the memorial site at the former Gestapo headquarters dates from 1989, and, as Chapter Four will illustrate, the relationship between these institutions began as one marred by groups' competing demands for the Gestapo terrain. Scholar Caroline Wiedmer included this competition in what she refers to as a "victim/location debate" in which Rosh's citizens' initiative found itself when it began agitating for a Memorial in Berlin.<sup>196</sup> Indeed, the question of where the *Mahnmal* should be located, and the question of who it should

---

<sup>193</sup> FMMJE, *Projects: Sites of Memory*, "The 'Portal' on the Sites of Memory in Europe," <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/projects/sitesofmemory> (accessed 25 May 2006).

<sup>194</sup> Haverkamp, "Acknowledgements," in FMMJE, *Materials*, 174.

<sup>195</sup> *The Topography of Terror Foundation*, "The Foundation," <http://www.topographie.de/en/stiftung.htm>, and "The Foundation from 1992 to the Present," <http://www.topographie.de/en/stiftung.htm> (accessed 2 June 2006).

<sup>196</sup> Wiedmer, *The Claims of Memory*, 145.

commemorate, were often connected during the Memorial's long genesis. This thesis examines these two issues in turn: first, this chapter has focused on *place* – the site that the *Mahnmal* occupies, and the way that the Memorial-makers publicly expressed the relationship between that symbolic place and the function that the *Mahnmal* performs for today's Germany. I have demonstrated in this chapter that the Foundation for the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe has crafted a public image of the *Mahnmal* as an institution that incorporates memorialization of Jewish victims into the symbolic centre of Germany, and I have argued that the Foundation has made a significant, and concerted attempt to integrate public memorialization of the European Jews murdered during the Holocaust with other memorial sites in Germany, and Europe.

The following chapter focuses on the controversial issue of which victim groups the Memorial commemorates. Building on the notion that the *Mahnmal*'s Information Centre acts as a channel to other historical and memorial *sites*, this chapter examines the Foundation's attempts to link the murder of the European Jews to other *histories* of suffering under National Socialism.

#### **Chapter Four: “Memory is not a zero-sum game”<sup>197</sup>: the *Mahnmal* and diverse histories of victimhood**

In the following two chapters, I argue that the Federal Government and the Foundation for the Memorial have worked to integrate public commemoration of the murdered Jews of Europe into remembrance of other victims of Nazi persecution. I arrived in Germany last August, however, expecting the opposite of the Memorial. In fact, after having read the lofty and obscure language of Eisenman’s project text for the *Mahnmal*, I thought my research would reveal that the project mythologized the uniqueness of Jewish victims’ experiences of persecution and murder. The text featured statements such as: “the enormity and horror of the Holocaust are such that any attempt to represent it by traditional means is inevitably inadequate”, and “the project manifests the instability inherent in what seems to be a system...and its potential for dissolution in time.”<sup>198</sup> Eisenman had written further that his sculpture represents a supposedly ordered system that has lost touch with human reason.<sup>199</sup> He recalled that, while standing on the edge of his field of stelae, he watched visitors’ heads disappear from view as they walked into the maze of tall columns. This was a sight, he remarked, that called to mind Auschwitz survivor Primo Levi’s writing on how prisoners at the laager “seemed to descend into a personal hell.”<sup>200</sup> Of how the dimensions of his stelae make for an “unsettling” experience for the visitor, Eisenman has written that there can be no real memory of the past, “only the living memory of the individual experience.” At the Memorial, he explains, “we can only know the past through its manifestation in the

---

<sup>197</sup> James E. Young, “Berlin’s Holocaust Memorial: A Report to the Bundestag Committee on Media and Culture, 3 March 1999,” *German Politics and Society* 17, no.3 (1999): 55.

<sup>198</sup> Eisenman Architects, *Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, Berlin – Project Text*, no pagination.

<sup>199</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>200</sup> Hawley and Tenberg, “How Long?” Interview with Eisenman, no pagination.



present.”<sup>201</sup> I found his explanations of his design for the Field of Stelae distasteful in two ways. First, some of his descriptions seemed to mire Holocaust memorialization in abstract philosophizing. Second, his suggestions that abstract art can allow the visitor some insight into victims’ experiences made me uncomfortable. His statements called to mind Henry Moore’s writing on the 1957 design competition for a memorial at Auschwitz-Birkenau. As the head of the design jury, Moore recollected that artists, critics and curators generally applauded abstract expressionist designs. Non-realistic interpretations met with outrage on the part of survivors, however, who demanded a much more literal representation of their recent experience. “We weren’t tortured and our families weren’t murdered in the abstract”, Moore remembered survivors protesting.<sup>202</sup>

My initial readings of angry public appeals dating from the 1980’s and ‘90’s that the *Mahnmal* include the commemoration of Sinti and Roma victims had also set the tone for my visit. They had prepared me for a memorial that entirely eclipsed the experiences of all groups other than Jews that the Nazis had attempted to eliminate.<sup>203</sup> After spending two weeks in Berlin, however, I began to understand that the *Mahnmal* was part of a memorial project that extended beyond the bounds of its 20 003 square metre Field of Stelae and Information Centre, and even beyond a singular focus on Jewish victims.<sup>204</sup> Two conversations that I had while in Berlin, and one I had through e-mail when back in Montreal, directed this change in my thinking. I recount them here to introduce my

---

<sup>201</sup> Eisenman Architects, *Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, Berlin – Project Text*, no pagination.

<sup>202</sup> Excerpt from Henry Moore, “The Auschwitz Competition,” booklet published by the State Museum of Auschwitz, 1964, unpaginated, as reprinted in Young, ed., *The Art of Memory*, 24-25.

<sup>203</sup> “*Aufruf des Zentralrats Deutscher Sinti und Roma*,” *Der Tagesspiegel*, 11 April 1989, and 16 December 1993. Reprinted in Stavginski, *Das Holocaust-Denkmal*, 311 and 313.

<sup>204</sup> Figure for the area of the Field of Stelae and Information Centre as listed in FMMJE, *Information* (English pamphlet), “Figures on the Memorial.”

understanding of the way that the *Mahnmal* seeks to commemorate multiple victim groups.

The first of these three conversations occurred during our “Third Reich Tour” of *Mitte*. After taking us on a walk around the Reichstag’s perimeter, our guide – Preston, an American resident of Berlin - led us to the *Mahnmal* through the northeast corner of the Tiergarten. We emerged from the trees onto the north side of Ebertstraße (see map of *Mahnmal* and surrounding area, figure 18). Here, standing directly across the street from the sprawling Field of Stelae, my fellow tourists and I gazed at the *Mahnmal* while Preston relayed to us such basic facts as that it was dedicated to the Murdered Jews of Europe, that it took seventeen years to become a reality, and that the Memorial also included a subterranean Information Centre. The project caused a good deal of controversy, he continued, and added, unceremoniously, his opinion that Berliners did not like the Memorial. Preston said plainly that he thought the project was a “waste of time, money and space”, and he assumed that most of the city’s residents would share his opinion of the project. Those with whom he had talked about the *Mahnmal* thought the lack of explanatory text in the Field of Stelae meant that visitors would not know that it was anything more than an oversized public sculpture. Preston thought the fact that children routinely played in the Field of Stelae showcased the failure of the Memorial’s design. He told us that it was the general consensus among his fellow tour guides, as well as among the international tourists with whom he had conferred, that the Jewish Museum was a much more effective medium of Holocaust memorialization than was the *Mahnmal*.

After this dismal introduction, my fellow tourists and I stood still, meek and silent for a moment in front of the Memorial. A young Dutch man on my left craned his neck to look beyond Preston at the Field of Stelae.

“Why is it for *Europe’s* Jews?” he asked our guide, emphasizing the reference to the entire continent. I thought that he was curious as to why Germany, with this one memorial, professed to commemorate the Jewish victims of all European nations. His question seemed to silently ask *what about other countries’ monuments?* Either the bustle of traffic muffled his voice, or our guide interpreted his question altogether differently than I had. Preston clearly thought that the man had asked why the *Mahnmal* only commemorated Jewish, and no other, victims of Nazi crimes. His succinct response was that the Information Centre focused primarily, though not exclusively, on the Jewish experience of persecution.

I interjected at this point, hoping to clarify their miscommunication. These were two entirely different issues, I explained: the tourist was curious about the *Mahnmal’s* far-reaching referent, while our guide was thinking of how the institution included the remembrance of non-Jewish victims among its functional aims. Having already visited the Information Centre and perused the Foundation for the Memorial’s tourist literature, I had a cursory understanding that the Foundation did not intend for the *Mahnmal* to obscure other memorials to Jews murdered during the Third Reich, but, instead, hoped that it would teach its visitors about them. I conveyed this concept to the tourist in a few words, and we crossed the street to continue our sightseeing.<sup>205</sup>

The following week, I asked Thomas Lutz, Head of the Memorial Museums Department of the Topography of Terror Foundation, for his thoughts on the *Mahnmal*.

---

<sup>205</sup> Brewer’s Berlin Tours, *Third Reich Walking Tour*, 7 August 2005.

The Federal Government and the State of Berlin financially support the Topography of Terror, and its Foundation advises the State of Berlin in matters pertaining to the history of National Socialism, public education about this history, and individuals' active confrontation with this past and its impact since 1945.<sup>206</sup> Lutz's particular department is responsible for advising and co-ordinating initiatives of memorial museums throughout Germany, and for promoting contact between diverse memorial institutions.<sup>207</sup>

About the *Mahnmal*'s relationship to other memorial museums and historical sites in the city, in the nation, and across Europe, Lutz stressed that the *Mahnmal* is part of a network of such sites in Germany that teach about Nazi persecution. He explained that this network included sites that attested to the Nazi crimes against all targeted victim groups, not only Jews. Finally, he emphasized that the *Mahnmal*, far from being any kind of final answer to the long-standing challenge of public Holocaust commemoration in Germany, is only one link in an ongoing memorial project. Citizens' initiatives, as well as Federal and State governments, will continue to erect memorials and museums to the victims of Nazism, he assured. There is considerable disagreement among those in his field, he admitted, as to whether Federal funds would be better spent on the much-needed maintenance of the sites of former concentration and death camps than on new projects such as the *Mahnmal*. All the same, he believed that the Memorial was a useful institution for the nation, and an important project for the Federal Government to have taken on.<sup>208</sup>

---

<sup>206</sup> *The Topography of Terror Foundation*, "The Foundation," <http://www.topographie.de/en/stiftung.htm>, and "The Foundation from 1992 to the Present," <http://www.topographie.de/en/stiftung.htm> (accessed 2 June 2006).

<sup>207</sup> *The Topography of Terror Foundation*, "The Foundation: Memorial Museums Department," <http://www.topographie.de/en/stiftung.htm> (accessed 14 June 2006).

<sup>208</sup> Interview with Thomas Lutz, Director of Memorial Museums Department, Topography of Terror Foundation, "*Gestapo-Terrain*." Berlin: 16 August 2005.

The themes that Thomas Lutz emphasized last summer emerged again in the course of my e-mail conversation with Stefanie Fischer, the former director of education at the *Mahnmal*. Concerning the Memorial's relation to other memorial sites and institutions in Germany, she commented that, when the project was still under debate, its strongest opponents were directors and staff members of other memorial places and institutions, in particular in Germany. There was controversy, she recalled, about the importance of supporting "authentic sites" – such as Sachsenhausen or Dachau – over funding "artificial memorialization" as is done by museum exhibitions. Some people, Fischer remembered, argued that in Germany one does not need an artificial place (such as a new memorial site) to commemorate the Holocaust and its victims. After all, Germans and tourists can easily visit authentic killing sites such as former concentration camps. The supporters of such an argument, she continued, were often directors of memorial sites and feared losing visitors to the central Holocaust memorial in downtown Berlin. As the Memorial has drawn many visitors since its opening, Fischer admitted, the relationship between the *Mahnmal* and other German sites has not improved recently. However, she continued, the Bundestag's 1999 commitment to link existing memorial sites in Europe to the *Mahnmal* has yielded positive relationships between the *Mahnmal* and other memorial institutions. For example, she explained, the Memorial has a very close relationship with Yad Vashem, as Yad Vashem shares the names of the Pages of Testimony with the *Mahnmal*. Indeed, the Memorial is the only place besides Yad Vashem where the names of the victims are read in an exhibition, and where visitors can research for victims' names on site.<sup>209</sup>

---

<sup>209</sup> Stefanie Fischer, 7 August 2006, personal email message (accessed 8 August 2006).

Furthermore, in her capacity as *Museumspädagogin* from 2002 until 2005, Fischer explained, she was involved in coordinating educational initiatives with other memorial institutions. For example, she explained that she organized an international workshop on “The effect of Holocaust images on juvenile exhibition visitors” that featured speakers from Yad Vashem, Dachau, and the Jewish Museum Berlin. She also recalled visiting a Yad Vashem conference on teaching the Holocaust where she presented the *Mahnmal*’s educational concept.<sup>210</sup>

The comments that Lutz and Fischer made led me to examine the relationship the Foundation for the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe intended the *Mahnmal* to have with other memorial sites, and the way it intended to incorporate the commemoration of Europe’s murdered Jews with that of other victim groups. Only after reflecting on Lutz’s emphasis on the very *real* existence of a memorial network in Germany did I realize that the Dutch tourist’s question and Preston’s response had not been entirely inconsistent. Both were connected to the question of whether or not the *Mahnmal* sought to centralize a diverse landscape of memory in Germany.

To be sure, Lutz’s emphasis on the *Mahnmal*’s inclusion in a memorial network is to be expected from the head of a department that co-ordinates the work of memorial museums and initiatives within the Federal Republic, and worldwide, that pertain to National Socialism and its crimes.<sup>211</sup> Though he pressed this theme, Lutz voiced one criticism: he believed that the project’s singular dedication to Europe’s murdered Jews worked to disconnect the history of Jewish, from that of other victims of Nazi violence.<sup>212</sup>

---

<sup>210</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>211</sup> *The Topography of Terror Foundation*, “The Foundation: Memorial Museums Department,” <http://www.topographie.de/en/stiftung.htm> (accessed 14 June 2006).

<sup>212</sup> Interview with Lutz, Berlin: 16 August 2005.

Does the *Mahmmal*, indeed, separate the history of the Jewish genocide from other aspects of twentieth century history? After all, the free pamphlet that is available to each visitor to the site clearly demonstrates that the Federal Government and the Foundation for the Memorial believe in the singularity of the event. “Why is the memorial dedicated only to the murdered Jews?” is the first of the “Frequently Asked Questions” that this pamphlet lists. Its response states that the Bundestag’s decision to dedicate the memorial to the murdered Jews of Europe “underlines that acknowledging the uniqueness of this crime and historic responsibility is central to the Federal Republic of Germany’s self-understanding.” Despite the fact that this brochure also states that the Foundation works to ensure that all victims of National Socialism are remembered and honoured appropriately, it unmistakably conveys that the commemoration of Jewish victims is the Foundation’s chief aim. This is so, it states, because the Jewish persecution was unique among Nazi crimes.<sup>213</sup>

Lea Rosh has also made a number of similar public statements on the singularity of the Jewish genocide. “Why a memorial for the murdered Jews alone? Why not also for other victim groups? Or even for all of them?” she asked in her introduction to the *Mahmmal*’s official interpretive guide. She answered, “...because the central goal of National Socialist genocide policy was the destruction of Jewry. This was Hitler’s most important aim, more important to him than winning the war. The consummation of 2 000 years of anti-Semitism on this continent and the figure of six million Jewish victims demanded a memorial dedicated to the Jews.”<sup>214</sup> Her dramatic speech at the ceremony of the Memorial’s dedication also pressed the uniqueness of the Jewish persecution among

---

<sup>213</sup> FMMJE, *Information* (English pamphlet), “Frequently Asked Questions.”

<sup>214</sup> Rosh, “From Three to Four Years, Into Seventeen,” in FMMJE, *Materials*, 9.

Nazi crimes. The millions of murdered Jews were victims of a crime “so incomparable, so singular, so horrifying, so immense that we may think the very sun should have to wrap itself forever more in grief and mourning”, she lamented.<sup>215</sup>

Chapter Two explained that one of the major challenges in Holocaust scholarship, interpretation and memorialization has not only been the idea that the Holocaust was wholly unprecedented, but that the Jewish genocide was entirely unique among Nazi crimes. That chapter contrasted historic West German strategies of publicly remembering the genocide of the European Jewry with the East German tradition of marginalizing the murder of Jews, and conflating the Soviet victims’ experiences in public memorial dedications with *all* victims of fascism.<sup>216</sup> In that chapter, I proposed that the *Mahnmal* occupies a middle ground between these two memorial strategies. Though the *Mahnmal* openly acknowledges the uniqueness of the Nazi persecution of the Jews, the Federal Government and the Foundation for the Memorial attempt to incorporate public recognition of Jewish victims with that of other victim groups.<sup>217</sup> In so doing, these parties sanction a traditionally FRG narrative of the singularity of the Jewish genocide, yet mitigate its exclusivity it by calling for fair commemoration of all victim groups. The Bundestag Resolution to erect the Memorial attested outright to the FRG’s commitment to commemorating the “other” victims of Nazi violence.<sup>218</sup> I maintain that Eisenman’s obscure explanations of his design, Rosh’s dramatic statements about the singularity of the Jewish experience of persecution, and the Foundation’s emphasis in its tourist literature on the same, do *not* undermine the legitimacy of this commitment. Rather, the

---

<sup>215</sup> Rosh, speech at *Mahnmal* opening, paragraph 2.

<sup>216</sup> See Chapter 2, and Herf, “Politics and Memory in West and East Germany since 1961 and in Unified Germany since 1990.” *Journal of Israeli History* 23, no.1 (2004): 40-64.

<sup>217</sup> FMMJE, *Information* (English pamphlet), “Frequently Asked Questions.”

<sup>218</sup> German Bundestag, *Resolution*, section 1.5.



presentation at the Information Centre, the composition of the Memorial's governing body, and the function ascribed to its Advisory Board demonstrate that the Foundation has attempted to adhere to its commitment to commemorate other victims, while also to convey the uniqueness of the Jewish genocide among Nazi crimes.<sup>219</sup> Furthermore, the Foundation has committed itself to ensuring that the Federal Government builds independent memorials for Sinti and Roma, as well as homosexual, victims of Nazism.<sup>220</sup> This expressed commitment, again, indicates how the *Mahnmal* embodies elements of old GDR and FRG public memorial precedents in a new combination. The Foundation's involvement with these two separate memorial projects conveys its view that the appropriate commemoration of Sinti and Roma, and homosexual victims' experiences involves creating separate memorials for each group - albeit ones that will have followed from the Bundestag decision to build a Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, and will owe their existence, in part, to the Foundation for the *Mahnmal*. Such are the nuanced *effects* of the Federal Government's striving for an appropriate Holocaust narrative to form the basis of public commemoration in the middle of Germany's capital.

To understand these effects of the 1999 Bundestag Resolution in their proper context, it is necessary to turn our attention to a brief summary of events that began eleven years prior to that date. The debate over the *Mahnmal* began in 1988, and, as I stated in Chapter Two, therefore ran concurrently with the process of German unification. Victims' associations, artists and architects that submitted proposals for the memorial's

---

<sup>219</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>220</sup> FMMJE, *Information* (English pamphlet), "Frequently Asked Questions." The last lines of the response to the question, "Why is the memorial dedicated only to the murdered Jews?" read: "the Foundation has the task of ensuring that all victims of National Socialism are remembered and honoured appropriately. This also involves building memorials to the Sinti and Roma and to homosexual victims, which has already been decided upon by the Federal Government." The following chapter comments further on the Foundation's involvement in these future projects.

design competitions, as well as arbiters of those competitions and politicians, exerted oft-competing pressures during this process. Discontent about how a new memorial to the murdered Jews of Europe would *centralize* a diverse landscape of memory – both physically, by eclipsing numerous memorial institutions and historical sites in Germany, and interpretively, by establishing that the Nazi persecution of Jews overshadows that of other victim groups – fuelled the long debate. A summary of the history of the debate over the Memorial informs our understanding of why the Bundestag resolved to respond to these pressures by attempting to integrate the *Mahnmal* into Germany’s network of sites of memory, and to incorporate the remembrance of non-Jewish victims into a dominant narrative of the unique nature of the Jewish experience of Nazi persecution at the *Mahnmal*.

The location of the *Mahnmal* at its present site is not the result of a simple decision: in fact, it was at a public forum on 24 August 1988, held to determine the future of an altogether different location – that of the former *Gestapo* premises, then located in the Federal Republic, immediately beside the Western rampart of the Berlin Wall – where West German television journalist Lea Rosh first proposed the creation of a “highly visible symbol” to remember the “unique genocide” of the European Jews.<sup>221</sup> Rosh had formed a private interest group the previous summer called “*Perspektive Berlin*.” This group gathered signatures in support of such a memorial, and took out an advertisement in the popular left-liberal daily newspaper *Frankfurter Rundschau* on 30 January 1989, a date that marked the 47<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Hitler’s ascension to power. The appeal featured

---

<sup>221</sup> Rosh, “*Ein Denkmal im Lande der Täter*,” in *Ein Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas*, 3, and “*Aufruf der Bürgerinitiative Perspektive Berlin an den Berliner Senat, die Regierungen der Bundesländer, die Bundesregierung*,” *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 30 January 1989, reprinted in Stavginski, *Das Holocaust-Denkmal*, 309.

prominent West and East German signatories: among the former were Willy Brandt, Günter Grass (who later rescinded his support), Walter Jens, and television journalist Klaus Bednarz; among the latter were authors Volker Braun, Christoph Hein, and Heiner Müller.<sup>222</sup> Addressed to the Berlin senate, the governments of the *Bundesländer* and the Federal Government, *Perspektive Berlin*'s appeal decried the lack of a memorial in Germany to the Jews murdered under the Nazis. It demanded a memorial in Berlin, and called for its establishment on the site of the former SS and Gestapo buildings, at *Prinz-Albrecht-Strasse* 8. From the first, as Niven has commented, the Memorial was to be an *all-German* project.<sup>223</sup> "The establishment of this memorial is an obligation for all Germans in East and West", the appeal stated.<sup>224</sup>

*Perspektive Berlin*'s appeal did not only find resonance among celebrities, but also among members of the GDR and FRG public. For example, following the appeal's publication, the group received signatures in support of the memorial from the *Bund der "Euthanasie"-Geschädigten und Zwangssterilisierten e.V.*, from the Berlin section of the War Resisters' International, and from members of the youth organisation of the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD). Members of Christian churches in the Federal Republic also sent lists of signatures to *Perspektive Berlin*, as did a large number of East German citizens of Wittenberg, and the Freiburg Society for Christian-Jewish Co-operation.<sup>225</sup> *Perspektive Berlin* acknowledged the support it had received among such groups in its second open letter to advocate for a memorial, published on 2 April 1989 in

---

<sup>222</sup> Niven, *Facing the Nazi Past*, 214.

<sup>223</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>224</sup> "Aufruf der Bürgerinitiative *Perspektive Berlin* an den Berliner Senat, die Regierungen der Bundesländer, die Bundesregierung," *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 30 January 1989, reprinted in Stavginski, *Das Holocaust-Denkmal*, 309.

<sup>225</sup> *Gesellschaft für Christlich-Jüdische Zusammenarbeit Freiburg e.V.* See copies of the original lists of signatures in *Perspektive Berlin, Ein Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas*, 20-35.

the Berlin-based liberal daily newspaper *Der Tagesspiegel*. Though their first appeal found such “thousandfold agreement,” *Perspektive Berlin*’s *Aufruf* read, most governments the group had appealed to had not yet reacted. In contrast, the Berliner SPD had, both before and after their election, declared their support for a Holocaust-*Mahnmal*, read the appeal.<sup>226</sup>

The notion that Jews alone should be commemorated at this site sparked discontent, and on 11 April 1989 Romani Rose, head of the Central Committee of the German Sinti and Roma, and Auschwitz survivor Otto Rosenberg took out an advertisement of his own in *Der Tagesspiegel*. Addressing their appeal to Federal Chancellor Kohl, the Mayor of Berlin and the president of what they referred to as the “Central Site of Genocide Remembrance,” Rose and Rosenberg argued that the Holocaust also included the murder of 500 000 Sinti and Roma, and that there must be equal commemoration of all victims of genocide. “The concept of uniqueness which is used to describe the genocide of the Jewish people is also true for the Holocaust of the Sinti and Roma”, their appeal stated. It criticized “*Perspektive Berlin*” for creating a division of first and second-class victims, and for silencing the crimes committed against the Sinti and Roma in demanding a central memorial only to the murdered Jews of Europe.<sup>227</sup> The open letter referenced historical facts: it stated that, from the beginning of their seizure of power, it was the Nazi’s goal to destroy the “non-European foreign races” including both Jews and “Gypsies.” Already in 1933 the SS had demanded that “Gypsies” be sterilized, it continued. Furthermore, the letter quoted a statement made by

---

<sup>226</sup> “*Aufruf der Bürgerinitiative Perspektive Berlin an den Berliner Senat, die Regierungen der Bundesländer, die Bundesregierung*,” *Der Tagesspiegel*, 2 April 1989, reprinted in Stavginski, *Das Holocaust-Denkmal*, 310.

<sup>227</sup> “*Aufruf des Zentralrats Deutscher Sinti und Roma*,” *Der Tagesspiegel*, 11 April 1989, reprinted in Stavginski, *Das Holocaust-Denkmal*, 311.

Willy Brandt at the 1979 commemoration ceremony at Bergen Belsen for the 500 000 Sinti and Roma victims. At that occasion, Brandt had also stated that the Nazis did not distinguish first from second-class victims. The Committee's open letter also quoted Kohl's 1985 statement to the Bundestag that the Sinti and Roma were "persecuted on racist grounds", and that these crimes "are to be regarded as genocide." The appeal cited a statement from then-leader of the SPD Hans-Jochen Vogel that the Sinti and Roma were also objects of the Nazi extermination program, and it concluded with the admonition that the Federal Government, the Berlin Senate and the governments of the *Länder* "must face their obligation to the Sinti and Roma for a common memorial to the victims of genocide in Berlin."<sup>228</sup>

"*Perspektive Berlin*" now found itself enmeshed in what Wiedmer termed the heated "victim/location debate"<sup>229</sup>: not only was this group in conflict with Rose's Committee, but also with the society "*Aktives Museum Faschismus und Widerstand in Berlin*" (Active Museum of Fascism and Resistance in Berlin). Under the organization of historian Reinhard Rürup, the Active Museum had been working since 1983 on designing a use for the Gestapo terrain on the former *Prinz-Albrecht-Strasse* (now *Niederkirchnerstraße*). It was one of a number of such interest groups.<sup>230</sup> The Active Museum was not against the idea of erecting a memorial at the *Gestapo* site. In fact, in its published appeal for a symbolic dig at the Gestapo cellars on 5 May, 1985, the group

---

<sup>228</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>229</sup> Wiedmer, *The Claims of Memory*, 145.

<sup>230</sup> In the late 1970's, historian of architecture Dieter Hoffmann-Axthelm pointed the attention of the "International Exhibition of Construction and Design, Berlin" to the site's former identity as the *Gestapo* main office. That the neighbouring Martin-Gropius Bau was now being used as an exhibition centre also drew public attention to the site. Beginning in 1980, groups such as the Anti-Fascist Committee branch of the International League for the Rights of Man began demanding a memorial for the victims of Fascism. See Reinhard Rürup, ed., *Topography of Terror. Gestapo, SS and Reichssicherheitshauptamt on the Prinz-Albrecht-Terrain A Documentation* (Berlin, Verlag Willmuth Arenhovel, 1989), 208 and 210.

demanded that: "...in future days a 'site of contemplation' ...be built on the spot where the terror headquarters of German Fascism once stood."<sup>231</sup> Rürup did wish, however, that this site perform the specific function of informing its visitors of the institutions that operated there during the Third Reich. At the site, he wrote, "armchair killers" planned and administered terror, and the *Einsatzgruppen* of the Security Police and the Security Service were formed. "Here the genocide on the German and European Jews was planned; here the organizational foundations were laid for deportation and extermination; here the Wannsee Conference was prepared, he wrote.<sup>232</sup> The administrative headquarters of the Secret State Police and the Gestapo prison were located at *Prinz-Albrecht Strasse* 8, and SS Reich leadership operated out of offices in the adjacent Hotel Prinz Albrecht.<sup>233</sup> From the Prinz-Albrecht terrain, these bureaucrats had co-ordinated the murder of individuals from many victim groups.<sup>234</sup> Conceiving of the significance of the site in this way, Rürup was opposed to dedicating it exclusively to the memory of the murdered Jews. The members of the Active Museum wrote to "*Perspektive Berlin*." In their letter, they reiterated that commemoration of the victims of Nazism could not include any ranking of these groups' relevance. Murdered Jews, Sinti and Roma, homosexuals, and Slavs deserve equality of remembrance, they argued.<sup>235</sup>

The Berlin Senate organized two public hearings to settle this impasse, and on 23 October 1989 a local state-appointed commission debating the future of this site decided

---

<sup>231</sup> Active Museum of Fascism and Resistance in Berlin, Inc., and Berlin History Workshop, Inc., "Appeal by the Society 'Aktives Museum Faschismus und Widerstand in Berlin' for a symbolic dig on May 5, 1985," reprinted in Rürup, ed., *Topography of Terror*, 214.

<sup>232</sup> Rürup, ed., *Topography of Terror*, 8.

<sup>233</sup> The Foundation Topography of Terror, "Historical Site," <http://www.topographie.de/en/ort.htm> (accessed 29 June 2006).

<sup>234</sup> Rürup, ed., *Topography of Terror*, 8.

<sup>235</sup> Letter from members of the Active Museum to the signatories of the open letter by *Perspektive Berlin*, printed in *Ein Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas*, 90-93.

that a memorial to only one victim group at the *Gestapo* site would be inappropriate.<sup>236</sup> In March 1990, the commission decided to accept a proposal from the Active Museum to build a documentation centre rather than a monument.<sup>237</sup> Following its defeat, Rosh's group re-organized its efforts. It changed its name to the Society for the Establishment of a Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe. As Wiedmer writes, it is important to note that Rosh's group chose a title that avoided the term "Holocaust," yet that indicated the Memorial was to be *exclusively* for remembering Jewish victims of Nazism.<sup>238</sup>

The 9 November 1989 fall of the Wall proved timely for this group, as it made available the five-acre site south of the Brandenburg Gate where the *Mahnmal* now stands.<sup>239</sup> The Society published an appeal in *Der Tagesspiegel* on 19 May 1990 demanding that the Memorial be established on the land of Hitler's *Reichskanslei*, where, until that time, the deathstrip had separated the two Berlins. In its appeal, the Society reiterated that the *bürgerinitiative* "*Perspektive Berlin*" had argued for this monument's establishment for two years, and that it was the goal of the new manifestation of that group to make politicians of both the former East and West Berlin responsible for the project's realization. The appeal recognized that this space was in the heart of re-unified Berlin, and that there was to be a city structural competition to decide its future. It demanded that the Memorial be a part of this competition.<sup>240</sup>

With the support Minister of the Interior Rudolf Seiters and Berlin Senator for Culture Ulrich Roloff-Momin, the Federal Government agreed to the use of the

---

<sup>236</sup> Wiedmer, *The Claims of Memory*, 145.

<sup>237</sup> Carrier, *Holocaust Monuments*, 105 and 148. Carrier tells us that this commission was named *Fachkommission zur Erarbeitung von Vorschlägen für die künftige Nutzung des 'Prinz-Albrecht-Geländes.'*

<sup>238</sup> Wiedmer, *The Claims of Memory*, 145.

<sup>239</sup> Young, "Germany's Holocaust Memorial Problem: And Mine," in Young, *At Memory's Edge*, 187.

<sup>240</sup> "Aufruf – Forderkreis zur Errichtung eines Denkmals für die ermordeten Juden Europas e.V.," *Der Tagesspiegel*, 19 May 1990, reprinted in Stavginski, *Das Holocaust-Denkmal*, 312.

*Ministergarten* plot for the project in 1992. The agreement rested on the stipulation that the Memorial would be in line with designs for the new Berlin, soon to be the nation's capital once again.<sup>241</sup> In response, the Central Committee of the German Sinti and Roma issued another open letter in December 1993. The "moral strength" of the national Holocaust memorial must rest on historical facts, this letter began. Rose's Committee offered up historical facts to reassert that a national *Holocaust-Mahnmal* could not stop at the memory of the murdered Jews of Europe. Chancellor Kohl and Berlin's mayor Eberhard Diepgen had the historical obligation to build a national Holocaust Memorial for the murdered Sinti and Roma on the Federal Government grounds in Berlin, the appeal continued. Ignatz Bubis, Chairman of the Central Council of Jews in Germany, had stated publicly on 30 September 1993 that the two memorials would need to establish a formative connection. Rose's appeal emphasized the necessity of such a connection, and argued that future state ceremonies of remembrance that are to occur at the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe must also occur at the memorial to the Sinti and Roma.<sup>242</sup>

At that point, the first stage of the debate over the *Mahnmal* concluded. The contest over what victim groups it was appropriate for the Memorial to commemorate had marked the first five years of the *Mahnmal*'s history. Both the Federal Government and the Berlin Senate, by 1993, backed the project of the Society for the Establishment of a Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe, and supported the proposals that it should

---

<sup>241</sup> Young, "Germany's Holocaust Memorial Problem," in Young, *At Memory's Edge*, 187, and Schlusche, "A Memorial is Built," in FMMJE, *Materials*, 15.

<sup>242</sup> "Zum Nationalen Holocaust-Mahnmal in Berlin: Aufruf des Zentralrats Deutscher Sinti und Roma," *Der Tagesspiegel*, 12 December 1993, reprinted in Stavginski, *Das Holocaust-Denkmal*, 311.



be built on its current location.<sup>243</sup> It is noteworthy that support of the Memorial both was *influenced* by a left/right political dichotomy, but also crossed political lines. Politicians' attitudes toward the *Mahnmal*, Niven argued, followed "fault –lines of generation difference, family background or even simply diversity of personal opinion." Whereas Kohl supported the memorial project, for example, Berlin's CDU mayor Eberhard Diepgen<sup>244</sup> opposed it. Diepgen led right-wing resistance, Niven wrote, to turning Berlin into a "centre of regret."<sup>245</sup> As Till noted, Kohl had more power than Diepgen to intervene, and did so twice in the artistic competitions.<sup>246</sup> Furthermore, though *Berlin's* SPD was supportive of the memorial, while running for office in 1998, Schroeder voiced his opposition to the project. In so doing he took up a position that one *Die Zeit* article stated broke with the SPD tradition of putting the commemoration of the Jewish genocide at the centre of their political agenda.<sup>247</sup> In 1993, however, though Rose's committee had pressured that the memorial also commemorate Sinti and Roma victims of Nazi violence, the Federal Government supported a central memorial that recognized the uniqueness of the Jewish genocide. The next challenge was to find an appropriate form for the monument. The task of designing the memorial began in 1994, when the Berlin Senate's Office for City Redevelopment, on behalf of the federal government, the Berlin Senate and Rosh's Society held an open artistic competition for the Memorial.<sup>248</sup>

---

<sup>243</sup> Young, "Germany's Holocaust Memorial Problem," in Young, *At Memory's Edge*, 187.

<sup>244</sup> Diepgen was the mayor of Berlin from 1984 to 1989, and from 1991 to 2001.

<sup>245</sup> Niven, *Facing the Nazi Past*, 196.

<sup>246</sup> Till, *The New Berlin*, 261.

<sup>247</sup> "Traditionsbruch," *Die Zeit* 13 August 1998, as cited in Till, *The New Berlin*, 261.

<sup>248</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

The competition yielded approximately 528 proposals, the majority of which were from German artists. In March 1995 the jury<sup>249</sup> selected two leading proposals – those of Cologne’s Simon Ungers, and of the team that worked under Berlin artist Christine Jakob-Marks. Ungers’ plan called for an 85 x 85 metre horizontal steel sculpture, accessible by stairs, and featuring the names of all death camps perforated into its sides. Jakob-Marks’ proposal entailed an exclusive focus on Jewish victims. It called for the installation of a huge concrete slab, inscribed with as many names of Jewish Holocaust victims as were known, on the proposed site. Additionally, this design team would intersperse eighteen boulders from Masada, Israel, at irregular intervals and amongst the engravings on the platform.<sup>250</sup> Initial heavy public criticism of these proposals only intensified when the jury decided in June to choose the Jakob-Marks plan. James Young recalls that the inclusion of the boulders indicated the controversial theme of Jewish self-sacrifice, and that, within hours, the winner’s announcement had generated artistic, intellectual and editorial criticism. Ignatz Bubis told Chancellor Kohl that the design was unacceptable.<sup>251</sup> Kohl vetoed the jury’s decision, and the competition ended without a result.<sup>252</sup>

Those groups that had held the competition now invited a number of individuals to three public colloquia to be held in January, February and April of 1997.<sup>253</sup> These organizers invited Young to speak at the Third Colloquium. He recalled that Rosh led the

---

<sup>249</sup> The jury’s chairman was former president of the Berlin-Brandenburg Academy of Arts, Dr. Walter Jens. See “*Die Wettbewerbsjury*” in *Perspektive Berlin, Ein Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas*, 145. Till wrote that, though the jury was comprised of 15 individuals, few of those people were art or architecture experts, Jews, former East Germans, or memorial centre experts. See Till, *The New Berlin*, 171.

<sup>250</sup> Young, “Germany’s Holocaust Memorial Problem,” in Young, *At Memory’s Edge*, 190.

<sup>251</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>252</sup> FMMJE, *Information* (English pamphlet), no pagination.

<sup>253</sup> Schlusche, “A Memorial is Built,” in FMMJE, *Materials*, 15, and Young, “Germany’s Holocaust Memorial Problem,” in Young, *At Memory’s Edge*, 192.

organizing committee, and that her insistence on maintaining as inviolable the “five aims” of the project contributed to the deterioration of the proceedings. Rosh held that this would be a memorial only to Europe’s murdered Jews, that crews would break ground for it on 27 January 1999,<sup>254</sup> that the location would be on this five-acre Ministerial Gardens plot, that the nine finalists from the 1995 competition would be invited to revise their designs after incorporating concepts from the colloquia, and that the organizing committee would choose the winning design from their revised designs.<sup>255</sup>

Meanwhile, the German Bundestag, as Natasha Goldman wrote in her 2001 study of the Memorial, “joined the discussion over the memorial at a very late date.” After Kohl’s veto, Goldman recounted, and mostly owing to the initiative of SPD representative Peter Conradi, the Bundestag met to discuss the memorial on 9 May 1996 – a date that marked the 51<sup>st</sup> anniversary of the defeat of the Nazi regime. In the wake of the artistic competition deadlock, the debate in the Bundestag centred on the problem of the memorial’s aesthetics.<sup>256</sup> The ten representatives that spoke at that sitting supported the idea of a memorial in Berlin, and conceived of the project as important for the capital and the reunified German nation. A number of speakers did, however, express their disappointment with the 1994/1995 design competition results.<sup>257</sup> The first speaker of the session, Rupert Scholz (CDU/CSU), urged that the debate over the memorial was important, and that, though it was a challenge to find artistic form for an historical act so

---

<sup>254</sup> This was the date of Germany’s newly dedicated “Holocaust Remembrance Day,” and was planned to coincide with the 1945 liberation of Auschwitz.

<sup>255</sup> Young, “Germany’s Holocaust Memorial Problem,” in Young, *At Memory’s Edge*, 192.

<sup>256</sup> Natasha Goldman, “Missing Absence: Trauma and National Memorials to the Holocaust,” (Ph.D. diss., University of Rochester, 2001), 254, and Carrier, *Holocaust Monuments*, 121.

<sup>257</sup> See Conradi’s comments about Jakob-Marks’ design being “too big” and “too superficial”, and those of Burkhard Hirsch (FDP) about the distasteful proportions of the design. *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Bundestages. Stenographischer Bericht – 13. Wahlperiode – 104. Sitzung*, Bonn, 9 May 1996, 9066 and 9069.

“unspeakable”, the Bundestag should hastily decide on a winner of the artistic competition. His remarks met with unanimous applause among the members of the CDU/CSU, FDP,<sup>258</sup> SPD, and *Bündis 90/Die Grünen* parties. The location of the memorial in Berlin *Mitte* was appropriate, he stated, though he cited comments from Ignatz Bubis in affirming that the construction of such a new memorial could not replace the places of horror such as Auschwitz, Ravensbrück, Saschenhausen and Bergen-Belsen.<sup>259</sup> Conradi (SPD) also affirmed the need to maintain historical sites of perpetration in addition to erecting a new memorial. Furthermore, he stated that it was the opinion of the SPD that the members of the Bundestag should undertake to construct such a memorial, *especially* in conjunction with the relocation of the capital to Berlin. He stated his belief that the uniqueness of the Jewish genocide demanded a memorial dedicated exclusively to murdered Jews, though he supported the notion of building other memorials in Berlin to such persecuted groups as the Sinti and Roma, homosexuals, and Jehovah’s Witnesses.<sup>260</sup> Volker Beck (*Bündis 90/Die Grünen*) and Ludwig Eim (PDS)<sup>261</sup> also supported the SPD initiative to involve the Bundestag in the process of making a memorial for Europe’s murdered Jews. Both representatives echoed Conradi’s argument for the establishment of multiple memorials, each to a separate victim group, in the vicinity of the Reichstag building.<sup>262</sup> Representative Burkhard Hirsch (FDP) added to the debate the recommendation that, in conjunction with the building of a new memorial, the German government should also extend much-needed compensation to Holocaust victims

---

<sup>258</sup> The *Freie Demokratische Partei* was formed in 1948, and is predominantly comprised of liberals who favour free market economics.

<sup>259</sup> *Ibid.*, 9062-9063.

<sup>260</sup> *Ibid.*, 9064.

<sup>261</sup> In 2005 the Party of Democratic Socialism (PDS) was renamed *Die Linke*. It is the successor of the East German Socialist Unity Party.

<sup>262</sup> *Ibid.*, 9067 and 9070.

in the former Eastern bloc countries.<sup>263</sup> Another FDP representative commented that a memorial in the centre of Berlin would remind both East and West Germans of their duty to remember Nazism's victims. Such a memorial would also, she commented, force Germans not only to remember the men and women of the German resistance, but also of the countless German *perpetrators* of the Holocaust.<sup>264</sup> Similarly, CDU/CSU representative Rita Süßmuth remarked that a memorial should be completed by the time of the Bundestag's return to Berlin in 1999. As such, it would stand as a reminder of East and West Germans' common past.<sup>265</sup> The members of the Bundestag found no resolution of the problem of the Memorial's design at the 9 May 1996 session, however, and deferred further discussion of the project to a later date.

The result of the three 1997 colloquia was a decision to appoint an independent *Findungskommission* of five experts to design and run another, this time more limited, artistic competition for the memorial's design. Director of the German Historical Museum in Berlin Christoph Stolzl, director of the Museum of Contemporary Art in Bonn Dieter Ronte, German art historian Werner Hoffmann, German architect Josef Paul Kleihues and Young comprised its members. This commission drafted a precise conceptual plan for the memorial, something its members believed the first competition had lacked. It made clear that the project did not aim to take the place of other, already-existing memorial sites in Germany. It also made clear that the memorial would not represent Nazism's other victims, but that it might necessitate additional memorials to

---

<sup>263</sup> *Ibid.*, 9069. Hirsch commented that the survivors were the living "monuments" to the Holocaust, and that the members of the Bundestag owed them help and respect.

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid.*, 9076.

<sup>265</sup> *Ibid.*, 9077.

them.<sup>266</sup> As memory is “not a zero-sum game,” there was room, the members of this committee believed, for what Young referred to as a “central memorial node” in the landscape of Berlin’s memorial sites. The memorial would allow for public reflection on the past while it encouraged the public to visit other memorials, museums and historical sites throughout the country.<sup>267</sup>

The committee invited nine finalists from the 1995 competition, as well as approximately twelve other artists and architects, to submit proposals. Those who participated submitted diverse proposals: one team suggested paving a half-mile section of the autobahn near Kassel in cobblestones, slowing down traffic drastically, and erecting signs along this section to mark it a “memorial for Europe’s murdered Jews.” Another called for the installation of a large yellow flower garden in the shape of a Jewish star at the site by the Brandenburg Gate.<sup>268</sup> Young recalls that, after large audiences attended public presentations of proposals by the final four teams, public consensus supported Eisenman and Serra’s design. Chancellor Kohl also, reportedly, favoured this design – to the extent that he invited the team to Bonn so that they could explain their proposal in a personal meeting with him.<sup>269</sup> In the summer of 1998, the *Findungskommission* approved a slightly modified version of Eisenman’s design, and unanimously recommended it to the Chancellor and to the memorial’s commissioners.

In the fall of 1998, Gerhard Schroeder’s Social Democratic Party defeated Kohl’s Christian Democratic Union in the national election. SPD cultural minister Michael

---

<sup>266</sup> Young, “Berlin’s Holocaust Memorial: A Report to the Bundestag Committee on Media and Culture, 3 March 1999,” *German Politics and Society* 17, no.3 (1999): 60.

<sup>267</sup> Young, “Germany’s Holocaust Memorial Problem,” in Young, *At Memory’s Edge*, 199, and “Berlin’s Holocaust Memorial: A Report to the Bundestag Committee,” 55.

<sup>268</sup> Young, “Germany’s Holocaust Memorial Problem,” in Young, *At Memory’s Edge*, 200-201.

<sup>269</sup> *Ibid.*, 208.

Naumann, backed by Schroeder himself, had long voiced his opinion that an SPD government would not support the building of the memorial.<sup>270</sup> Kohl's direct participation in the memorial project since 1995, and Schroeder and Naumann's expressed distaste for the memorial, had transformed the entire project into a politicized electoral issue. In fact, before the October elections, the parties involved postponed the competition to avoid turning the memorial into any more of a party political issue during election campaigning.<sup>271</sup> The result of the election was the formation of a coalition government, with Schroeder's SPD and the Green Party, led by Joschka Fischer. As the Greens supported the memorial project, the Bundestag would have to vote on whether or not the new government would support the memorial.

To determine the new government's position with regard to the *Mahnmal*, SPD member of the Bundestag and Chair of the Bundestag Committee on Cultural and Media Affairs, Elke Leonhard, convened a hearing in the Bundeshaus on 3 March 1999 to discuss the state of the deliberation on the project.<sup>272</sup> As the *Findungskommission's* spokesman, Young delivered a report on why the state should erect a monument, where the monument should be built, how a memorial to the murdered Jews of Europe should be designed, and what conclusions could be drawn from the current state of deliberations "for the further discussions and decision-making process of the German Bundestag"<sup>273</sup> In his report, Young argued for the importance of erecting a monument deliberately designed to remember the murder of the European Jews. Very different from a memorial located at a site originally built by Nazis themselves (such as the memorials maintained at

---

<sup>270</sup> *Ibid.*, 217, and Schlusche, "A Memorial is Built," in FMMJE, *Materials*, 23.

<sup>271</sup> Carrier, *Holocaust Monuments*, 107.

<sup>272</sup> Young, "Germany's Holocaust Memorial Problem," in Young, *At Memory's Edge*, 219.

<sup>273</sup> Young, "Berlin's Holocaust Memorial: A Report to the Bundestag Committee." Young's report comprises this entire document.

concentration and death camp sites), this project would be designed specifically as a memorial denoting current generations' attempts to remember. The Federal Government must, however, continue to support authentic historical sites, Young insisted. Naumann, now Federal Cultural Minister, endorsed a modified version of Eisenman's design. In negotiation with the architect, Naumann had designed a model of the Field of Stelae that included a building that would house a library, a branch of the Leo Baeck Institute, a research centre and Shoah Foundation videos. In a move that angered CDU/CSU and FDP members of the federal parliament, Naumann had avoided consulting the competition committee,<sup>274</sup> and presented his proposal at a December 1998 parliamentary press conference. As Carrier has written, by bypassing the rules of the competition, Naumann's proposal triggered a response that once again made the memorial project a party political issue at the federal level. The proponents of Naumann's design must facilitate close consultation and collaboration with the directors of other pedagogical centres, Young argued at the March 1999 hearing, if the *Mahnmal* was to find necessary support from the nation's existing memorial and research centres.<sup>275</sup> If the Federal Government were to build a memorial apart from the many sites of mass murder, he continued, it would be expressing its dedication to go beyond "passive recognition and preservation of the past": it would be committing itself to a most deliberate act of remembrance. In so doing, it would convey the sense that "memory must be created for the next generation, not only preserved."<sup>276</sup> Young suggested that it was time for the

---

<sup>274</sup> The committee was comprised of Rosh's association, the Federal Government and Berlin Senate. Instead of consulting this body about his revised proposal of Eisenman's design, at the December 1998 press conference Naumann endorsed the plan himself on behalf of the Federal Government, and obtained Lea Rosh's backing on behalf of her association. See Carrier, *Holocaust Monuments*, 108.

<sup>275</sup> *Ibid.*, 56 and 69, and Young, "Germany's Holocaust Memorial Problem," in Young, *At Memory's Edge*, 221.

<sup>276</sup> Young, "Berlin's Holocaust Memorial: A Report to the Bundestag Committee," 56.



Bundestag to vote on Eisenman's plan for the Field of Stelae, and to then consider proposals to add a didactic place of learning to the proposal.<sup>277</sup>

Three months later, on 25 June 1999, 539 representatives met at a sitting of the Bundestag convened to debate three main variations on the plans for a memorial. One of these was the proposal forwarded by SPD delegates such as Leonhard, FDP representatives such as Wolfgang Gerhardt and delegates from the Party of Democratic Socialism such as Gregor Gysi for a memorial (such as designed by Eisenman) *specifically* and *exclusively* dedicated to the murdered Jews of Europe. While Leonhard and Gerhardt represented districts of the former West Germany, Gysi represented districts of the former East Berlin;<sup>278</sup> in the debate for the *Mahnmal*, representatives from both former German states were on both sides of the issue of whether to dedicate the Memorial to Jewish victims alone, or to all victims of Nazism. Support for Eisenman's design for the memorial, and for Naumann's proposed addition to Eisenman's design of a "house of remembrance" documentation centre<sup>279</sup> did, however, largely follow political party lines. This support came principally – though, it is important to note, not exclusively - from members of the SPD, PDS and *Bündis 90/Die Grünen* parties. The record of the June 1999 debate reveals, therefore, that today's *Mahnmal* reflects a vision for the project that was one most predominantly voiced by members of these three political parties. Thierse, for example, opened the 1999 debate by repeating that which Conradi (SPD) and Scholz (CDU/CSU) had emphasized in the 1996 discussion in the Bundestag: the need to dedicate the memorial solely to Jewish victims, yet also to ensure

---

<sup>277</sup> *Ibid.*, 68 and 70.

<sup>278</sup> Leonhard (Bitburg, *Rhineland-Pfalz*); Gerhardt (Hochtaunus, *Hessen*); Gysi (Marzahn-Hellersdorf, Berlin).

<sup>279</sup> A second option debated at the sitting, separate from that for the building of Eisenman's artistic memorial alone.

the remembrance of other victims' fates.<sup>280</sup> Volker Beck (*Bündis 90/Die Grünen*) argued for the immediate establishment of a memorial for the murdered Jews of Europe, as well as for subsequent memorials for Sinti and Roma victims of genocide, victims of Nazi "Euthanasia" and compulsory sterilization programs, for *Wehrmacht* deserters, persecuted homosexuals and political opponents of the Nazis.<sup>281</sup> Thierse also argued that, in order to ensure the historical memory of future generations, a place of information was a necessary addition to Eisenman's "pure" artistic memorial.<sup>282</sup> Antje Vollmer (*Bündis 90/Die Grünen*) reaffirmed the need for a place of information. Just as did Thierse, she expressed her concern that a purely artistic memorial would not suffice to ensure that future generations would remember the Holocaust.<sup>283</sup> "Do we want to let the questions resound between the stelae?" asked Michael Roth (SPD), similarly. "Or do we want to build a bridge between the place of memory and the place of information?" A place of documentation in the centre of Berlin would complement other memorial sites in Germany, Roth argued, and would allow for a new form for Holocaust memory, distinct from that of previous generations of German citizens.<sup>284</sup>

Representatives Petra Pau and Gysi (PDS) both argued that, in addition to constructing the new memorial, the Bundestag also address the issue of compensation for Eastern Europeans who had been forced labourers under the Nazi regime.<sup>285</sup> Both explained that the memorial *should be dedicated exclusively to Jewish victims*, yet both emphasized the importance of commemorating each respective victim group

---

<sup>280</sup> *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Bundestags. Stenographischer Bericht*, Bonn, 25 June 1999, 4086.

<sup>281</sup> *Ibid.*, 4100.

<sup>282</sup> *Ibid.*, 4087.

<sup>283</sup> *Ibid.*, 4091.

<sup>284</sup> *Ibid.*, 4098-9.

<sup>285</sup> *Ibid.*, 4104 (Pau), and 4092-3 (Gysi).

independently.<sup>286</sup> In a comment that would portend the Foundation for the Memorial's programme, Pau advocated for the inclusion of the new memorial in a *national* memorial network comprised of such institutions as the Topography of Terror and the House of the Wannsee Conference, and such memorial museums as Sachsenhausen and Auschwitz.<sup>287</sup> Interestingly, both Pau and Gysi represented districts of the former East Berlin.<sup>288</sup> While their expressed wishes to dedicate the Memorial exclusively to the murdered Jews of Europe *contrasted* a traditional GDR memorial trope that marginalized Jewish victims in public memorial projects and conflated disparate experiences of persecution in public memorial dedications to *all* victims of fascism, these representatives' concerns about publicly remembering all victim groups with separate memorials in Berlin recalled the equalizing nature of that characteristic trope.<sup>289</sup>

Delegates at the 1999 Bundestag debate discussed one other major variation on the memorial project: the plan that theologian Richard Schröder had forwarded in the closing phase of the design competition. CDU/CSU representatives formed the largest base of support for Schröder's plan for the installation of a simple tablet monument to be dedicated to the victims of National Socialist crimes against humanity, and to bear the inscription "Thou shalt not kill" in German and in Hebrew.<sup>290</sup> To the applause of CDU/CSU representatives, Mayor Diepgen lobbied for Schröder's "understandable"

---

<sup>286</sup> *Ibid.*, 4104 and 4093 (Gysi).

<sup>287</sup> *Ibid.*, 4104.

<sup>288</sup> Pau (*Mitte-Prenzlauer Berg*); Gysi (*Marzahn-Hellersdorf*).

<sup>289</sup> See Chapter 2, pages 35-37.

<sup>290</sup> Young, "Germany's Holocaust Memorial Problem," from Young, *At Memory's Edge*, 222, and Carrier, *Holocaust Monuments*, 107. Like Naumann's revision of Eisenman's design, Schröder's plan had not been a part of the official competitions. Delegates of the CDU/CSU had forwarded Schröder's proposal for discussion at the June 1999 sitting. See *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Bundestags. Stenographischer Bericht*, Bonn, 25 June 1999, 4085.

memorial,<sup>291</sup> and Arnold Vaatz argued that there was no more suitable commemoration for Nazism's victims than Schröder's murder prohibition.<sup>292</sup> Correspondingly, CDU/CSU delegates also voiced the majority of the criticism of both Eisenman's design, and Naumann's proposed addition of an information centre. In one example, Annette Widmann-Mauz commented that Auschwitz is a central, founding myth of the Federal Republic of Germany. In such a democracy, she argued, a monument for the murdered Jews of Europe is appropriate, but not sufficient. Instead, she continued, the Bundestag should work to establish a memorial for all victims of Nazi crimes against humanity.<sup>293</sup> Additionally, 58 members of the CDU/CSU proposed to abandon the project entirely. CDU/CSU representative Wilhelm-Josef Sebastian, for example, argued that a concrete memorial can neither ensure appropriate Holocaust remembrance for today, nor for the future. To the applause of CDU/CSU delegates, he argued that funds allocated for the memorial would be better invested into youth education on inter-racial understanding and tolerance, and on the ongoing maintenance of existing memorial places.<sup>294</sup> Similarly, Gerd Mueller argued that "active" forms of remembrance, such as the founding of a German/Israeli youth initiative, would bring Holocaust memory into the heads and hearts of youth in a much more effective way than could a memorial made of concrete.<sup>295</sup>

After the debate, 439 members of parliament present voted in favour of the basic motion to build the monument. Of these, SPD representatives were in the vast majority. Two *Bündis 90/Die Grünen*, four FDP, eight SPD and 99 CDU/CSU representatives

---

<sup>291</sup> *Ibid.*, 4097. Diepgen contrasted what he believed was the ambiguous message of Eisenman's field of stelae with the expressly stated message of Schröder's design.

<sup>292</sup> *Ibid.*, 4115.

<sup>293</sup> *Ibid.*, 4111.

<sup>294</sup> *Ibid.*, 4099-4100.

<sup>295</sup> *Ibid.*, 4118.

voted that further alterations be made to the existing plans for the project, and a small group of others abstained from voting.<sup>296</sup> 324 representatives from various parties voted in favour of a monument dedicated *solely* to Jewish victims,<sup>297</sup> while 218 others - 180 CDU/CSU, 22 SPD, 15 FDP members of parliament and one *Bündnis 90/Die Grünen* representative - voted for one dedicated to the murdered Jews of Europe as well as to *all victims* of National Socialist crimes against humanity.<sup>298</sup> With that vote, the Bundestag decided to establish a Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe on the Ministry Gardens site, and recognized its commitment to appropriately commemorate the other victims of National Socialism.<sup>299</sup> Voting patterns revealed that, just as Pau and Gysi's arguments had demonstrated, representatives of former GDR districts did *not* primarily support a characteristically East German public memory that avoided specific commemoration of Nazism's Jewish victims. Of 218 votes in favour of a monument dedicated to murdered Jews *as well as* to all "other" victims of Nazi crimes, 36 (16.5%) were cast by representatives from former GDR districts. In contrast, 67 of 325 votes (20.6%) in favour of a monument dedicated exclusively to the murdered Jews of Europe were cast by representatives from former East German districts.<sup>300</sup>

After having established the memorial's dedication, final voting determined the form that the memorial to the murdered Jews of Europe would take. 314 members of

---

<sup>296</sup> Carrier, *Holocaust Monuments*, 107. Stavginski lists those opposed to building a Memorial at that time: 99 CDU/CSU, 8 SPD, 2 *Bündnis 90/Die Grünen*, and 4 FDP representatives. Stavginski, *Das Holocaust-Denkmal*, 294.

<sup>297</sup> Casting 218 votes, SPD representatives once again comprised the vast majority of this group. *Bündnis 90/Die Grünen* representatives cast the second highest number of votes (37), followed by PDS members (29 votes in favour of a memorial dedicated only to Jewish victims).

<sup>298</sup> *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Bundestags. Stenographischer Bericht*, Bonn, 25 June 1999, 4127.

<sup>299</sup> Stavginski, *Das Holocaust-Denkmal*, 295.

<sup>300</sup> *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Bundestags. Stenographischer Bericht*, Bonn, 25 June 1999, 4127, and Deutscher Bundestag, "Members," [http://www.bundestag.de/htdocs\\_e/mdb/index.html](http://www.bundestag.de/htdocs_e/mdb/index.html) (accessed 7 August 2006).

parliament voted to build Eisenman's Field of Stelae with an Information Centre, and 187 voted for the proposal that Richard Schröder had forwarded.<sup>301</sup> The members that voted for Eisenman's model with the Information Centre came from various parties: SPD representatives were in the majority, casting 225 votes, while *Bündis 90/Die Grünen* cast 38, PDS cast 30, CDU/CSU cast 13 and FDP cast 6.<sup>302</sup>

At that point in the *Mahnmal's* history, after eleven years of deliberation, the Federal Government came to officially back the construction of Eisenman's Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe in the middle of Berlin. Tensions over centralizing a diverse physical landscape of memory, and over eclipsing diverse histories of victimhood with the Jewish genocide, had marked the debate from the first. In response to these pressures, the Berlin Senate, the Federal Government and the Bundestag representatives employed past German strategies of public Holocaust commemoration in a new combination. The Federal Government, for example, offered Rosh's group space in the middle of Berlin for the specific public commemoration of Jewish victims of Nazi violence, and the Bundestag Resolution for the Memorial both ratified state funding for this purpose, and unmistakably acknowledged the *uniqueness* of the crime against the Jews. The fact that the Berlin Senate had decided it was inappropriate to dedicate the historic Gestapo and SS site to public commemoration of Jewish victims alone, however, indicated a desire to avoid remembering one victim group above others. The Bundestag made it the job of the Foundation for the Memorial to facilitate commemoration of non-Jewish victims of the Nazis; this act further demonstrated the memorial-makers desire for

---

<sup>301</sup> Casting 184 votes against Eisenman's design, CDU/CSU representatives comprised the vast majority of this figure. *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Bundestags. Stenographischer Bericht*, Bonn, 25 June 1999, 4137 and 4130.

<sup>302</sup> Young, "Germany's Holocaust Memorial Problem," from Young, *At Memory's Edge*, 222, and Carrier, *Holocaust Monuments*, 107. See Chapter 1, pages 20-21, for more on the Bundestag Resolution.

equal public memorialization of the victims of Nazi persecution, and for the integration of the history of Jewish victims into public commemoration of other histories of suffering under the Third Reich. The debate in the Bundestag reveals, however, that representatives were largely divided along a left/right political axis in their support of a memorial comprised of Eisenman's Field of Stelae with an attached Information Centre, dedicated exclusively to Nazism's Jewish victims but necessitating similar memorials to other victims ("left," with the support of the Green party), and a memorial for all victims of Nazi crimes ("right").

The *Mahnmal*'s history explains why the project, as Thomas Lutz commented last summer, exists in relationship to other sites of remembrance of Nazi crimes in Germany. This history also illustrates that neither the Federal Government nor the Foundation for the Memorial aim to present the Jewish genocide in such a way as to disconnect it from other histories of suffering under the Third Reich. Instead, throughout the debate over the project, the memorial-makers were engaged in a careful balancing act: they took measures to ensure that the *Mahnmal* would underscore the uniqueness of the Jewish genocide among Nazi crimes, yet they also recognized their responsibility to honour other victim groups, and to integrate memorialization of Jewish persecution into other histories of suffering under National Socialism. As Bundestag representatives Peter Conradi<sup>303</sup> and Rita Süßmuth<sup>304</sup> had commented, the creation of a Holocaust memorial in Berlin *Mitte* – in the centre of reunified Germany's Federal Government quarter – reflected both German states' responsibility to remember a common National Socialist past, and institutionalized memorialization of the victims of genocide at its core.

---

<sup>303</sup> *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Bundestages. Stenographischer Bericht – 13. Wahlperiode – 104. Sitzung*, Bonn, 9 May 1996, 9064.

<sup>304</sup> *Ibid.*, 9077.

The following chapter highlights some particular ways that the Foundation for the Memorial has acted on the Federal Government's new amalgamation of German memorial precedents with this project. The way that the Information Centre presents the victims of National Socialism, the composition of the *Mahnmal*'s governing body, the nature of that Foundation's past work and its ongoing programme demonstrate that the *Mahnmal* has provided a site of remembrance for integrating the public memorialization of the European Jews murdered during the Holocaust with commemoration of the non-Jewish victims of National Socialism.



## **Chapter Five: German memorial precedents in new combination: the *Mahnmal*'s integration of Jewish, with other histories of suffering during the Third Reich**

In addition to resolving the FRG's plan to build the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe on the site of the Ministerial Gardens in the middle of Berlin, to use Eisenman's design for this purpose, and to establish a public foundation for the memorial, the Bundestag's 1999 Resolution also committed the Federal Government and the Foundation to building a small place of information at the memorial site. This complement to Eisenman's Field of Stelae would detail the fate of the victims, and identify the historical sites of their destruction.<sup>305</sup> In July 2000, a working group of the Foundation's Board of Trustees proposed that the Information Centre would make concrete and personalize the abstract memorialization of victims that Eisenman's Field of Stelae afforded.<sup>306</sup> The Foundation chose Dagmar von Wilcken's exhibition plan for this project, convinced by the way it reflected the architecture of the Field of Stelae, and by the designer's commitment to "making history tangible."<sup>307</sup> The Board of Trustees' working group, comprised of Jäckel, Director of the Topography of Terror Foundation Andreas Nachama, Rürup, and the Executive Director of the Foundation for the Memorial, Sybille Quack, worked with von Wilcken to create the presentation at the Information Centre.<sup>308</sup> The goal of the exhibition, Quack and von Wilcken have written,

---

<sup>305</sup> Young, "Berlin's Holocaust Memorial: A Report to the Bundestag Committee," 70, and German Bundestag, *Resolution*, sections 1.4 through 2. By 1999, disagreement over the inclusion of a pedagogical centre, as well as over its potential design, had threatened to jeopardize the entire memorial project. To prevent the Federal Government from withdrawing support for the *Mahnmal* altogether, Young had encouraged the Bundestag to vote on whether to build Eisenman's memorial, and to designate deliberation of an information centre as a separate issue. The 1999 Resolution shows that the Bundestag voted for this strategy.

<sup>306</sup> Quack and von Wilcken, "Creating an Exhibition," in FMMJE, *Materials*, 40.

<sup>307</sup> Schlusche, "A Memorial is Built" in FMMJE, *Materials*, 26, and Quack and von Wilcken, "Creating an Exhibition," in FMMJE, *Materials*, 40, 45 and 46. The exhibition designers sought to remind visitors of the Field of Stelae situated above. For example, they designed informational displays shaped similar to Eisenman's stelae, and arranged illuminated text panels to be set into the floor in a grid pattern.

<sup>308</sup> Quack and von Wilcken, "Creating an Exhibition," in FMMJE, *Materials*, 40-41.

was to make clear that “individual fates lay behind the unfathomable number of six million murdered Jews, whom one wished to commemorate.”<sup>309</sup>

The pedagogy of this Information Centre reflects the outcome of the long debate over the Memorial, and, correspondingly, actualizes the tenets of the Bundestag’s Resolution to erect the *Mahnmal*: it incorporates non-Jewish victims into a *portion* of its narrative and, within that portion, indicates a certain level of equality of suffering between all victims of Nazi violence. As Chapter One describes, historical information in the introductory foyer to the exhibit weaves the history of the persecution of the disabled, German and foreign political opponents of the Nazis, Sinti and Roma, and Soviet prisoners of war into a summary of the escalation of the Jewish genocide.<sup>310</sup> It makes clear that Nazi persecution of non-Jewish victims originated from the same policies, and was a consequence of the same events, as was Nazi anti-Jewish violence. The exhibition designers arranged this information in a series of text plates and photographs along one long wall in the foyer (see layout, figure 9).

The first segment of this chronology, “1933-1937”, explains that the Nazis began persecuting political opponents and Jews as soon as they assumed power in Germany. It tells of the impact of the Nuremberg Laws on Jews, but makes clear that they also resulted in the curtailment of rights to, and persecution of, German Sinti and Roma.<sup>311</sup> A photograph in this section documents George Mainzer’s 6 March 1933 public humiliation by SA men, while its accompanying caption explains that the SA persecuted this German

---

<sup>309</sup> *Ibid.*, 40.

<sup>310</sup> See Chapter 1, page 16.

<sup>311</sup> FMMJE, “Introduction” (presentation in Foyer 1 and 2), *Mahnmal* Information Centre, Berlin, and “Chronology (Text Displayed in Foyer 1 and 2),” *Materials*, 50.

man for being a political opponent of the new regime, as well as for being Jewish.<sup>312</sup>

Another photograph depicts SA men leading German woman Christine Neemann and her Jewish boyfriend through the streets of Norden in 1935. Its caption teaches that these civilians were forced to wear placards that read, “I am a German girl and I have let myself be defiled by a Jew,” and “I am a race defiler.”<sup>313</sup>

The chronology returns to the Sinti and Roma with the 1939 outbreak of war. Here, it states that the war enabled the German leadership to “intensify their persecution of the Jews, Sinti and Roma, political opponents, the disabled and others.”<sup>314</sup> Description of the events following the German invasion of Poland includes reference to the victimization of the Polish upper class and Catholic Church dignitaries, and to the fact that Nazi targets came to include “ever-wider sections of the non-Jewish population.”<sup>315</sup> Photographs in this section depict Wehrmacht soldiers forcibly gathering Polish civilians together and marching Sinti and Roma families through the streets of Hohenasperg for deportation to Poland. The exhibit designers also included a portrait of two young Roma girls who were deported from Ludwigshafen to Poland’s Radom Ghetto in 1940.<sup>316</sup> At this point, in a description of deportations of Jews, Sinti and Roma from within the German Reich in 1939 and 1940, the text clearly states that Jewish and other victims were subject to the same type of persecution.<sup>317</sup> Furthermore, the “1941” text plate recognizes that maltreatment of Soviet prisoners of war resulted in their mass death, and

---

<sup>312</sup> FMMJE, “Introduction” (presentation in Foyer 1 and 2), *Mahnmal* Information Centre, Berlin, and “Documentation,” *Materials*, 56.

<sup>313</sup> *Ibid.*, 57.

<sup>314</sup> FMMJE, “Introduction” (presentation in Foyer 1 and 2), *Mahnmal* Information Centre, Berlin, and “Chronology (Text Displayed in Foyer 1 and 2),” *Materials*, 50.

<sup>315</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>316</sup> FMMJE, “Introduction” (presentation in Foyer 1 and 2), *Mahnmal* Information Centre, Berlin, and “Documentation,” *Materials*, 58-59.

<sup>317</sup> FMMJE, “Introduction” (presentation in Foyer 1 and 2), *Mahnmal* Information Centre, Berlin, and “Chronology (Text Displayed in Foyer 1 and 2),” *Materials*, 51.

that the invasion of the Soviet Union allowed for German occupiers to carry out the first mass murders of Jews and Soviet Roma. This section also tells of the arrest and murder of civilians in reprisal for resistance attacks against the German occupiers and their collaborators, including the mass shooting of thousands of Roma men in Serbia.<sup>318</sup>

The treatment of multiple victim groups continues in this introductory foyer when its chronology reaches the development of mobile gas vans, and the use of this technology against Jews, as well as against Sinti and Roma, at Chelmno in 1941. The murder of Sinti and Roma at Belzec, Sobibor and Treblinka is also part of this narrative, as are statistics on the number of Polish political prisoners, Sinti and Roma, Soviet prisoners of war and prisoners of other nationalities murdered at Auschwitz by 1945.<sup>319</sup> The introductory historical overview ends with data on the number of Jewish and non-Jewish prisoners who died during death marches and evacuation transports.<sup>320</sup>

The dominant narrative in the Information Centre's introductory foyer is clearly that of the escalation of the Jewish genocide. In each section of its chronology, text conveys the impact of Nazi policies on Jewish populations *before* it makes reference to non-Jewish fates. Of the years 1933-1937, for example, the text conveys that, for the first time, antisemitism was part of the governmental policy of a modern state. "German Jews were turned into foreigners in their own country, and the persecution was intensified step by step", the text continues. It teaches that the "Nuremberg Laws" rescinded Jews' rights one after the other before it states that the "Laws" were also applied to Sinti and Roma.<sup>321</sup>

---

<sup>318</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>319</sup> *Ibid.*, 54.

<sup>320</sup> *Ibid.*, 55.

<sup>321</sup> *Ibid.*, 50. The text reads: "These laws were also applied to German Sinti and Roma who, as "Gypsies," were deprived of their rights and persecuted." It does not mention the delay between the application of the Nuremberg Laws to Jews, and to Sinti and Roma. The 1935 "Laws" did not explicitly mention "Gypsies." A 1937 Nazi decree on "crime prevention" enabled wide and systematic police roundup of Sinti and Roma,

Though documenting Jewish fates is its primary focus, the exhibit's introduction does convey a considerable amount of information about Nazi persecution of non-Jews. This information is reported as originating from the same policies, and resultant of the same events, as was Nazi anti-Jewish persecution. The Foundation for the Memorial's website states that this foyer's intended function is to provide visitors with basic information on the historical context of the years 1933-1945 so that they can comprehend the development of Nazi policy and the escalation of persecution of its opponents.<sup>322</sup> The exhibit designers themselves, however, wrote more specifically of their intention for this introduction. They wanted it to offer historical context for the four theme rooms ahead – rooms that document the dimensions of the Jewish genocide.<sup>323</sup>

Indeed, the Information Centre's integrated narrative documenting multiple victim groups' suffering ceases entirely with the six oversized portraits of Jewish victims that mark the entrance to the first themed room (see figure 11). As I explained in Chapter One, the presentation in the next three rooms documents only Jewish victims' experiences of persecution. The Centre reintroduces non-Jewish victims in its fourth room, where it discusses the sites at which German military and police, *Einsatzgruppen* of the SS, and units comprised of occupied nations' soldiers, among other formations, persecuted Jewish and non-Jewish individuals. In the "portal" room, the Information Centre fully resumes a presentation of victimhood under the Nazis that features multiple victim groups. The database in this final room informs visitors about such sites in

---

and after the annexation of Austria into Germany under the Third Reich, the "Laws" were applied to them, as well. From June 1938 the Nazis began deporting Sinti and Roma to concentration camps such as Buchenwald, Dachau and Sachsenhausen. See the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, "Sinti & Roma," <http://www.holocaust-trc.org/sinti.htm> (accessed 1 August 2006).

<sup>322</sup> FMMJE, *The Memorial: Information Centre*, "Prelude," <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/thememorial/informationcentre/prelude> (accessed 3 April 2006).

<sup>323</sup> Quack and von Wilcken, "Creating an Exhibition," in FMMJE, *Materials*, 46.

Germany as the memorial museum in Bernburg for mentally ill and disabled German citizens killed as part of the Nazi “Euthanasia” program, and the memorial museum at Zeithian, in eastern Germany, in a camp that housed Soviet Prisoners of War.<sup>324</sup>

The personnel composition of the Foundation for the Memorial also demonstrates that the *Mahnmal* provides a forum for Holocaust memorialization in Germany today that integrates commemoration of Jewish, with non-Jewish victims of Nazism. As Chapter One explained, the Foundation’s March 2000 Charter commits it to working to ensure that all victims of National Socialism are remembered and honoured appropriately.<sup>325</sup> Representatives from Rosh and Jäckel’s Association Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, the Central Council of Jews in Germany, the Jewish Community of Berlin and the Jewish Museum of Berlin sit on the Foundation’s Board of Trustees, the body responsible for all basic issues within the Foundation’s remit. The Board is also, however, comprised of representatives from institutions such as the Bundestag, the Federal and State Government, the Topography of Terror Foundation and the Working Group of Concentration Camp Memorials in Germany.<sup>326</sup> Furthermore, the Board of Trustees appointed an Advisory Board; the Foundation’s website currently explains that the chief focus of the Advisory Board’s work is to “incorporate the other victims who were persecuted by the Nazis...into the Foundation’s programme and to ensure that the discrimination, persecution, deportation and annihilation of fellow human beings is kept

---

<sup>324</sup> For an online version of the type of information that the database in the “portal” provides, see FMMJE, *The Memorial: Information Centre*, “Portal: the historical memorial sites,” <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/thememorial/informationcentre/portal> (accessed 01 April 2006), and Topography of Terror Foundation, *Holocaust Memorials*, “Euthanasia facility,” and “prisoner of war camp,” <http://www.gedenkstaetten-uebersicht.de/> (accessed 10 July 2006).

<sup>325</sup> German Bundestag, *Act*, section 2. See also Chapter One, pages 21-2.

<sup>326</sup> There is at least one representative from each political party in the Bundestag on the Board of Trustees. See Appendix 2 for a listing of the Board’s current members and their party affiliations. See also FMMJE, *The Memorial, Foundation*, “Board of Trustees,” <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/thememorial/foundation/boardoftrustees> (accessed 11 July 2006).

alive in the collective memory.”<sup>327</sup> Representatives from such institutions as the International Museum Council of the Auschwitz Memorial, the Neuengamme Concentration Camp Memorial, the Institute for Contemporary History and the Flossenburg Concentration Camp Memorial comprise this Advisory Board. Also representing victims’ groups on this Board is the spokesperson for the Association of Lesbians and Gays in Germany, as well as individuals from the *Bund der “Euthanasie”-Geschädigten und Zwangssterilisierten e.V.*, the Interest Group of those Persecuted by the Nazi Regime - German Antifascist Alliance, and from the Federal Association of the Victims of the NS Military Judicial System.<sup>328</sup> With the Advisory Board’s work, the Foundation organizes such events as lecture series, exhibition projects and publications that inform of Nazism’s victims and their commemoration. For example, from Fall 2004 through Spring 2005, the Foundation for the Memorial and the Berlin Academy of Arts held a series of nine lectures entitled “Architecture of Commemoration: German and International Remembrance Projects within the Context of Commemorative Culture.”<sup>329</sup> This series included a lecture by architect István Mányi on the Holocaust Museum in Budapest, as well as one by architect Dani Karavan on the plans for the Memorial for the Murdered Sinti and Roma to be built in Berlin *Mitte*.<sup>330</sup> In an earlier example of the Advisory Board’s work, the Foundation for the Memorial began a lecture series in 2003 entitled “Victims of Nazi Persecution.” The Foundation’s 6 January 2003 Press Release

---

<sup>327</sup> FMMJE, *The Memorial, Foundation*, “Advisory Board,” <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/thememorial/foundation/advisoryboard> (accessed 11 July 2006).

<sup>328</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>329</sup> FMMJE, *News, Series of Lectures*, “Lecture Series: Architecture of Commemoration,” <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/news/seriesoflectures/?highlight=architecture%20of%20commemoration> (accessed 11 July 2006).

<sup>330</sup> FMMJE, *News, Series of Lectures: Programm*, “Architecture of Commemoration,” <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/news/seriesoflectures/programm/?highlight=architecture%20of%20commemoration> (accessed 11 July 2006).

describing the lecture series states that its chief focus was to be “on non-Jewish victims of the Nazi regime and the persecution they suffered.” The President of the Jewish Community of Berlin delivered a speech to officially open this series, after which Professor of the History of Medicine, Paul Weindling, delivered a lecture on Nazi medical experiments on children and young people in concentration camps. Other lectures in the 2003 series focused on Nazi campaigns of terror against homosexuals, the persecution of Catholics, and Nazi sterilization policies.<sup>331</sup>

Though the majority of the historical narrative at the *Mahmmal*'s Information Centre documents Jewish individuals' experience of persecution, the composition and function of the Foundation for the Memorial expand the institution's remit to one that also involves the commemoration of non-Jewish victims of Nazism. The Bundestag, we recall, declared the FRG's commitment to commemorating “other victims of the Nazi regime” in its Resolution to build the *Mahmmal*. In this document, the Bundestag also conferred this responsibility to facilitating appropriate remembrance of all victims on the Memorial's governing body.<sup>332</sup> These expressed declarations of responsibility constitute a dramatic watershed for public Holocaust memorialization in Germany. As Niven wrote in his 2002 *Facing the Nazi Past*, supporters of memorial projects to persecuted minorities in Germany can base their calls on these tenets.<sup>333</sup> Currently, the Bundestag supports two memorials in the making for Berlin *Mitte* – those for homosexual, and for Sinti and Roma victims of Nazism, respectively. The concluding chapter reflects on the

---

<sup>331</sup> FMMJE, *News:Press*, “New Series of Lectures ‘Victims of Nazi Persecution,’” <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/news/press/20030106> (accessed 15 June 2006).

<sup>332</sup> German Bundestag, *Resolution*, section 1.5

<sup>333</sup> Niven, *Facing the Nazi Past*, 223. See Chapter Two, page 32 for a more extensive discussion of Niven's arguments.



current memorial work, and considers the type of memorial activity the *Mahmmal* has encouraged, and continues to allow for, on the part of the public.

## **Conclusion: The *Mahnmal* and Public Holocaust Memorialization in Germany Today**

The Federal Government's decisions to build memorials planned for Berlin *Mitte* to the homosexual, and Sinti and Roma victims of Nazism illustrate ramifications of its support of the *Mahnmal* project. Since 1989, Romani Rose has viewed the omission of the Sinti and Roma from the *Mahnmal* as an insult; we will recall the appeals of the Central Council of German Sinti and Roma that the Holocaust *also* included the murder of 500 000 Sinti and Roma, and that there must be equal commemoration of all victims of genocide.<sup>334</sup> In July 1992, the Berlin Senator for Culture and the Federal Ministry of the Interior agreed to build one memorial for Jewish victims, and another for Sinti and Roma.<sup>335</sup> Years of disagreement followed between Rose and Rosh, Jäckel and Bubis<sup>336</sup> over, among other issues, a quote by former Bundestag President Roman Herzog that the Council had planned to inscribe on the memorial. Herzog's 1997 statement had explained that the genocide of the Sinti and Roma had followed from the *same* motivations of racial hatred, and the *same* systematic murder at the hands of the Nazis, as had the Jewish genocide.<sup>337</sup> Only in May 2006 did the Federal Government and the Central Council of German Sinti and Roma agree on a joint proposal for the memorial's design.<sup>338</sup> At the cost of two million Euros, the Federal Government will fund Israeli

---

<sup>334</sup> Niven wrote of Rose's sentiments, *Facing the Nazi Past*, 220. See also "Aufruf des Zentralrats Deutscher Sinti und Roma," *Der Tagesspiegel*, 11 April 1989, reprinted in Stavginski, *Das Holocaust-Denkmal*, 311. See Chapter 4, pages 78-9, for my explanation of the appeal of the Central Council of the German Sinti and Roma.

<sup>335</sup> Niven, *Facing the Nazi Past*, 222.

<sup>336</sup> Bubis was the President of the Central Council of Jews in Germany from 1992 until his death in 1999.

<sup>337</sup> The Polynational War Memorial, "Planned Memorial to the Roma and Sinti Victims," (photograph of sign at future site, featuring text of Herzog's 1997 statement), [http://www.war-memorial.net/mem\\_det.asp?ID=177](http://www.war-memorial.net/mem_det.asp?ID=177) (accessed 12 July 2006). For a more comprehensive account of the dispute between Rose, Bubis, Jäckel and Rosh, see Niven, *Facing the Nazi Past*, 222-223.

<sup>338</sup> Federal Press and Information Office, *Regierung Online*, "Memorial to Murdered Sinti and Roma," 9 May 2006 [http://www.bundesregierung.de/nn\\_6516/Content/EN/Artikel/2006/05/2006-05-09-memorial-to-murdered-sinti-and-roma.html](http://www.bundesregierung.de/nn_6516/Content/EN/Artikel/2006/05/2006-05-09-memorial-to-murdered-sinti-and-roma.html) (accessed 12 July 2006).

artist Karavan's fountain-like design for the memorial, and it has donated a site for it on Simsonweg, a pathway in Tiergarten between the Reichstag and the Brandenburg Gate.<sup>339</sup> International broadcaster *Deutsche Welle* reported in May 2006 that the memorial site will include also tablets inscribed with the names of concentration and death camps Auschwitz, Treblinka and Buchenwald. Furthermore, the site will feature information panels documenting the Nazi persecution and murder of the Sinti and Roma, as well as one panel containing Herzog's controversial quote.<sup>340</sup>

After the *Mahnmal* and the Memorial to the Sinti and Roma, the Memorial to the Homosexuals Persecuted under the National Socialist Regime will be the Federal Government's third project built for the victims of Nazism in the immediate vicinity of the Reichstag, and undertaken since the seat of government returned to Berlin.<sup>341</sup> In December 2003, the Bundestag responded to the Initiative "Remember the homosexual victims of National Socialism" and the Lesbian and Gay Federation in Germany (LSVD) with the decision to build the memorial on the Eastern edge of the Tiergarten, directly across Ebertstrasse from the *Mahnmal*'s Field of Stelae.<sup>342</sup> In its original appeal to the Federal Government, the Initiative had cited the *Mahnmal* precedent in arguing for its own memorial:

---

<sup>339</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>340</sup> *Deutsche Welle* (DW-World.de), "German Memorial to pay Homage to Sinti and Roma," 9 May 2006 <http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,,2014439,00.html?maca=en-rss-en-all-1124-rdf> (accessed 12 July 2006).

<sup>341</sup> Thomas Flierl explicitly stated this fact in his "Opening Speech," in Senate Administration for Science, Research and Culture, Urban and Architectural Art, *Colloquium Prelude to the Artistic Design Competition: Memorial to the Homosexuals Persecuted under the National Socialist Regime* (Berlin: 7-8 April 2005), [http://www.gedenkort.de/files/Kolloquium\\_Doku.pdf](http://www.gedenkort.de/files/Kolloquium_Doku.pdf), 10.

<sup>342</sup> For a map of the memorial's proposed site, see *Gedenkort für die im Nationalsozialismus verfolgten Homosexuellen*, "Appeal for applications: *Umgebungsplan*," <http://www.lsvd.de/gedenk-ort/wettbewerb-plan.htm> (accessed 12 July 2006).

With the establishment of the memorial to the murdered Jews of Europe a monument will exist in Berlin that reminds people of the German responsibility and encourages opposition to all forms of anti-Semitism. In the same way memorial sites to other victims of National Socialism are necessary. The separate memorials should not indicate the differences of the various groups, but encourage people to consider the special history of a particular group. The establishment of a memorial to the persecuted homosexuals is intended - at long last - to provide a worthy form of honouring their memory in the German capital, Berlin.<sup>343</sup>

The appeal featured a long list of signatories, including Rosh, Spiegel, Rose, Rürup, and President of the Jewish Community in Berlin, Dr. Alexander Brenner.

Various speakers at a 7-8 April 2005 colloquium held as a prelude to the artistic design competition for the Memorial to the Homosexuals Persecuted Under the Nazi Regime similarly reinforced the project's link to the *Mahnmal*, to other public sites of memory, and to an *ongoing* process of memorialization in Germany. Senator of Science, Research and Culture, Dr. Thomas Flierl, explained, "the long debate over the memorial to the murdered Jews of Europe raised general awareness of different persecuted groups and how their destinies of persecution varied." Flierl projected that the completed *Mahnmal*, and the future memorials to the Sinti and Roma, and to the homosexuals persecuted under the Nazi regime will further contribute to public historical awareness of the crimes of the Third Reich. He also mentioned other future commemorative projects: Spiegel had recently proposed a memorial to Red Army soldiers murdered in Nazi POW camps, and members of the Bundestag had called for another to the victims of Berlin Wall. Such memorials, Flierl envisioned, would be a part of a future "complex of historical memorials" in the German capital.<sup>344</sup> Though Germany's memory projects, and society's discussion about them cannot replace a human rights oriented debate, a

---

<sup>343</sup> *Gedenkort für die im Nationalsozialismus verfolgten Homosexuellen*, "A Monument to the Homosexual Victims of the Nazis: Appeal," <http://www.lsvd.de/gedenk-ort/eng-appeal.htm> (accessed 12 July 2006).

<sup>344</sup> Flierl, "Opening Speech," in Senate Administration, *Colloquium Prelude*, 12.

representative of the Central Council of Jews in Germany assured, they *can* promote reflection, and contribute to our better understanding of the diverse aspects of life during the time of persecution.<sup>345</sup> Romani Rose reinforced this notion in his expressions of solidarity with the memorial for homosexual victims, and of gratitude that the persecution of homosexual victims was finally to be pushed into broad public awareness.<sup>346</sup> Finally, Lea Rosh pledged, on behalf of the advisory committee to the board of trustees of the Foundation for the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, that the committee “took very seriously” the responsibility the Bundestag conferred on it to ensure that other victims be commemorated appropriately. She vowed that, in the course of their work, the Association of the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe would draw peoples’ attention to the memorial for the homosexual victims of Nazism.<sup>347</sup>

Despite the discord that had marked relations between their respective victims’ groups, these individuals spoke of the linkages between contemporary memorials in Berlin. Their sentiments attested to the very real existence of a network of memorial sites in Germany - the kind in which the Bundestag Resolution for the *Mahnmal* explicitly stated it aimed to situate the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe. This is the network about which the *Mahnmal*’s literature, its Foundation’s outreach initiatives, and the “portal” room of its Information Centre, teach.<sup>348</sup> The April 2005 colloquium for the memorial to the homosexuals persecuted under the Nazi regime provided an occasion to reflect on how public Holocaust remembrance in Berlin *Mitte* had developed since 1989.

---

<sup>345</sup> Central Council of Jews in Germany, “Welcoming Speech,” in Senate Administration, *Colloquium Prelude*, 18.

<sup>346</sup> Rose, “Welcoming Speech,” in Senate Administration, *Colloquium Prelude*, 18.

<sup>347</sup> Rosh, “Welcoming Speech,” in Senate Administration, *Colloquium Prelude*, 22.

<sup>348</sup> German Bundestag, *Resolution*, section 1.3 reads, in part: “The memorial will be a central monument and place of remembrance, connected to other memorial centres and institutions with and beyond Berlin.”

What this occasion revealed was the reality of an ongoing memorial project in Germany, such as Thomas Lutz had stressed.<sup>349</sup>

At the time of writing, the *Mahnmal* is only sixteen months old. What can we conclude about the type of memorial activity the new institution allows for on the part of the public? We must recognize that the Memorial does not offer an unproblematic “final solution” to the challenge of public Holocaust remembrance in Germany. The absence of a representative from the Central Council of the German Sinti and Roma on the Advisory Board of the Foundation for the Memorial, for example, indicates ongoing tension between the Council and the *Mahnmal* project. Jürgen Lillteicher, a historian who worked for the Foundation for the Memorial, shared his thoughts with me about another challenge that the institution is currently facing. It is his opinion that the *Mahnmal* now “lacks political support.” Politicians’ interest in the project, he explained, disappeared once the Memorial was built. The Foundation must fight against this trend, he stated, so that it can continue to strengthen the institution’s links with other memorials, and can make the *Mahnmal* ever more visible in an international context. It is the aim of the Foundation, he stated, to establish extensive contacts with Polish memorial institutions.<sup>350</sup>

Lillteicher’s thoughts recall Stefanie Fischer’s comments about the challenges that the institution has faced in its first year with regard to its relationship with other memorial institutions. One theme emerged in my conversations with these two individuals who worked at the Foundation in recent years: though such challenges abound for the young institution, the *Mahnmal* unmistakably strives to integrate public remembrance of the Jewish victims of Nazism into a network of existing memorial sites,

---

<sup>349</sup> See Chapter Four, page 73.

<sup>350</sup> Jürgen Lillteicher, 25 August 2006, personal email message (accessed 26 August 2006).

and into the commemoration of non-Jewish victims.<sup>351</sup> Far from closing a discussion on public Holocaust remembrance in Germany, the Memorial - dedicated exclusively to the Murdered Jews of Europe, and situated in the centre of downtown Berlin – has worked to network existing memorial institutions, and has triggered new memorial projects dedicated to numerous groups persecuted under the Nazi regime.

---

<sup>351</sup> See Chapter Four, page 75.

Figure 1





Figure 2



Figure 3

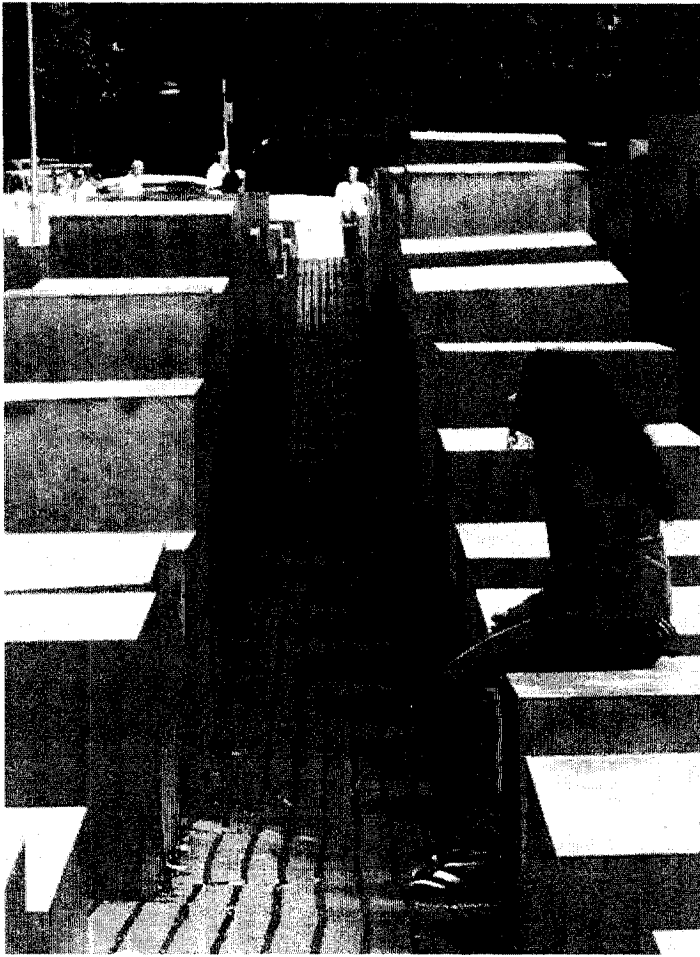


Figure 4



Figure 5

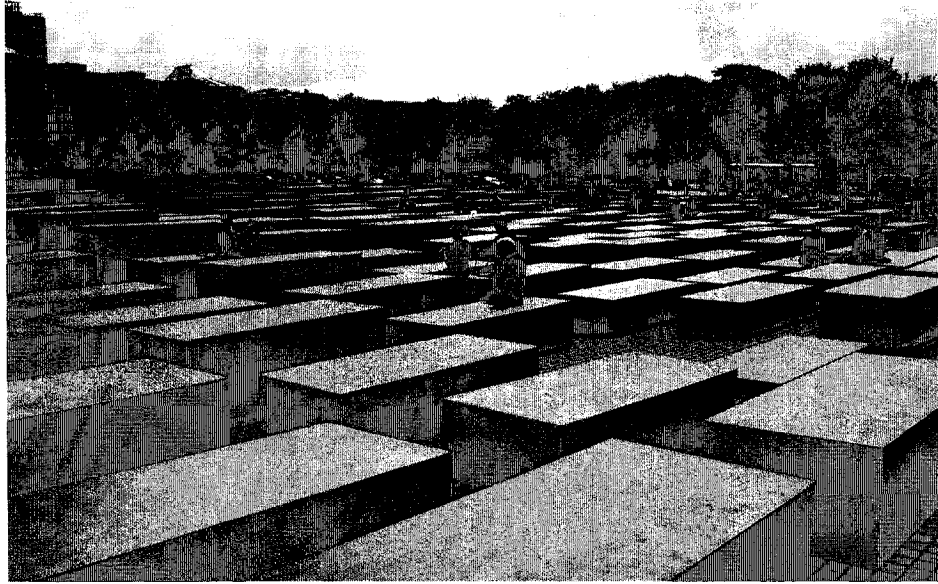


Figure 6



Figure 7

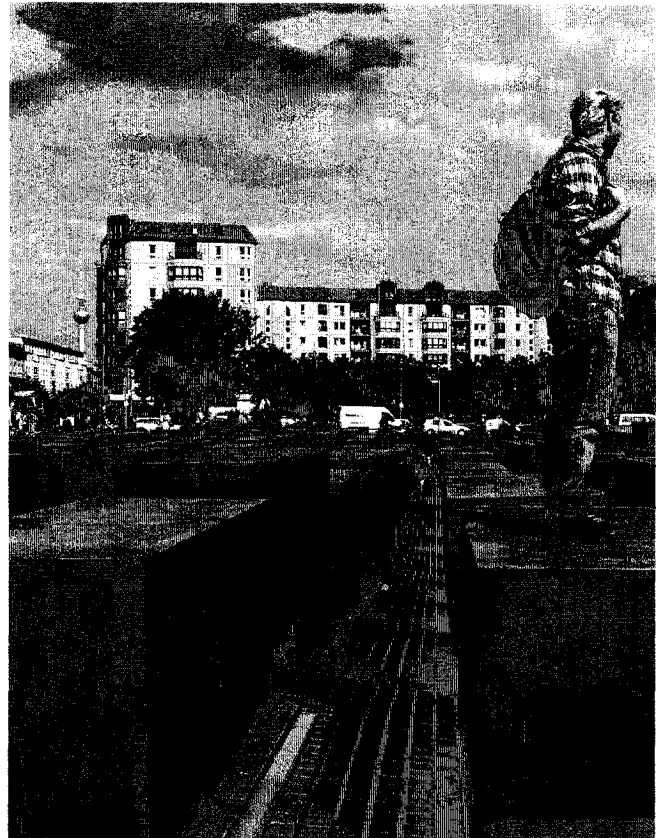


Figure 8

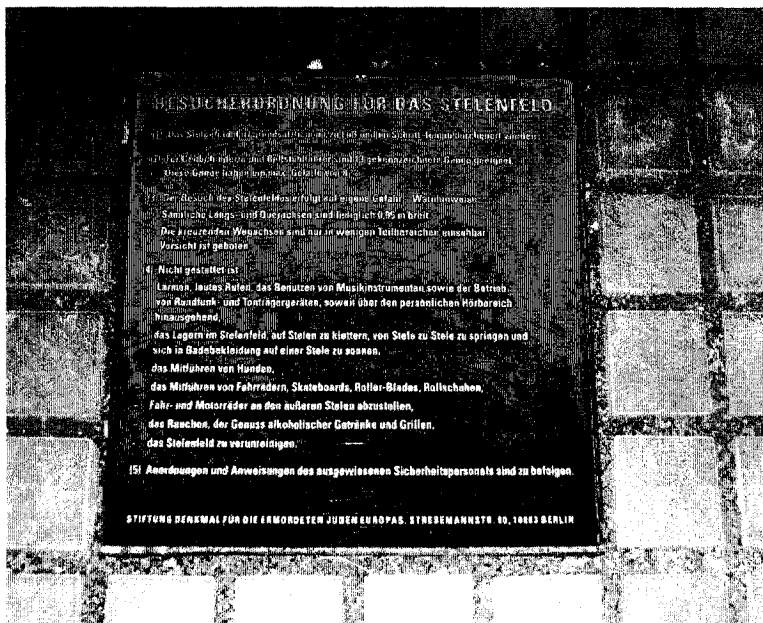


Figure 9

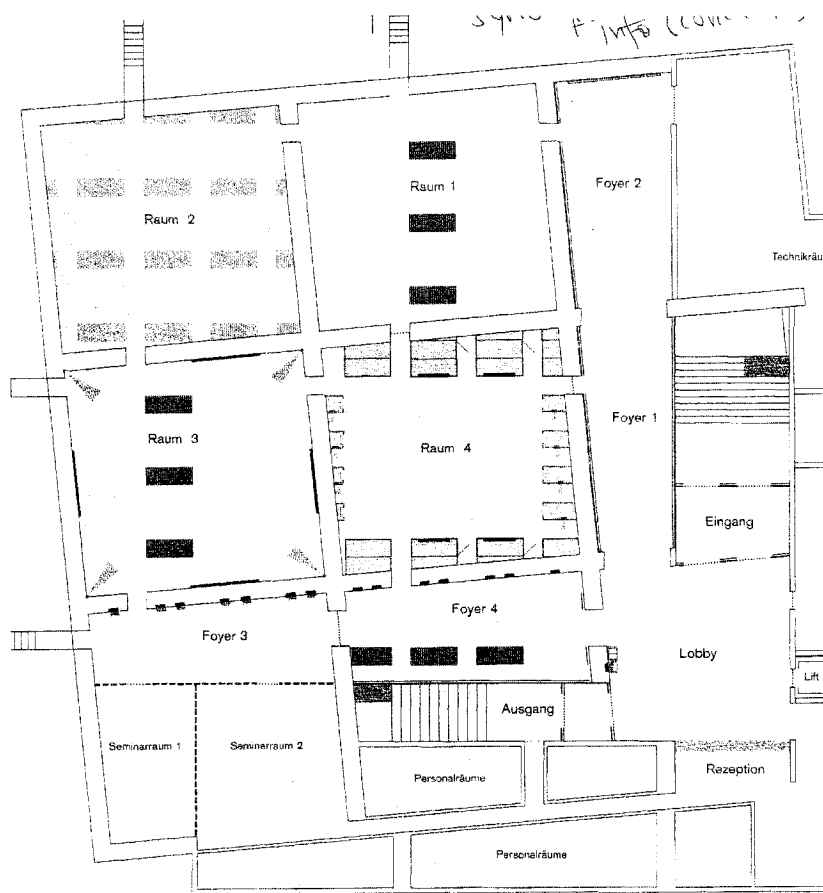


Figure 10



Figure 11



Figure 12

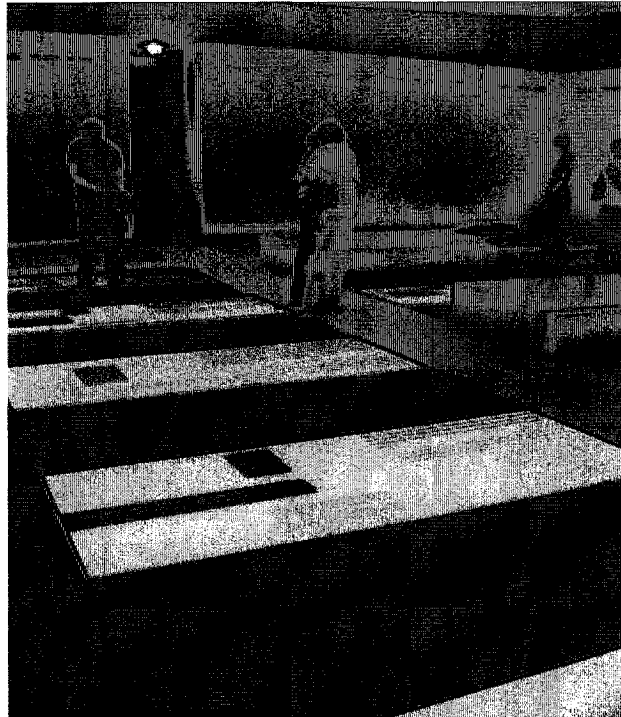


Figure 13

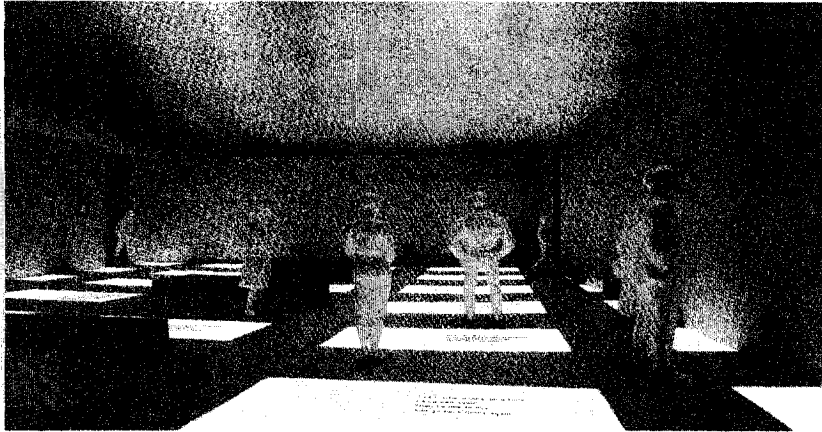


Figure 14



Figure 15

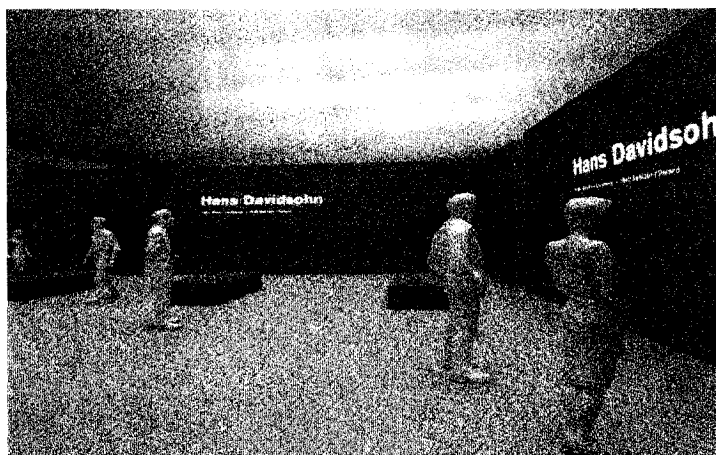






Figure 18

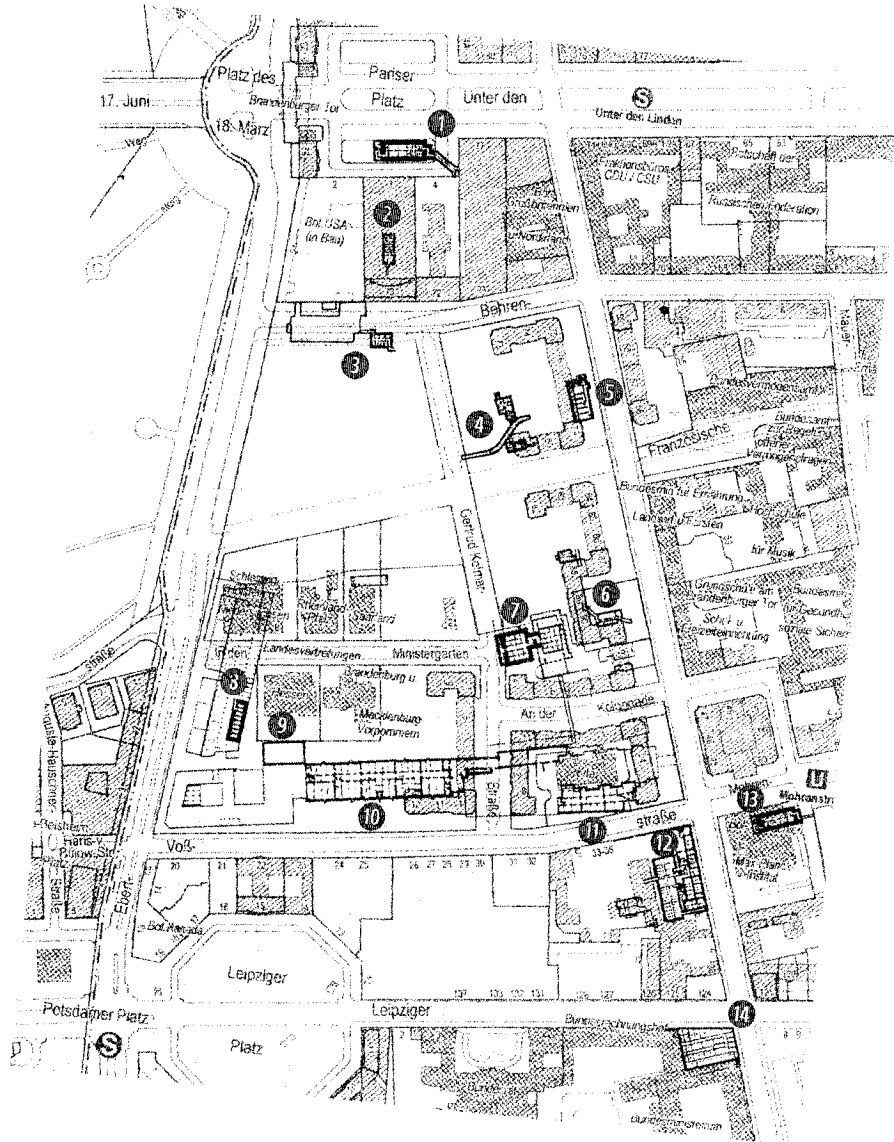
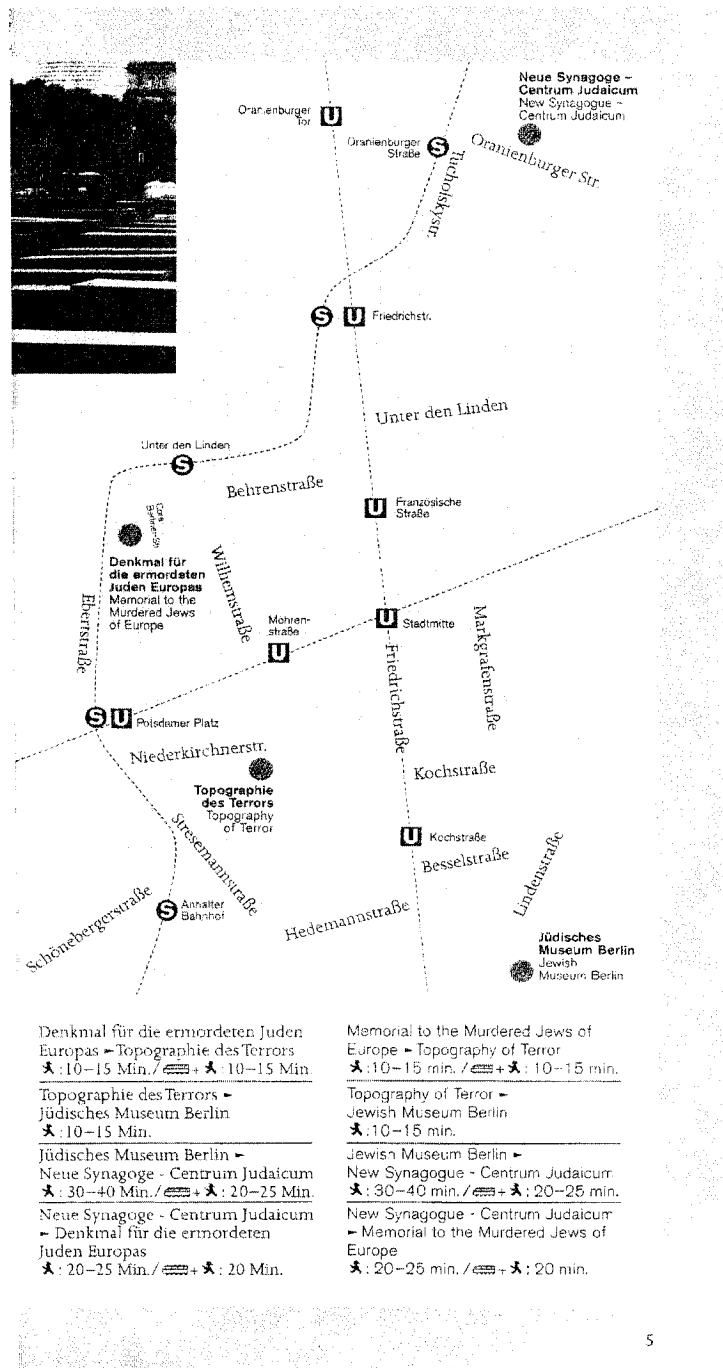


Figure 19



# Bibliography

## I. Primary Sources

### 1. Print material

- “Act concerning the establishment of a *Foundation for the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe*,” Foundation Charter, 17 March 2000. Federal Law Gazette, Part 1 No. 10, 22 March 2000, <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/foundation/foundationscharter> (accessed 10 January 2006).
- Arendt, Hannah. “The Aftermath of Nazi Rule: Report from Germany.” *Commentary* 10 (1950): 342-353.
- Attie, Shimon. *Sites Unseen: European Projects: Installations and Photographs and The Writing on the Wall: Projections in Berlin's Jewish Quarter*, 9-12. Heidelberg: Edition Braus, 1994.
- “*Aufruf der Bürgerinitiative Perspektive Berlin an den Berliner Senat, die Regierungen der Bundesländer, die Bundesregierung*,” *Frankfurter Rundschau*, 30 January 1989. Reprinted in Hans-Georg Stavginski, *Das Holocaust-Denkmal Der Streit um das “Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas” in Berlin (1988-1999)*. Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 2002.
- “*Aufruf der Bürgerinitiative Perspektive Berlin an den Berliner Senat, die Regierungen der Bundesländer, die Bundesregierung*,” *Der Tagesspiegel*, 2 April 1989. Reprinted in Stavginski, *Das Holocaust-Denkmal*.
- “*Aufruf – Förderkreis zur Errichtung eines Denkmals für die ermordeten Juden Europas e.V.*,” *Der Tagesspiegel*, 19 May 1990. Reprinted in Stavginski, *Das Holocaust-Denkmal*.
- “*Aufruf des Zentralrats Deutscher Sinti und Roma an den Bundeskanzler, den Regierenden Bürgermeister von Berlin und die Ministerpräsidenten für die zentrale Gedenkstätte des Völkermords*,” *Der Tagesspiegel*, 11 April 1989. Reprinted in Stavginski, *Das Holocaust-Denkmal*.
- “*Aufruf des Zentralrats Deutscher Sinti und Roma an den Bundeskanzler und den Regierenden Bürgermeister von Berlin*,” *Der Tagesspiegel*, 16 December 1993. Reprinted in Stavginski, *Das Holocaust-Denkmal*.
- Brewer's Berlin Tours. *Third Reich Walking Tour* (English, guided, approximately 5 hours), Berlin: 7 August 2005.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Walking Tours in English*. English pamphlet, Berlin: 2005.
- Deutscher Bundestag. *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Bundestags. Stenographischer Bericht*, Bonn, 9 May 1996: protocol.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Verhandlungen des Deutschen Bundestags. Stenographischer Bericht*, Bonn, 25 June 1999: protocol.
- Eisenman, Peter. “Eisenman Architects Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, Berlin.” (Project text by Peter Eisenman). <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/germans/memorial/eisenman.html> (accessed 8 November 2005).

- \_\_\_\_\_. Speech at *Mahnmal* opening, 10 May 2005. <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/news/speeches/speecheisenman/?highlight=I%20speak%20as%20an%20architect> (accessed 16 June 2005).
- Fischer, Stefanie. 4 August, 7 August 2006. Personal email messages (4 August, 8 August 2006).
- Forever in the Shadow of Hitler? Original Documents of the Historikerstreit, the Controversy Concerning the Singularity of the Holocaust.* Translated by J. Knowlton and Truett Cates. New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1993.
- The Foundation for the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe. *Information: The Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe.* English pamphlet, Berlin: 2005.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Materials on the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe.* Berlin: Nicolaische Verlagsbuchhandlung GmbH, 2005.
- Hawley, Charles and Natalie Tenberg. "How Long Does One Feel Guilty?" Interview with Peter Eisenman. *Spiegel Online* 9 May, 2005 <http://service.spiegel.de/international/0,1518,355252,00.html> (accessed 8 November 2005).
- Jewish Museum Berlin, Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe, Neue Synagogue-Centrum Judaicum, Topography of Terror in cooperation with Berlin Tourismus Marketing GmbH. *Jüdisches Berlin/ Jewish Berlin.* English pamphlet, Berlin: 2005.
- Misterlich, Alexander and Margerite. *The Inability to Mourn: Principles of Collective Behaviour.* Translated by Beverley R. Placzek. New York: Grove Press, 1975.
- Neumärker, Uwe. 24 April 2006. Personal email message (26 April 2006).
- Perspektive Berlin e.V. *Ein Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas: Dokumentation 1988-1995.* Berlin: Bürgerinitiative Perspektive Berlin e.V., 1995.
- "Resolution Passed by the German Bundestag: Resolution by the German Bundestag of 25 June 1999 concerning the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe," 25 June, 1999. *Stiftung Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas: Resolution* <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/fromideatorealisation/resolution> (accessed 10 January 2006).
- Rosh, Lea. Speech at *Mahnmal* opening, 10 May 2005. <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/news/speeches/speechrosh/?highlight=lea%20rosh> (accessed 16 June 2005).
- Rürup, Reinhard, ed. *Topography of Terror. Gestapo, SS and Reichssicherheitshauptamt on the Prinz Albrecht Terrain A Documentation.* Berlin: Verlag Willmuth Arenhovel, 1989.
- Senate Administration for Science, Research and Culture, Urban and Architectural Art. *Colloquium Prelude to the Artistic Design Competition: Memorial to the Homosexuals Persecuted under the National Socialist Regime* (Berlin: 7-8 April 2005), [http://www.gedenkort.de/files/Kolloquium\\_Doku.pdf](http://www.gedenkort.de/files/Kolloquium_Doku.pdf) (accessed 22 June 2006).
- Spiegel, Paul. Speech at *Mahnmal* opening, 10 May 2005. <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/news/speeches/speechspiegel/?highlight=when%20in%201945%20the%20Allies> (accessed 16 June 2005).

- Thierse, Wolfgang. Speech at *Mahnmal* opening, 10 May 2005. <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/news/speeches/speechthierse/?highlight=honoured%20guests%20from%20all%20parts%20of%20europe> (accessed 16 June 2005).
- Van der Linden, Sabina. Speech at *Mahnmal* opening, 10 May 2005. <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/en/news/speeches/speechvanderlinden/?highlight=not%20even%20in%20my%20wildest%20dreams> (accessed 16 June 2005).
- Weizsäcker, Richard von. *Speech by Richard von Weizsäcker, President of the Federal Republic of Germany, in the Bundestag during the Ceremony Commemorating the 40<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the End of the War in Europe and of National Socialist Tyranny, May 8, 1985*. Reprinted in Hartman, ed. *Bitburg in Moral and Political Perspective*: 262-273.
- Young, James E. "Berlin's Holocaust Memorial: A Report to the Bundestag Committee on Media and Culture, 3 March 1999." *German Politics and Society* 17, no.3 (1999): 54-70.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Germany's Holocaust Memorial Problem—And Mine." Excerpted from Young, *At Memory's Edge: After-Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture*.
- \_\_\_\_\_. [jeyoung@english.umass.edu](mailto:jeyoung@english.umass.edu) "MfG 7: Young on Berlin's New *Mahnmal*," 01 June 2005, <http://www.h-net.org/~german/> (accessed 1 June 2005).

## 2. Personal interview

- Conversation with group of international tourists, Brewer's Berlin Tours "Third Reich Tour." Berlin: 7 August 2005.
- Interview with Thomas Lutz, Director of Memorial Museums Department, Topography of Terror Foundation, "*Gestapo-Terrain*." Berlin: 16 August 2005.

## 3. Websites

- Arbeitskreis Museumspädagogik OstDeutschland e.V.* "Zwischen Ergriffenheit und pädagogischem Zweck - Das Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas." <http://www.museumspaedagogik.org/akmpo/index.php4> (accessed 1 August 2006).
- Berlin Tourism. "About us." <http://www.berlin-tourist-information.de/english/ueberuns/index.php> (accessed 24 May 2006).
- Deutsche Welle* (DW-World.de). "German Memorial to pay Homage to Sinti and Roma." 9 May 2006 <http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,,2014439,00.html?maca=en-rss-en-all-1124-rdf> (accessed 12 July 2006).
- Federal Press and Information Office, *Regierung Online*. "Memorial to Murdered Sinti and Roma," 9 May 2006 [http://www.bundesregierung.de/nn\\_6516/Content/EN/Artikel/2006/05/2006-05-09-memorial-to-murdered-sinti-and-roma.html](http://www.bundesregierung.de/nn_6516/Content/EN/Artikel/2006/05/2006-05-09-memorial-to-murdered-sinti-and-roma.html) (accessed 12 July 2006).
- Foundation Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe. "Foundation Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe" <http://www.holocaust-mahnmal.de/> (accessed 14 June 2005).

- Initiative der Homosexuellen NS-Opfer gedenken. "Gedenkort für die im Nationalsozialismus verfolgten Homosexuellen."* <http://www.lsvd.de/gedenk-ort/wettbewerb-plan.htm> (accessed 12 July 2006).
- MMCD. *Projekte: Ort der Information, "Raum der Orte,"* [http://www.mmcd.de/raum\\_der\\_orte.html](http://www.mmcd.de/raum_der_orte.html) (accessed 25 May 2006).
- PBS Frontline. "A Jew Among the Germans." 31 May 2005 <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/germans/> (accessed 08 November 2005).
- The Polynational War Memorial. "Planned Memorial to the Roma and Sinti Victims," (photograph of sign at future site), [http://www.war-memorial.net/mem\\_det.asp?ID=177](http://www.war-memorial.net/mem_det.asp?ID=177) (accessed 12 July 2006).
- The Topography of Terror Foundation. "The Foundation Topography of Terror in Berlin." <http://www.topographie.de/en/stiftung.htm> (accessed 2 June 2006).

## **II. Secondary Sources:**

### **1. Books**

- Bal, Mieke, Jonathan Crewe and Leo Spitzer, eds. *Acts of Memory: Cultural Recall in the Present*. Hanover: University Press of New England, 1999.
- Barnouw, Dagmar. *The War in the Empty Air: Victims, Perpetrators, and Postwar Germans*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005.
- Bauer, Yehuda. *The Holocaust in Historical Perspective*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1978.
- Bauman, Zygmunt. *Modernity and the Holocaust*. Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2000.
- Bodnar, John. *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1991.
- Boyer, M. Christine. *The City of Collective Memory: Its Historical Imagery and Architectural Entertainments*. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1994.
- Carrier, Peter. *Holocaust Monuments and National Memory Cultures in France and Germany since 1989: The Origins and Political Function of the Vel' d'Hiv' in Paris and the Holocaust Monument in Berlin*. New York: Berghahn Books, 2005.
- Dawidowicz, Lucy S. *The Holocaust and the Historians*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1981.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The War Against the Jews, 1933-1945*. New York: Bantam Books, 1986.
- Des Pres, T. *The Survivor: An Anatomy of Life in the Death Camps*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1976.

- Diefendorf, Jeffrey. *In the Wake of War: The Reconstruction of German Cities after World War II*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Dwork, Deborah & Robert Jan van Pelt. *Auschwitz, 1270 to the Present*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1996.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Holocaust: A History*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2002.
- Goldhagen, D.J. *Hitler's Willing Executioners: Ordinary Germans and the Holocaust*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996.
- Grass, Gunter. *Crabwalk*. New York: Harcourt, 2003.
- Halbwachs, Maurice. *The Collective Memory*. Translated by Francis J. Ditter, Jr. and Vida Yazdi Ditter. New York: Harper & Row, 1980.
- Hartman, Geoffrey, ed. *Bitburg in Moral and Political Perspective*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986.
- Herf, Jeffrey. *Divided Memory: The Nazi Past in the Two Germanys*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997.
- Hilberg, Raul. *The Destruction of the European Jews*. New York: Holmes & Meier, 1985.
- James-Chakraborty, K. *German Architecture for a Mass Audience*. London and New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Jarausch, Konrad H. and Michael Geyer. *Shattered Past: Reconstructing German Histories*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003.
- Kershaw, Ian. *The Nazi Dictatorship: Problems & Perspectives of Interpretation*, 4<sup>th</sup> edition. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000.
- Koshar, R. *From Monuments to Traces: Artefacts of German Memory, 1870-1990*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
- Kramer, Jane. *The Politics of Memory: Looking for Germany in the New Germany*. New York: Random House, 1996.
- Kushner, Tony. "The Holocaust and the Museum World in Britain: A Study of Ethnography" in Sue Vice, ed., *Representing the Holocaust*. Portland: Vallentine Mitchell, 2003.
- Ladd, Brian. *The Ghosts of Berlin*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997.
- Lang, Berel. *Holocaust Representation: Art Within the Limits of History and Ethics*. 2000.
- Linenthal, E.T. *Preserving Memory: The Struggle to Create America's Holocaust Museum*. New York: Viking, 1995.
- Maier, Charles S. *The Unmasterable Past: History, Holocaust, and German National Identity*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1988.
- Markovitz, Andre S. and Simon Reich. *The German Predicament: Memory and Power in the New Europe*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997.
- Marrus, Michael. *The Holocaust in History*. Toronto: Key Porter Books, 2000.
- Michman, Dan, ed. *Remembering the Holocaust in Germany, 1945-2000: German Strategies and Jewish Responses*. New York: P. Lang, 2002.
- Miller, Judith. *One, by One, by One: Facing the Holocaust*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1990.

- Milton, Sybil (text), and Ira Nowinski (photographs). *In Fitting Memory: The Art and Politics of Holocaust Memorials*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1991.
- Moeller, Robert G. *War Stories: The Search for a Usable Past in the Federal Republic of Germany*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2001.
- Niven, Bill. *Facing the Nazi Past: United Germany and the Legacy of the Third Reich*. New York: Routledge, 2002.
- Realms of Memory: Rethinking the French Past*. Under the Direction of Pierre Nora. English language edition edited and with a foreword by Lawrence D. Kritzman. Translated by Arthur Goldhammer. New York: Columbia University Press, 1996-1998.
- Rosenfeld, Gavriel D. *Munich and Memory: Architecture, Monuments and the Legacy of the Third Reich*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000.
- Shandley, Robert R., ed. *Unwilling Germans? The Goldhagen Debate*. Essays translated by Jeremiah Riemer. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1998.
- Strom, E. *Building the New Berlin: The Politics of Urban Development in Germany's Capital City*. Lanham, Md: Lexington Books, 2001.
- Till, Karen E. *The New Berlin: Memory, Politics, Place*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.
- Torpey, John, ed. *Politics and the Past: On Repairing Historical Injustices*. Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2003.
- Vees-Gulani, Susanne. "Confronting the Past? The Role of Guilt and Shame in Postwar Germany," in Vees-Gulani, *Trauma and Guilt: Literature of Wartime Bombing in Germany*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2003.
- Whybrow, Nicolas. *Street Scenes: Brecht, Benjamin & Berlin*. Bristol: Intellect Books, 2005.
- Wiedmer, C.A. *The Claims of Memory: Representations of the Holocaust in Contemporary Germany and France*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999.
- Wise, M. *Capital Dilemma: Germany's Search for a New Architecture of Democracy*. New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1998.
- Young, James E. *At Memory's Edge: After Images of the Holocaust in Contemporary Art and Architecture*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2000.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. *The Art of Memory: Holocaust Memorials in History*. New York: Jewish Museum, New York, 1994.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Changing Shape of Holocaust Memory*. New York: The American Jewish Committee, 1995.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Writing and Rewriting the Holocaust: Narrative and the Consequences of Interpretation*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1988.

## 2. Articles

- Axelrod, Toby. "Memories Carved in Stone." *The Jewish Week* (13 May 2005) <http://www.thejewishweek.com/news/newscontent.php3?artid=10876> (accessed 21 May 2006).



- Bartlick, Silke. "Deutschlands zentrales Holocaust-Mahnmal eröffnet." *Deutsche Welle* (10 May 2005) <http://www.dw-world.de/dw/article/0,1564,1578044,00.html> (accessed 21 May 2006).
- "Berlin Holocaust Memorial Hits a Snag." *Spiegel Online* (12 May 2005) <http://service.spiegel.de/cache/international/0,1518,355715,00.html> (accessed 22 May 2006).
- Czaplicka, John. "History, Aesthetics, and Contemporary Commemorative Practice in Berlin." *New German Critique* 65 (Spring/Summer 1995): 155-187.
- Eisenschmidt, Alexander and Jonathan Mekinda. "Architecture as a Document of Historical Change: Three Examples from Post-War Europe." *Zeithistorische Forschungen Studies in Contemporary History Online-Ausgabe* 1 (2004) <<http://www.zeithistorische-forschungen.de/16126041-Eisenschmidt-Mekinda-3-2004>> (accessed 15 June 2005).
- Eley, Geoffrey. "What is Cultural History?" *New German Critique* 65, no.19 (1995): 19-36.
- Elsen, Albert. "What we have learned about Modern Public Sculpture: Ten Propositions." *Art Journal* 48 (Winter 1989): 291.
- Etkind, Alexander (with participation of Sandra Evans and Olga Chepurnaia). "Comparative Politics of Memory: Commemoration of Terror in Russia and Germany," (Research proposal affiliated with Open Society Archives, Central European University, 2002) <http://www.osa.ceu.hu/2001/recenthistory/doc/2002/Comparative%20Politics%20of%20Memory/Proposal.doc> (accessed 27 November 2005).
- Fackenheim, Emil L. "Concerning Authentic and Unauthentic Responses to the Holocaust." *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 1, no.1 (1986): 101-120.
- Geyer, Michael. "Germany, or the Twentieth Century as History," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 96, no.4 (Fall 1997): 663-702.
- Gresillon, Boris. "Berlin, Cultural Metropolis: Changes in the Cultural Geography of Berlin Since Reunification." *Ecumene* 6, no.3 (1999): 284-294.
- Haß, Matthias. "The Politics of Memory in Germany, Israel and the USA." The Canadian Centre for German and European Studies, *Working Paper Series Number 9*, 2004 [http://www.ccgcs.ca/york/research/publications/file\\_hass.pdf](http://www.ccgcs.ca/york/research/publications/file_hass.pdf) (accessed 3 September 2005).
- Hell, Julia. "History as trauma, or, turning to the past once again: Germany 1949/1989." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 96, no.4 (Fall 1997): 911-947.
- Herf, Jeffrey. "Politics and Memory in West and East Germany since 1961 and in Unified Germany since 1990." *Journal of Israeli History* 23, no.1 (2004): 40-64.
- Huyssen, A. "Monument and Memory in a Postmodern Age." In Young, James E., ed. *The Art of Memory: Holocaust Memorials in History*. New York: Jewish Museum, New York, 1994.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Voids of Berlin." *Critical Inquiry* 24, no.1 (1997): 57.
- James-Chakraborty, Kathleen. "Memory and the Cityscape: The German Architectural Debate about Postmodernism." *German Politics and Society* 17, no.3 (1999): 71-83.

- Jordan, Jennifer. "A Matter of Time: Examining Collective Memory in Historical Perspective in Postwar Berlin." *Journal of Historical Sociology* 18, no.1/2 (March/June 2005): 37-71.
- Kolmel, Rainer. "A Holocaust Memorial in Berlin?" In *Remembering for the Future: Working Papers and Addenda. V.II: The Impact of the Holocaust on the Contemporary World*. Oxford: Pergamon Press, 1989.
- Lutdke, A. "Coming to Terms with the Past: Illusions of Remembering, Ways of Forgetting Nazism in West Germany." *Journal of Modern History* 65, no.3 (1993): 542-572.
- Marcuse, Harold. "West German Strategies for Commemoration." *Dimensions* 3, no.2 (1987): 13-22.
- Milton, Sybil. *In Fitting Memory? Holocaust Memorials and Postwar Political Culture*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1989.
- Nolan, Mary. "The Politics of Memory in the Berlin Republic." *Radical History Review* 81 (Fall 2001): 113-32.
- Range, Peter Ross. "Reinventing Berlin." *National Geographic* 190, no.6 (December 1996): 97-117.
- Roth, John K. "On Seeing the Invisible Dimensions of the Holocaust." *Holocaust and Genocide Studies* 1, no.1 (1986): 147-153.
- Schulze, Rainer. "Memory in German History: Fragmented Noises Or Meaningful Voices of the Past?" *Journal of Contemporary History* 39, no.4 (2004): 637-648.
- Till, Karen E. "Construction Sites and Showcases: Mapping 'The New Berlin' Through Tourism Practices," in Hanna, Stephen P. and V.J. Del Castino, Jr., eds., *Mapping Tourism*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2003.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Staging the Past: Landscape Designs, Cultural Identity and *Erinnerungspolitik* at Berlin's *Neue Wache*." *Ecumene* 6, no.3 (1999): 251-283.
- Vesilind, Priit J. "Berlin's Ode to Joy." *National Geographic* 177, no. 4 (April 1990): 104-132.
- Winzen, Matthias. "The Need for Public Representation and the Burden of the German Past." *Art Journal* 48, no.4 (1989): 309-314.
- Wittmann, Rebecca. "Indicting Auschwitz? The Paradox of the Frankfurt Auschwitz Trial." *German History* 21, no.4 (2003): 505-532.
- Young, James E. "Germany's Memorial Question: Memory, Counter-Memory, and the End of the Monument." *South Atlantic Quarterly* 96, no.4 (fall 1997): 853-881.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning." In *Remembering for the Future, v.II.*: 1799-1811.

### 3. Dissertations

- Gauvin, Nicholas A. *Représenter l'Holocauste: le traitement et la représentation de l'Holocauste dans les musées-mémoriaux d'Amérique du Nord. Etude comparative : Le United States Holocaust Memorial Museum et le Centre Commémoratif de l'Holocauste à Montréal*. M.A. Thesis. Montreal: Department of History, Concordia University, 1996.
- Goldman, Natasha. *Missing Absence: Trauma and National Memorials to the Holocaust*. Ph.D. Dissertation. Rochester: University of Rochester, 2001.

- McKim, Joel. *Filling in the Voids: Berlin's "Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe."* M.A. Thesis. Montreal: Department of Communications, Concordia University, 2003.
- Rosenfeld, Gavriel D. *Memory and the City: Architecture, Monuments and the Legacy of the Third Reich in Postwar Munich.* Ph.D. Dissertation. Los Angeles: University of California, 1996.
- Till, Karen Elizabeth. *Place and the Politics of Memory: A Geo-Ethnography of Museums and Memorials in Berlin.* Ph.D. Dissertation. Madison: University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1996.

## **Appendix 1**

### **English Translation of Plaque at Field of Stelae, *Mahnmal* Berlin**

#### Rules for Visitors to the Field of Stelae

- (1) Without exception, the Field of Stelae can only be entered on foot. Visitors should proceed at a normal walking speed through the field.
- (2) There are 13 pathways which are specially suitable for visitors with a mobility impairment and visitors in wheelchairs. These pathways have a maximum incline of 8%.
- (3) Entry to the Field of Stelae is at the risk of the individual. Precautionary Information: - All axes are 0.95 m in width. - The crossing axes are only readily visible in a few areas. Visitors should be careful.
- (4) The following is not permitted:
  - Loud noise of any kind, calling or shouting in a loud voice and the like, the playing of musical instruments on the grounds or the use of radios or audio devices except for personal individual listening,
  - Camping in the Field of Stelae, climbing onto the stelae, jumping from one stele to the next, sunbathing on top of a stele in a bathing suit,
  - Bringing dogs onto the grounds,
  - Bringing bicycles, skateboards, roller-blades, roller skates and similar equipment,
  - Parking of bicycles, motorbikes or motorcycles directly adjacent to the stelae on the outer rim of the field,
  - Smoking, Consumption of alcoholic beverages or to barbecue
  - Throwing litter or leaving any other refuse or dirt on the grounds.

Foundation Memorial for the Murdered Jews of Europe, Stresemannstrasse 90, 1063 Berlin

## **Appendix 2**

### **The Foundation for the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe**

#### **The Foundation's constituent bodies:**

- A. The Board of Trustees
- B. The Board of Directors
- C. The Advisory Board
- D. The Foundation has an Executive Office and an Executive Director

A. The Board of Trustees includes the following 23 members appointed from the following institutions:

1. The German Bundestag:

- Norbert Lammert, CDU/CSU, President of Bundestag, Chairperson of the Board of Trustees
- Wolfgang Thierse, SPD, Vice-President of Bundestag
- Bernd Neumann, CDU/CSU, Minister of State, Government Commissioner for Cultural Affairs and Media
- Volker Beck, Greens
- Renate Blank, CDU/CSU
- Monika Griefahn, SPD, Chairperson of the Committee on Cultural and Media Affairs of the German Bundestag
- Monika Grutters, CDU/CSU
- Hans-Joachim Otto, FDP, Chairman of the Bundestag committee for Culture and Media
- Petra Pau, The Left
- Michael Roth, SPD
- Annette Widmann-Mauz, CDU/CSU

2. The Federal Government:

- Dr. Wolfgang Schauble, CDU/CSU, Federal Minister of the Interior

3. The Senat of the Land of Berlin (State Government):

- Dr. Thomas Flierl, SPD, Senator for Science, Research and Culture, Berlin
- Ingeborg Junge-Reyer, SPD, Senator for Urban Development, Berlin

4. The Association Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe:

- Lea Rosh, Chair of the Association, Vice-President of the Board of Trustees
- Dr. Tilman Fichter
- Prof. Dr. Eberhard Jackel

5. The Central Council of Jews in Germany:

- (President of the Central Council of the Jews in Germany, Dr. Paul Spiegel, occupied this position until his 30 April 2006 death. A new representative has not yet been appointed)

-Dr. Salomon Korn, Vice-President

6. The Jewish Community of Berlin:

-Dr. Alexander Brenner, President

7. The Jewish Museum of Berlin:

-Prof. Dr. Michael Blumenthal, Director

8. The Topography of Terror Foundation:

-Dr. Andreas Nachama, Director

9. The Working Group of Concentration Camp Memorials in Germany:

-Prof. Dr. Gunter Morsch, Director of the Foundation for Brandenburg Memorials, Director of the Memorial Site Sachsenhausen, Representative of the Working Group of Concentration Camp Memorials in Germany

The Board of Trustees decides all fundamental issues within the Foundation's remit, in particular:

1. The appointment of the Board of Directors and the Executive Director,
2. The budget drawn up by the Board of Directors,
3. The appointment of the members of the Advisory Board

The Board of Trustees oversees the activities of the Board of Directors and the Executive Director

B. The Foundation's three-member Board of Directors, which is appointed by the Board of Trustees for a period of four years, implements the resolutions of the Board of Trustees, manages the Foundation and maintains an Executive Office. The current members of the Board of Directors are:

-Wolfgang Thierse, Chairperson

-Former Government Commissioner for Cultural Affairs and Media Dr. Christina Weiss, and Dr. Thomas Flierl, Vice-Chairs

C. The Board of Trustees appoints an Advisory Board. It consists of representatives from 15 different institutions and social groupings:

-Prof. Max Bacher, architect and lecturer

-Prof. Dr. Wolfgang Benz, Advisory board spokesperson and Director of the Centre for Research into Anti-Semitism TU Berlin

-Prof. Dr. Waclaw Dlugoborski, President of the International Museum Council of the Auzchwitz Memorial

-Gunter Dworek, Spokesperson for the Association of Lesbians and Gays in Germany

-Prof. Dr. Bernd Faulenback, President of the Historical Commission of the SPD

-Dr. Detlef Garbe, Director of the Neuengamme Concentration Camp Memorial

-Margret Hamm, *Bund der "Euthanasie"-Geschädigten und Zwangssterilisierten e.V.*

-Dr. Norbert Kampe, Director, House of the Wannsee Conference

- Dr. Adam König, International Auschwitz Committee
- unnamed representative from Interest Group of those Persecuted by the Nazi Regime, German Antifascist Alliance
- Sonja Lahnstein-Kandel, Executive Partner, STEP 21 – Youth Initiative for Tolerance and Responsibility
- Prof. Dr. Manfred Messerschmidt, Federal Association of the Victims of the NS Military Judicial System
- Prof. Dr. Horst Moller, Director, Institute for Contemporary History
- Jörg Skriebeleit, Director of the Flossenburg Concentration Camp Memorial

*Honorary Status:*

The members of the Board of Trustees, of the Board of Directors and the Advisory Board are appointed on an honorary basis. They are compensated for travelling expenses according to the relevant federal statutes.

D. The Executive Office, maintained by the Board of Directors, carries out the resolutions of the Board of Trustees. In addition to its Executive Director, Uwe Neumärker, the Executive Office has twelve staff members. Their work comprises: coordination of works concerning the Memorial and the Information Centre, the Foundation's committee work, press and public relations, and general administration.

Compiled from: *Federal Law Gazette*, Part 1 No. 10, published in Bonn on 22 March 2000. "Act concerning the establishment of a 'Foundation for the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe,'" of 17 March 2000, and The Foundation for the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe, *Stiftung Denkmal für die ermordeten Juden Europas*, "Kuratorium," "Vorstand," "Beirat," and "Geschäftsstelle," <http://www.stiftung-denkmal.de/dasdenkmal/stiftung> (accessed 20 April 2006).