

URBAN TRANSFORMATION OF A SOCIALIST CITY:
A CASE STUDY OF EAST BERLIN - ALEXANDERPLATZ

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A CASE STUDY OF EAST BERLIN - ALEXANDERPLATZ**

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ABSTRACT

URBAN TRANSFORMATION OF A SOCIALIST CITY: A CASE STUDY OF EAST BERLIN - ALEXANDERPLATZ

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This thesis examines the role of politics in transformation of urban spaces. In this regard, the main focus is Berlin because the city represents how politics of each era is effective in urban development processes: Once a divided city after the World War II where Berlin manifested both parties' ideological sentience and related urban strategies, the city soon came under successive transformations in accordance with the expectations of the new regime upon its re-unification. In this framework, by studying the Alexanderplatz Project as an example, the thesis questions the urban space policies of the East Berlin as socialist and the West Berlin as capitalist during the division years; the political transformation of the East Berlin after the fall of Berlin Wall; and the current conditions of East Berlin after re-unification.

Here the aim of this study is to understand the different systems of urban space under the pressure of socialist and capitalist ideologies. Through the spatial analyses of the former East and West Berlin and through the comparative analyses of East Berlin in its transformation years the study intends to decipher how such successive changes took place and became operative under different regimes. Alexanderplatz is regarded as a unique example with which urban transformation is in accordance with changes in the political system.

Keywords: East Berlin, Alexanderplatz, Socialist city, Urban Transformation

ÖZ

SOSYALİST BİR KENTİN DÖNÜŞÜMÜ: DOĞU BERLİN – ALEXANDERPLATZ ÖRNEĞİ

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Bu tez, politikanın kent mekanlarının dönüşümündeki rolünü incelemektedir. Bu anlamda çalışma, politikanın kentsel gelişme süreçlerine etkisini başarıyla temsil etmesi nedeniyle, Berlin üzerine yoğunlaşmaktadır. İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrası her iki kampın ideolojik yapısı ve ilgili kentsel stratejilerini manifieste eden Berlin, Doğu ve Batı Almanya'nın birleşmesi sonrası, yeni rejimin beklentilerine uyumlu bir biçimde, birbirini takip eden dönüşümlere de maruz kalmıştır. Doğu Berlin'in önemli bir meydanı olan Alexanderplatz Projesi'ni örnekleyerek tez, ayrışma yıllarında Doğu Berlin kentsel mekan politikalarını sosyalist ve Batı Berlin kentsel mekan politikalarını ise kapitalist olarak tanımlamaktadır. Berlin Duvarı'nın yıkılması sonrası görülen mekansal talepler ve yeniden birleşmeyi takip eden dönemde yer alan ve özellikle Doğu Berlin'de örneklenen mekansal dönüşümler de, tez kapsamı içerisinde yer almaktadır.

Tezin amacı, sosyalist ve kapitalist ideolojilerin baskısı altında oluşan, farklı kentsel mekan sistemlerini anlamaktır. Doğu ve Batı Berlin'in mekansal nitelikleri ve karşılaştırmalı mekansal analizleri yapılarak, birbirini takip eden dönüşümlerin doğası ve etkinliği anlaşılmasına çalışılmıştır. Alexanderplatz bu bağlamda, kentsel dönüşümün politik sistemdeki değişikliklere bağlı olduğunu göstermesi açısından, özgün bir örnek olarak değerlendirilmektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Doğu Berlin, Alexanderplatz, Sosyalist Kent, Kentsel Dönüşüm

To my family

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

Cities are formed by a series of external forces that can be classified as physical, social, economic and political. The political aspects are the ones that can change instantly and affect the city in a broader sense. Since politics can affect the economic and social conditions as well, the changes or reforms in political systems are the primary factors that result in extensive revisions in cities.

The divided city, which is the focus in this thesis, can be regarded as an example that reflects the abovementioned premises of politics. Having different reasons, religious, ethnic, and other atrocities, the politics is always the primary of all because it manifests itself so easily within urban conditions.

Berlin is the primary example in the near past for such a division resulting from a political duality in a city. After the World War II (WWII), Berlin, which can be assumed as the concrete evidence of the diversities in Europe, was at the focus of the world. The Berlin Wall which is thought as a physical symbol of the Cold War Period had separated the capitalist and socialist parts of the city as well as Europe. After the fall of this symbolic border, Berlin has attracted the attention of all the world countries by means of the radical changes in its politics, economy and social life. All these changes reflect themselves in the city structure via several impressive urban projects which are constructed after various architectural and planning competitions. According to architectural historians, Berlin is the city of continuous destructions and constructions causing the past to be forgotten. The competitions after the reunification are also supportive of this forgetting process through the deliberate destruction of the traces of Berlin's history related to the Cold War period. One example of these competitions concerns the rehabilitation of Alexanderplatz. This competition is unique in terms of the results it provoked in architectural, economic

and symbolic aspects. Although the competition was held 15 years ago, the construction did not take place due to several questionable arguments concerning the square.

The thesis examines the transformation of Berlin in terms of urban development policies and city structures as a result of the changing political systems from the beginning of 20th century till today. In that respect, the Alexanderplatz competition will be analyzed according to the competition results and the reasons for the delay in the winning project's constructions.

1.1. Aims and Objectives of the Study

The aim of this thesis is to analyze the effects of the political system on urban space of a city by examining the spatial transformation of Berlin from the beginning of the 20th century under the influence of different political systems. The spatial analysis includes the historical periods of Berlin as a city in the German Empire, Weimar Republic, Third Reich, the duality of Federal Republic of Germany, German Democratic Republic and finally the reunified Federal Republic of Germany. The focus is primarily on the division period of Berlin to understand the urban space production systems of the socialist and capitalist ideologies and then the reunification period to analyze the transformation period of East Berlin from socialist city to capitalist city.

Since the fall of the Berlin Wall, Berlin has been analyzed as a city in the unification process by scholars from diverse branches including architecture, architectural history, urban planning and sociology. These former studies have analyzed Berlin through the urban projects to fill the former No Man's Land and to regenerate the center of New Berlin. However, the unification period also includes the change in the political system of East Berlin and the process of erasing the symbolic urban spaces of socialism and the process of replacing them with the new symbols of capitalist urban space. Since the collapse of socialism, the reunification period refers the erasure period for East Berlin as a socialist city. This thesis aims to study the reunification period of from the perspective of East Berlin.

1.2. Methodology

The methodology of this thesis is the spatial and comparative analyses of urban space of Berlin in the periods of before the division, during the division and after the reunification. The period before the division and World War II includes the spatial analyses of Berlin in reference to the changes in political system of the government. After WWII, during the division years, the two cities East and West Berlin are examined to understand the urban space production systems of the two political regimes; socialism and capitalism, and are analyzed by comparing the differences of the two sides of the city regarding the effects of politics on the city structure. In the reunification period Berlin is analyzed to determine the effects of the reunification on the city planning, especially in the former East Berlin and to define the transformation of the urban space. In that respect Alexanderplatz, a socialist square which is significant as a major symbolic place of East Berlin, is studied concerning the periods of before the division, during the division and after the reunification as a case study.

1.3. Theories on Urban Transformation: Berlin Circa 1950–2008

Cities differ from each other due to various physical and social conditions affecting their physical structures. Cities are formed by their inhabitants and by the governors who decide on its structure, according to the characteristics of the community and the physical conditions of the place where the city is situated. In other words, a city's historical development, its planning, the typology of its components and how these components come together can be differentiated from other cities by various social, political and physical aspects. Every city has its own structure depending on these features. The thesis deals with the political aspects that play primary roles in the formation of a city. The main focus is on Berlin as a city which had formerly been divided due to political differences, trying to be unified through the physical environment as well, after accomplishing a political reunification. In this framework, the thesis examines East Berlin as a socialist city during the division years, the spatial transformation of East Berlin as a post-socialist city after the fall of Berlin Wall, and

the current situation, 18 years after the reunification, by studying the Alexanderplatz Project as a project exemplifying transition period.

The analysis of Berlin will begin with the examination of the period from the beginning of the 20th century till World War II. In chapter 2, the study will define the planning principles of Berlin before WWII and the traces of the politics on the urban space. At the beginning of the 20th century, Berlin was the capital city of German Empire and then Weimar Republic. In this part, the introduction of the metropolis and world city concepts and the projects to transform Berlin to a world city will be discussed. The post-war planning and construction policies after the WWII will be exemplified by the projects of Martin Wagner in the Weimar Republic period. Since Alexanderplatz had an importance of being the transportation hub of Berlin in those years, it was designed and constructed as one of the city centers of Berlin with its planning, its architecture and its place in the social life of the citizens. This chapter will also mention about the first competition for the redesign of Alexanderplatz in 1929. The results of this competition and the design concepts of projects will be analyzed. Moreover, the physical structure of Berlin and the effects of the politics on the urban space before the division will be presented to understand the spatial transformation of Berlin after the division.

In the third chapter, the new period that Berlin had undergone after the WWII, will be analyzed. First, the political changes in Europe will be mentioned. The economic and political situation and the division of Europe which resulted in the foundation of NATO and Warsaw Pact will be introduced. The effects of WWII on Europe and the creation of two superpowers; Soviet Union and United States will be emphasized to understand the political duality of Berlin under the influence of these powers. The analysis of Europe will be presented to outline the reasons for the division of Berlin. Secondly, the planning of both sides of Berlin will be examined as the reflections of their different political ideologies. The main discussion will focus on the context that each ideology reflects itself on the physical structure of the cities to create a total impact on the city and its citizens. Henry Lefebvre clarifies the relationship between

the city structure and the controlling ideologies with respect to the success of both the political and the social transformation.

A revolution that does not produce a new space has not realized its full potential; indeed it has failed in that it has not changed life itself, but has merely changed ideological superstructures, institutions or political apparatuses. A social transformation, to be truly revolutionary in character, must manifest a creative capacity. In its effects on daily life, on language and on space – though its impact need not occur at the same rate, or with equal force, in each of these areas.¹

After covering the general information about the political and economic situations in Europe, Berlin will be analyzed as a divided city, which housed two different governments having different political stand-points. The duality created by the different political regimes and the division of the city by the Berlin Wall will be introduced. The reflections of these two different political regimes will be studied regarding their planning policies. East Berlin will be discussed in terms of its socialist city features that were mainly formed by Soviet Union. In this respect, the Soviet Union's effect on East Berlin will be stated in political, economic and city planning aspects. West Berlin will be inquired by analyzing the United States' effect on its physical structure. The division period of Berlin will be discussed as a city that was used for the propaganda of the ideologies of the governments once again.

Before analyzing East Berlin's spatial transformation in the division years, the planning movements and principles in Soviet Union will be mentioned. In addition, the discussions about Modernism and Socialist Realism in Soviet Union will be presented. The general characteristics of the architecture and planning of Soviet Union and the major changes in the architectural and planning movements which were accepted in Soviet Union will be stated. The study of Soviet Union is necessary to understand the planning and architecture of East Berlin. The basis of the planning principles of East Berlin will be set by studying the planning in Soviet Union. After the analysis of Soviet Union, its effects on East Berlin as regards the spatial transformation will be mentioned. "The Sixteen Principles for Restructuring the

¹ Lefebvre, H., 1991, The Production of Space, Blackwell Publishers Inc., Massachusetts, USA, p.54.

Cities” that were the planning rules of East Germany formed by Soviet planners and architects will be introduced by examining the effects of these principles on East Berlin as the capital city of German Democratic Republic. The symbolic constructions of East Berlin, Alexanderplatz, Stalinallee and TV Tower will be presented in reference to these principles. The competitions for the designs of these symbolic constructions, the Stalinallee competition in 1951, the TV Tower competition in Alexanderplatz in 1959 and the redesign of Alexanderplatz competition in 1964, will be analyzed in detail including the aims of the city government. Moreover, the effects of these places on the social life of the citizens and the significance of them in the daily life of the city will be studied in detail. In this chapter, the meaning of Alexanderplatz in East Berlin will be revealed for the discussions about its transformation in the reunification period.

West Berlin will be analyzed regarding the United States influence. The planning principles of the western part of the city will be discussed by comparing the characteristics of East and West Berlin’s planning. The comparative analysis will present the differences in the planning concepts of the two Berlins resulting from the differences in their political systems. The planning competitions Hauptstadt Berlin (1958) and Around the Zoo (1947) together with their influences on the city planning and the road network in addition to the zoning concept will be mentioned. Considering the symbolic constructions of West Berlin, the project in Internationale Bauausstellung (IBA) in 1957 including the Hansaviertel area and the second IBA project in 1987 covering the whole city will be studied. Consequently, the projects in East Berlin and West Berlin will be compared in reference to their different symbolic meanings derived from the socialist and capitalist regimes. As a result, chapter 3 will reveal the politics and space relationship with the example of Berlin housing two different developments in this context.

Chapter 4 will be constructed on the analysis of Berlin in reunification period. The chapter will begin with the reasons of the Fall of Berlin Wall, the collapse of socialism and the political changes in Europe. After analyzing the political situation of Europe, the reunification process of Germany will be studied. The new aims of

new Germany and the intended image of being unified and powerful again will be the main focuses of this chapter. In this framework the transformation of East Berlin due to the collapse of socialism and the change in its political regime will be discussed in detail. The post-socialist city concept will be presented and East Berlin will be studied as a post-socialist city having similar characteristics and problems to the ones of other post-socialist cities. The advantages of East Berlin differing from other post-socialist cities by reunifying with a city of capitalist system will also be indicated. Besides these advantages, the aims of becoming the capital city of Germany again and evolving into one of the leading cities of Europe will be underlined as the difficulties of the transformation period of East Berlin. The effects of the competitions, Potsdamerplatz and Alexanderplatz, which were held in 1992 and 1993, short time after the fall of Berlin Wall, will be studied as determining aspects of the transformation constructions. Since the general planning of reunified city had not been accomplished till the partial planning studies and land use plans in 1994 and 2002, the significance of these competitions will be emphasized in the transformation period of the city. These competitions and their strategic importance for the new image of Berlin will be discussed in relation to their results and their effects on the urban space.

The main focus of Chapter 4 will be the Alexanderplatz competition in 1993. Having revealed the importance and symbolic significance of Alexanderplatz in the division years in Chapter 3, the aim of this competition and the reasons behind the decision to choose this area as a transformation place in the reunified Berlin will be discussed. The results of the competition will be analyzed by examining the winning project by Hans Kollhoff and Helga Timmermann. The conflict in the jury that was conceived by comparing the first and second prized projects in reference to their approaches to the square will also be mentioned. The first two projects by Kollhoff and Timmermann and by Libeskind will be compared regarding their intentions for the future image of Berlin. The winning project including thirteen office towers and the second project that was described by Libeskind which was being designed in reference to its historical background considering the meaning of Alexanderplatz in former East Berlin will be analyzed in order to indicate their differences in the

intended future image of the city. The result of the Alexanderplatz competition will be discussed as a project to erase the socialist symbolic space of former East Berlin by imposing the buildings and functions of capitalist system. On the other hand, the reasons for the delay in the realization of this project and the question when this project would be constructed will be argued. As a reason for this delay, negligence of the city demand while deciding on the program of the competition will be indicated. In addition the claims about the resistance of the citizens of former East Berlin and the doubts of the private investors about the demand for these office and residential complex will finally be stated as the failure of this competition.

The final chapter will provide a discussion about the relationship between politics and urban space in reference to Berlin as regards its urban developments under different political systems during its near past. The planning and city structure will be defined as the main tool of politics to complete its effect on the city. On the other hand, since a city is shaped also by economic and social aspects in addition to its political system, the failure of Alexanderplatz competition will be argued in terms of its aims to only erase the symbolic socialist meaning of the square by neglecting the city demand and the economic and social aspects of the city. The current situation and the construction activities since the reunification will be presented while the arguments about the future of Alexanderplatz are mentioned.

CHAPTER 2

BERLIN: A HISTORICAL ACCOUNT

2.1. Berlin at the Beginning of the 20th Century

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Berlin was the capital and the most populated city of German Empire, until the end of the First World War (WWI) (1918). In 1900s the introduction of the concepts of urbanization and metropolis to the German Empire resulted in rapid urbanization. This rapid urbanization of the German cities, as David Frisby indicates in the article “The City Compared”, built up a new discipline concerning the physical structure of the city as a subject matter.

The rapid urbanization of Germany after 1870 and, literally, the creation or building of cities (Städtebau) stimulated the development of a new discipline devoted to urban creation (city planning) and a debate on the nature and significance of the modern city.²

In order to determine the design principles for Berlin in progress, the Greater Berlin Planning Competition (1907-1910) and the General Urban Design Exhibition (1910) were held and announced respectively. The purpose of this competition and its accomplishing exhibition was to specify the qualities of the biggest city of German Empire as a metropolis. Accordingly, Berlin was described as a world city by demonstrating the characteristics of modern life which was newly introduced to German society.

The first and largest exhibition to focus specifically on urban design was the General Urban Design Exhibition, held in Berlin in 1910. Geared toward presenting the then new discipline to the public, the show featured the permeated schemes from the recent Greater Berlin planning competition (1909) as well as master plans from dozens of cities on four continents. It also included drawings, photos, and models of garden cities, housing, transit systems, tunnels, bridges,

² Frisby, D., 2001, “The City Compared”, Cityscapes of Modernity, Critical Explorations, Blackwell Publishers Ltd., USA, p.160.

street embellishments, and public buildings, as well as parks, playgrounds, and cemeteries; designers included Daniel Burnham, H. P. Berlage, Otto Wagner, and Gunnar Asplund. Doubt-less, few members of the public, or even of the planning community, could comprehend the significance of the more than 1,400 items displayed. Nonetheless, the 1910 Berlin show was a great popular success, so much so that it was presented again in Düsseldorf the following year, nearly doubled in size.³

The Exhibition of Greater Berlin publicly presented the physical elements that constitute the urban structure of a metropolis. In that regard, the features of a metropolis including the building policies, the traffic and the open space regulation in addition to the built space-green area relation were announced to the citizens in order to provide information about the city planning procedures of Berlin.

During WWI (1914-1918), German Empire was an ally of the Central Powers which was defeated at the end of the war. After the war, in 1918, the German Revolution started in order to establish the republican system against the system of monarchy. As a result of this revolution, in 1919, the Weimer Republic was established with its capital city Berlin.

The physical structure of Berlin, like other post-war cities, was facing problems regarding the destruction brought by the war among which housing was the primary concern. For that reason, between the years 1926 and 1933, Martin Wagner was authorized as the city planner of Berlin to design a metropolis from the ruins of the war. Regarding his previous studies on housing problems of German cities, the mass production of housing, housing technologies and building standards were the main features in the agenda of Wagner while planning the construction facilities of Berlin.

Martin Wagner was increasingly active in formulating a socialist building program and in participating in the building workers' union, the Bauhütte Berlin (independent building associations) and other organizations for the socialization of land, building and housing.⁴

³ Rogier, F., 1999, "Mastering the City: Urban Planning in Northern Europe, 1900-2000", Journal of the Society of the Architectural Historians, Vol.58, No.1, March 1999, p.68-71.

⁴ Frisby, D., 2001, "The City Rationalized", Cityscapes of Modernity, Critical Explorations, Blackwell Publishers Ltd., USA, p.272.

In that respect, The German Housing Association (Die Deutsche Wohnungsfürsorge) was founded by the directorship of Wagner, in 1924. Britz Housing Estate (1925) was the first applied project of Wagner which was designed in cooperation with the architect Bruno Taut.⁵



Figure 2-1 Photo of Britz Housing (1925) in Berlin
(<http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:Hufeisensiedlung.jpg>)

Wagner summarized his understanding of modern architecture and city planning as; “We the children of the twentieth century must develop our own form and our own style.”⁶ According to his ideas concerning architecture and planning, the projects should reflect the characteristics and features of the same age in which they were

⁵ Frisby, D., 2001, “The City Rationalized”, *Cityscapes of Modernity, Critical Explorations*, Blackwell Publishers Ltd., USA, p.272.

⁶ Wagner, M., “Zivilisation, Kultur, Kunst” cited in “The City Rationalized”, Frisby, D., *Cityscapes of Modernity, Critical Explorations*, Blackwell Publishers Ltd., USA, p.272.

built or planned. To create his own form by breaking off the ideas and forms of the previous periods, he determined his modern architecture definition and the features of modern city through the spectrum of meta-understanding which focused on the inner relations between its elements instead of singularities of individuals.

In modern architecture there is no longer any space for externalization of wealth and the poverty of individual elements. We turn away from the bourgeoisie's ideal of beauty with its emphasis on the personal, on the capricious and individualistic characterization. Our ideal of beauty is no longer the accentuated individual house, but rather the sum total of houses, the street space, the square and city space.⁷

Architectural form has a specific definition for Wagner which is derived from the necessities of mass production. According to him, the need for the mass produced housing facilities should create its own form. Form should be purified from all of its decorative elements due to the logic of mass production. This definition of architectural form builds up an analogy between industrial mass production and mass produced housing:

Just as industry is striving to transform individual needs into mass needs, so we too have to create new laws of formation in accordance with the rhythm of the mass. This mass, that we have to form in the shape of dwelling blocks will be totally stripped (entkleidet) from all the stored up, lifeless, decorative wealth. It will emerge streamlined like an aircraft, an express locomotive, a motor etc that will reject any superfluous mass as pointless, indeed as harmful.⁸

After WWI, the re-planning procedure of Berlin as metropolis was another problem. The introduction of automobile to the metropolitan people caused several revisions in the traffic regulation. Therefore, the concept of the city boundaries changed together with the use of automobiles.

The automobile kills the inner city but it connects the metropolitan dweller to the open countryside and the country dweller to the metropolis. Excursions with a three-hour journey radius – thus from Berlin to Dresden or Magdeburg – are taken for granted by the mass

⁷ Ibid, p.275.

⁸ Ibid, p.276.

of the American metropolitan population just they are enjoyed by a small stratum of wealthy people. The automobile has created a new standard for the boundaries of the city.⁹

As Martin Wagner underlined, the mobilization of German citizens caused traffic system revisions and an immediate increase in the number of automobiles. As a result, the city planning regulations need to be improved in order to answer the necessities of the modern life. These regulations were mainly focused on vehicle connection of housing and recreational facilities as well as the rearrangement of the city centers with respect to the transportation nodes. The resulting revolutionary transformation of the city structure turned Berlin into a world city.

The most transparent manifestations of the new forms embodying the world city spirit will be located in the center of the city. They would include the reconfiguration of 'world city squares' (such as Alexanderplatz, Potsdamerplatz, Platz der Republic) and the unification of transport connections and the representation of the world city will have major new settlements (Gross-Siedlungen) and recreational areas (such as the Wannsee swimming and recreation facilities).¹⁰

As Alexanderplatz and Potsdamerplatz, two important squares of Berlin, became the main traffic intersections of Berlin, they required new forms due to the expansion of traffic. As a result, a new arrangement of the squares in the form of 'world city square' to deal with the regulation of the expanded traffic and the transportation of a world city with a high density population became an inevitable need.

The new structuring of such 'squares' is determined primarily by the new ordering of traffic and the construction of underground railways. ...A world city square is not a small city square. ...The world city square is an almost permanently filled traffic sluice, whose 'clearing' point is an artery network of major traffic thoroughfares. ...World city squares are organismus with distinctive formal features.¹¹

⁹ Wagner, M., "Deutsche Städtebau-Ausstellung 1930 gegen 1900", cited in "The City Rationalized", Frisby, D., *Cityscapes of Modernity, Critical Explorations*, Blackwell Publishers Ltd., USA, p.278.

¹⁰ Frisby, D., "The City Rationalized", *Cityscapes of Modernity, Critical Explorations*, Blackwell Publishers Ltd., USA, p.284.

¹¹ Wagner, M., "Städtebauliche Probleme der Großstadt", cited in "The City Rationalized", Frisby, D., *Cityscapes of Modernity, Critical Explorations*, Blackwell Publishers Ltd., USA, p.286.

With respect to the definition of ‘world city square’ stated above, the planning and architecture of Alexanderplatz and Potsdamerplatz need to be re-designed according to the flow of automobile and stationary traffic which was created by the consumers of the facilities that fed the square.

A world city square is a stopping point and a floodgate in a single form: a stopping point for consumption power and floodgate for traffic flows.¹²

At that time, Alexanderplatz was the transportation hub of the city where several routes and means of transportation overlapped. The master design of the square was established by Martin Wagner in 1928. The first planning competition for the new form of Alexanderplatz was organized in 1929 with the guidance of Wagner’s master plan.



Figure 2-2 Model of the Alexanderplatz planning by the city architect of Martin Wagner in 1929
(http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/planen/staedtebauprojekte/alexanderplatz/en/geschichte/geschichte_bis_45/1928_alexanderpl_entw_wagner_modell_800x600.shtml)

¹² Frisby, D., “The City Rationalized”, *Cityscapes of Modernity, Critical Explorations*, Blackwell Publishers Ltd., USA, p.287.

The competition specifications were set according to Wagner's design and had the aim to provide the architectural coherency while reshaping the metropolitan square of Berlin. Moreover, these specifications intended to construct buildings that would create destinations for consumption around the square. Six design teams were invited to the competition among which the project of Hans and Wassily Luckhardt with Alfons Anker awarded with the first prize. However, the second prized project that was designed by Peter Behrens was decided to be constructed in 1929. Nevertheless, Alexanderhaus and Berolinahaus were the two buildings whose construction was finalized whereas the whole project could only be completed partially.

The Weimar Republic was also affected in a negative way after the world economic crisis in 1929. The unemployment and the crisis in the German economy cause a political crisis in the government. The president of Weimar Republic had given the chancellorship to Adolf Hitler for several weeks before the elections in 1933. The violent actions of the communist party, starting with the Reichstag Fire, were the main causes of the fall of Weimar Republic. According to Hitler's opinion this fire constituted a danger for German people. Therefore, he used the authorities he had been given by the Reichstag Fire Decree (the Order of the Reich President for the Protection of People and State) to ban the meetings and publications of the communist party and to arrest of the party members. As a result, in the following elections, Hitler had become the chancellor and established the Third Reich (1933), a system of dictatorship.



Figure 2-3 Photograph of Alexanderplatz in 1935 showing the Alexanderhaus and Berolinahaus (http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/planen/staedtebauprojekte/alexanderplatz/en/geschichte/geschichte_bis_45/1935_blick_von_georgenkirche_800x575.shtml)



Figure 2-4 Photograph of Alexanderplatz in 1935 (http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/planen/staedtebauprojekte/alexanderplatz/en/geschichte/geschichte_bis_45/1935_alexanderpl_von_sueden_swluftbild_800x600.shtml)

2.2. Berlin in the Third Reich Period

After the establishment of Third Reich until the World War II, Hitler was the chancellor as the person who changed not only the history of Germany but also that of Europe. Berlin was appointed as the capital of the Third Reich and planned to symbolize the power and uniqueness of its government and country. After becoming the chancellor, Hitler aimed to plan the city center of Berlin according to his ideology which represented the dominance of German Nation.

By their very nature as government centers, all capital cities illustrate this problem, reflecting in some measure the pervasive desire to raise architectural monuments to state power, with the consequent pressures placed on more traditional urban functions.¹³

The urban planning of Berlin was based on the politics of the government. Hence, architecture was used as a tool for the propaganda of the Hitler's ideology and shaped the urban planning concepts of Berlin.

Hitler was no ordinary client – in fact, he was much more than a client. Naturally, the Berlin plans were brought into being at his command and colored by his personal tastes. But in this Hitler was not unlike other politically powered patrons.¹⁴

Albert Speer was the head of the planning department of Berlin in the Third Reich period from 1934 until the beginning of WWII. He worked with Hitler on the city plans of Berlin to create the Greater Berlin of Greater Germania.

In this respect, to create the Greater Berlin, Speer planned a north south boulevard which would have a monumental effect with monumental buildings. This main boulevard was designed between two major buildings, the Great Hall and the Arch. “The basic outlines of the three key elements – the north-south boulevard, the Great Hall, and the Arch – came directly from Hitler.”¹⁵ The Arch was located at the entrance of this axis framing the view of it and the Great Hall at the end. The Great

¹³ Helmer, Stephen D., 1985, Hitler's Berlin: The Speer Plans for Reshaping the Central City, UMI Research Pres, p.7.

¹⁴ Ibid, p.1.

¹⁵ Ibid, p.14.

Hall was designed to express the greatness of Hitler and the dominance of the German nation.

The dome of Hitler's Great Hall was to stand forever as the ultimate universal symbol. Greater than Hadrian's Pantheon or St. Peter's, Hitler's Great Hall was to be the root of domination. All else in its shadow would be merely a variation in loudness, dialect, and physiology; it would be the egg and the seed, the cycle of life, eternal recurrence, and the perfect oneness, forever unchanging.¹⁶

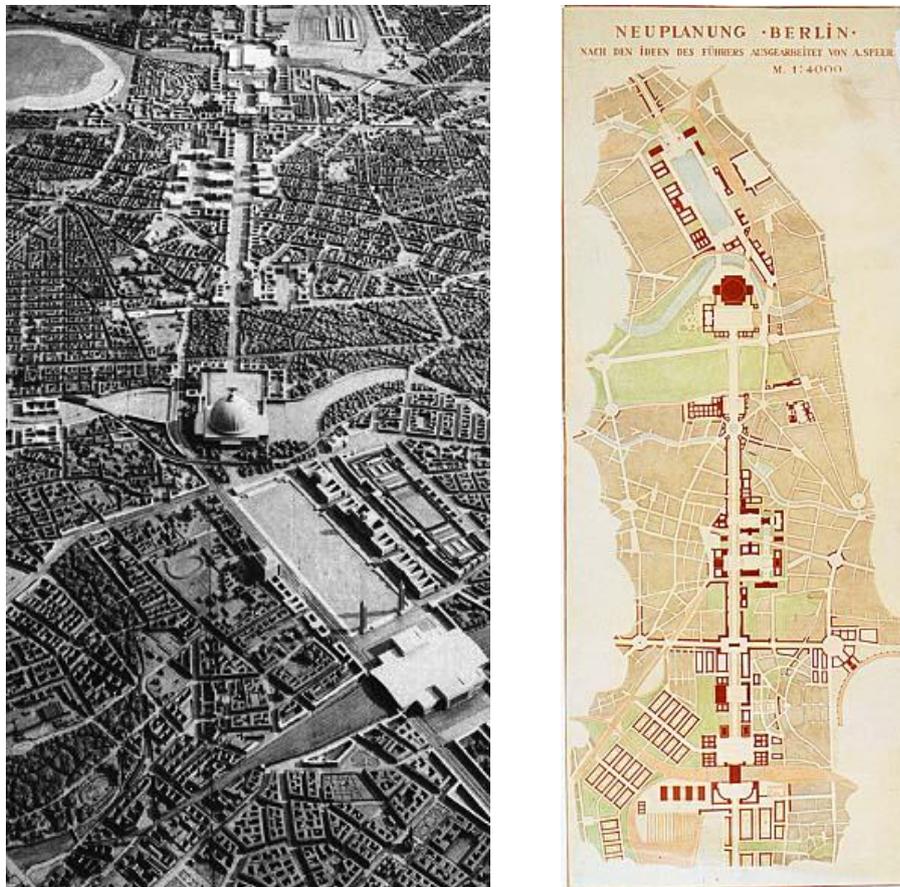


Figure 2-5 (left) Speer's model of Berlin (http://www.stanford.edu/dept/german/berlin_class/archives/speer_gallery/berlin_model.html), **(right)** Speer's plan of Berlin, north-south axis (http://www.stanford.edu/dept/german/berlin_class/archives/speer_gallery/berlin_project.html)

¹⁶ Balfour, A., 1990, Berlin the Politics of Order 1737-1989, Rizzoli International Publications, Inc, p.135.

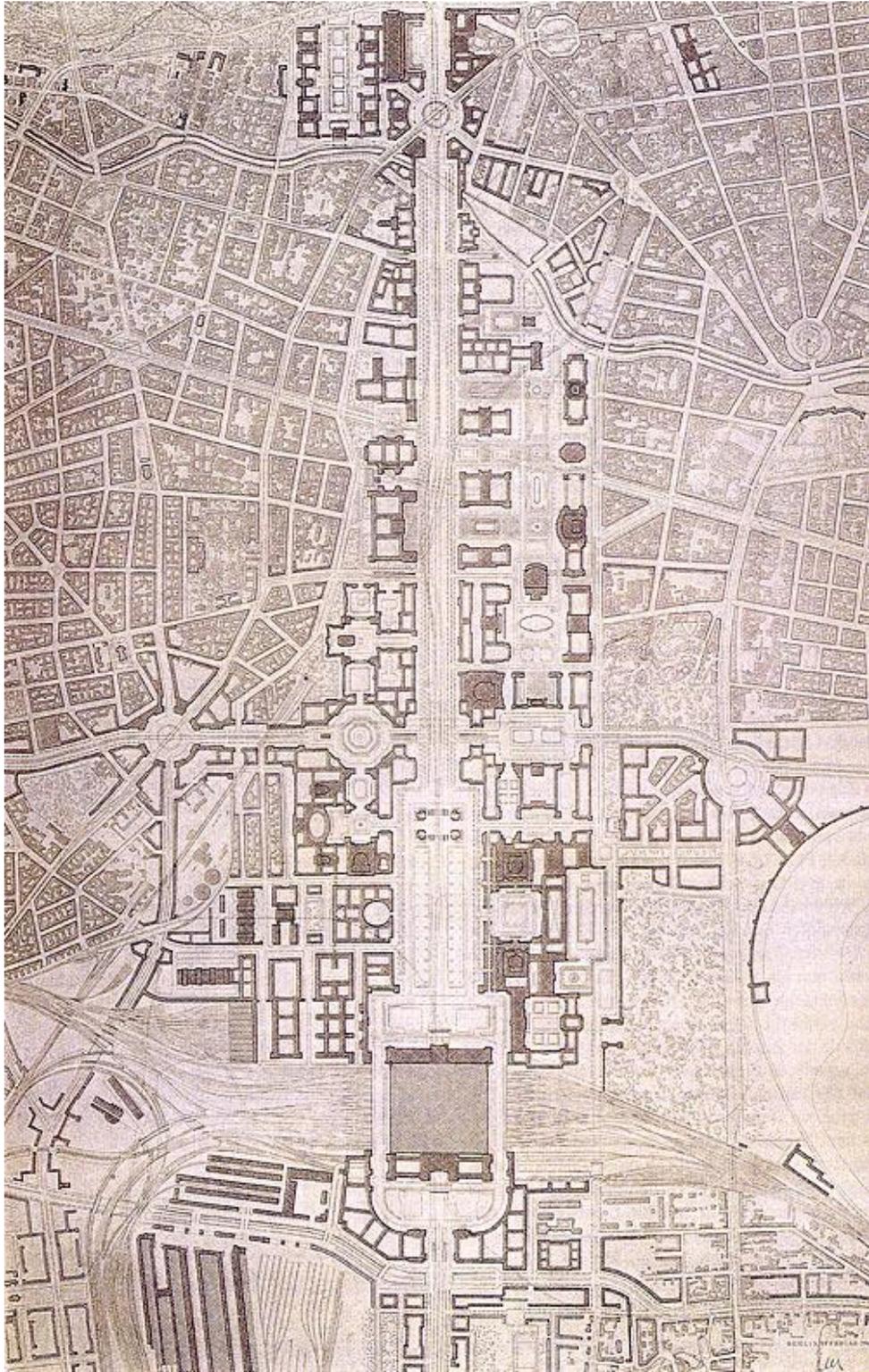


Figure 2-6 Master Plan of Berlin, 1938
(http://www.stanford.edu/dept/german/berlin_class/archives/speer_gallery/berlinplan1938.html)

Besides the expression of the power and political ideology of Germany, the urban planning and architecture were used to create a pressure on the people. The size of buildings and the monumentality of the boulevard and the Great Hall had the aim to influence the people from other nations as well as the people of the German nation. “Architecture and urban design were intended to not only express, but impress.”¹⁷

Since Berlin was the capital city, its planning was used for symbolizing the political view of the government. The architecture and urban planning were the main tools in expressing the ideology of the government which had the power to change the image of whole nation.

The aspirations and achievements of the nation would be symbolized in the physical surroundings. To repeat Speer, the avenue between the two central railroad stations was meant to spell out in architecture the political, military, and economical power of Germany.¹⁸

However, besides the Olympic stadium for the 1936 Summer Olympics and the new Chancellery building, which was demolished by the Soviet Union army in WWII, the other designs and the planning for Berlin by Speer could not be realized. By the outbreak of WWII in 1939, the future constructions were delayed until the end of the war. Since the war did not end the way Hitler had supposed, the constructions of the symbols of the Third Reich were never completed.

¹⁷ Helmer, Stephen D., 1985, Hitler's Berlin: The Speer Plans for Reshaping the Central City, UMI Research Press, p.38.

¹⁸ Ibid, p.38.

CHAPTER 3

DIVISION OF BERLIN

3.1. Politics in Germany after WWII

In 1945, World War II ended by creating two superpowers: the United States and the Soviet Union. In the postwar years, there were two different systems in politics and economy which were basically accepted by the world countries. “In one system, all land and property are held publicly (by the state) and use is granted to private individuals, groups and private and public institutions. In the other system, land and property are held privately, but use is subject to statutory restriction.”¹⁹ These two systems, capitalism and socialism, were symbolized by the two superpowers of WWII. This duality led the world into the Cold War period by dividing the world according to the choices of countries in terms of their political directions. At the end of the war, the United States and the Soviet Union stated their preeminence by dividing Europe as eastern and western countries. East Europe countries continued their existence under the Soviet Union influence by adopting socialism to their politics while West Europe followed the United States influence as capitalist countries.

The division of Europe also resulted in the division of Germany as east and west parts. At the end of WWII, Germany was occupied by four sectors: French in the southwest, British in the northwest, American in the south and the Soviet Union in the east. The political division as West and East Germany occurred in 1949. American, British and France sectors composed West Germany as the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG), while the Soviet Union sector formed East Germany under the name of German Democratic Republic (GDR).

¹⁹ Andrusz, G., 2000, “A Polemic on Post-Socialist Cities”, *Anthropolis*, <http://www.anthropolis.de/andrusz.htm>, last accessed date 15th June 2008.

After a brief flirtation with postwar cooperation, joint allied military occupation gave way in 1949 to the creation of two separate German states: one affiliated with the U.S., the other with the U.S.S.R. Divergences in environmental design practices between these two new Germanies now not only expressed a break with the Nazi past, but also the assimilation of a template for modern life prescribed by a patron superpower.²⁰



Figure 3-1 Political Map of Europe in the Cold War Period (1970)
<http://users.erols.com/mwhite28/euro1970.htm>

²⁰ Castillo, G., 2001, "Building Culture in Divided Berlin: Globalization and the Cold War", *Hybrid Urbanism: on the identity discourse and the built environment*, (ed.) N. AlSayyad, Praeger Publishers, Westport, p.182.

In 1949, certain western countries²¹ and the United States signed the North Atlantic Treaty and established a military organization called NATO with the aim of acting collectively against any attack to the countries in the organization. West Germany joined the alliance NATO in 1955. In the same year, 1955, the communist states²² established the Warsaw Pact against NATO. East Germany entered this organization in 1956. These organizations were the signed evidences of the divided world due to different views and policies in politics and economy.



Figure 3-2 World Map showing the borders of NATO and Warsaw Pact in the Cold War period (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:NATO_vs_Warsaw_%281949-1990%29.png)

In 1961, the boundary between Eastern and Western Europe, called as the Iron Curtain, took a physical shape as Berlin Wall passing through the city of Berlin and dividing it as east and west. Consequently, Berlin became a divided city in a divided country and continent. Since Berlin was the capital of Germany before WWII, the winning allies of the war tried to share its land. Although Berlin was in the middle of East German territories, the allies which composed the West Germany, tried to have political and economical rights on West Berlin and divide the city. “Soviet officials, however, insisted that West Berlin was not to be considered a territory belonging to

²¹ The founders of NATO were Belgium, Canada, Denmark, France, Iceland, Italy, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal and United Kingdom.

²² The founders of Warsaw Pact were People’s Republic of Albania, People’s Republic of Bulgaria, Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, People’s Republic of Hungary, People’s Republic of Poland, Socialist Republic of Romania and Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

the FRG and therefore was not to be governed by it.”²³ On September 3rd, 1971, the three allies of West Germany and Soviet Union—had signed the “Four Power Agreement”. By this agreement, Berlin was named as “relevant area” and West Berlin became a land of FRG surrounded by GDR territories.

The Four Power Agreement charged the governments of West Berlin and the GDR with negotiating an accord that would regulate access to and from West Berlin from the FRG and secure the right of West Berliners to visit East Berlin and the GDR.²⁴

The political division of Berlin resulted in two separate cities in the former city territories. Since the two sides of the city had different political views, their governmental policies, economies and also urban design policies both in physical and social aspects had been affected. “In divided Germany, it was henceforth a propagandistic dispute rooted in an ideological stand-off. While the young Federal Republic leaned towards the United States in all areas of life, East Germany remained in thrall to Moscow.”²⁵ Each side tried to promote its political view by producing urban spaces symbolizing the life style of the political policies, socialism or capitalism, of the government. The West part was basically under the influence of the United States in terms of politics, economy and social life whereas the east part was the follower of the Soviet Union.

But culture- including that of environmental design- was also conscripted by the United States and the Soviet Union in their battle for preeminence. Each superpower promoted its version of a modern, industrialized society within its own hemisphere of influence, and attempted to do so in its adversary’s as well. Culturally specific definitions of progress, tradition, national identity, and international community were not only exported as ideas, but also as ideal settings for postwar life, from cities and streets to homes and their furnishings.²⁶

²³ “Ostpolitik: The Quadripartite Agreement of September 3, 1971”, <http://usa.usembassy.de/etexts/ga5-710903.htm>, last accessed date 18th June 2008.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Müller, P., 2005, “Counter-Architecture and Building Race: Cold War Politics and the Two Berlins”, GHI Bulletin Supplement 2, http://www.ghi-dc.org/publications/ghipubs/bu_supp/supp002/101.pdf, last accessed date 15th June 2008.

²⁶ Castillo, G., 2001, “Building Culture in Divided Berlin: Globalization and the Cold War”, Hybrid Urbanism: on the identity discourse and the built environment, (ed.) N. AlSayyad, Praeger Publishers, Westport, p.181.



Figure 3-3 Map of Germany after the division
 (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Germany_divided_BRD.png)

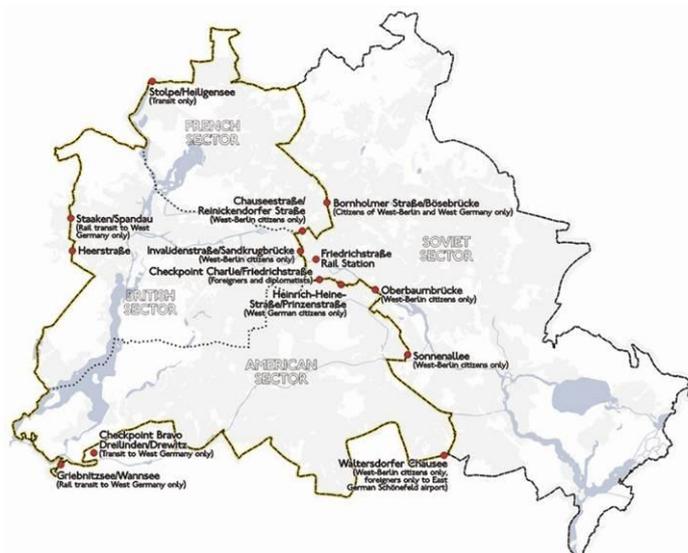


Figure3-4 Map of Berlin Wall indicating the connection points
 (http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Image:Karte_berliner_mauer_en.jpg)

Eventually, Berlin became the city where the tension between the capitalist and socialist systems, in other words the tension between the United States and the Soviet Union, could be seen clearly in terms of economy, social life and at most in the urban design policies. This tension resulted in the existence of the Berlin Wall and divided the city and Europe for 28 years. The Soviet Union had built the wall to prevent the escapes of East Berlin citizens to West Berlin as a result of the promotions of the western life style made by FRG government. The wall had changed the whole life in the city. The meaning of the wall was different for both sides of the city. “While the West openly called it a wall and a barrier to freedom and even encouraged graffiti as an expression of protest, the East referred to it as the “antifascist protective rampart.” Citizens in East Berlin were told to ignore its existence, to look the other way.”²⁷ The city, which had acted as a whole in the previous years, was tried to be two different cities after the construction of the wall. The infrastructure, the transportation system and also the daily life of its inhabitants had been affected by the wall.

The Wall, then, acted to structure all of life in Berlin. It shaped patterns of mobility and surveillance. It even structured the flows of essential resources like energy, water, and waste, as the networks were split and rerouted. Moreover, the experiences of the wall varied hugely depending on upon one’s position and location.²⁸

As a result of the division of the city by the Berlin Wall, the physical environment of Berlin, which was in a collapsed situation due to the effects of WWII, was planned in two different systems influenced by the opposing powers, the United States and the Soviet Union. Lefebvre stated that a new system cannot complete its impact unless it produces its own space and affects the life in the city with its spaces promoting the new order.²⁹ In that point of view, to impose new systems in politics and urban planning to the city life, both sides determined their own principles for urban planning and defined their own styles for the architecture of the city under the influence of these two superpowers. Being two parts of a former single city, East and

²⁷ Matus, V., 2001, “The Once and Future Berlin”, Policy Review Online, <http://www.policyreview.org/apr01/matus.html>, last accessed date 5th June 2008.

²⁸ Guy, S., 2004, “Shadow Architectures: War, Memories, and Berlin’s Futures”, Cities, War and Terrorism: towards an urban geopolitics, (ed.) S. Graham, Blackwell Publishing Ltd., UK, p.88.

²⁹ Lefebvre, H., 1991, The Production of Space, Blackwell Publishers Inc., Massachusetts, USA, p.54.

West Berlin were the unique examples to see the differences or similarities in the effects of these opposed systems, capitalism and socialism, on the physical environment.

3.2. Architecture and Urban Planning in Divided Berlin

At the end of WWII, Berlin was in a totally collapsed situation. The demolished urban space was seen by the city government of both sides of Berlin as an opportunity to rebuild the city with modern urban ideas. "It is argued that only bulldozers or Molotov cocktails can change the dominant organization of space that destruction must come before reconstruction."³⁰ To produce the space of the new system, in the ruined city the destruction had already been done by the war. Berlin was ready to be reshaped according to the new system.

Scharoun, as the city architect of West Berlin, tried to build a new city on the ruins of the old one for the new society of Berlin by ignoring the border between eastern and western part of the city. He wrote "We are building a new society but this society must not crawl back into same shell, into the buildings that housed the old society."³¹ In 1946, the first planning ideas were carried out with the "Kollektiveplan" drawn by the "Planungskollektiv", a group of architects and planners headed by Scharoun.

In its philosophy of rigorous demolition of up to 70% of the building fabric that had remained intact, its idea of an urban landscape tailored to the needs of the motor car and its strict segregation of functions, the plan was clearly positioned in the tradition of the two urban design manifestos of the Modern Movement: Le Corbusier's "Plan Voisin" for the center of Paris and the "Charter of Athens" published in 1942 by CIAM.³²

The concept of the "Kollektiveplan" was derived from the Athens Charter by CIAM based on the Functionalist City. Athens Charter basically dealt with the current

³⁰ Ibid, p.56.

³¹ "Alexanderplatz 1945-89 How the area around Alexanderplatz took shape during the GDR years", [Senate Department for Urban Development of Berlin.de](http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/planen/staedtebau-projekte/alexanderplatz/en/geschichte/nachkriegsplanungen/index.shtml), <http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/planen/staedtebau-projekte/alexanderplatz/en/geschichte/nachkriegsplanungen/index.shtml>, last accessed date 18th June 2008.

³² Ibid.

chaotic situation of the modern cities and tried to find replies about the urbanism in modern times. According to the results of Athens Charter, the keys to urbanism are to be found in the four functions: inhabiting, working, recreation, and circulation. The decision of the locations of these zones will be determined by a general plan with the strictest emphasis on time saving, the dwelling being regarded as the main zone of urban concern and the focal point for every measure of distance.³³

According to these principles, the Planungskollektiv planned the city in four separate function zones; work, cultural, inner city and residential ones linking each other with a new network of motorways. This planning was made via ignoring the division of the city and supposing that Berlin was a single city having single general plan with single concept. Until the construction of the Berlin Wall, the city government of West Berlin had organized several exhibitions and competitions for the whole city.

During the decades after the Second World War, architectural exhibitions and competitions were used as a stabilizing means of promoting the rebuilding of (West) Berlin and of demoting its 'outpost' status: e.g. the International Building Exhibition (Interbau) of 1957; the 'Hauptstadt Berlin' ('Berlin Capital') competition of 1958 that willfully ignored the division of the city.³⁴

However, by the political division of the city, the collective planning could not be put into practice. The two sides of the city started to plan the city according to their own policies. "...two separate planning and construction authorities were formed in Berlin, both of which initially drew up plans for the entire city – plans that, however, never had any tangible consequences."³⁵ With the political division of the city, both sides started to plan their own side of the city according to their political views. In

³³ Le Corbusier, 1973, The Athens Charter, (trans.) Anthony Eardly, Grossman Publishers, New York.

³⁴ Ward, J., 2004, "Berlin, the Virtual Global City", Journal of Visual Culture, 3; 239, Sage Publications, <http://vcu.sagepub.com/cgi/content/abstract/3/2/239>, last accessed date 10th June 2008.

³⁵ "Alexanderplatz 1945-89 How the area around Alexanderplatz took shape during the GDR years", Senate Department for Urban Development of Berlin.de, <http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/planen/staedtebau-projekte/alexanderplatz/en/geschichte/nachkriegsplanungen/index.shtml>, last accessed date 18th June 2008.

the Cold War period, urban planning was seen as a tool for propaganda of the two opposing systems; capitalism and socialism.

The cities of capitalism and socialism both shape and are shaped by their respective forms of economic organization, class formation and political structures. The socio spatial organization of cities, their politics and administration, their housing and property markets, their patterns of social interaction are directly linked to the major features of the socialist and capitalist orders.³⁶

The main aim of the two city governments was to reconstruct the ruined city according to their political standpoints. The basic principles for the city planning of both sides of Berlin were influenced also by the two superpowers of the post-war period. After the construction of the wall, Berlin, as a divided city, housed two different governments having two opposing political stand-points. Both sides drew different urban design guidelines for the reconstruction of the city. The city planning concepts, developed by the two sides separately, were reflecting the political views of their government. Therefore, the different views resulted in different planning programs and separately constructed cities in the area of previous unified Berlin. “For postwar planners from the occupying powers, this would amount to nothing less than a reinvention of the German “national character”.”³⁷ Both sides of Berlin created its own identity under the influence of the United States and the Soviet Union. “While the West looked to the “New World” as the Promised Land, the East rediscovered “Old Europe.” It pursued an ideal defined by a negation of its enemy’s ideals.”³⁸ This duality resulted in two separate urban systems in one city having a wall passing through the old city center. The governments of both sides wanted to create and transform the urban space according to a way that represents their own political understanding.

³⁶ Harloe, M., 1996, “Cities in Transition”, Cities after Socialism, Urban and Regional Change and conflict in Post-Socialist Societies, (ed.) Andrusz, G., Harloe, M., Szeleyi, I., (trans.) Donald Nicholson-Smith, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford U, p.2.

³⁷ Castillo, G., 2001, “Building Culture in Divided Berlin: Globalization and the Cold War”, Hybrid Urbanism: on the identity discourse and the built environment, (ed.) N. AlSayyad, Praeger Publishers, Westport, p.182.

³⁸ Müller, P., 2005, “Counter-Architecture and Building Race: Cold War Politics and the Two Berlins”, GHI Bulletin Supplement 2, http://www.ghi-dc.org/publications/ghipubs/bu_supp/supp002/101.pdf, last accessed date 15th June 2008.

3.2.1. Planning in East Berlin

East Berlin was mainly influenced by the Soviet Union in terms of politics, economy and finally in urban design and architecture. This influence was actually planned by the Soviet Union and systematically applied in the reconstruction period of the city after WWII. The transition period mainly included the transformation of the physical environment according to the socialist life style and the erasure of the traces of the previous system from the urban space. The city was planned to express the social order resulting from socialism and the new constructions designed according to reflect the new beginning of East Germany in its new identity.³⁹ In order to understand the new physical structure of East Germany and mainly East Berlin, it is necessary to examine the Soviet Union urban planning experience.

3.2.1.1. The Soviet Union Background of Socialist City

Russia developed a new system in politics, socialism, with the October Revolution in 1917 and the following Russian Civil War which ended in 1922. The effects of this system were first seen in Russia in terms of economy, politics and physical structure of the cities. The principles for urban space production in cities under socialism were set in the Soviet Union and distributed to Eastern Europe after WWII. The socialist countries in the cold war period were mainly influenced by the Soviet Union cities which were the leading example of socialist cities.

Socialism was described with three main principles by Andrusz in the book titled “Cities after Socialism, Urban and Regional Change and conflict in Post-Socialist Societies”. The first principle was the state monopoly ownership of all means of economy. The production and consumption of all goods and services were controlled by the state centrally. The decisions about the investments and the distribution of incomes were also taken by the state. Second was about the political domination of the communist parties in politics. The governmental policies of the

³⁹ Eissenschmidt, A., Mekinda, J., 2004, “Architecture as a document of historical change: Three Examples from Post-war Europe”, *Zeitgeschichte Online*, <http://www.zeithistorische-forschungen.de/site/40208278/default.aspx>, last accessed date 12th June 2008.

communist parties were based on state centralization having control over every aspects of social, economic and political life. The third basic principle of socialism was the creation of socialist class order. The elimination of the bourgeois class, the differentiation of the middle class as politico-military, industrial and intellectual elite and limitation of the underclass was the main aims of socialism in terms of creating the new class order.⁴⁰

The cities that were under the socialist regime were planned to symbolize and reflect these basic principles of the system. “The first great attempts to define the “socialist city” insist on the theme of propaganda.”⁴¹ Each urban space should be designed and constructed to propagate the socialist life. The elimination of private property, creating equality in the housing qualities reflecting the new social order in the society and collectivity in the service facilities were the basic concerns in the creation of socialist cities.

In socialism, the structure of urban land uses did not result from the profit-seeking concerns of private property owners, but from political decisions. The housing systems were not to reproduce social divisions, but to enable all inhabitants to follow the ‘socialist way of living’; the city structure was to be compact, so that collective infrastructure and public transport were easily accessible.⁴²

As stated by Aman in his book “Architecture and Ideology in Eastern Europe during the Stalin era: an aspect of Cold War history”, in the first years of the Soviet Union, modernism was seen as the architectural style that reflects the socialist ideology in the physical structure. The functionalist characteristic of modern architecture appeared as the style of communist cities.⁴³ However, in 1930s there occurred a shift in this

⁴⁰ Harloe, M., 1996, “Cities in Transition”, Cities after Socialism, Urban and Regional Change and conflict in Post-Socialist Societies, (ed.) Andrusz, G., Harloe, M., Szeleyi, I., (trans.) Donald Nicholson-Smith, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford U, p.4.

⁴¹ Tafuri, M., 1990, “Toward the “Socialist City”: U.S.S.R., 1917-28”, the Sphere and the Labyrinth, MIT Press, USA, p.160.

⁴² Häussermann, H., 1996, “From Socialist to the Capitalist City: Experiences from Germany”, Cities after Socialism, Urban and Regional Change and conflict in Post-Socialist Societies, (ed.) Andrusz, G., Harloe, M., Szeleyi, I., (trans.) Donald Nicholson-Smith, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford U, p.214.

⁴³ Aman, A., 1992, Architecture and Ideology in Eastern Europe during the Stalin era: an aspect of Cold War history, (trans.) Roger and Kerstin Tanner, the Architectural History Foundation and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, U.S.A. p.248.

thought in the Soviet Union. The new formulation about architecture was named “Socialist Realism” with the slogan “socialist in content and national in form.”⁴⁴

Socialist Realism continued its preeminence till the 1950s. With this new movement the socialist architecture fell apart from modernism and followed the principles of traditionalism in physical aspects. According to Socialist Realism, every socialist city would have its own style related to its own national identity, but the subject of the urban space would be in relation with the principles of the socialism.

The important thing was the rejection of Western architecture. What was to be put in its place was far from clear to begin with. The new architecture had to be “national in form and socialist in content.” Yes, indeed, but this did not say exactly what it was to look like. Important, salient characteristics were determined by “experience from the Soviet Union,” but national form had to be worked out separately in each country.⁴⁵

In fact, since the urban space produced in each socialist city would result in different physical appearances, the choice of Socialist Realism was not on what is chosen but on what is rejected.⁴⁶

Aman also described Socialist Realism mainly in three features:

1. Socialist realism is the consistent, necessary, and sole expression of the socialist ideology.
2. Socialist Realism is the expression of a totalitarian social structure and an anachronism.
3. Socialist Realism is the heir of the Classical tradition in architecture and implies a critique of Modernism.⁴⁷

In brief, Socialist Realism was the official architectural style of the Soviet Union, when Modernism was seen as the reflection of capitalism and imperialism until the mid 1950s. At that period, Socialist Realism was seen as the style of socialist planning

⁴⁴ Castillo, G., 2001, “Building Culture in Divided Berlin: Globalization and the Cold War”, Hybrid Urbanism: on the identity discourse and the built environment, (ed.) N. AlSayyad, Praeger Publishers, Westport, p.182

⁴⁵ Aman, A., 1992, Architecture and Ideology in Eastern Europe during the Stalin era: an aspect of Cold War history, trans. Roger and Kerstin Tanner, the Architectural History Foundation and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, U.S.A. p.254-255

⁴⁶ Ibid, p.254

⁴⁷ Ibid, p.247-248

and architecture as resistance to Modern movement. Being the opposing style of Modernism, Traditionalism was the main principle of its architecture. Its vocabulary belonged to the past.

In 1950s, the Soviet Union eliminated Socialist Realism from its urban design and architecture style. As a sudden change in the understanding of urban space, they developed a new style based on Modernism. “The change coincided with the abolition of the cult of personality, but not really with any emergence of democracy. The system of government under Khrushchev was the same as it had been under Stalin.”⁴⁸ In other words, the symbolizing meaning of Modernism that was dedicated to capitalism was changed by this new developed style by the Soviet Union.

3.2.1.2. Construction of East Berlin under the Soviet Union

Being under Soviet occupation, GDR reconstructed its cities under the influence of the urban planning principles of the Soviet Union. In the post-war period, the Soviet Union used urban design as a tool to impose the new system to the physical structure of the city and to the daily life of the citizens as well as to create the new national identity for socialist East Germany.

The Soviet Union influence on East Germany was examined by Aman through three publications from Germany that reflected similar understandings with the Soviet Union in different periods. The first of these was from an essay “So builds Europe” in an anthology published in 1943.⁴⁹

... a movement that rejected any interest in style and tried to develop new architectural forms exclusively from the requirements of materials and external technical functions. This movement began in the Netherlands and spread to Germany, where it is closely connected with the name of the Bauhaus in Dessau. It is significant that these attempts derived purely from theory, a theory whose basis is easily

⁴⁸ Ibid, p.249.

⁴⁹ The name of that anthology is “Europe. Handbook for the political, economic, and cultural development of the new Europe” and in German “Europa. Handbuch der politischen, wirtschaftlichen und kulturellen Entwicklung des neuen Europa”.

traced to materialism and Marxism... The stronghold of this peculiar stylistic phenomenon was communist Russia.⁵⁰

This view was the reflection of the planning understanding and the effect of the accepted style in the Soviet Union during the first years of socialism until the development of Socialist Realism. As it is mentioned in the previous chapter, until 1930s Modernism was owned by the Soviet Union as the symbolizing style of the socialist regime. Functionalism and materialism, certain characteristics of Modernism, were seen as the reflections of the socialist regime on the urban design and architecture.

The second view was a selection from GDR from the book “Handbook for Architects”⁵¹ published in 1954 by the Bauakademie in Berlin. The following statement was related to the architecture of West Germany:

As in the other capitalist countries, building is predominantly formalistic and subordinated to the cosmopolitan ideology of American imperialism. This is why buildings look alike whatever their location, whether they are in West Germany, Italy, France, or America. The housing, banks, administration buildings, hotels, and stores in the form of shapeless boxes are an expression of the profit hunger of monopoly capitalism under American dominance. The obliteration of all national character continues relentlessly. This is evident as well in the destruction of valuable historical complexes. Thus architecture is replaced by mere construction.⁵²

This view was the reflection of the views of Socialist Realism on Modernism. After the development of Socialist Realism until the mid 1950s, in the Soviet Union, Modernism was dedicated as the style of capitalist regime resulting in shapeless boxes similar to each other regardless of their function and location. Standardization was

⁵⁰ Aman, A., 1992, Architecture and Ideology in Eastern Europe during the Stalin era: an aspect of Cold War history, trans. Roger and Kerstin Tanner, the Architectural History Foundation and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, U.S.A. p.250

⁵¹ Handbuch für Architekten

⁵² Aman, A., 1992, Architecture and Ideology in Eastern Europe during the Stalin era: an aspect of Cold War history, trans. Roger and Kerstin Tanner, the Architectural History Foundation and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, U.S.A. p.251

seen as an opposing view of the Socialist Realism in terms of building as an art or mere construction.⁵³

The third view was from a handbook titled “SBZ von A-Z” published in Bonn in 1954. SBZ was short for the Soviet zone of occupation.⁵⁴

Since architecture seems more capable than the other fine arts of simultaneously influencing and representing “social” development, the art policy of the SBZ, after a short period of uncertainty, embraced it with particular enthusiasm and soon stamped it with the dominant artistic trend, Socialist Realism. As an organ of the art policy of the regime, whose norm is the monstrous construction of Moscow’s Lomonossow University, the German Bauakademie dictates an architectural style that, in the aftermath of Hitler, displays a bombastic profusion of pseudoclassical elements and in origin and attitude deserves rather to be called “antiquarian gigantism”.⁵⁵

This last view was the evidence of the influence of the Soviet Union on the architecture of East Germany. The second text was the critic of Modernism and the western architecture which affected West Germany from Socialist Realism point of view. This third text was about the acceptance of Socialist Realism as an effect of Soviet architecture on the architecture of East Germany with the consequences of Nazi architecture by means of its parallel understanding with Socialist Realism.

These three text examples that are published in Germany in different periods were certain evidences of the fact that the architecture of GDR was influenced and dictated by the movements in the Soviet Union and the changes in the accepted styles in Soviet architecture in certain time periods which revealed itself also in the GDR architecture.

In the year 1945, Berlin was a bombed city in ruins. The East and West parts of the city based their reconstruction policies on the fact that architecture and urban

⁵³ Ibid, p.252.

⁵⁴ SBZ: Sowjetische Besatzungszone.

⁵⁵ Aman, A., 1992, Architecture and Ideology in Eastern Europe during the Stalin era: an aspect of Cold War history, trans. Roger and Kerstin Tanner, the Architectural History Foundation and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, U.S.A. p.252-253.

planning were the main tools for imposing the new governmental system into the daily life of the citizens. As Lefebvre stated that “New social relationships call for a new space and vice versa”⁵⁶, Berlin should produce its own space in both sides separately, since the system in the divided city was new and revolutionary. Weizman claims that the main issue of the post-war governments under Soviet occupation was not only the reconstruction of the ruined city but also “construction of the subject”, in other words the construction of socialist life style into the urban space.

Beyond the bureaucratic and institutional necessities of urban reconstruction in the Soviet sector, the primary objective for government bodies was the “construction of the subject”. This rhetorical achievement was to be realized by instilling the idea of the “new”, the “innocent” and the “progressive” into public and individual practices and everyday habits. To engrave these ideals onto a shattered society composed of individuals whose moral and physical condition was in a state of complete ruin, daily life had to be reorganized so that society could be infused with a new ideology and – as the old one no longer existed – a new identity. The medium of architecture and the city became instrumental in this purpose and therefore the city fabric could not just be reconstructed, it had to be changed entirely.⁵⁷

In this point of view, after the political division of the city, the construction of socialism was the main aim of East Germany. As it was mentioned previously, Socialist Realism stated that cities should be national in form and socialist in content, and in accordance with this view East Germany also tried to construct its own socialist cities which differed from others in terms of the national aspects. The urban design policies and architecture of GDR were seen by the Soviet Union as textbook examples of national tradition infused with socialist content. But to critics, the question was which national tradition- Prussian or Russian?⁵⁸ Eissenschmidt and Mekinda claimed that “The challenge for the East German architects was to create a specifically German version of the Soviet paradigm of Socialist Realism, which would

⁵⁶ Lefebvre, H., 1991, The Production of Space, Blackwell Publishers Inc., Massachusetts, USA, p.59

⁵⁷ Weizman, I., 2005, “The Architectural Arms Race across the Berlin Wall”, Site, vol.15, <http://www.sitemagazine.net>, last accessed date 8th June 2008.

⁵⁸ Castillo, G., 2001, “Building Culture in Divided Berlin: Globalization and the Cold War”, Hybrid Urbanism: on the identity discourse and the built environment, (ed.) N. AlSayyad, Praeger Publishers, Westport, p.184.

simultaneously create and appeal to a common historical heritage.”⁵⁹ In this point of view, since the reconstruction also involved the destruction of effects of the previous capitalist system from the urban space to impose the socialist life style in the physical structure of the city, this destruction opposed with the view of preserving the historical heritage. In this respect, in the reconstruction period, East German cities tried to find a proper solution between these two opposing views. The challenge of East Germany in the planning decisions of its cities was stated by French and Hamilton:

The initial challenge facing government and planners, therefore, was how to compromise satisfactorily between revolutionizing the feudal or capitalistic society fossilized in stone while sustaining also pride in national heritage and devoting the utmost resources to ambitious plans for economic development and ‘socialist transformation’.⁶⁰

Before the reconstructions began after the political division of Berlin, in 1950 the Ministry of Construction decided to send six delegates to Moscow for examining the socialist architecture and urban design and Socialist Realism. The aim of the Soviet Union and GDR was to guarantee that Soviet architecture would be reproduced accurately in East German cities. The six delegates were reschooled by the Soviet specialists with several handbooks about designing a socialist city under the influence of Socialist Realism. The basis of new architecture of East Germany constructed its foundations in this reeducation period of German architects and planners. Castillo explained the results of this reeducation period of East German architects and planners:

What they had learned in consultation with Soviet advisors was condensed into three pages of Russian text organized under sixteen headings. Translated into German overnight and taken back to Berlin, the “Sixteen Principles of City Planning” passed into East German

⁵⁹ Eissenschmidt, A., Mekinda, J., 2004, “Architecture as a document of historical change: Three Examples from Post-war Europe”, *Zeitgeschichte Online*, <http://www.zeitgeschichteforschungen.de/site/40208278/default.aspx>, p.4, last accessed date 12th June 2008.

⁶⁰ French, R. A., Ian Hamilton, F. E., 1979, “Is There a Socialist City?”, *The Socialist City: Spatial Structure and Urban Policy*, (ed.), R. A. French, F. E. Ian Hamilton, Chichester, New York, p.6.

law on September 15, 1950, as the national edict on urban reconstruction.⁶¹

“The Sixteen Principles for Urban Planning” (Appendix A) was a guide for constructing socialist cities in GDR. These principles had the aim of achieving the single concept of planning for all East German cities and having the equality in the life standards in all cities. Although every city should have its own structure, there should be common governing principles for the construction of urban space. In the reconstruction of ruined cities after the war, these principles determined the main urban planning rules and also set the main concepts of the architecture of the city as well as the social life of the citizens.

East Berlin as the capital city of GDR was also reconstructed under the guidance of these sixteen principles based on Soviet cities. These rules provided East Berlin to identify itself as a socialist city following the ones in the Soviet Union and to plan and reconstruct the city of Berlin after WWII according to the socialist view and use the urban spaces as one way of the propaganda of the socialist government.

Accordingly, if the reconstruction of East Berlin is examined, the traces of “The Sixteen Principle for Urban Planning” and the Soviet Union influence on its urban space could be seen clearly. As it was stated in the first principle, in the planning of socialist cities, the most important element is the city. The urban life is the main characteristic of the socialist life style. The city has been thought as the primary tool to propagate the socialist life and impose people this life style by designing the urban space they live in accordingly.

According to the socialist life style, the city should be designed to provide required spaces and conditions for the main functions of the city; working, residential, recreational and service. In the second title of the guide principles it was stated that the aim of urban planning is the harmonious satisfaction of the human demand for

⁶¹ Castillo, G., 2001, “Building Culture in Divided Berlin: Globalization and the Cold War”, Hybrid Urbanism: on the identity discourse and the built environment, (ed.) N. AlSayyad, Praeger Publishers, Westport, p.190.

these main functions.⁶² The importance of urban life in the socialist cities was explained by Hamilton and French as following; “Urban living has always been, and still is, seen as the highest form of socialist life – the town is the place where the socialist consciousness can best develop the necessary environment for achieving the perfection of a socialist society.”⁶³

A socialist city should provide space for the necessary activities of its inhabitants in the most economic and planned way. The most important aspects that cause a socialist city to sustain were the economic ones. The third principle put forward that the socialist cities were planned according to the industry, the basic economic activity of the socialist countries. The cities were constructed according to the industrial buildings and the other activities that the citizens needed were planned around that industrial complex. However, in East Berlin as the capital of the GDR, the determining factor was the administrative institutions. Since the urban space needs in East Berlin were quite different than the industrial cities, planning was done according to the governmental institutions. The main squares and streets housed the governmental buildings and symbolizing the political power of socialism was the main concern for the planning of East Berlin.

City limit was another concern for the socialist cities which was explained also in the fourth principle. Cities of East Germany were planned in their limits to provide the necessary space but not more. Cities had limits and they should not exceed those limits by damaging the order that was set according to the needs of socialist life in the most economical way. The larger cities meant that the harder transportation and decentralization of the city life. The socialist city should be compact and planned considering the time and economy that is spend for transportation between the work and residential zones as well as the collective infrastructure. Any unpredictable enlargement in the city structure could damage the socialist life that is thought with its work, residential, cultural, recreational and service facilities. Therefore, cities were

⁶² Ockman, J., Eigen, E., 1993, Architecture Culture, 1943-1968: a documentary anthology, Columbia University Graduate School of Architecture, Planning, and Preservation: Rizzoli, New York.

⁶³ French, R. A., Ian Hamilton, F. E., 1979, “Is There a Socialist City?”, The Socialist City: Spatial Structure and Urban Policy, (ed.), R. A. French, F. E. Ian Hamilton, Chichester, New York, p.7.

first planned according to the capacity of the industrial facilities and the population and then the other activities were arranged accordingly. These aspects prevented the suburbanization which was seen as the reason for the weakening of the urban life. Gutierrez stated in his article “Building Homes, Building Politics Berlin's post-war urban development and ideology” that;

Instead of single, privately owned buildings there would be blocks of socially owned establishments, designed according to a single concept, which represented the team spirit of the socialist community, in contrast to the contradictory and fragmented capitalist community.⁶⁴

The lack of suburbanization also helped the city to be a compact entity where the use of collective infrastructure and easy public transportation was aimed. The avoidance of decentralization and suburbanization was also among the critics of capitalism. Since there was not any competition in housing sector in socialist order, the new housing buildings could be built in inner city and also in the city center. The suburbanization was not the feature of the socialist city. The buildings could be located on the periphery of the city but within the city limits.

One of the key characteristics of East German cities was the city center as it was stated in the sixth principle. The city center was the focal point of the socialist cities and it should be designed dominantly and artistically. The center was for public life, it neither was for private ownership nor was a land for profit. The public facilities, the cultural and administrative units were located in the center. There were also big squares in the center. These were for the festivals, demonstrations, parades. The demonstrations and parades were one of the most important characteristics of the socialist life.

Additionally it was decreed that all planning offices in the capital Berlin and in major cities had to submit planning applications, which did not only include the usual functional zoning, services and infrastructure, but also had to comprise a detailed blue-print for large gathering spaces at the city center and a “demonstration plan” that

⁶⁴ Gutierrez, Juan Jose Gomez, 1999, “Building Homes, Building Politics Berlin's post-war urban development and ideology”, *Central Europe Review*, vol. 1, no.21, <http://www.ce-review.org/99/21/gomez21.html>, last accessed date 15th June 2008.

would describe in detail the meeting and gathering places, the path as well as the times that parades would take. When urban planners of the young GDR started to calculate the dimensions and movements of citizens parading through the city and to translate their findings into demonstration plans, the political system inscribed the practice of its ideology in the city fabric, composing both the peoples and the city's rhythm. Population and urban fabric were to synergize in an efficient mechanized mode a giant machine producing its own political representations. Architecture was both an end product of and a weapon with which to fight the ideological arms race.⁶⁵

In addition, the image of the city was dependent on architecture and image of the center. The most important buildings of the city were located in the city center and they were the major points that affect the city silhouette. Besides the city center, creating large avenues and squares for socialist actions of the public and building new governmental facilities supporting the political system with their appearances were also important criterion of the city planning.

The rivers for the construction of the new cities were also one of the important concerns. Since most of the cities in East Germany existed before socialism the concept of river as an architectural concern could not be applied most of the time. Although East Berlin was also an existing city before the Soviet occupation, it was located near the river Spree.

The image of a socialist city was set by three important urban elements; plazas, major streets and significant buildings in the city center. These elements were also the main concerns to define the architectural form of the whole city. East Berlin was also planned according to this concept as it was stated in the tenth principle. These elements also symbolized the power of socialism. Gutierrez described the planning concept of East Berlin by Stalinallee and Alexanderplatz referring to the plaza and major street of the socialist cities.

The city was rebuilt according to an East-West axis that included the Museumsinsel (Island of the Museums) and the reconstructed former representative avenue, Unter den Linden. A new urban space in the

⁶⁵ Weizman, I., 2005, "The Architectural Arms Race across the Berlin Wall", *Site*, vol.15, <http://www.sitemagazine.net>, last accessed date 8th June 2008.

zone of the Alexanderplatz would act as a nexus, with a place for demonstrations and a building shared by the government and the parliament. Finally, in the eastern end, the Great Frankfurter Strasse and the Frankfurter Allee were re-urbanized to become the Stalinallee.⁶⁶

Stalinallee and Alexanderplatz were dedicatedly constructed to represent the power of socialism in the capital city of GDR. The significant buildings of the city were placed along the Stalinallee and the governmental buildings were designed to be around Alexanderplatz.

The residential areas were hierarchically structured as residential neighborhoods, residential complexes and residential quarters in which the residential neighborhood was the smallest unit with its service facilities and the residential quarter was the largest one containing a number of residential complexes and providing a broader service facilities. The residential structure of the a socialist city was described by French and Hamilton as following;

Within each urban place, or city, there is to be an equally rational, planned, spatial ordering of its functions. Industry and residence should be physically separated from each other by 'green, or isolation, belts', yet located in sufficient proximity to each other to minimize the journey to work. Service functions should be distributed rationally, too, with daily needs met by local facilities within each residential neighborhood, weekly requirements satisfied by establishments sited in a district service center (usually located to serve between four and ten neighborhoods) and less-frequent needs provided for by specialized services in city center. Such a nested hierarchy is based on a premise that, for comfortable living in a socialist society, all citizens should have equal access with minimal outlays of journey time and effort, whether on foot or by public transport, to all the material, cultural, and welfare goods and services that they require.⁶⁷

In the twelfth principle it was stated that to transform the city into a garden is impossible. City should have necessary green spaces but the urban life was important

⁶⁶ Gutierrez, Juan Jose Gomez, 1999, "Building Homes, Building Politics Berlin's post-war urban development and ideology", Central Europe Review, vol. 1, no.21, <http://www.ce-review.org/99/21/gomez21.html>, last accessed date 15th June 2008.

⁶⁷ French, R. A., Ian Hamilton, F. E., 1979, "Is There a Socialist City?", The Socialist City: Spatial Structure and Urban Policy, (ed.), R. A. French, F. E. Ian Hamilton, Chichester, New York, p.7,8,9.

for socialism. “Urban living has always been, and still is, seen as the highest form of socialist life”⁶⁸

The buildings in socialist cities should be constructed in the most economical way. The multistory buildings were the ones that were more related with the socialist life in terms of economy and strengthening of the urban life. The buildings on the peripheries and in the city center were not single or double storey high ones; instead there were high storey building complexes. The idea was that the high storey buildings were economical to construct while leading people to urban life style by increasing the density.

From the year of political division, the reconstruction of East German cities was started. The city of East Berlin was the leading example as being the capital city of GDR. “The Sixteen Principles for Urban Planning” was applied in the urban planning of the city. The three main urban elements were the main focus of urban planning. The square, the parade street and the tower were used in the planning concept for displaying the power of socialism in the capital city. These three symbols of power were described by Weizman as following;

In its first section the guideline identifies in effect three components of urban planning: the square, the parade street and the tower. These elements, which also describe all three dimensions in space: the point, the horizontal and the vertical line, were to span an authoritarian force field that would function as the political spine vitalizing and concentrating civic political life. For the GDR, each of the three planning typologies was to answer a particular necessity of the socialist city. The square is to provide the static place of gathering, the parade street the space of flow and the tower that of representation.⁶⁹

In its physical structure the planning of East Berlin contained two main axes having different functions around them. These axes were the horizontal elements of the planning. Unter den Linden was the first axis mainly housing the governmental institutions in the east-west direction. Stalinallee was the second axis, in the north-

⁶⁸ Ibid, p.7.

⁶⁹ Weizman, I., 2005, “The Architectural Arms Race across the Berlin Wall”, *Site*, vol.15, retrieved from <http://www.sitemagazine.net>, last accessed date 8th June 2008.

south direction, mainly containing the housing facilities. In the intersection of these two main axes there was the main square of East Berlin, the Alexanderplatz. Alexanderplatz had more symbolizing function in East Berlin when compared to its history as the transportation center of former Berlin. The governmental facilities were decided to be constructed around Alexanderplatz and the square was thought as a space for demonstrations and parades which were the power symbolizing events of the government.

The construction of Stalinallee was the first attempt of introducing the elements of socialist city into East Berlin. In 1949, the boulevard was named Stalinallee as a result of the Soviet influence on East Berlin. The design competition of Stalinallee was announced in 1951 as the first competition of GDR. As the result of this competition six architects were charged with the design of the housing units along the boulevard. The architecture of the boulevard was also the first socialist construction in the city according to the sixteen principles of urban planning in the Socialist Realist style.

The architects of the Stalinallee (Hermann Henselmann, Richard Paulick, Egon Hartmann, Kurt W. Leuch, Hans Hopp, Karl Souradny) designed the street with an ensemble of aligned building façades that effectively subordinates the single building to the broader urban vision. This approach reflects the “Sixteen Principles”, which assert that “Urban planning is the foundation of architectural form-giving”, and that the “city’s appearance, its individual artistic form, is determined by plazas, major streets, and significant buildings in its center”.⁷⁰

Since the Stalinallee Project was considered as the first masterpiece of the socialist Berlin, it was compared with the IBA project of West Berlin. Both was the symbol projects of the systems they belonged to, therefore the meaning of them was not judged only in the developed housing projects but also in their propagandistic qualities in their own urban context. Castillo also compared these two examples by putting their contrasts forward.

⁷⁰ Eissenschmidt, A., Mekinda, J., 2004, “Architecture as a document of historical change: Three Examples from Post-war Europe”, *Zeitgeschichte Online*, <http://www.zeithistorische-forschungen.de/site/40208278/default.aspx>, last accessed date 12th June 2008.

A pair of extravagant housing developments in East and West Berlin, the Stalinallee and the Hansaviertel, provide precise illustrations of the divergence of postwar German architecture and urbanism. West Berlin's Hansaviertel was built specifically as a housing exhibition; the Stalinallee was one by default, given the blurring of private and public spheres in East Germany as all aspects of society were subordinated to the economic and ideological mandates of Stalinism. At divided Berlin's two residential showplaces, fundamental axioms about modernity's socialist and capitalist guises were put into practice and "lived out".⁷¹

Stalinallee was designed as the major street of the city. It was constructed in respect to its leading examples in Moscow. Besides the role of providing the necessary traffic flow, it also had the function of acting as the parade street in certain days.

In keeping with Moscow precedent, the avenue was designed to serve two modes of circulation vital to the function of a socialist capital. Six lanes of pavement provided daily access for transportation in and out of the city center. On political holidays, the street was converted from a vehicular artery to one that carried ideological traffic.⁷²

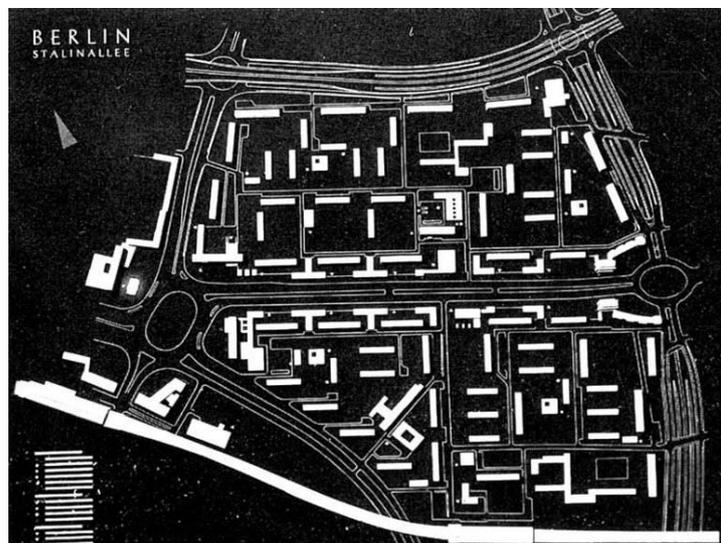


Figure 3-5 Plan of Stalinallee in 1958
(http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/planen/staedtebauprojekte/alexanderplatz/pix/geschichte/1958_stalinallee_2bauph_200x150.jpg)

⁷¹ Castillo, G., 2001, "Building Culture in Divided Berlin: Globalization and the Cold War", *Hybrid Urbanism: on the identity discourse and the built environment*, (ed.) N. AlSayyad, Praeger Publishers, Westport, p.183.

⁷² *Ibid*, p.183.

Alexanderplatz was also planned as another symbolic project of socialist Berlin. Since Alexanderplatz was the center and symbol of East Berlin, the architecture and the image of square also affected the whole city architecture. According to Müller, the city center is the center of power.⁷³ The power of the system is mainly represented in the architecture of the center.

To find the best way for symbolizing the power of socialism GDR announced two competitions in Alexanderplatz area. The first one was in 1959 for having a high governmental building in Alexanderplatz and in 1964 for the redesign of the square. The first competition to obtain a high governmental building had the aim to symbolize the power of the government in the vertical direction besides the horizontal symbols like the axes; Unter den Linden and Stalinallee. However, the competition did not result in a governmental building, rather in a 365 m high TV Tower building. It was constructed in 1964 by Fritz Dreter and Günter Franker as designers and Hermann Henselmann as the artistic consultant by his winning project in the competition.

The construction of the East Berlin TV tower began in 1965, and the project was available for propagandistic exploitation in 1969, to tie in with the GDR's twentieth anniversary.⁷⁴

The construction of TV Tower also had another importance for GDR. The West Berlin government had the aim to construct a TV tower in West Berlin. The achievement of East Berlin constructing the TV Tower was seen as a success that was gained by socialism against capitalism.

West Berlin had been planning a TV tower since 1959, but a combination of legal, financial and political reasons had continually delayed its construction. When the East completed its TV tower first, the GDR won a great victory in the battle of the skyline.⁷⁵

⁷³ Müller, P., 2005, "Counter-Architecture and Building Race: Cold War Politics and the Two Berlins", *GHI Bulletin Supplement 2*, http://www.ghi-dc.org/publications/ghipubs/bu_supp/supp002/101.pdf, last accessed date 15th June 2008.

⁷⁴ Ibid.

⁷⁵ Weizman, I., 2005, "The Architectural Arms Race across the Berlin Wall", *Site*, vol.15, <http://www.sitemagazine.net>, last accessed date 8th June 2008.

After the competition in 1959, other constructions began in Alexanderplatz. “Hermann Henselmann erected GDR’s first high-rise building with a curtain wall, the Haus des Lehrer on the Alexanderplatz.”⁷⁶ This building had significant importance since it was the first public building having a representational goal. Being constructed in the city center, its architecture and image had a specific role for the whole city of East Berlin.

In 1961, at the point where the lower part of Stalinallee (renamed Karl-Marx-Allee in 1957) entered the square, Hermann Henselmann began the construction of the Haus des Lehrers (House of the Teachers). This was the first ferro-concrete tower block to incorporate a clad façade and the first public building specifically designed for political representation. After its completion in 1964, it functioned as a kind of hinge: redirecting the axis or line of vision, indicating a turn from Karl-Marx-Allee onto the square and guiding the pedestrian down towards the axis of Marx-Engels-Platz.⁷⁷

In 1964, the second competition was held for the redesign of the Alexanderplatz. The winning project was the one by Peter Schweizer, Dorothea Tscheschner, Dieter Schulze and Erwin Schulz. In 1967 the revision of the winning project was completed and the constructions began and continued for several years.

East Berlin Minister President Otto Grotewohl announced the opening of a route leading from East Berlin’s Alexanderplatz to Moscow, the hub of world socialism.⁷⁸

In this point of view, Alexanderplatz gained another importance not only as a city center but also as the socialist icon of East Germany in the world of socialism by being one of the departure points of “the hub of socialism”⁷⁹.

⁷⁶ Müller, P., 2005, “Counter-Architecture and Building Race: Cold War Politics and the Two Berlins”, GHI Bulletin Supplement 2, http://www.ghi-dc.org/publications/ghipubs/bu_supp/supp002/101.pdf, last accessed date 15th June 2008.

⁷⁷ Weizman, I., 2005, “The Architectural Arms Race across the Berlin Wall”, Site, vol.15, <http://www.sitemagazine.net>, last accessed date 8th June 2008.

⁷⁸ Castillo, G., 2001, “Building Culture in Divided Berlin: Globalization and the Cold War”, Hybrid Urbanism: on the identity discourse and the built environment, (ed.) N. AlSayyad, Praeger Publishers, Westport, p.186.

⁷⁹ *Ibid*, p.186.

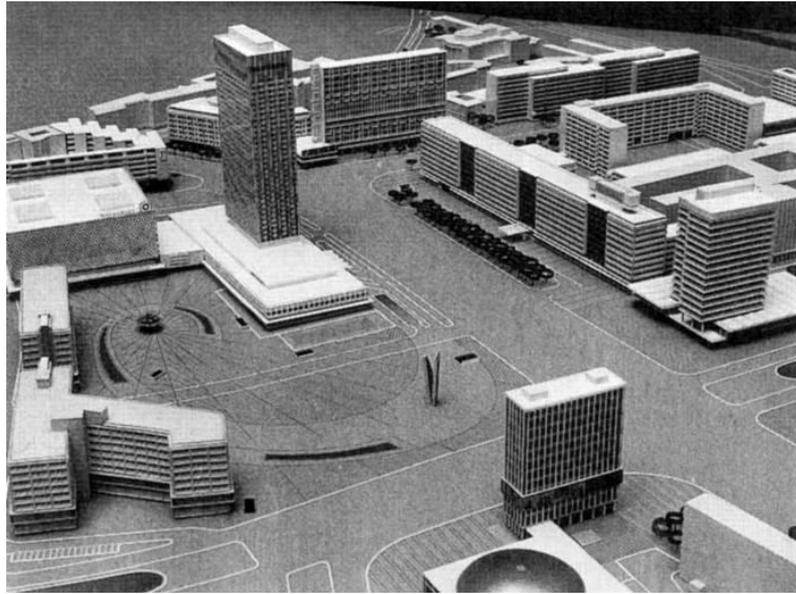


Figure 3-6 Model of the winning project of the competition in 1964 (http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/planen/staedtebauprojekte/alexanderplatz/pix/geschichte/1968_modellfoto_alexanderplatz_200x150.jpg)



Figure 3-7 View of Alexanderplatz from the TV Tower in 1973 after the construction the winning project of the competition in 1964 (http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/planen/staedtebauprojekte/alexanderplatz/pix/geschichte/1973_alexanderplatz02_140x105.jpg)



Figure 3-8 Alexanderplatz in 1967 during the construction of the winning project of the competition in 1964
(http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/planen/staedtebau-projekte/alexanderplatz/pix/geschichte/1967_alexanderplatz03_140x105.jpg)



Figure 3-9 Photo of a parade in Alexanderplatz in 1987
(http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/planen/staedtebau-projekte/alexanderplatz/en/geschichte/nachkriegsplanungen/1987_festzug_750jahrfeier_486x600.shtml)



Figure 3-10 Aerial view of Alexanderplatz and its surrounding in 1943



Figure 3-11 Aerial view of Alexanderplatz and its surrounding in 1953 showing the destruction WWII



Figure 3-12 Aerial view of Alexanderplatz and Stalinallee in 1984 showing the effects of the socialist planning



Figure 3-13 Aerial view of Alexanderplatz in 1943

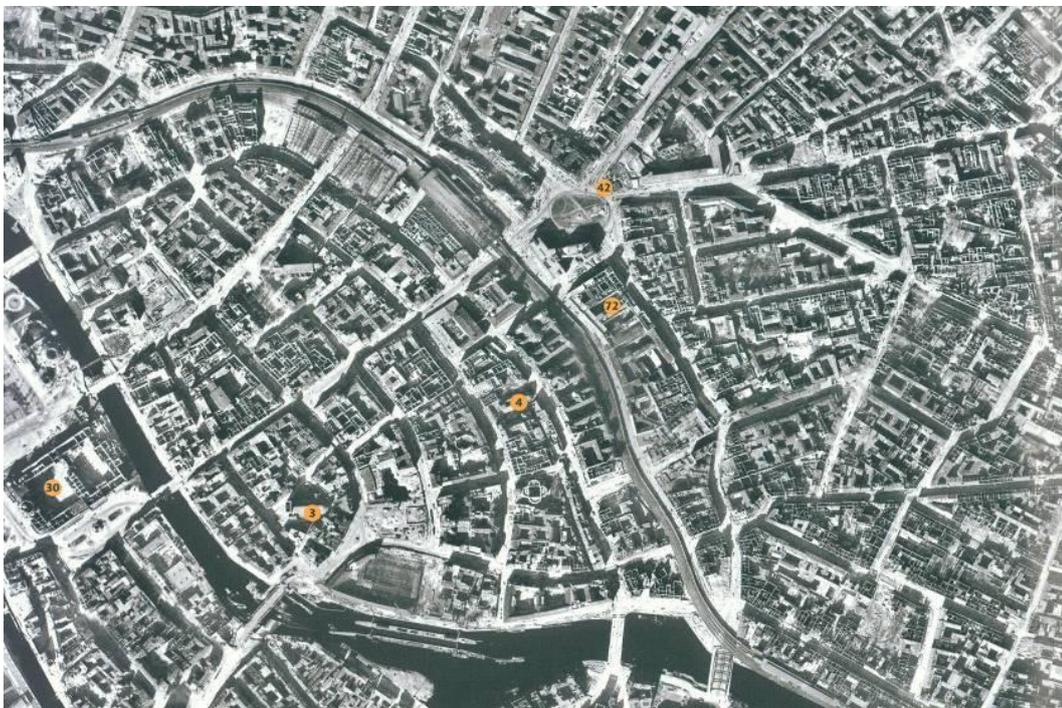


Figure 3-14 Aerial view of Alexanderplatz in 1945 after WWII



Figure 3-15 Aerial view of Alexanderplatz in 1953 showing the damaged empty areas after WWII

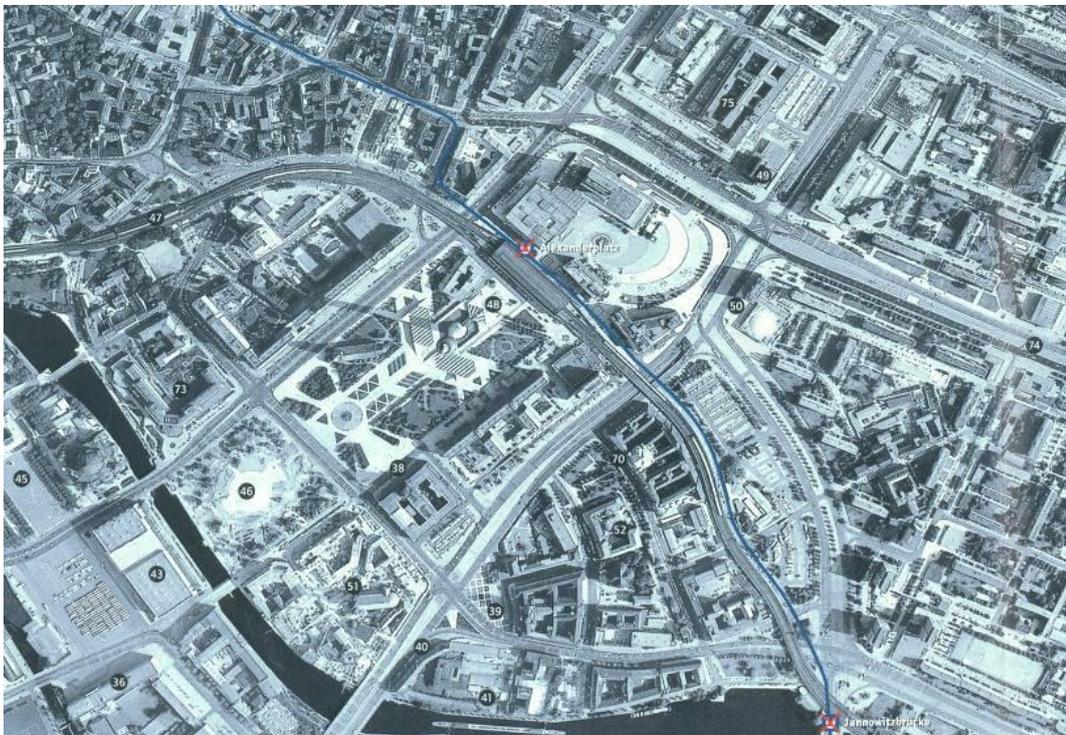


Figure 3-16 Aerial view of Alexanderplatz in 1984

In conclusion, East Berlin as the capital of East Germany was planned under the influence of the Soviet Union. The governing principles for planning the cities that were formulated by the Soviet planners were applied in all cities of GDR and East Berlin. The creation of urban space was dependent on these rules which basically focused on the production of spaces for a socialist way of life. Since East Berlin was the capital of GDR, the governmental facilities and the symbolizing aspects in the planning and architecture of the city were the main concerns. The main aim was to create spaces for socialist actions and provide necessary features for a socialist way of life. Since the socialist city planning gave importance to the three urban elements, square, parade street and tower, Alexanderplatz, Stalinallee, and the TV Tower were designed according to this point of view. Alexanderplatz gained a symbolic importance in the city structure of East Berlin by being the city center dominating the city's image in addition to housing representational buildings and governmental facilities.

3.2.2. Planning in the West Berlin

After WWII, three occupation zones, British, French and American, formed West Germany in 1949 under the name of Federal Republic of Germany. Similar to the Soviet Union effect on East Germany, West Germany was influenced by the United States in terms of economy, politics and urban planning.

The politics of West Germany was based on the capitalist system and correspondingly the economy was based on private property and free market. In this respect, the political and economic policies were quite different than GDR. This opposition also exposed itself on the urban space. The cities of FRG generated their urban space and architecture according to the rules and features of the capitalist system. In other words, the difference in the politics and economy of East and West Germany revealed itself in the images of the cities. As it was stated above, since all systems produce their own spaces and cities, West Germany had also set its own reconstruction policies according to its own political systems' characteristics to adapt the urban space of the ruined cities to the new system.

In 1947, the United States established a program, European Recovery Plan (ERP), to provide economic support for the allied countries for the recovery and reconstruction of Europe against the socialist countries. USSR and its satellite countries rejected the aid of the United States. For that reason, Germany joined the plan with its western part only.

U.S. policy on German reconstruction came full circle with the European Recovery Plan (ERP). Unveiled in June 1947 at a Harvard commencement address, the ERP, better known as the Marshall Plan, was the blueprint for a unified Europe composed of liberal democracies linked by open markets- “ a lubrication system for global capitalism” as one Cold War historian described it.⁸⁰

By the help of the United States within the Marshal Plan program, the reconstruction program of West Germany accelerated. West Berlin was an important part of reconstruction, since it was the only land that could propagate the system of capitalism in the middle of the territories of GDR.

In West Germany, the planning process was quite different than East Germany, since the political system was different. The urban space was designed to create spaces to serve for the capitalist system and its life style. In capitalist systems, the city is transformed by many different actors of free market and private sector whereas in socialist systems the locations and types of investment are controlled by the state centrally.

“In the capitalist city the decisions of private property owners play a dominant role. Although their interests may not be completely identical, in general terms the aim is to achieve the most profitable use of land.”⁸¹

⁸⁰ Gaddis, “We Know Know”, cited in G. Castillo, “Building Culture in Divided Berlin: Globalization and the Cold War”, *Hybrid Urbanism: on the identity discourse and the built environment*, (ed.) N. AlSayyad, Praeger Publishers, Westport, 2001, p. 194.

⁸¹ Häussermann, H., 1996, “From Socialist to the Capitalist City: Experiences from Germany”, *Cities after Socialism, Urban and Regional Change and conflict in Post-Socialist Societies*, (ed.) Andrusz, G., Harloe, M., Szeleyi, I., (trans.) Donald Nicholson-Smith, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford U, p.215.

In West German cities, as capitalist cities, there should be a compromise between the private and public interests. Political decisions were also effective in determining the structure of the city but it was limited.

Although West Berlin was not the capital of FRG, it was significant in terms of being the focal point of the divided Europe. In FRG, there was not a list of principles structured in the occupied country like the sixteen principles of GDR cities. However, the reconstruction system was under the control of the United States.

U.S. influence on building culture in postwar Germany attempted to foster or repress a variety of subjectivities, but its scattershot approach to this project reflected a muddle of conflicting and contradictory policy positions.⁸²

The abovementioned conflict on the U.S. policy was based on a number of contradictory decisions. Although the direct American involvement in reconstruction was banned and the housing policies and economic recovery was under the control of German people and German authorities, General Lucius Clay, the U.S. military governor of Germany, had special attempts to guide the course of German urban reconstruction.⁸³

Walter Gropius was invited by the U.S. occupation forces from the United States to tour the occupation zone giving lectures about urbanism. The lectures and public relations of Gropius were organized by General Clay and after a five year period Gropius became Clay's consultant on urbanism.⁸⁴

In West Germany, American advisors provided evidence for Soviet propaganda by actively promoting the revival of Bauhaus modernism. It was framed as the native dialect of a broader "International Style" which served as a shared symbol of progress among nations in America's "informal" postwar empire.⁸⁵

⁸² Castillo, G., 2001, "Building Culture in Divided Berlin: Globalization and the Cold War", Hybrid Urbanism: on the identity discourse and the built environment, (ed.) N. AlSayyad, Praeger Publishers, Westport, p.192.

⁸³ Ibid, p. 192.

⁸⁴ Ibid, p. 192-193.

⁸⁵Ibid, p.182.

Besides these lecture tours, U.S. occupation decided to reeducate German urban planners in the United States. In 1949 and in 1950 German city planners were sent to the United States with the sponsorship of U.S. Office of the High Commissioner in Germany to study American urbanism.⁸⁶ This was in the same period when the East German authorities sent the planners to Moscow for reeducation to understand the urbanism in USSR. This meant that the two occupying powers, the Soviet Union and the United States, tried not only to reconstruct the cities of Germany adopting them to the new governmental and economic systems but also they aimed to reveal their own identities in the urban space of the cities of GDR and FRG.

The urban planning of West Berlin, the “Kollektiv Plan” by Scharoun, was based on zoning. As it was mentioned previously, the planning of the city was structured according to the principles of CIAM’s Athens Charter “the Functionalist City”. Zoning of the functions in the city was the main concept of planning. The decisions about the locations of these zones were made according to the economic aspects. Since the economy was based on free market, the planning was profit based and it was being executed according to the needs of the private sector.

The modernization took place after 1945 based on zones and on functional and spatial concepts. The freeing up of the city is gauged in road cuttings with green separation strips and occasional high rise buildings, which offer a conscious contrast to the historical plan of the nineteenth century.⁸⁷

According to planning principles of capitalist cities West Berlin had organized two urban planning competitions. One of them was the Hauptstadt Berlin in 1958 and the other was the competition of Around the Zoo in 1947. These competitions were announced and finalized before the construction of the Berlin Wall. Therefore, the results reflected the view of West Berlin to avoid the division of the city and to plan the city as a whole. The land use plans for West Germany were created in the years 1950 and 1965. In addition, in 1954 the council guidelines were set for the city

⁸⁶ Ibid, p. 193.

⁸⁷ Neumeyer, F., Ortner, M., 1997, “Guidelines for Urban Interventions in the City West”, The Journal of Architecture, vol. 2, autumn, p.215.

planning concepts. These competitions and plans reshaped the city and created the new identity of West Berlin as a city in a capitalist system.

In the cities of capitalist system, the city center is seen as the most profitable area of the city. Due to this reason, in the reconstruction strategies the center is reserved for private sector. In West Berlin as an example of capitalist city, the city center was also occupied by commercial activities. The idea of square and major street as a part of the center was also one of the main elements of the planning as it was in East Berlin. However, the aim was not to gather or create places for demonstrations. These squares were the areas for private sector to have office blocks or head quarters of the companies.

In West Berlin, the Breitscheidplatz was designed as the new center. Since the turn of the century Kurfürstendamm and Tauentzeinstrasse had developed as urban boulevards leading to the evolution of Breitscheidplatz as the public central focus of the new West.⁸⁸ After WWII, Breitscheidplatz was in a destructed situation like the whole city. The reconstruction of this area and the two major streets was important to build the new image of the city center. In other words, “the new identity of the ‘halved city’ of West Berlin became apparent around the Tauentzien and Kurfürstendamm.”⁸⁹

The city zones were connected with each other by a highway network and were separated from each other by green areas. The highway network was structured on the historical city plan by destructing certain urban spaces to open large roads for a large number of automobiles. This road network turned West Berlin into a car based city which resulted in a contrast between East Berlin where the planning was based on collective transportation.

Massive interference and destruction of the structure in the City West area has taken place since 1945, particularly because of urban planning in favor of the automobile. The ‘Kollektiv Plan’ by Scharoun of 1947 had already set a precedent with its tangent road concept, which was

⁸⁸ Ibid, p.219.

⁸⁹ Ibid, p.216.

accentuated by the competitions ('Around the Zoo' 1947; 'Capital City Berlin' 1958) and in strategic land-use plans of 1950 and 1965. Road widening and a grid of inner city trunk roads were the results.⁹⁰

The first competition that was announced in West Berlin in 1947 was "Around the Zoo". The aim was to design the area around the Zoo and Breitscheidplatz, which was the center of the west. Planning of the road network and the new center of West Berlin were executed according to this competition.

The winning project of the competition was the Luckhardt Brothers. The result of the competition, mainly the road network, and the zoning concept structured the main decisions in the Council Guidelines that was established in 1954.

In response to the City Zoning concept, the southern tangent (road) was drawn towards the Zoo district forming its southern boundary. The format of the new conceptual plan of a modern 'down town' area characterized by urban highways was revealed in the competition 'Around the Zoo' in 1947. Breitscheidplatz disappeared in a giant orbital road system in the Luckhardt Brothers prize winning scheme. These roads generated a wave form of development between the Wittenbergplatz and Uhlandstrasse of alternating single blocks and terraced buildings. The 1954 Council guidelines 'Around the Zoo' were translated into an approved plan for a city dominated by car use; and with the commencement of demolition to make way for the Lietzenburgerstrasse, the first phase of the south tangent was realized.⁹¹

One of the city zones was the residential areas. The residential zones were generally located off the city limits, in the suburbs isolated from the city life. Since the city center was the most profitable region in the city, it was reserved for the commercial and public use whereas the housing complexes were placed in the suburban areas. They included one-or two-story high houses which created a rural like life style rather than urban life. These isolated residential areas created the traffic problem which resulted in large roads covering the entire city. In this point of view suburbanization also supported the car based planning.

⁹⁰ Ibid, p.223.

⁹¹ Ibid, p.217.

The compact scale of the historic matrix composed of small lots has been replaced by larger plots. Building societies have replaced dispersed private bourgeois home ownership. The structural model of a historic grid town with modern poles each with its own individual significance can be seen in spatial and structural form in the City West. We must respect this effective dialectic between nodes and grid.⁹²

Although it was physically trapped within East German soil, the growth of the city or the city boundaries of West Berlin was metaphorically unlimited. The development of the housing units in the suburbs provided the city to grow off the city limits. The control of the city limits in East German cities could not be seen in the west. The removal of the functions, which would not provide rant, from the city center resulted in the expansion of the city in the suburbs. “Decisive in the structure of City West is the fact that, unlike City East, it developed at the same rate inwards from its borders as outwards from its center.”⁹³

In 1957 the “Internationale Bauausstellung”⁹⁴ (IBA) was established. IBA mainly included the reconstruction of Hansaviertel area as a residential zone. This project was seen as the contrary version of Stalinallee project which was seen as the primary project of the socialist propaganda. In this respect, the planning of Hansaviertel with the housing projects of several famous architects could be seen as an exhibition of several masterpieces that propagated the new identity of West Berlin and FRG.

“From the American point of view, the modest German dwelling is an expensive, solid looking, inconvenient affair. It will last a couple of centuries, and there are houses everywhere of identical construction and of just such age to prove it,” wrote Vernon DeMars, a Californian managing Marshal Plan residential construction.⁹⁵

In this respect, IBA had the mission to change the typical German dwelling with the United States’ point of view. The architects participated in IBA project and the

⁹² Ibid, p.215.

⁹³ Ibid, p.215.

⁹⁴ Internationale Bauausstellung: International Building Exhibition.

⁹⁵ DeMars, V., Wittausch, W.K., “German Coal Miner’s Housing Program Progress Report” cited in “Building Culture in Divided Berlin: Globalization and the Cold War” Castillo, G., Hybrid Urbanism: on the identity discourse and the built environment, (ed.) AlSayyad, N., Praeger Publishers, Westport, 2001, p. 194.

buildings designed in the exhibition declared the new image of West Berlin under the United States influence.

The architects taking part included Alvar Aalto, van den Broek and Bakema, Egon Eiermann, Walter Gropius, Arne Jacobsen, and Oskar Niemeyer. The Hansaviertel also featured the exhibition *Die Stadt von Morgen* (City of Tomorrow).⁹⁶



Figure 3-11 Panorama of the Hansaviertel
(http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Image:Berlin_Hansaviertel_Panorama.jpg)

The idea of the exhibition was to design the new modern Germany with its west and east as a whole. Traditionalism, which was mainly accepted by the eastern part with the Socialist Realist movement, had been rejected by West Berlin. In addition, the date of the exhibition was before the construction of the Berlin Wall. At that time the western part of the city did not accept the division of Berlin. The planning, exhibitions and competitions announced by West Berlin were organized to include the whole city with its eastern part.

Theodor Heuss, President of West Germany, was particularly gratified that the age of historicism was past: “Hankering for tradition elicits no response.” The new Germany would be modern the Federal Chancellor, Konrad Adenauer, expressed himself in few words: the ideas of exhibition would “radiate both westward and eastward.” On the other hand, Otto Suhr, West Berlin’s Bürgermeister, was more

⁹⁶ Aman, A., 1992, “How the Other Side Built – Interbau in West Berlin”, *Architecture and Ideology in Eastern Europe during the Stalin era: an aspect of Cold War history*, (trans.) Roger and Kerstin Tanner, the Architectural History Foundation and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, U.S.A. p.232.

explicit: “Barely a kilometer away from INTERBAU there begins the other Berlin, another world, separated from us but still belonging to us. The new buildings, from now on, extend toward that boundary and will prove their powers of attraction.”⁹⁷

As it was mentioned before, the IBA project had been compared with the Stalinallee project. Both projects were the propagandistic examples of their own systems. Since both the capitalist and socialist systems tried to construct their own urban space according to their own point of view, the reconstructed urban space should reflect the identity of new Germany from two different perspectives.

“Berlin is compelled to promote private development,” a member of Interbau’s supervisory board explained, “since this must stand as a counterexample to the Stalinallee, one that documents the creative energy of private initiative as opposed to the legal caprice and collectivism of the East.”⁹⁸

The housing projects of East and West Berlin went beyond the general housing projects, since they were constructed as the symbols of the ideology which produced spaces for the capitalist or socialist life style. They were the final products of the ideological competition in the Cold War period. These projects were beyond a housing construction both with their reason of existence and their construction budgets which could not be compared with a conventional urban housing project budget.⁹⁹ The aim of IBA project was stated by a member of Berlin’s city senate as:

...a lucid declaration of the architecture of the western world. It should demonstrate what we understand to be modern urbanism and proper housing, in contrast to the false ostentation of the ‘Stalinallee’.¹⁰⁰

⁹⁷ Ibid, p.232.

⁹⁸ Bodenschatz, H., “Antworten West Berlins auf die Stalinallee” cited in “Building Culture in Divided Berlin: Globalization and the Cold War”, Castillo, G., Hybrid Urbanism: on the identity discourse and the built environment, (ed.) AlSayyad, N., Praeger Publishers, Westport, 2001, p. 189.

⁹⁹ Ibid, p.189.

¹⁰⁰ Mahler, K., “Internationale Bauausstellung 1956: Wiederaufbau eines inneren Stadtviertels” cited in “Building Culture in Divided Berlin: Globalization and the Cold War”, Castillo, G., Hybrid Urbanism: on the identity discourse and the built environment, (ed.) AlSayyad, N., Praeger Publishers, Westport, 2001, p.186.

In this respect, the ideological symbolic importance of these projects also resulted in the differences in the architectural styles. The traditionalist approach of the buildings in East Berlin with the influence of Socialist Realism movement was replied by the modernist urbanism approach of the buildings in IBA project of West Berlin.

Interbau was conceived as a concrete reproach of the Stalinallee's Neoclassicism. "One thing is certain," declared West German President Theodor Heuss about the exposition, with his glance cast eastward: "any yammering about 'tradition' will receive no response."¹⁰¹



Figure 3-18 Aerial view of Hansaviertel before IBA
(<http://www.stadtbild-berlin.de/Europa/Bilder/Hansaviertelalt.jpg>)

¹⁰¹ Heuss, T., "Interbau Berlin 1957" cited in "Building Culture in Divided Berlin: Globalization and the Cold War", Castillo, G., Hybrid Urbanism: on the identity discourse and the built environment, (ed.) AlSayyad, N., Praeger Publishers, Westport, 2001, p. 187.



Figure 3-19 Aerial view of Hansaviertel in 1962 after IBA 1957
(http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/aktuell/pressebox/archiv_volltext.shtml?arch_0705/nachricht2655.html)

The IBA project in Hansaviertel was seen as the concrete evidence of the success of Marshall Plan. The constructed projects had also set the basic principles of the future West Berlin housing projects.

At the constructed Hansaviertel, modernism was domesticated and harnessed to consumer desire to depict the future of West German housing and the triumph of the Marshall Plan.¹⁰²

At the end of the project, West Berlin was criticized by East Berlin. The buildings in the Hansaviertel and the general planning of the area was certainly at the opposite position of Stalinallee project and the reconstruction principles of East Berlin. The

¹⁰² Castillo, G., 2001, "Building Culture in Divided Berlin: Globalization and the Cold War", Hybrid Urbanism: on the identity discourse and the built environment, (ed.) N. AlSayyad, Praeger Publishers, Westport, p.188.

result of the project was perceived as several self-referential buildings of various famous architects. The buildings were evaluated in themselves as successful projects. However, the project IBA as a whole was seen as a failure.

The result was a random-looking assortment of buildings scattered freely amid park greenery. “Plenty of primadonnas looking for a conductor!” was the verdict of the Italian architect Bruno Zevi, writing for L’Espresso. Visual incoherence was the price paid to create an urban metaphor for Western individuality and freedom.¹⁰³

The planning of the area of Hansaviertel was based on the concept of “city-in-the-park”. The housing units, the pedestrian and vehicle roads were designed in a big green area. This concept could be seen as the basis of the future reconstruction projects in West Berlin.

The expense of recasting Berlin’s Hansaviertel as a *stadtlandschaft*, or “city-in-the-park”, guaranteed that what was intended as a model project for inner-city reconstruction ended up a one-time performance.¹⁰⁴

The concept of “city-in-the-park” was the counter viewpoint of East Berlin urbanism. The concepts in “Sixteen Principles of City Planning” and the basic concepts of IBA were conflicting with each other. Basically, East German cities which focused on the urban character of the cities and the idea of ‘the city cannot be a garden’, East Berlin cities were the counterexamples of the ones in West Germany.

The construction technologies of the buildings in IBA were based on economic aspects. The use of industrialized products not only reduced the construction period but also decreased the required labor which resulted in a decrease in the construction costs. Prefabrication in the construction technologies was the main concept of the reconstructions in East Berlin. Nevertheless, the final inference of West Berlin in the use of prefabrication as the construction technology was criticized by East Berlin since West Berlin spent great afford for what East Berlin had known and applied from the beginning.

¹⁰³ Ibid, p.188.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, p.189.

In the realm of construction technology, Bauakademie observers concluded that West Berlin had spent enormous sums to corroborate what Soviet research had already demonstrated: that replacing manual workmanship with industrially prefabricated building components could yield dramatic reductions in the cost of new construction.¹⁰⁵



Figure 3-20 Hansaviertel in 1953

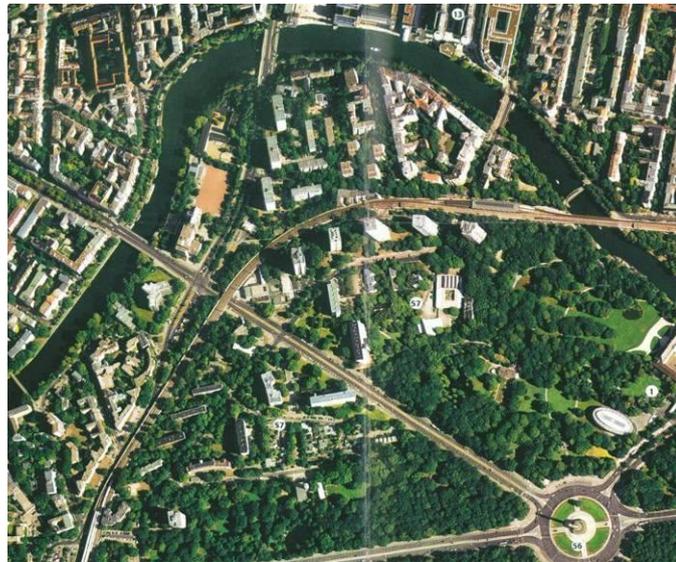


Figure 3-21 Hansaviertel in 2002

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, p.202.

In 1987, West Berlin organized the Internationale Bauausstellung again, this time with a change in the scope of the project. IBA 1957 had only focused on the Hansaviertel area. In 1987, they aimed the transformation of whole city with the projects of certain famous architects. The regions that were included in the exhibition were Tegel, Praeger Platz, the South Tiergarten area, South Friedrichstadt, Luisenstadt and Kreuzberg SO 36.

The Bauausstellung Berlin GmbH was founded in 1979, after a long period of preparation, and commissioned to set up an International Building Exhibition (Internationale Bauausstellung IBA), based on the theme “The Inner City as a Place to Live”. It was intended to set model architecture, on a human scale but of high artistic quality, against the acknowledged deficiencies of post-war urban development in the city, badly damaged, scarred and at the time still divided, and to renew some areas, initiating methods that go beyond routine practice.¹⁰⁶

The main concept of the exhibition was defined as the reconstruction of the inner city with the aim of “The Inner City as a Place to Live”. The project had mainly two principle concerns;

- “Careful urban renewal” – under the direction of Prof. Hardt-Waltherr Hämer
- “Critical reconstruction” – directed by Prof. Josef Paul Kleihues¹⁰⁷

Projects of IBA 1987 were constructed according to these two main principles in the defined areas from all over the city of West Berlin. Critical reconstruction had the aim to describe the building typology, which was derived from the past of Berlin architecture.

Critical reconstruction is a strategy formulated in the early 1980s by J.P. Kleihues for new housing projects for the International Building Exhibition (IBA). Based on Aldo Rossi’s Architecture of the City, it was an attempt to claim the Berlin typology of block and street with

¹⁰⁶ Nagel, W., 1991, “Foreword”, Internationale Bauausstellung Berlin 1987 Project Report, (trans.) Michael Robinson, The Bauausstellung, Berlin, p.3.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, p.3.

its Mietshaus and courtyards as the archetype for all new construction in the city.¹⁰⁸

IBA project 1987, which had a broader scope, had more effective results than the one in 1957 which focused on a certain area in the city. The effects of IBA 1987 were also seen on the constructions after the reunification of Berlin.

In conclusion, the division of Berlin did not mean only a wall passing through a city. It represented two different political standpoints that divided the world into two groups in the Cold War period. The focal point of the Cold War period was Berlin due to the fact that it symbolized the tension between western and eastern world. Berlin, the divided city in a divided world, is significant in terms of containing the features of the two political views in the territories of one city. The division of the world as capitalist and socialist countries or the countries under the influence of the United States or the Soviet Union could be analyzed in one city by witnessing the opposition of the two systems in economic, political and physical aspects.

The western and eastern parts of the city both used the planning of their cities as propagandistic means for their own political systems. East Berlin was reconstructed with Socialist Realism under Soviet Union effect. On the other hand, West Berlin was under the United States influence and reconstructed in a modernist style. After WWII, the division of Europe and the physical division of the German capital city, Berlin, could be observed by analyzing the physical differences of both sides of the city. Besides the Berlin Wall dividing the city physically, the differences in the urban planning of West and East Berlin could be seen as the evidence of the Cold War period.

By 1948, strategies of ideological containment had turned Europe into an unlikely set of nesting boxes: a divided continent, which encased a divided Germany, which contained a divided metropolis. Traversed by the fault line of geopolitical confrontation, Berlin assumed a variety of singular Cold War roles, including its use as a

¹⁰⁸ Sauerbruch, M., 1997, "Berlin 2000: a missed opportunity", the Journal of Architecture, vol.2, autumn, p.284.

showcase for the West's International Style and its Socialist Realist "other".¹⁰⁹

The new identities of West and East Germany were influenced by the two superpowers the United States and the Soviet Union. The occupied powers affected the urban space of the cities of both sides.

Modernism and Socialist Realism choreographed processes which reshaped German identity. Claims of cultural authority explicit in both aesthetics enhanced what Michel Foucault has called "governmentality" – that is, the disciplinary hierarchies of power and professed truth that condition citizens' everyday life and perceptions. East and West German identity was influenced as profoundly by the mechanics of cultural cross-pollination as by the hybridized urban environments it produced.¹¹⁰

The major projects of West and East Berlin, IBA project and Stalinallee, had been compared in terms of several aspects. They were the master pieces of the ideologies, which they represented. They had the function of housing to meet the accommodation needs of the citizens since the city was in a ruin situation. The housing projects had the chance to change the every day life of the citizens according to the political system of the country.

In addition to their residential functions, these fragmentary utopias were spaces for the ritual staging of new identities. In these two cities of the future, domestic practices invoked the states prescriptions for modernity and its ideal subjects.¹¹¹

Accordingly, the representation of the political views on the urban space could be analyzed in Berlin during the Cold War period. The differences in urban space and architecture were the results of the differences in the politics and economics of both sides, East Berlin and West Berlin. The systems of capitalism and socialism tried to enhance their impression on the citizens by constructing their own space, which promoted their own views. The system based constructed environment directly

¹⁰⁹ Castillo, G., 2001, "Building Culture in Divided Berlin: Globalization and the Cold War", Hybrid Urbanism: on the identity discourse and the built environment, (ed.) N. AlSayyad, Praeger Publishers, Westport, p.182.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, p.190.

¹¹¹ Ibid, p.189.

affected the daily lives of people, which clearly means that the system fulfilled its impact all over the country. In this respect, by analyzing the spatial structure and the major projects of both sides of Berlin, it could be inferred that the capitalist and socialist governments both used the same device, transformation the urban space, to prove their success and impact in their territories.

CHAPTER 4

CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE URBAN TRANSFORMATION IN BERLIN AFTER REUNIFICATION

4.1. Fall of Berlin Wall

In 1989, the citizens of Eastern European countries started mass demonstrations and parades to achieve changes in the politics of their countries. They thought that socialism should have reforms and the government should again be controlled by the citizens instead of the communist party itself.

As a result of these protests against the existing government and its policies, rapid changes started in Eastern and Central Europe including East Germany. In the same year, Hungary opened its boundaries to Austria.

Growing numbers of East Germans emigrated to West Germany via Hungary after the Hungarians decided not to intervene forcefully to stop them. Thousands of East Germans also attempted to reach the West by staging sit-ins at West German diplomatic facilities in other East European capitals.¹¹²

East Berlin as the capital of GDR was the focal point of these parades among which the most important one was the demonstration in Alexanderplatz on 4th November 1989. The demonstration was against the existing governance policy rather than socialism. “The 4 November Berlin mass protest, the first peak of the revolution, reflected this. About a million people came to Alexanderplatz for a rally which opened with the words: "This is a Socialist demonstration". No-one objected.”¹¹³

¹¹² “History of Germany since 1945, http://ifl.fh-hof.de/fileadmin/AAA/Formulare_Incomings/_berblick_deutschlan.pdf, p.9, last accessed date 17th June 2008.

¹¹³ Bechert, R., 1999, “Germany 1989: The Fall of the Berlin Wall”, <http://www.socialistparty.net/pub/archive/hist1989berlin.htm>, last accessed date 17th June 2008.

This historically important event took place in the major square of East Berlin, Alexanderplatz, which had been planned for demonstrations and parades. These events resulted in the first passes from East Berlin to West Berlin on 9th November 1989 which was assumed as the beginning of the German reunification.

On November 4, a demonstration in East Berlin attracted as many as 1 million East Germans. In the end, on November 9, 1989, the Berlin Wall was thrown open, and East Germans were allowed to travel freely. Thousands stepped over the border into the western sectors of Berlin, and on November 12, East Germany began dismantling the infamous Berlin Wall.¹¹⁴

The reunification processes ended on 3rd October 1990 with GDR had joining FRG. As a result, West Germany gained the federal states of East Germany; Brandenburg, Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, Saxony, Saxony-Anhalt, Thuringia and Berlin.

After the unification of Germany, the new FRG remained as a member of NATO and European Economic Community. The Warsaw Pact, the military organization of the Eastern and Central Europe countries including East Germany and the Soviet Union, was dissolved on 1st July 1991. The effects of these events in Europe were also seen in the Soviet Union in 1991. By means of the dissolution of the Soviet Union on 26th December 1991, the Soviet occupation on Eastern European countries ended.

4.2. Transformation of East Berlin after Reunification

Following the official reunification of FRG and GDR, the new Germany immediately started the unification and transformation processes. The first elections for united Germany were held in December 1990. In respect to the results of this election, a coalition of Social Democrats and Christian Democrats formed the new government of new Germany. The main aim of this government was to erase the traces of division years from the urban space and to produce spaces, which reflected

¹¹⁴ "History of Germany since 1945", http://ifl.fh-hof.de/fileadmin/AAA/Formulare_Incomings/_berblick_deutschlan.pdf, p.9-10, last accessed date 17th June 2008.

the new system and new identity of Germany. The focus of this construction and destruction activities was mainly the city of Berlin.

On a larger scale, no one individual or group enjoys complete authority, as Berlin's first post-unification government, a coalition of Social and Christian Democrats, divides planning. Social Democrats control the senate administration for construction and housing while Christian Democrats oversee transportation and urban design/environmental protection.¹¹⁵

One of the most important decisions of the new German government was the solution of capital city problem. The capital city of former FRG was the city of Bonn, while that of GDR was the former East Berlin. Since the reunified Germany tried to erase the traces and impacts of the division years in order to return back its years before the division, they determined the new capital as Berlin. Moving the governmental center of the country from Bonn to Berlin, which had taken a significant role in the history of Germany, had symbolic importance:

Berlin has been the hub for the key historical changes in Europe in the Twentieth Century. The First World War with the consequential revolutionary movements, like the Spartakus uprising in 1918, forms the daily social life in the Weimar Republic, followed by the burning of the Reichstag and the national-socialist Machtübernahme. After the war, Berlin becomes the obvious symbol for the cold war, whose foremost monument of course is the Wall. It is again the symbolic construction for Europe's new "year zero", when the East European regimes fall.¹¹⁶

In this respect, besides the transformation of the socialist part of the city and the efforts to erase the traces of socialism, Berlin had another aim as trying to become the capital city of Germany. "Berlin since then can be seen as a city searching for meaning as both a gateway city between the west and east of Europe and as the new capital city of Germany."¹¹⁷ As a result of being in-between the former East and

¹¹⁵ Pepchinski, M., 1993, "Perspectives | Report from Berlin", Progressive Architecture, p.78-82.

¹¹⁶ Lundame, T., 2005, "The Image of History", Site, vol.15, <http://www.sitemagazine.net>, last accessed date 13th June 2008.

¹¹⁷ Eckardt, F., 2005, "In Search for Meaning: Berlin as National and Global City", Journal of Contemporary European Studies, August, vol.13, p.187.

West Europe division and having the mission of representing the reunification of Germany supported the decision that Berlin should become the capital city.

“The relocation of the German government from Bonn to Berlin has been argued as being a step of symbolic significance. Berlin has been given a political function by the decision of the German parliament to relocate there.”¹¹⁸

As the unified capital city of new Germany, Berlin also tried to represent the new identity of the country while trying to attract attention by being a leading example for the European cities. “Prussia had agreed to reclaim the leading role for the city on the river Spree: not merely as the German capital, but as the Number 1 of the entire continent.”¹¹⁹

The former GDR and FRG constructed their own cities according to the current political systems of their governments. In addition to the Wall the spatial differences of these two parts also created a division. As it was explained in the previous chapter, the planning principles of East and West Germany differed from each other.

The lines between the former GDR (German Democratic Republic, known as East Germany) and the West formed a frontier across which the Cold War antagonism had been most visible. The two states not only developed differences in their planning attitudes, but the political tension was also mediated to a large degree through the urban environment.¹²⁰

The oppositions between both sides of Germany were most visible in Berlin. Berlin was constructed after WWII as two different cities. All construction and planning processes of West and East Berlin were affected by their political and economic systems. The physical reflections of these different systems could be seen on both sides of the wall.

¹¹⁸ Ibid, p.187.

¹¹⁹ Kaltenbrunner, R., 1999, “Berlin: Reconstructing a Metropolis”, [Morgenwelt.de / Futureframe](http://www.morgenwelt.de/futureframe/991018-berlin.htm), <http://www.morgenwelt.de/futureframe/991018-berlin.htm>, last accessed date 11th June 2008.

¹²⁰ Weizman, I., 2005, “The Architectural Arms Race across the Berlin Wall”, [Site](http://www.sitemagazine.net), vol.15, <http://www.sitemagazine.net>, last accessed date 8th June 2008.

At the center of this battle was Berlin. Here, the cultural confrontation was played out in remorselessly competitive urban planning – an East versus West “arms race” of avenues, housing estates, public buildings and tall towers. The ideologies of the two political regimes, which faced each other across either side of the Wall, had not only honed a razor-sharp edge between them, but also created an animosity that was physically built into their respective urban fabrics.¹²¹

After the fall of Berlin Wall, Germany and Europe entered a new period. When the socialist system that had occupied half of the Europe and Germany collapsed, the former socialist countries faced with a political and national identity problem. They tried to transform their collapsed political and economic systems while aiming to construct urban spaces according to the new system. The construction activities not only meant the construction of new spaces and buildings for the new system but also included the destruction of the previous system and its impacts on urban environment.

The collapse of the Iron Curtain starting in the late 1980s and the sudden removal of the Berlin Wall in 1989 caused a worldwide dissolution of political forms. New articulations of political and urban relations flooded the social and cultural landscape. In their wake came the need to re-evaluate, reconsider and perhaps even reorganize concepts of national identity, social structures and the boundaries of state sovereignty.¹²²

Berlin was in the middle of this national identity problem. One half of the city was occupied by the collapsed regime, and was trying to recover from the effects of this collapse. The other half was continuing the current capitalist political and economic system. After the political reunification, the government came face to face with the problem of physically transforming the former socialist part among western urban system. However, this duality made the city the attraction point of the world. Germany tried to take advantage of this attraction to transform Berlin, the capital city of Germany, into a focal point that connects East and West Europe.

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² Ibid.

As a capital city and metropolis in the heart of the new Europe, Berlin now has the opportunity to take on a new role as mediator between the eastern and western parts of the continent.¹²³

Via the reconstruction of Berlin through which the effects of the division years would be erased, Germany aimed to turn back to the years before the division reaching its old level of economic and political power. This way Germany would become the first country with its economy and politics in the Europe.

Today, the city's internationally important role is emphasized once more, albeit with more a carefully chosen, circumspect wording. Yet, it is perfectly obvious that the slogan "into the future!" amounts to "a return to our days of glory!"¹²⁴

4.2.1. East Berlin as a Post-Socialist City

With establishment of Berlin as the capital of new Germany, the buildings housing the administrative functions were moved from Bonn to Berlin. However, the changes in the planning of the city were not only based on the location of the governmental institutions in the city structure. The cities of the former socialist regime were planned in order to support the socialist life style. After the change in the political systems of these former socialist countries, the change in the physical structure of their cities also started.

The term, post-socialist cities, is used to analyze and describe urban areas in those societies which, until the breaching of the Berlin Wall in 1989, had been known as 'socialist'. No matter how 'post-socialism' is defined, it covers no more than the last decade of the twentieth century.¹²⁵

The cities of former socialist regimes tried to adapt themselves to the new system by transforming the urban structure according to the new system and life styles of the

¹²³ Hassemer, V., 1994, "Foreword", *Alexanderplatz: Urban Planning Ideas Competition* Berlin, Ernst & Sohn, p. 6.

¹²⁴ Kaltenbrunner, R., 1999, "Berlin: Reconstructing a Metropolis", *Morgenwelt.de / Futureframe*, <http://www.morgenwelt.de/futureframe/991018-berlin.htm>, last accessed date 11th June 2008.

¹²⁵ Andrusz, G., 2000, "A Polemic on Post-Socialist Cities", *Anthropolis*, <http://www.anthropolis.de/andrusz.htm>, last accessed date 15th June 2008.

citizens. Hence, the transformation period of the former socialist countries and cities could be called as transition from socialism to post-socialism.

This transition period includes firstly various revisions in political and economic policies. The revisions in economic system constituted the main problem. The economic reforms made after the socialist regime affected the general structure of the cities. Since the political control on the land of the cities was removed decisions on the valuation and use of land were privatized according to the features of capitalism.

Privatization of public assets and of government functions constitutes the keystone of the new global consensus amongst governments, especially the G8. (The opinion of the leader of the honorary 8th member is of doubtful worth.)¹²⁶

The decisions on the economy and the sudden change in the political system were the rapid revisions of the post socialist countries. As it was stated in the previous chapter, the socialist cities had constructed the urban space according to the socialist life. The change in the political system brought a change in the physical structure of the cities. However, changes in the constructed environment could not be realized in short term.

Socialist cities had their own physical and social structures; they do not change overnight into capitalist cities, as unlike their predecessors as apples are to oranges.¹²⁷

The building stocks of the post socialist cities should be transformed to the ones housing capitalist regime functions which are based on the principle of free market. The citizens of the socialist regime could not adapt to the conditions of the new system immediately. "Cities can be seen as stocks of physical assets whose privatization forms a large part of the capital involved in new class formation."¹²⁸

The introduction of the class concept disarranged the economic equilibrium of the

¹²⁶ Ibid.

¹²⁷ Harloe, M., 1996, "Cities in Transition", Cities after Socialism. Urban and Regional Change and conflict in Post-Socialist Societies, (ed.) Andrusz, G., Harloe, M., Szeleyi, I., (trans.) Donald Nicholson-Smith, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford U, p.6.

¹²⁸ Ibid, p.9.

existing society that was formed during the socialist period. After the determination of the land values, most of the shops and public services could not continue serving to the public due to their inability to afford these costs. As a result, unemployment increased.

Physically, the effects of these changes are already apparent. For example, in city centers the institution of a private market in land and rising land prices leads to a new pattern of land usage. Many public institutions and ex-state socialist retail establishments are forced to move out, unable to pay rents, while Western-style office, leisure and other commercial developments take their place.¹²⁹

Post socialist countries were certain in their aim of transforming the socialist space according to the new system. Nevertheless, this purpose did not define the final destination of the physical structure of the cities. “Clearly the transition is from socialist cities, but to what is much less certain.”¹³⁰ The result of this transformation was questionable.

What were socialist cities, and what is succeeding them? What are the dynamics of this transition? Are these remade cities similar in most respects to those in the ‘advanced’ capitalist world? Or might they be more like the peripheral capitalist cities of the Third World, or some hybrid or new form?¹³¹

Berlin, housing the capitalist and socialist cities together in its physical structure, had a different position among the other post socialist cities. This transformation period was shorter than those of the other post-socialist cities in terms of formal aspects. It passed the stage of transformation of physical environment faster, since it did not deal with new legislation and did not try to find its way to an undefined future. Since its way was already drawn by the western part of the city; the transition period only included the imposition of the order of western part to eastern part. However, the aim of Berlin to become the leading example of European cities and to have significant importance with its economy and physical structure caused some other difficulties.

¹²⁹ Ibid, p.22.

¹³⁰ Ibid, p.11.

¹³¹ Ibid, p.3.

Broadly speaking, the most radical and complete conversion to private real-estate ownership has, of course, occurred in East Germany, where the West German system of property law and rights was simply imposed (although not without some peculiar difficulties due especially to the significance of restitution). Other countries, which lacked such a ready-made system of legal regulation of private property rights, and where there was no dominant force to impose a solution on the struggle between contending interests, have felt their way towards the establishment of private property rights in complex, varied and often contradictory ways.¹³²

East Berlin was the capital of socialist GDR. After the reunification, Berlin with its both sides of the collapsed wall, tried to become the capital of new Germany. The concept of capital city was not the same with the Cold War period. East Berlin had political importance among the other cities of GDR. And the governmental facilities were significant in the city structure. The situation after the reunification was different. The role of Berlin was not only defined with its governmental importance, but also with its economic capacity which housed large amounts of the capital. This transition could be named as, “A process by which political capital is converted into economic capital.”¹³³

4.2.2. Reconstruction of Unified Berlin as the Capital City of new Germany

Berlin had different aims besides the transformation of its post socialist part. Therefore, they started the reconstruction immediately after the political reunification. Although Berlin was formally a unified city, since the two parts of the city were subject to different physical and social conditions, unification in these terms took time.

Berlin has been, throughout the past century, the focus of countless new ideas in urban design: as the German capital, as a place of monumental will for political ostentation a global scale, as a city destroyed in World War II, as a testing ground for sociopolitical reform projects, as a city divided by political motivation, as a island

¹³² Ibid, p.16.

¹³³ Ibid, p.8.

city, as a place where previously separated city districts have been reunited, and finally as the capital of a reunified Germany.¹³⁴

The shift from the state controlled economy to market based one caused problems in the city structure. The economic difficulties faced by the commercial facility owners in the east part of the city, as it was mentioned above, caused unemployment among the former East Berlin citizens. Likewise, when the increase in the rents became unaffordable they had to transfer their jobs to the people of former West Berlin who owned the required capital.

The change in the housing and living standards created another problem. Housing costs increased suddenly, due to the competition between the city center and suburban housing. The old housing stocks of former East Berlin, which cannot compete with the conditions of the new housing complexes, remained as empty blocks and were left to decay. In addition, the ownership of these old buildings was another problem. Since the renovation or restoration costs of these buildings were too high people did not want to own these real estates.

Despite the problems of existing building stocks of the eastern part of the city, the constructions according to the new system began in a short time. “The shift from socialist to post-socialist cities involves the collapse of one system and the rapid installation of a new one, which contains no legacy from the past, to fill the vacuum thus created.”¹³⁵ The installation of the new system was not a planned period in Berlin. Without having the general land use plans of the whole city and without solving the problems of the existing building stocks the reconstruction of the new system had been started.

Berlin is stumbling into an almost too precipitous future. The euphoria of beginning is overshadowed by the feeling of being late...

¹³⁴ Sheer, T., “Where diversity rules cities: Architecture and urban design in Berlin between 1900 and 2000” cited in “Shadow Architectures: War, Memories, and Berlin’s Futures”, S. Guy, Cities, War and Terrorism: towards an urban geopolitics, (ed.) S. Graham, Blackwell Publishing Ltd., UK, 2004, p.77.

¹³⁵ Harloe, M., 1996, “Cities in Transition”, Cities after Socialism, Urban and Regional Change and conflict in Post-Socialist Societies, (ed.) Andrusz, G., Harloe, M., Szeleyi, I., (trans.) Donald Nicholson-Smith, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford U, p.22.

the fear of making mistakes, fear of taking risks, fear of loss of identity...¹³⁶

The new German government had the feeling of being late which caused the fear of losing time and chance. Therefore, they would like to start the construction everywhere in the city as soon as possible while the attraction of the world was still on Berlin and Germany. The reconstruction projects began by the enterprises of private companies. With the fall of the wall, private companies started to find the most profitable places for themselves which had been in the buffer zone during the division times.

While the institutions of urban planning in the Berlin administration were still discussing principles, the powerful economic actors had been already looking for the best pieces of the cake.¹³⁷

The first interventions on the urban space were decided by the private companies. The city government could not create the land use plans for the new reunified Berlin until 1994 while the reconstructions that had began previously were not executed according to a proper plan. Therefore, there was not a concept regarding the whole city structure on its own. “Yet despite numerous public forums, debates, and exhibitions, no single concept has inspired a consensus throughout the city.”¹³⁸ The owners of the private companies used the empty lots of Berlin on behalf of their own profits rather than those of the city’s. By these reconstruction projects, Berlin became a show stage that involved various architectures as actors filling the gaps of Berlin Wall.

In Berlin the physical past had been wiped out by the bombs of the Second World War. On the ideological grounds, neither of the two Germanies of the Cold War, nor the reunited Germany of the 1990s, were interested in restoring it. The capital of the new “Berlin Republic”, like the West Berlin of the Cold War, a subsidized

¹³⁶ Geisert, H., 1995, “Berlin: City of Competitions”, *World Cities: Berlin*, (ed.) A. Balfour, London, Academy Editions, p.33.

¹³⁷ Eckardt, F., 2005, “In Search for Meaning: Berlin as National Capital and Global City”, *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, vol.13, no.2, p.192.

¹³⁸ Pepchinski, M., 1993, “Perspectives | Report from Berlin”, *Progressive Architecture*, p.78-82.

showcase for the values of wealth and freedom, is an architectural artifact.¹³⁹

The first land use plan of unified Berlin was in 1994, four years after the reunification. In 2002, city administration started to produce urban development plans for the whole city. Although there were the background studies for these plans during the years after reunification till 2002, the constructions had started without them. Moreover, the decisions of the most important projects concerning the city were given by the private companies.

Since 2002, urban development plans have been introduced as instruments of informal structural city planning. They are declared as the basis for all future planning and solidify the land use plan by defining spatial and temporal priorities and pointing out the necessary measures to be taken.¹⁴⁰

At the beginning of reunification, between the years 1990-1994, there was not any predefined planning policy by the municipality of Berlin. In that period, private companies were authorized to make construction decisions for the empty lands of Berlin. Therefore, the importance was given primarily to their plans which concerned their benefits. In fact, these unplanned years were the period in which the image of new Berlin was determined by the enterprises of the leading companies of free market. Several competitions for these enterprises were held between the years 1990 and 1994. Mary Pepchinski describes the planning confusion in the city that lost one of its defining characteristics: the wall.¹⁴¹ The confusion resulted from the identity crisis. “Berliners are struggling to define who they are, and by extension, what their city should become”¹⁴² The municipality tried to determine the future image of the city, but the decision period took time since studies made on the city’s future could not be completed in a short time. However, the free market did not wait and started to construct the image of Berlin regarding their benefits.

¹³⁹ Hobsbawn, E., “Interesting times: A Twentieth Century Life” cited in “Shadow Architectures: War, Memories, and Berlin’s Futures”, S. Guy, *Cities, War and Terrorism: towards an urban geopolitics*, (ed.) S. Graham, Blackwell Publishing Ltd., UK, 2004, p.78.

¹⁴⁰ Eckardt, F., 2005, “In Search for Meaning: Berlin as National Capital and Global City”, *Journal of Contemporary European Studies*, vol.13, no.2, p.192.

¹⁴¹ Pepchinski, M., 1993, “Perspectives | Report from Berlin”, *Progressive Architecture*, p.78-82.

¹⁴² Ibid.

Besides these constructions, the reconstruction of reunified Berlin also involved several destructions. In other words, the reconstruction of spaces according to the new system, capitalism, meant the destruction of the spaces of the old system, socialism. As it was stated in Chapter 3, every system creates its own space to provide suitable spaces for the everyday life of the citizens. The capitalist regime was not new for former West Berlin, but the eastern part of the city was constructed according to the rules of socialist life. Hence, the transformation of the socialist space, in other words, the imposition of capitalism into the system of socialism in the east part of the city included several destructions. The western part of the city was not affected by the change of the regime as far as urban planning is concerned.

We should ask ourselves, demanded the East German writer Kurt Schlesinger why don't they begin to tearing down with their own buildings?¹⁴³

The construction of Berlin, the new capital of reunified Germany, mainly destroyed the eastern part of the city, the socialist space, and constructed the western part of the city by introducing governmental facilities according to the new image of Germany. On the other hand, the economy of West Berlin and also West Germany had been affected seriously by this reunification due to the recovery of the economy of eastern part of the city.

Although there was not a general planning policy related with the reunified capital city, various principles regarding the already started designs and constructions were set. The idea of “critical reconstruction” of IBA Project 1987, under the direction of Josef Paul Kleihues, was accepted as the governing principle. As it was mentioned in Chapter 3, the projects included in IBA 1987 were designed and constructed according to the critical reconstruction concept. Since the IBA project 1987 had a broader scope which covered various areas from former West Berlin, the critical reconstruction concept had significant effect in the construction of western part of

¹⁴³ Ibid.

the city during the last years of division. The aim of this concept was described by Hans Stimmann, Senate Director for Building and Housing in Berlin:

It promotes the idea of the integral urban quarter; the interaction of historical and contemporary architectural and economic life. The prime rules of critical reconstruction are:

- Historical street patterns and building lines must be respected and/or reconstructed
- Maximum eaves-height: 22 meters, maximum ridge-height: 30 meters
- A building permit will be granted only if approximately twenty percent of the overall floor space is designated residential accommodation
- The building density is not prescribed, but is a result of the above policies, the planned land use and building regulations. Generally, this yields a density of around five
- New construction must have the character of an urban building. It must be set on one lot: the maximum permitted lot size is the urban block.¹⁴⁴

However, adopting critical reconstruction as the main principle for the redevelopment of Berlin resulted in some negative reactions from the architects. To elaborate, being under the rule of history and planning the city of today according to the rules of past were criticized by some architects. Matthias Sauerbruch stated that Berlin was not judged by the values of that time but by the values of the past. He criticized the policies of reconstruction and compared Berlin with other significant European cities.

What made postwar Berlin a 'metropolis' was its architecture and the memory of its 'great' past, and not its present economic, social or cultural life. Instead of an emphasis on topics such as the development of a transformed working world (London), or the attempt to articulate 'state architecture' (Paris), the main topics in the architectural discussion in Berlin focus on its past. Berlin became known for repairing city blocks and streets, for urban renovation, critical reconstruction, etc.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴⁴ Stimmann, H., 1995, "Urban Design and Architecture after the Wall", *World Cities: Berlin*, (ed.) A. Balfour, London, Academy Editions, p.51.

¹⁴⁵ Sauerbruch, M., 1997, "Berlin 2000: a missed opportunity", *the Journal of Architecture*, vol.2, autumn, p.284.

The general concept for the planning of reunified Berlin lacked the capacity to construct the image of new Germany as it had been imagined. The only struggle of the government was the erasure of the division years and its constructions from the physical structure of Berlin. The city government found the way to accomplish this aim in the powerful past of Germany before the division years. They tried to erase socialism, the wall and its traces from Berlin with the constructions of a capitalist regime under the principles of old Berlin.

Since the city government could not establish general city plans and make overall decisions about the image of new Berlin, the critical reconstruction concept of former West Berlin was accepted. This decision affected the future of the city in a broader sense. The projects that were executed immediately after the fall of the wall were constructed according to the principles of critical reconstruction.

Given the absence of a vision for the future of Berlin, the Senate for Building decided just to continue business as usual, and to apply the guidelines of 'critical reconstruction' to fill the enormous holes in the fabric of the inner city.¹⁴⁶

The critical reconstruction concept was applied as the construction principle of Berlin for a short period. The city government realized the results of IBA 1987 and the other projects that were made after the reunification and decided to determine the Berlin Architecture with its physical appearance.

They argued that the experience of IBA had shown that a 'potpourri of styles' would not be enough after the fall of the Wall,¹ and not more pluralism, but rather the 'conventional, the typical, the Berlin-like', was on demand. The term *Berlinische Architektur* was coined, and 'critical reconstruction' lost its adjective. Kleihues himself stated that 'perhaps a strategy of *menotaxis* (*menon* = staying, *taxis* = order) would be better than the critical reconstruction'. In other words, retrogression instead of development.¹⁴⁷

The 'Berlinische Architektur' was clarified in a symposium in 1994. The definitions of architecture in Berlin as well as the types of buildings with their appearances and

¹⁴⁶ Ibid, p.284.

¹⁴⁷ Ibid, p.285.

materials were clarified in detail bringing restrictions to the new constructions in the city.

In 1994, in a very hastily organized symposium, it was attempted to better define what *Berlinische Architektur* actually is: *Berlinische Architektur* respects the block and the parapet height; refers to the Schinkel school; has stone or brick façades; is more square than round; has perforated façades; is heavy, and sits tightly anchored to the ground; *Berlinische Architektur* is solidly built.¹⁴⁸

The shifts in the architectural concepts that were accepted by the city government brought the city continuous constructions and destructions. The destructions and constructions were resulted from the inconsistent decisions that had been made on the urban space of Berlin. In other words, the projects which had appeared certain one day were questionable the next.¹⁴⁹

Consequently, after the fall of Berlin Wall, various problems occurred in the reunified city, since it previously two different political systems before the reunification. Two sides had applied their own policies in terms of urban planning. They had created their own spaces according to the life standards of their own regime, socialism or capitalism. In this respect, after the reunification Berlin municipality faced with two separate parts trying to be one. This transformation period included mainly the erasure of socialist space from the eastern part of the city and the creation of spaces that suited for the life style brought by the capitalist regime.

Besides the transformation of the urban space, the city also had the problem of trying to become the capital city of new reunified Germany. This meant that it should represent a new image according to the current conditions of the country. Germany had several plans to transform Berlin as the new capital city while making Berlin the leading city of Europe and a gate city between East and West Europe. After the reunification, Berlin, which had been the symbol of the division of Europe

¹⁴⁸ Ibid, p.285.

¹⁴⁹ Pepchinski, M., 1993, "Perspectives | Report from Berlin", *Progressive Architecture*, p.78-82.

for 28 years in the past, tried to turn into a symbol of unification for both Europe and Germany.

The transformation started with the enterprises of the leading companies of free market. The municipality established the planning and land use decisions in 1994. During the four year period of unplanned constructions, the image of the city was affected by the actors of free market. Rather than planning the city as a whole, the city was tried to be constructed by partial projects that were executed separately by different companies. The overall concept of the transformation of Berlin was mainly based on the filling of the gaps in the city structure, the erasure of the traces of Berlin Wall and socialism, but the question concerning how to accomplish this plan was answered separately by different actors of the private sector and municipality.

4.2.3. The Alexanderplatz Competition

The reconstruction period of the new capital of Germany was shaped by several architectural and urban planning competitions. The empty places in the city structure and several important places of the city were rehabilitated or constructed by means of worldwide known competitions. These competitions were also seen as a tool to take the attraction of the world via the projects of famous architects and planners.

Most of the competitions were organized in the first years of the reunification, during the years without the planning policies. The competition areas were selected by the private sector according to their profitability. Some of them were the old city centers before the division of the city, which had been destroyed by the Wall, while others included the centers of one of the divided parts of the city or the places which had historical or political importance. Although each competition area had significance in the city structure and an impact on the city's image, there were not any specifically defined criteria decided by the city administration for the selection of these project areas. They were chosen by private companies according to their profitability.

On the other hand, some project areas were chosen by the Berlin municipality and private companies together. The municipality aimed to impose the political system of new Germany by using architecture as a propaganda tool, like the former governments of Berlin had used in the Cold War period. The new system tried to impose its principles by the use of urban design and architecture while erasing the symbols of the previous system.

Berlin is also the scene for sisyphical demolitions and reconstructions of building and blocks, where the forms of the old regime always are to be substituted by those of the new.¹⁵⁰

Besides the destruction of socialist spaces, the city government also had the aim of erasing the traces of Berlin Wall. Any evidence that reminded of the division years of the city and country was to be demolished by the city government. The empty land that was obtained after the fall of Berlin Wall which had previously been 'no man's land' was filled with the projects of the leading companies before the city plans were established. The activities to wipe out the memories of the division years, the Berlin Wall and the socialist East Berlin from the urban space of reunified Berlin could be defined as a collective forgetting which is to be accomplished through the physical structure of the city.

For Hobsbawn and many other commentators, the redevelopment of Berlin has been characterized by a form of collective, even purposeful amnesia in which the physical erasure of the city has encouraged a wider forgetting.¹⁵¹

In other words, rather than the transformation of the city and rehabilitation of the urban space, this purposeful amnesia was the main goal. If the first competition areas were analyzed, it could be seen that the aim of the competition was to cause a forgetting about the division years by means of pretentious projects of famous architects.

¹⁵⁰ Lundame, T., 2005, "The Image of History", *Site*, vol.15, <http://www.sitemagazine.net>, last accessed date 13th June 2008.

¹⁵¹ Guy, S., 2004, "Shadow Architectures: War, Memories, and Berlin's Futures", *Cities, War and Terrorism: towards an urban geopolitics*, (ed.) S. Graham, Blackwell Publishing Ltd., UK, p.79.

There were two competitions which mainly aimed the erasure and forgetting of the past. The Potsdamer Platz competition (1991) and Alexanderplatz competition (1993) had a significant effect on the future of the city of Berlin. They were also important regarding their dates which coincide with the unplanned years of Berlin immediately after the fall of Berlin Wall. That period was the time when the city government had the fear of being late to transform the city and hastened to gain the attraction of the world as soon as possible.

These projects, Potsdamer Platz and Alexanderplatz, were not a part of a total concept, rather they are separate projects designed for different competition rules in limited time periods to propagate a political view. Their main aim was to erase the traces of the division years and socialism from the reunified city as soon as possible. However, the transformation period included not only the erasure of the symbols of socialism from the urban space but also the creation of new symbols of capitalism in the urban system of former socialist city by simply attaching the characteristic capitalist constructions into the socialist spaces.

In the past six years, several competitions for urban regeneration have been held. Such a procedure – private architectural firms designing whole areas of the city under extreme pressure of time and rivalry for presentation to a jury – can only produce arbitrary schemes and ignores the methodological problem of how to deal with the GDR buildings. Highly praised projects, such as the Alexanderplatz, integrate neither with their immediate environments nor complement each other.¹⁵²

The organized competitions of Potsdamer Platz, Alexanderplatz and the others could be seen as the general plans for the city. To elaborate, they were not a part of an overall plan that had been made for the city as a whole. Therefore, they had the privilege of creating their own rules separately in each competition. In this respect they could neither be integrated with their surrounding nor each other.

¹⁵² Hoffmann-Axthelm, D., Albers, B., 1997, "The planning of Berlin's city and historic center", The Journal of Architecture, vol.2 autumn, p.206.

Potsdamer Platz competition was held a year after the reunification. The first attempt of the city government was to fill the gaps of the urban structure when the no man's land between West and East Berlin became a huge empty space in the city. Potsdamer Platz was in the no man's land in the Cold War years, but it had been the city center before the division of the city. The aim of this competition was to erase the traces of the wall from the urban system totally and to re-establish the former city center as the center of new reunified Berlin which contained the elements of capitalist regime on the urban space.

Alexanderplatz competition was the other important competition in the planning history of reunified Berlin. Alexanderplatz had been not only one of the most important centers but also was a significant socialist symbol of former East Berlin. Therefore, the reason for the selection of this square was different from other competitions. Alexanderplatz was reconstructed by the former government of GDR as a symbolic space having a socialist function in the city structure. The new government of Germany was trying to transform the socialist city center to the capitalist one with this competition. The competition was held to make profit from this symbolic center of the city. The investors wanted to make the former socialist city center a center of global city which housed the functions of capitalist way of life.

The competition also had a secondary purpose. Since the constructions in former East Berlin were in a lower standard compared with the West, the reconstruction action would focus more on the eastern part of the city. Beginning from the city center of former East Berlin could be a leading example for the rehabilitation of rest of the area.

The rules of Alexanderplatz competition were set by the city officials and private investors together. The aim was to build several office complexes and to revitalize the center according to today's conditions of reunified Berlin. It was the most important shift in the transition period of former East Berlin into a capitalist city. Alexanderplatz had been of the major urban elements of the socialist period of East Berlin and after reunification it was again designed for the same purpose which was

being the center of the reunified city but this time with a different political standpoint.

The preparations for the competition were started in the summer of 1992, and the results were published in October 1993. During this period the jury gathered frequently while there were also arranged meetings between the jury and the participants in addition to public displays all of which had the aim of understanding the reaction of the citizens.

The evaluation process of the competition of urban planning ideas in the Alexanderplatz was held in two stages.

The concept of dividing the competition into two phases was based on the idea that, while the competition was in progress, there should be an opportunity for positive feedback of intermediate results and of appropriate decisions for the future.¹⁵³

In the first phase, the participating architects were not given any quantitative requirements. This phase was for the urban planning concept ideas. To have distinguished ideas, the architects were given considerable freedom, even for the radical ideas that could not be applied yet. After having the first submissions which differed from each other in terms of concepts as well as the qualitative aspects, the authorities and investors defined the quantitative requirements for the second phase of the competition. Besides the concepts of planning ideas, the traffic system was also given importance in the evaluation. The possible future vehicle accesses, the integration of the traffic system of the square to the rest of the city as well as the parking lots were the main focusing points of the jury.¹⁵⁴

It was claimed that special importance was given to preserving public decision-making responsibility in the competition process. Also the number of the jury members from the private investments was restricted in the way that it could not

¹⁵³ Weiss, P., 1994, "Notes on the Competition Procedure", Alexanderplatz: Urban Planning Ideas Competition, (ed.) K. Feireiss, Ernst & Sohn, Berlin, p.74.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid, p.71-78.

exceed that of the city government officials.¹⁵⁵ However, this attention was not enough to guarantee the public effect on the results of the competition. The most important stage of the preparation process was the decision concerning the selection of the architects and planners that would attend the competition. Since it was not an open competition, the participants were determined by a jury in which the private investment had equal vote rights with the public authorities. This progress ~~had~~ showed that private investments would have an effect on the competition process either in the voting stage or in the determination stage of the specifications and the selection of architects that would take part in the competition.

There was the limitation that the competition was not open but restricted, so that some architects already commissioned by the investors could be taken account. The participants invited were appointed by the public authorities and by the investors, with both parties having equal voting strength.¹⁵⁶

The winning project of Hans Kollhoff and Helga Timmermann was based on **the** remodeling the Alexanderplatz as Berlin's people square not a drill square, not a market place neither an ornamental square nor a traffic intersection as described in the explanatory report of the project. The square was surrounded by different types of old and new buildings which had the style of historical type perimeter block. At the outward row of these perimeter blocks there were high rise buildings at the same height surrounding the square, whose façades were determined according to the rules of critical reconstruction. The towers had the role of marking the square in the city skyline. The facades were made of stone in order to respect the historical buildings. The perimeter blocks contained residential, commercial and office places. The ground level was for the restaurant and cafés opening towards the square to make the square lively by increasing the density. The cultural and leisure activities were located on the other floor and were reached by the escalators. In the square there was also a flat glass dome which was located on the transportation junction in order to providing a visual link relation between the ground floor and the underground world. This dome provided daylight to the underground transportation lines. However, it

¹⁵⁵ Ibid, p.72.

¹⁵⁶ Ibid, p.72-73.

did not disrupt the square in a physical manner; it could be passed above the square. The owner of the project aimed to have a pedestrian square without any visual or physical obstacle.



Figure 4-1 Image of the first prized project of Alexanderplatz competition 1993

In the official website of the Alexanderplatz¹⁵⁷, it was said that Alexanderplatz was designed to be the Manhattan of Berlin, the symbol of private property, the source capital contrasting with its near past and its function in the city structure. The instant change of the meaning and function of this area was important for the transition of the other parts of the former East Berlin.

To be the leading capitalist space of Berlin and to erase its former socialist identity could not be the sole aim of such a competition which would have an important impact on the new image of the city. Since the competition was held before the general planning of the city, there was not an idea about the general concept of the constructions. Each competition set its own rules according to the jury members' opinions. Accordingly, Alexanderplatz competition was organized for transforming the square to a capitalist center including several office and commercial places as well as residential units supporting the capitalist way of life.

As it was mentioned above, the competition was composed of two phases. In the first phase, the participants submitted the general planning concepts of their design. In the second phase, the selected design teams submitted their projects in detailed format according to the critics of the jury. After the first phase and second phase, the projects were presented to the citizens of former East Berlin. The opinions of city's inhabitants also formed an important part of the competition.

They expressed fears that the high concentration of office space on the square and in the surrounding area would damage the local urban character, making it a less attractive place to live.¹⁵⁸

Although the city government would like to transform Alexanderplatz into the Manhattan of Berlin, the inhabitants of the city had doubts on the winning project as well as the aim of the competition.

¹⁵⁷ The formal website of Alexanderplatz is <http://www.alexanderplatz.com>.

¹⁵⁸ Hassemer, V., 1994, "Foreword", *Alexanderplatz: Urban Planning Ideas Competition*, K. Feireiss, Ernst & Sohn, Berlin, p.7.

The architecture of a city is always the result of its program. First there is a demand, then the activities that fulfill this demand have to be housed, and a collection of this type of 'housing' will result in an urban form. A city is not normally made up of buildings that must be filled with life and activity; rather the dynamics and culture of civic life produce its own specific architecture.¹⁵⁹

The citizens of former East Berlin were questioning the quantitative requirements of the competition and its results. The office blocks that were tried to be imposed in this socialist square were not an answer to the actual demand. Indeed, the city government was concerned about the symbolic significance of Alexanderplatz for the former East Berlin. They organized this competition for a rapid change of the square in terms of its meaning and function. There was not a demand for such a high density office towers and commercial places. This meant that the competition was actually held not for finding a solution for an existing problem of Berlin but for constructing the image in their minds for Alexanderplatz.

The well-intentioned activism of the big competitions has gone astray. Potsdamerplatz, Alexanderplatz, Friedrichstadt – all these places had enormous urban potential. They should have provided a forum for a worldwide discussion on the city and urban ideas. Instead, they have become places where narrow investment surveys with prearranged results are going ahead unchallenged. The attitude here is to work with the solution in mind, rather than the problem.¹⁶⁰

The competitions that were held in the first years of reunification of Berlin were not the results of a demand of the urban space or the citizens. The areas were problematic due to their physical conditions or their political significance. City government tried to wipe out the political or sociological importance of these areas by reconstructing or rehabilitating them in such a way that the new projects would not have any relation with their old meanings and functions.

Similarly, in Alexanderplatz competition, there was not also a demand for such a high density physical environment for offices, commercial or residential units. How the

¹⁵⁹ Sauerbruch, M., 1997, "Berlin 2000: a missed opportunity", the Journal of Architecture, vol.2 autumn, p.284.

¹⁶⁰ Schultes, A., 1995, "Berlin–Belated Capital", World Cities: Berlin, (ed.) A. Balfour, Academy Editions, London, p.39.

resulting project would be like was certain in the jury's mind when the competition was announced as it was stated in the formal website of the Alexanderplatz, Manhattan of Berlin.

In this respect, keeping in mind that the jury had already decided to have a Manhattan in Berlin on the area of Alexanderplatz, the second prized project could be analyzed. The second-prize project was designed by Daniel Libeskind. In the explanatory report of the project, it was stated that Alexanderplatz was a symbol of East Berlin and had continuously been compared with West Berlin. It had its differentiating characteristics by being the city center and symbol of the east side. It was also the traffic junction of the east part leading to the west and a reloading point in which the vehicle and pedestrian traffic crossed with each other. Therefore, it was the business and entertainment center of the city due to the intense traffic density. The objectives of the design were defined by Libeskind as;

Our design therefore does not provide so many edges and facades, but intends to create guidelines and links for an architectural design which is as varied and open as possible and in which the individual items are to find their place in the gradually growing entirety not by predetermined rules, but by foresight.¹⁶¹

The design required that the characteristics of Alexanderplatz, being a gate for not only for East Berlin but also for the Eastern Europe, should be considered. Its characteristics should be evaluated according to the other gateways in the west like Pariser Platz and Potsdamer Platz. The aim of the design was explained by the architect in the second explanatory report prepared for the second phase of the competition:

The present design is dramatic and creates a theatrical stage setting the scene for urban life. It is not the height and shape of high-rise buildings that are important to this design, but rather the articulation and modulation of the pedestrian precinct which connects the activities horizontally.¹⁶²

¹⁶¹ Feireiss, K., 1994, Alexanderplatz: Urban Planning Ideas Competition, Ernst & Sohn, Berlin, p.107.

¹⁶² Ibid, p.114.



Figure 4-2 Image of the second prized project of Alexanderplatz competition 1994 (Feireiss, K., 1994, Alexanderplatz: Urban Planning Ideas Competition, Ernst & Sohn, Berlin)

The proposal suggested new buildings which differ from each other in terms of height, material and shape according to the functions they had. The organization of the buildings and the planning of the site did not have any link with the traditional urban forms, but it respected for the old buildings. The site planning was designed according to the inner and outer forces of the square that came from the history and the current situation of the site. Daniel Libeskind explained his approach to this design proposal as;

I proposed a scheme which opens the area and emphatically rejects the idea that public space needs to be closed in an urban room. My design for Alexanderplatz does not enclose the center, but relies on the history of Alexanderplatz to resist willfully imposed planning concepts. (...) this scheme rejects contextualism and utopianism, and instead advocates the transformation and metamorphosis of the existing.¹⁶³

¹⁶³ Libeskind, D., 1995, "Berlin as it might have been - Alexanderplatz", World Cities: Berlin, (ed.) A. Balfour, Academy Editions, London, p.137.

The jury criticized the proposal of Libeskind in terms of its planning which opposed the traditional urban forms of Berlin. Its protective attitude towards the old buildings in the site was appreciated. However, the arbitrary organization of the new buildings was seen as a danger. It was stated that the proposal had a chaos in terms of planning and the variety of the building types which was undesirable in city planning. The square was conceived as a collage of individual buildings that had several positive features in themselves. However, this situation was not seen as an opportunity to create the new identity of Alexanderplatz.

The jury gave the first prize to the proposal of Hans Kollhoff by one additional vote from the second one, the proposal of Daniel Libeskind. One was totally in the limits of the town planning rules that were defined according to the idea of critical reconstruction whereas the other was totally breaking the rules that were set by the city administration. What would have happened if the voting resulted in the opposite direction, if the proposal of Libeskind had that one excess vote that could change the future of the city, is still the subject of a debate. There was a slight difference in the decision making process but not in the proposals which were speaking in different languages. What was the idea in the minds of the jury members while voting the proposals?

The jury had seen Alexanderplatz area as a problematic square not because it had problems related with the city structure but because of its symbolic meaning. The problem was the image and the redevelopment of the reunified city of Berlin. Therefore, the Alexanderplatz competition was organized not to reconstruct the physical structure of the square but to reconstruct the meaning and the symbolic significance of the square. As the owner of the second-prize project, Libeskind tried to explain Alexanderplatz to the city government and citizens of former West Berlin:

I tried to tell people, particularly in the west, that there is nothing wrong with Alexanderplatz. It is an incredible place which is pregnant with possibilities that have not yet been played out. That is true of many cities. My picture postcard of Berlin says, Wish you were here. The competition jury may have selected a group of identical skyscrapers standing in a rigid grid, all of equal height, all of granite. Without winning the competition, I think I have shown how Berlin

will actually develop. It must develop this way because the alternative is hopeless.¹⁶⁴

The owner of the winning project Hans Kollhoff defended his proposal from the point of the necessities of some rules that should be obeyed as a limitation for various architects who were designing the city separately according to their own ideas. He opposed the idea of having all the designs from one hand but he claimed that there should be limitations. He explained his ideas in the interview with Martin Kieren:

I think that as a builder of towns some rules have to be formulated within which quite different architects can develop. In our model we did formulate these rules to a large extent. And they can be summed up very succinctly.¹⁶⁵

The designers of the proposals of the first and second prize in the Alexanderplatz competition had their own approaches supporting their own ideas related to the reconstruction of the unified city of Berlin. Although they were awarded with the first two prizes of the competition, their planning ideas differed a lot from each other. The situation was explained by Libeskind as “Even though only one vote separates the two schemes, there is an abyss in the understanding of urban space.”¹⁶⁶

In this respect, Alexanderplatz competition was the starting point of the transformation of former East Berlin. When the results and the discussions about the competition were analyzed, the rehabilitation of the building stocks and urban space in the eastern part of the city could not be seen as the main aim of the city government and the jury members of the competition. The aim was to use architecture and urban planning as the propagandistic elements of capitalist regime. While creating the symbols of capitalist way of life, the destruction of the socialist

¹⁶⁴ Libeskind, D., 2003, “Berlin Alexanderplatz: Ideologies of Design and Planning and the Fate of Public Space”, *The Journal of the International Institute*, <http://www.umich.edu/~iinet/journal/vol3no1/berlin.html>, last accessed date 10th June 2008.

¹⁶⁵ Feireiss, K., 1994, *Alexanderplatz: Urban Planning Ideas Competition*, Ernst & Sohn, Berlin, p.99.

¹⁶⁶ Libeskind, D., 2003, “Berlin Alexanderplatz: Ideologies of Design and Planning and the Fate of Public Space”, *The Journal of the International Institute*, <http://www.umich.edu/~iinet/journal/vol3no1/berlin.html>, last accessed date 10th June 2008.

urban space was inevitable. Indeed, Berlin had continuously been destructed and constructed in its history regarding the ideologies of the political powers.

And while it is undoubtedly true that Berlin's urban development in past centuries has almost always been preceded by a partial destruction of the existing, we should now be inclined to treat the constructed witnesses of our past with great care.¹⁶⁷

Although it has been claimed by the Berlin municipality that buildings had tried to be preserved for their historical significance, it is apparent that the symbols of socialism were not approached with the same sensitivity. Rather than the destruction of buildings, they tried to destruct the socialist symbolic places through the constructions of the capitalist regime. The preservation policy of the municipality mainly included the buildings and architecture that belonged to the period before the division and socialism. Any construction that symbolized the socialist regime was not seen as a construction that should be treated with great care although they were the witnesses of the Cold War period of East Berlin for 45 years.

The jury and the city government had supposed that the construction of a number of office towers to the socialist square would change its symbolic meaning. However, the constructions of the winning project did not start yet. In other words, the symbol of former East Berlin and one of the major city centers of the reunified Berlin was in the same condition for 16 years after the fall of Berlin Wall. The attempt to impose high rise office buildings as the symbols of the capitalist way of life could not solve the problem of having a socialist past. The buildings and constructions that were executed under the control and influence of socialist regime should be seen as the historical heritage representing a 45 year period of one half of the city. However, the reunified Berlin did not see the physical structure of former East Berlin as a part of the city's history; instead, they saw the architecture and urban planning of socialism as a threat for the capitalist regime. Moreover, they were treated as urban elements that should be demolished immediately. On the other hand, the reasons why the constructions of the office towers could not be realized 18 years after the

¹⁶⁷ Kaltenbrunner, R., 1999, "Berlin: Reconstructing a Metropolis", [Morgenwelt.de / Futureframe](http://www.morgenwelt.de/futureframe), <http://www.morgenwelt.de/futureframe/991018-berlin.htm>, last accessed date 11th June 2008.

reunification are questionable. It is argued whether the reason for the delay of this construction is the economic conditions, or there is no demand for such a office density in the center of former socialist Berlin or there is a resistance of the citizens of the eastern part that do not want the destruction of the meaning of the square by breaking of its historical context.

Debates about architecture and the future of Berlin all take place in relation to this “shadow architecture” of “structures which have disappeared physically but which remain as intangible presences through the awareness that they once existed.”¹⁶⁸

If the estimations stating that Alexanderplatz’s socialist architecture would be dismantled and the skyscrapers would rise in its place are realized, whether this place would be accepted by the urban structure and by the citizens of Berlin or not, is still a question.

In brief, cities can not be shaped by imposing a new system to the urban space in a limited time period with the ideas of a certain number of people. Such an imposition could not mean that the historical or the symbolic meaning of a place would change with the construction of thirteen office towers. Alexanderplatz will remain as the demonstration square of former East Berlin and will be remembered with its demonstrations, especially with the one on 4th November 1990. The transformation of socialist cities to capitalist ones cannot be realized in short time periods. The transition period should be planned and organized carefully. This period cannot be completed by announcing a competition and hoping that this competition would transform the socialist space by simply imposing the capitalist structures and functions to that space while ignoring the demand of the city structure and citizens. The failure of this belief was proved with the construction of the capitalist structures, in other words, the construction of Alexanderplatz as Manhattan of Berlin, which could not be completed even 18 years after the reunification and 15 years after the competition.

¹⁶⁸ Feversham, P., Schmidt, L., “The Berlin Wall Today” cited in “Shadow Architectures: War, Memories, and Berlin’s Futures”, S. Guy, Cities, War and Terrorism: towards an urban geopolitics, (ed.) S. Graham, Blackwell Publishing Ltd., UK, p.78.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

The effect of political systems on the physical structure of a city is studied through analyzing the urban planning decisions of Berlin and specifically the architectural projects of Alexanderplatz. In that respect, regarding the political alterations of German history, the changes in the Berlin planning policies and the image of Alexanderplatz are examined in three periods which can be categorized as before the division and World War II, the division and Cold War period and the reunification after the fall of the Berlin Wall. Among many different urban projects designed for the reunified Berlin, Alexanderplatz competition in 1993 and its results need to be particularly analyzed with reference to the symbolic importance of the square and its planning history. The winning project of Alexanderplatz competition which clarifies the transformation of Alexanderplatz, the changing role and the function that the square carries on through the reunification period, is the main focus of this thesis

As clarified in the former chapters, the concepts of metropolis and the world city were introduced to Berlin, the capital city, in the German Empire and the Weimar Republic periods. These ideas controlled the planning policies of the city by the housing strategies of the city planner Martin Wagner and the proposed traffic regulations. Meanwhile, Alexanderplatz, being the transportation hub of Berlin, gained its importance in the urban plans. Wagner's planning concepts of the city and the Alexanderplatz planning competition in 1929 highlights the significance of the square.

The following important structural transformation of Berlin was observed in the Third Reich period in which the city plans and the architecture of the city were decided by the chancellor Hitler and his architect Speer. The aim of Hitler and Speer

on Berlin city plans can be considered as using architecture as a propagandistic tool of a specific political system. It is possible to trace the representation of the dictatorship of Hitler in urban space from the planning projects of Speer which has never been realized.

After the WWII, in the Cold War period two contrasting planning policies took place in two different Berlins in which major changes in the political and economic systems were occurred due to the division of Germany. East Germany was under the occupation of Soviet Union, applied the rules of socialist regime while West Germany was under the occupation of three allies; France, United Kingdom and United States, applied the capitalist regime as the political system. The effects of the political division on the physical structure of the two countries, East Germany and West Germany, can be detected from the city planning policies of the two sides and especially of Berlin which experienced the contrasting systems of the division the most. "Sixteen Principles of Urban Planning" can be discussed to be the guideline for Soviet Union influence on East Berlin and the planning of other East German cities. The projects of Stalinallee and Alexanderplatz were specific in terms of representing the symbolic developments of socialist regime and social life. On the other hand, the projects of IBA 1957 focusing on the Hansaviertel area and the IBA 1987 are discussed to be the symbolic projects of West Berlin which is under the influence of United States.

By the fall of the Berlin Wall, physical structure of Berlin entered into a new transformation period which is being the capital city of the reunified Germany. From now on, the challenge of Berlin is to be the leading example of a reunified city among the other European cities. After the fall of the wall, the planning of the city has mainly been controlled by the architectural and planning competitions which are announced for various critical areas in the reunified zones. However, the general planning of Berlin was finalized in 2002, 12 years after the reunification. At that point, how the process of physical reunification and how the urban projects were controlled, until the year 2002, should be questioned. In other words, until that year,

the city was shaped by the free market demand and private sector instead of the planning office of Berlin.

When the reunification competitions are analyzed it is noticed that the Alexanderplatz competition is the second important competition following Potsdamerplatz. Revitalization of the area around the square with a new image was the fundamental goal of this competition. The winning project of the architects Hans Kollhoff and Helga Timmermann, which proposed the construction of 13 office towers, has been criticized by several architects and planners for destroying the socialist memory of the city. In this respect, throughout Chapter 4, it is discussed that the aim of the competition was to impose the architecture of capitalist regime and its functions to the socialist square of former East Berlin. It can be criticized that by the 13 Office Towers Project, the planning office of Berlin and the private sector tries to erase the traces of division by demolishing the symbols of socialism from the reunified Berlin. The absence of the citizens' demands concerning the project area and the control of the planning policies of future Berlin by the demands of private sector are the other important points which should be discussed further among the reunified Berlin projects.

Debates about architecture and the future of Berlin all take place in relation to this “shadow architecture” of “structures which have disappeared physically but which remain as intangible presences through the awareness that they once existed.”¹⁶⁹

Urban project designed for such places which represents this “shadow architecture” of cities requires attention since these places have significance in the social memories of the city. Even if the project 13 Office Towers has been realized, Alexanderplatz would still remain as the socialist square of parades and demonstrations of former East Berlin. Therefore, any aim to create a collective and individual amnesia will not yield the results that have been intended. The importance of the square in the history

¹⁶⁹ Feversham, P., Schmidt, L., “The Berlin Wall Today” cited in “Shadow Architectures: War, Memories, and Berlin’s Futures”, S. Guy, *Cities, War and Terrorism: towards an urban geopolitics*, (ed.) S. Graham, Blackwell Publishing Ltd., UK, 2004, p.78.

of socialism and the 4th November 1990 demonstration will still be remembered even after the construction of the “Manhattan of Berlin”.

The jury critics of Alexanderplatz competition only criticized the technical aspects of the projects like traffic routes, the view from the Television Tower, parking lots, the material of the facades instead of the conceptual ones. The future of the symbolic meaning of the Alexanderplatz and its physical representation after the reunification were absent in the discussion criterion of the jury.

The well-intentioned activism of the big competitions has gone astray. Potsdamerplatz, Alexanderplatz, Friedrichstadt – all these places had enormous urban potential. They should have provided a forum for a worldwide discussion on the city and urban ideas. Instead, they have become places where narrow investment surveys with prearranged results are going ahead unchallenged. The attitude here is to work with the solution in mind, rather than the problem.¹⁷⁰

As Axel Schultes also underlines in the article *Berlin-Belated Capital*, the project for the Alexanderplatz as creating the Manhattan of Berlin in the square, symbolizing the American style architecture in addition the capitalist system, was already in the minds of the municipality and the jury members.

15 years after the competition, the winning project has not been constructed yet. It is widely discussed that, the economy and the necessities of the city have not required such a high density of office towers and residential facilities. Furthermore, Berlin has not decided the way to deal with the socialist building stock which are empty and in need of rehabilitation. It is obvious that, the building stock of the new system should be constructed after the rehabilitation of these buildings. While the rest of the former East Berlin has been waiting for renovations, the municipality is still insisting on the transformation of Alexanderplatz because of its symbolic meaning in the socialist period. In the official website of Berlin Senate Department for Urban

¹⁷⁰ Schultes, A., 1995, “Berlin–Belated Capital”, *World Cities: Berlin*, (ed.) A. Balfour, Academy Editions, London, p.39.

Development¹⁷¹, the municipality has just announced that the office towers will be built before 2020, 26 years after the competition. In the announcement it is also claimed that the project will be constructed in cooperation with the private sector.

On the other hand, the renovation operations of the old buildings around the square have already started before the realization of the winning project. The renovation of Alexanderhaus was completed in 2001 in addition to the modification of Galeria Kaufhoff in 2004.



Figure 5-1 Photo of Alexanderplatz during the renovation operations
(http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/planen/staedtebau-projekte/alexanderplatz/en/geschichte/1990/2005_luftbild_von_sueden_800x600.shtml)

¹⁷¹ “Berlin.de Senate Department for Urban Development”,
<http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/index.shtml>, last accessed date 18th June 2008.

In 2003, a new open space design competition for Alexanderplatz, Berlin-Mitte,¹⁷² was announced, due to the delay in 13 Office Towers project. The project of Gerkan, Marg und Partners with WES and Partners was awarded with the first prize and the construction began in 2006. Likewise, it has not been finished yet. Since the design of Alexanderplatz is still an end product of a competition in 1964 and the completion date of the 13 Office Towers project is unknown, the last competition for Alexanderplatz reinforces the claims on the municipality's intend to erase the traces of socialist period from the open space of the square. Although Alexanderplatz square has become a construction site by the latest competition (2003), when the 13 office towers will be constructed is still a question.



Figure 5-2 Photo from TV Tower in 2006 showing the constructions for the competition 2003 (http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/planen/staedtebauprojekte/alexanderplatz/en/heute/aktuelle_platzgestaltung/070313_alex_vom_fernsehturm_800x600.shtml)

¹⁷² Begrenzt offene freiraumplanerische Ideen- und Realisierungswettbewerb Alexanderplatz, Berlin-Mitte.

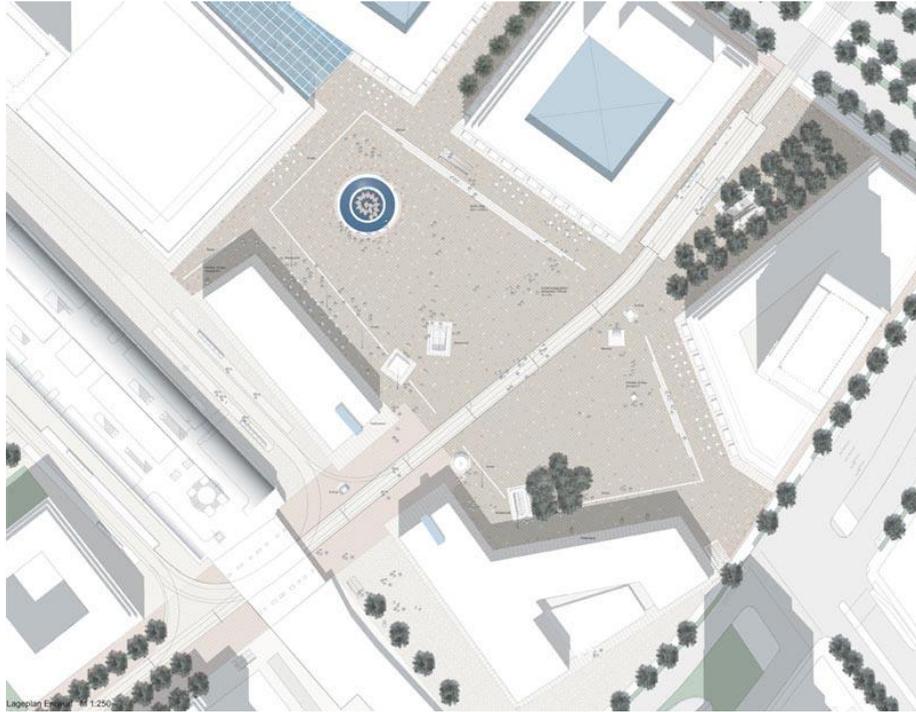


Figure 5-3 Top view of the 3d modeling of the winning project in the competition 2003 (http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/planen/staedtebauprojekte/alexanderplatz/en/planungen/freiflbw/gmp_Entwurf_800x622.shtml)



Figure 5-4 Perspective from the winning project in the competition 2003 (http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/planen/staedtebauprojekte/alexanderplatz/en/planungen/freiflbw/gmp_Perspektive_700x372.shtml)

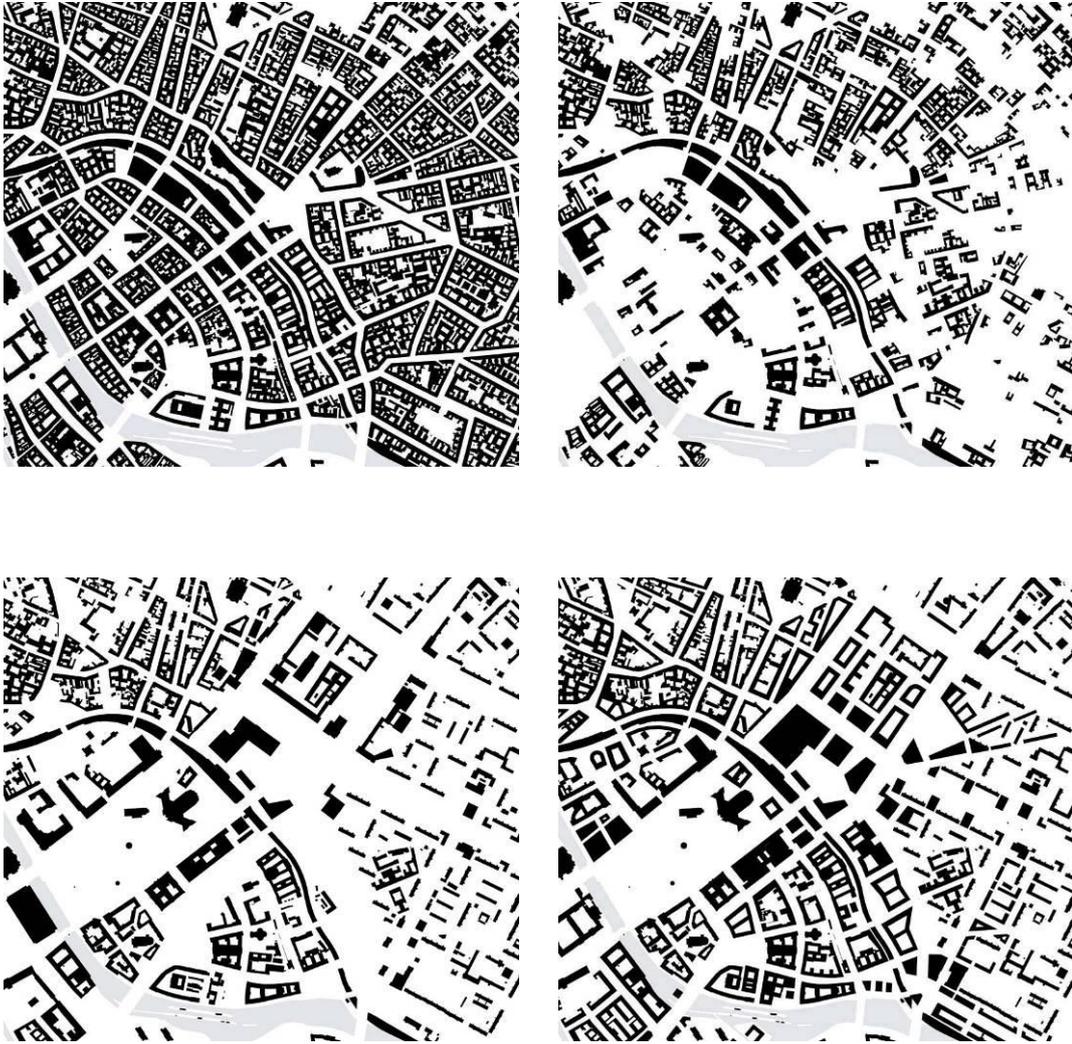


Figure 5-5 As built plans of Alexanderplatz 1940-1953-1989-2020
(<http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/planen/staedtebau-projekte/alexanderplatz/en/geschichte/chronologie/index.shtml>)

The execution of the reunification projects of Berlin, which highlight urban transformation according to the current political system of Germany, is a long period and it should be planned in detail regarding the economical and sociological aspects of the city. The planning history of Berlin includes various political changes and different planning concepts depending on these political changes. As indicated before, urban projects proposed by Wagner and Speer stand were the references of Berlin in its history to adapt itself to the political system and its social life. However, the reunification period has not included such a planning policy. The critical reconstruction concept that is accepted by the municipality does not respond to the needs of a capital city and its future plans to be the center of Europe.

The Alexanderplatz project which is planned for the transformation of the socialist space to a capitalist one resulted in failure due to various reasons. However, during the previous periods the successful completions of planning as well as urban transformation projects were achieved despite the ongoing changes in political views. The basis of this success was due to the physical situation of cities. Berlin was a collapsed city in 1918 due to the destructive effects of WWI. The projects that were created after this year were realized in a short time causing the city to be transformed regarding the world city and metropolis concepts which were the aims of Berlin municipality in those years. In fact, the destruction had already been done by the political and historical events previously. The same conditions also hold for GDR period, during the years after WWII. Therefore, the city structure and architecture of Berlin provided the necessary conditions for the constructions of the new political system. On the contrary, in the year 1989, after the fall of the Wall the situation was different. The Berlin municipality tried to reconstruct the socialist spaces when they had not already been destroyed in physical or symbolic sense by the war. As Lefebvre argues in "The Production of Space", "only bulldozers or Molotov cocktails can change the dominant organization of space that destruction must come before reconstruction."¹⁷³ The collapse of socialist regime does not mean the disappearance of the symbolic significance of the socialist spaces. To illustrate, trying to create the Manhattan of Berlin by constructing 13 office towers, which signifies

¹⁷³ Lefebvre, H., 1991, The Production of Space, Blackwell Publishers Inc., Massachusetts, USA, p.56.

the capitalist regime and its functions, will not transform Alexanderplatz to one of the symbolic spaces of reunified Berlin. The destruction for such a change in the symbolic meaning of a place in addition to the carried transformation mission is simultaneously tried to be achieved by the projects themselves. However, individual architecture and planning projects do not have the power to transform the whole city by themselves in a short time period. That is why the Alexanderplatz competition in 1993 can be considered as a failure due to the negligence of economic conditions and demands of the city. Consequently, it could neither meet the expectations of the municipality nor the private sector.

Although political systems have an immense effect on the physical structure of cities, the architectural or planning movements in urban space cannot be reduced to simple tools of specific political systems. As stated before, the architectural styles that are accepted by the political systems are interchangeable. For instance, while modernism was considered as the style of capitalism till 1950s, after the elimination of Socialist Realist principles from the Soviet architecture, modernism was accepted by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries as the main architectural and planning style. In other words, the symbolic meaning of architectural and planning movements does not have strict definitions regarding the political systems. During different political periods, a particular architectural or planning movement could be accepted by different systems for reflecting their power and order in urban space. Taking everything into consideration, although there is an apparent relationship between politics and urban space, the link between the political systems and corresponding architectural and urban planning movements have not been stable throughout the history.

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APPENDIX A

SIXTEEN PRINCIPLES FOR RESTRUCTURING THE CITIES

The urban planning and architectural form of our cities must express the social order of the German Democratic Republic, the progressive traditions of our German people, and the large-scale aims bound to the growth of all of Germany. The following principles serve these ends:

1. The city as a form for inhabitation did not develop by coincidence. The city is the most economical and culturally rich form in which the communal life of human beings can be accommodated, as proved by century's experience. The city is, in its structure and architectural form, the expression of the political life and the national consciousness of the people.
2. The aim of urban planning is the harmonious satisfaction of the human demand for work, inhabitation, culture, and recreation.
The fundamentals and methods of urban planning rest on naturally given conditions, on the social and economic basis of the state, on the highest accomplishments of science, technology, and art, on the demands of economic expediency, and on the use of the most developed elements of the people's cultural heritage.
3. Cities in and of themselves neither "come to existence" nor "exist" as such. Cities are built at a specific scale by industry for industry. The growth of the city, its population, and its area are determined by industry, administrative organs, and cultural institutions.
In the capital city, the significance of industry as a determinant of urban form retreats behind that of administrative and cultural institutions.
The determination and affirmation of urbanistic factors is exclusively the prerogative of the government.
4. The growth of the city must be subjugated to the fundamental principle of usefulness, and must consequently remain within predetermined limits. Excessive growth of the city, its population, and its area leads to incorrigible deformations in the organization of cultural life and the daily infrastructural servicing of its population, as well as in the productivity and development of industry.
5. Urban planning must be founded on the principle of the organic and on the conservation of the historical structure of the city while alleviating its inadequacies.
6. The center constitutes the city's appointed core [*Kern*]. The city's center is the political midpoint of the life of the populace.
At the city's center lie the most important political, administrative, and cultural spaces. On the city center's plazas, political demonstrations, parades, and popular celebrations take place.
The city center comprises the most important and monumental buildings. It dictates the architectural composition of the city's plan and architectural silhouette.

7. In cities built along rivers, the river with its quais is one of the major arteries and architectural axes.
8. Traffic should serve the city and its populace, not divide and encumber it. Transit traffic should be removed from the center and from central areas, and diverted to outlying areas or to a ring road. Freight traffic via train or water should also be removed from the central areas. The determination of major traffic arteries must respect the closed, quiet nature of residential areas. In determining the width of major traffic arteries, it is to be noted that width is less significant than the appropriate solution of crossings.
9. The city's appearance, its individual artistic form, is determined by plazas, major streets, and significant buildings in its center (in large cities, by skyscrapers). Plazas are the structural foundation of city planning and the city's overall architectural composition.
10. Residential districts are made up of residential neighborhoods whose hearts are the neighborhood centers. In these centers are all the necessary cultural, commodity, and community facilities for the life of the populace within these neighborhoods. The second component in the structure of the residential districts is the residential complex. The complexes are formed by a group of residential quarters unified by gardens, schools, kindergartens, child-care centers, and service facilities necessary to the populace's daily life. Urban traffic may not be permitted to penetrate these residential complexes. Nonetheless, neither the complexes nor the larger residential areas may become internally oriented, isolated elements. Their structure and planning is dependent upon the structure and demands of the city as a whole. As third component in the structure, the residential quarters have primarily the significance of the complexes in terms of planning and the determination of form.
11. Density and orientation are the only factors determining healthy and restful living conditions and access to light and air. The routing of traffic is as significant.
12. It is impossible to transform the city into a garden. It is unquestionably necessary to provide sufficient greenery, but fundamentally it is undeniable that in the city, life is urban. In the suburbs or in the country, life is more pastoral.
13. The multistory building is more economical than the one-or two-story building. In its character, too, it is appropriate to the large city.
14. Urban planning is the foundation of architectural form-giving. The central responsibility of urban planning and the architectural formation of the city is the creation of an individual, unique appearance for that city. The architecture must be in content democratic and in form national. To that end, architecture makes use of the experience of the people as concretized in the developed traditions of the past.
15. There is no abstract scheme for urban planning or for determining architectural form. The embracing of the essential factors and demands of life is decisive here.
16. The planning and realization of parts of the city like plazas and major streets, with their adjacent housing quarters, are to be carried out simultaneously with work on the city plan and in harmony with it.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷⁴ Ockman, J., Eigen, E. "Architecture Culture, 1943-1968: a documentary anthology". Columbia University Graduate School of Architecture, Planning, and Preservation: Rizzoli. New York. 1993.

APPENDIX B

DIE 16 GRUNDSÄTZE DES STÄDTEBAUS

Von der Regierung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik am 27. Juli 1950 beschlossen:

Die Stadtplanung und die architektonische Gestaltung unserer Städte müssen der gesellschaftlichen Ordnung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik, den fortschrittlichen Traditionen unserer deutschen Volkes sowie den großen Zielen, die dem Aufbau ganz Deutschlands gestellt sind, Ausdruck verleihen.

Dem dienen die folgenden Grundsätze:

1. Die Stadt als Siedlungsform ist nicht zufällig entstanden. Die Stadt ist die wirtschaftlichste und kulturreichste Siedlungsform für das Gemeinschaftsleben der Menschen, was durch die Erfahrung von Jahrhunderten bewiesen ist. Die Stadt ist in Struktur und architektonischer Gestaltung Ausdruck des politischen Lebens und des nationalen Bewußtseins des Volkes.
2. Das Ziel des Städtebaus ist die harmonische Befriedigung des menschlichen Anspruches auf Arbeit, Wohnung, Kultur und Erholung. Die Grundsätze und Methoden des Städtebaus fußen auf den natürlichen Gegebenheiten, auf den sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Grundlagen des Staates, auf den höchsten Errungenschaften von Wissenschaft, Technik und Kunst, auf den Erfordernissen der Wirtschaftlichkeit und auf der fortschrittlichen Elemente des Kulturerbes des Volkes.
3. Städte "an sich" entstehen nicht und existieren nicht. Die Städte werden in bedeutendem Umfang von der Industrie gebaut. Das Wachstum der Stadt, die Einwohnerzahl und die Flächen werden von den städtebildenden Faktoren bestimmt, d.h. von der Industrie, den Verwaltungsorganen und den Kulturstätten, soweit sie mehr als örtliche Bedeutung haben. In der Hauptstadt tritt die Bedeutung der Industrie als städtebildender Faktor hinter der Bedeutung der Verwaltungsorgane und der Kulturstätten zurück. Die Bestimmung und Bestätigung der städtebildenden Faktoren ist ausschließlich Angelegenheit der Regierung.
4. Das Wachstum der Stadt muß dem Grundsatz der Zweckmäßigkeit untergeordneter werden sich in bestimmten Grenzen halten. Ein übermäßiges Wachstum der Stadt, ihrer Bevölkerung und ihrer Flächen führt zu schwer zu beseitigenden Verwicklungen in ihrer Struktur, zu Verwicklungen in der Organisation des Kulturlebens und der täglichen Versorgung der Bevölkerung des Organischen und die Berücksichtigung der historisch entstandenen Struktur der Stadt bei Beseitigung ihrer Mängel.

5. Das Zentrum bildet den bestimmenden Kern der Stadt. Das Zentrum der Stadt ist der politische Mittelpunkt für das Leben seiner Bevölkerung.
Im Zentrum der Stadt liegen die wichtigsten politischen, administrativen und kulturellen Stätten. Auf den Plätzen im Stadtzentrum finden die politischen Demonstrationen, die Aufmärsche und die Volksfeiern an Festtagen statt.
6. Das Zentrum der Stadt wird mit den wichtigsten politischen und monumentalsten Gebäuden bebaut, beherrscht die architektonische Komposition des Stadtplanes und bestimmt die architektonische Silhouette der Stadt.
7. Bei Städten, die an einem Fluß liegen, ist eine der Hauptadern und die architektonische Achse der Fluß mit seinen Uferstraßen.
8. Der Verkehr hat der Stadt und ihrer Bevölkerung zu dienen. Er darf die Stadt nicht zerreißen und der Bevölkerung nicht hinderlich sein. Der Durchgangsverkehr ist aus dem Zentrum und dem zentralen Bezirk zu entfernen und außerhalb seiner Grenzen oder in einem Außenring um die Stadt zu führen.
Anlagen für den Güterverkehr auf Eisenbahn und Wasserwegen sind gleichfalls dem zentralen Bezirk der Stadt fernzuhalten. Die Bestimmung der Hauptverkehrsstraßen muß die Geschlossenheit und die Ruhe der Wohnbezirke berücksichtigen. Bei der Bestimmung der Hauptverkehrsstraßen ist zu berücksichtigen, daß für den städtischen Verkehr nicht die Breite der Hauptverkehrsstraßen von entscheidender Bedeutung ist, sondern eine Lösung der Straßenkreuzungen, die den Anforderungen des Verkehrs gerecht wird.
9. Das Antlitz der Stadt, ihre individuelle künstlerische Gestalt wird von Plätzen, Hauptstraßen und den beherrschenden Gebäuden im Zentrum der Stadt bestimmt (in den größten Städten von Hochhäusern). Die Plätze sind die strukturelle Grundlage der Planung der Stadt und ihrer architektonischen Gesamtkomposition.
10. Die Wohngebiete bestehen aus Wohngebieten, deren Kern die Bezirkszentren sind. In ihnen liegen alle für die Bevölkerung des Wohnbezirks notwendigen Kultur-, Versorgungs- und Sozialeinrichtungen von bezirklicher Bedeutung. Das zweite Glied in der Struktur der Wohngebiete ist der Wohnkomplex, der von einer Gruppe von Häuservierteln gebildet wird, die von einem für mehrere Häuserviertel angelegten Garten, von Schulen, Kindergärten, Kinderkrippen und den täglichen Bedürfnissen der Bevölkerung dienenden Versorgungsanlagen vereinigt werden. Der städtische Verkehr darf innerhalb dieser Wohnkomplexe nicht zugelassen werden, aber weder die Wohnkomplexe noch die Wohnbezirke dürfen in sich abgeschlossene isolierte Gebilde sein. Sie hängen in ihrer Struktur und Planung von der Struktur und den Forderungen der Stadt als eines Ganzen ab. Die Häuserviertel als drittes Glied haben dabei hauptsächlich die Bedeutung von Komplexen in Planungen und Gestaltung.
11. Bestimmend für gesunde und ruhige Lebensmittelverhältnisse und für die Versorgung mit Licht und Luft sind nicht allein die Wohndichte und die Himmelsrichtung, sondern auch die Entwicklung des Verkehrs.
12. Die Stadt in einen Garten zu verwandeln, ist unmöglich. Selbstverständlich muß für ausreichende Begrünung gesorgt werden. Aber der Grundsatz ist nicht umzustößen: in der Stadt lebt man städtischer; am Stadtrand oder außerhalb der Stadt lebt man ländlicher.

13. Die vielgeschossige Bauweise ist wirtschaftlicher als die ein- oder zweigeschossige. Sie entspricht auch dem Charakter der Großstadt.
14. Die Stadtplanung ist die Grundlage der architektonischen Gestaltung. Die zentrale Frage der Stadtplanung und der architektonischen Gestaltung der Stadt ist die Schaffung eines individuellen einmaligen Antlitzes der Stadt. Die Architektur muß dem Inhalt nach demokratisch und der Form nach national sein. Die Architektur verwendet dabei die in den fortschrittlichen Traditionen der Vergangenheit verkörperte Erfahrung des Volkes.
15. Für die Stadtplanungen wie für die architektonische Gestaltung gibt es kein abstraktes Schema. Entscheidend ist die Zusammenfassung der wesentlichsten Faktoren und Forderungen des Lebens.
16. Gleichzeitig mit der Arbeit am Stadtplan und in Übereinstimmung mit ihm sind für die Planung und Bebauung bestimmter Stadtteile sowie von Plätzen und Hauptstraßen mit den anliegenden Häuservierteln Entwürfe fertigzustellen, die in erster Linie durchgeführt werden können.¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁵ "Die 16 Grundsätze des Städtebaus", Bundeszentrale für politische Bildung, http://www.bpb.de/themen/RCVPOD,0,0,Die_16_Grunds%e4tze_des_St%e4dtebaus.html, last accessed date 15th May 2008.

APPENDIX C

THE FIRST-PRIZED PROJECT OF ALEXANDERPLATZ COMPETITION

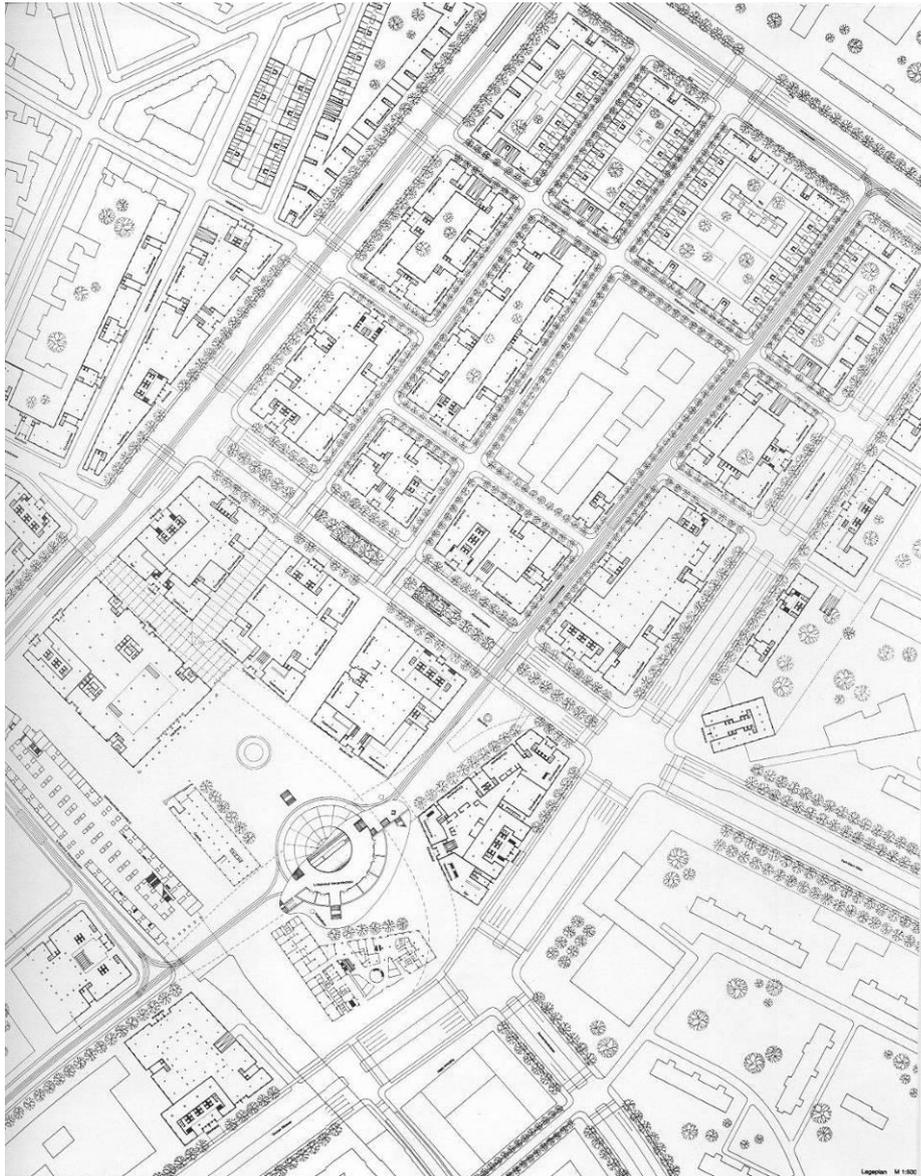


Figure C-1 Plan of the winning project in the Alexanderplatz competition in 1993 (Feireiss, K., 1994, *Alexanderplatz: Urban Planning Ideas Competition*, (trans.) Hans H. Harbot, Micheal Robinson, Ernst & Sohn, Germany)



Figure C-2 Perspective from the winning project in the Alexanderplatz competition in 1993
Feireiss, K., 1994, Alexanderplatz: Urban Planning Ideas Competition, (trans.) Hans H.
Harbot, Micheal Robinson, Ernst & Sohn, Germany



Figure C-3 Model of the winning project in the Alexanderplatz competition in 1993
Feireiss, K., 1994, Alexanderplatz: Urban Planning Ideas Competition, (trans.) Hans H.
Harbot, Micheal Robinson, Ernst & Sohn, Germany

APPENDIX D

THE SECOND-PRIZED PROJECT OF ALEXANDERPLATZ COMPETITION

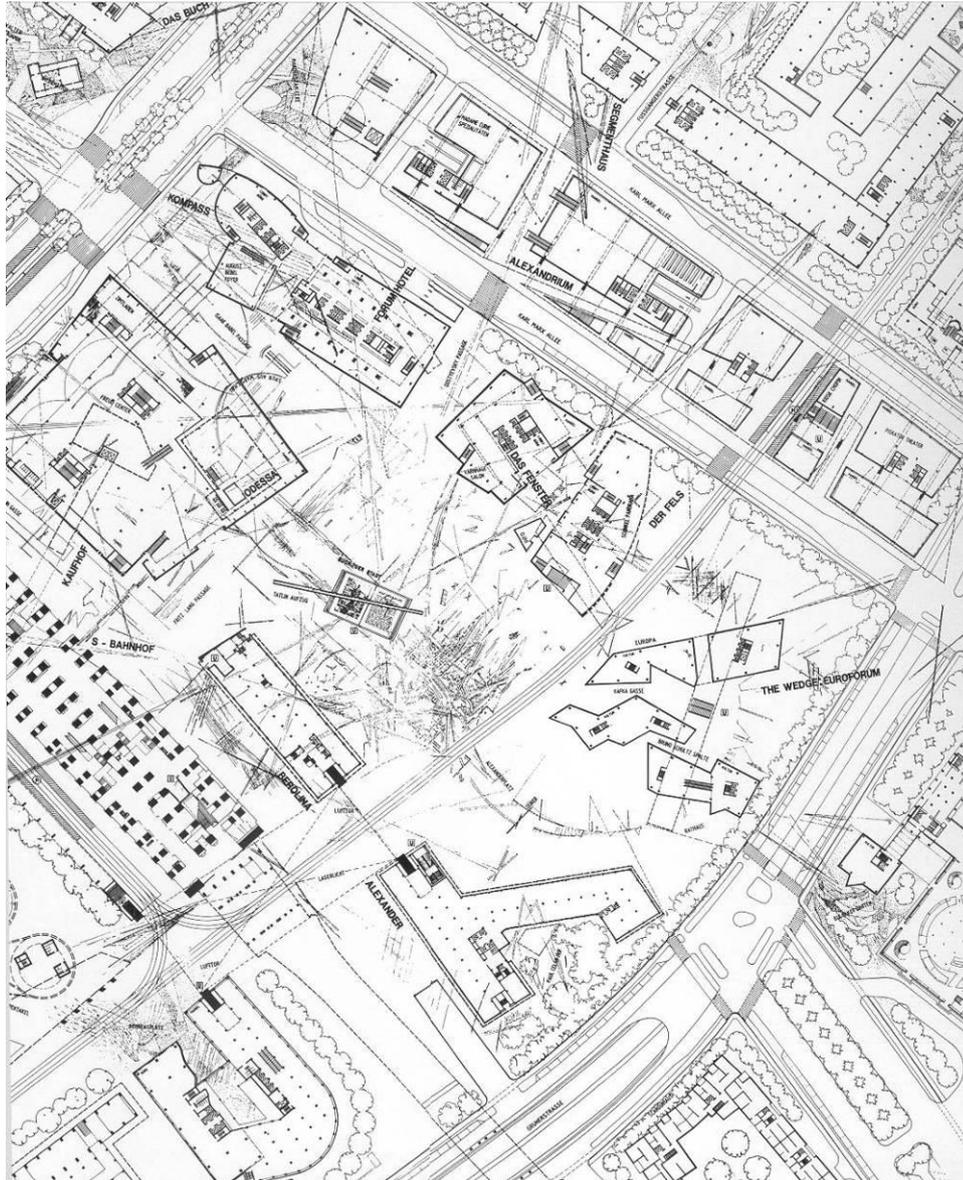


Figure D-1 Plan of the second prized project in the Alexanderplatz competition in 1993
Feireiss, K., 1994, Alexanderplatz: Urban Planning Ideas Competition, (trans.) Hans H.
Harbot, Micheal Robinson, Ernst & Sohn, Germany



Figure D-2 Model of the second prized project in the Alexanderplatz competition in 1993 Feireiss, K., 1994, Alexanderplatz: Urban Planning Ideas Competition, (trans.) Hans H. Harbot, Micheal Robinson, Ernst & Sohn, Germany

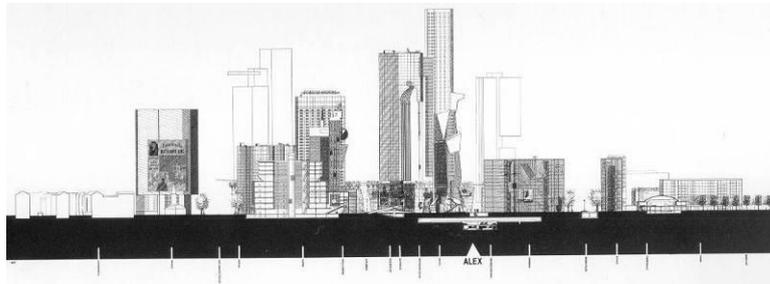


Figure D-3 Section of the second prized project in the Alexanderplatz competition in 1993 Feireiss, K., 1994, Alexanderplatz: Urban Planning Ideas Competition, (trans.) Hans H. Harbot, Micheal Robinson, Ernst & Sohn, Germany

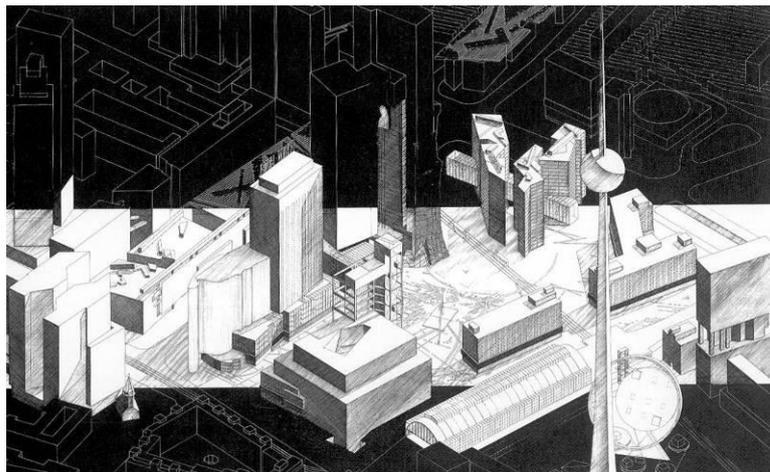


Figure D-4 Axonometric drawing of the second prized project in the Alexanderplatz competition in 1993 Feireiss, K., 1994, Alexanderplatz: Urban Planning Ideas Competition, (trans.) Hans H. Harbot, Micheal Robinson, Ernst & Sohn, Germany