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1968 IN WEST BERLIN:
SPACE, PLACE AND IDENTITY

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THESIS SUBMITTED FOR THE DEGREE
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY
CULTURAL STUDIES

THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH

2018

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This PhD journey has been a long yet fruitful one, which would not have been possible without the support of both individuals and institutions. I wish to begin by thanking both of my supervisors; Dr Richard Anderson and Dr Tahl Kaminer whose advice, support, and enthusiasm for my project is so very much appreciated. To Richard, whose shared love of Berlin formed the basis for what followed, whose knowledge, advice and support has been instrumental, and whose comments have always been considered and pertinent. To Tahl, whose knowledge of political theory has been vital, whose interest in activism sparked a shared theme, and whose pragmatism and insight was fundamental to the successful completion of this research project. I would also like to extend my thanks to my two examiners, to Professor Iain Boyd Whyte who has always been so generous, with both his time and his intellect, and whose insight is unparalleled. And also to Professor Caroline Maniaque, for her interest and enthusiasm for my thesis and for her pertinent advice in developing my research. I would also like to thank Professor Tim Kirk and Dr Felix Schulz at Newcastle University who encouraged me to begin the journey to PhD and who shaped the beginning of the story.

This thesis would not have been possible without the award of the Principal's Career Development Scholarship which funded the duration of my studies. I must also thank the archives of the *Technische Universität* and *Frei Universität* in Berlin. In particular, the enthusiasm of Klaus-Dieter Betz for my topic back in 2013 which gave me faith that someone outside academia might want to read my thesis.

The subject of this thesis is still within living memory and the insights and memories of those active at the time have been inspiring, both intellectually and personally. To Hinrich Baller who provided me with more time and information than I thought possible. To Georg Heinrichs whose recollections of the time-period were invaluable. To Goerd Peschken and Michael Wegener who gave significant insight into the architectural aspects of the time-period. And to Jürgen Holtfreter whose images I now have pinned to my walls.

To my friends, who have no idea how important their support has been. To my girls: Hannah, Seema and Sam for reminding me that there is a world outside the PhD room that is full of fun and laughter. To Jess who had done it all before and always had a glass of wine at the ready. To Sarah and Nikolia who shared the journey and remain two of the few who understand what it really entails. To Ronnie and Dean who made all the waiting bearable. To Georgie who has been here from that very first day in Architectural History back in 2005, and to Menia who has been such a tonic in the last few months. To Sarah and Verena who selflessly gave their time and invaluable advice in the thankless task of translation. And to Francesco who *always* looked after me, who forgot my moods as quickly as they arrived, and whose smile was always waiting for me at the end of a long day.

And finally, to my family who have always been supportive and always wanted the best for me. I could not have done this without them. To my lovely Mum who is the only person aside from my supervisors to have read the whole thing from cover to cover, and whose phone conversations were always the perfect remedy to my solitude. To my Dad who has

always supported me in every way possible. To my Brother who is always kind and selfless and to my lovely Sister who is travelling on the same journey and shares the knowledge of what we have achieved. I hope to have made you all proud.

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ABSTRACT

Due to the current politicisation of public spaces and the “reclaiming of the commons”, there has been renewed interest in historical protest movements instigated by the Left and particularly in relation to the idea of reclaiming physical spaces of the city. Literature has tended to focus on global and continental perspectives, with recent publications demonstrating an increasing trend towards memory studies and literary analysis. By contrast, this thesis will offer cultural analysis in relation to urban planning in order to present the experience of the protester in direct relation to their contemporary condition. This thesis attempts to illustrate this relationship through a focus on the politicisation of urban space and the symbiotic relationship between protester and city space. In contrast to studies of a global or transnational nature, this analysis focuses specifically on the case study of West Berlin. The city’s turbulent history had a profound impact on the identity of the city and its inhabitants causing post-war planning policies to become laden with political and ideological symbolism. As the first generation to seriously consider the impact of National Socialism, with the city a haven for the left-wing, with an education system which allowed for a lot of extra-curricular study and movement between disciplines, the movement in West Berlin operated under a different set of circumstances to other European cities and it is this specificity of time and place which is at the centre of this analysis.

This thesis will be centred on a manifesto created in 1968 by a group of architecture students at West Berlin’s *Technische Universität* to coincide with an exhibition for the Biannual Berlin Construction Weeks Festival. *Aktion 507*, as the group named themselves, critiqued the urban planning of the city which they used to exemplify the issues they identified within society and this use of urban planning as a vehicle for wider critique will form a central focus. The methodology places the individual at the centre of the investigation in the use of leaflets, DIY publications, and interviews, supplemented with contemporary texts consulted by the students, and enriched with elements from the cultural sphere. The intention is to form an understanding of the relationship between place and political activism and argue that changes in the built environment both impacted the students’ perspectives and were equally impacted by their critique. The conclusions drawn add nuance and complexity to the 1968 movement and demonstrate its specificity as well as its longevity, and impact on the present.

LAY SUMMARY

In recent years, the student protests of 1968 have gained an almost mythical reputation and have largely been discussed in terms of their similarities across their various locations. Despite this, the protests had a very different character across different continents, countries and cities. The generalising perception of the '68 movement has caused the place-specific aspects of the movement to be over-shadowed by a focus on commonality and trans-national similarities. By contrast, this thesis focuses on specificity and West Berlin in particular. The city of Berlin has seen all of the major events of the twentieth century, including the lead-up and fall-out from both World War One and World War Two. The division of Germany into the Communist East and the Capitalist West after Hitler's defeat caused West Berlin to become an island within the Communist East Germany. West Berlin therefore became a city that attracted many students, bohemians, travellers and pacifists and gave the city a unique character, and a unique political context.

The year of 1968 is often seen as a turning point in many disciplines including within the field of architecture. The "politics of rejection" propagated by the protesting students had a lasting effect on many institutions. The purpose of this thesis is to look very specifically at a group of architecture students, *Aktion 507*, at West Berlin's Technical University and how they channelled ideas from the global student movement and their experience of the city, into their architectural studies. Specifically, the students chose to create an architectural exhibition and published a corresponding manifesto entitled *Diagnosis* which criticised post-war urban planning and the architectural profession. The students wanted to dismantle the ivory tower of the profession and their criticisms were directed towards a variety of different aspects; they critiqued the demolition of the historic city centre, the erection of modernist satellite settlements at the edges of the city, the closed nature of the architectural profession, and the lack of consultation with residents in planning processes. This thesis therefore studies these aspects of the students' critique in depth in order to show a more deeply complex aspect of the student movement in a very particular location. By placing the student at the centre of the analysis, the analysis has a deeply personal, individual, and place-specific narrative.

In order to do this, the thesis draws together a number of sources to accentuate the cultural context of the late 1960s – music, art, film, and literature are supplemented with first-hand accounts, interviews with former students, leaflets and pamphlets distributed by

the protesters, as well as texts and intellectual sources that the students were reading. The intention is to use these sources to create a more accurate representation of the elements that fed into the cultural critique that spread across the Western World. The thesis will indicate just how urban planning became so closely tied to more fundamental questions about the morality of the post-war World. By extension, this will add to an understanding of the place of urban planning in contemporary political debates as well how global trends are altered in specific locations, owing to particular historical and cultural factors.

ABBREVIATIONS

AIV	<i>Architekten- und Ingenieurverein</i> [Association of Architects and Engineers]
APO	<i>Außerparlamentarische Opposition</i> [Extraparliamentary Opposition] The APO was a key faction of the student movement, founded as a counterpart to the BRD's <i>Große Koalition</i> (Grand Coalition) between the Social Democrats (SPD) and the Christian Democrats (CDU). Rudi Deutsche was a key member.
CDU	Christian Democratic Union of Germany, political party
DDR	<i>Deutsche Demokratische Republik</i> (German Democratic Republic, GDR)
DEGEWO	<i>Deutsche Gesellschaft zur Förderung des Wohnungsbaues</i> [German Society for the Promotion of Housing Construction], is a housing construction company founded in Berlin in 1924.
BDA	<i>Bund Deutscher Architekten</i> [Association of German Architects]
BRD	<i>Bundesrepublik Deutschland</i> [Federal Republic of Germany, FRD (official name of Germany post-1945, West Germany)]
FU	<i>Freie Universität</i> [Free University, West Berlin]
FRD	See BRD
GDR	See DDR
GESOBAU	<i>Gesellschaft für sozial Wohnungsbau</i> [Society for social housing non-profit public limited company], is a municipal housing company in Berlin, founded as a railway construction company in 1900 and renamed in 1949.
K1	<i>Kommune Eines</i> , [Commune One]
PH	<i>Pädagogische Hochschule</i> [Teaching College], West Berlin
RAF	<i>Rote Armee Faktion</i> [Red Army Faction] West German Terrorist Organisation founded in 1970
SDS	<i>Sozialistischer Deutscher Studentenbund</i> [German Socialist Student Union]
SJD	<i>Sozialistische Jugend Deutschlands</i> (Socialist Youth of West Germany)
SPD	<i>Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands</i> [Social Democratic Party of Germany]
TU	<i>Technische Universität</i> [Technical University, West Berlin]
ZDF	<i>Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen</i> [Second German Television], is a German public-service television broadcaster launched in 1963.

Note on terms: German abbreviations will be used in the text.

INTRODUCTION

BERLIN, 1968

The 1960s have long been heralded as a time of change, where the backlash against the old understanding of the world came to a head. Where the young rebelled against the old. Where boundaries were broken across all sectors of society, in art, music, history, philosophy, and in architecture. Where the new and the different was proclaimed as the way forward towards an unknown freedom. And where the Left came within reach of having a fundamental effect on society.

Like many other cultural fields, architecture in the 1960s has generally been seen as a precursor to post-modernism. However, it would seem that Lara Schrijver's reconsideration of the period as a transitional one is more appropriate for understanding the sixties, and not only in terms of architecture.¹ The latter half of the decade saw a change from the universal to the everyday, from totalising to the local, from the purely functional to a reconsideration of historical forms, from an international style to site-specific work, and from separation to inclusion. The protests in the sixties were deeply embedded within this change in attitude and strongly linked to this was the questioning of capitalism. This thesis attempts to blur the boundaries between architecture and culture, between protester and urban space, between student and society in order to demonstrate the significance of the transmission of ideas between these fields.

In the post-war island of West Berlin, questions about what constituted a city rose to the surface and this was strongly reflected in the broad discussion of new construction [Fig. 0.1]. The "Ground Zero" situation in the walled city meant that issues which in any way connected society to the contemporary context were hotly debated and laden with political, social, economic and ideological significance. When thinking of West Berlin in the aftermath of World War Two, the image that dominates is of a housing stock devastated by allied bombing, and of autonomous *Trümmerfrauen* [rubble women] steadily working to rebuild the physical city. In a city resounding with shock, practical issues were at the fore and yet the strong philosophical and intellectual history in Germany began to re-emerge and establish a context for discussing the contemporary situation. The fact remained that

¹ See Lara Schrijver, *Radical Games: Popping the Bubble of 1960s Architecture*, (Rotterdam: NAI, 2009).

most of Germany's key cities had been rebuilt entirely by the middle of the 1960s, with the exception of Berlin.²

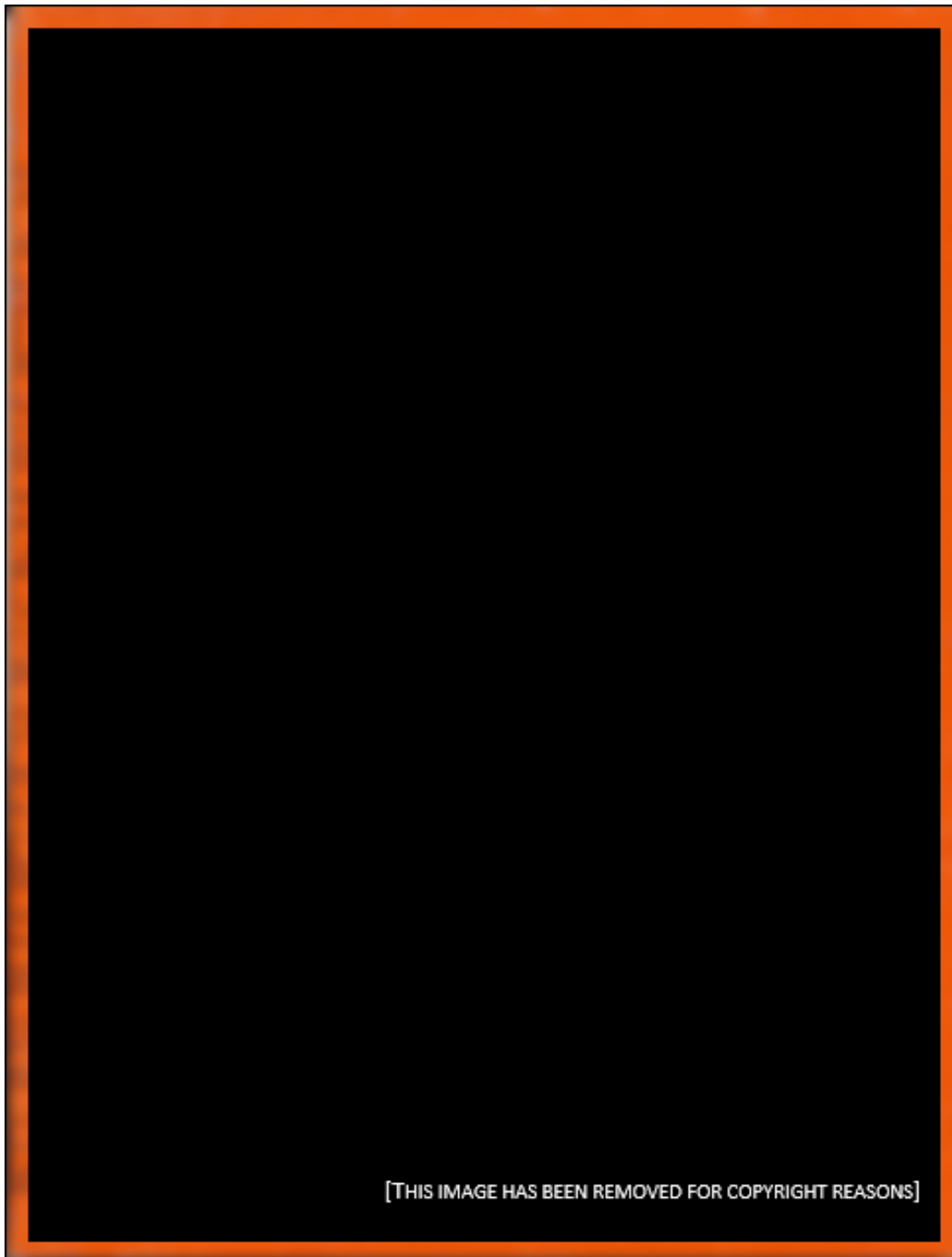


FIG. 0.1: FRONT COVER OF *DER SPIEGEL*, 'MIS-BUILDING THE FUTURE: HOUSING IN GERMANY', 1969

² Eberhard von Einem, 'National Urban Policy—the Case of West Germany', *Journal of the American Planning Association*, 48 (1982), 12.

The example of West Berlin as a “special case” within the international student movement is partly because debates about capitalism versus socialism were not merely abstract, but were highly charged due to the external factors present in West Berlin at the time.³ It is also important to recognise the high political profile of Berlin, and as such West Berlin was the perfect stage to perform dissent. 1968 is internationally recognised as a symbol of a whole decade that wavered between revolution and protest, in resistance to the “*strukturelle Gewalt*” [structural control/violence] of the social and cultural establishment.⁴ The unique post-war situation in West Berlin caused the student movement to have a unique set of characteristics; including the loss of capital city status, the lack of national service made the city a haven for anti-militantists and pacifists, the voting age was set at twenty-one, and its citizens were unable to vote in the wider elections in West Germany due to its occupied city status. These city-specific factors combined with the global trends of the student movement to create a unique set of circumstances in West Berlin during the 1960s, and produced complex layers of involvement and critique within the wider protest movement.

³ Wolfgang Kraushaar, ‘Hitler’s Children? The German 1968 Movement in the Shadow of the Nazi Past’, in *Memories of 1968: International Perspectives*, ed. by Ingo Cornils and Sarah Waters (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2010), pp. 79-102 (pp. 79-80).

⁴ Friedrich Stadler, ‘Das Jahr 1968 als Ereignis, Symbol und Chiffere’, in *Das Jahr 1968 – Ereignis, Symbol, Chiffre*, ed. by Oliver Rathkolb and Friedrich Stadler (Vienna: Vienna University Press, 2010), pp. 9-20 (p. 9).

All translations are by the author unless otherwise stated.

SPACE, PLACE AND IDENTITY

In his edited work *Rethinking Architecture* (1997) the architect and theorist Neil Leach called for a reconsideration of architecture by 'engaging with the theoretical debates traditionally perceived as being outside the discipline' in order to engender a more rigorous self-criticism.⁵ The traditional understanding or analysis of architecture as a study of style is gradually being replaced by its understanding as a product of complex political and social relations. To exclude the mediation between the consciousness and the reception of the built environment, according to Leach, equates to 'a refusal to address the full question of architecture'.⁶ This thesis attempts to address more fully this understanding of architecture by considering architecture as a product of culture. In 1983, cultural theorist Stuart Hall defined cultural studies as an attempt to:

find the common forms of experience and the shared definitions by which a community lives. Cultural Studies, therefore, is neither an objective description of how a group lives, not an analysis or inventory of the ideas that a group has. Since culture is the interaction between the two, Cultural Studies seeks the life one is obliged to live because of the conditions into which one has been born, the circumstances which have been made meaningful and hence experienceable because certain frameworks of understanding have been brought to bear upon those conditions.⁷

This thesis will therefore consider the student protests in 1968 within the framework of Hall's understanding of culture as 'experience lived, experience interpreted, experience defined'.⁸ What was it like to be an architectural student in West Berlin in 1968? How did living within the divided city influence the world view of its inhabitants? By attempting to reconstruct the cultural atmosphere of the time and considering the site of West Berlin not only as a city, but also as a home, the thesis aims to understand how the world was viewed by the protesting students; how the urban space they were living within influenced their political viewpoint, and how the cultural outputs they were exposed to created a unique symbiotic relationship with the world. This thesis attempts to paint a picture of the transfer of ideas between a variety of intellectual and cultural sources by combining theories that influenced the students' understanding of the world with the events centred around the

⁵ Neil Leach, 'Introduction', in *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*, ed. by Neil Leach (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. xi-xx (p. iii).

⁶ *Ibid.* p. xiii.

⁷ Peter Hall, *Cities of Tomorrow: An Intellectual History of Urban Planning and Design in the Twentieth Century*, (Oxford: Blackwell, 2002), p. 33.

⁸ *Ibid.*

key year of 1968. The intention is to come to an understanding of how the experience of living in West Berlin combined with architecture, and the arts more generally, to form the critique of urban planning and, by extension, society as a whole. In order to achieve this, the focus is on the activities of a group of architecture students at West Berlin's *Technische Universität, Aktion 507*, who critiqued contemporary urban planning policies as an expression of larger issues within society. This thesis therefore seeks to tie together the two themes of architecture and protest.

SOURCES

The main source for the thesis is the 166-page manifesto published by *Aktion 507* in 1968 [Fig. 0.2] as part of an exhibition by the group of architecture students at West Berlin's *Technische Universität*, entitled *Diagnose* which critiqued urban planning. Using the manifesto as the central thread provides a focus for understanding the critique of post-war urban planning, as well as a lens from which to draw in other sources. The thesis references many scholars and intellectuals who were important to the development of the students' theories (see *Intellectual Landscape* p.13). From this, other scholars and intellectuals who were part of the wider intellectual sphere are brought in to the framework in order to expand upon or clarify the intellectual debates that were in circulation during the period of the exhibition. Modernist satellite settlements that were constructed in the post-war period were the focus of much of *Aktion 507's* criticism; the Märkisches Viertel development provided the key site of examination that focused debates that extended beyond the field of pure architecture.

One of the benefits of studying the 1960s is that some of the actors involved in the *Diagnose* are still active and therefore where possible, recollections from these individuals have been included in the analysis. The wider framework of the student movement also contributes to the arguments, due to the multiplicity of connections between various factions of the larger movement. As this analysis intends to construct a cultural view of the built environment in relation to the protest movement, the role that film, art, music, and theatre played in the interpretation of society form a fundamental element of the thesis. Flyers, DIY publications, memoirs, theatre, music, and art, supplement the focus on the desired "revolution" in the cultural sphere, and the strategic role that cultural outputs played in this development will be analysed.

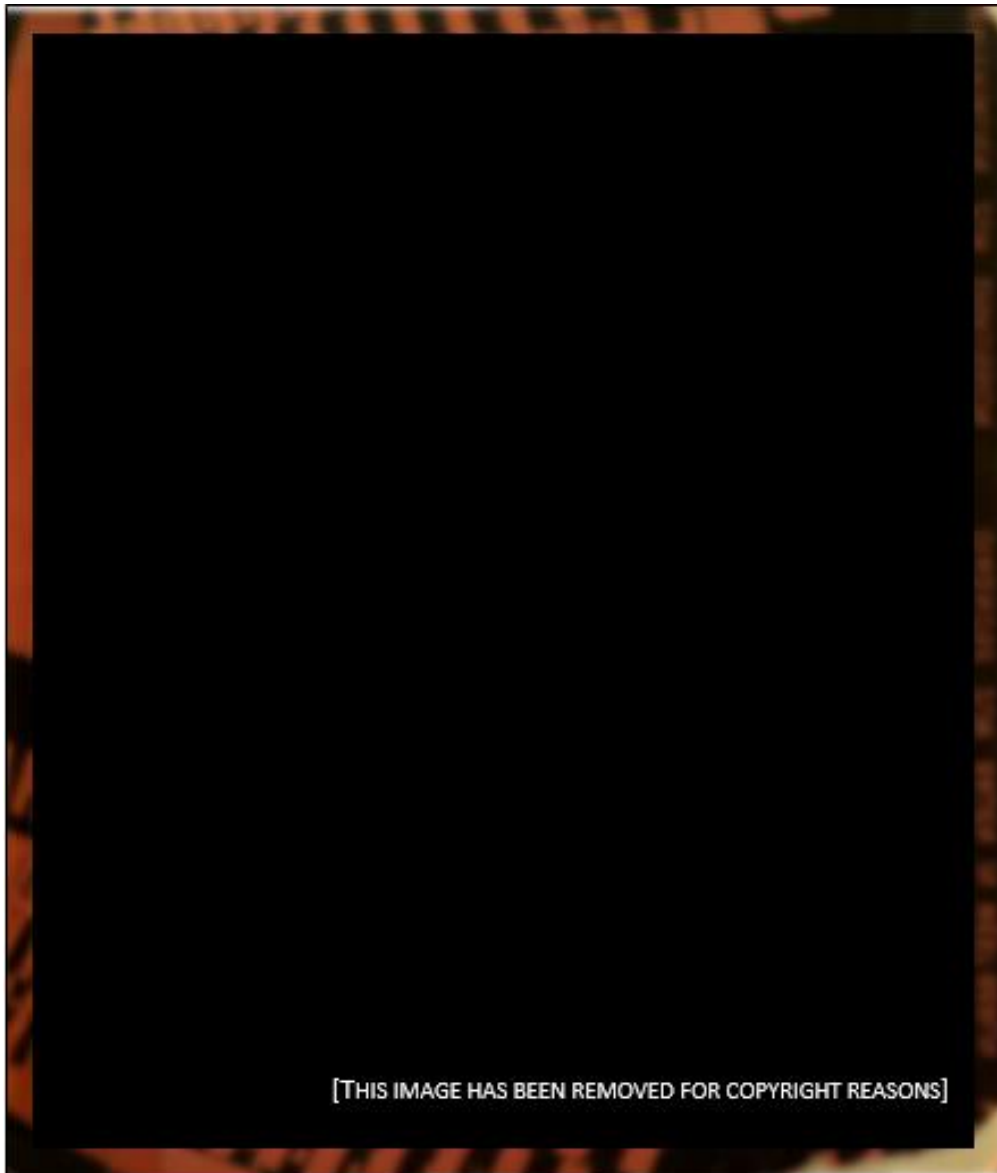


FIG. 0.2: AKTION 507, *MANIFEST*, 1968

The thesis is an in-depth reading of the urban space of West Berlin, through the eyes of those architecture students involved in *Aktion 507*. The examples selected are those referenced by the students themselves, and the texts referenced are predominantly those referenced in their manifesto. The thesis also incorporates maps of the specific locations, which is intended to highlight the specificity of place and create a concrete connection between theory and physical space and reinforce the link between student and city space. Various other cultural outputs are also included throughout the thesis in order to construct a multifaceted picture of the issues that the students faced. The intention is therefore to offer a more complex picture of the cultural context in order to develop an understanding of what it would have been like to live as a student in 1960s divided Berlin.

GENERAL METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

It should be noted that some of the sources have a dual function, such as magazines like *Der Spiegel*. They offer both a critique of the architectural developments in their support of *Aktion 507* but are also a source of information in terms of figures and statistics from the period itself. It will be made clear within the text how the source is being used in each case. The media attention to the work of *Aktion 507* is an interesting one and will be touched upon during the course of the thesis, however the use of the magazine as both source and as agent emphasises the conflicting and complex nature of debate in the sixties. The inflammatory nature of the journalistic style of *Der Spiegel* adds an emotive element to the thesis, however the significance of this publication in furthering the circulation of urban planning criticism is unquestionable. It was *Der Spiegel* who took an active interest in the arguments contained within the *Diagnose* and returned to the arguments throughout the 1970s. *Aktion 507* gave the editor of *Der Spiegel* information they had collated and so although the narrative may have been inflammatory, the basic information contained within the articles form a key area for discovering the fundamental issues that fed into *Aktion 507's* criticism.

The nature of a historical project is in dealing with those sources that are available. The incomplete nature of historical documents therefore prevents this thesis from being a comprehensive documentation of *Aktion 507* and urban planning criticism. Attempts have been made to access all available sources, as well as contact as many of the signatories of the group as possible. The views of the individual members who did respond to the request for information therefore serve as an indication of the views of other members. It is not intended to insinuate that members of *Aktion 507* did not have differences of opinion amongst themselves, nor that they all adhered to the same doctrine, or were influenced by the same theories. Rather, the interviews are intended to illustrate an aspect of *Aktion 507* as indicative of the general attitude of the group and as an insight into their influences. These opinions also serve to counteract the media coverage, as well as to indicate the reaction of the students to the events that coincided with the publication of their manifesto and the opening of the *Diagnose* exhibition.

The study of people and culture concerns emotions, engagement and positionality, and so this thesis intends to present this complexity and consider the elements that led to its development. The student protests, as well as architecture more specifically, were linked to

many fields and cannot, in this way, be restricted to one discipline or another. The filtration of ideas from many alternative disciplines is what defined the overarching ideals and goals of the movement; from art, film, literature, philosophy, sociology, behavioural sciences and economics. This was a movement that demanded change across traditional boundaries. This thesis is therefore not limited to the sphere of architecture but rather has architecture as its focus whilst looking for influence from other fields, such as the visual arts to add depth and nuance to the points under discussion. Architecture as defined as bridging artistic and practical fields allows for, and encourages, this cross-over. The thesis fulfils a desire to present a deeply complex picture of a specific time and place with the hope of demonstrating the usefulness of an anthropological methodology for the understanding of architectural developments in the 1960s and beyond, as well as the importance of the city in influencing the mentality of protest movements.

INTELLECTUAL LANDSCAPE

As a time when change was within reach and lost, the 1960s is a period now viewed with an element of nostalgia and has therefore been the subject of many analyses and interpretations; why did it fail? Why did students rebel in post-war Germany? What was the relation to National Socialism? How did the protests of the sixties act as a precursor to the terrorism of the Baader Meinhof Gang in the 1970s? How are the 1960s viewed today? How did the protests fit into the larger trajectory of history? How did the movement differ across countries?

Rather than considering the student protests in West Berlin as part of a larger analysis of the global movement such as recent works by the historian Timothy Scott Brown and the social anthropologist Lorena Anton, this thesis intends to look specifically at the unique situation in West Berlin.⁹ Most literature regarding 1968 has a tendency to focus on the movement's transnational nature, such as the historian Gerard De Groot's comparative overview *Student Protest: The Sixties and After* (2008) whilst historian Martin Klimke and linguist Joachim Scharloth's edited work *1968 in Europe* (1998) is the most comprehensive account of the movement in examining over fifteen European countries.¹⁰ *Protest Movements in West Germany* (2003) by historian Nick Thomas was the first thorough attempt to show the significance of the movement exclusive to West Germany.¹¹ There is therefore a gap within the literature that focuses explicitly on West Berlin and the impact that the specifics of the setting had on the protest movement.

Nostalgia and the increasing trend for memory studies have produced such works as German scholar Ingo Cornils and French scholar Sarah Waters's edited collection *Memories of 1968* (2010) which combined the inclination to create international connections with a new focus on memory.¹² As does German scholar Susanne Rinner's *The German Student Movement and the Literary Imagination* (2013) which looked at "memory novels" to

⁹ Timothy Scott Brown and Lorena Anton, *Between the Avant-Garde and the Everyday: Subversive Politics in Europe from 1957 to the Present*, (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2011).

¹⁰ See Gerard J. De Groot, *Student Protest: The Sixties and After*, (London: Longman, 1998) and Martin Klimke and Joachim Scharloth, eds., *1968 in Europe: A History of Protest and Activism*, (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2008).

¹¹ Nick Thomas, *Protest Movements in 1960s West Germany: A Social History of Dissent and Democracy*, (Oxford: Berg, 2003).

¹² Ingo Cornils and Sarah Waters, *Memories of 1968: International Perspectives*, (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2010).

develop theories about the multi-layered process of creating memory.¹³ This consideration of the fundamental function of the arts in creating and contesting memory adds yet another layer of purpose in the development of the relationship between inhabitant and city which is key to this thesis.

Robert Gildea, James Mark, and Anette Warring's *Europe's 1968: Voices of Revolt* (2013) demonstrated the increasing trend to analyse the 1960s in a more discursive manner, in a collection of over 500 interviews with those involved in the movement across fourteen different countries.¹⁴ Again, it concentrated on commonality and includes locations which are normally excluded such as Denmark and Greece. The focus on oral history, with an acceptance of the nuances that are inherent in studying such a widespread protest movement are particularly useful to this analysis. The results are not limited to the boundaries of a historical study, and rather appear as a collective product complete with the discrepancies, nuances, fluidity and confusion that the movement itself contained. Similarly, historian Celia Hughes's *Young Lives on the Left: Sixties Activism and the Liberation of the Self* (2016), although focused on the British context, interestingly used oral history as a means to recreate a sense of the post-war period in Britain and follows the lives of a series of activists from childhood to old age. In a similar vein, although not in the sense of creating an understanding of a long period of development and extension, this thesis seeks to chart the spirit of the sixties through the eyes of a particular group of activists. By doing the same, Hughes's work created a personal entry point into the vastness of the movement without removing any of the complexities of the time. Similarly, this thesis attempts to create a cultural picture using individual memories to highlight the truth of experience, albeit on a different scale and in a more specific time and place.

Timothy Scott Brown and Lorena Anton's *Between the Avant-Garde and the Everyday: Subversive Politics in Europe, 1958-2008* (2011) began the attempt to consider a micro-scale of politics and everyday life in the city.¹⁵ The edited work focused on the boundaries between culture and politics and considers the active role that culture played in the development of action and political resistance. The increasing trend for reanalysis of the

¹³ Susanne Rinner, *The German Student Movement and the Literary Imagination: Transnational Memories of Protest and Dissent*, (New York: Berghahn Books, 2013).

¹⁴ Robert Gildea, James Mark, and Anette Warring, 'Europe's 1968: Voices of Revolt', (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).

¹⁵ Brown and Anton, *Between the Avant-Garde and the Everyday*.

arts is evident in music scholar Beate Kutschke and ethnomusicologist Barley Norton's edited book *Music and Protest in 1968* (2013).¹⁶ Like Brown and Anton's work, *Music and Protest* collated activities from a wide range of contexts and attempted to understand the role that music played in protest. This thesis also attempts to consider the importance of the cultural sphere, in terms of art, literature, music, and theatre in relation to the protest movement, yet through an even more specific lens; that of the built environment. The tendency in many publications has been to focus on one element of the cultural sphere, music, theatre, or art and consider them in relation to the protest. For this thesis, the attention is rather on a group of students who, in turn, had the specific focus of urban planning, and considers the influence of a wide variety of cultural sources on that particular area.

Consideration of a more nuanced and complex attitude towards urban space has led to a focus on the phenomenon of squatting. This is evidenced in newer publications such as historian Bart van der Steen's edited work *The city is ours: squatting and autonomous movements in Europe from the 1970s to the present* (2014) which sought to consider the spatial experience of activism.¹⁷ This theme is developed further in the human geographer Alexander Vasudevan's *Metropolitan Preoccupations: The Spatial Politics of Squatting in Berlin* (2015) which brought these debates specifically to the city of Berlin and uncovered a more site-specific analysis of what was a wide-spread development.¹⁸ The importance of Vasudevan's work is in its ability to demonstrate the unique nature of politics in Berlin and the strong connection this has to urban space. For this analysis, Vasudevan's emphasis on the practicalities of the squatters is of interest in its ability to illuminate the experience of life in the city.

In direct relation to architecture, Berlin has received much attention as the focus for many of the key events of the twentieth century and so the cityscape became synonymous with these events and the direction of global politics. Urban historian Brian Ladd's *Ghosts of Berlin* (1997) looked effectively at how the past continues to influence the present in

¹⁶ Beate Kutschke and Barley Norton, 'Music and Protest in 1968', (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013).

¹⁷ Bart Van der Steen, *The City Is Ours: Squatting and Autonomous Movements in Europe from the 1970s to the Present*, (Oakland, CA: PM Press, 2014).

¹⁸ Alexander Vasudevan, *Metropolitan Preoccupations: The Spatial Politics of Squatting in Berlin*, (Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, 2015).

Berlin.¹⁹ As a city where, even today, the boundary between past and present appears less apparent than in others, the impact of the past on the city in the 1960s can only be understood as fundamental to the comprehension of the present and desires for the future. The interweaving of urban space, memory, identity, history and the complex relationships between these elements demonstrates a similar desire to understand the urban fabric of Berlin as a product of numerous relationships, which are deeply embedded in wider debates.

Architectural historian, Florian Urban directly addressed the situation in post-war satellite settlements in West Berlin, as well as the post-war housing policies in Germany as a whole. The focus of Urban's work is invaluable with regards to the validity of *Aktion 507's* critique and whether their claims were justified. This thesis, by contrast intends to present the views of *Aktion 507* and understand how and what informed these views, rather than focusing on their legitimacy. The 'gross misrepresentation' by both the media and *Aktion 507's* critique that Urban identifies is the point of interest for this research.²⁰ How and why this misinterpretation occurred and just why urban planning became the focus of such heated debate.

A few publications in recent years have attempted to address the 1960s in a way similar to the aim here. Art historian, Emily Pugh's *Architecture, Politics, and Identity in Divided Berlin* (2014) provides an interesting parallel in its use of film footage to create a cultural understanding of architecture and urban planning in the post war period across the two halves of the city.²¹ The focus on a micro-historical approach that incorporates the continual changing identity of areas within the city, as products of fluctuating relations and various actors, creates a complex narrative of a city as the product of human interactions. Much like the interpretations of the architecture students, architecture is not viewed by Pugh as an object situated in space, but rather as a key actor in the creation of identity. The historian Belinda Davis's *The City as Theater of Protest: West Berlin and West Germany* (2008) similarly looked directly at the spaces of Berlin and recreated a sense of space, as

¹⁹ Brian Ladd, *The Ghosts of Berlin: Confronting German History in the Urban Landscape*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997).

²⁰ Florian Urban, 'The Märkisches Viertel in West Berlin', in *Architecture and the Welfare State*, ed. by Mark Swenarton, Tom Avermaete, and Dirk van den Heuvel (London: Routledge, 2015), pp. 174-96.

²¹ Emily Pugh, *Architecture, Politics, and Identity in Divided Berlin*, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2014).

sense of life on the streets of West Berlin and how the city was transformed during the protests.²² How the activists “made Berlin” and how West Berlin in turn “made” the activists.²³ It is this idea that is transferred, in this thesis, to the specific location of the architecture department at West Berlin’s *Technische Universität*.

Sociologist Richard Sennett noted that space is inherently politicised due to its domination by certain buildings, namely those that are political and historical.²⁴ The prevailing trend in city theory has been, since the advent of globalisation, that cities are becoming “delocalised”, as posited by the geographer Jean Gottman.²⁵ This theory once again places Berlin outside of the accepted remit for analysis, as although West Berlin was an outpost of the Western world located in the Communist East, it was very much site-specific. Urbanist Peter Hall stated in 1966 that West Berlin was ‘not politically part of the Republic’, it had ‘lost its essential *raison d’être*’ and its ‘focus of power...had shifted decisively to the West’.²⁶ West Berlin was not geographically part of West Germany or officially part of the BRD as whilst it was under the control of the Allied Control Council it was legally not part of the Federal Republic of Germany, which indicates the unique character of the city even within Germany. Significantly, this left West Berlin with a loss of direction, which the movement co-opted as a means for constructing a new identity.

This thesis intends to examine this relationship between space and protest with particular reference to 1968 in West Berlin as it is specific enough in scope to be analysed in depth. It will provide a key example of the cities involved in the movement by demonstrating both global and local trends. The significance of the study might be questioned, as Daniel Cohn-Bendit, German politician and former student activist, himself said: ‘forget it: 68 is over - buried under cobblestones’.²⁷ Although in some respects this may be true, a greater understanding of the movement can be gained from an analysis of the significance of place, and a consideration of the experience of living within the city. This thesis will therefore

²² Belinda Davis, ‘The City as Theater of Protest: West Berlin and West Germany, 1962-1983’, in *The Spaces of the Modern City: Imaginaries, Politics, and Everyday Life*, ed. by Gyan Prakash and Kevin M. Kruse (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2008), pp. 247-74.

²³ Ibid. p. 247.

²⁴ See Richard Sennett, *The Conscience of the Eye: The Design and Social Life of Cities*, (London: Faber and Faber, 1991).

²⁵ Jean Gottmann, ‘What Are Cities Becoming the Centre Of?: Sorting out the Possibilities’, in *Cities in a Global Society* ed. by Richard V. Knight and Gary Gappert (Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications, 1989), pp. 58-67 (p. 61).

²⁶ Peter Geoffrey Hall, *The World Cities*, (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1966), p. 126.

²⁷ Daniel Cohn-Bendit, ‘An Elusive Legacy’, *The Guardian*, (6 May 2008).

attempt to elucidate these various points of contestation and demonstrate how mass-housing and post-war planning policies became a locus for debates which extended beyond the parameters of pure architecture. This focus on the students involved in *Aktion 507* allows this thesis to offer a very pointed analysis of a specific time in West Berlin; in its confinement to the period 1968-1970. Obviously, there are continuations of themes outside of this time period which will be presented in chapter four, but the thesis deliberately seeks to analyse this particular time period in depth, in order to offer a complex analysis as well as to paint a multifaceted picture.

The 1960s were politically significant with many contemporary thinkers critiquing society through the faults and merits of capitalism in a post-fascist world. It is important to analyse and incorporate the work of the Frankfurt School as they provided a counterpoint to the mainstream culture and articulated many of the views demonstrators held about the society in which they lived. Quotes by Herbert Marcuse, for example, were painted onto the walls of Paris and Berlin.²⁸ An analysis of the strong intellectual involvement by the Frankfurt School, the Situationists, and other key scholars and philosophers is important in explaining the mentality of cultural critique that fed into the movement. Intellectuals who had been working both before and during the Second World War remained committed to understanding the conditions of the post-war world. Marxist theorists such as Theodor Adorno, Ernst Bloch, Herbert Marcuse, and posthumously published and republished works by Walter Benjamin provided a lens through which the conditions of society came to be understood by many intellectuals and students alike.

It is important to note that the critical voices incorporated into this thesis are from a number of different generations, all united in their desire for change. The long process of architectural education within West Germany also meant that the students differed in age and in political beliefs. It will be seen from signatories of *Aktion 507's* manifesto (see p. 31) that the group included students, teaching assistants, and junior architects which demonstrates this variety of participants. Many of those involved straddled the so-called "'45er" generation (born between 1921-32) and the "'68er" generation (born between 1933-45). In general terms, the '45ers believed in the democratisation of society through changes in the constitution whereas the '68ers focused on democratisation using revolutionary methods. Intellectuals born before the '45er generation were equally of great influence, such as Herbert Marcuse (1898-1979), Theodor Adorno (1903-69), Alexander Mitscherlich (1908-82), and Hans Paul Bahrdt (1918-94), who experienced World War Two first-hand as well as the events that factored in its escalation. The generation that followed, the '45ers, did not experience the war as adults but they did live through its trauma. For the purposes of this thesis, notable figures from within this generation include the architect Oswald Mathias Ungers (1926-2007), the urban planner Georg Heinrichs (1926-), critics

²⁸ Andrew Feenberg and Jim Freedman, *When Poetry Ruled the Streets: The French May Events of 1968*, (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2001).

Ulrich Conrads (1923-2013) and Wolf Jobst Siedler (1926-2013), the artists Wolf Vostell (1932-98) and Gerhard Richter (1932-) as well as signatory of the manifesto Goerd Peschken (1931-) who referred to himself as ‘not part of the generation of the “student movement”, but about 8 years older’.²⁹ Even within the following generation, the 68ers, who’s knowledge of the war was mediated through historiography, there were those who would have recalled aspects of wartime, and those that were born in the later years and so would recall only the aftermath. Members of the earlier part of this generation include scholars such as Klaus Horn (1934-85) and Heide Berndt (1938-2003), architect and signatory of the manifesto Josef Paul Kleihues (1933-2004), member of *Aktion 507* Hinrich Baller (1936-), and the journalist and later-terrorist Ulrich Meinhof (1934-76). These individuals could be expected to have some memories of the war years whereas other members of the protest movement within Berlin’s *Technische Universität* such as Ingrid Krau (1942-) and Helga Fassbinder (1941-) would not. The protests that occurred in the sixties were therefore instigated through a coalition of a number of different generations and micro-generations as well as a variety of political groups (Maoist *K-Gruppen*, Trotskyists, New Marxists, *Gruppe Internationale Marxisten*, *Sozialistische Alternative*, as well as many others) with a variety of motives, theoretical positions, and intentions.

Aktion 507’s manifesto and associated *Planer-Flugschrift* [Planners’ Pamphlet] included references to many intellectual resources which played into the various critiques and working groups that were formed as a result. The range of scholars consulted by *Aktion 507* demonstrates an intent to look for critiques and solutions from outside the discipline of architecture, thus reflecting the general desire to refute traditional boundaries. *Aktion 507*’s Social Psychology Group referenced familiar names such as Frederick Pollock, Claus Offe, Theodor Adorno, Max Horkheimer, Sigmund Freud and Igor Caruso. They also referred to German intellectuals who bridged sociology and urban planning; Alexander Mitscherlich and Klaus Horn. In addition, they referenced Edward Hare’s study on ‘Mental Health in New Towns’ (1966). The two more obscure texts are Wanaondv von Baeyer-Katte’s ‘*Politisches Fehlverhalten im Vergleich zur Neurose*’ [Political Malpractice in Comparison with Neurosis] which analysed the relationship between the psyche and politics, and the French sociologist Georges Friedmann’s *Grenzen der Arbeitsteilung*

²⁹ Goerd Peschken, ‘Aktion 507’, (Email to the Author, 1 April 2016).

[Boundaries of the Division of Labour] (1959) which enforced a Marxist and humanist view of the workforce, and of the rationalisation of labour as a social product.

References for the *Sanierung* [redevelopment] working group tended towards professional publications such as *Stadtbauwelt* [The World of City Planning], the *Monatsschrift für Kommunalpolitik in Stadt und Land* [Monthly for Local Politics in Town and Country], and the *Zeitschrift für die gesamte Grundstücks-, Haus- und Wohnungswirtschaft* [Journal of the Estate-, Home- and Housing-Industry]. They also referenced daily newspapers such as the *Berliner Zeitung* and *Die Berliner Wirtschaft* as well as the Fifth report to the House of Representatives on Urban Renewal in Berlin (1 October 1966), demonstrating the direct connection to contemporary issues. The group included references to German scholars such as Heide Berndt, and Austrian politicians with an interest in social housing reform such as Anton Weber's '*Wohnungspolitik der Gemeinde Wien*' [The housing Policy of the Municipality of Vienna] (1926). There is however a stronger focus here on American influences, such as Jane Jacobs, the German-born American sociologist Herbert J. Gans, the sociologist William F. Whyte as well as the *Journal of the American Institute of Planners*.

For those involved in *Aktion 507*, it was Alexander Mitscherlich (1908-82) who was the key figure in their interpretation of the urban environment who in turn was heavily influenced by theorists from the USA, and in particular Jane Jacobs. Born in 1908, Mitscherlich first studied history and philosophy and later medicine in Munich, Prague, Berlin, Zurich and Heidelberg, became Director of the Sigmund Freud Institute in Frankfurt am Main in 1960 and was appointed to the Department of Psychology at the University of Frankfurt in 1967, he also received the Award of the Peace Prize of the German Book Trade in 1969.³⁰ Much like Jacobs, Mitscherlich's main criticism was that modern planning policies had brought urban life to a standstill and that the mono-functional design of urban space caused a retreat into the private sphere.³¹ Mitscherlich also concerned himself with the physical rehabilitation of Germany, and published *Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte* [The Inhospitability of Our Cities] (1965), which attempted to comprehend the socio- and psychological consequences of post-war urban planning policies.³² Mitscherlich condemned

³⁰ Alexander Mitscherlich, *Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte: Anstiftung zum Unfrieden*, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1972), p. 2.

³¹ Tim Schanetzky, 'Anstiftung zum Unfrieden: Mitscherlich und die abstrakte Kunst des Städtebaus', in *Psychoanalyse und Protest: Alexander Mitscherlich und die >Achtundsechziger<*, ed. by Tobias Freimüller (Weimar: Wallstein Verlag, 2008), pp. 95-115 (p. 98).

³² Mitscherlich, *Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte*.

the ignorance of the general public to the 'self-destruction of our urban substance' and brought it to the attention of a wider public in articles published in daily newspapers.³³ The magazine, *Der Spiegel* for example, referenced Mitscherlich in 1969, reiterating his comment that nowhere had the use of the word "social" caused so much scandal as in the case of social housing.³⁴ The argument that stimulated continued debate was that the self-interested thought-processes of planning officials negated the desired social improvement of redevelopment.

In the 1960s, Heide Berndt (1938-2003) was employed as an urban planning assistant at the Sigmund Freud Institute in Frankfurt am Main, Klaus Horn (1934-85) was a social psychology assistant at the same institute, and Alfred Lorenzer (1922-2002) joined in 1963. Their collected work *Architektur als Ideologie* written between 1966-7 was identified as a product of Mitscherlich's collaborators and as a continuation of the ideas posed in *The Inhospitability of Our Cities*, and developed out of their working proximity at the Sigmund Freud Institute and the University of Frankfurt. The preface stated:

The present book by [Mitscherlich's] collaborators deals with the shortcomings of contemporary urban planning and the inadequate concept of the individual and society that new architecture has reinforced. Today, the three authors are investigating the dominant architectural style and its ideological implications. Their criticism is of functional architecture and the "one dimensional" identification of human social behaviour, which underlies it.³⁵

Both Mitscherlich's work and the work of Berndt, Lorenzer and Horn can be seen as fundamental texts to the analysis posed by *Aktion 507*, with *Architektur als Ideologie* being directly referenced in the manifesto.³⁶ The theories contained within this text followed a trend in Germany of assessing the complex relationship between urban planning and the individual.

Hans Paul Bahrtdt (1918-94) was also a key figure who published *Die moderne Großstadt: Soziologische Überlegungen zum Städtebau* [The Modern Metropolis: Sociological

³³ Alexander Mitscherlich, 'Alexander Mitscherlich über Hans Paul Bahrtdt: humaner Städtebau: unser aller versagen', *Der Spiegel*, 18 (29 April 1968).

³⁴ 'Wohnungsbau: Es bröckelt', *Der Spiegel*, 6 (3 February 1969), p. 41.

³⁵ Heide Berndt, Alfred Lorenzer, and Klaus Horn, *Architektur als Ideologie*, (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1971), p. 2.

³⁶ *Aktion 507, 'Manifest'*, (West Berlin: Rump, 1968), (p. 31).

Reflections on Urban Planning] (1961).³⁷ Bahrtdt was born in Dresden and studied philosophy, sociology and economics, initially at the University of Leipzig, then in Göttingen, and in 1959 he received a professorship at the Hanover *Technische Universität*, and held the Chair of Social Sciences.³⁸ *Die moderne Großstadt* focused on the importance of the distinction between public and private spaces in the development of the city, and hypothesised that where the distinction is more pronounced, the more urban a settlement becomes.

The *Vorsicht Architekturtheorie* [Caution Architecture Theory] group within *Aktion 507* also referenced Mitscherlich, Berndt, Horn, Lorenzer and Bahrtdt in relation to the new sociological trend in urban planning. The function of this working group was predominantly to present the trends in architectural theory rather than side with a particular theme and therefore includes a multitude of references. They cited Bloch and Adorno in relation to aesthetic reflection and functionalism. In their discussion of structural aesthetics they referenced an unpublished PhD Thesis from Berlin by Dietmar Grötzebach, titled '*Der Wandel der Kriterien bei der Wertung des Zusammenhanges von Konstruktion und Form in den letzten 100 Jahren*' [The Change of the Criteria in the Evaluation of the Relationship between Construction and Form in the Last 100 Years] (1965). When considering a critique of information aesthetics, they cited Max Bense, Kurd Alsleben, Helmar Frank, Rul Gunzenhauser, Manfred Kiemle. In reference to cognitive psychology and gestalt therapy they included Rudolf Arnheim and Christian Norberg-Schulz, and for historical revisions they refer to Reyner Banham. This group also cited Jörn Janssen and Ulrich Conrads's edited work *Programme und Manifeste zur Architektur des 20. Jahrhunderts* [Programs and Manifestoes on 20th-Century Architecture] (1964).

There are also references in the manifesto to Martin Heidegger, Walter Benjamin, Karl Marx, Bertolt Brecht, and Sigfried Giedion. It should be noted however, that the citation of these various intellectuals did not necessarily correspond to an adherence to their arguments. These working groups presented the arguments within the field in order to develop a critique. Thus, the inclusion of the references above is to demonstrate the variety of the intellectual sources; from world renowned texts such as those by Jacobs, to scholars from outside the discipline such as Freud, as well as key figures for the international

³⁷ See both Hans Paul Bahrtdt, *Die moderne Großstadt: Soziologische Überlegungen zum Stadtebau*, (Reinbeck bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1961).

³⁸ *Ibid.* p. 140.

student movement such as Adorno, to more obscure references such as unpublished PhD theses, as well as daily newspapers and professional magazines such as *Bauwelt*. Equally, students would have been influenced by texts and theories that are not directly referenced but that played a part in their criticisms and interpretations. It is in this way that this thesis will attempt to build up an intellectual picture of those sources that played a part in the student criticism, from newspaper reports, to national and more international texts that were influential for the student movement as a whole, and also more specific architectural texts. The thesis synthesises these intellectual sources that provided *Aktion 507* with a vast array of material which impacted on their both their goals and methods. The group can be seen as the beginnings of a reconsideration of urban planning from within the new generation of architects; the individual was placed back within the key elements of urban planning, the historic city regained its importance, and the tangled bureaucracy of post-war Berlin was the focus of the group's scrutiny. As will be seen, the intention was to foster a new attitude towards urban planning that was instigated from the bottom-up, and strongly based in an understanding of the social, cultural, and political context.

It is first necessary to provide an account of *Aktion 507*, the *Diagnose* exhibition and manifesto, in order to lay the groundwork needed for a more analytical and discursive analysis of the activities and criticisms developed by *Aktion 507*.



FIG. 0.3: MAP SHOWING LOCATION OF SIGHTS IN THE 1968 *BERLINER BAUWOCHEN*

In September of 1968, Berlin hosted its public biannual, *Berliner Bauwochen* [Berlin Construction Weeks] festival, the highlight of which was the opening of Mies van der Rohe's *Neue Nationalgalerie*, alongside which there were bus tours catering for more than 2000 people along a 'pleasing route of the most beautiful post-war West Berlin locations'.³⁹ The event was very well attended as evidenced by the *Tagesspiegel* newspaper report from 10 September 1968:

The first two days of the *Berliner Bauwochen* last weekend saw a total of 45,000 visitors at the seven accessible construction sites. On the Western bypass alone, 10,200 pedestrians were counted; 3000 visited the subway construction sites at Fehrbelliner Platz and in the Bundesallee.⁴⁰

³⁹ 'Städtebau West-Berlin: Slums verschoben', *Der Spiegel*, 37 (9 September 1968), p. 134.

⁴⁰ 'Das große Buh der Bauwochen: Massive Kritik junger Architekten an der Stadtplanung', *Der Tagesspiegel*, (10 September 1968).

At the opening of the *Bauwochen* Hermann Wegner, personal assistant to the West Berlin *Bausenator* [Minister for Building and Construction], invited both praise and criticism of the urban renewal plans within the city.⁴¹ He received this criticism in the form of “anti-Bauwochen”; a student run campaign in opposition to decisions that were being made in the fields of architecture and urban planning.⁴² The official *Bauwochen* in 1968 earmarked 18,000 marks for a specific exhibition to showcase urban planning designs belonging to the new generation of architects. Yet, these architects wanted an exhibition on their own terms; for the ‘critical analysis of the current construction activities’ – to which West Berlin’s *Bausenator* Rolf Schwedler surprisingly agreed.⁴³ As Hinrich Baller, architect and former member of *Aktion 507*, recalled:

In 1968, the “Märkisches Viertel” and the opening of the Neue Nationalgalerie by Mies van der Rohe were the highlights. As a new theme, the Government and the two architectural associations, the BDA and the AIV, unearthed the young architects’ generation (born before 1932, i.e. 36 years old at most). The 507 participants (including the signatory) responded to the call of the associations to submit papers, 50 of the 120 applications responded directly to the brief and the other 70 were reported to be interested in a critical review of their situation and the construction process in West Berlin. Both groups were invited to the Academy of Arts on 27 May 1968 by the architectural associations (AIV and BDA).

The young architects who attended the Academy of Fine Arts spontaneously formed an organising committee, which was active until the exhibition [...] As the signatory had received a great deal of support from both the group of supporters for an architecture exhibition (about 50) and those advocating a critical review, he was given a coordination role which he had to perform absolutely un-hierarchically, according to the general consciousness. The project was not to be an easy one, because from the formulation of the concept on 27 May, there were only three months until the exhibition was due to open. This was only possible because all 12 groups worked in parallel from day one. Apart from the founding meeting, there were no further general meetings. The 18,000 DM provided by the government administration for the original exhibition was initially overseen by the BDA, later by the myself, whose name was also on the account [...] There was no influence by government administration or the architects’ associations. Regular meetings with myself and the BDA chairman, Fritz Bornemann, where reports were created, were very cooperative.⁴⁴

⁴¹ ‘Slums verschoben’, p. 134.

⁴² Harold Bodenschatz, ‘Kultobjekt Märkisches Viertel’, in *40 Jahre Märkisches Viertel: Geschichte und Gegenwart einer Grosssiedlung*, ed. by Brigitte Jacob and Wolfgang Schäche (Berlin: Jovis, 2004), pp. 12-31 (p. 21).

⁴³ ‘Slums verschoben’, p. 137.

⁴⁴ Hinrich Baller, ‘Aktion 507’, (Email to the Author, 4 July 2017).

Thus, the exhibition *Diagnose zum Bauen in West-Berlin* [Diagnosis of Construction in West Berlin] was realised in just two months by *Aktion 507*; a group of 120 architectural students based in O.M. Unger's seminar room, number 507, at West Berlin's *Technische Universität*.



FIG. 0.4: PREPARATORY MEETING OF *AKTION 507* IN ROOM 507, *TECHNISCHE UNIVERSITÄT*, WEST BERLIN, 1968

Ingrid Krau (1942-) architect and former member of *Aktion 507*, elucidated that the name *Diagnose* showed the philosophy: 'diagnosis as a prerequisite for treatment, we were concerned with practical action, not aloof social criticism'.⁴⁵ She continued 'we were elucidators, who believed in the power of technical and scientific progress [...] We were rationalists [...] We were for direct democracy'.⁴⁶ Member of *Aktion 507*, Jonas Geist recalled:

⁴⁵ Ingrid Krau, 'Die Zeit der Diagnose', *Stadtbauwelt*, 80 (1983), 341.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p. 343.

We met regularly. Architects, architecture students and assistants, then planners joined, formed working groups, designed an exhibition and accompanying discussion programme, painted posters, printed leaflets and translated the results into a manifesto. This was all put together in the small print shop in which Charles Guggomos produced the *Extradienst* [...] I created this small manifesto together with Helmut Meier, for me it was my first publication. Holtfreter made the poster, a manifesto was adopted, and one had to commit.⁴⁷



FIG. 0.5: POSTERS DESIGNED BY JÜRGEN HOLTFRETER ADVERTISING THE *DIAGNOSE*, WEST BERLIN, 1968

Images of the pages of the manifesto are included throughout the thesis to demonstrate something of the materiality of the document; the document is roughly A4 in size, saddle-stitched, the text is type-written mainly on white pages but there are some colour inserts. There are also a variety of charts and diagrams which reflect accepted methods of scientific representation. It is worthy of note that the students did not choose to alter modes of

⁴⁷ Jonas Geist, 'In Memoriam Jonas Geist', *Arch Plus*, 191/192 (2009), 3.

Carl Luitpold Guggomos (1932-1988) was a journalist, editor, and activist of the APO.

The *Berlin Extra Dienst* was a bi-weekly left socialist publication, founded in 1967 and continued to 1979. In 1969, it had a circulation of around 4000. The paper was financially supported by Rudolf Augstein, who also founded *Der Spiegel*.

The publishing house was Gerhard Rump, 1 Berlin 30, Alvenslebenstr. 10, Tel.: 26 42 29.

The artist Jürgen Holtfreter was born in Rostock in 1937 and emigrated to West Berlin in 1958 and became famous for his collages which accompanied the German student movement.

representation in presenting their critique perhaps in order to indicate their reformist, rather than revolutionary position. The images within the thesis are presented in the same quality as they are in the original, which is often poor and abstracted. The content of the images themselves indicate some elements of deviance from traditional representation in their collage motifs and abstracted forms – in some instances this could merely be a question of quality but, as noted by Hinrich Baller, the working groups operated independently, which is also reflected in their differing representational strategies.

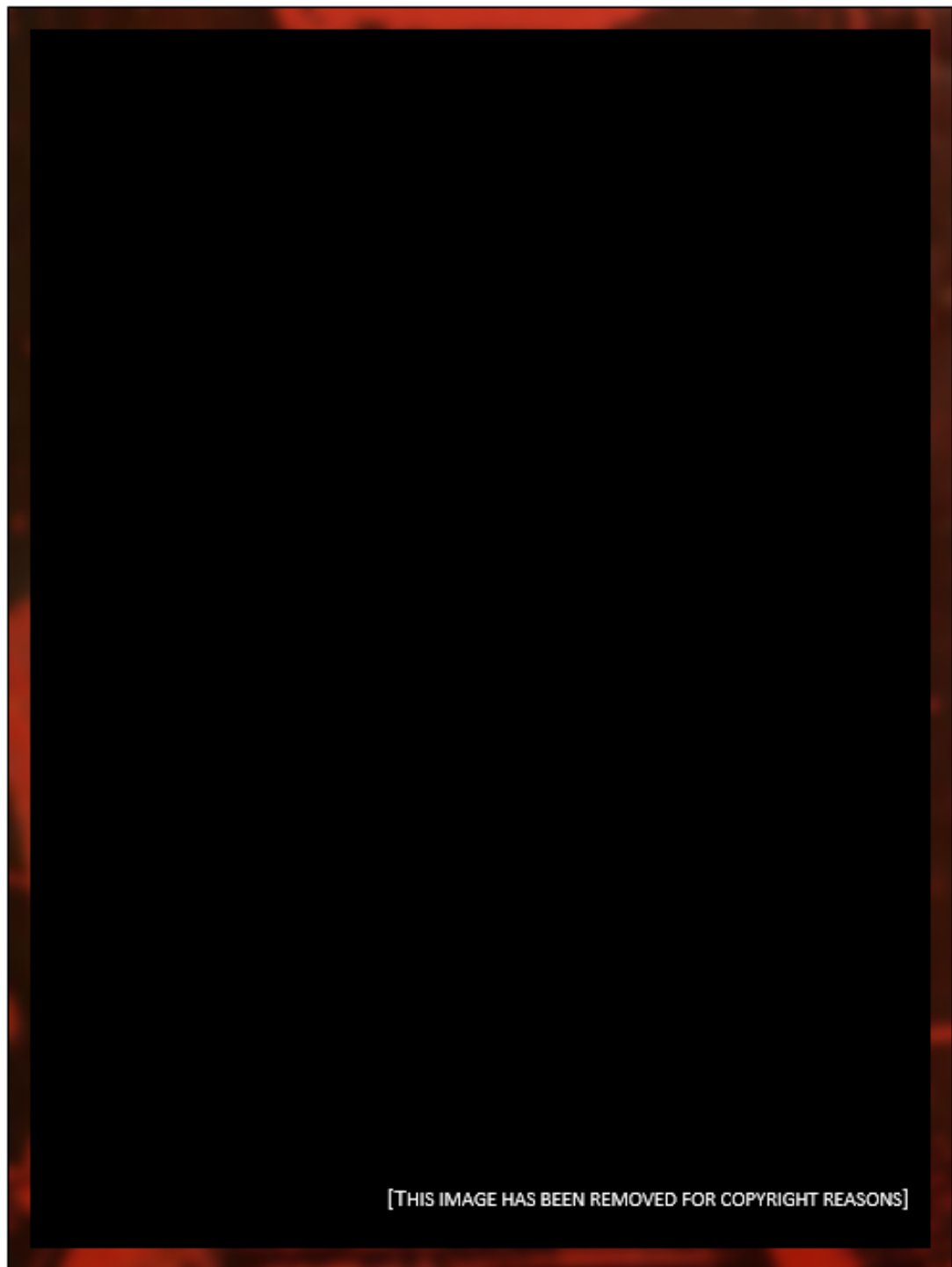


FIG. 0.6: SIGNATORIES OF *AKTION 507*, *MANIFEST*, 1968

The group included notable figures such as the architects Paul Josef Kleihues (1933-2004) and Jürgen Sawade (1937-2005), as well as Nikolaus Kuhnert (1939-) future editor-in-chief of *ArchPlus*, and four architects who were actually involved in designing the Märkisches

Viertel satellite settlement; Hasso Schreck (architect of the district's Thomas Mann secondary school and multi-purpose hall), Finn Bartels (architect of the nursery), Günter Plessow (architect of the primary school and community centre), and Volker Theissen (who worked as collaborator on René Gagès's apartment building).⁴⁸ Baller however noted that:

The list of names of the signatories of the "Manifesto" is misleading because the circle of the contributors was significantly larger. [...] It was the wish of the General Assembly that authorship was given to Aktion 507.⁴⁹

It is also key that 'some of the initiators [of *Aktion 507*] came from within the student movement' demonstrating the link between the group and the wider 1968 movement.⁵⁰

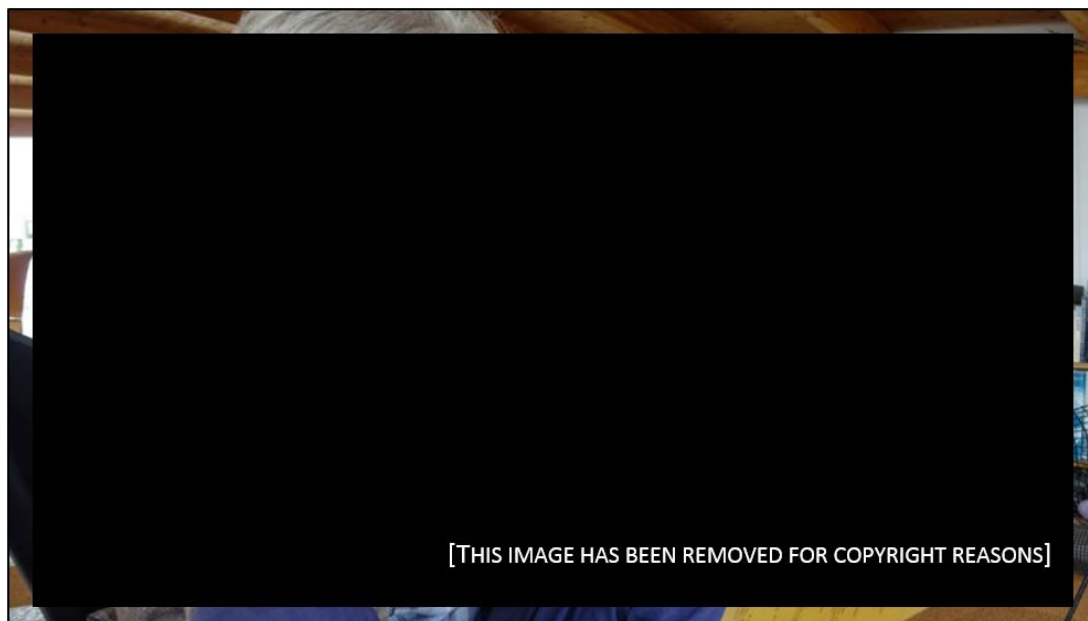


FIG. 0.7: HINRICH BALLER, ARCHITECT AND SIGNATORY OF *AKTION 507*, 2015

Baller recalled that the space used for the exhibition was found, through luck. A new building intended to house the Urban Development Institute, and designed by Scharoun, was under construction at Ernst Reuter Platz [Fig. 0.8, 0.9]. The construction manager, Jürgen Nottmeyer⁵¹, 'was won over' by the group and allowed them the use of the completed shell of the building for their exhibition, and subsequently became an 'excellent partner':

⁴⁸ Urban, 'Märkisches Viertel', (p. 183).

⁴⁹ Baller, 'Aktion 507'.

⁵⁰ Helga Reidemeister, '1968: Protest-Ausstellung "Diagnose" deckt das MV-Elend auf', in *Wohnste sozial, haste die Qual: "Jetzt reden wir"*, (Reinbek b. Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1975), p. 20 (p. 20).

⁵¹ Nottmeyer was later Senior building housing manager at the *Internationale Congress Centrum* and Managing Director of the International Building Exhibition Berlin in 1984/1987.

He helped to ensure that no issues with permission arose and that no billing errors occurred, and he also supported us with the construction site: lighting, public safety, construction site security for the high number of visitors and much more.⁵²

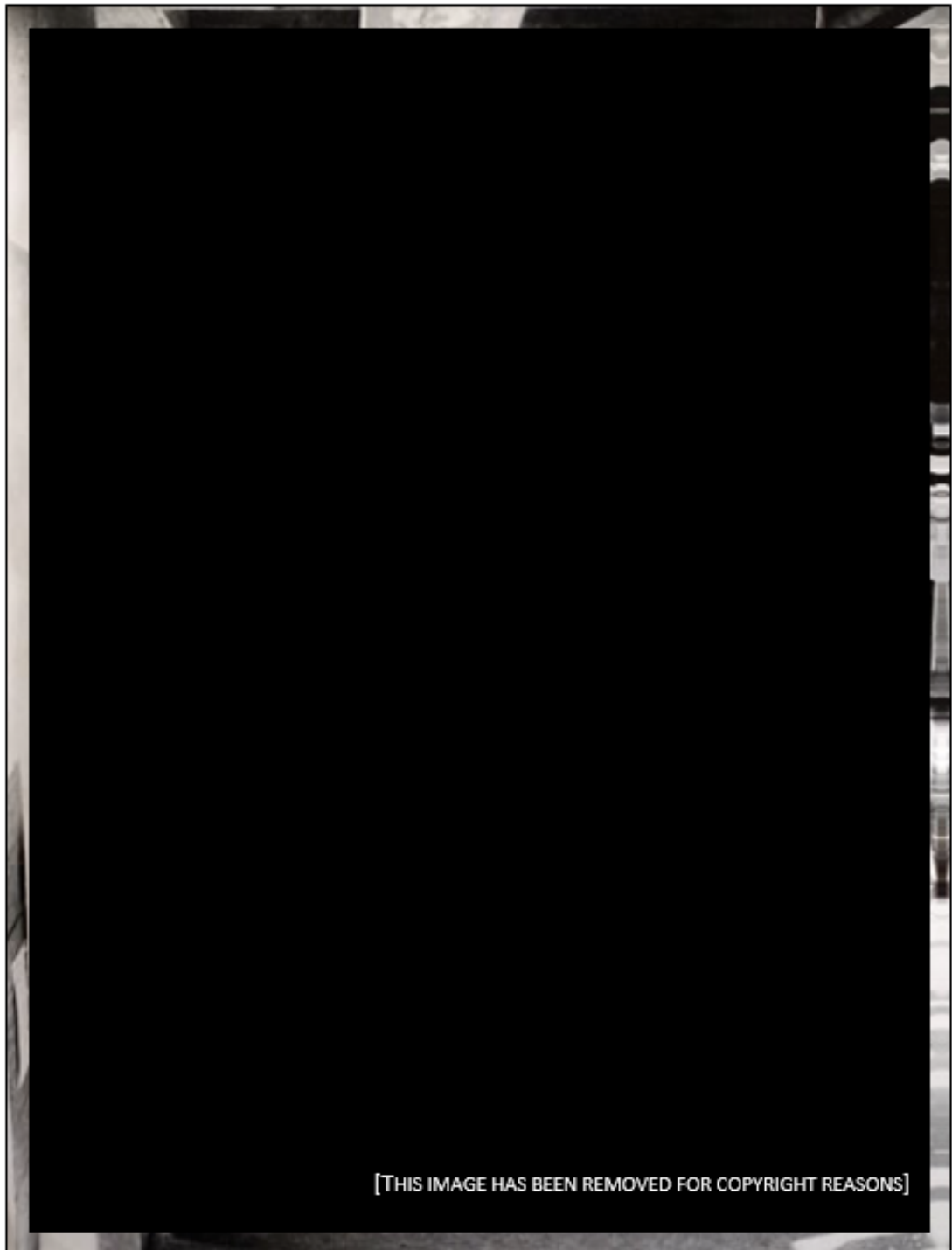


FIG. 0.8: PHOTOGRAPHS SHOWING *DIAGNOSE* EXHIBITION INSIDE ATRIUM OF TU-FACULTY OF ARCHITECTURE [SEE FIG. 0.9], 1968

⁵² Baller, 'Aktion 507'.

Using Scharoun's building as the exhibition space was a pragmatic and opportunistic decision as many other problems automatically disappeared such as the need for ancillary rooms, emergency exits, and other spaces and facilities. The overall concept of the exhibition both in terms of content and media developed alongside each other. Baller continued:

Scharoun's strongly arranged spatiality made it possible for the various groups to have a certain degree of seclusion, which was also necessary because some of the recordings were loud (for example tenant interviews). Uniform panels from the timber market (at 1.20 by 1.20m) were also used as a basic visual element. The panels were worked on in respective places, e.g. in the rooms of TU, and were therefore able to be erected in the Scharoun building at the last minute. Wall and ceiling fixtures were no problem in the shell construction, as there was also space for sculptures, reliefs, models and special features such as the large banners.⁵³

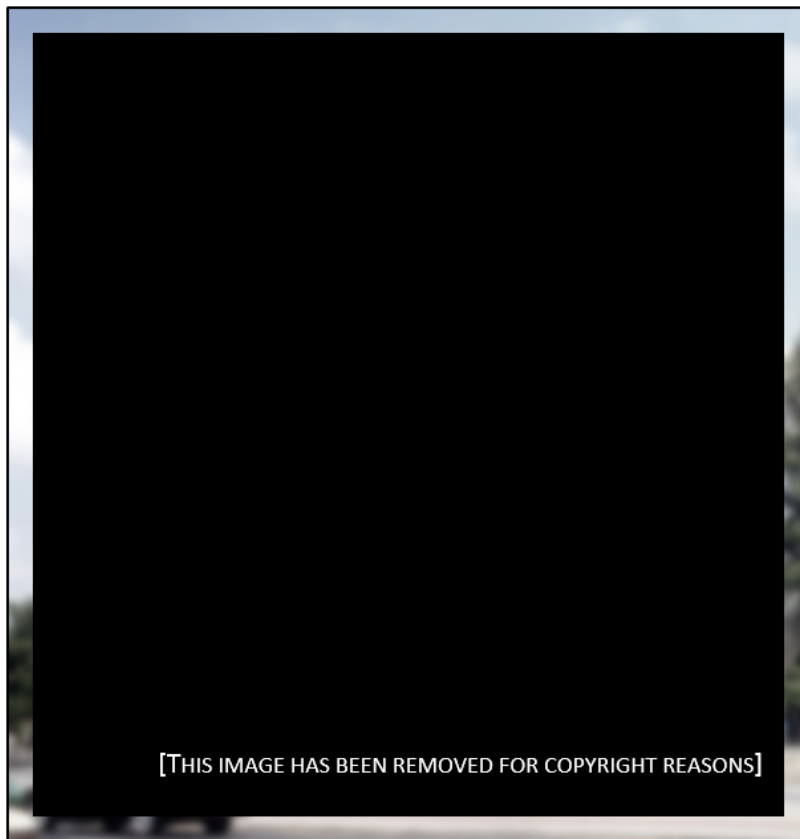


Fig. 0.9: TU-FACULTY OF ARCHITECTURE, DESIGNED BY BERNHARD HERMKES (COMPLETED IN 1968) WITH EXTENSION BY HANS SCHAROUN (COMPLETED IN 1969)

Continuing the pragmatic nature of *Aktion 507's* campaign, their use of the new building at Ernst-Reuter-Platz was equally practical but it came with the added benefit of being designed by one of the most famous post-war architects in Germany. The space allowed

⁵³ Ibid.

itself to develop new forms of display and added to the DIY nature of the exhibition in its unfinished stage of construction. The central location of the campus also tied the exhibition to the university institution whilst subverting the narrative in its content, display methods, and allowed for a large audience in its accessibility. *Die Zeit* reported in September 1968:

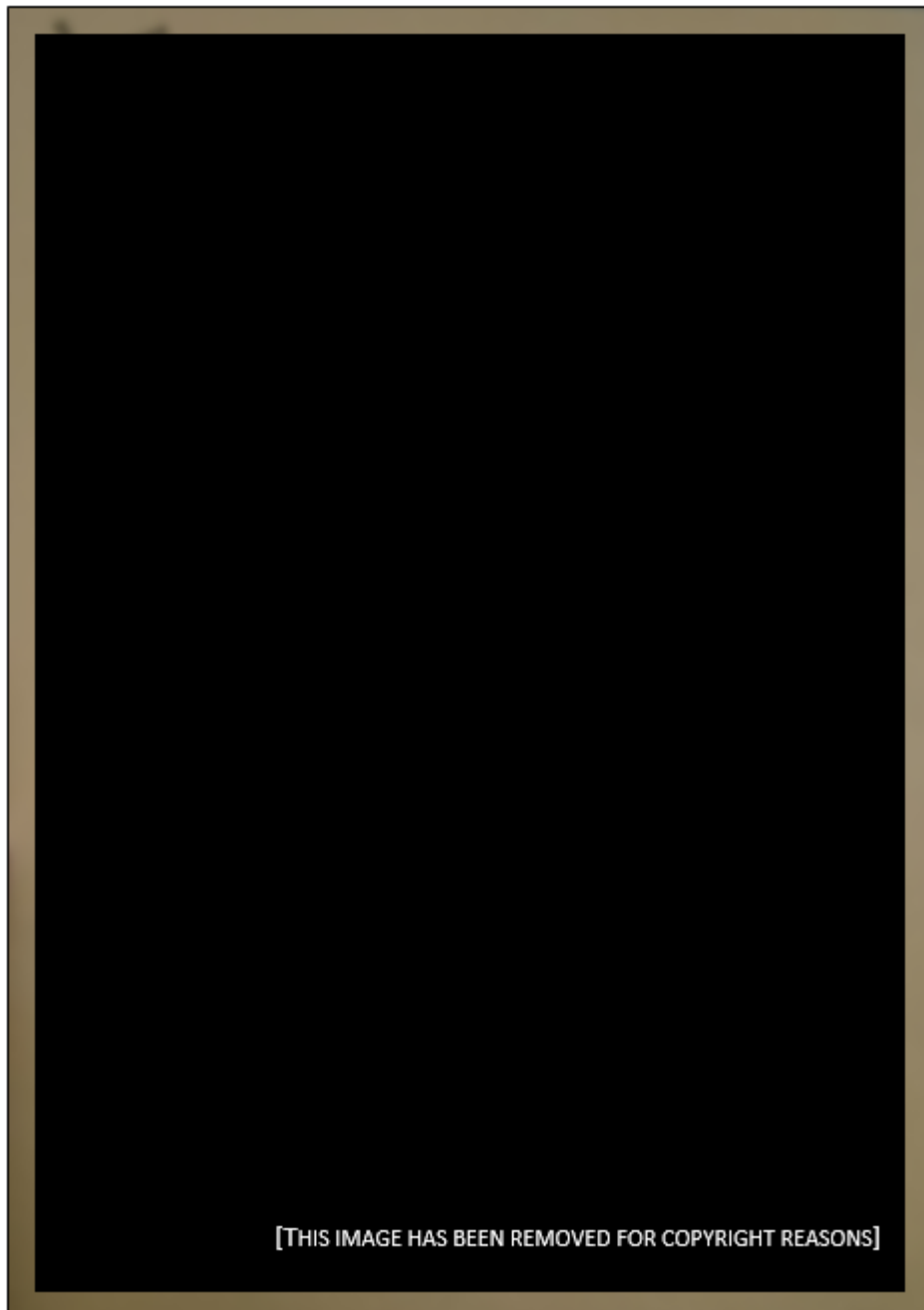
Instead, there is officious pageantry and hard rhetoric, improvisation and polemics. The path to the exhibition - the result of long discussions in ten working groups - guides the visitor behind a site fence into the shell of the Urban Development Institute at Ernst-Reuter-Platz. Coloured banners (“Be smart, earn by construction” or “Who obeys, will be awarded”) hang over the heads of visitors, on the walls are painstakingly graphic representations, images of buildings, slides, models, drawings and texts mostly written in specialist jargon. An exhibition of the informed for the informed.

From a speaker, voices of the (elsewhere praised) Märkisches Viertel satellite settlement penetrate: “...I would not live here, in this concentration area...”, “...there is nothing here, the only things that is here, is boredom...” The builders of the quarter intended something else: “We want to build flowers and fairy tales.”⁵⁴

The *Einladung* [Fig. 0.10], or invitation to the exhibition, indicates the issues that *Aktion 507* sought to address:

Tues	10.9.	Day of Property and Speculation
Weds	11.9.	Day of Redevelopment
Thurs	12.9.	Day of Construction Bureaucracy
Fri	13.9.	Day of Lost Districts
Sat	14.9.	Day of Absent Urban Planning
Sun	15.9.	Day of those Affected
Mon	16.9.	Day of German Hostility to Theory
Tues	17.9.	Day of Award Policy and Judges
Fri	18.9.	Hour of Pedagogy
Sat	19.9.	tabula rasa – private
Sun	20.9.	post-mortem

⁵⁴ Marion Schreiber, ‘Aktion 507: Jungarchitekten kritisieren die Berliner Baupolitik’, *Die Zeit*, (20 September 1968).



[FIG. 0.10]

The students were reacting against the zoning of the city, the denial of the past, the displacements of tenants into satellite cities and estates, and the destruction of *Mietskasernen* as well as the hierarchies and bureaucracies that lay behind construction policies. In contrast to the post-war generation, the members of *Aktion 507* saw modernism rather than the war as the cause of the alienating city environment. This generation saw their parents' desire for wealth and the neglect of the National Socialist past, expressed in the modernist high-rises and department stores that punctured many

historic city districts.⁵⁵ The manifesto demanded that the government invest in inner-city renewal rather than new developments on the peripheries.⁵⁶ The students wanted to draw attention to the social issues that had become a direct result of the removal of inhabitants from inner-city tenements to the satellite towns and the students found much support in both conservative and leftist media; *Der Spiegel*, normally left-leaning and supportive of welfare policies was a harsh critic of the Märkisches Viertel.⁵⁷ *Der Spiegel* reported on the student exhibition in a 'half-finished auditorium of the *Technische Universität*', with photographs, graphs and diagrams accompanied by a sound installation of residents talking about their experiences in the satellite towns:

Flickering slide projections on rough concrete walls lead visitors through the exhibition with the stone deserts of Berlin's new outskirt settlements in mind: the drab concrete facades of the "Märkisches Viertel" for example...where children play in barge-like backyards, and the single high-rise block built by the Frenchman René Gagès, that stretches almost 700 meters – a perfect example of anti-social housing.⁵⁸

Sociologist and urban planner Harald Bodenschatz highlighted the simplicity of *Aktion 507's* approach as 'symbolising a revolution in the critique of the profession' in that it replaced the view of planners with the opinions of residents.⁵⁹ The students specified the issues in relation to another development in the district of Schöneberg; rent increases, long commutes, lack of information, lack of participation with the affected inhabitants, inadequate methods of planning, and careless allocation of public funds.⁶⁰ Instead of creating an ideal architecture, the students at the TU-Berlin were more interested in preparing and proposing solutions for 'alternative projects in areas of social conflict'.⁶¹ In the winter semester of 1968, students formed various "co-op" groups and used findings by sociologists, psychologists and physicians to form theories for groups such as "experimental pre-school education", "juvenile prison", "day care centre at the *Frei Universität*" and "Reorganisation in the Kreuzberg district".⁶² The realisation was that 'slowly it became clear

⁵⁵ Rudy Koshar, *Germany's Transient Pasts: Preservation and National Memory in the Twentieth Century*, (London: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), p. 295.

⁵⁶ Naraelle Hohensee, 'The Influence of Critical Reconstruction on the Shape of Berlin's Friedrichstadt', *intersections*, 11 (2010), 63-64.

⁵⁷ Urban, 'Märkisches Viertel'.p. 190 & p. 183

⁵⁸ 'Slums verschoben', p. 134.

⁵⁹ Bodenschatz, 'Kultobjekt', (p. 21).

⁶⁰ Thomas Schröder, 'Aus der Arbeit der Aktion 507', *Arch Plus*, 5 (1969), 77-78.

⁶¹ 'Mit dem Latein am Ende: Spiegel-Serie über Krise und Zukunft der deutschen Hochschulen (Architekten)', *Der Spiegel*, 37 (8 September 1968), p. 84.

⁶² *Ibid.*

how a loss of history and abstinence from social-critique had shaped the knowledge transfer before '68 and influenced the pencil in hand'.⁶³ As will be demonstrated, *Aktion 507* became heavily instrumental in the development of planning policies in West Berlin owing to this transformation of theory into praxis, and the focus on regaining a sense of agency within the city space.

⁶³ Krau, 'Die Zeit der Diagnose', 340.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

How did the experience of living in 1960s West Berlin affect the mentality of the student movement, particularly the outlook of *Aktion 507*? How were the key intellectual sources of the student movement interpreted specifically in relation to the urban spaces of West Berlin? How did the arts; music, art, film, DIY publications, theatre, and literature, play a part in the reconsideration of the post-war spaces of West Berlin? How did architecture students translate key theories into practical “direct action”? How and why did urban planning become the centre of heated debates regarding a fundamental consideration of German identity?

STRUCTURE

The thesis is separated into three main chapters and a concluding chapter:

The Present

The Past

The Future

Post-Mortem

Each chapter seeks to highlight an attitude towards the city; from the view of the new generation in relation to the contemporary activities in new construction by urban planners and the reality of life for residents as in chapter 1, or in their consideration of how society was influenced by the National Socialist past as in chapter 2; or from the possibilities for an alternative future of the city as developed by student protesters in chapter 3. Throughout, the text is directed by ideas and concepts highlighted within *Aktion 507*'s manifesto and related back to the urban situation within the city itself. Each chapter also brings in elements from the arts that combined with the issues highlighted in that particular section, as an attempt to offer critique and potential alternative solutions. The fluidity within the text relates to the complex relationship the students had with the city as a place they were both influenced by and attempting to influence. The students are understood both as a product of the time, but also as a critical voice within the specific context of West Berlin.

Chapter One: The Present looks at the post-war planning ethos and plans actually implemented by the German government in the 1960s. It charts conflicting views and the development of concepts for the city in the ever-changing post-war situation. It looks

specifically at the sites chosen within the city for development and analyses the architecture that was constructed. The chapter then returns the focus to the individual citizen and highlights some of the global trends towards community and the local. It also highlights some specifically German texts which considered the negative effects of functionalism on society. This is supported by stark individual accounts by those living within the new developments, and the reasons why the *Diagnose* attracted such a high level of attention.

Chapter Two: The Past seeks to analyse in greater detail the concerns *Aktion 507* had with the contemporary context as a product of its past. This includes critiques of planning applications, how architectural competitions were handled, and what they understood as the “control mechanisms” which were perpetuated by these operations. The consideration of the so-called “ruling interests” also links to an attempt to understand the rise of National Socialism and is closely connected to the trend for behavioural analysis and an effort to “come to terms with the past” [*Vergangenheitsbewältigung*]. The chapter also discusses the demolition of inner-city tenements and the reaction by *Aktion 507*, critics and the media to the transformed cityscape, as representative of the attitudes towards the inherited past.

Chapter Three: The Future turns to concepts regarding the right to the city, which are included alongside activities that the students undertook as an attempt to regain a sense of agency within the city space. This chapter then considers how the students believed that the situation could be reversed, in the alteration of the university and the pedagogy of architectural education. The activities that *Aktion 507* undertook and their accompanying demands will be discussed as a means to create a more critical and thus improved society. This chapter will look at the “direct action” that was undertaken in the satellite settlements as a result of the exhibition. By extension the analysis and will consider the successes and failures of these activities, and how they fitted into the larger context of both the student movement and the artistic sphere.

Chapter Four: Post-mortem functions as a concluding chapter, as well as offering closing remarks and reflections on the methodology. The chapter will also consider the legacy of *Aktion 507*, within the larger trajectory of both of the student movement and urban planning. The impact of the *Diagnose* on the urban planning policies of West Berlin will also

be presented as a means to connect the activities of the small group of students to much larger developments in the urban environment.

The student movement involved the combination of many themes which are of interest but regrettably cannot all be discussed in detail and so the manifesto is the means of inclusion and offers a way in which to navigate the mass of material as well as providing the architectural and anthropological lens through which to view the period in question. In attempting to write a thesis concerning a cultural movement in all of its complexity, there is inevitably a strong connection between all of the themes and so there will be a sense of crossover between the chapters but hopefully the divisions serve the various strands of the movement and provide some clarity to a deeply complex picture.



The public murder
of a city

-A part slow, sometimes
frantic play without
intermissions -

presented in the special venue of
LAND AND BUILDING PRACTICE BERLIN

in toleration by the People's
Representatives and the institution
of the preferred main protagonists

under the motto:

Be smart - earn by construction

[FIG. 0.11: AKTION 507, *MANIFEST*, 1968]

CHAPTER ONE
THE PRESENT

INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER ONE

This chapter seeks to explore *Aktion 507*'s understanding of their present, in the presentation and analysis of the urban planning policies implemented in post-war Berlin. Their condemnation will be elucidated by the reactions of residents, the criticism by the media, and intellectual sources referenced by *Aktion 507*. Many new housing projects were constructed in post-war Germany to replace housing stock destroyed during World War Two: forty per cent of dwellings were lost and in the central area of the city, the destruction amounted to seventy per cent and the population of the city as a whole decreased from 4.3 million to 2.8.¹ This deficit was also seen as an opportunity to re-define Germany, both nationally and globally. As a city on the front line of the Cold War, walled Berlin became a showcase for western ideals of democracy, transparency, and freedom and so post-war architecture became synonymous with the visual representation of a democratic city, rebuilding itself in the face of fascism and communism. Thus, urban planning and housing developments took on a particular significance in the divided city; new prefabricated blocks and glass boxes were representative of this western ideal and caused architecture to become a vessel for social, political, and cultural debates. A key figure who heavily influenced the '68 student movement, Theodor Adorno, stated that: 'the air raids, have already led architecture into a condition from which it cannot escape'.² He continued 'My suspicion...that the world is no longer habitable has already been confirmed; the heavy shadow of instability bears upon built form'.³ It can therefore be argued that the student protests in West Berlin had a unique character within the global student movement due, in part, to the experience of the urban space of post-war Berlin; an island in the Communist East, with a housing stock devastated by allied bombing, and an experimental field where new architectural ideas and ideologies were tested.

Aktion 507 noted that in the 1960s there was a new critical reflection of approaches to urban planning which they divided into four categories; sociological, aesthetic, historical, and an examination of National Socialist architecture. The influence of both the consequences of fascism and historical revisions on post-war architecture will be

¹ Wilhelm V. Von Moltke, 'The Evolution of Berlin's Urban Form through History', in *Views of Berlin*, ed. by Gerhard Kirchhoff (Boston: Birkhäuser, 1989), pp. 277-97 (p. 295).

² Theodor W. Adorno, 'Functionalism Today', in *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*, ed. by Neil Leach (London: Routledge, 1997 [1965]), pp. 5-18 (p. 10).

³ *Ibid.*

considered in Chapter Two, and so this chapter will focus on the issues that related to aesthetics and sociology as identified by *Aktion 507*. The key role that *Der Spiegel's* emotive and damning attacks against post-war planning played in *Aktion 507's* critique will be clearly illustrated in this chapter. Hinrich Baller (1936-) commented that the group fed information to the magazine's editor, Karl-Heinz Krüger, with whom an agreement had been made to publish an article using their own documents and images.⁴ Therefore, coinciding with the opening of the *Diagnose* exhibition, *Der Spiegel* had published '*Städtebau West-Berlin: Slums verschoben*' [Urban Planning West Berlin: Slums Displaced] on 9 September 1968 which also included a sub-article '*Die Hölle is det Hier: West-Berlins "Märkisches Viertel" im Urteil seiner Bewohner*' [Hell is here: West Berlin's "Märkisches Viertel" as judged by its inhabitants].⁵ Baller recalled 'at the opening [of the exhibition] it appeared as an extremely comprehensive article, perhaps the longest architecture report that had ever appeared in this context. And then of course the world read it'.⁶ Film-maker, social worker and signatory of *Aktion 507*, Helga Reidemeister recalled a publication in the *MV Express* newspaper from 23 November 1973 which quoted *Bausenator* Schwedler's [Construction Minister] reaction to the *Diagnose* work:

When I think back, I remember that the unscrupulous criticism of the MV in 1968 began with the *Diagnose* exhibition at the *Technische Universität*, then social and sociological questions became high-journalism. In the discussion, the citizens of the MV were mainly represented by APO supporters from other districts of Berlin. - This was followed by a DER SPIEGEL article that condemned the MV, of which only one-third was standing at the time, and its demise was secured by staged photos and other high-circulation papers. - Positive judgments were mainly published in foreign trade magazines.⁷

The position of *Der Spiegel* and its relationship to *Aktion 507* is both complex and significant. The *Spiegel-Affäre* [Spiegel Affair] of 1962 was a major political scandal which saw the freedom of the critical press strongly challenged by the post-war government. The magazine published an article claiming that West Berlin would quickly be defeated if the East invaded, and its owner Rudolf Augstein was subsequently imprisoned charged with treason, and later released without trial. *Der Spiegel* reported that the scandal marked a

⁴ Baller, 'Aktion 507'.

⁵ 'Slums verschoben'.

⁶ Hinrich Baller, 'Der Vertrauensarchitekt der Besetzerszene: ein Gespräch mit Hinrich Baller', in *Baunetzwoche*, ed. by Luise Rellensmann (7 Mai 2015), pp. 19-27 (pp. 22-3).

⁷ Helga Reidemeister, "'Diagnose" - Ausstellung', in *Wohnste sozial, haste die Qual: "Jetzt reden wir"* (Reinbek b. Hamburg Rowohlt, 1975), pp. 32-50 (p. 37).

‘watershed moment in the history of West German post-war democracy’.⁸ Arguably the victory of the democratic freedom of the press encouraged the publication to pursue its “investigative journalism” with even more fervour and strengthened its focus on issues of political and social unrest. The publication was under the editorialship and ownership of Rudolf Augstein, from when it was handed over from the British (as *Die Woche*) to the Germans, until Augstein died in 2002. In 1966, Karl-Heinz Krüger was reported to be the only editor in the editorial office in Berlin rather than at the headquarters in Hamburg. Krüger was the editor for film, architecture, urban development and the “neighbouring areas” of art and sociology and edited issue 41 with the title piece ‘*Berlin: Die unheimlich Hauptstadt*’ [Berlin: The Uncanny Capital City] in October of 1966. The issue was conceived of as a counterpoint to a previous issue ‘*München: Deutschlands heimliche Hauptstadt*’ [Munich: Germany’s Secret Capital City] (Issue 39, 21 September 1964). In the editorial Krüger lamented the recent relocation of the *Spiegel* offices from Schöneberger Ufer 59 (just south of the Neue Nationalgalerie) to the recently opened Europa Center [Fig. 1.1]:

The Kurfürstendamm panorama on the cover of this booklet, by the way, is taken from the Berlin SPIEGEL editorial board, which - *o tempora* - no longer resides in the old building on the Schöneberger Ufer, but in the Europa-Center as a “glittering thing” (see title story).⁹

⁸ Christoph Gunkel, ‘50th Anniversary of the ‘Spiegel Affair’: A Watershed Moment for West German Democracy’, *Der Spiegel Online*, (21 September 2012) <<http://www.spiegel.de/international/germany/50th-anniversary-of-the-spiegel-affair-a-857030.html>> [accessed 26 May 2017].

⁹ Karl-Heinz Krüger, ‘Hausmitteilung’, *Der Spiegel*, 41 (3 October 1966), p. 3.



FIG. 1.1: HELMUT HENTRICH AND HUBERT PETSCHNIGG, EUROPA CENTER, WEST BERLIN, 1963-5

Clearly, the interest in the changing urban space of West Berlin was of concern to Krüger. It is also interesting that he describes his editorial remit as containing the 'bordering area' of sociology. In the title story Krüger commented on the changes in Berlin and its inconsistencies and opposites – the aging population, the loss of monuments, the loss of industry, the loss of buildings and of purpose, and the gaining of a freedom with the lack of police, the unauthorised flourishing of clubs and bars offering an array of entertainment: 'the space and idyll which accompanies an un-expressed anger'.¹⁰ It was Krüger who took fellow journalist Hermann Funke and photographer Klaus Mehner to live in the Märkisches Viertel for four weeks in 1970 and published the polemic '*Menschen im Experiment: Das Märkische Viertel und seine Bewohner*' [People in an Experiment: The Märkisches Viertel and its Inhabitants].¹¹ In her retrospective article in *Bauwelt* in 1983, former member of *Aktion 507* Ingrid Krau complained about the representation of the aims of the group in the media: 'the front-line city press was not interested in the substantive positions nor in the

¹⁰ Karl-Heinz Krüger, 'Das Glitzerding', *Der Spiegel*, 41 (3 October 1966), pp. 40-61.

¹¹ Karl-Heinz Krüger, 'Menschen im Experiment: das Märkische Viertel und seine Bewohner', *Der Spiegel*, 45 (2 November 1970).

nuances within the opposition'.¹² Baller also acknowledged the inflammatory and emotive tone that the *Spiegel* article took, but the benefits of its publication:

Even if the article itself only excited a few from the group because of the Spiegel-type presentation, the effect alone was great. Already on the first day of the exhibition several hundred guests appeared in the exhibition, not least members of the Berlin *Bau-Verwaltung* [Berlin Construction Administration].¹³



FIG. 1.2: PHOTOGRAPHS OF *DIAGNOSE* EXHIBITION, 1968

The Frankfurt based newspaper, *Publik* reported that the evening discussions during the *Diagnose* exhibition attracted between 300 and 500 participants.¹⁴ The criticism that the inhabitants lobbied at the housing estate was shocking, with some very disturbing reports

¹² Krau, 'Die Zeit der Diagnose', 342.

¹³ Baller, 'Aktion 507'.

¹⁴ Lore Ditzen, 'Thesen statt Freibier: "Diagnosen" in Berlin, Architekten kämpfen für die Mieter', *Publik* (Frankfurt a. M.), (4 October 1968).

of prostitution, drug-use, and dire living conditions which lived up to the “ghetto” criticism. A pastor at Gropiusstadt, for example, reported that there was teenage prostitution in the lifts of the high-rises, and that the body of a murdered man lay undetected in the bath of a high-rise for three weeks.¹⁵ Reports of this nature received a high level of attention by the press so that governmental belief in the success of the development was short-lived. As Baller commented: ‘[Residents’] criticism of the living conditions there was devastating, which of course was terrible for the architects who had been involved’.¹⁶ These “devastating” reports were those which were published in *Der Spiegel* and circulated amongst its 900,000 readers and the Märkisches Viertel quickly became an outlet for many grievances about the morality of the post-war world. Other magazines and newspapers followed suit, though not to the same extent, but the engagement of leading figures from the government combined with well-known cultural critics and architects aided the widespread attention that the *Diagnose* exhibition received.



FIG. 1.3: IMAGES OF THE MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL PHOTOGRAPHED BY GERHARD ULLMAN, 1968

The images that accompanied these critiques communicated the brutal reality of new housing. For example, Gerhard Ullmann (1935-2012) was responsible for the hard-hitting documentary images of the Märkisches Viertel which were published as a series in the

¹⁵ ‘Es bröckelt’, p. 41.

¹⁶ Baller, ‘Der Vertrauensarchitekt der Besetzerszene’, (p. 22).

Deutsche Bauzeitung in 1970 and also were published as a single piece in *Stern* magazine in July 1970. Born in Teplitz-Schönau in the Czech Republic, Ullmann studied at the Berlin-Weißensee Academy of Fine Arts between 1956-9 and from 1959-69 at the Berlin-Charlottenburg Academy of Fine Arts, first in art and then architecture, under the direction of Julius Posener, amongst others. Famous as an architectural critic, photographer and essayist, Ullmann addressed subjects such as the history of Kreuzberg's backyards, the IBA 87, the consequences of the fall of the Berlin Wall, and the changes in urban life at Karl-Marx-Allee. His most famous images of the Märkisches Viertel show children playing on spoil heaps [Fig. 1.3] and in dust bins with the vast expanse of the development behind. Further to this Ullmann wrote 'Children do not look for playgrounds according to aesthetic criteria'.¹⁷ Ungers himself commented on the power of these photographs in citing the image as an example of the biased discrediting of the Märkisches Viertel.¹⁸ Ullmann's bleak and forceful images of the life lived by those affected by post-war planning policies, combined with the reprinting of disturbing first-hand accounts by residents created a strong message that demanded attention. This chapter will use these images and interviews with residents to illustrate the contemporary critique of the modernist post-war planning policies, combined with theories from *Aktion 507's* manifesto to indicate how the theories were interpreted and translated into the reality of the Märkisches Viertel. It will therefore be seen how the Märkisches Viertel became a symbolic example of serious criticism lobbied at the post-war government across the political spectrum, across various arms of the media, and across numerous disciplines.

In order to clarify the context, **Section 1.1** looks more explicitly at the housing projects that were built to replace the inner-city tenements. Discussion will focus on the development from the Hansaviertel, to Gropiusstadt, and to the Märkisches Viertel, and indicate that whilst each retain and develop the same general characteristics they also digress from the previous. The style and design concepts will be explored and the specific case of the Märkisches Viertel which formed the central point of *Aktion 507's* criticism will be shown in detail in order to ascertain the physical characteristics and intentions of the development before moving on to its vehement criticism. This section tends towards the historical in order to highlight the key arguments in relation to urban planning and to indicate the

¹⁷ Ibid. p. 24 ff.

¹⁸ Ibid. p. 24.

philosophy behind the new developments. This will then provide the basis for understanding the criticism from the students and others.

Section 1.2, as a continuation of the planning ideas behind the new satellite settlements discussed in the previous section, considers the application of colour to the Märkisches Viertel settlement. It looks at the mentality behind the idea as well as the pre-war concepts that fed into its use. The section also analyses how the application of colour was perceived as a point of contention for the critics of new housing construction. The contested viewpoints of the media, the architects, urban planners and students will demonstrate how attitudes towards urban planning were closely linked to broader issues and competing world views.

Section 1.3 demonstrates the work of *Aktion 507* in their presentation of the views of residents in comparison to those of the architects, and attempts to construct an image of the disparities and how they were manifested in the context of the Märkisches Viertel. The section looks at the tenants of post-war housing in terms of infrastructure, separation of functions, community, isolation, idealisation of technology, leisure time, traffic and the impact on children and the psyche of the inhabitants. The section includes some shocking accounts of the social deprivation and lives of people who lived within the estates to demonstrate the ways in which *Aktion 507* used their interviews with residents to show the disparity they identified between architecture and inhabitant. Autobiographical excerpts and accounts from *Aktion 507's* interviews will be included to illustrate the severity of the problems in the new estates and to demonstrate the theoretical concerns in relation to the reality on the ground. The ideals of post-war construction policies are contrasted with the realities of the post-war experience and combined with the theories and criticisms of intellectuals, in order to show the scale of the attack against the urban planning policies, and functionalism in particular. Theorists such as Jane Jacobs and Aldo Rossi will feature in their advocacy of mixed use and the importance of the traditional idea of a city, to demonstrate the global alternatives as well as more local concerns specific to West Berlin. The intention of this chapter is to contextualise the debates that surrounded post-war planning with the specific intentions and ideological aims of the government to ascertain the situation that the students found so abhorrent. The chapter also situates this discussion in a historical and architectural tradition whilst considering the new urban planning policies as reflective of larger historical, political, and sociological debates. Fundamentally, the

chapter will consider why urban planning became deeply politicised in the post-war context.

The perceived “zero hour” situation of post-war Berlin created a vast array of debates regarding how to seize the “opportunity” created by the wartime destruction. Ideas about the city were being redefined based on the following principles; the preference for a radically new city; the desire for tenement demolition; the promotion of the nineteenth-century pre-industrial city (which was believed to be the intrinsic essence of Berlin) and the belief that the pre-war metropolis was the model for the future.¹⁹



FIG. 1.4: PHOTOGRAPHS OF DIAGNOSE EXHIBITION PANELS, *URBAN RENEWAL*, 1968

The problem with recreating the metropolitan life of the golden 1920s and the *Weltstadt* concept of pre-war cultural significance was the inevitable connection to the National Socialist past – any desire for grandeur and global importance evoked immediate

¹⁹ Florian Urban, ‘Recovering Essence through Demolition: The “Organic” City in Postwar West Berlin’, *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, 63 (Sep 2004), 354.

connotations to National Socialist ideologies.²⁰ This section will therefore look at the alternatives proposed and the construction of some of the most prominent post-war housing projects which most succinctly encapsulate these aims. The development of the ideas of the Athens Charter will be demonstrated in relation to the urban planning decision implemented in West-Berlin. The desire for self-enclosed residential areas and the development therefore of satellite settlements will be analysed and related back to *Aktion 507's* critique. The focus will then be directed towards the Märkisches Viertel as it formed a central point for *Aktion 507's* concerns and the design will be shown in some detail in order to present the context for the vehement criticism. The final element of this section, after a presentation of the changes that took place within urban planning, will demonstrate why urban planning in West-Berlin became so politicised.

²⁰ Ibid. p. 363.

The most popular post-war concept was that of the *Stadtlandschaft* [city landscape] which envisaged a landscaped cityscape punctuated with high-rises. The “handbook” for this idea was Göderitz, Rainer and Hoffmann’s *Die gegliederte und aufgelockerte Stadt* [The Structured and Dispersed City] (1957), which argued that the city of the future could only be created through radical measures i.e. large-scale demolition.²¹ Many of the issues put forward by Göderitz were subsumed into West German planning law by the 1960s.²² Although the book was published in 1957 to coincide with the International Building Exhibition (see p. 64), it was actually first printed in 1944 as the *Deutsche Akademie für Städtebau, Reichs- und Landesplanung* [German Academy for Town, Reich and Regional Planning]. The 1957 version of the text removed references to Aryan ideology, but the main premise was the same; a zoned city with an abundance of unbroken greenery punctuated with high-rises.²³ This indicates the extent to which modernist ideas found their way in to National Socialist sanctioned publications, albeit on a theoretical level. The illustrations within the book, showed English and Scandinavian garden cities alongside the advocacy of concepts introduced by members of CIAM reflecting the global trend for the desire to completely re-envisage the modern city, even during the National Socialist period. Significantly, this also indicates how the planning system grew out of National Socialist modernisation.

Therefore, reconstruction plans for Berlin actually began during the war; the authors of *Die gegliederte und aufgelockerte Stadt* were involved in the *Arbeitsstab Wiederaufbauplanung* [Reconstruction Planning Task Force] which was initiated by Albert Speer in 1943 under instructions from Hitler.²⁴ Thus, the official rhetoric of creating a break with the recent past and returning to the pre-war style of resistance, was not entirely true. Undeniably all regimes, the National Socialists during the war, and the Communists and Capitalists post war, saw the city’s destruction as an opportunity to create an ordered cityscape in the ruins of the chaotic and overcrowded industrial landscape. In September

²¹ Ibid. p. 359.

²² Francesca Rogier, ‘The Monumentality of Rhetoric: The Will to Rebuild in Postwar Berlin’, in *Anxious Modernisms*, ed. by Sarah Williams Goldhagen and Réjean Legault (London: MIT Press, 2000), pp. 165-90 (p. 165).

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid. p. 167.

1946, at the opening of the *Berlin plant* [Berlin is Planning] exhibition, architect Hans Scharoun stated:

What remained after the bombings and the final battle, executed a mechanical dispersal [that] ruptured the city form [...and] gives us the possibility to design an urban landscape [...] Through this, it is possible to compose that which is overwhelming and lacks scale, into manageable and proportional parts, and to order these parts into a beautiful landscape – such as forest, fields, hills, and lakes.²⁵

The overarching consensus was that the cityscape should be recreated according to modernist principles. Le Corbusier and other members of the modernist movement were concerned with the social role of architecture and believed that an appropriate form of architecture could prevent social unrest.²⁶ Le Corbusier's famous dictum "architecture or revolution" highlights the belief that architecture could solve the problems of society; modern architecture was to be a democratic force within a democratic society and it was these political ideals which also led to modernism being embraced in a post-war, post-fascist context. However *Aktion 507* highlighted the irony that 'democracy does not need the intention to "democratically" represent itself, if those who build, build for the democratic process'.²⁷ The accusation being that if those who are in charge of urban planning policies are consciously trying to represent democracy, then they must be inherently undemocratic.

²⁵ Hans Scharoun quoted in *Ibid.*

²⁶ Neil Leach, 'Architecture or Revolution?', in *Architecture and Revolution: Contemporary Perspectives on Central and Eastern Europe*, (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 112-26 (p. 112).

²⁷ *Aktion 507*, 'Manifest', (p. 82).

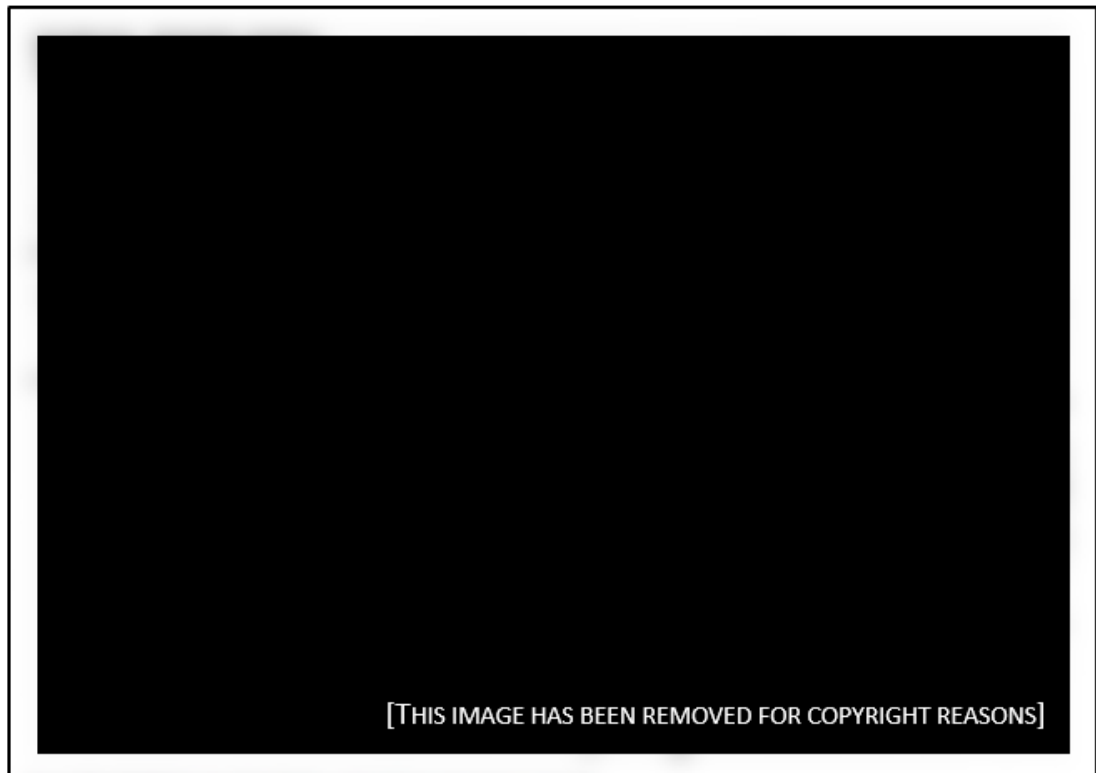


FIG. 1.5: HANS SCHAROUN, *KOLLEKTIVPLAN*, 1945/6

Hans Scharoun, quoted above, was one of the key figures involved in post-war reconstruction. As chief city planner between 1945-6, he spearheaded the task force for the *Kollektivplan* [FIG. 1.5] which was widely regarded as an antidote to Speer's *Germania* in its lack of hierarchy, decentralisation and focus on ease of movement. This project was understood as another attempt to create a link to the origins of Germany, to create a historical continuity which could erase National Socialism from the city and the country. The premise of the *Kollektivplan* was to excavate Berlin back to its geological origins and rebuild the city according to the natural paths laid out by the river Spree.²⁸ The plan anticipated a zoning of the city according to commerce, industry and residence, the city was to be divided into cells which were each to contain a few thousand residents, the historic centre was to be reconfigured and connected to the whole with a series of transport networks. The idea of dividing the city into functionalist zones was commented on by *Aktion 507* as follows: 'of all of Berlin's visualisations' the zoning plan is 'the most unmanageable'.²⁹ This however, was the predominant idea that was reflected in urban planning policies.

²⁸ Rogier, 'The Monumentality of Rhetoric: The Will to Rebuild in Postwar Berlin', (p. 168).

²⁹ *Aktion 507*, 'Manifest', (p. 142).

After it became clear that Berlin was to remain divided for the foreseeable future, more conservative plans were developed for each half of the city. In 1969, for example, East Berlin's *Generalbebauungsplan* [General Development Plan] removed West Berlin entirely, and maps of East Germany showed West Berlin as a void [FIG. 1.6].³⁰ While plans in the East retained the sense of hierarchy and monumentality, plans for the West sought to include new ideas about the cityscape reflecting a new "healthier" society. Post-war ideas concerning the city as an organism discussed its components in relation to the human body – traffic networks as arteries for example. Planners who adhered to this concept understood the city as an entity that experiences a life cycle, of health and sickness, of decay and repair, strongly propagated the concept that the city, as well as its inhabitants, needed "healing" in the post-war situation but also that the development and decline of the city were "natural" products of ebb and flow. This removed the need to confront the ramifications from National Socialism whilst also connecting to a more "timeless" or "natural" state of being which removed human responsibility. This also aids in understanding the focus on function rather than style. The flowing organic city was also seen in opposition to the stone metropolis, as Taut said 'stone buildings make for stone hearts'.³¹ Equally, any mention of "stone" in connection with architecture would immediately create links to Hitler's concept of architecture as the "word in stone". The organic spatial cities created by the concepts of the post-war planners were therefore intended to be seen in direct contrast to the National Socialist stone metropolis.

³⁰ Tommy Book, 'The Urban Field of Berlin: Expansion--Isolation--Reconstruction', *Geografiska Annaler. Series B, Human Geography*, 77 (1995), 186.

³¹ Bruno Taut, *Die Auflösung der Städte, oder, die Erde, eine gute Wohnung*, (Hagen: Folkwang-Verlag, 1920), p. 96.



FIG. 1.6: EAST BERLIN MAP INDICATING WEST BERLIN

The “democratic” forms of architecture were seen by *Aktion 507* as a means of disguising the political realities of post-war Germany. Under the heading ‘monumentalism’, the manifesto quoted Ulrich Conrads referring to the Olympic Centre in Munich, which was completed by Günther Behnisch and Frei Otto between 1968-72 for the 1972 Olympic Games: ‘no planning venture will win us back so much sympathy and faith’.³² The stadium was seen in direct contrast to the 1936 Olympic Stadium designed by Werner March under the instructions of Hitler and Speer. The design by Otto was selected as the winning entry with its network of steel cables suspending a tensile structure thought to imitate the continuity of the Alps and the President of the Olympic Committee, Willi Daume stated ‘we cannot offer an aesthetic Games and then use a neo-Biedermeier style or the monumentalism of the Third Reich’.³³ There was clearly a desire to highlight the fact that Berlin had been the ‘main power and strength of the German contribution to mainstream Modern architecture’.³⁴ The discussion of architectural style as a global demonstration of

³² *Aktion 507*, ‘Manifest’, (p. 76).

³³ ‘Olympia 1972: Zank ums Zelt’, *Der Spiegel*, 8 (19 February 1968), p. 135.

³⁴ Reyner Banham, *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age*, (London: Butterworth Architecture, 1988), p. 265.

the “new Germany” severing ties to its National Socialist past were therefore intimately connected with building projects in the post-war era, and openly discussed. For critics such as *Aktion 507*, the distancing from the totalitarian or politically-imbued architecture of the war years, did not mean that the stylistic opposite was less political, rather that its creators were attempting to disguise this propagandist element.

One of the earliest projects undertaken in the newly formed West Berlin was the Hansaviertel district which was the focus of the *Internationale Bauausstellung* or Interbau [International Building Exhibition] in 1957 [FIG. 1.7]. The significance of the development was that it identified modernism as the urban design paradigm of post-war Berlin. Architectural historian, Brian Ladd referred to the Interbau as ‘an exercise in architectural fantasy’, a showcase for western ideas about modernity and decentralisation.³⁵ The Hansaviertel also functioned as an attempt to ‘subject the prestigious architectural elite to the rules of subsidised (“social”) housing in Germany’.³⁶



FIG. 1.7: HANSAVIERTEL, WEST BERLIN, 1957

³⁵ Ladd, *Ghosts of Berlin*, pp. 180-1.

³⁶ Klaus von Beyme, ‘Ideas for a Capital City in East and West’, in *City of Architecture of the City: Berlin 1900-2000*, (Berlin: Nicolai, 2000), pp. 239-50 (p. 240).

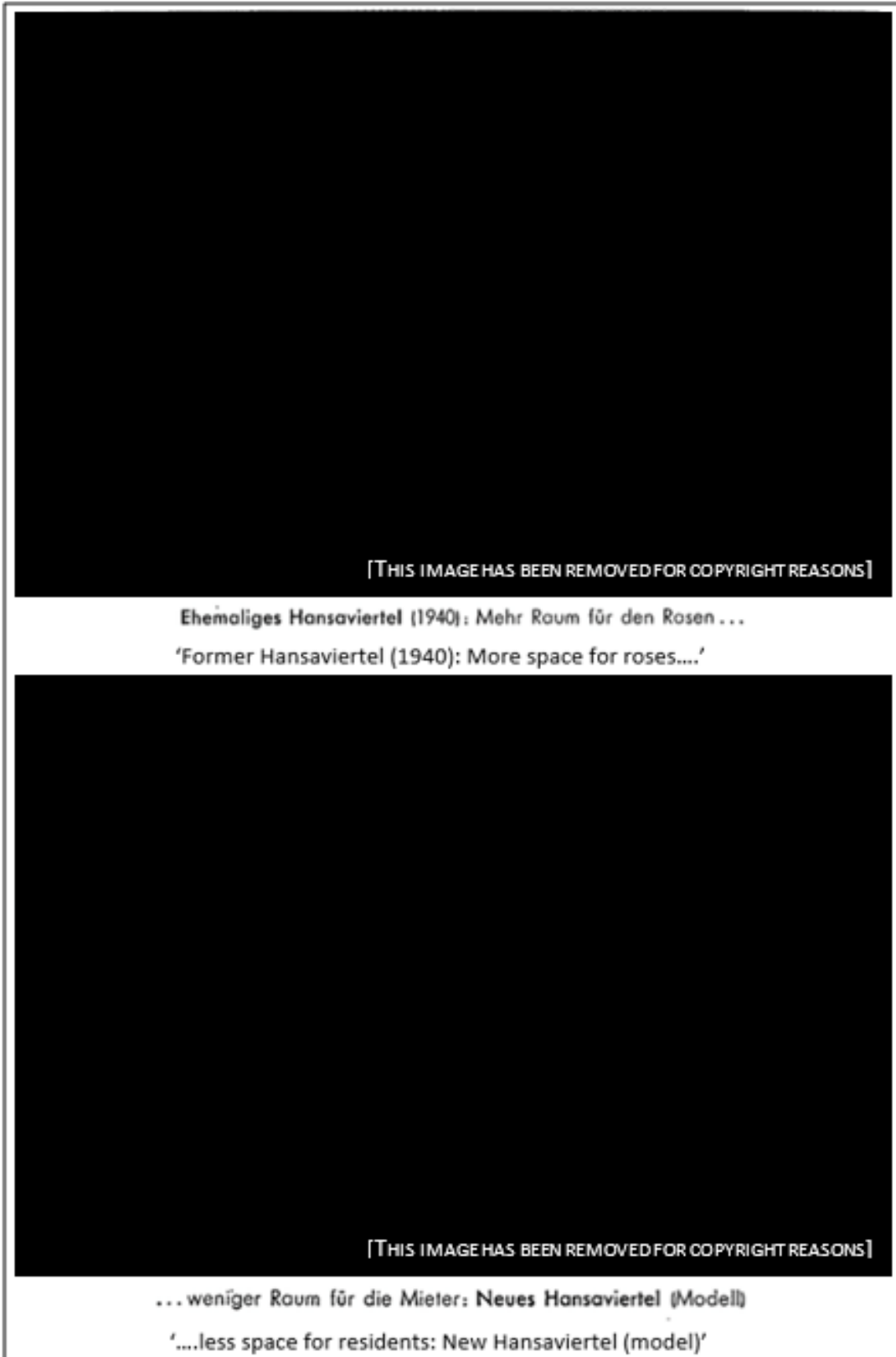
In 1953 a competition was held to determine the ground plan in an area bordering the Tiergarten, formally a bourgeois neighbourhood consisting of nineteenth-century houses. Bodenschatz reported that only twenty of 160 pre-war buildings in the inner-city district survived the war intact, and so the area was close enough to the city centre to be of significance and had suffered enough damage to warrant reconstruction.³⁷ After the ground plan was agreed upon, fifty-three international architects such as Oscar Niemeyer, Le Corbusier, Alvar Aalto, and Walter Gropius were invited to submit designs for forty-five buildings, of which thirty-five were realised. The designs were then exhibited to the public between 7 June and 29 September 1957.³⁸ The reconstruction of the district was seen as a counterpoint to the monumental Stalinallee (Hermann Henselmann, 1952-60) which was under construction as the triumphal entrance in East Berlin and projected to be ‘the first socialist street of the capital of Germany’.³⁹ In contrast to the traditional forms of architecture being erected by the East, the Hansaviertel was intended to convey freedom, democracy, openness and a lack of hierarchy – all of the perceived high-points of the western capitalist system. The design of the site with landscaping punctuated by high-rises in the modernist style and a focus on function, light and circulation, strongly adhered to the principles of the Athens Charter, and was the complete opposite of the nineteenth-century buildings which had previously populated the site. Although the site was designed as social housing, *Der Spiegel* noted that there were 65,000 inhabitants in the old Hansaviertel, whereas in the new district there was to be just 1200 apartments for approximately 3500 people.⁴⁰ They illustrated their five-page review of the Hansaviertel development with the following two images, demonstrating a precursor to the criticism of later estates designed along the concepts of the Hansaviertel:

³⁷ Harald Bodenschatz, *Platz frei für das neue Berlin: Geschichte der Stadterneuerung in der “Größten Mietskasernenstadt der Welt” Seit 1871*, (West Berlin: Transit, 1987), p. 265.

³⁸ Urban, ‘Recovering Essence through Demolition’, 355.

³⁹ Richard Anderson, *Russia*, (London: Reaktion Books, 2015), p. 209.

⁴⁰ Heiliger Otto, ‘Interbau’, *Der Spiegel*, 31 (7 July 1957), p. 52.



[FIG. 1.8]

In 1960, architectural historian Leonardo Benevelo criticised the Interbau for showing the disunity apparent in the modern tradition because of the variety and individuality of the buildings.⁴¹ Most critics agreed with this criticism that the Hansaviertel was comprised of a collection of individual elements in a staggered design that did not work effectively as an urban whole.⁴² In reality, regardless of the success of the composition, it was impossible for the Interbau to succeed as a blueprint for housing in West Berlin as construction costs were too high to address the severe housing deficit.⁴³ The condemnation was mainly directed at the social housing aspect of the development. Another image from the same *Der Spiegel* article shows a magazine aesthetic photograph of the interior of Hugo Vago's building with the caption 'for "social housing"' [FIG. 1.9].⁴⁴ Linked to this, the costs of constructing the new Hansaviertel spiralled and the involvement of many headstrong international architects proved complex. *Der Spiegel* reported that according to the West Berlin Building Director, architect and leader of the IBA Competition, Hans Stephan (who had also worked for the National Socialists), the normal rate of construction had only, at most, been exceeded by thirty per cent and was explained in his belief that the houses in the district were a prototype for the future of Berlin construction: 'when you do it for the first time, it will be more expensive'.⁴⁵ Unlike other post-war residential developments, the Interbau did not face particular controversy, and instead 'faded into a comfortable obscurity'.⁴⁶ As *Der Spiegel* summarised, 'internationally renowned architects were allowed to shine with residential skyscrapers; but such experiments were isolated, without a formative effect on housing'.⁴⁷

⁴¹ Josef Paul Kleihues, 'From the Destruction to the Critical Reconstruction of the City: Urban Design in Berlin after 1945', in *Berlin/New York: Like and Unlike, Essays on Architecture and Art from 1870 to the Present*, ed. by John Paul Kleihues and Christina Rathgeber (New York: Rizzoli, 1993), pp. 395-410 (p. 399).

⁴² Beyme, 'Ideas for a Capital City', (pp. 240-1).

⁴³ Ladd, *Ghosts of Berlin*, p. 189.

⁴⁴ Otto, 'Interbau', p. 53.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ladd, *Ghosts of Berlin*, p. 189.

⁴⁷ 'Es bröckelt', p. 41.

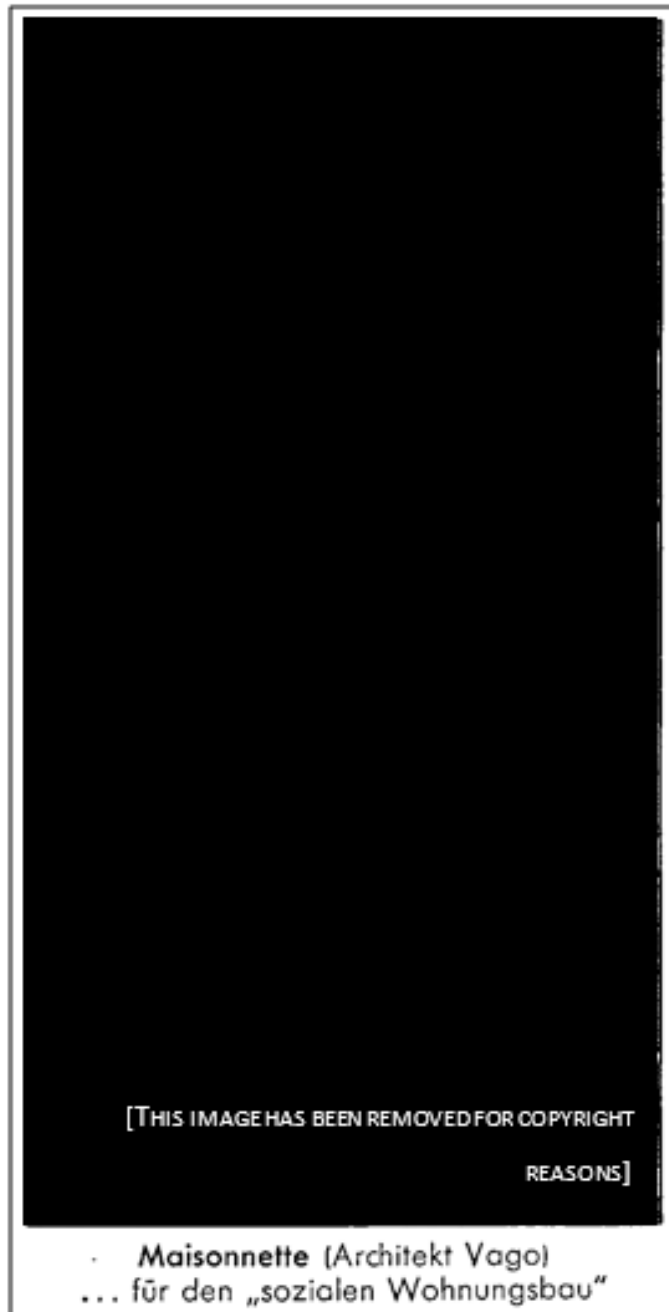


Fig. 1.9: 'MAISONNETTE (ARCHITECT VAGO) ... FOR "SOCIAL HOUSING"', *DER SPIEGEL*, 1957

Although generally planners and architects wanted to seize the "opportunity" of the "zero hour" to create a version of Le Corbusier's City of Tomorrow, the reality was that less than thirty per cent of residential buildings in Berlin were beyond repair.⁴⁸ In addition, despite the fact that thirty per cent of the construction above ground may have needed replacing, underground, sewerage, electricity, telephone cables and water pipes remained largely intact and thus to deviate from old street and block patterns would have required more

⁴⁸ Urban, 'Recovering Essence through Demolition', 360.

labour and resources than initially thought. The *Stadtlandschaft* referred to by the post-war planners was intended to be the prototype for the reconstruction of Berlin, and yet economics and the fallacy of the *tabula rasa* situation forced reconsideration. Owing to this, most German cities were rebuilt conforming to their pre-war plans with a focus on traffic improvements.⁴⁹ As early as 1956, the architect Hubert Hoffmann lamented the loss of utopian town-planning ideas that were spearheaded in the first few years after World War Two.⁵⁰

Many old tenements were still identified as beyond repair and therefore the destruction of the nineteenth-century tenements was a major element of post-war planning policies, particularly in working class districts such as Kreuzberg and Wedding. This led to the re-housing of tenants in large housing developments on the outskirts of the city. Contrary to the wishes of *Aktion 507* and others, the government advocated policies of complete demolition and renewal. In 1963, West Berlin's first urban renewal program was enforced, inspired by American models of slum clearance, it was nicknamed *Kahlschlagsanierung* ["total chop-down remodelling"] by its critics.⁵¹ The programme saw the demolition of 56,000 apartments in the inner-city districts of Wedding, Tiergarten, Kreuzberg, Schöneberg and Neukölln, with 140,000 inhabitants (10 per cent of West Berlin's population) moved to settlements on the periphery.⁵² These sites were not just empty spaces but were 'a self-contained island of development which [were] not linked with the surrounding area'.⁵³ Hartmut Frank, architectural theorist and architectural student at the TU between 1963-9, recalled that 'the implications of this [policy] did not crystallise into issues within architecture until hefty criticism of monotonous, ghetto-like estates on the urban periphery began to erupt around 1968' which began at the TU and then gradually infiltrated in to the arena of practicing architects and the media.⁵⁴

⁴⁹ Günther Feuerstein, *New Directions in German Architecture*, (New York: G. Braziller, 1968), p. 67.

⁵⁰ Hubert Hoffmann, 'Introduction', in *New German Architecture*, ed. by Gerd Hatje, Hubert Hoffmann, and Karl Kaspar (London: Architectural Press, 1956), pp. vii-xx (p. xix).

⁵¹ Helga Fassbinder, 'Gegen-Planung: Das Büro für Stadtsanierung und Soziale Arbeit in Berlin-Kreuzberg', *Stadtbauwelt*, 80 (1983), 350.

⁵² Urban, 'Recovering Essence through Demolition', 368.

⁵³ Torsten Birne, 'So Distant – Märkisches Viertel and Gropiusstadt: Housing Construction in West Berlin from 1960-1972', in *City of Architecture of the City: Berlin 1900-2000*, ed. by Thorsten Scheer, Josef Paul Kleihues, and Paul Kahlfeldt (Berlin: Nicolai, 2000), pp. 307-13 (p. 308).

⁵⁴ Hartmut Frank, 'Crisis or Sea Change? Architecture Debates in West Berlin around 1967/68', in *Radically Modern: Urban Planning and Architecture in 1960s Berlin*, ed. by Thomas Köhler and Ursula Müller (Berlin: Ernst Wasmuth Verlag, 2015), pp. 170-77 (p. 177).



FIG. 1.10: MAP SHOWING LOCATION OF POST-WAR HOUSING SETTLEMENTS

The concept of these large satellite settlements was based on both the ideas of the Athens Charter and the *Deutscher Werkbund* with particular reference to the built work of Bruno Taut.⁵⁵ The Athens Charter was an urban planning document which came out of the fourth CIAM congress in 1933, the results of which were compiled and published by Le Corbusier in 1943. The main principle was the functional separation of the city into zones: recreation, work, residential and circulation. Le Corbusier and the other signatories believed that the 'destiny of architecture is to give expression to the spirit of the age' and therefore that there was a need for a 'new conception of architecture'.⁵⁶ The main identifiable issue was therefore that the city no longer accurately reflected the society it intended to represent as 'the transformation of the social structure and of the economic order inevitably entails a corresponding transformation of the architectural phenomenon itself'.⁵⁷ The historic city centres were deemed too densely populated which gave the inhabitants no connection to nature and the poor condition of the housing was believed to have a negative effect on its

⁵⁵ Urban, 'Märkisches Viertel', (p. 176).

⁵⁶ Le Corbusier, *The Athens Charter*, (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1973), p. 6.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

residents.⁵⁸ The solution was the destruction of slums around historic monuments to make way for greenery, industry was to be separated from residential zones, and the three zones of work, leisure, and rest were to be separated and connected by vast transportation networks. The Charter decreed that:

henceforth, residential districts must occupy the best locations within the urban space, using the topography to advantage, taking the climate into account, and having the best exposure to sunshine with accessible green areas at their disposal.⁵⁹

Despite the fact that the Charter was not published until 1943, the themes of the manifesto were in wide circulation from the conception of Le Corbusier's *Ville Contemporaine* in 1924 and condensed broader themes on the changing function of the city. The idea of the garden city for example, had also been in circulation since 1903 with the publication of Ebenezer Howard's *Garden Cities of Tomorrow*. The intention of the garden city concept was to reduce the contrast between the city centre and the rural periphery in order to create a higher standard of living for the city's inhabitants.⁶⁰ This was to be achieved through lower density, greenery, colour, and a sense of individuality and ownership.

In reaction to the congested, polluted and stressful industrial cities, Ebenezer envisaged a web of small garden cities with 32,000 inhabitants linked by transport networks. At the centre of these studies and manifestos for the future of urban living, was a belief not only that the current city form no longer fulfilled its function, but that it was actually having a detrimental effect on city dwellers. Influenced by Howard, Taut wrote: 'A deep desire directs us all: we want cities again, in which we can [...] not only live safely and healthily but also happily'.⁶¹ The estates were an attempt to rid the industrialised society of the ills of capitalism whilst operating within the means of the system, and as such had a great impact on future planning in Berlin.⁶² The *Gartenstädte* that followed, such as Taut's at Falkenberg in Berlin (1912-3) were deemed successful in fostering a sense of community and connection to landscape became the blue print for future social housing. The concept of

⁵⁸ Ibid. pp. 54-5.

⁵⁹ Ibid. p. 61.

⁶⁰ Markus Jäger, *Housing Estates in the Berlin Modern Style*, (München: Deutscher Kunstverlag GmbH, 2007), pp. 9-10.

⁶¹ Bruno Taut, *The City Crown*, (London: Routledge, 2015 [1919]), p. 78.

⁶² Iain Boyd Whyte, *Bruno Taut and the Architecture of Activism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), p. 12.

the neighbourhood unit, an idea taken from *Gartenstädte*, was later adopted by many modernist planners, as will be seen in the post-World War Two developments.



FIG. 1.11: VIEW FROM A MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL APARTMENT ON DANNENWALDER WEG-26, c. 1970
Der Spiegel dated the desire for a connection with the land back to steel manufacturer Alfred Krupp who, in 1865, stated the benefits of settlements for workers in preventing revolt.⁶³ The Weimar Republic saw the benefits of a connection with the countryside as one that would ‘de-proletarianise’ the urban worker, which was followed by the National Socialists (1933-45) and then ‘embossed’ by the *Christlich Demokratische Union Deutschlands* [Christian Democratic Union of Germany or CDU], (1949-69).⁶⁴ The CDU realised that the traditional longings for the German *stammtisch* citizen could be combined with political intentions in an effort to divert attention from any socialist tendencies in the population.⁶⁵ The ideology of the catholic family and the ideal of the home in the countryside was seen to both make the German population ‘crisis-proof’ and immune from the ‘threat from the East’.⁶⁶ The political intention of post-war planning was clear in the *Wohnungsbau- und Familienheimgesetz* [Housing and Family Act] of 1956, which intended

⁶³ ‘Es bröckelt’, p. 49.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

Stammtisch translates roughly as ‘regulars’ table’ which refers to an informal group meeting between friends.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

to 'connect large sections of the population with the land, by recognising individual ownership' to prevent the socialist threat.⁶⁷ The concepts of the Athens Charter were a re-branding of this *Neue Heimat* [new homeland] connection with nature. Post-Second World War these ideas were developed further with large, compact, high-density housing estates emerging on city peripheries such as Gropiusstadt (1962-75), through which the promise of a new, better and more modern city was encapsulated.⁶⁸ Their proliferation was in part due to the cost-effectiveness of new prefabricated construction techniques with the intention of 'the new large-scale projects' stated as providing 'cheap housing and social space through industrial mass production'.⁶⁹



FIG. 1.12: GROPIUSSTADT, 1962-75

Gropiusstadt [Fig. 1.12] was the first of these complexes to be created in West Berlin on such a large scale with design led by Walter Gropius and his office, The Architects Collaborative (TAC). *Der Spiegel* reported that 'Gropiusstadt is one of the unsuccessful attempts to solve the problem of modern urban planning'.⁷⁰ Initially called "Britz-Buckow-Rudow" as it was located at the intersection of these three Berlin districts, the development was renamed during the 1972 *Berliner Bauwochen* after Gropius's death in

⁶⁷ Ibid. p. 52.

⁶⁸ Ibid. p. 49.

⁶⁹ Brigitte Schultz, *Was heisst hier Stadt?: 50 Jahre Stadtdiskurs am Beispiel der Stadtbauwelt seit 1964*, (Berlin: Jovis Verlag, 2013), p. 22.

⁷⁰ 'Gropius-Stadt: Gettos im grünen', *Der Spiegel*, 37 (4 September 1967), p. 116.

1969. The intention was for the development to be the endpoint of a projected *Bandstadt* [ribbon development] that started with Bruno Taut's *Hufeisensiedlung* ["horse-shoe" development] (1925-33), and later extended to the area of Britz-Süd.⁷¹ When the foundation stone was laid on 7 November 1962, Willy Brandt (Chancellor of West Germany, 1969-1974) commented: "If there are people who did not believe in the future of the city [of Berlin], they will now have to admit that they were wrong".⁷² Gropiusstadt, alongside the Märkisches Viertel, was a political manifestation intended to express the determination of the newly divided city to survive.

The intention was to create 14,500 homes, ninety per cent of which were designated as social housing, with schools, a commercial centre and transport infrastructure. With Taut's *Hufeisensiedlung* to the north of the vacant land, a deliberate development was made from the ideas of the garden city movement and linked to post-war planning policies. The plans were designed in homage to Taut's existing development, with the focus centred on twelve horseshoe-shaped residential blocks, backed with a belt of greenery intended to form courtyards and playgrounds.⁷³ The architect Werner Düttmann commented in 1962 that:

[Gropius] wants a noticeable return to the street, to the street corridor, but with all the advantages of recent conceptual developments in urban planning, i.e. a street free of motor traffic, free of noise, for pedestrians only. He wants open spaces, and he also wants the circle, which he considers a basic form for experiencing space.⁷⁴

Thus, the ideas of the Athens Charter and Taut's concept of the street were combined for the purpose of social housing. Within the development there was a direct correlation to Taut's *Hufeisensiedlung* [FIG. 1.13] in a huge semi-circular apartment block, showing the development of the idea both in terms of scale and in terms of materials. Taut's vision was for rows of small single-family houses each with their own garden, where flats were included there were no more than three stories in a block so that the inhabitants would have a close connection with nature and a sense of individuality.⁷⁵ The ideas behind Gropiusstadt were similar in their desire to connect to nature, to remove inhabitants from the dirt and chaos of traffic and industry, but on a vastly increased density with very little or no private outdoor space. The scale of the settlement dwarfed any connection to the open

⁷¹ Birne, 'So Distant', (p. 308).

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid. p. 309.

⁷⁴ Joachim Schlandt, 'Metamorphosen', *Stadtbauwelt*, 80 (1983), 347.

⁷⁵ Werner Düttmann, 'Gropiusstadt', *Bauwelt*, 1 (1962), 10.

spaces, which had little vegetation, especially in the early years after completion, and the general image of the area was one of social deprivation.



FIG. 1.13: TAUT'S *HUFEISENSIEDLUNG* (1925-33) AND GROPIUSSTADT (1952-75), 2016

After the initial planning for the development in 1958, the erection of the Berlin Wall in 1961 caused a compression of the site due to concerns about future expansion of the border area. The 14,500 units increased to 19,000 for 50,000 people with the tallest high-rise consisting of thirty floors and standing at eighty-nine metres high. The plan was revised twice and the final design showed little resemblance to TAC's concept with the density and proportions of the design considerably altered under the direction of the GEHAG and DEGEWO housing companies. In TAC's design eighty per cent of buildings were two- or

four-storeys high with a few high-rises, whereas the final design consisted of around half of the buildings at one to three storeys, with the rest standing between eight and fourteen storeys high.⁷⁶ Initially, Gropius intended for none of the apartment blocks to be more than five storeys in height. The changes to the development's capacity part way through planning caused both a reduction in green spaces as well as a lack of coherence in the overall plan as the architects who intended to work collectively, made no connections to one another.⁷⁷

As Gropius relocated to America after the war, it is difficult to establish the control he had in the development of the designs and the power he had in negotiating alterations to the initial designs and coordination between the participating architects. He was however present at the laying of the foundation stone of Gropiusstadt on the 7 November 1962. In 1947 he called for a 'psychological reconstruction of the spirit to precede actual planning and rebuilding'.⁷⁸ He then returned to America and visibly distanced himself from post-war reconstruction claiming that 'reconstruction planning should be done by Germans themselves'.⁷⁹ He was however present at the first post-war meeting of CIAM at Bridgewater, UK in 1947 which saw discussion about the role and meaning of CIAM and especially significant for this analysis is Gropius's report which reflected on his recent visit to Germany and warned against the danger of over-mechanisation, and spoke in favour of neighbourhood units and cooperative work.⁸⁰ At the same meeting, J.M Richards (then editor of the *Architectural Review*) commented that, although he did not want the "common man" involved in building, he wanted them to be able to appreciate architecture as something which 'already means something to him emotionally' and wondered if architects could develop 'our present idiom in a more human direction'.⁸¹ At the 8th CIAM Congress which took place in Hoddesdon, Hertfordshire in 1951 the "Heart of the City" was selected as the main theme and reflected the addition of this concept as the 5th urban principle of planning. The English group of CIAM who proposed the topic defined the concept as 'the element that makes a community a community and not merely an

⁷⁶ Birne, 'So Distant', (p. 309).

⁷⁷ Taut, *The City Crown*, p. 78.

⁷⁸ Birne, 'So Distant', (p. 309).

⁷⁹ Jeffrey M. Diefendorf, *In the Wake of the War: The Reconstruction of German Cities after World War II*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 184.

⁸⁰ Eric Mumford, *The CIAM Discourse on Urbanism, 1928-1960*, (London: MIT Press, 2000), p. 177.

⁸¹ *Ibid.* p. 178.

aggregate of individuals'.⁸² These discussions reflect something of the criticisms that were to come in the developments in Germany, based on CIAM principles; lacking consideration of the human, the heart of the city, and of cooperative work.

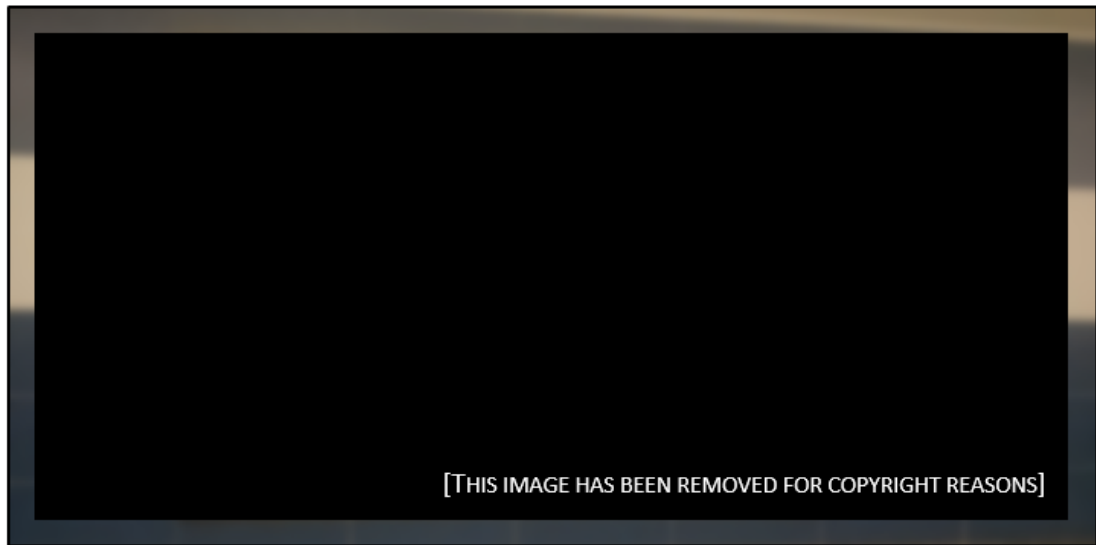


FIG. 1.14: WALTER GROPIUS BEING INTERVIEWED IN FRONT OF A MODEL OF GROPIUSSTADT, WEST BERLIN U-BAHN STATION LIPSCHITZALLEE [UNDATED], 2016

Gropiusstadt, for example, was situated at the edge of the eastern and southern borders of West Berlin and as such was not a place for through-traffic and became a stagnant residential area with varying social issues. The settlement was the context for the infamous autobiographical novel and subsequent film *Wir Kinder vom Bahnhof Zoo*, (We Children from Zoo Station) 1979, by Christiane F. which documents the social issues in the neighbourhood, such as heroin addiction, prostitution, and lack of opportunity.⁸³ The development was never far from criticism: *Der Spiegel* referred to the settlement as ‘the stone desert in the south of Neukölln’.⁸⁴ The government however, hailed the area as a success with 450 participants from thirty-six countries attending the ‘International Association for Residential, Urban and Regional Planning’s’ annual meeting in August 1967 and participating in a sightseeing tour of the development.⁸⁵ As the buses passed through the area, the guided tour referred to the site as an example of a ‘living city of the future’, and yet *Der Spiegel* reported that ‘the facades of 12, 17 and 21 storey residential cuboids stood in concrete hell against the pale sky’.⁸⁶ The desired connection to nature was seen to

⁸² Sigfried Giedion, ‘CIAM 8: The Heart of the City: A Summing Up’, *Ekistics*, 52 (1985), 476.

⁸³ Diefendorf, *Wake of the War*, p. 184.

⁸⁴ ‘Die Wüste lebt’, *Der Spiegel*, 11 (11 March 1968), p. 170.

⁸⁵ ‘Gettos im grünen’, p. 116.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

be non-existent with explicit reference to the Athens Charter, *Aktion 507* believed that the 'pre-existing division of society was increasingly becoming spatially visible'.⁸⁷ Their manifesto stated that the "workers ghettos" were being isolated within the city with a 'mono-functional exploitation of the cell, despite the community demonstrating an inclination towards rural architecture'.⁸⁸ Thus the correlation between the ideology of post-war urban planning was seen, by *Aktion 507* and others, to be in direct opposition to the reality of its implementation and the desires of its residents:

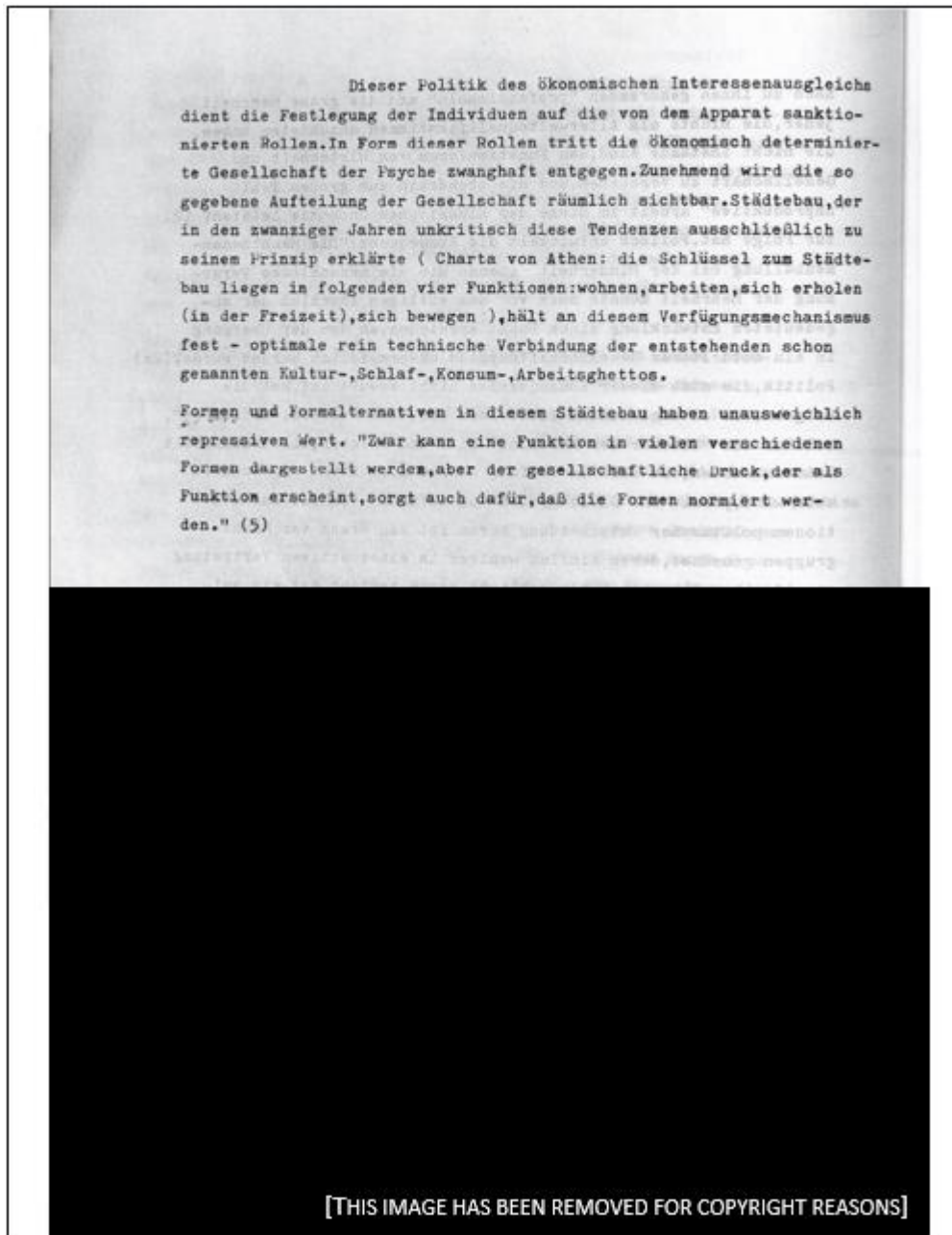
Urban planning, that in the twenties was uncritical of these tendencies and was explained solely by these principles (Athens Charter: the key to urban planning lies in the following four functions: living, working, resting (in leisure time), moving, adheres to this discretionary mechanism – an optimal, purely technical combination of the established, previously mentioned culture-, sleep-, consumption-, workers- ghettos.

Forms and formal alternatives in this urban design inevitably have a repressive value. "Indeed, a function can be represented in many different forms, but social pressures which appear as a function, also ensures that the forms are normalised."⁸⁹

⁸⁷ Aktion 507, 'Manifest', (p. 34).

⁸⁸ Ibid. p. 35.

⁸⁹ Ibid. p. 34. The students are quoting Klaus Horn, 'Zweckrationalität in der modernen Architektur: Zur Ideologiekritik des Funktionalismus', in *Architektur als Ideologie*, ed. by Heide Berndt, Alfred Lorenzer, and Klaus Horn (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1968), pp. 105-54 (p. 115).



This zoning was the one of the major issues that was taken forward in many critiques of modernist planning. The lack of variety in the city spaces caused a loss in vitality; the areas which were intended to be "urban" were in fact serving only one function, rather than expressing the expected variety and vitality of urban spaces.



FIG. 1.15: MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, 1964-74

The issues felt in Gropiusstadt were intensified at the Märkisches Viertel, a district which became the central focus of intense debate about post-war planning policies and social welfare. Architectural historian Florian Urban remarked on the significance of the site as a ‘symbolic battleground for a struggle over the values of the modern city’.⁹⁰ Planning for the Märkisches Viertel began four years after Gropiusstadt and was a development based on the same modernist planning principles with the main bulk of residents expected to be ‘refurbishment victims’ who had been displaced from inner-city tenements.⁹¹ Planning began in 1962 under the direction of Werner Düttmann, Georg Heinrichs and Hans

⁹⁰ Christiane F., *Wir Kinder vom Bahnhof Zoo*, (Hamburg: Gruner und Jahr, 1979).

⁹¹ Urban, ‘Märkisches Viertel’, (p. 69).

Christian Müller and included the cooperation of two of Berlin's largest public housing companies; the GESOBAU and DEGEWO. The development included designs by thirty-five international architects such as Ernst Gisel, Ludwig Leo, Oswald Matthias Ungers and Shadrach Woods. The intention was to build 17,000 dwellings for 60,000 people alongside twelve schools, fifteen day-care centres for children, four churches or community centres and an indoor swimming pool. The basic concepts behind the design were the same adherence to modernist planning principles. Rolf Rave, one of the architects involved demonstrated the connection between the Märksches Viertel and the general post-war planning policies in West Berlin: 'Urban renewal, that is, the rehabilitation of boring settlements of the post-war period through density, the connection of roads and the construction of green corridors'.⁹² *Der Spiegel* reported on the development as follows:

The Märkisches Viertel in West Berlin district of Reinickendorf is currently Germany's largest housing project. Within ten years... approximately 17 000 homes for about 60 000 people are to be built- an area larger than Tübingen, almost as big as Worms. Toolkit: 1.5 billion DM. The West Berlin Government evaluates the project as a "deliberate experiment" with a "noticeably formal claim", as "the first attempt to face the long-cherished principle of a different concept", as "Berlin's most stimulating contribution to the urban development of the present."⁹³

The design for the Märkisches Viertel was based on ideas to avoid the monotony of the *Mietskasernen* with the use of colour, the incorporation of community buildings and spaces, and where orientation was based on the prevailing weather for cool kitchens and sunny living rooms.⁹⁴ The area selected for the development was a former green-field site in the north of the city, as *Der Spiegel* reported:

At that time, the city planners discovered in the north of Rumpfstadt West Berlin, a 385-acre site, upon which mainly emergency shelters and allotment houses were built. "Eintracht Wittenau" ["United Wittenau"], "Glückauf" ["Good luck"], "Fliederbusch" ["Lilac Bush"], the allotment owners had called their colonies - but these were slums without drainage, with pumps and septic tanks. "The people," said planner Werner Düttmann, "pumped their own urine into the cooking pot."⁹⁵

⁹² Aktion 507, 'Manifest', (p. 43).

⁹³ Krüger, 'Menschen im Experiment', p. 218.

Both Tübingen and Worms are small medieval towns in southern Germany, in Baden-Württemberg and Rhineland-Palatinate respectively.

⁹⁴ Urban, 'Märkisches Viertel', (p. 187).

⁹⁵ Krüger, 'Menschen im Experiment', p. 218.

Thus the area was deemed ripe for development given its vast size and lack of infrastructure. The location of the settlement which was in direct proximity to the Berlin Wall [FIG. 1.16], was claimed by the planner Georg Heinrichs to have 'played no role' in the design or development of the area.⁹⁶



FIG. 1.16: PHOTOGRAPH SHOWING PROXIMITY OF THE MARKISCHES VIERTEL TO THE BERLIN WALL, AKTION 507, *MANIFEST*, 1968

Heinrichs, in conversation with the architectural historian Eduard Kögel explained how the development came to be realised:

The Government Building Director Werner Düttmann called the office of Hans Müller and Georg Heinrichs in 1960 about a competition for a plot of land on the highway, at the corner of Gatower Straße. Until then I had no understanding of urban planning and no interest. The government wanted to build homes there. I suggested a development, which, unlike other documents, envisaged spatial structures. Werner Düttmann found the design interesting, but ten years premature. Sometime later he came up with an area in the north of Berlin - the later Märkisches Viertel – where the government envisaged banal planning. Werner Düttmann did not like it so he asked us to come up with a counterproposal.

For the urban design in the later Märkisches Viertel we accepted that the three existing allotment areas were to be replaced by single-family homes. I designed a centre starting from which three arms included the allotments, and we continued the green space through the centre from east to west. The

⁹⁶ Georg Heinrichs, 'Der Architekt Georg Heinrichs zum Märkischen Viertel', ed. by Eduard Kögel (24 February 2014).

individual assemblies we awarded to different architects. In the north, expressive direction is represented by Chen Kuen Lee, Heinz Schudnagies, Jo Zimmermann and Peter Pfankuch and in the south at right angles, by Ludwig Leo, Werner Düttmann, Oswald Mathias Ungers, Ernst Gisel and ourselves.⁹⁷

Heinrichs continued to recall how the architects were selected:

We wanted to work with young architects under 35 years old. We deliberately asked the young project architects of well-known practices who had design responsibility among the big names. There were two conversations in Berlin: the Scharoun-school environment of the *Technische Universität* and the people from the circle of the Academy of the Fine Arts, who were influenced by Bauhaus students.

Additional international architects were also to be involved. We asked, for example, Ernst Gisel and Karl Fleig from Zurich. To this was added Astra Zarina-Haner, an American from Rome, and from France Shadrach Woods and René Gagès. Gisel we chose because he had built a very nice apartment block in Zurich. I knew Karl Fleig as the office manager at Alvar Aalto's practice, with whom I had worked. Fleig built on Wilhelmsruher Damm, at the entrance to the Märkisches Viertel. Astra Zarina-Haner came to the project through Werner Düttmann.⁹⁸

The decision to include both young and international architects encapsulates the same ideas as the Hansaviertel in attempting to create a disconnect from the National Socialist past by incorporating the skills of the new generation as well as indicating a global, inclusive and non-nationalistic planning ethos. Heinrichs then conceived the basic plan with a distinct centre, with three "arms" designated by the three existing allotments. The urban form of the settlement was intended to be spatially defined by the alteration of building height from twelve storeys at the outer edges, which then reduced to four and then increased again at the centre, with all roads passing through the central market place. For Heinrichs, this made the development urban:

I am a city person and wanted an urban development... I wanted the basic structure of old Berlin, London or Paris, four storeys, as you can still go up on foot, with the shop on the ground floor.⁹⁹

As with Gropiusstadt, the capacity of the development was increased part way through construction with many of the buildings in the Märkisches Viertel increased to between twelve and twenty storeys. Heinrichs commented on this increase:

⁹⁷ Ibid.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

⁹⁹ Ibid.

In the centre we planned a maximum height of twelve floors. Then the government discovered that they needed more homes and everything had to be increased – against my will.¹⁰⁰

Ungers for example, had initially planned for 350 apartments with between three and six floors, but was extended to twelve and sixteen floors with 1200 apartments. The social impact of this increased density will be discussed further in Section 1.3, but suffice to say for the moment that, much like the reaction at Gropiusstadt, the cellular construction and overwhelming scale of the development combined with the lack of community provisions and transport infrastructure was seen as a precursor to serious social issues within the district. As a result of this criticism, the capacity of the Märkisches Viertel itself was scaled down from 60,000 to 30,000 inhabitants in the 1970s.¹⁰¹ This contradicts densification and suggests that it was the overwhelming numbers of people within the development which the urban planners saw as causing the problems in the district. As Heinrichs commented on this expansion taking place against his will, the return to a smaller number of inhabitants could be seen as an attempt to return to the original concept for the development and the sense of “urbanity” which the architects and planners declared they strove for.



FIG. 1.17: *BAUSENATOR* SCHWEDLER INTRODUCING THE MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL PROJECT, 1963

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Fassbinder, ‘Gegen-Planung’, 352.

The overall design of the Märkisches Viertel was the conception of Georg Heinrichs, although modified by individual architects and by the state. For Heinrichs the basic idea was spatial, three-dimensional construction which was intended as a development of the architecture of the twenties and thirties 'always on the horizontal plane'.¹⁰² He referenced Taut's Hufeisensiedlung and Scharoun's 'spatial buildings' in Charlottenburg-Nord as the models for construction.¹⁰³ Scharoun's buildings at Charlottenburg-Nord (his largest residential housing estate) connected to the 1920s *Siemenstadt* in the east. The estate was commissioned by the non-profit housing association GSW in 1955, and undertaken in his capacity as Head of the Institute for Urban Development at the TU. Charlottenburg-Nord was developed out of Scharoun's ideas encapsulated in the *Kollektivplan* with the "Wohnzelle" [living cell] where the city would be developed around the urban unit of residential areas for about 5000 residents.¹⁰⁴ The residential district at Charlottenberg-Nord included thirty-six residential forms, from rows of individual houses to dense multi-storey blocks as well as communal facilities, with a focus on a connection with the landscape and the easy flow of traffic.¹⁰⁵ The structures varied both in height, length, ground plan and the facades fluctuated from the concave to the convex and deliberately contrasted with the regimented plan of tenement quarters. This interaction with space was something Heinrichs wished to emulate at the Märkisches Viertel, he commented that:

I wanted something spatial, I found the stereotypical rows of houses unbearable. For the Märkisches Viertel I was looking for spatial, urban units, far from the then usual row and cluster developments.¹⁰⁶

The new forms did not however convince the residents that they were better than the old tenements. A resident commented to *Aktion 507*: '...they tear down the old apartment buildings, and build them back up here, but they are much worse than the old, it looks really criminal from here...'¹⁰⁷

Alongside Scharoun's spatial concepts, Heinrichs also intended to incorporate the 'phenomenal floor plan idea by Alvar Aalto'.¹⁰⁸ Heinrich's worked in the office of Alvar Aalto

¹⁰² Heinrichs, 'Der Architekt Georg Heinrichs zum Märkischen Viertel'.

¹⁰³ Ibid.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

¹⁰⁵ Eberhard Syring and Jörg C. Kirschenmann, *Hans Scharoun, 1893-1972: Outsider of Modernism*, (Los Angeles: Taschen, 2004), p. 63.

¹⁰⁶ J. Christoph Bürke, *Hans Scharoun*, (London: Artemis, 1993, 1993), p. 118.

¹⁰⁷ Aktion 507, 'Manifest', (p. 44).

¹⁰⁸ Heinrichs, 'Der Architekt Georg Heinrichs zum Märkischen Viertel'.

during his preparations for the 1957 Interbau exhibition. As a proponent of ideas about the organic city, Aalto's floor plans were based on the ideas of fluid space, with space as an entity to be experienced rather than an abstract geometrical order, and the experience was to be determined by the inhabitant rather than the architect.¹⁰⁹ Aalto's floor plans for his single family units at the Hansaviertel show his belief in the living room as the 'market place' of the home which functioned as a communication space, reducing the need for corridors.¹¹⁰

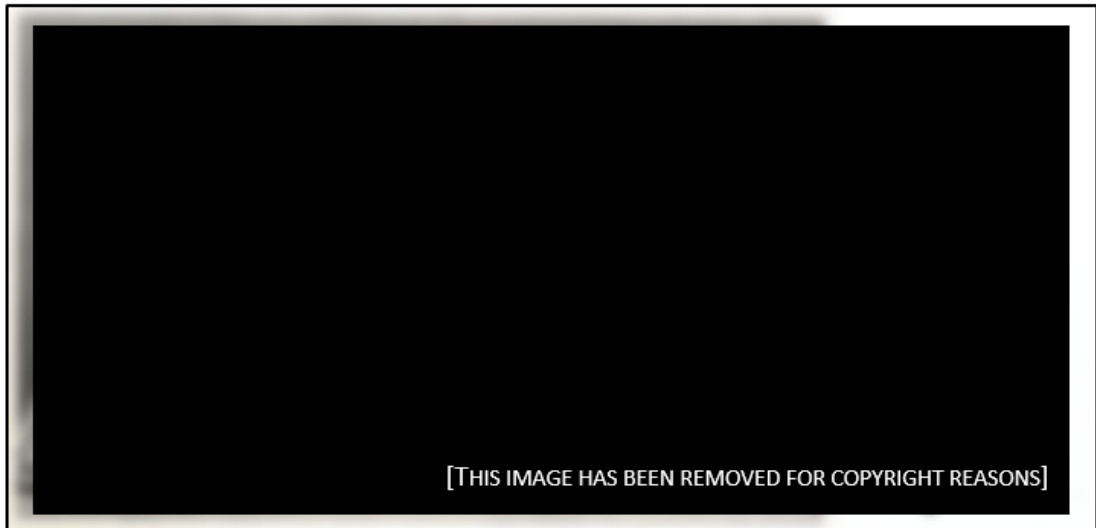


FIG. 1.18: MODEL AND PLAN FOR GEORG HEINRICH AND HANS MÜLLER'S BUILDING, MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, WEST BERLIN, 1967

It is not possible to discuss the interiors of all of the buildings in the Märkisches Viertel and yet it is important to ascertain the quality and functionality of the homes as this became one of the main points of contention. The building on Wilhelmsruher Damm Straße 436-437 by the architects on the central planning committee, Hans Müller and Georg Heinrichs, appears a logical means to see the intentions for the district as a whole. Ground plans and models from the south as well as the location in the wider settlement are shown below.

The architects are quoted in an issue of *Bauwelt* from 1967:

There are about 2300 apartments with 1 to 3 rooms. There is sheltered accommodation for the elderly consisting of about 200 apartments, a large clubroom, three apartment blocks with 180 apartments for workers and 30 studios for artists, and 3600 m² commercial spaces combined together in one building.¹¹¹

¹⁰⁹ Ibid.

¹¹⁰ Alvar Aalto, 'From Doorstep to Living Room', in *Alvar Aalto in His Own Words*, ed. by Göran Schildt (New York: Rizzoli, 1998), pp. 49-55.

¹¹¹ 'Berlin, Märkisches Viertel - ein Zwischenbericht', in *Bauwelt*, (20 November 1967), (p. 1210).

The floor plan of a typical storey in an east-west house in Müller and Heinrichs's design shows the use of Aalto's concept of the communication space of the living room, with minimal use of corridors.



FIG. 1.19: FLOOR PLAN FOR GEORG HEINRICH AND HANS MÜLLER'S BUILDING, MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, WEST BERLIN, 1967

Der Spiegel quoted the architects: 'The house type was planned in order to escape the monotony of the row, without burdening the profitability of prefabrication more than can be reasonably expected'.¹¹² The idea of the 'permutable plan', was highlighted by architect Herbert Stranz as giving rise to 'extreme individuality' in his design alongside the cellular design system.¹¹³ The internal layout of the majority of flats followed the concept of

¹¹² Ibid.

¹¹³ Ibid. Also quoted in 'Fragen an die Architekten', *Bauwelt*, 46/47 (20 November 1967), 1192.

internal zoning whereby separate functions could be carried out at the same time in different areas. The intention was to allow the individual within the house to have as much freedom and privacy as possible, thus functions were differentiated with the living room and kitchen serving as the communal areas, and bedrooms and bathrooms serving as the second and third areas. The kitchen often formed the boundary between the zones and it was recommended that the bathroom zone should be accessible from both the communal and bathroom zones.¹¹⁴ The majority of apartments within the Märkisches Viertel follow this concept. Stranz referred to this as the division of the apartment into ‘sub-flats’ where the individual could be alone in the “sleeping tower” or that the inhabitants could sit together in the ‘balcony, dining area, living room’.¹¹⁵ Rudolf Plarre’s design uses the living-dining room combination to separate the sleeping part from the entrance area.¹¹⁶

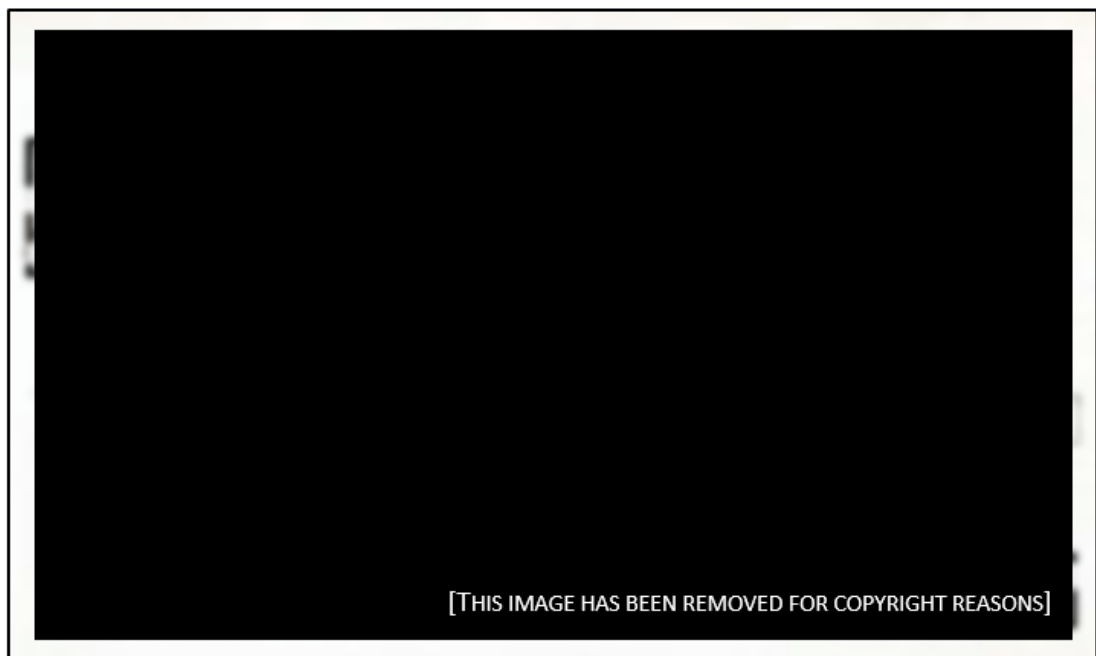


FIG. 1.20: FLOOR PLAN FOR RUDOLF PLARRE’S BUILDING, MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, WEST BERLIN, 1967

In much the same way that Taut incorporated various housing types throughout his *Gartenstädte*, the architects at the Märkisches Viertel were encouraged to include a multiplicity of apartments within the larger buildings. Stranz elucidated that it was a domino principle:

¹¹⁴ Oliver Heckmann and Friederike Schneider, *Floor Plan Manual: Housing*, (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2011), p. 31.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁶ ‘Fragen an die Architekten’, 1192.

7 identical elements have been assembled differently [...] the structural combinations are almost never the same (4999 are possible, 40 selected, 21 were basic types), stairways are arranged, small and concentrated, as needed.¹¹⁷

The apartment forms were thus based on the principle of rearranging the same elements in order to create a variety of apartments for a variety of inhabitants, something that *Aktion 507* referred to as 'the mono-functional exploitation of the cell'.¹¹⁸ The architects involved in the designs of the Märkisches Viertel however saw the variations in both floor plans and apartment sizes as an indication of the adaptability of the development. The Swiss architect Ernst Gisel for example included both maisonettes on alternating floors for large families and 1½ room apartments on the access floors in between which were made available to older couples or "dear aunts".¹¹⁹ This, according to Gisel, could result in a 'lively combination of older people and young families'.¹²⁰ The planning office, DEGEWO, stated categorically that 'in the Märkisches Viertel apartments for all claims and housing requirements can be found'.¹²¹ The scale of the cellular and prefabricated construction was believed to be counteracted by variations within and between the blocks and, according to Stranz, individual apartments were highlighted in the arrangement by their graduation and through the application of colour.¹²² *Aktion 507*, were less convinced about the variations of the spatial formations and refer to them as follows:

2. Phenomenon:
Spaciousness -
large, autonomous forms in
worthless variations in
socially unmediated places
(Reglomania of the architect
as a symptom of their spiritual emptiness) --
the ideology of spaciousness,
the satellite towns (control
mechanisms for the civilian fear
of the proletarian masses, in
utilising the self-disenfranchisement
of the working class in favour of philistinism) —¹²³

¹¹⁷ 'Ein Zwischenbericht', (p. 1198).

¹¹⁸ *Aktion 507*, 'Manifest', (p. 35).

¹¹⁹ 'Fragen an die Architekten', 1190.

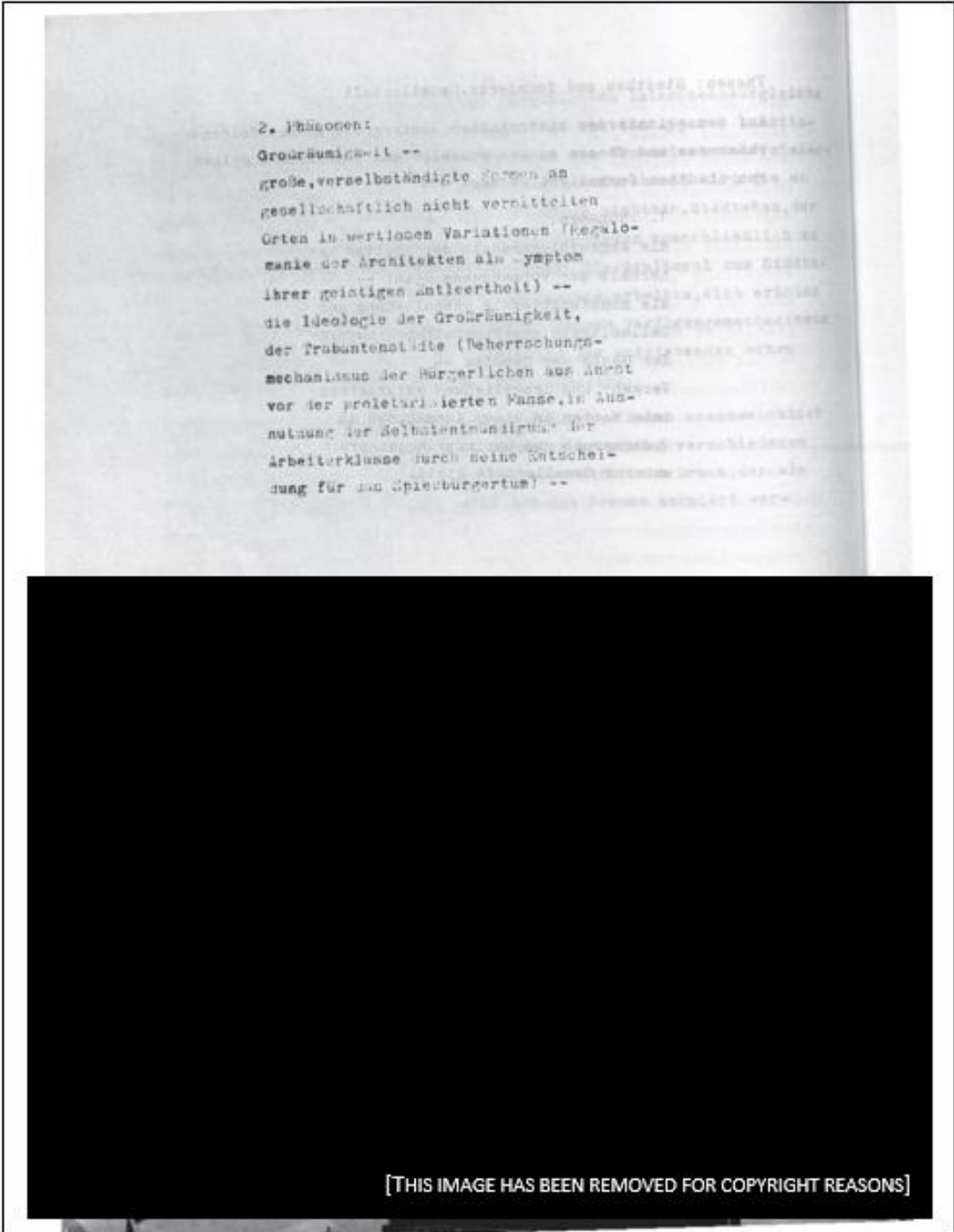
In Germany, flats are categorized by the number of rooms excluding kitchen and bathroom, so a 1 ½ room apartment includes a joined kitchen and living room, with a separate bedroom and bathroom.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.* p. 1193.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*

¹²² *Ibid.*

¹²³ *Aktion 507*, 'Manifest', (p. 36).



The “reglomania” of the architect will be discussed in the following chapter and the “socially unmediated places” will be the focus of Section 1.3. The interest for this section rests on the “autonomous forms” in “worthless variations” as a symptom of the “ideology of spaciousness”. The most ‘progressive’ scholars among *Aktion 507*’s teachers were seen by the students to be representative of “the functionalism” after the collapse of Bauhaus

heritage, which would have included for example O.M. Ungers.¹²⁴ The students identified the plight of the 'supposedly value-free, germ-free functionalism' as to 'drive away the evil ideological spirits of the NS-period' and yet 'nobody suspected anything similar from the ideological character of functionalism'.¹²⁵ In terms of architectural form, *Aktion 507* saw this as being 'reduced to mere products of objectively-set, technological and structural conditions' whereby form became the 'waste product after the paradoxical Sullivan formula: form follows function'.¹²⁶ The result was an oppressive focus on function, which negated variety and complexity. These new satellite settlements, in terms of style, design, and ideology, were seen by the students, as an attempt to demonstrate a new Germany with good intention, which was in fact condemned as the opposite of the truth.

¹²⁴ Ibid.

¹²⁵ Ibid. p. 69.

¹²⁶ Ibid.

SECTION CONCLUSION

This section has sought to present the main strands of new post-war developments to allow the reader to ascertain the context for the criticism. As has been shown, the decisions taken by the government in the wake of the war were embroiled with fundamental decisions about the character of post-war Germany. A governmental desire to break with the past was strongly evident, and was seen to be symbolised in the embracing of satellite housing settlements based on the theories of modernism. What can also be ascertained is that the intentions of planners was to create a better standard of living for the inhabitants of the new districts, and the belief that the removal of the resident from the chaos and dirt of the inner-city with all of its historical connotations was without negative consequences. The urban planning policies inherent in the Hansaviertel were developed after its perceived success at demonstrating the new values of a post-totalitarian country; a realignment with the ideals of the Allies and a focus on the needs of citizens, and an adherence to democracy and transparency. The implications of the increased capacity of the *Großsiedlungen* were not seriously considered in the face of the demand for housing and this served to their detriment and increasing criticism. It has been shown that the students saw this “pretence” at democracy as deeply problematic and as a development of an ideology to serve as the counterpoint to fascism, but which still had the same hallmarks of domination and repression.

SECTION 1.2 THE FUNCTION OF COLOUR IN THE CITY

As will be discussed in the following chapter the style, design, and symbolism inherent in the pre-war architecture were no longer seen to be an accurate representation of society. As declared by Loos, ornament was dead and either a new style needed to be found or it should not be included at all.¹²⁷ The solution for the architects and urban planners involved in the Märkisches Viertel was to apply colour as the ornament of the post-war city. *Der Spiegel* reported on the development as an ‘urban experiment’:

which looks like a pushing together of warped mountains, with ridge walls painted in pop-colours, and battlements and spikes made of concrete.¹²⁸

After its scale, these “pop-colours” were one of the development’s primary visual features. The function of the ornament was heavily influenced by pre-war ideas about bringing joy through colour. The inclusion also solved practical issues such as providing points of orientation and visually reducing the scale of the settlement by means of an optical illusion. While the colour concept was altered in the 1980s, and today is being altered again, it is clearly a key element of the overall design plan that had strong connections to the theoretical concept for the development. When situating the Märkisches Viertel within the wider post-war planning policies, architect Rolf Rave referred to the rehabilitation of ‘boring’ post-war settlements with various elements, including ‘cosmic colour!’¹²⁹ The section will therefore document the development of the colour scheme including the key figures as well as their influences, and its intention to create a break with the National Socialist past. The importance of Taut’s pre-war precedent will be demonstrated, as will the new influences that came from the arts. Importantly, the reaction to the application of colour will be discussed and its criticism as emblematic of the disconnect between designer and resident.

¹²⁷ See Adolf Loos, ‘Ornament and Crime (1910)’, in *Programs and Manifestoes on 20th-Century Architecture*, ed. by Ulrich Conrads (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1976), pp. 19-24.

¹²⁸ Krüger, ‘Menschen im Experiment’, p. 223.

¹²⁹ Aktion 507, ‘Manifest’, (p. 43).

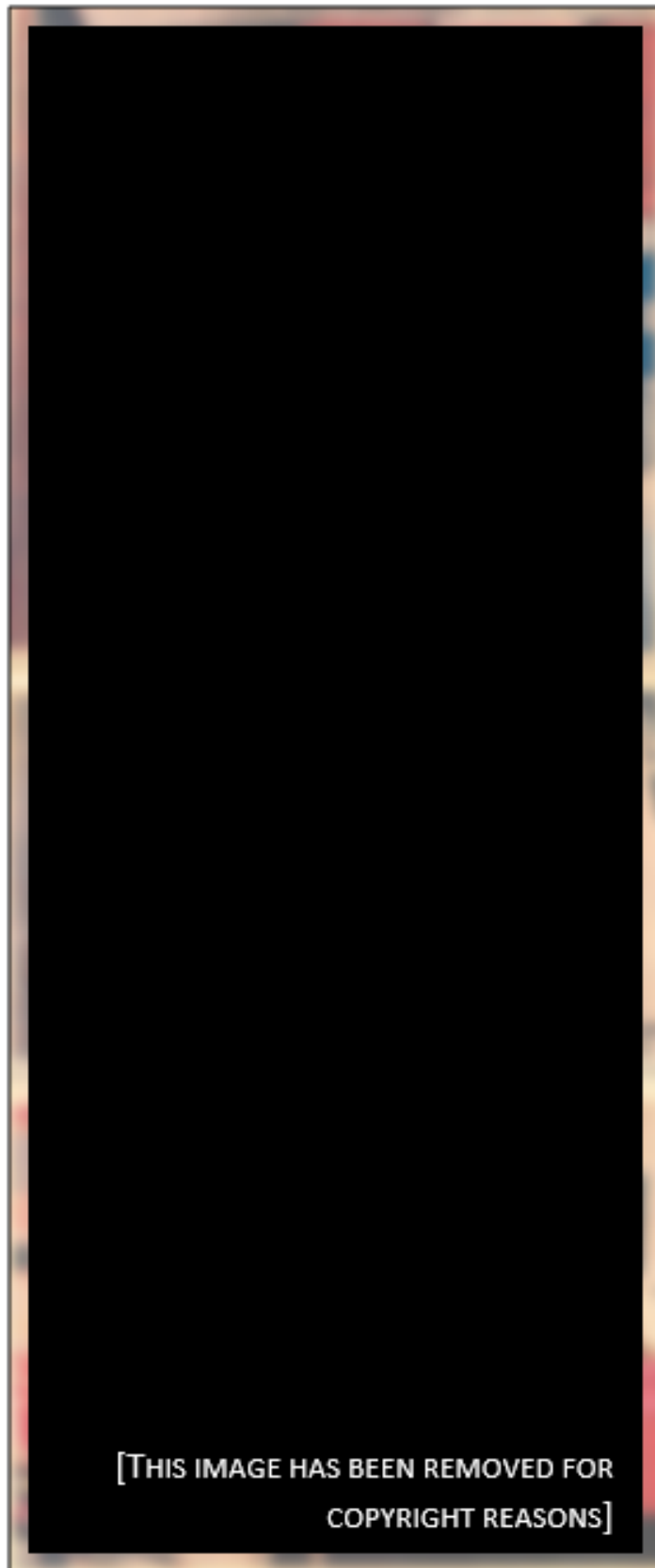


Fig. 1.21: IMAGES BY ALEXANDER ENGER THAT ACCOMPANIED THE ARTICLE 'EIN FARBEN FROHES WOHLGEFÜHL', *BERLINER MORGENPOST*, 10 SEPTEMBER 1968

Utz Kampmann was commissioned in 1966 to determine an original colour concept for the Märkisches Viertel and Georg Heinrichs commented on his role in the initial idea:

My influence came more from painting and coloured sculpture. I have been fascinated by colour since the dreariness of the war. I love colour [...] I promoted the brutal, strict colour scale.¹³⁰

Born to a Jewish mother, Heinrichs was imprisoned in a labour camp by the National Socialists, where his brother perished in the harsh conditions.¹³¹ After the war, he studied architecture in Berlin at the *Berliner Hochschule der Künste* (HdK) where the years he suffered under National Socialism directly influenced his architectural approach. He became intent on re-establishing the architectural traditions prior to the Second World War, condemned as “degenerate” by the National Socialists as well as reintroducing the Expressionist ideals of bringing freedom and joy into architecture both in form and in the application of colour.¹³² Despite their aesthetic differences, colour concepts from both the functionalist Bauhaus and the Expressionist architecture of pre-World War One each had a significant impact on Heinrichs and his intentions for the Märkisches Viertel.¹³³

Like the Expressionist architects, Heinrichs believed that ideals of freedom and joy were achievable through the application of colour. He also believed that the anonymity of the vast scale of the Märkisches Viertel could be counteracted by highlighting individual elements of the design and applying colour principles taken from the visual arts.¹³⁴ Due to a wariness of dogma in the post-fascist era and a preferred reliance on instinct, there was no consistent colour theory within the Bauhaus. Similarly, Heinrichs recalled that there were ‘no [particular] colour theories that interested me’.¹³⁵ The intention was to use architecture as a means to create an urban environment which better reflected its citizens whilst also improving their standard of living. On equal standing, was the coloured architecture of Bruno Taut, such as his Uncle Tom’s Hütte Siedlung at Zehlendorf (1926-31).¹³⁶ Due to his

¹³⁰ An interview between Georg Heinrichs and Carsten Krohn, 31 January 2010, Berlin. Quoted in Carsten Krohn, ‘Häuser als Strukturen’, in *Grosser Massstab*, (Sulgen: Niggli, 2010), pp. 52-57 (p. 54).

¹³¹ Nikolaus Bernau, ‘Schöpfer der Schlange’, *Die Berliner Zeitung*, (10 June 2006).

¹³² Ibid.

¹³³ For a discussion on the similarities and differences between the two movements, see Boyd Whyte, *Architecture of Activism*, pp. 2-3.

¹³⁴ Krohn, ‘Häuser als Strukturen’, (p. 56).

¹³⁵ Georg Heinrichs, ‘The Märkisches Viertel’, (Email to the Author, 20 June 2016).

¹³⁶ Ibid.

experiences under fascism, this resonated with Heinrichs, who wanted to return Germany's architectural tradition to that of the avant-garde rather than the classical tradition advocated by the fascist regime.¹³⁷ He recalled 'the colours corresponded to my euphoric post-war situation due to my personal story'.¹³⁸ For Heinrichs, the colour application was a very personal project which, in his words, 'can only be explained in the overall consideration of my whole life'.¹³⁹ He identified both the work of Bruno Taut and Erich Mendelsohn's residential buildings in Berlin as having influenced his planning concepts.¹⁴⁰

As proponents of a progressive architecture in Berlin, both Mendelsohn and Taut advocated a departure from 'strict functionalism with its hard lines and absence of colour' which responded to their surroundings.¹⁴¹ These artist-architects had a profound impact on the development of architecture post-World War One, and their interest in colour was taken from abstract painting in the arts. Due to the abstract nature of the influence, rather than a pictorial one, colour could easily be transferred to the planes of architecture.¹⁴² Taut himself was fascinated by the work of Arnold Böcklin and in particular by a subjective fascination by his 'poetry of colours'.¹⁴³ Taut was equally impressed by Aldred Messel's rational use of colour harmony in his design for a department store in Berlin.¹⁴⁴ Thus forming the basis for his combining of both the rational and non-rational into his later colour theory. Taut was also heavily involved in the German Werkbund, established in 1907 to promote the development of modern architecture. The *Freie Gruppe für Farbkunst des Deutschen Werkbundes* [The German *Werkbund's* Free Group for Colour Art] led by the poet Hans Hildebrandt operated as a distinct group within the *Werkbund* demonstrating the central role of colour theory.¹⁴⁵ Through colour harmony, Taut believed that the resonance between *Volk* [community] and *Geist* [spirit] could be given physical form. In *Stadtkrone* [City Crown] (1919), Taut refers to this harmony between community and spirit

¹³⁷ Krohn, 'Häuser als Strukturen', (p. 54).

¹³⁸ Heinrichs, 'The Märkisches Viertel'.

¹³⁹ Ibid.

¹⁴⁰ Georg Heinrichs, 'Georg Heinrichs - Architect: at Home in Berlin' (2012)

<<http://theselby.com/galleries/georg-heinrichs/>> [accessed 12 November 2015]

¹⁴¹ Eric Weitz, *Weimar Germany: Promise and Tragedy*, (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2007), p. 193.

¹⁴² Fiona McLachlan, *Architectural Colour in the Professional Palette*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), p. 64.

¹⁴³ Boyd Whyte, *Architecture of Activism*, p. 17.

¹⁴⁴ McLachlan, *Architectural Colour*, p. 64.

¹⁴⁵ Boyd Whyte, *Architecture of Activism*, p. 167.

as spreading out 'like a sea of colours...as a sign of the good fortune of new life'.¹⁴⁶ Thus colour was seen as an expression of a better future, which was born out of a post-war Germany in both economic and social crisis. In *Aufruf zum farbigen Bauen* [Call for Coloured Architecture] (1919), which was signed by all leading members of the *Werkbund*, Taut stated that:

Colour is not expensive like moulded decorations and sculptures, but colour means a joyful existence...Let blue, red, yellow, green, black and white radiate in crisp, bright shades to replace the dirty grey of houses.¹⁴⁷

Taut was attempting to foster a new relationship between residents and their city based on harmony and a reduction of social division, and thus by extension to their nation in general. It was this social understanding of the importance of colour that Heinrichs attempted to integrate into the Märkisches Viertel.

The Berlin artist commissioned for the project in 1966, Utz Kampmann, was born in Berlin in 1935 and studied at the city's *Hochschule für Bildende Künste* [Academy of Fine Arts] between 1957-63. Heinrich commented that he admired him as 'he was the only German who dealt with coloured relief sculptures, three-dimensional art of strong colours'.¹⁴⁸ He was known for his "colour objects", "light machines" and "automobile sculptures", which were the subject of an exhibition in Duisburg in 1970.¹⁴⁹ In 1969 he won the state-sponsored Berlin Arts Prize for the Visual Arts. Kampmann's interest in colour began with an interest in volumes and sculptures, which then developed into an 'original attempt to combine colour and concrete volume'.¹⁵⁰ This trend in the visual arts was termed "Op Art" and focused on the formation of optical illusions in order to create a disarrangement of the spatial.¹⁵¹ Op Art was a term first coined in 1964 in the New York Time Magazine's article 'Op Art Pictures that Attack the Eye' which coincided with an exhibition at New York's Martha Jackson Gallery *Julian Stanczak-Optical Paintings*.¹⁵² Victor Vasarely, the father of

¹⁴⁶ Ulrike Altenmüller and Matthew Mindrup, 'The City Crown by Bruno Taut', *Journal of Architectural Education*, 63 (October 2009), 132.

¹⁴⁷ Bruno Taut, *Aufruf zum farbigen Bauen* (1919) translated in Ricky Burdett and Adam Kaasa, 'Color and the City', ed. by Gareth Doherty (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010), pp. 54-63 (p. 54).

¹⁴⁸ Heinrichs, 'Der Architekt Georg Heinrichs zum Märkischen Viertel'.

¹⁴⁹ See Utz Kampmann, 'Farbobjekte - Lichtmaschinen - Automobile Skulpturen. Wilhelm Lehmbruck Museum, 29.8.70 - 4.10.70', ed. by Wilhelm Lehmbruck Museum (Duisburg, 1970).

¹⁵⁰ Juliane Roh, 'New Abstraktion in Deutschland', (*Das Werk* 53 (1966), 327.

¹⁵¹ Ibid.

¹⁵² See Jon Borgzinner, 'Op Art: Pictures That Attack the Eye', in *Time Magazine*, (23 October 1964), pp. 78-84.

Op Art and Budapest-based member of the Bauhaus, indicated that the roots of Op Art were in the colour teachings of the Bauhaus.



FIG. 1.22: UTZ KAMPMANN, DESIGN FOR BRIDGE INTENDED TO SPAN WILHELMSRUHER DAMM

The importance of colour to the Bauhaus is evidenced in its inclusion in the courses directed by Johannes Itten, Wassily Kandinsky and Paul Klee, as well as Oskar Schlemmer, László Moholy-Nagy and Josef Albers. Itten, who designed the preliminary course at the Bauhaus, believed that colours could be correlated with universal emotions. Linked to a distrust for dogmatic thinking, the emotive nature of colours was seen by members of the Bauhaus to be something that could not be analysed in a scientific way. Thus, Heinrich's ideal was based in ideas related to using colour as a means to connect the environment with the soul, and to uplift the individual. The lack of stipulation by the Bauhaus about which colours should be used, indicated the desire for colour to be applied more instinctually, specific both to architect and to project. For Kampmann, the intention was to create a disarrangement of the spatial, in order to create three dimensionality in flat surfaces.¹⁵³ And when these theories were applied to three-dimensional objects, the process of 'dematerialisation' was accelerated due to the movement of the spectator and the impact the added dimension had on the interactions of colour.¹⁵⁴ Müller recalled that

¹⁵³ Roh, 'New Abstraktion in Deutschland', 327.

¹⁵⁴ Cyril Barrett, *Op Art*, (London: Studio Vista, 1970), p. 93.

he knew of Kampmann through his sculptures and abstract use of colour before planning for the Märkisches Viertel's colour scheme began, and so early models were therefore developed with Kampmann and these specifications were implemented for an overall colour concept.¹⁵⁵ Heinrichs worked with Kampmann to choose the exact tone of the colours and recalled the original colour scale of 'yellow, orange, red and blue'.¹⁵⁶ At the Märkisches Viertel, Kampmann believed that the use of these colours both stressed and highlighted the 'colourfulness of plasticity' and that the contrast created by alternating the use of strong colours caused 'an optical shortening of about 600 metres' from the centre to the edge of the settlement.¹⁵⁷ The use of colour within the applied arts developed during this period to create optical illusions in the interactions between neighbouring colours.¹⁵⁸ Taken from the principles of Op Art, the use of colour was a way of re-defining the architectonic structure in order to visually condense the settlement's vast size.¹⁵⁹ Heinrichs recalled that 'Mr. Kampmann announced the colour concept before the start and we had to stick to it'.¹⁶⁰

Bauwelt conducted an interview with Kampmann in 1967 about his involvement in the planning of the Märkisches Viertel where an attempt was made by the journal to discuss the implications of applying colour to architecture, but the 'answers leave the questions open'.¹⁶¹ Kampmann stated that although he intended to create an overall colour concept, an attempt was also made to create an individual colour scheme for each design, thereby creating individuality, whilst retaining unity of the whole.¹⁶² The colour concept of the Märkisches Viertel was seen by Müller and Heinrichs to have been set by the location of the centre of the development. In their discussion with *Bauwelt* in 1967, they commented on the 'so-called "roadside movement"' in the central area of the development which contains the residential buildings by Fleig, Leo, Gagès, and the school and church by Plessow. Along with the northern residential area, these areas were to be coloured with the same strong

¹⁵⁵ Hans Christian Müller, "'Es ist unglaublich, ein solches Viertel gebaut zu bauten.'" Ein Gespräch mit Hans Christian Müller', in *40 Jahre Märkisches Viertel: Geschichte und Gegenwart einer Grosssiedlung* ed. by Brigitte Jacob and Wolfgang Schäche (Berlin: Jovis, 2004), pp. 158-75 (p. 172).

¹⁵⁶ Heinrichs, 'Der Architekt Georg Heinrichs zum Märkischen Viertel'.

¹⁵⁷ 'Berlin, Märkisches Viertel – Ein farbiges Gesamtbild?', in *Bauwelt*, (20 November 1967), pp. 1212-14 (p. 1212).

¹⁵⁸ Roh, 'New Abstraktion in Deutschland', 327.

¹⁵⁹ 'Ein farbiges Gesamtbild', (p. 1212).

¹⁶⁰ Heinrichs, 'The Märkisches Viertel'.

¹⁶¹ 'Ein farbiges Gesamtbild', (p. 1212).

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

shades 'in order to strengthen the intensity and therefore the appeal of these areas'.¹⁶³ Thereby adding a central locus to a large-scale development whilst also taking an expressionist approach of giving joy through colour.

Kampmann's application of colour, as well as "humanising" the scale of the development and providing points of orientation, was intended to explain structural tension in three-dimensional objects. Kampmann's playful application of colour was intended to show the effect it can have when applied to solids:

What looks flat from behind, suddenly has depth at the front. What would have appeared purely plastically as a violent interlocking, is suddenly released by colour. Kampmann's body of colour explains three-dimensional structural tension, which can be inverted almost into its opposite by support and load, pressure and compression, relaxation and tension.¹⁶⁴

Kampmann's use of colour gave physical expression to the acting forces, with strong colour used as a means to articulate and "release" these inherent tensions.¹⁶⁵ In Plarre's design for example, coloured stripes were used to articulate the number of floors with the intention of making the building more comprehensible to its residents.¹⁶⁶

¹⁶³ 'Fragen an die Architekten', 1193.

¹⁶⁴ Roh, 'New Abstraktion in Deutschland', 327.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ 'Fragen an die Architekten', 1193.



FIG. 1.23: KARL FLEIG'S BUILDING, MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, WEST BERLIN

It should be noted that Kampmann was commissioned at a point when Fleig's building was almost complete and construction of Leo and Gagès's buildings was imminent.¹⁶⁷ These two elements combined with contesting views from the architects involved resulted in an uneven application of Kampmann's concept. As Müller recalled, there were intensive discussions held 'again and again' with the architects and it was stated that other colours could be used, but only in agreement with the central team.¹⁶⁸ Leo's building, for example, had two concepts for the use of colour; according to the first concept, the building would have been exclusively covered in a textured orange but the uneven facade division with a variety of window types was deemed in need of a 'separate accentuation' of elements.¹⁶⁹ As such, the second (executed) concept included a coloured strip of concrete to allow for this accentuation of the form of the building.¹⁷⁰ Fleig also complied completely with the

¹⁶⁷ 'Ein farbiges Gesamtbild', (p. 1212).

¹⁶⁸ Müller, 'Ein Gespräch', (p. 172).

¹⁶⁹ 'Ein farbiges Gesamtbild', (p. 1214).

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

colour scheme stipulated and therefore is the best example of the overall concept for the district [Fig. 1.23]. The red, orange, and mid-blue colour scheme on the north side was intended to reflect the architectural formation, and the white north side was to articulate the flat formation of the facade and to create reflection.¹⁷¹ Because of the non-traditional use of bright colours, the residents nicknamed the building the *Papageiensiedlung* [parrot settlement]. The use of colour was however, something that had been trialled in Berlin in the early years of the twentieth century and arguably had a much longer tradition in Germany, than in other parts of Europe.

As previously mentioned, both architects and artists were strongly influenced by Taut's extensive use of colour in his designs, such as the Gartenstadt at Falkenberg (1913-6) where Taut used colour extensively and gave a visual painterly expression to the social model of the English garden city.¹⁷² The reaction of residents was similar to those of the post-war Märkisches Viertel tenants:

The coloured appearance initially provoked a lot of surprise, for the earlier and ubiquitous tradition of coloured architecture has been completely lost. Especially the Berliners, coming from the grey tenement quarters, were beside themselves with genuine indignation and repeatedly declared that the architect deserved to be locked up.¹⁷³

This consideration of grey Berlin tenements as the antithesis of colourful suburban settlements is one that is carried through the design and intentions of the Märkisches Viertel. The idea of 1960s Berlin as a grey and harsh city on the front lines of the Cold War fed into a desire for a cityscape that was less oppressive and that could be given warmth through architecture and colour.¹⁷⁴ This concept was often viewed as successful in an artistic sense; Hermann Funke, architect and *Der Spiegel* contributor, commented that 'as a work of art the Märkisches Viertel is not bad' and that 'finally, for once, they have used strong colours'.¹⁷⁵ Thus reiterating the disdain for grey concrete, seen to be reflective of traditional (and now inappropriate) nineteenth-century architecture and of the mood of the country. As the urbanist Maroš Krivý commented in relation to socialist Czechoslovakia:

¹⁷¹ 'Fragen an die Architekten', 1192.

¹⁷² Jager, *Housing Estates in the Berlin Modern Style*, p. 29.

¹⁷³ "Drei Siedlungen: Gartenstadt-Siedlung Falkenberg bei Berlin," in Wasmuths Monatshefte für Baukunst 4, nos. 5/6 (1919-20), pp. 183-4) translated and quoted in Boyd Whyte, *Architecture of Activism*, p. 31.

¹⁷⁴ Davis, 'City as Theater of Protest', (p. 250).

¹⁷⁵ Hermann Funke, 'Da hilft nur noch Dynamit', *Der Spiegel*, 45 (2 November 1970), p. 238.

‘the trope of *greyness* implied criticism of aesthetic, moral, psychological and environmental shortcomings’.¹⁷⁶ Grey was therefore synonymous with a critique of the present and the desire for colour reflected a desired future.¹⁷⁷ As Taut exclaimed:

colour can finally flower again, the colourful architecture, which is desired by only a few today. The scale of pure unbroken colours can pour out over our houses and save them from their dead grey on grey.¹⁷⁸

Not only was there seen to be a need to revitalise the tradition within Germany of using colour to decorate and to counteract the post-war depression, but there was also an economical value to its use. Colour was seen as a much cheaper form of decoration as well enabling easier creation of differentiations in form under the conditions of mass production, which was of great importance in the economically difficult times in post-World War One Germany. The poet and cultural critic, Ferdinand Avenarius (1856-1923), wrote in 1900: ‘why do we not paint our houses with colour? There is no simpler or cheaper way to make a plain building more welcoming, delightful, and even truly beautiful than a well-chosen coat of paint’.¹⁷⁹ Thus the connection between economic viability and the creation of a more aesthetically pleasing and socially uplifting environment can at least be traced back to the turn of the last century. The post-war economic hardship merely intensified this aspect of colour application. Gropius echoed the value of colour in its cheapness and ability to enhance the ‘grey *Alltag* [everyday]’ in that it could be a significant tool of protest against the greyness and crippling economic conditions the nation found itself in.¹⁸⁰ Taut believed that there was in fact a strong tradition in Germany of the use of colour which only needed to be revived. This view was also held by Gropius who created a link between the traditional, ‘joyous’ use of colour, the Orient, the Russian *Volk*, and southern parts of Germany, where ‘still...on house and costume, grows colour’.¹⁸¹ It was thus the role of the architect to reintroduce this tradition of colour back into Germany’s built environment. The connection between colour, *Volk*, *Geist*, democracy, and economic viability linked together

¹⁷⁶ Maroš Krivý, ‘Greyness and Colour Desires: The Chromatic Politics of the Panelák in Late-Socialist and Post-Socialist Czechoslovakia’, *The Journal of Architecture*, 20 (2015), 766.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.* p. 775.

¹⁷⁸ Altenmüller and Mindrup, ‘The City Crown by Bruno Taut’, 126.

¹⁷⁹ Ferdinand Avenarius, ‘Farbige Häuser’ in *Der Kunstwart*, XIII, No. 13, (April 1900), pp. 37-8).

Quoted in Boyd Whyte, *Architecture of Activism*, p. 31.

¹⁸⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 166-67.

¹⁸¹ Walter Gropius, ‘“Sparsamer Hausrat” und falsche Dürftigkeit’, *Das hohe Ufer*, I, no. 7, (July 1919), p. 180. Quoted in *Ibid.* p. 166.

an intention to create a new architecture which would 'make people aware that they are members of a great architecture'.¹⁸²



FIG. 1.24: RENÉ GAGÈS'S BUILDING, MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, WEST BERLIN

However, as Kampmann's colour concept was not universally applied, elements of grey were transposed to the Märkisches Viertel. For example, Kampmann 'emphatically distanced' himself from the application of colour to Gagès's building which only includes Kampmann's concept of painted 'window bands' [FIG. 1.24].¹⁸³ The broken thread of grey colours were conceived with southern lighting conditions in mind which Kampmann deemed inappropriate for the project and did not fit into the original colour concept of the Märkisches Viertel.¹⁸⁴ Kampmann's concept for Gagès's building intended the facade to be painted in an alternating 'signal red' and 'mid blue', with the window bands highlighted in one colour, overlying the second.¹⁸⁵ This pattern would then change every 100 metres in

¹⁸² Altenmüller and Mindrup, 'The City Crown by Bruno Taut', 126.

¹⁸³ 'Ein farbiges Gesamtbild', (p. 1214).

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid.

order to plastically structure the flat 1.2km of facade.¹⁸⁶ Instead, Kampmann claimed: 'Gagès has anxiously renounced a conciseness of colour and pattern and instead animated grey concrete with grey colour'.¹⁸⁷ Thus demonstrating the conflicting opinions of architects, planners and the commissioned artist in how best to incorporate colour into the district. Heinrichs recalled that 'it was proposed that the architects incorporate the colour specifications, but there was no coercion exercised...Few architects accepted my colour proposal'.¹⁸⁸



FIG. 1.25. BRUNO TAUT, FALKENBERG HOUSING ESTATE, 1913-16, BERLIN

A further point of contention was in the relationship between colour and outdoor living space which was advocated by Taut at Falkenberg [Fig. 1.25] who used earthy tones of yellows, reds and burnt orange which, although strong, created a connection to the environment. Werner Düttmann, for example, disregarded the colour scheme intended by Kampmann and instead decided to attempt to blend into the surrounding landscape by applying horizontal bands in earthy tones.¹⁸⁹ The more natural colours could be followed through into the landscape and the horizontal application created a greater feeling of

¹⁸⁶ Ibid.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸⁸ Heinrichs, 'The Märkisches Viertel'.

¹⁸⁹ Falk Jäger, 'Idee und Wirklichkeit', in *Das Märkische Viertel: Idee - Wirklichkeit - Vision*, ed. by Beatrice Kindler and Günter Wollny (Berlin: Aedes, 2004), pp. 4-17 (p. 13).

harmony with the location, rather than a vertical disjuncture from the horizon. The location of Düttmann's complex at the southern edge of the development explains his desire to link to the surrounding landscape whilst also indicating the lack of coherent approach to the colour scheme for the settlement as a whole. Kampmann made no mention of a desire to connect to the landscape and Georg Heinrichs stated that there was no intention to foster a relationship between the two.¹⁹⁰ The absence of discussions related to linking the Märkisches Viertel to the surrounding area or to the rest of the city emphasises the apparent lack of consideration paid to the relationship between the city and the satellite development.

¹⁹⁰ Heinrichs, 'The Märkisches Viertel'.

In 1967, architect Herbert Stranz commented that the buildings in the Märkisches Viertel should be outlined [by the use of colour], occupancy should be illustrated by colour (with flowers on balconies, for example), colour is used to create a more sensitive, sensory architecture, and that the individualism of the buildings is highlighted through staggering the individual blocks, and the application of colour; 'this is democracy'.¹⁹¹ For *Aktion 507*, the Märkisches Viertel was a microcosm of society as a whole, the issues within which could not be solved by the application of colour. Stranz's belief that colour equated to democracy was seen to emphasise the complete disconnect between architects and the social implication of their designs. The students saw the planning situation in West Berlin as anything but democratic; form was seen to be an expression that 'contained authoritarian rule over the population'.¹⁹² When interviewed by members of *Aktion 507*, a resident stated that the development is a 'grey hell' and that 'colour changes nothing'.¹⁹³ Thus indicating how colour was seen as a hollow gesture both by residents and by *Aktion 507*.¹⁹⁴

Aktion 507 were not against the use of colour per se but did condemn the alteration of Taut's original colour scheme at the Uncle Tom's Hütte Estate to a 'petty bourgeois cream'.¹⁹⁵ In *City Crown*, the importance that Taut placed on the significance of colour was of a socio-political nature in order to create a 'sense of belonging to place in the social site of the urban'; a view *Aktion 507* strongly supported.¹⁹⁶ The link between the agency of the proletariat and the use of colour was highlighted by Gropius in 1919:

The common people want colour. The more their class pride develops, the more will they scorn the imitation of the rich bourgeoisie and decide on their own style for their own sort of life.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹¹ 'Fragen an die Architekten', 1192.

¹⁹² Krau, 'Die Zeit der Diagnose', 344.

¹⁹³ *Aktion 507*, 'Manifest', (p. [42]).

¹⁹⁴ Bodenschatz, 'Kultobjekt', (p. 21).

¹⁹⁵ *Aktion 507*, 'Manifest', (p. [141]).

¹⁹⁶ Burdett and Kaasa, 'Color and the City', (p. 56).

¹⁹⁷ Walter Gropius, "'Sparsamer Hausrat" und falsche Dürftigkeit', *Das hohe Ufer*, I, no. 7, (July 1919), 180. Quoted in Boyd Whyte, *Architecture of Activism*, p. 166.

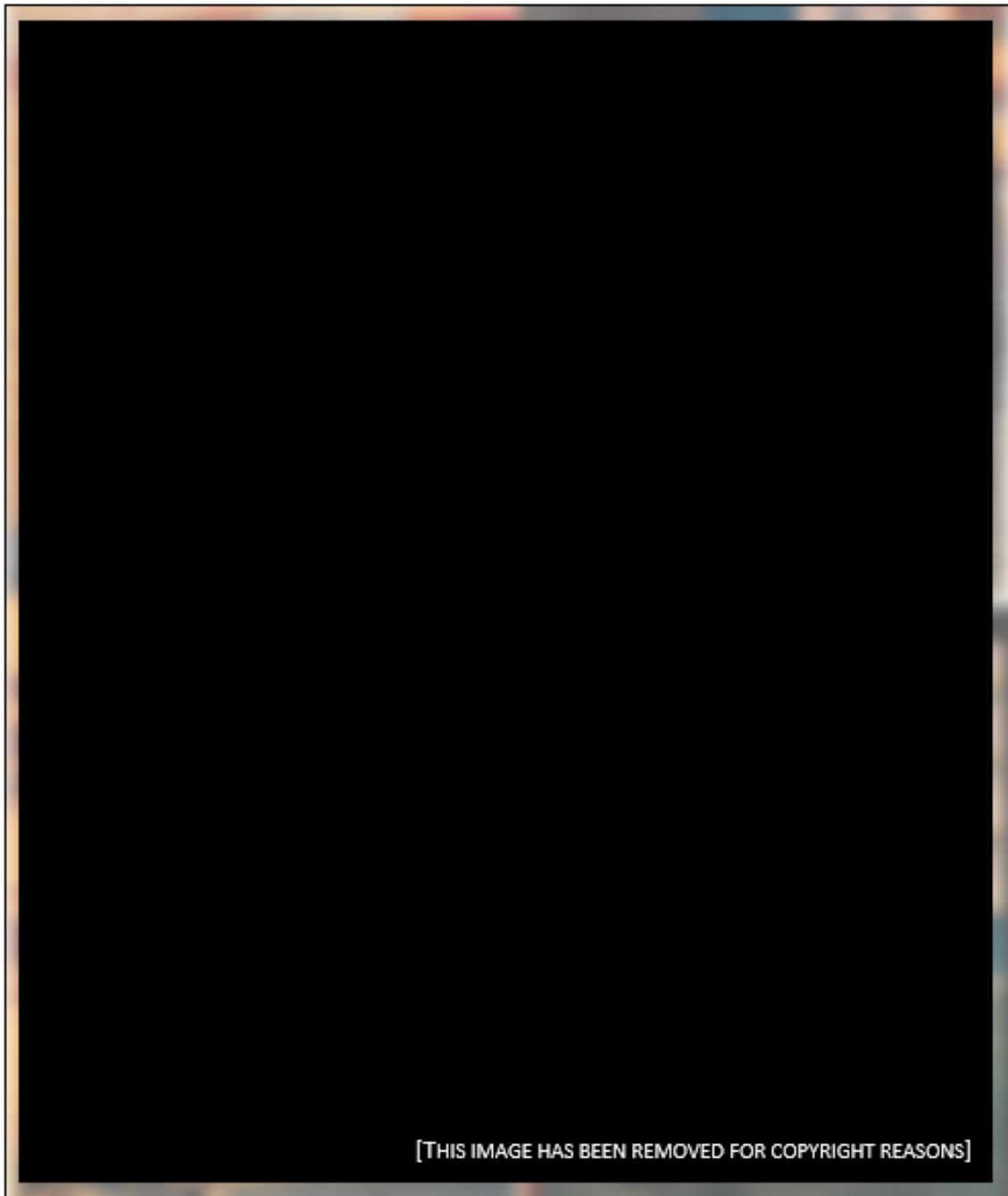


Fig. 1.26: IMAGES BY ALEXANDER ENGER THAT ACCOMPANIED THE ARTICLE 'EIN FARBEN FROHES WOHLGEFÜHL', *BERLINER MORGENPOST*, 10 SEPTEMBER 1968

Thus, the ability to use colour could be linked to a display of individuality. Using Taut's understanding of colour, urbanists Burdett and Kaasa expanded this concept in 2010 and refer to inhabitants creating a sense of ownership by adding colour to monotonous social housing blocks, and a sense of belonging which extended beyond the home to the 'political realm of their city'.¹⁹⁸ The monotony of social housing is then negated or reduced by

¹⁹⁸ Burdett and Kaasa, 'Color and the City', (p. 63).

personal and collective intervention by residents. Therefore, a resident's right to the city is 'enacted through colour'.¹⁹⁹ Likewise, Gropius claimed that traditional architecture was no longer appropriate for its inhabitants and that a new colourful architecture which focused on the needs of residents had to be developed. This echoed *Aktion 507's* demand for resident consultations in the planning process. In 1984, in a pilot programme designed to repair large housing estates, the *Bundesbauministerium* [Federal Ministry of Construction] selected the Märkisches Viertel as its main site of application.²⁰⁰ With a focus on the improvement of facades and communal areas, the programme included replacing the colour concept of Kampmann in favour of muted tones for 'conservative comfort'.²⁰¹ Today, the GESOBAU is completing a renovation which began in 2008 to alter the image of the district which again includes an alteration of the colour concept applied in the 1980s. Heinrichs, who was not contacted in relation to any of the renovations either in the 1980s or today, recalled having recently seen footage of the Märkisches Viertel from the air:

which I actually found quite nice...The yellow was decent. I put great emphasis on that yellow; not butter yellow but Indian yellow or greenish yellow. I had initially worried whether they would approve of this yellow, but they did. The contracting authorities were always very supportive.²⁰²

In 1968, the Berlin *Morgenpost* dedicated a double-page spread to the application of colour in the Märkisches Viertel:

In specialist circles one may argue about construction, growth and structures, but one must attest to the builders of Berlin's mammoth settlements: they have tried to create a colourful atmosphere. Colourful means lively, means heterogeneous and variegated.

For us, who are expected to live in modern buildings, colours are more than just a whim of creation. They can attract, warn, irritate and soothe. They influence every living being, and shape their actions and behaviour.

What colours cannot do, however, is replace natural greenery. We therefore place this colourful page for discussion and ask: How do you rate this colourful picture? Is it enough to create a colourful atmosphere? Not just by looking at it from the outside.

* WHOEVER wants to get an idea of the world needs information about colour. He gets it in the Märkisches Viertel.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰⁰ Eduard Kögel, 'Blick Zurück in die Zukunft', *Das Bundesbaublatt*, 6 (2015) <http://www.bundesbaublatt.de/artikel/bbb_Blick_zurueck_in_die_Zukunft_2356017.html> [accessed 13 November 2015].

²⁰¹ Ibid.

²⁰² Heinrichs, 'Der Architekt Georg Heinrichs zum Märkischen Viertel'.

* THE BLUE SKY is framed in yellow when viewed from the passage into the open.

* BLACK-AND-WHITE is somehow boring. This is certainly why the house numbers have been set onto a blue background.

* "CHILDREN'S PREFERENCES" are only meant symbolically, and here too, it is all about the different hues.

* THE YELLOW BALCONIES give the high-rise a lively appearance. Colourful means attractive, means varied.

* MEISTER KLECKSEL on the ladder: "If you have red, green and blue, you can mix all the colours in between."

* A GREEN LAWN in front of a purple wall? If only that would work out. However, how sad the wall would be without coloured paint...!²⁰³

The original colour scheme for the Märkisches Viertel was based on the pre-First World War belief in the social utopia of architecture; that design could impact life in a positive way.²⁰⁴ Kampmann intended to use strong colours in order to create an architectural sculpture, which Heinrichs hoped would compete with the work of Archigram.²⁰⁵ Although Heinrichs's intention was to rival the vivid imagery of 1960s avant-garde concepts, as Gagès and Leo did not comply with the colours that Kampmann stipulated, the overall image of the Märkisches Viertel failed.²⁰⁶ Fleig lamented that as the scheme was not adhered to, his building instead appeared as a single object rather than as part of a larger whole.²⁰⁷ He recalled the intention of the use of colour on the north side Wilhelmsruher Damm was to provide 'direction and coherence' and to use the same colours in smaller doses across the rest of the Märkisches Viertel to create a sense of unity whilst retaining individuality.²⁰⁸ The colour that was applied was seen to have brought some variety into the district and acted successfully as orientation points for residents.²⁰⁹ The general feeling in hindsight however, was that the colour was an arbitrary and almost comical representation of the concern that architects and officials had for residents. As Hermann Funke stated 'others are able to choose flats, or build houses according to their needs, tastes and financial position. These people are ordered into these flats, into this colourful concrete'.²¹⁰ At Falkenberg, Taut's

²⁰³ Heinz Metzger, 'Ein farben frohes Wohlgefühl: unsere Welt ist kleiner geworden', *Berliner Morgenpost*, (10 September 1968).

²⁰⁴ Krohn, 'Häuser als Strukturen', (p. 54).

²⁰⁵ Ibid.

²⁰⁶ 'Ein farbiges Gesamtbild', (p. 1212).

²⁰⁷ 'Fragen an die Architekten', 1192.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

²⁰⁹ Krohn, 'Häuser als Strukturen', (p. 56).

²¹⁰ Funke, 'Da hilft nur noch Dynamit', p. 233.

intention was also to create an architecture which responded to the needs of residents rather than forcing a modification of human behaviour.²¹¹ Thus the concept of instinctual and subjective application of colour are almost negated in such a large settlement where colours are predetermined by architects and artists and un-alterable by residents. The contested colour scheme, which cannot be changed by individual owners, is owned by the development and thus rather than creating a sense of ownership, creates another field of contestation between architect and resident.



Fig. 1.27: RENÉ GAGÈS'S BUILDING, THE "LANGE JAMMER" [LONG MISERY], MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, WEST BERLIN

Ingrid Krau, for example, saw the application of colour as emphasising the architects' disconnect between their designs and their social implications in believing that 'position and colour emphasised democracy'.²¹² Herbert Stranz's comment that the individualism of the buildings outlined in the use of colour as a direct reflection of "democracy" proved highly inflammatory.²¹³ *Aktion 507* attacked the colour concept as anti-social, as they believed that the money would have been better invested in social infrastructure such as kindergartens, or transport networks.²¹⁴ The idea that colour would disguise the scale and monotony of the Märkisches Viertel was seen to be a minor response which masked a far greater problem. Funke reported that the tenants 'run against the concrete, grapple with the skyline, attack the huge number of houses' and 'rage against the colours that are hostile to the whole architecture'.²¹⁵ Thus colour, though intended to bring joy to the lives of residents as in the Expressionist tradition, became another example of differing viewpoints and interpretations. Despite the fact that architects, planners, and artists

²¹¹ McLachlan, *Architectural Colour*, p. 65.

²¹² Krau, 'Die Zeit der Diagnose', 342.

²¹³ 'Slums verschoben', p. 137.

²¹⁴ Krohn, 'Häuser als Strukturen', (p. 54).

²¹⁵ Funke, 'Da hilft nur noch Dynamit', p. 388.

involved in the realisation of the Märkisches Viertel took inspiration from the earlier architectural traditions of the Bauhaus and Expressionism, only *Aktion 507* highlighted the importance of agency. The architecture students reflected Gropius's critique that the proletariat wanted to decide on an architectural style which suited their lifestyle rather than having it prescribed and predetermined without consultation.

SECTION CONCLUSION

Both protester and architect were attempting to navigate and counteract “grey Berlin”. The students believed this could be achieved through an empowerment of the individual by making the personal political in the vein of the Frankfurt School. The architects believed this could be achieved by providing modernist housing. Both architects and protesters believed in the value of the Bauhaus and yet the interpretations were quite different; the students engaged with the democratic agency promoted by Gropius and the architects engaged with the modernist style and mass housing elements. Both agreed with the application of colour, yet students believed it should be applied “bottom-up” and architects that it should be applied “top-down”. This difference in interpretation of something as apparently insignificant as colour can be seen as indicative of the larger political disjuncture between architect and architectural student, bureaucracy and student movement, government and society.

SECTION 1.3 FUNCTIONALISM UNDER ATTACK

All aspects of functionalism, not just colour application, came under attack from many theorists and critics in the post-war period, so much so that it came to be seen as a symbolic illustration of a much broader critique of post-war society. Having presented the ideas and influences behind the satellite settlements, this section discusses aspects of the criticism by incorporating theories *Aktion 507* were consulting and showing how this was applied to the realities of life in the Märkisches Viertel. The manifesto indicated the significance of *Aktion 507's* aim to involve residents in the critique. Baller recalled 'we were allocated a budget from the BDA and then we simply went straight to the Märkisches Viertel and talked to the people there'.²¹⁶ It can be understood therefore, that the inclusion of residents in the exhibition and their opinions within the *Diagnose* were the starting point for much of *Aktion 507's* work. As Bodenschatz noted, the situation in the Märkisches Viertel, with its 'intolerable defects in social infrastructure, especially in schools and kindergartens, and rent increases' made the area especially attractive for the students who wanted to overcome the isolation of the university by direct work in the city districts.²¹⁷ This section presents some of these brutal accounts of life in the Märkisches Viertel to understand the impact of the *Diagnose* and also to illustrate how *Aktion 507* began to put theory into practice and attempt to understand the needs of residents. The issues that arose when translating concepts such as "urbanity" into the built environment will be presented including ideas regarding how the themes could be altered.

²¹⁶ Baller, 'Der Vertrauensarchitekt der Besetzerszene', (p. 22).

²¹⁷ Bodenschatz, 'Kultobjekt', (p. 20).

'Tenant: Ultimate consumer of the results of the Berlin housing policies, often at the end of the world, almost always at the end of their tether'²¹⁸ *Aktion 507*



FIG. 1.28: MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL UNDER CONSTRUCTION, WEST BERLIN, C. 1960S

In 1967, *Bauwelt* dedicated their November issue to the Märkisches Viertel development which included interviews with several of the architects involved in the design of the new estate. *Aktion 507*'s discussion of the Märkisches Viertel and the impact on the individual is centred around these interviews and counteracted with *Aktion 507*'s own interviews with residents. This direct inclusion of the opinions of residents was seen as the starting point in redefining the aims and methods of contemporary urban planning. The architects were asked specific questions by a journalist from *Bauwelt* which were then lifted and incorporated into a contrived thematic juxtaposition, which included resident interviews as a counterpoint. It is not clear what questions were asked of the residents, nor is the selection process for the quotes transparent. However, what is of interest is the focus on engaging residents in urban planning issues, despite the biases at play. The section within *Aktion 507*'s manifesto is split into four themes: relationship to the environment, needs, social structure, and individuality. *Aktion 507* introduced this argument as follows:

²¹⁸ *Aktion 507*, 'Manifest', (p. 143).

Architekten und Bewohner: eine Gegenüberstellung

Wir stellen den genannten Phänomenen und Thesen die Äußerungen von Bewohnern und einigen der Erbauer des Märkischen Viertels gegenüber.

Dabei stoßen wir auf zwei Tatsachen: zwischen beiden Gruppen besteht eine Kluft, die den totalen Realitätsverlust der Architekten zeigt; zum anderen kann an den Äußerungen der Bewohner nicht das Maß der Entfernung der Architekten von den Bedürfnissen der Bewohner festgestellt werden, da diese durch eine unerwartet große Not in den Zustand eines fast vollständig unreflektierten Existenzkampfes versetzt sind.

Wir gliedern die Aussagen in vier Abteilungen:

1. Verhältnis zu Umwelt
2. Bedürfnisse
3. soziale Struktur
4. Individuum

[THIS IMAGE HAS BEEN REMOVED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Architects and Residents: A Comparison

We contrast the aforementioned phenomena and theories with remarks by residents and some of the architects of the Märkisches Viertel.

Thereby we reveal two facts: there is a gap between the two groups, showing the architects total loss of reality; on the other hand, the expressions of residents cannot ascertain or measure the distance of architects from the needs of the residents, since they were put in a state of an almost completely unreflective struggle for existence by an unexpectedly great plight.

We divide the statements into four sections:

1. Relationship to the environment
2. Needs
3. Social Structure
4. Individuality²¹⁹

The “relationship to the environment” section focused mainly on the visual appearance and impact of the development both from the point of view of architects and residents. The “needs” section from the residents’ viewpoint focused on the lack of infrastructure and the impact on children, and the architects’ quotes related to spaces for leisure activity. The concept of “needs” is a complex one and has various connotations. Suffice to say for our argument that the concept became popular in France through the work of the sociologist Paul-Henry Chombart de Lauwe’s *Famille et Habitation* (1959) who stated that needs related to dwelling physiologically, psychologically and culturally, but also that they were not universal and needed to be qualified in context and in relation to differences between occupants.²²⁰ In “social structure” the residents’ quotes related to the anti-social nature of the development and the belief that residents were being ‘treated like dirt’ by authorities and architects, in contrast to the architects who discussed their intention to create an urban neighbourhood with numerous communal areas.²²¹ “Individuality” showed an empty space for quotes from the residents and the architects’ comments related to moveable floor plans and building forms. There is some overlap in the sections in terms of the resident quotes, particularly in reference to the high rents, the lack of infrastructure and the impact on the children with the manifesto presenting numerous issues within the new

²¹⁹ Ibid. p. 41.

²²⁰ Łukasz Stanek, ‘Henri Lefebvre: For and against The “User”’, in *Use Matters: An Alternative History of Architecture*, ed. by Kenny Cupers (New York: Taylor and Francis, 2014), pp. 139-52 (p. 140); See also Łukasz Stanek, ‘Who Needs ‘Needs’? French Post-War Architecture and Its Critics’, in *Architecture and the Welfare State*, ed. by Mark Swenarton, Tom Avermaete, and Dirk van den Heuvel (London: Routledge, 2015), pp. 113-32.

²²¹ Aktion 507, ‘Manifest’, (p. 44).

housing estates; isolation, monotony, and anti-social behaviour. All of this was used by *Aktion 507* to demonstrate the disconnect between resident and architect with the intention of giving the inhabitants a voice.

In the manifesto under the heading “Individuality”, *Aktion 507* state ‘of individuality, there was no mention amongst the residents’.²²² The architects’ section on “Individuality” in contrast contains three quotes which for the most part relate to the flexibility of cellular construction and moveable floor plans and emphasising the singularity of the apartments by arrangement and colour.²²³ For example, the architect Düttmann is quoted as having said the following:

...the social obligation of the architect, of the community, of the general public, is opposed to the masses, who must not remain a mass. The use of the architect for the individualisation of “du”, the unknown client, who cannot take part in decision making, because that appears technically impossible.²²⁴

Thus, the architects stated that individuality was a concern when designing the buildings of the Märkisches Viertel and yet the functionalist aesthetic was criticised by many intellectuals as not having the capacity to allow for individual expression.

The monotony of the new districts was also understood by its critics to be accompanied by social homogeneity.²²⁵ Reports by *Der Spiegel* support this in relation to the Märkisches Viertel:

Almost 200 tenants, who considered themselves “upmarket layers”, have fled the “stone desert”, the “prison of concrete” with their “modern backyards”. They took off, because they thought “the composition of the population was not acceptable” because they “are not suited to the people” or they saw their children endangered “by the unprecedented aggressiveness of others”.²²⁶

There were three times as many “problem families” in the Märkisches Viertel than in typical Berlin workers’ districts and every fifth family was supported by social welfare.²²⁷ A resident

²²² Ibid.

²²³ Ibid. p. 45.

²²⁴ Ibid.

“Du” is the familiar or informal form of “you” in German.

²²⁵ Heide Berndt, ‘Ist der Funktionalismus eine funktionale Architektur? Soziologische Betrachtung einer architektonischen Kategorie’, in *Architektur als Ideologie*, ed. by Heide Berndt, Alfred Lorenzer, and Klaus Horn (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1968), pp. 9-50 (pp. 29-30).

²²⁶ Krüger, ‘Menschen im Experiment’, p. 226.

²²⁷ Ibid.

commented to *Aktion 507* 'I will not use the word *Penner* [tramp] but here 75% of the residents are antisocial'.²²⁸ The interest of so many in the impact of the new social housing settlements provoked a strong concentration in the media. *Der Spiegel* committed itself to conducting its own investigation in 1970 whereby its editor Karl-Heinz Krüger and employee Hermann Funke, along with the photographer Klaus Mehner, were 'stationed' in the Märkisches Viertel for four weeks in order to carry out a 'critical assessment'.²²⁹ The results of which were the damning fifteen-page article *Menschen im Experiment* [People in an Experiment] published in November of 1970. A section of the article illustrated the anti-social situation in the district with shocking clarity:

"Volkmar fucks Dackma!", "Everyone is stupid, even your parents," and on the wall of the parish hall: "Stupid Shit" - This is now the brutal poetry that children have scrawled in crooked chalk lines on the concrete walls of the new district.

In entire sections of the development, whether in the 16-storey sleeping tower of Professor Ludwig Leo, the 750-meter-long wall unit by René Gagès or the (mass)tenements of Müller and Heinrichs, glass front doors are splintered, buzzer panels scratched, post boxes broken, the walls of the elevator dirtied, the control buttons are singed, switches and cables ripped out of the wall.

But it is not only the children who are the perpetrators. In addition to the scratched swastikas, Soviet stars and sex symbols, adults have pasted the solution a hundred times: "Destroy what destroys you".

A businesswoman says, "Well, we are ashamed to let visitors in the hallway, and we are generally all ashamed to say; "I live in the Märkisches Viertel". We live on the first floor, but we always take the elevator, we can't use the stairs: one shit next to another. The mothers sit, smoke or drink, play princesses or have some visitor and bleat over the intercom to the children downstairs: "pee outside!"

A mechanic says: "The children do not bother me, even when they kick against the doors, bawl in the stairwell, pee in the basement, I am bothered by the adults they belong to. There's a guy who, at three in the morning, shoves his wife out of the window and bawls at her, "You whore!"

The mechanic knows how he could regain peace: "With a gang of thugs you could kick their asses and make their faces shine. But they are not stupid. Then they would throw themselves on the floor and roar, and you could be paying for it for life."

²²⁸ *Aktion 507*, 'Manifest', (p. 44).

²²⁹ Krüger, 'Menschen im Experiment', p. 218.

The mechanic summarises: “I really like the apartment, but when I moved here, I did not know what to expect.”²³⁰



FIG. 1.29: IMAGES OF THE MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL FROM *DER SPIEGEL*, 1968

There was also a very high divorce rate in the district which a pastor put down to an ‘extremely high number of unreported cases of domestic alcoholism’.²³¹ A resident quoted in the same section in the manifesto commented ‘...one can learn from the rubbish bins, if you tip one over, bottles, bottles, nothing but bottles and payment summons...’²³² The pastor continues that the high level of alcoholism were due to a high strain on the nerves: ‘both parents work, have difficulties looking after their children, they’re all tired in the

²³⁰ Ibid. pp. 220-3.

²³¹ Ibid. p. 231.

²³² Aktion 507, ‘Manifest’, (p. 42).

evening, there's a lot of mess lying around, the children are noisy, rude and dirty'.²³³ In reference to a case the pastor had seen first-hand, the situation developed as follows:

The father brings peace and quiet to the eight children with slaps in the face until he is able to watch TV. The mother is in the kitchen, crying out in front of him, making semolina that no one eats and which is then eaten cold in the morning for breakfast. And one day the father does not want to come home, he remains in his pub in Wedding and then the woman at home begins to drink...²³⁴

The numerous aspects of functionalist urban planning were now under attack, from the separation of functions to the density and design of residential dwellings. The isolation of the various aspects of urban living was seen to be particularly significant in the negative image of the new housing estates. The unfamiliarity of the environment as well as the "forced" displacement of many of the residents created an intense hostility to the new estates which quickly gained bad reputations due to the reports of criminal and antisocial behaviour.

For many theorists, the decentralisation of the city and the increase in suburban living and its connection to the zoning of the city had a fateful effect on the individual. As discussed in section 1.1, the density of the Märkisches Viertel was increased during the planning period by almost half. A resident commented to *Aktion 507*: 'I would not be paid to live here, not in this deployment area'.²³⁵ The scale of the estate highlights the vast numbers of people in need of homes in the post-war period and led to the increased capacity of the new satellite developments. However, critiques were beginning to question whether the city was still in the same immediate state of emergency. *Der Spiegel*, for example, stated that 'the first phase of reconstruction, marked by an acute lack of housing, has come to an end' and that architects, urban planners, and builders were no longer able to use the need to 'remedy an emergency' as an excuse.²³⁶ Once the suburban housing settlements were extricated from the emergency situation, the estates were seen to condemn the resident to a life without individuality.

As discussed in the introduction, the most influential intellectual from the German-speaking lands was Alexander Mitscherlich. In *Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte*, Mitscherlich

²³³ Krüger, 'Menschen im Experiment', p. 231.

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ Aktion 507, 'Manifest', (p. 42).

²³⁶ 'Es bröckelt', p. 46.

identified the suburbs as the cause of the loss of 'any remnant of urban dignity and civic obligation', the loss of this obligation was believed to cause the individual to retreat into 'pseudo-privacy'.²³⁷ This developed from a questioning of how the individual could go through the process of looking for a home with the administrative act of having an "index number" rather than a name, and then operate in an environment where they are expected to be an individual again.²³⁸ Echoing this lack of individuality in relation to density and a sense of being infinitely replaceable, a resident commented that "here one is stacked, one on top of another..."²³⁹ For Mitscherlich this scenario indicated a key example of the 'murder of the human impulse in and through the administrative world'.²⁴⁰

This was in direct contrast to the promoted intention. As discussed previously, the intention of the post-war ideal was to reinforce the connection between the individual and the countryside in order to foster a better quality of life. The first post-war chancellor of West Germany, Konrad Adenauer believed the city to cause the 'depersonalisation of man' which would lead to the 'true depravity of humanity' and that the urgent solution was 'the connection between family and nature'.²⁴¹ Like Mitscherlich, most of the intellectuals read by *Aktion 507* saw this ideal as a fallacy, and that although the 'underprivileged' were forced to live in the slums, Mitscherlich believed that the 'misery of the cities can also be rediscovered...in the trend for single-family homes'.²⁴² He justified this conclusion by stating the following: 'With every plot parcelled on the outskirts of the city and sold for dizzying land prices, the horizon of the urban dweller where the landscape begins, is pushed further away'.²⁴³ The individual was declared to be no more free in the country than they were in the city as the country was corrupted by the same bureaucracies as urban spaces. The urban dweller, according to Hans Paul Bahrtdt, thus became the enemy of the big city and tried to save his private sphere by moving to rural areas, with the middle classes fleeing to the suburbs first.²⁴⁴ Thus the suburbs which had begun as retreat for the middle classes, were then reconfigured as a solution to the social housing shortage.

²³⁷ Mitscherlich, *Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte*, p. 12.

²³⁸ Ibid. p. 29.

²³⁹ Aktion 507, 'Manifest', (p. 44).

²⁴⁰ Mitscherlich, *Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte*, p. 29.

²⁴¹ 'Es bröckelt', p. 50.

²⁴² Mitscherlich, *Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte*, p. 59.

²⁴³ Ibid.

²⁴⁴ Bahrtdt, *Die moderne Großstadt*, p. 104.

In discussing a connection to the environment, many of the quotes by architects selected by *Aktion 507* referred to the formation of the district, the ground plans, the urban plan and the infrastructure. The architect, Rave, illustrated this:

City renewal, i.e. rehabilitation of the boring post-war settlements by consolidation, connecting roads, construction in the green corridors, yes, by cosmetics (colour!).²⁴⁵

The contradiction between architect and resident which *Aktion 507* sought to highlight, is emphasised in a corresponding comment from the same section by a resident:

Bunker, workhouse, homeless asylum, miniature Chicago, amongst other things, so the thing here is described as, it's really a shame, a whole new quarter and already so notorious.²⁴⁶

The intention of the architects was in contrast to the reality that *Aktion 507* sought to publicise. *Der Spiegel* reported that the residents were frightened by the wasteland that surrounded them and to counteract this they 'displaced old forms of urban coexistence to areas not yet touched by bulldozers': the adults, for example, visited a pub at the edge of a nearby allotment settlement, the teenagers joined Moped gangs in the suburbs and the children played in ditches and on spoil heaps.²⁴⁷ The scale and density of the housing projects negated the connection to nature and instead intensified the sense of isolation from the rest of the city.

Aktion 507 alleged that the architects of the Märkisches Viertel had not acknowledged that 'society has meanwhile developed as a purely economic system of control...the individual, for whom the architect fights, appears as one, and in whose incapacitation they play a significant part'.²⁴⁸ Thus, the need to maintain the vitality of the old neighbourhoods that allowed for differences and expressions of individuality had to be maintained and encouraged. As a result of post-war modernist housing developments, there was increasing articulation of this concern regarding the loss of historical buildings and urban spaces, and a 'growing uneasiness about the built environment'.²⁴⁹ As well as Mitscherlich, the other most prominent critic of the housing policy in West Germany was Bahrdr who advocated

²⁴⁵ *Aktion 507*, 'Manifest', (p. 43).

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p. 42.

²⁴⁷ 'Gettos im grünen', p. 116.

²⁴⁸ *Aktion 507*, 'Manifest'.

²⁴⁹ Andreas Schätzke, 'A Matter for the Polis: Cities, Architecture and the Public in Germany', in *Josef Paul Kleihues: The Art of Urban Architecture*, ed. by Josef Paul Kleihues, et al. (Berlin: Nicolai, 2003), pp. 55-66 (p. 56).

urbanity through density and focused on analysing the impact of urban planning on the distinction between public and private spheres of existence. Like Mitscherlich, Bahrtdt blamed modernist planning policies of zoning and decentralisation for creating inhospitable urban environments. This reflected not only intellectual criticism, but also the experience of residents; at the Märkisches Viertel for example, René Gagès's building was nicknamed by its inhabitants as the '*Lange Jammer*' [long misery]. Enforcing the significance of architecture, rather than merely the urban experience, was social psychologist Klaus Horn's (1934-85) belief that the active, political participation of citizens in the life of the city should be encouraged by architecture was negated by the 'extreme environmental conditions' of the contemporary city which could also cause 'the loss of consciousness of reality, regression and the destruction of acquired mental structures'.²⁵⁰ These ideas were common themes in the texts *Aktion 507* consulted, and impacted heavily on their criticism.

Issues such as the separation of functions were understood as a key factor in the negative experiences of people living within the new residential complexes. The prioritisation of car ownership in the planning for the satellite developments was seen as a fateful aspect of contemporary planning as it meant that the inhabitants became isolated from the city and from one another. Höttler reported that a retired couple made an hour-long journey by S-Bahn from Gropiusstadt to their old grocer in Wedding once a week, 'even if they only have to buy greens and sour cream'.²⁵¹ *Der Spiegel* similarly reported that the satellite settlements were disconnected from the rest of the city by noting that in the centre of the Märkisches Viertel, opposite the commercial centre was the bus stop for the only bus line that connected the district with the city of West Berlin: 'it is line A21, and it takes 54 minutes to get to Bahnhof Zoo (if you change at Wedding)' [Fig. 1.30].²⁵² This separation of functions and the decentralisation of the city, indicated to Bahrtdt that the streets and squares of the city had lost their function as places of encounter and instead stated that the 'streets of today have been transformed into a tube system which serves only the technical functions of traffic'.²⁵³

²⁵⁰ Horn, 'Zweckrationalität in der modernen Architektur', (p. 136).

²⁵¹ 'Gettos im grünen', pp. 116-8.

²⁵² Krüger, 'Menschen im Experiment', p. 231.

²⁵³ Bahrtdt, *Die moderne Großstadt*, p. 99.



FIG. 1.30: PAST AND PRESENT BUS ROUTE OF A21 FROM MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL TO WEDDING AND ON TO BAHNHOF ZOO

It was only in May of 1970 (seven years after construction began) that the government decided to incorporate a u-bahn route to connect the Märkisches Viertel with the city centre which was due for completion at the end of the 1970s.²⁵⁴ At the time of writing, there is still not a u-bahn station in the centre of the Märkisches Viertel and it is something that residents are still campaigning for. As recently as 24 January 2017, the CDU deputy Frank Steffel spoke on the issue in the *Berliner Zeitung*: 'For decades, the residents have

²⁵⁴ Krüger, 'Menschen im Experiment', p. 231.

been waiting in vain for this investment'.²⁵⁵ Bahrtdt summarised the general attitude between the individual and traffic considerations in the big city:

The unity of the city remains invisible. The streets and squares lose their public character and serve the traffic. Anyone who wants to orient themselves in the city with the speed that modern worship demands, is dependent on abstract light signs and traffic signs, which he must find on his own from a tangle of advertisements. He has no time to look around calmly and recognize the streets and squares that lead his way.²⁵⁶

Bahrtdt's theory fed into a general critique of the dominance of traffic in the city and in urban planning considerations; 'the pedestrian is imprisoned on the pavement as if in a tube: he lives one-dimensionally'.²⁵⁷ This mention of "one dimensionality" refers to Marcuse's concern for the predominance of instrumental reason, utilitarianism functionalism in contemporary existence and the need for critical thinking in what he termed the "Great Refusal".²⁵⁸ The solution to the one-dimensional existence on the pavement was therefore the separation of traffic from residential areas to allow for spaces of encounter to develop which would enable access to the public sphere.²⁵⁹ The post-war concern for traffic was therefore seen as another way in which the individual lost their ability to orientate themselves in the urban environment and caused the spaces of the city to lose their public function.

This loss of the distinction between public and private spheres was seen to be exacerbated by the increase in access to mass media outlets. The media was of great concern to members of the Frankfurt School, particularly Adorno and was understood to play a key role in the struggle over the differentiation between public and private space. The introduction of radios and televisions into private homes caused the living room to become a public space and the individual was therefore subsumed into the mass. For Bahrtdt, leisure time and work time were losing their differentiation; they both 'bare traces of non-committal arbitrariness' where private life becomes a passive participation in public life by watching television.²⁶⁰ Adorno and other members of the Frankfurt School argued against

²⁵⁵ 'Neuer Vorstoß der CDU für U8-Ausbau ins Märkische Viertel', in *Berliner Zeitung*, (24 January 2017).

²⁵⁶ Bahrtdt, *Die moderne Großstadt*, p. 102.

²⁵⁷ *Ibid.* p. 100.

²⁵⁸ See Herbert Marcuse, *One Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society*, (London: Routledge, 1964).

²⁵⁹ Bahrtdt, *Die moderne Großstadt*, p. 118.

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.* p. 74.

compartmentalisation of work and leisure as it allowed for identification and therefore commodification and domination. Likewise, Horn suggested that the private sphere was increasingly under indirect control through television and through leisure, where no positive impulses were produced that could shape a functioning public sphere.²⁶¹ The dominance of mass media was therefore seen to prevent the development of the desired critical consciousness. The media was condemned for promoting isolation as it blurred the boundaries between public and private life and therefore prevented relationships developing between people, and towards the environment.

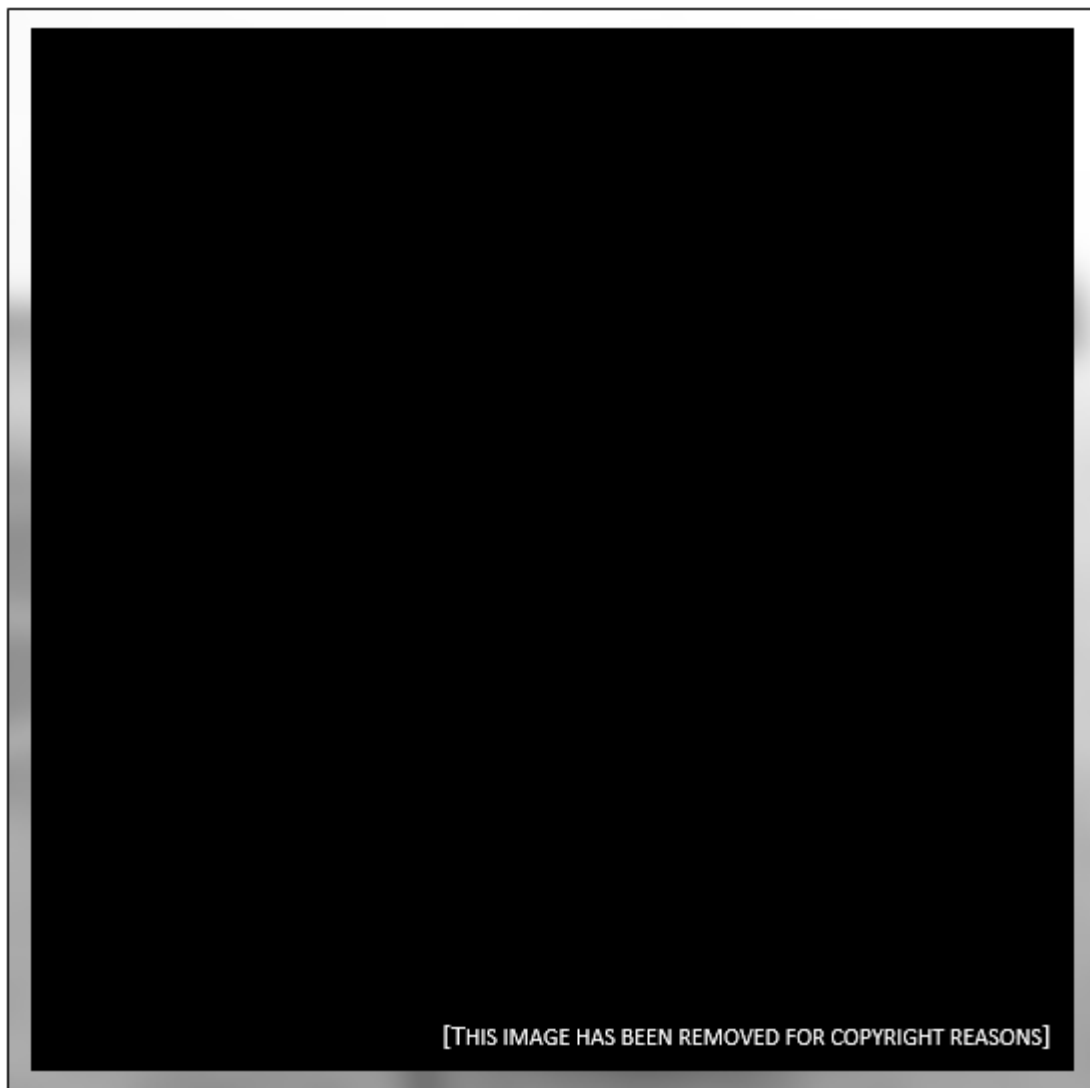


Fig. 1.31: IMAGES OF THE MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL PHOTOGRAPHED BY GERHARD ULLMAN, 1968

Mitscherlich for example, referred to the 'landscapes of illusion' which prevented the citizen from being involved in a 'natural dialectic relationship' with their everyday life which

²⁶¹ Horn, 'Zweckrationalität in der modernen Architektur', (p. 126).

he identified as the reason why city dwellers became disorientated and unable to relax after extended journeys between work and home.²⁶² Bahrdt's warning for urban planners was that this should not be the behaviour around which residential buildings are formulated. For the residents of the Märkisches Viertel the uninspiring spaces in which they lived caused a lack of community and social cohesion:

...from a social point of view, considering aspects for children and adults, they are so minimal that there is nothing to talk about, because there is so little one could hardly begin to speak of it...²⁶³

Thus, it was not just the relationship the individual had with the city that was under question, but also the effect that this had on the creation of relationships with other individuals. The lack of interest in the new districts resulted in the creation of a subdued social situation. The analysis by critics regarding the un-stimulating nature of the residents' existence was at odds with the intentions of architects and policy makers who believed that the new settlements would give space over to leisure activities. The architects' reaction to the question of "needs" as compiled by *Aktion 507* was in relation to the provision of green space and televisions:

The architect has even equipped a central room with two exits on to the balcony. Communal antenna for radio and television. DeGeWo

The courtyards are spaces for leisure time, every "green yard" has character. Stranz

...small hills and winding roads form an area in which louder noise can occur. In the immediate area of the houses, walkways and patios with tree-lined avenues are provided, which are for quieter walks. Müller-Heinrichs²⁶⁴

This emphasis placed on accessibility to walk through the landscape was negated for many critics of the satellite settlements by the isolation from the rest of the city. For this reason, the reverence of being in the landscape and a connection to greenery and clean air, as advocated by CIAM, was seen as a myth by many of the sociologists concerned with urban planning in the post-war period. Heide Berndt for example commented that 'qualities attributed to greenery, border on the delusional...it is incomprehensible why trees and

²⁶² Mitscherlich, *Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte*, p. 85.

²⁶³ Aktion 507, 'Manifest', (p. 44).

²⁶⁴ Ibid. p. 43.

shrubs should have such a beneficial therapeutic influence on mental illness'.²⁶⁵ *Der Spiegel* continued with Berndt's analysis:

On the contrary, it is a bad habitation and over-occupancy of rooms which are detrimental to the health of the inhabitants. Moreover, "air regeneration in the cities is by no means dependent on the green spaces in them, but on the air currents in the troposphere."²⁶⁶

The reference to Berndt's study indicates the extent to which many of the intellectuals referenced and consulted by the students were concerned with the loss of the "spaces of encounter" at the expense of a healthier living environment. The starkness and lack of vitality in the Märkisches Viertel is highlighted in the following quotes from residents:

...there is nothing here, the only thing that is here is boredom...
...in the evenings there is nothing here, even though there are shops,
everything is dead here...²⁶⁷

For the residents, this meant that they were either a youth in the stairwell or in the carpark, or a resident who was confined to their flat as there was nothing to tempt them onto the street, and for fear of antisocial behaviour. *Der Spiegel* commented that "'antisocial' is the insult that the socially weak use to attack the socially weaker in the Märkisches Viertel. Hell is always the neighbour".²⁶⁸

In his discussion of one-dimensionality, Marcuse identified the fact that 'the environment from which the individual could obtain pleasure...has been rigidly reduced'.²⁶⁹ *Aktion 507* commented that functionalism banished the terms 'signal' and 'sign' and that the 'corresponding phenomena of decorative, ornamental, emblematic were functionally trimmed, where they could not be banished'.²⁷⁰ The relationship between the individual and society was believed to be navigated and manipulated by the "apparatus of the state"; by the media and by the government and the dominant hegemony. Contact between neighbours and contact with the public at large had become alien as the 'unmanageable size of the institutions', had caused the establishment of relationships of "'a-political"

²⁶⁵ Heide Berndt, *Das Gesellschaftsbild bei Stadtplanern*, (Stuttgart: Karl Kramer Verlag, 1968); Quoted in 'Es bröckelt', p. 49.

²⁶⁶ 'Es bröckelt', p. 49.

²⁶⁷ *Aktion 507*, 'Manifest', (p. 42).

²⁶⁸ Krüger, 'Menschen im Experiment', p. 226.

²⁶⁹ Marcuse, *One Dimensional Man*, p. 76.

²⁷⁰ *Aktion 507*, 'Manifest', (p. 77).

indifference'.²⁷¹ Thus negating an individual's sense of participation and sense of importance within society.

²⁷¹ Mitscherlich, *Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte*, p. 76.

Hundreds of thousands, an army of the plaintiffs, live in suburban ghettos between Hamburg and Munich, Cologne, Kassel, and Berlin, crammed into the narrow cells of concrete apartment-machines, embedded in the desolate uniformity of rows of tenants, banished to the green desert of standardised terraced housing estates and residential plots.²⁷² *Der Spiegel*, 3 February 1969



FIG. 1.32: IMAGES OF THE MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, AKTION 507, *MANIFEST*, 1968

Much of the criticism lobbied at the satellite housing settlements focused on children and teenagers; an emotive and frank consideration of the future prospects of those growing up in the new districts. At the Märkisches Viertel, for example, in 1970 *Der Spiegel* reported that out of the 35,000 people who were living in the district more than 10,000 of them were children, a proportion which was twice as high than the rest of Berlin.²⁷³ A resident reiterated 'people are all thrown together, essentially lots of children!'²⁷⁴ The effect of housing on the younger generation concerned many intellectuals who analysed the impact of urban planning on the psyche due to the perceived vulnerability at the developmental stage. The children were reported to 'sit amongst the debris and the dirt' and that they were abandoned outside all day while their parents were at work which led to them

²⁷² 'Es bröckelt', p. 38.

²⁷³ Krüger, 'Menschen im Experiment', p. 118.

²⁷⁴ Aktion 507, 'Manifest', (p. 44).

relieving themselves in the parking spaces, behind the community centre, in phone booths, in elevators and in fire escapes as there was only one public toilet in the whole district.²⁷⁵

In response, *Aktion 507* condemned the lack of coordination and the lack of integrated infrastructure despite the fact that plans had been drawn up to encompass the whole city of West-Berlin.²⁷⁶ They asked:

Who is responsible for the progressive dissolution of Berlin's cityscape through uncoordinated dense and partial building measures, through 'conceptionless' disfiguring of important facades, corners and squares.²⁷⁷

Reporting in November of 1970, *Der Spiegel* noted that the company responsible for installing outdoor facilities (SAL) had designed sports amenities that 'of course have not yet been built' which consisted of two football fields, a sports track, three small playing fields, an ice rink, five tennis courts, a stadium and an indoor swimming pool.²⁷⁸ When the residents were interviewed by *Aktion 507*, one commented: 'The bowling alley that they have, it brings in money, but what is acceptable for the children, that is unimportant, it does not matter'.²⁷⁹ What was seen to be necessary for the children was understood by residents to be of no interest to the planners, even though some elements were incorporated into the new district. For example, in 1970 SAL were reported to have constructed the Robinson Playground [FIG. 1.33] in the southeast corner of the district which was described as 'a terraced-scale children's ghetto with long rows of wooden posts, surrounded by stone walls, with concrete slabs and sand-pits in the middle – which the children barely glance at'.²⁸⁰ The company also constructed playgrounds with concrete tubes, slides and seesaws that the children were reported to have 'long since lost interest', and instead:

most play in front of doorways or in the construction areas, but also (as at Gagès-Bau) directly under the windows of pensioners who live on the first floor. Then they pop their air rifles daily between one and three, and a retiree says, "I'm going insane I could hit my head against the wall!"²⁸¹

²⁷⁵ Krüger, 'Menschen im Experiment', p. 226.

²⁷⁶ Aktion 507, 'Manifest', (p. 114).

²⁷⁷ Ibid. p. 116.

²⁷⁸ Krüger, 'Menschen im Experiment', p. 226.

SAL: *Städteplanung, Architektur, Landschaftsplanung* [Urban planning, Architecture, Landscape Design].

²⁷⁹ Aktion 507, 'Manifest', (p. 42).

²⁸⁰ Krüger, 'Menschen im Experiment', p. 228.

²⁸¹ Ibid.



FIG. 1.33: IMAGES AND CAPTION FROM *DER SPIEGEL*, 1970

'The best thing that can happen here is a rainy weekend' commented a resident, 'then at least there is no one under the windows'.²⁸² Because of the number of children in the district and because residents were moved in before services and infrastructure were completed, there were reportedly more than one thousand children on waiting lists for church or municipal day care centres.²⁸³ For the teenagers in the new satellite settlements, the situation was just as bleak as an *Aktion 507* interviewee commented:

...if we (yobs) stand at the door, then the caretaker comes immediately and makes a scene, and shoos us, so that the only place we can sit is behind the canal...²⁸⁴

This focus on playgrounds and enrichment for children reflected a growing concern with the concept of "play". Dutch historian and cultural theorist Johan Huizinga's *Homo Ludens* (1938) was circulating within architectural circles, including members of Team 10. As was Constant's New Urbanism which advocated a new 'playful-constructive' approach to using the city.²⁸⁵ *Aktion 507*, while conceding that E.H Hare's study on *Mental Health in New*

²⁸² Ibid. p. 226.

²⁸³ Ibid. p. 228.

²⁸⁴ *Aktion 507*, 'Manifest', (p. 42).

²⁸⁵ David Pinder, *Visions of the City: Utopianism, Power and Politics in Twentieth-Century Urbanism*, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2005), p. 150.

Towns demonstrated that residential areas could not be cited as the definitive cause of mental illness, believed themselves to be justified in the assumption that the built environment in early childhood was a crucial source of the problem.²⁸⁶ Many of the images in the manifesto and in other publications from the time show children playing in the spaces under the buildings, in the mounds of debris created during construction, and in the stairwells. One resident described the lack of a playground as 'a sickness'.²⁸⁷ Though one can survive without stimulants, 'on paved roads and in courtyards', Mitscherlich believed it should not come as a surprise when these children grow up without certain basic social attributes, such as 'a sense of belonging to place and a sense of initiative'.²⁸⁸ The impact of the static and oppressive existence within the new housing estates was therefore seen to have a profound and prolonged affect on those who grew up within them. Later member of the *RAF* terrorist group, Bommi Baumann (1947-2016) authenticated this in recalling the isolation he felt growing up in a 'working-class suburb' causing him to 'orientate himself differently', in order not to succumb to the monotonous life of a manual labourer.²⁸⁹

The aesthetics of the estates were seen to play a major part in the negative relationships that the residents had with the district. A resident is quoted in *Aktion 507's* manifesto:

...it is always such a slap in the face when you approach this house...all are such terrible barracks, these endless rows...²⁹⁰

The monotony of the new architecture was identified by many as an overwhelming visual and emotional feeling within the large housing estates. Paradoxically, the architects built with the complete opposite in mind:

The house type was designed in order to escape the monotonous row, without burdening the science of prefabrication more than was reasonable. Müller-Heinrichs²⁹¹

²⁸⁶ *Aktion 507*, 'Manifest', (p. 40).

²⁸⁷ *Ibid.* p. 42.

²⁸⁸ Mitscherlich, *Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte*, p. 24.

²⁸⁹ Baumann, *Terror or Love?*, p. 20.

²⁹⁰ *Aktion 507*, 'Manifest', (p. 42).

²⁹¹ *Ibid.* p. 43.



FIG. 1.34: IMAGES OF THE MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, *DER SPIEGEL*, 1970

Although this may have been the intention Adorno states that ‘the purely purpose-oriented forms have been revealed as insufficient, monotonous, deficient and narrow-mindedly practical’.²⁹² Urban interestingly commented that the perceptions of the nineteenth-century *Mietskasernen* as “chaotic”, “monotonous”, and “unhealthy” were simply displaced onto the new housing estates; “chaotic” because of the lack of a recognisable structure, “monotonous” because of the repetitive geometry and unadorned facades, and “unhealthy” because of the concrete and paved yards.²⁹³ Thus, reiterating the concept put forward by *Aktion 507* that the problems of the tenants had not been solved in their relocation but had been replicated, or in many cases had been intensified. The orientation provided by the colour scheme demonstrated an attempt to counteract the psychological effect of disorientation and monotony. Yet, these attempts were largely condemned as

²⁹² Theodor W. Adorno, ‘Functionalism Today’, in *Rethinking Architecture: A Reader in Cultural Theory*, ed. by Neil Leach (London: Routledge, 1997), pp. 5-18 (p. 10).

²⁹³ Urban, ‘Märkisches Viertel’, (p. 191).

underestimating the significance of the problem. Referencing Kevin Lynch's *Image of the City* (published in German in 1968), Berndt stated that orientation provides a strong sense of emotional security, whereas the opposite creates anxiety.²⁹⁴ Berndt goes on to reference a study carried out by the Chair for Urban Development at the *Technische Universität* in Darmstadt, Prof. Guther, in which he asked a randomly selected sample of housewives living in a modern residential 'monoculture' near Frankfurt, to draw their local environment.²⁹⁵ The results were hesitant and inaccurate reproductions indicating an environment that not only disorientated its residents but also within which they could not situate themselves.



FIG. 1.35: IMAGES OF THE MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, *DER SPIEGEL*, 1968

Orientation was seen to demonstrate an emotional connection to place, which was reflected upon by many of the scholars referenced by *Aktion 507*. Alfred Lorenzer, for

²⁹⁴ Berndt, 'Funktionalismus', (pp. 34-5).

²⁹⁵ See Ibid. p. 41 and p. 49 fn 68.

example, discussed what Jane Jacobs termed the “emotional core” of public behaviour that produced a sense of social responsibility and caused the individual to ‘recognise a relationship with the other – the stranger – on the street – a relationship which is noncommittal, distanced, anonymous, but deeply founded’.²⁹⁶ In the Märkisches Viertel, by contrast, the pastors reported that the residents had a ‘great aversion to the new unfamiliar city environment’ that was reflected in an aversion to the many strangers.²⁹⁷ A Märkisches Viertel resident reflected this in their comment to *Aktion 507*:

when I come back around the corner it depresses me already, I would like to turn around again, everything is so dead and empty...²⁹⁸

Thus, the inability to create an emotional connection with the urban, whether due to its continuous transformation or whether due to the feelings which emerged when inhabiting the architectural spaces, was charged with causing the individual to retreat inward to a space of confusion and anonymity.

The concern therefore was that the design of modern housing estates did not reflect the contemporary needs of individuals. Berndt, for example, posed the direct question: ‘is there adequate translation of human demands into the reality of construction?’²⁹⁹ An environment and an architecture which is purely rational, Lorenzer answered, ‘rejects the individual’ which in turn affects their relationship with others.³⁰⁰ The rational aspects of capitalism which were seen to increase the standard of living for millions of Germans as part of the post-war *Wirtschaftswunder* [Economic Miracle] were criticised for developing ‘the mass production of the most devastating weapons of destruction’.³⁰¹ Berndt continued:

The multiplication of wealth in developed industries benefits individuals only in a limited physiological sense: They are better dressed, have more and better quality of food and a higher life expectancy than the people of previous ages and generations (unless they have to die in senseless wars), but their opportunities to develop psychologically, are suppressed.³⁰²

²⁹⁶ Alfred Lorenzer, ‘Städtebau: Funktionalismus und Sozialmontage; zur sozialpsychologischen Funktion der Architektur’, in *Architektur als Ideologie*, ed. by Heide Berndt, Alfred Lorenzer, and Klaus Horn (Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 1968), pp. 51-104 (pp. 66-7).

²⁹⁷ Krüger, ‘Menschen im Experiment’, p. 228.

²⁹⁸ *Aktion 507*, ‘Manifest’, (p. 42).

²⁹⁹ Berndt, ‘Funktionalismus’, (p. 12).

³⁰⁰ Lorenzer, ‘Städtebau’, (p. 72).

³⁰¹ Berndt, ‘Funktionalismus’, (p. 40).

³⁰² *Ibid.* pp. 40-1.

The focus on the desire for material wealth in the 1950s was seen to be an example of a one-dimensional social system that nullified any sense of personal development. This system that negated enjoyment or excitement, was seen by Berndt to be extended into secondary structures such as the 'bleak "one-dimensionally" functionalized landscapes'.³⁰³ Within these landscapes, the individual was understood by *Aktion 507* to 'appear as one' to the architect.³⁰⁴

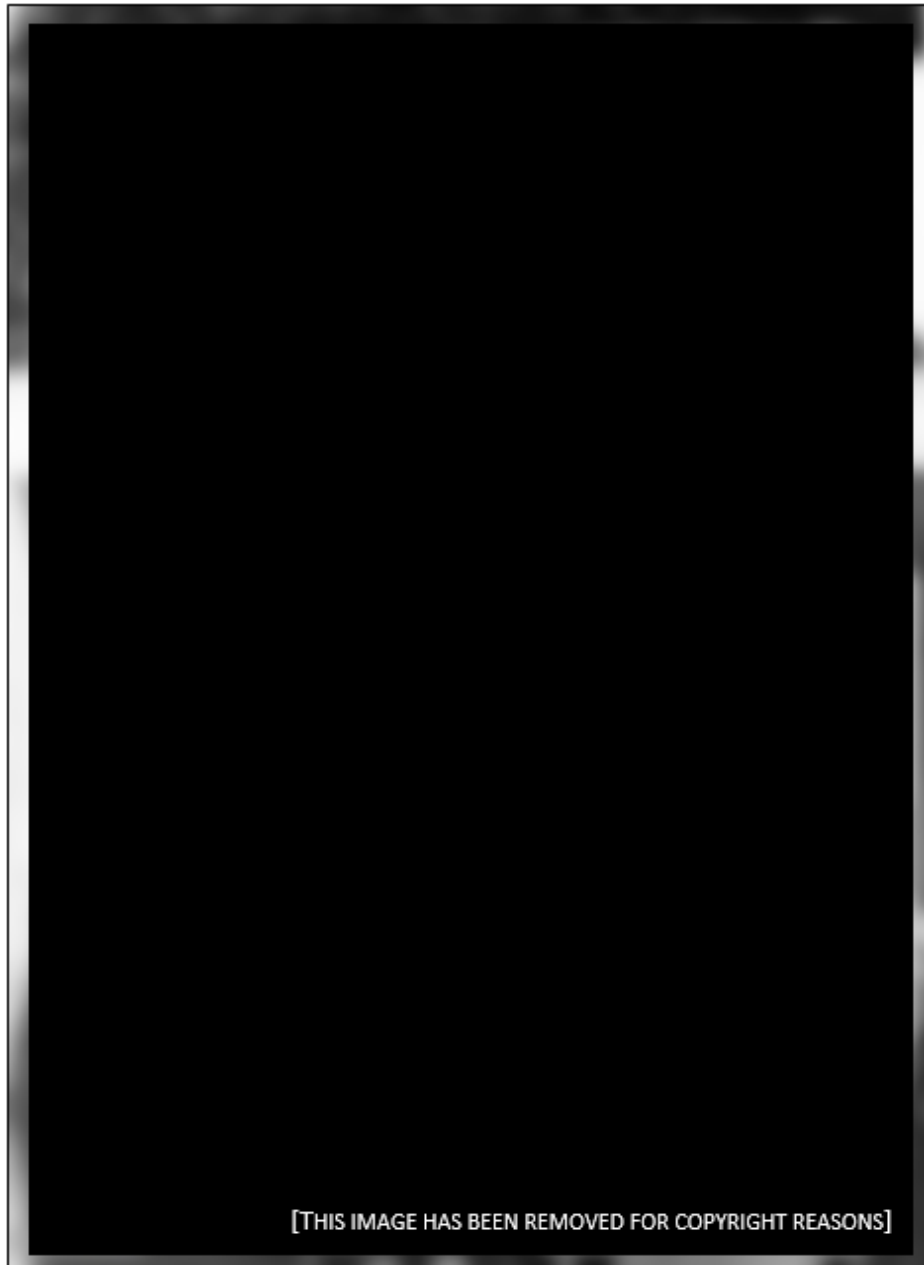


FIG. 1.36: "30 000 NEW HOMES IN THE DISTRICT OF REINICKENDORF" [LATER MARKISCHES VIERTEL]

³⁰³ Ibid. p. 41.

³⁰⁴ *Aktion 507*, 'Manifest', (p. 49).

This concept of the standard individual for which the architect built paid reference to Le Corbusier's modular man. Horn commented that Le Corbusier's concept of the modular was based on a biological and physiological understanding of the individual which demonstrated a hostility to history but also to a separation of man from the social.³⁰⁵ The singularity of existence disconnected from the social and historical was furiously contested by many of those who were attempting to come to an understanding of urban existence. Ultimately, the satellite settlements, influenced by the views of Le Corbusier, were viewed as oversized sculptures, as 'abstract art' which disregarded the needs of residents.³⁰⁶ Bloch, for example believed that the urbanism of those practising functionalism was so abstract that humans in houses and cities had become 'normalised termites' or 'foreign cells' in a dwelling machine.³⁰⁷ The results of which was a 'chrome-plated misery'.³⁰⁸ This misery was seen to be reflected in the lack of the consideration for the individuality of the tenants for whom the architect was building.

It was not just the architectonic design of the buildings that was seen to create a negative atmosphere which impeded individual development and expression, but also the building materials themselves. For Mitscherlich, the use of steel was a symbol of the marked increase in the 'ability to solve technical problems by means of rational thinking'.³⁰⁹ He continued:

Those who have seen the immense quantities of grey pumice blocks from which human habitations are erected cannot miss the fact that in our time depressive elements are permanently incorporated into everyday life.³¹⁰

The 'terrifying' rigid uniformity of the post-war housing estates and the frantic 'wild confusion' of houses being built over houses in the city centres ignored the 'obligation of the individual to pay tribute to the interests of the whole group'.³¹¹ Thus, the complex relationship between individual and society at large was believed to have been distorted in the post-war world, both by policy makers and the construction of complexes which failed to connect the residents to each other and to the rest of the city.

³⁰⁵ Horn, 'Zweckrationalität in der modernen Architektur', (p. 117).

³⁰⁶ Schanetzky, 'Anstiftung zum Unfrieden', (p. 104).

³⁰⁷ Ernst Bloch, 'Building in Empty Spaces (1959)', in *The Utopian Function of Art and Literature: Selected Essays*, (London: MIT Press, 1988), pp. 186-99 (p. 188).

³⁰⁸ Ibid.

³⁰⁹ Mitscherlich, *Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte*, p. 50.

³¹⁰ Ibid.

³¹¹ Ibid. p. 16.

The need for a solution to these problems was clear and yet Krau recalled the caution felt with regards to architectural theory and instead the need for a consideration of the effects of social isolation to become fundamental to urban planning.³¹² There was a general feeling amongst the students that this was something that had been missing from urban planning. Reflective of Jacobs's critique, one of the main issues was the loss of vitality that the inhabitants had experienced in their old neighbourhoods. In Krüger's *Der Spiegel* report, the telephone was described as the only connection that many inhabitants had in the Märkisches Viertel to the city and to old friends in Charlottenberg, Schöneberg and Moabit [Fig. 1.37].³¹³ Pastor Damm in the Märkisches Viertel reported that 'there have been frequent incidents...in which the elderly have been ill or dead in their apartment'.³¹⁴ Propagated by *Aktion 507*, it was these reports that garnered so much support for the critique.

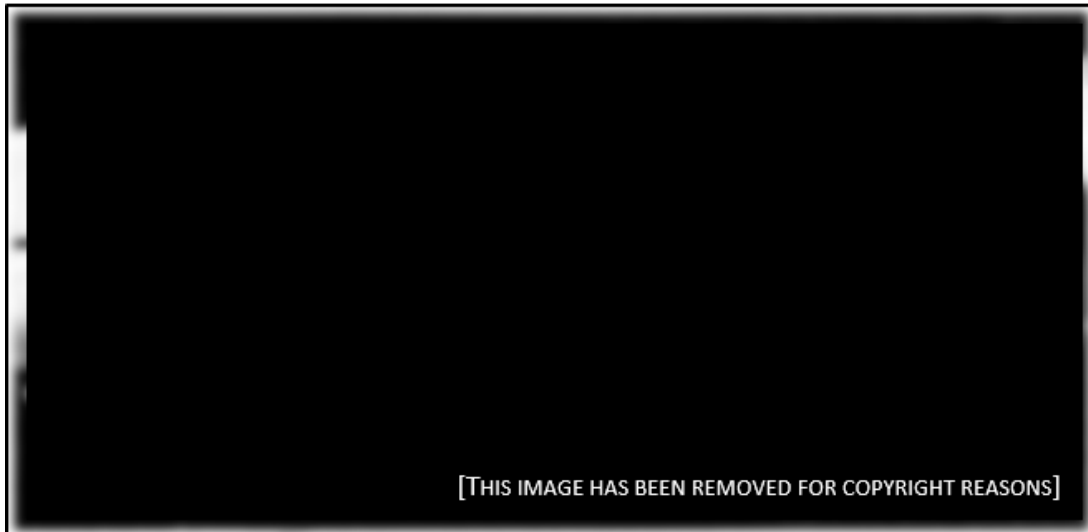


FIG. 1.37: IMAGE OF PHONE BOOTHS IN THE MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, *DER SPIEGEL*, 1970

As the delineations between public and private at the Märkisches Viertel were no longer clear due to a lack of definable and usable public space as well as a private sphere that was constantly impeded by noise from neighbours and antisocial behaviour, the "urban" characteristics of the development can be said to have been negated. The form of the modern metropolis was identified as being the exact opposite of the pre-industrial neighbourly relationship model, whilst also being the opposite of the late nineteenth-

³¹² Krau, 'Die Zeit der Diagnose', 344.

³¹³ Krüger, 'Menschen im Experiment', p. 228.

³¹⁴ *Ibid.*

century industrial city, with a new focus on function and separation.³¹⁵ The reduction of the public sphere caused by urban planning and the political policies it represented, were manifested in modern residential areas that confined life to a narrow family circle and increased the one-dimensional nature of existence. Modern housing meant that there was not only less reason to leave the apartment but also that there was less need to engage with neighbours due to the technological advances and the loss in common affairs of a tenement which traditionally forced human interaction.³¹⁶ This was echoed in the comments collated by *Aktion 507*, in which a resident stated:

...this year has cost me my nerves, before no peace, behind no peace, it is never quiet between the living room and the hallway, all the noise from the stair comes in, ruff, runter, ruff, peng; that makes me ill...³¹⁷

Thus, even within their homes, the residents were under stress from the realities of living in the settlement.

The architects considerations of the needs of residents was linked to the combination of various floor plans in each building (see p. 86-90) which Gisel, for example, believed would 'provide a lively and practical combination of older people and young families'.³¹⁸ He continued 'through the relocation of residents inside the buildings, an adaptation to specific needs occurs'.³¹⁹ In contrast to this stark example of isolation, *Aktion 507* quoted the DEGEWO housing company: 'it should be possible for the old community associations to be created again by convening meetings and working together'.³²⁰ A residents' meeting at the Märkisches Viertel however, highlighted the problems in attempting to gain consensus through group meetings and planning. *Der Spiegel* reported on the chaos at the meeting convened to try to prevent the eviction of the Puhle family:

The neighbours in the Märkisches Viertel were not at all friendly to each other in the meeting about their future.

"Should Puhle's children be allowed to degenerate in breeding grounds of crime, in a homeless shelter?" asks a woman.

A man interrupts: "Why should I help Puhle, who's 15-year-old daughter gave me a blow job in an elevator for a cigarette?"

³¹⁵ Lorenzer, 'Städtebau', (p. 84).

³¹⁶ Bahrtdt, *Die moderne Großstadt*, p. 76.

³¹⁷ *Aktion 507*, 'Manifest', (p. 42).

³¹⁸ *Ibid.* p. 43.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*

³²⁰ *Ibid.* p. 45.

The woman continues: "It may take five or ten years - but it's worth it if we all have patience and are involved in socialisation, and can also bear some noise and so on, so that the children don't become criminals in homeless shelters..."

One, erratically, stands up and says babbling: "get back to your stalls in Kreuzberg."

As another jumps up and exclaims: "Why? I want an apartment that doesn't leak!"³²¹

The issues within the Märkisches Viertel can therefore be seen as multiple, complex, interwoven, and based in various frustrations towards the post-war context. The intellectuals cited by *Aktion 507* had varying concepts about solutions to the issues of alienation. For many, spaces needed to become "animated" and invite individuals to linger which would create a sense of community and connection to the environment and public sphere. However, due to the lack of spaces of encounter and the loss in functionality of public squares and streets, the satellite settlements of the post-war period were seen to have prevented the formation of a public sphere. For Mitscherlich, the loss of the dialectic between private and public in both public and private spaces prevented the city from consciously shaping itself, causing it to lose its driving force.³²² The loss of direction was seen to have been instigated by a lack of spaces which allowed for collective expression due to the strict adherence to the importance of function. The solution was therefore, to reverse the separation of the modern city.

³²¹ Krüger, 'Menschen im Experiment', p. 233.

³²² Mitscherlich, *Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte*, pp. 77-8.



FIG. 1.38: IMAGES OF THE MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, *DER SPIEGEL*, 1968

To demonstrate a commitment to solve these kind of problems, *Bausenator* Schwedler commissioned sociologists at the *Technische Universität* to conduct a study of the 13,000 residents to ask questions such as ‘where do you buy a daily [newspaper]?’ and ‘how often do you have visitors?’³²³ The head of the survey, 29-year-old economics graduate Rainer Höttler, concluded that the development lacked ‘all those community-promoting structures that characterise a well-established community’ and it was instead a ‘bleak dormitory town without life’ like Harlow (London), Vällingby (Sweden) or Bremen’s Neue Vahr.³²⁴ It was important for scholars not only to simply conclude that there was a neighbourhood in the tenement but also to understand the sociological basis and formation of urban life.³²⁵ The consideration of what constituted a community and how communities developed was therefore a key concern for many of the theorists involved in post-war urban planning.

³²³ ‘Gettos im grünen’, p. 116.

³²⁴ Ibid.

³²⁵ Bahrdt, *Die moderne Großstadt*, p. 35.

Höttler commented that once the commuters 'return to their roosts' after work and when the shopping centre closed at 18:30, 'the city settlement falls back into an almost ghastly state of paralysis'.³²⁶ Due to government regulations, *Der Spiegel* reported that the GESOBAU, as a non-profit company was not allowed to establish commercial businesses in the district.³²⁷ Thus there were five "secondary" centres that comprised of a shop, a pub and a petrol station and it was the main shopping centre that contained forty-two shops including a supermarket, restaurant, hotel (with eight rooms), flower shops, fish mongers, and a bookshop.³²⁸ Father Hoene, a pastor in the Märkisches Viertel commented:

"Not only have the hospital and the cemetery been forgotten in the planning," says Father Hoene, "all necessary support services are easily missed out." "The people", says his colleague Damm, "see themselves as numbers and want for venues and shops."³²⁹

The sociologists from the *Technische Universität* found the only meeting place within Gropiusstadt was a wooden house, which had been spared during demolition, where a resident could buy sausage, beer, kebab and cigarettes.³³⁰ In contrast, Stranz, one of the architects cited by *Aktion 507* in their section on "social structure" stated the following:

Entrance floor = community floor = platform for small groups and the public.³³¹

The architects therefore had considered places for communal activities in their designs demonstrating the architects' belief that the areas designed in the buildings as meeting spaces would allow a sense of community to develop. The sociologists of influence to *Aktion 507* strongly refuted the ability to create designated community spaces. Lorenzer, for example, suggested that the reason the 'artificially planned field of relations does not work in new developments is because they do not experience the same organic growth as groups in a natural community'; such as in the communities of the demolished inner-city tenements.³³² In Wassertorstraße, Kreuzberg, (one of the areas demolished after the removal of tenants to the Märkisches Viertel) graffiti on a tenement block asked "*Sanierung für wen?*" [Redevelopment/rehabilitation for who?] [Fig. 1.39]³³³ And the capitulation of

³²⁶ 'Gettos im grünen', p. 116.

³²⁷ Krüger, 'Menschen im Experiment', p. 231.

³²⁸ Ibid.

³²⁹ Ibid.

³³⁰ 'Gettos im grünen', p. 118.

³³¹ Aktion 507, 'Manifest', (p. 45).

³³² Lorenzer, 'Städtebau', (p. 63).

³³³ 'Slums verschoben', p. 138.

events by *Aktion 507* was that ‘the slums of Wedding have been moved to the Märkisches Viertel’.³³⁴ Showing *Aktion 507*’s commitment to the argument that the needs of tenants were not being met and the issues inherent in society were being replicated and relocated rather than solved.



FIG. 1.39: “REDEVELOPMENT FOR WHOM?”, A COLLECTION OF TEXTS EDITED BY THE OFFICE FOR URBAN RENEWAL AND SOCIAL WORK BERLIN-KREUZBERG, 1970

It should be noted that it was not just cultural critics and politically engaged students who criticised the lack of focus on the needs of the residents in these new satellite settlements. First President of the Federal Republic of Germany between 1949-59, Theodor Heuss, spoke at the German Association of Cities Conference in Frankfurt in 1955:

As clear as the advantages of bureaucratic concentration are for business, I am frightened when I think of the residential high-rise, which is easily transformed into the function of a living machine. The numerical potentiation of human beings leads to the potentiation of their loneliness. Perhaps a rejection of Corbusier’s image of the future sounds somewhat sentimental. But the encounter in the elevator does not have the power to build a community.³³⁵

This indicates a reconsideration of the ideals set out by CIAM, in their inability to construct a sense of community which became a global trend in the late 1960s.

³³⁴ Ibid.

³³⁵ ‘Die Heizkosten steigen’, in *Der Spiegel*, (14 September 1955), pp. 36-37 (pp. 36, fn).

Jane Jacobs's *Death and Life of Great American Cities* (published in German in 1963) was transnationally influential in lamenting this reduction of the complexity, intricacy and vitality of city life to functions.³³⁶ This seminal text decreed a need to return to the variety of the mixed-use urban plot in order to increase the feeling of community and social responsibility. Brothers Jan and Rolf Rave recalled:

at the end of our degree course we saw ourselves at the beginning of a new epoch of architectural history in Berlin. The urban planning debate was dominated by Jane Jacobs' book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. The film we shot for the 1966 *Berliner Bauwochen, Stadterneuerung Berlin—Beispiel Wedding* [Urban renewal in Berlin – example of Wedding] was very influenced by our rediscovery of the qualities of the city and its streets as a living space [Rave, 1974].³³⁷

Jacobs's text highlighted many questions regarding contemporary urban planning and whether the rational urban planning advocated by the modernists was really the best solution for city dwellers. For many, the urban formation needed to invite inhabitants to linger. Lorenzer elucidated that although you can force people to visit (or live in) intolerable places due to the function they fulfil, if the urban planners 'pump artificial life into an artificially degraded urban area' the psychological isolation of the individual is not reversed but intensified.³³⁸ The separation of the vital components of the city; production, administration, amusement and residential, caused the life of the city to be questioned, that without variety and mixed-use, the life of the city would not be able to flourish. According to Mitscherlich, this urban planning concept caused "partial wishes" to be scattered 'here and there' which caused a permanent state of irritation.³³⁹ Thus, the separation of functions also related to the separation of ideals and ambition which was understood to lead to a fragmented and unsatisfying urban experience.

These critiques were echoed across Europe and the United States. *Der Spiegel* quoted Richard Dietrich, a 30-year-old architectural theorist from Munich who used the example of

³³⁶ See Jane Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1964).

³³⁷ Jan Rave Architekturbüro Jan & Rolf Rave, *Werkbericht 1966-73*, (Berlin: W. Hildebrand, 1974) quoted in Andreas Salgo, 'The Dawn of the Postmodern: Critical Activism in the 1960s and the Change of Urbanist Paradigm', in *45+: Post-War Modern Architecture in Europe*, ed. by Stephanie Herold and Biljana Stefanovska (Berlin: Universitätsverlag der Technischen Universität, 2012), pp. 80-86 (p. 84).

³³⁸ Lorenzer, 'Städtebau', (p. 71).

³³⁹ Mitscherlich, *Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte*, p. 116.

America 'which anticipated European development' to demonstrate the extent to which the '*Entballung* [decentralisation] ideology' had proved itself as a mistake:

The American built environment seems to be more or less haphazard proliferation of detached single-family agglomerations, suffocating, modern slums and over-functioning commercial building clusters [...] In anti-cities, oversized clustered villages, development is paralyzed.³⁴⁰

A key theme is the idea that urban planning hinders or "paralyses" the development of the residents in the new housing complexes. This was not just a concern in the intellectual sphere but was again pushed by newspapers such as *Der Spiegel*: 'Against the backdrop of proletarian districts at the base of towers and factory chimneys, the silent districts and neat front gardens of the Athens Charter might be regarded as social progress', with the caveat 'on the planner's drawing board'.³⁴¹ The implication being that in reality the concepts hindered rather than helped social progress. Lorenzer echoed an element of this when he stated that because functionalism abandoned any sense of contradiction in favour of being logically correct, the symptom was the emotional isolation of the individual from their environment.³⁴² Dietrich described the results of the imported American planning ideas:

An anachronistic planning concept designed by Frank Lloyd Wright, "Broadacre city", is being implemented: "'Broadacre city' - a contradiction in terms - wants to go back to the village, wants a farm for everyone. But all everyone gets is the perversion of a farm in which the housewives vegetate, robbed of their old purpose (with no replacement), by highly developed domestic appliances, as "green widows" labouring under social neuroses, or "dulled" laying hens minding a socially debilitated child "sits" as they cannot find a like-minded companion in their locality, while the husband pays for the happiness of his single-family home, among other things, with hours of driving during the rush hour between home and workplace."

Since the mid-fifties, the same symptoms of the German city landscape have been described over and over again: depopulation of the cities' boundless urban sprawl of the city environs, increase in crime, divorce and suicide rates in the faceless monotony of the suburbs.³⁴³

³⁴⁰ 'Es bröckelt', pp. 46-49.

³⁴¹ Ibid. p. 49.

³⁴² Lorenzer, 'Städtebau', (p. 56).

³⁴³ 'Es bröckelt', p. 49.

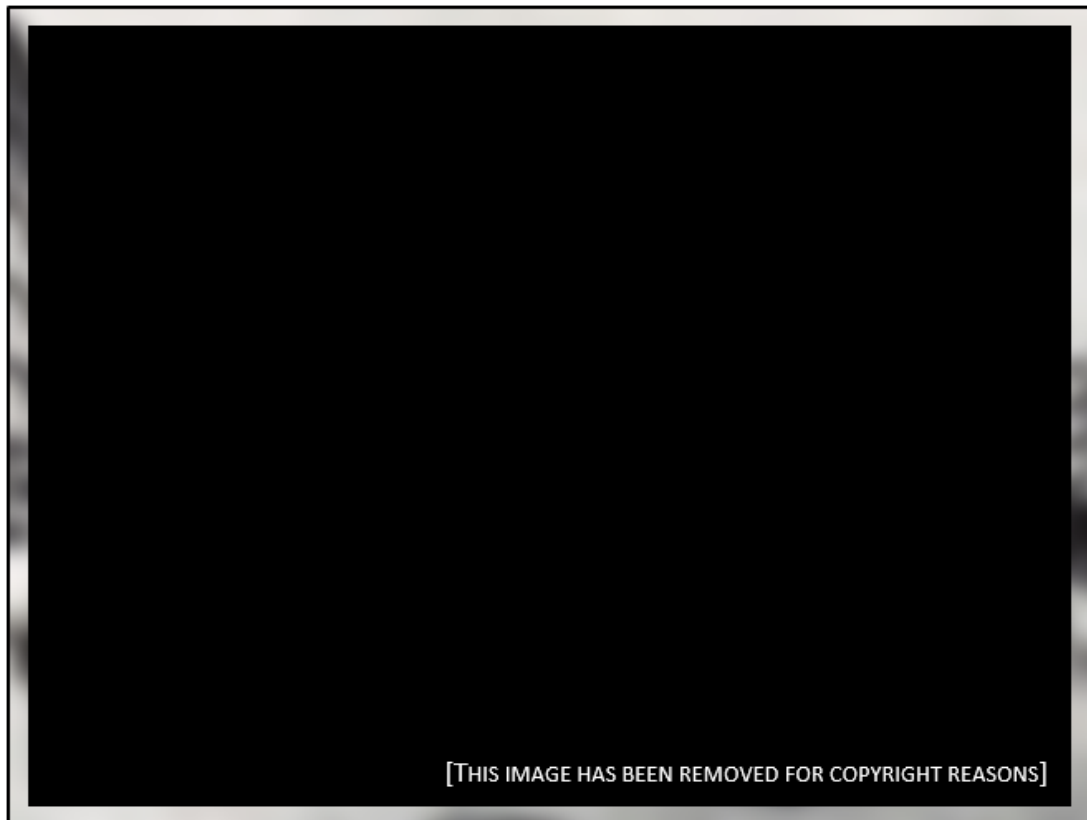


FIG. 1.40: MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, 1967

“Urbanity” was seen as the antithesis to the functionalist planning practices. The term was brought into contemporary debate by Edgar Salin in his lecture *Urbanity* at the 11th General Meeting of the *Deutscher Städtetag* [German City Conference] in Augsburg, 1-3 June 1961. It should be noted that Salin later condemned the misuse of the term, declaring urbanity to be dead and not something which can be resurrected; he argued that it was a form of life that cannot exist amidst tower blocks and traffic lanes.³⁴⁴ However, taken up by Bahrdt and Mitscherlich, “urbanity” became “urbanity through density”, which was in direct opposition to the dispersed modernist cityscape. The loss of urbanity, believed Mitscherlich, could easily be restored through condensing the city.³⁴⁵ Mitscherlich himself however was disheartened to find that the solution was not so simple; he was employed between 1968-74 as a planning consultant at the Emmertsgrund satellite development near Heidelberg. He resigned in 1974 after the ‘sobering’ experience of not being able to influence the client’s demands and the constructed buildings showed no signs of innovative

³⁴⁴ Edgar Salin, ‘Von der Urbanität zur ‘Urbanistik’’, *Kyklos*, 23 (1970), 869-81; Quoted and translated in Thomas Sieverts, *Cities without Cities: An Interpretation of the Zwischenstadt*, (London: Spon Press, 2003), pp. 170, f. 20.

³⁴⁵ Schanetzky, ‘Anstiftung zum Unfrieden’, (p. 101).

housing forms or flexible floor plans.³⁴⁶ According to historian Tim Schanetzky, Mitscherlich should have been warned by his assistant Heide Berndt who identified that the aesthetic and social problems of large-scale apartments in their condensation of urban forms into purely structural elements succeeded in dividing the space but failed in creating an urban structure.³⁴⁷



FIG. 1.41: *EMMERTSGRUND* SATELLITE DEVELOPMENT, HEIDELBERG, 1970

The same could be said of the Märkisches Viertel; even though the concept of the development was “urban” was reflected in Georg Heinrich’s comment: ‘I am a city person and wanted an urban development’.³⁴⁸ “Urban” is also a term used by many of the architects who were involved in the development’s design, reflecting the work of Team 10 who attempted to add “urban” complexity to earlier modernist principles. For example, *Aktion 507* quoted the architect Rave in their section “Relationship to Society”:

here an attempt has been made for the first time, to make a settlement as an urban neighbourhood by spatial and formal as well as substantive attractions (intersecting of residential and commercial, the locating of “secondary architecture” in the ground floors, and the main street for cycling and walking).³⁴⁹

³⁴⁶ Ibid. p. 103.

³⁴⁷ Ibid. p. 104.

³⁴⁸ Heinrichs, ‘Der Architekt Georg Heinrichs zum Märkischen Viertel’.

³⁴⁹ *Aktion 507*, ‘Manifest’, (p. 45).

Many of Georg Heinrich's interviews comment on how he wanted, above all, an urban structure which he believed was prevented by the increase in density of the residential blocks. Therefore, even though this concept of creating an urban structure failed in the example of the Märkisches Viertel, it was still heralded as the most popular solution, as *Der Spiegel* reported:

Whether in villages, small towns, imaginary 'central' places or in urban agglomeration areas, the Berlin architecture critic Anna Teut described the misery of *Entballung* [decentralisation] which is always a variation of a single building scheme: "The city with its confusing and stimulating diversity of life forms, activities and events" is not striven for – "but rather the residential village is favoured".

Such findings have led to progressive architects and urban planners now unanimously - albeit still largely theoretical - to agree to a 180-degree turn-around. In place of unbridled decentralisation-ideology, a new planning target emerges which is described by the key word: "*Verdichtung*" [densification].³⁵⁰

This new concept was intended to form the nuclei of urban activity where working, living and recreation would take place in the same areas at the same time.³⁵¹ In 1969, *Der Spiegel* identified recent changes in the Land Use Ordinance which declared that the state-imposed separation of residential and commercial buildings should be handled less strictly and that in future a denser more concentrated development of core urban zones would be possible.³⁵² There seems to have been a fine balance between what constituted a perfect density in the criticism of the functionalist planning methods. The density at the Märkisches Viertel was seen by all as negative but a density, in terms of density of functions and vitality of life was advocated so long as the inhabitants had the ability to sense their individuality. Thus, indicating the extent to which the scale of the failure of the Märkisches Viertel and other satellite developments as well as the wealth of criticism, led to an alteration of the CIAM-influenced post-war planning policies. With an empathetic tone, Karl-Heinz Krüger reported that it was a *Verdichtungseuphorie* [Densification euphoria] with clear financial motives and significantly that:

[Ungers's] objections that the draft could not simply be inflated as the enormous accumulation would lead to incalculable consequences were

³⁵⁰ 'Es bröckelt', p. 49.

³⁵¹ Ibid.

³⁵² Ibid. p. 60.

“thrown to the wind”. He had simply not been able to influence the construction companies “in the slightest degree”.³⁵³

The considerations of the power relationships in play in the post-war world were therefore demonstrated to operate in the closed system they were charged with. As Mitscherlich himself discovered, it was the attitude and breaking down of hierarchies which needed to change first, but also a clearer understanding of the needs and impact on the resident, before architectural actions could be considered.

³⁵³ Karl-Heinz Krüger, ‘Architekten: Kistenmacher im Büßerhemd’, *Der Spiegel*, (19 September 1977), p. 218.

SECTION CONCLUSION

It can therefore be seen how the voices of residents and their shocking accounts of life in the satellite settlements, and the emotive and reactionary way these were re-packaged by the media, caused construction policies to come under heavy scrutiny. For *Aktion 507*, the residents' reactions not only demonstrated the failure of functionalism in catering to the individual, but also the disconnect between architect and resident, and the perceived deliberate repression of those individuals by the state. It is also important to note that the architects were as shocked by the revelations as everyone else, that this was not a criticism of the architects involved per se, but of their attitudes as a product of post-war society. Indeed, Hasso Schreck, Finn Bartels, Günter Plessow, and Volker Theissen were signatories of *Aktion 507's* manifesto as well as architects involved in the Märkisches Viertel development. This indicated to the students that the architectural profession was in desperate need of change and that the resident needed to play a more prominent role in urban planning decisions. Clearly, the critique by *Aktion 507* and others was not just of an architectural nature, the concern extended to a discussion of how living within these spaces would impact the individual.

The planning of the district and the impact that the structures as well as the location and infrastructure had on the individual was understood to be deeply problematic. The depressing sense of place created by the new developments due to the location of the settlement, the monotony of the construction, the scale of the buildings, and the lack of community spaces and infrastructure was understood to have a negative impact on the residents. The bleak accounts of evictions, prostitution, and drug-use, the impact on the youth and the children of the development was seen to be particularly alarming due to the prevalence of sociological critiques. The students looked for solutions in the key writings of the time, in prompting the ideas of community, vitality, and collectivity. Highly influential global publications of this nature, considered what the city said about society and the impact of living amongst these spaces. The criticism was necessary to demonstrate the scale of the issue, the brutality of the residents' complaints caused the work of *Aktion 507* to be taken more seriously due to its basis in the very real reactions of residents. This created the premise for a debate to take place regarding the problems and potential solutions.

CHAPTER ONE CONCLUSION

The intention of this chapter was to show how urban planning in the post-war period became highly politicised; it became a symbol of the New Berlin in the wake of National Socialism, and was seen as a unique opportunity to redefine both the city and the nation as a country that was consciously aligned with the Allies in the West. The promotion of ideals such as democracy, transparency, and freedom were fundamental to the redefinition and were inherent in the new construction such as the Hansaviertel, Gropiusstadt and the Märkisches Viertel. The Bauhaus, functionalism, and the modern movement were seen as the epitome of *Neue Sachlichkeit* architecture that had been neglected during the war and its aftermath. Thus, the modern architecture of the 1920s was a starting point for the *neues Bauen*, which symbolised the architecture of democracy, post 1945. The ideas, based on the Athens Charter and the concept of separating the various elements of the city showed an alliance with the international style, which enforced the concepts of openness, equality, and partnership. The new residential quarters, which were often built as social housing, added another layer to this identity, which demonstrated a focus on the needs of Germany's citizens that was intended to better the lives of the average person. The flexibility that was designed into the floor plans for the new estates demonstrated that this idea was fundamental to both architects and planners; individuality and freedom of expression were to be at the centre of the design.

This chapter has attempted to place the concerns of *Aktion 507* and the student generation in direct relation to the present conditions that residents of the new housing estates encountered. The influence of sociological critiques on their understanding of the issues within urban planning is clearly demonstrated in the damning attack of post-war functionalism which were strongly connected to issues identified in wider society. The combination of image and interview in the emotive *Der Spiegel* articles caused the Märkisches Viertel to stand as a symbol of the post-war world, a symbol that the younger generation were determined to counteract. The resolve with which *Aktion 507* included residents in their manifesto as well as within the panels at the exhibition, demonstrates their intentional practicing of the critical society as advocated by the Frankfurt School. Although the inhabitants' accounts may have been distressing, the severity of their content caused them to become widely circulated and thus brought urban planning issues to wider attention. As Baller commented on the inflammatory nature of the *Der Spiegel* piece, he

also noted that without its publication, the exhibition would not have attracted so many visitors and urban planning would not have been under such close scrutiny.³⁵⁴ Baller also commented that the press were generally objective in their responses, such as in Teut's article in *Der Welt* from September of 1968:

The starting points for the criticism are numerous, and the analyses are of varying quality. A longing for "artistic paradises" (utopias) is not ascertainable, but a clear objectively comprehensive provision of services by planning for the long term is, and furthermore with a clear social-engagement.³⁵⁵

Every element of urban planning therefore became deeply political; even the addition of colour to enrich the settlement and reduce its scale, was seen as disingenuous. As has been indicated, the small elements which made up the wider projects, were seen as symptomatic not only of the problems within the sphere of urban planning, but also within society as a whole.

As this chapter demonstrates, the critique of the Märkisches Viertel was not primarily a critique of its architecture, but rather about the urban situation and top-down planning.³⁵⁶ The students wanted to bring consultation with residents into the planning process as a growing distance between planners and users was identified; 'what seemed plausible as a model was often incomprehensible to the inhabitants'.³⁵⁷ The criticism, of Ungers in particular, was seen to greatly affect those living in the development, and according to Cepl, it caused Ungers to refrain from building anything for the next thirty years and accept a professorship at Cornell University.³⁵⁸ However, Baller recalled that Ungers wanted to retain his position at the *Technische Universität* as he had many supporters there, but the university would not grant him a leave of absence.³⁵⁹ Whatever the truth, the impact of the horrific accounts of life within the new settlements was truly shocking; to both critics and those involved in the design of the development. For *Aktion 507*, this was emblematic of the problems with the way society operated, rather than a direct attack against individuals, as it was society itself that had produced those individuals. The *Diagnose* prompted a

³⁵⁴ Baller, 'Aktion 507'.

³⁵⁵ Anna Teut, 'Im Dickicht der Städte: wie wird in Berlin gebaut? - Dokumentation Junger Architekten', *Der Welt*, (17 September 1968).

³⁵⁶ Urban, 'Märkisches Viertel', (p. 175).

³⁵⁷ Schanetzky, 'Anstiftung zum Unfrieden', (p. 104).

³⁵⁸ Jasper Cepl, *Oswald Mathias Ungers: eine intellektuelle Biographie*, (Köln: Buchhandlung Walther König, 2007), p. 229.

³⁵⁹ Baller, 'Aktion 507'.

presentation of the issues and incorporated some, albeit less developed, considerations about how the discipline of urban planning might be improved for the benefit of residents. Terms such as “urbanity” therefore developed that demanded a return to variety and vitality for the enrichment of the individual’s daily life. How these theories were influenced by the National Socialist past, and the mistakes seen as a product of a fundamentally flawed society will be the focus of the following chapter.

CHAPTER TWO
THE PAST



FIG. 2.1: STILLS FROM HERBERT VESELY, *DIE STADT*, 1959. SECOND IMAGE SHOWS BILL HALEY AND THE COMETS CONCERT, BERLIN SPORTPALAST, 26 OCTOBER 1958

In the letterbox of the Youth Welfare Organisation the following letter from an unknown adolescent was found:

“Because you are weak
you have called us teenagers.
And have thus damned a generation,
against whom you have sinned
because you are weak.
Because you are weak,
you bought peace from us,
when we were small,
with money for the cinema
and ice cream.
You did not serve us,
but you and your convenience.
And we cause a racket,
because we don’t want to cry
about all the things
you didn’t teach us.
We would like to believe in God,
in an infinite power,
that understands everything,
one that wants us to be good.
But you have not shown us
anyone who is good
because he believes in God.
You earned a lot of money with devotion
and mumbled sweepstake results like prayers.
Put the pistol away, constable,
and tell us, what is worth doing.
Do you really love the system
you serve here?
Or do you love your right
to wages and a pension?

Show your strength for humanity,
Mr. Minister,
how many good deeds do you
secretly perform as a Christian?
We openly make noise and riot.
But you fight mercilessly in secret,
one against the other.
You wring your own neck for business,
plotting for a better paid position.
Show us that for each of us
that makes noise,
there is one of you
who is good in silence.
Instead of threatening us
with truncheons,
set men on us who
can show us the way.
Not with words,
but with their lives.
But you are weak.
The strong go into the jungle
and make the Negroes healthy,
because they despise you.
Like we do.
Because you are weak
and we are teenagers.
Mother, try to pray,
because the weaklings have pistols.”

[Herbert Vesely, *Die Stadt*, 1959]¹

¹ Herbert Vesely, ‘Die Stadt’, (München: filmform oHG, 1959), p. 36 Min (pp. 25:02-28:24).

INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER TWO

The focus of this chapter is the ever-presence of the past in West Berlin. The scale of the impact of National Socialism both nationally and internationally, cannot be underestimated, with the implications felt at a fundamental level. The scale of the destruction, psychological as well as physical, was unprecedented and the continuous revelations regarding the horror of the atrocities overwhelmed a society that was attempting to return to the normality of daily life. Many academics and intellectuals have analysed and discussed the aftermath of World War Two and the implications for the German people in far greater depth than is possible here.¹ Yet, of importance, is the idea of trauma and silence that many of these narratives highlighted with the suggestion that the so-called '68ers were the first generation to vocalise and act on their feelings towards the National Socialist period. The focus is therefore the reaction of the students to their inherited past, particularly in relation to the architectural and artistic spheres. This chapter will thus consider the protester and city space; how the student generation viewed their relationship with the city of West Berlin as a product of its past.

The student movement was not solely a politics of rejection, many of the students rather believed in a new politics, the politics of local autonomy which lay behind an attempt to formulate a new social contract.² Kahl Reinhard, journalist and participant in the student movement, referred to the "*ohne-mich*" [without-me] generation of post-war Germany defined by a generational scepticism and an adamant refusal to be a part of the "model" Federal Republic.³ The extract (on p. 166) from Herbert Vesely's short film *Die Stadt* [The City] (1959) shows the complexities of the society that the younger generation were protesting against. The perceived weaknesses of the older generation were linked to National Socialism and combined with the belief that there was a lack of discussion about the past and a continuation of the problems which had led to the rise of fascism. The

¹ See Richard Bessel and Dirk Schumann, *Life after Death: Approaches to a Cultural and Social History During the 1940s and 1950s*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003); W. G. Sebald, *On the Natural History of Destruction*, (New York, N.Y.: Modern Library, 2004); Emmanuel Sivan and Jay M. Winter, *War and Remembrance in the Twentieth Century*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

² Jay M. Winter, *Dreams of Peace and Freedom: Utopian Moments in the Twentieth Century*, (London: Yale University Press, 2006), p. 153.

³ Kahl Reinhard, 'Arko und Demo: Die Göttinger Schülerbewegung', in *1968, Die Revolte*, ed. by Daniel Cohn-Bendit and Rudiger Dammann (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 2007), pp. 47-76 (p. 63).

historian Jay Winter, for example acknowledged the importance of the shared experiences of the student generation (born between 1938 and 1948); post-war hardship, broken families, forced migration, and the reorganisation of domestic life.⁴

This concept builds upon Karl Mannheim's *The Problem of Generations* (1923), which considered the impact of important historical events on the activities and identity of a generation, stating that those who belong to the same generation have 'a common location in the historical dimension of the social process'.⁵ By asserting that members of a particular generation, who experience the same historical event and collective experience, critically analyse their position and the potential of their generation, Mannheim grounded social theory within a theory of activism. Mannheim also aids in explaining the widespread popularity of the student movement by stressing that the attitude of a generational unit expresses the feeling of a whole generation and thus individuals outside of the unit, in the 1960s, saw the movement as the 'satisfying expression of their location in the prevailing historical configuration'.⁶ It will be shown that the recognising their place within the trajectory of history, was of fundamental importance to the student movement.

⁴ Winter, *Dreams of Peace and Freedom*, p. 147.

⁵ Karl Mannheim, 'The Problem of Generations', in *Essays of the Sociology of Knowledge*, ed. by Paul Kecskemeti (London: Routledge, 1968), pp. 276-322 (p. 290).

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 307.



FIG. 2.2: 'PROTEST AGAINST THE *NOTSTANDGESETZ* [EMERGENCY LAWS]' AT THE ARCHITECTURE DEPARTMENT OF THE *TECHNISCHE UNIVERSITÄT*, WEST BERLIN, MAY 1968

The critique of post-war architecture was happening across Europe, and it was in France that the issue was most highly publicised: 'architects are the most inferior people of our epoch', stated the film director Jean Renoir in 1967, in reference to the "*grands ensembles*"; 'the austere and alienating housing projects' that appeared on the outskirts of most French cities in the 1950s and 1960s.⁷ This trend in residential developments also occurred extensively in Berlin due to the vastly damaged and depleted post-war housing stock. Sociologist, Jean-Louis Violeau commented in hindsight that the mood of the times was favourable to the 'denunciation of urban planning as the instrument of the powers of repression'.⁸ This relates to the bureaucracy inherent in large-scale architectural projects but also the symbolism inherent in space, regardless of physical manifestation. More specifically, *Aktion 507* were concerned with how West-Berlin was conceived by its critics as a product of the post-war world, embroiled in politics and perceived corruption as well as

⁷ Marc Dessauce, 'On Pneumatic Apparitions', in *The Inflatable Moment: Pneumatics and Protest in '68*, ed. by Marc Dessauce (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999), pp. 13-25 (p. 20).

⁸ Jean-Louis Violeau, 'Utopie: In Acts', in *The Inflatable Movement: Pneumatics and Protest in '68* ed. by Marc Dessauce (Princeton, USA: Princeton Architectural Press, 1999), pp. 37-59 (p. 37).

an extension of pre-war “mechanisms of control”. As Anna Teut of *Der Welt* commented in 1968 in reference to the *Diagnose*:

The diagnosticians searched courageously in the dark zone of the administration. The results of the work although limited, are alarming. During the construction of the “Märkisches Viertel”, A507 discovered that a transport network plan had not even been attempted. [...] The Government Construction Administration lacked a planning strategy appropriate to both the technical possibilities available and the social objectives.⁹

Therefore, what *Aktion 507* identified in the “dark zone of the administration” will be presented and discussed.

The sixties movement was heavily linked to the teaching of the Frankfurt School and their neo-Marxist understanding of society and thus, the link between theory and action was particularly pronounced. This chapter will therefore focus on the theoretical concepts which underpinned much of the post-war criticism, particularly in relation to how to deal with the inherited past, as well as how the post-war generation came to be critical of the society they were a part of. The lack of discussion about National Socialism was linked, in the minds of cultural critics, to the fact that the issues which led to the rise of fascism had not been dealt with which led to their continued presence in society. This was understood as a deliberate attempt to negate any sense of responsibility for the atrocities of the regime, evidenced by the interest in behavioural sciences and the idea of uncontrollable aggressive instincts. Instead, those intellectuals read by *Aktion 507* sought to alter the dialogue and understand the adherence to fascism as an indicator of how the individual had become suppressed by society. The combination of these ideas with the lived environment were of the most interest to *Aktion 507*, such as works by Mitscherlich, Bloch, Arndt and others who linked Freud with the “repressive mechanisms” they identified in the urban planning policies of West Berlin. The style and perceived ideology of new construction was seen as a deliberate attempt to conceal these fascist “modes of behaviour” and the continuance of old patterns of behaviour. The lack of responsibility was seen to be clear in the urban planning policies of the post-war years. For example, on 10 September 1968, the *Berlin Bild* reported that:

⁹ Teut, ‘Im Dickicht der Städte’.

Hermann Wegner, the personal advisor of the *Bausenator*, yesterday addressed the criticism of “Aktion 507” at the Märkisches Viertel: “Naturally, the administration has been involved in the planning, but everything that is built there is carried out by construction companies with free-lance architects.”¹⁰

The displacement of blame for the mistakes of the new construction policy was understood as indicative of pre-war behaviour. The democratic society was condemned as inherently undemocratic and deeply dishonest and *Aktion 507*, through their exhibition, manifesto, and discussion groups sought to disseminate this information to the wider public with the intention of presenting the problem, or “diagnosis”, and then developing remedies as a result. The combination of this practicality, and the level of factual research that went into the *Diagnose*, aided its publicity and caused the exhibition to be received seriously, rather than dismissed as another outlet of the student movement in general. As Anna Teut reported:

The criticism is vehement and analytically well-founded, although often exaggerated and occasionally manipulated (photo documentation). It is given weight through concrete proposals for change, and the fact that it was first put forward by a professional group, within which, as a result of a tragically-delayed individualistic and artistic self-perception during the “sulking of the nation”, it was thought that the slow death of disobedience was approaching.¹¹

One of the main criticisms by *Aktion 507* was that decisions in urban planning took place without the input of the public. The vital role that the architecture students understood urban planning to play in society’s quality of life meant that those in charge were accused of making decisions for everyone based on their own interests. As *Der Tagesspiegel* reported in 1968:

The young architects and students, however, in their “diagnosis of construction in West Berlin”, believe that everything is treated “strictly confidentially” behind closed doors.¹²

This chapter will therefore focus on the contextual ideas behind urban planning in the post-war period and the students’ and other critics’ condemnation of these policies. It will then

¹⁰ “Zustände wie im Wilden Westen”: Kritische Ausführungen gegen Senats-Bauplanung’, *Berlin Bild*, (10 September 1968).

¹¹ Teut, ‘Im Dickicht der Städte’.

¹² ‘Das große Buh’.

consider how the concepts were contextualised within the city space of West Berlin by the student movement.

Section 2.1 analyses what the students termed “mechanisms of control” which were linked to the propagation of capitalism in the form of materialism, subsidies, private ownership and architectural competitions. This will then be translated more specifically to the field of urban planning with *Aktion 507*'s analysis of the bureaucratic controls and hierarchies which were viewed as a continuation of power structures that were in place during the National Socialist period. How “means of repression” were understood to have developed and transformed in the post-war period via the propagation of a democratic capitalist system and the perceived negative implications on the individual will also be analysed. The focus on materialism, the profit-motive and land ownership will also be presented in view of the analysis by *Aktion 507* and the scholars they were influenced by. Throughout the section, the tension between government-stated policies, and the perceived reality of the post-war situation will be demonstrated in order to clarify, and in some instances complicate, the positions of the opposing sides.

Section 2.2 traces the development of the relationship between the arts and politics, which was a theme prevalent in West Berlin with the posthumous publication of works by Walter Benjamin. How these themes were then developed by post-war scholars such as Marcuse will also be considered and the implications for the students' understanding of the cultural sphere. Along with the arts, many other spheres of research were being used to develop an understanding of the rise of National Socialism with the analysis of the psyche at the forefront of these trends. This section looks more closely at these post-war discourses such as behaviourism, the consideration of authoritarian personalities as well as the suppression of aggression. The fundamental relationship between these theories and capitalism will also be presented. This will also tie in to concepts of adaptation to the urban environment in relation to key post-war theorists and how this was interpreted by *Aktion 507*.

Section 2.3 focuses on the old tenement neighbourhoods that dominated the city. The post-war policies that sought to rid the city of these traditional housing forms, including the ideological, economic, and political reasons for this will be presented. The policies varied from complete destruction, to the thinning out of housing stock by opening up the inner courtyards, to the removal of ornamentation from facades. The criticism of these policies and the idea that they were seen as akin to the denial of the past will be elucidated. The

section will conclude with a discussion of how the sixties generation reclaimed these city spaces in order to exercise a sense of agency within the city space.

The intention of this chapter is to analyse what the students identified as the underlying problems in society that were imposed on them from the state, and how this was translated and understood in the urban context of West Berlin. The key position of the inherited past and the lack of “working through” of the National Socialist period was fundamental in demonstrating to the students that society had not learnt from the gravity of its mistakes, or made positive changes as a result. Although the government declared a new era of democracy, the students and the theorists who influenced them, saw the facade as having changed, but that the operations beneath the surface remained the same. This chapter will shed light on these relationships and policies, and on the density of the new generation’s critique as a means of coming to terms with the past.

SECTION 2.1 ENTANGLED POLITICS IN POST-WAR GERMANY

The presence of the past in the city was not only a consideration of physical architecture, but was also seen to be embroiled in debates concerning the very essence of the post-war world. The policies and bureaucracies which were in place in urban planning as well as elsewhere were seen to indicate a continuation of the society which was in operation under Hitler's government. In order to consider more fully the relationship between architecture, the post-war urban planning of West Berlin, and the arts more broadly, this section will discuss *Aktion 507's* interpretation of the issues they saw as inherited from National Socialism. The attention is on the critique of the ideology of capitalism, its associated bureaucracy and focus on profit at the expense of the individual, which the new generation saw as intrinsically linked to a corrupt and vacuous society. It will be demonstrated how *Aktion 507* understood the closed hierarchical institutions and lack of discussion about the past as a deliberate attempt by those in positions of power to maintain control and to prevent a critically engaged populace from emerging.

Although Walter Benjamin was writing about the National Socialist period and the period leading to their governance, the students of the sixties believed that the same mechanisms of control were still in operation in the post-fascist era. This idea was influenced by Benjamin's claim that 'the emancipatory potential of social modernisation [...] is blocked by fascism which [...] mobilises aesthetic categories in order to impede the dissolution of the traditional social order'.¹³ *Aktion 507* then demonstrate this with a statement that the *Bauwohnen Senator* [Minister for Housing Construction] held authority for all aspects of non-profit housing ventures:

THE BAU-WOHNEN SENATOR is represented in the supervisory office of the following non-profit housing associations:

DEGEWO
GEWOBAG
GSW
GEHAG
BEW OGE
GBS
GESOBAU

THE BAU-WOHNEN SENATOR is on the board of the WBK
All public construction funds are approved by the WBK.
Approximately 83% of housing is publicly funded, of which the non-profit housing sector builds about 65%.
Approximately 54% of the manufacturing costs are guaranteed by public construction funds.

THE BAU-WOHNEN SENATOR is the APPROVAL AUTHORITY for non-profit housing corporations
decides on acceptance, continuity and withdrawal of approval for non-profit housing companies (§§ 1, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19).
decides and grants exemptions regarding the financial requirements of the company (§ 3).
grants exceptions on the size of apartments and approval of the construction of commercial establishments (§ 6).

¹³ Walter Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, (London: Penguin Books, 2008), pp. 35-6.

WBK = *Wohnungsbaukreditgesellschaft* Housing Construction Credit Company responsible for the financing of housing construction.

decides on the further use of the assets upon the dissolution of a company. (§ 11).

determines the socio-, economic- or housing management needs for the existence of a company (§ 15).

has the right to an insight into business operations, and for extra-ordinary inspections. (§ 26).

determines exceptional cases for the Auditing Association. (§§ 28, 14).

THE BAU-WOHNEN SENATOR is SUPREME LAND AUTHORITY for non-profit homebuilders

decides on acceptance, continuity and withdrawal of approval of a non-profit housing company (§§ 1, 16, 17).

grants exceptions on the size of apartments and the approval of the construction of commercial establishments. (§ 6).

must give their consent on the models of the leading associations for rental and usage contracts, service contracts and contracts for the sale of residential buildings, which are binding for a housing company. can grant exemptions. (§ 7).

can authorize exceptions regarding membership of a housing company to an auditing association (§ 14).

must be consulted in determining and suspending the Auditing Association (§ 23).

must agree to the guidelines for the accounting of a housing company (§ 26).

grants exemptions for conversion to financial capital (§ 28).

THE BAU-WOHNEN SENATOR is SUPREME PLANNING AUTHORITY

is responsible for setting up zoning plans, area development plans, and land-use plans.

employs non-profit homebuilders as redevelopment agencies.¹⁴

¹⁴ Aktion 507, 'Manifest', (pp. 56-7).



FIG. 2.3: PHOTOGRAPHS OF DIAGNOSE EXHIBITION PANELS, “ENTANGLED INTERESTS”, 1968

Aktion 507 focused heavily on their argument that the *Bausenator* had ultimate authority for every aspect of urban planning and that he was also present on the board of the major construction companies, indicating a strong conflict of interests. In the post-totalitarian society, this would have been met with great suspicion in its centralisation of numerous powers in one person. The German lawyer, SPD politician and architectural critic, Adolf Arndt for example referred to the ‘totalitarian dictatorships that handle construction in our time’.¹⁵ The fear was not of the individual per se but of the policies and state structure which allowed for such a centralisation of power. For the sociologist Igor Caruso, referenced by *Aktion 507*, for example, the idea of the ‘monstrous individual’ was a ‘conjuring trick’ to make the Holocaust the responsibility of a handful of individuals and

¹⁵ Adolf Arndt, ‘Demokratie als Bauherr’, in *Geist der Politik: Reden*, ed. by Adolf Arndt (Berlin: Literarisches Colloquium Berlin, 1965), pp. 217-37 (p. 219).

rather that 'the historical responsibility rests on the social system which made such things possible'.¹⁶ It was this inherited social system that the '68ers sought to confront.

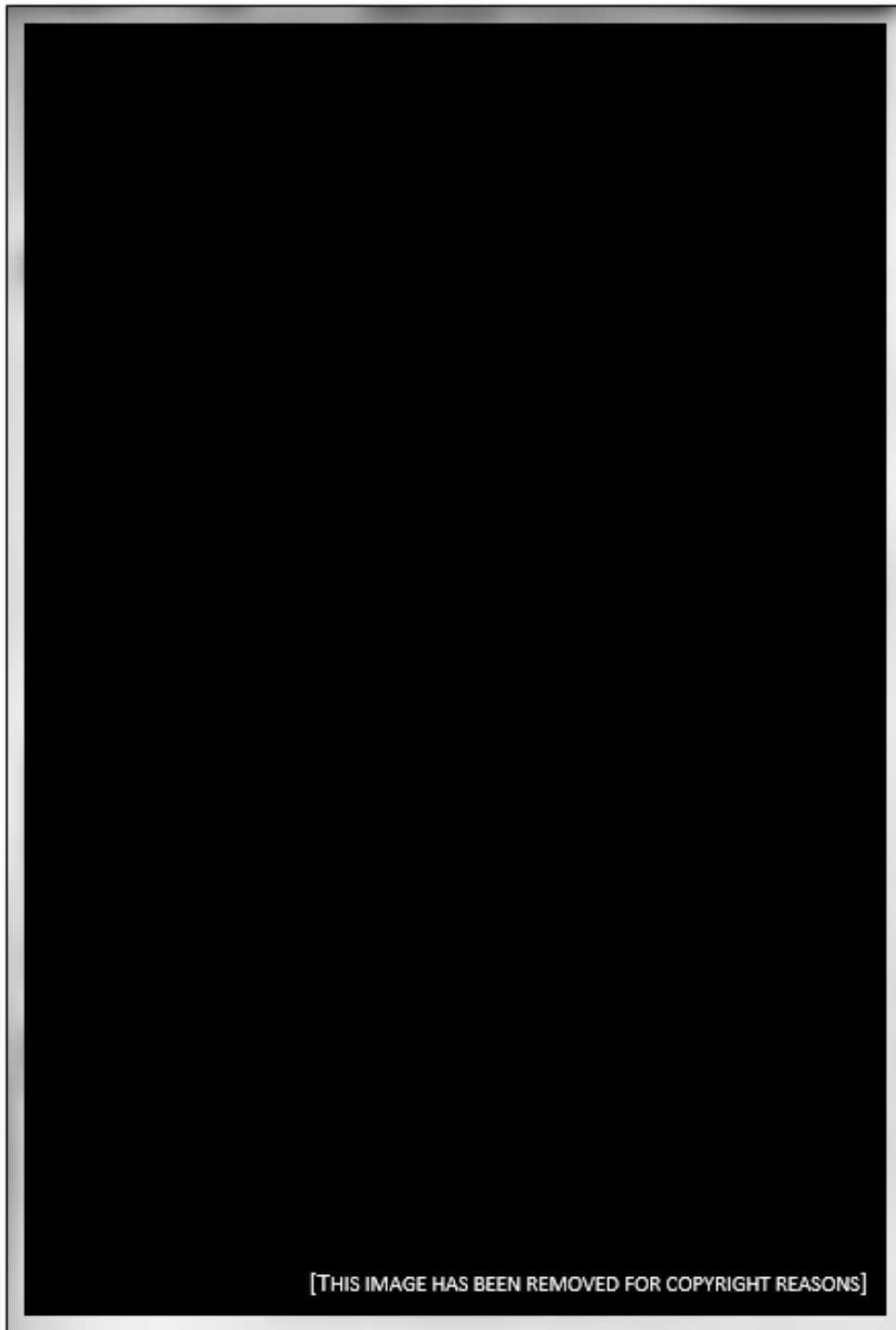


Fig. 2.4: AKTION 507, *MANIFEST*, DIAGRAM SHOWING CONFLICT OF INTERESTS IN VARIOUS CONSTRUCTION COMPANIES RESPONSIBLE FOR SOCIAL HOUSING, 1968

¹⁶ Igor Caruso, 'Psychoanalysis and Society', *New Left Review*, 32 (July 1965), 30 note 2.

Jonas Geist recalled the control placed on students and institutions, even in reference to the content of the *Diagnose*:

At the last moment a delegation from the BDA appeared, I think it was [Kurt] Dübbers and [Fritz] Bornemann, who wanted once again, to control the content. We were even able to overcome an attempt to use the invasion of Czechoslovakia as an excuse to call off the exhibition.¹⁷

Equally, in the urban fabric of West Germany nothing was seen to have changed in the 'planning anarchism' since Werner Hegemann's 'stone Berlin' of the 1930s.¹⁸ Benjamin's discussion of fascism's aestheticisation of politics argued that this was not limited to fascism but, as pointed out by Neil Leach, was applicable to any form of politics.¹⁹ The same principles were therefore applied to the post-war era. In a discussion of the 'Architectural Theory' symposium held at the *Technische Universität* (11-15 December 1967) Gert Kähler, a student at the time, recalled:

One sees a *Traumtänzer* [literally, dream-dancer] speak, an idealist who believes in the good in man and the social in architecture. We were impressed: here was one who understood our university frustration [...] who wanted to breakdown the "outdated values": Ulrich Conrads as (almost) social revolutionary, who understood art and architecture, finely fused with Walter Benjamin ("The formations of art continually call into question every victory that has ever befallen the rulers.") as a subversive tool against the forces of capitalism.²⁰

The old enemy of National Socialism was therefore intertwined with the new enemy of capitalism: the 'ideological storm surge of Nazism and fascism were catastrophes which emerged from the milieu of technical mass society'.²¹ For the students, the largely undiscussed National Socialist past, combined with the fact that former National Socialists were still in positions of power was something that they and other social critics rallied against.²² Society's perceived adherence to "authoritarian patterns of behaviour" for *Aktion*

¹⁷ Geist, Jonas, 'In Memoriam Jonas Geist', *Arch Plus*, 191/192 (2009), 2-4, p. 3.

Both Dübbers and Bornemann were architects and members of the BDA.

On the night of 20 August 1968 four of the Warsaw Pact nations (Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Hungary, Poland) invaded Czechoslovakia to prevent reformist trends within the ruling communist party.

¹⁸ Mitscherlich, *Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte*, p. 71.

¹⁹ Leach, 'Architecture or Revolution?', (p. 4).

²⁰ Gert Kähler, 'Kurze Aufforderung', in *Für Ulrich Conrads von Freunden*, (Braunschweig: Vieweg, 1988), pp. 92-5 (p. 93).

²¹ Mitscherlich, *Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte*, p. 27.

²² Ingo Cornils, 'The Struggle Continues': Rudi Dutschke's Long March', in *Student Protest: The Sixties and After*, ed. by Gerard J. DeGroot (Harlow: Addison Wesley Longman Limited 1998), pp. 100-14 (p. 101).

507 was clearly evidenced in the functioning of the urban planning policies as well as their corruption by the domination of capitalist motives.



FIG. 2.5: IMAGE FROM *DIAGNOSE* EXHIBITION IN *DER ABEND*, TITLED 'AWAY WITH SCHWEDLER - SO DEMANDS THE IMAGINATION OF THE PROTESTING ARCHITECTS IN THEIR ANTI-BAUWOCHEN ACTION AT THE TU', 9 SEPTEMBER 1968

It was capitalist 'calculation', which according to Ernst Bloch allowed for the emergence of 'rational urban utopias' and the explosion of *Bauanarchie* [Construction anarchy].²³ Bloch saw this as having progressed in the second half of the nineteenth century to the complete abolishment of city planning due to individual profiteering and which also saw 'a cult of regular structures, buildings, and urban maps'.²⁴ Thus the footprint and atmosphere of the

²³ Bloch, 'Building in Empty Spaces (1959)', (p. 192).

²⁴ Ibid. p. 193.

city was understood to be determined by the profit motive which resulted in a cityscape which was 'desolate', 'dreary' and 'unreflective':

it is particularly the industrial cities and the residential districts of the last century to which we owe the great courage of construction speculators, the absolute lack of reflection and of planning. The only thing homogenous is their dreariness, the chasms, the desolate line of streets leading into nowhere, the kitsch of their own style of misery or stolen ostentatiousness; the rest of the layout, nevertheless, is anarchic like the profiteering on which it is based.²⁵

The criticism of post-war architecture was that it claimed to be rational in its external appearance whilst society continued to adhere to old patterns of behaviour.²⁶ The attraction of rational architecture and rational urban planning was seen to be a reaction, and deliberate counterpoint, to the growing 'economic and cultural anarchy' and the forms were seen to be deliberately 'divested of the rampant human muddle'.²⁷ The potential for emancipation from this hegemony was believed to be present in society but impeded by fascism because of a desire to prevent the dissolution of the 'traditional social order'.²⁸

This was evidenced most clearly by the *Berlinhilfegesetz* [Berlin Assistance Act], introduced in 1950 and amended in 1964, which consisted of a number of subsidies, financial incentives and tax breaks, including tax cuts for businesses who moved their headquarters to West Berlin, and relocation expenses for West Germans willing to move to the city.²⁹ *Der Spiegel* illustrated the tax breaks and subsidies by using the example of an unnamed entrepreneur who built three apartment buildings for army officers near Neumünster in northern Germany. He invested 50,000 marks equity and received 450,000 marks state subsidy per block, whilst at the same time the 500,000 marks was tax deductible.³⁰ Grants and subsidies which were in place to allow for the development of social housing were also identified as being part of the problem in terms of the final quality of the construction. In order to meet regulations, the cost per cubic metre was not to exceed 60 DM and rent was not to exceed 1,10 DM which caused construction companies to reduce the general quality

²⁵ Ibid. p. 191.

²⁶ Hilde Heynen, *Architecture and Modernity: A Critique*, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999), p. 122.

²⁷ Ernst Bloch, *The Principle of Hope, Vol. 2*, (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1995 [1955]), p. 742.

²⁸ Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, pp. 35-6.

²⁹ Emily Pugh, 'The Berlin Wall and the Urban Space and Experience of East and West Berlin, 1961-1989', (City University of New York, 2008), pp. 90-1.

³⁰ 'Es bröckelt', p. 54.

of materials such as insulation and sound proofing, in order to fulfil the required regulations to receive subsidies and grants.³¹

These subsidies and incentives were therefore seen by their critics to have had an irreparable effect on the post-war redevelopment of the city. Arndt summarised the general attitude: 'I believe it is a calamity to put planning departments in the imprisonment of the financial ministries'.³² In their criticism of *Berlinhilfegesetz, Aktion 507* argued that it enforced a focus on profit and domination of the many by the few, allowing massive yields at the public expense.³³ This, coupled with the 'fearful silence of our parliament' and the 'negligence' with which the rebuilding of the cities had been 'left to an anarchy of private initiatives' was cause for concern.³⁴ In the manifesto, *Aktion 507* complained that current urban planning policies were uncoordinated, uncontrolled, and disorganised, and the close integration of the SPD, trade unions and housing associations were charged with making decisions impossible, current plans were identified as being made in collusion without any consideration for the corresponding need for infrastructure (i.e. without coordination and an overall development plan), which did not adhere to the Federal Building Act, and significantly, occurred without public consultation.³⁵ *Aktion 507* argued that as the funds used were public, that the public should therefore be entitled to a voice.³⁶ The manifesto then goes on to question why there was no working group in Berlin that considered future planning and development of the city and why there were no planning models concerning location, scale and design of new construction for different housing types.

³¹ 'Die Heizkosten steigen', (p. 37).

³² Arndt, 'Demokratie als Bauherr', (pp. 232-3).

³³ Aktion 507, 'Manifest', (pp. 26-7).

³⁴ Mitscherlich, *Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte*, p. 57.

³⁵ Aktion 507, 'Manifest', (pp. 99-100).

³⁶ *Ibid.* p. 91.

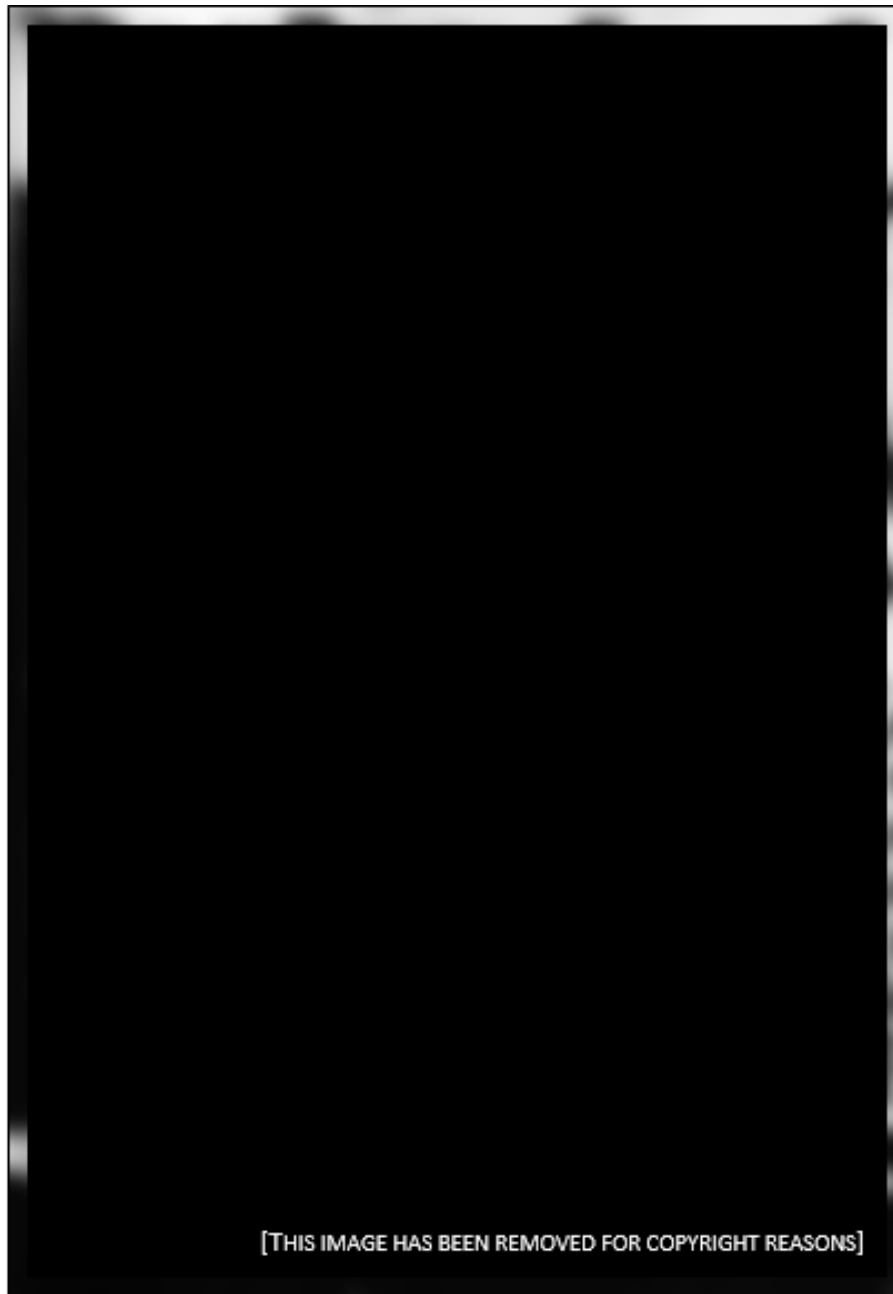


FIG. 2.6: AKTION 507, *MANIFEST*, "HELP! BERLIN HELP!", 1968

For many the answer was clear; the form of reconstruction was decided in official offices and in *Stammtischen* which, combined with the lack of openness in parliament meant that the 'pseudo arguments of the lobbyists' in the best of cases absorbed expert opinion.³⁷ The perceived facade of democracy which masked bureaucratic controls was understood by Bahrtdt to have taken 'the political heart of the metropolis' in which more and more areas were deprived of the insights of citizens via the local public.³⁸ Linked to this, was the

³⁷ Bahrtdt, *Die moderne Großstadt*, p. 91.

³⁸ *Ibid.* p. 94.

difficulty in obtaining information about why a decision which was of interest to the public had turned out so differently. Under the subheading '*Verwaltung*' [Administration] *Aktion 507* listed the present problems as sixteen hypotheses which focused on entangled interests, a preoccupation with quantity rather than quality, the relationship between politics and capital, and the disregard for the real needs of society in favour of business.³⁹

Preceding the section on Administration, *Aktion 507* referenced Claus Offe's '*Technik und Eindimensionalität*' [Technology and One-Dimensionality] (1968) and his ideas concerning how capitalist control of the state had been maintained and when this control had become problematic.⁴⁰ The key moment of change was identified by Offe, as occurring when competitive capitalism became too complex to be organised by the individual and instead the state had to allocate resources to maintain the infrastructure.⁴¹ This shift was seen as a move from democracy and autonomy to a system of restricted access dependent on a number of conditions. These conditions were: an agreement to adhere to the rules of the game, the loss of 'non-pluralist interests', and the 'declining effectivity of parliaments'.⁴² According to Offe, by becoming 'productive' and 'allocative', the state favoured particular sections of society and therefore became increasingly undemocratic.⁴³ This was linked to the 'complicity of parliamentarians in their growing powerlessness' which allowed the state to operate in such a way.⁴⁴ Translated into the field of urban planning, Offe's theories were directly relevant for the students.



FIG. 2.7: "WAGE-THEFT - GESOBAU", MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, c. 1970

The municipal housing company, GESOBAU, who were responsible for the construction of the Märkisches Viertel were one such company which were seen to represent the self-interests of individuals and businesses wishing to increase their profit margins and maintain

³⁹ *Aktion 507*, 'Manifest', (p. 51).

⁴⁰ Tony Woodiwiss, 'Critical Theory and the Capitalist State', *Economy and Society*, 7 (1978), 184.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*

⁴² *Ibid.* p. 185.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

traditional social structures. This underpinned the belief that 'property relations were [...] the real cause of urban destruction'.⁴⁵ After the war, Bahrtdt charged businessmen with a closed resistance to considering the fate of the whole city beyond their short-term interests.⁴⁶ Jacobs likewise condemned the self-interested planning authorities:

bankers, like planners, have theories about cities on which they act. They have taken their theories from the same intellectual sources as the planners.⁴⁷

The criticism being that the ideas behind contemporary planning practices were not aligned with the correct moral underpinning; the planners were concerned with profitability rather than with consideration of social or cultural needs. As the group state: 'It is more than ironic that subsidies for liberty become the despotism of the few'.⁴⁸ And the rational planning and use of the grid system to both plan and expand settlements was seen by Mitscherlich to be 'determined solely by the return'.⁴⁹ The manufacturing principles that were developed alongside developments in technology were understood to have been directly transferred to the field of urban planning. Berndt identifies the beginning of this trend in the Middle Ages when factory ownership passed to private owners and caused the location of housing and trade to be determined by private individuals and their private interests, rather than by the community.⁵⁰ Although municipal legislation had attempted to balance this over time the results were the same:

since a completely deficient financial constitution forces municipalities to adapt to the wishes of the economically powerful land buyers, modern urban planning is largely based on the interests of economically powerful people who cannot be equated with an overall social interest.⁵¹

This land-use scheme was understood to prevail in the Federal Republic whereby the last remnant of the historical substance of German cities, that had not already fallen victim to the bombs of the Second World War, were 'slowly and irretrievably destroyed'.⁵² The deliberate removal of the past from the city was seen as a physical and visual

⁴⁵ Schanetzky, 'Anstiftung zum Unfrieden', (p. 10).

⁴⁶ Bahrtdt, *Die moderne Großstadt*, p. 91.

⁴⁷ Jacobs, *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, p. 21.

⁴⁸ Aktion 507, 'Manifest', (p. 16).

⁴⁹ Mitscherlich, *Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte*, p. 45.

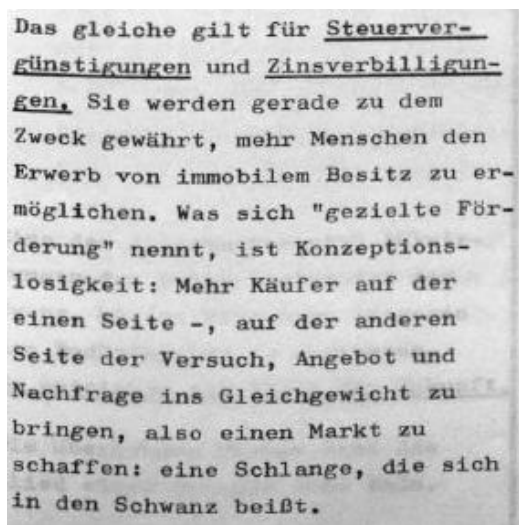
⁵⁰ Berndt, 'Funktionalismus', (p. 27).

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid. p. 28.

representation of the government's attitude towards dealing with the National Socialist past.

Aktion 507's Goerd Peschken recalled that: 'The authorities were attracted to land speculation and organised area demolition ('*Sanierung*' [redevelopment]) so that there was a need'.⁵³ In the manifesto section '*Das Zustandekommen des ständig beschleunigten Wachstums der Grundrente*' [The Formation of the Constantly Accelerating Increase in Ground Rent], *Aktion 507* highlighted the fact that at each re-sale, the value of the land increased which led to 'blatant cases of speculation'.⁵⁴ This was also linked to the number of available subsidies and tax breaks which created a larger market and thus increased demand:



Das gleiche gilt für Steuervergünstigungen und Zinsverbilligungen. Sie werden gerade zu dem Zweck gewährt, mehr Menschen den Erwerb von immobilem Besitz zu ermöglichen. Was sich "gezielte Förderung" nennt, ist Konzeptionslosigkeit: Mehr Käufer auf der einen Seite -, auf der anderen Seite der Versuch, Angebot und Nachfrage ins Gleichgewicht zu bringen, also einen Markt zu schaffen: eine Schlange, die sich in den Schwanz beißt.

The same applies to tax breaks and subsidised interest rates. They are granted solely for the purpose of enabling more people to acquire immobile property. What is called "targeted support" is without a clear plan: More buyers on the one hand - and on the other hand, bringing supply and demand into balance so as to create a market: a snake biting its own tail.⁵⁵

This idea of "supply and demand" was criticised for being one of the basic forms of repression which dominated urban planning policies as well as creating a control loop from which there was little or no escape. *Aktion 507* termed it '*Die Fiktion von Angebot und Nachfrage*' [The Fiction of Supply and Demand] which was 'actually a monopolisation based on subsidies which cannot stabilise itself'.⁵⁶ *Der Spiegel* reiterated the same criticism:

the control loop of supply and demand could not function where instead of the free choice of the buyer was a millionfold emergency, where instead of competition between providers and decelerating prices, the contractor was

⁵³ Peschken, 'Aktion 507'.

⁵⁴ *Aktion 507*, 'Manifest', (p. 14).

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* p. 15.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* p. 18.

offered the monopoly of the construction sector which could impose primitive accommodation in all districts: overpriced and of poor-quality.⁵⁷

The profit motive was therefore widely condemned as a system that invented need and excluded and repressed the individual for its own benefit. The condemnation of West Berlin's construction industry with its 'greedy speculators' led to the motto of the exhibition; "*Sei schlau – verdien' am Bau!*" [Be smart - earn by construction].⁵⁸

The dominance of the needs of private investors over those of the workers was exemplified for *Aktion 507* in the issues surrounding the *Weißten-Kreis* [white-circle]: areas in which rent controls were abolished. The *Berliner Extra-Dienst* reported on the escalation of the APO [Extra-parliamentary Opposition] protest due to the introduction of the *Weißten-Kreis* and the rent increases of 1 July 1968 as being especially significant for the grass-roots movements in Kreuzberg and Neukölln.⁵⁹ In response, a sociology student, Rolf Czeskleba, formed a group entitled *Büro für Stadtsanierung und soziale Arbeit* [Office for Urban Renewal and Social Work] in Kreuzberg, which was intended as a communication and information centre for the work of grass-roots groups.⁶⁰ He addressed the construction company GEHAG in Schöneberg on 12 November 1968 and questioned whether in relinquishing control over the old housing stock, the state was not jeopardising the goal of urban renewal: 'after all, redevelopment serves to correct the mistakes of the past, whereby unrestricted private interests have obstructed the future'.⁶¹ The government that had its roots in the National Socialist period, and that allowed for and even encouraged these activities to prosper was seen to demonstrate a morally corrupt society.

⁵⁷ 'Es bröckelt', p. 42.

⁵⁸ 'Slums verschoben', p. 138.

⁵⁹ 'Weisser Kreis: Aktionen in Kreuzberg und Neukölln', *Berliner Extra-Dienst*, 50-II (22 June 1968).

⁶⁰ 'Kampf gegen den Weißten-Kreis: aus den Anfängen der Mieterinnen-Initiativen in Westberlin', *Berliner Extra-Dienst*, (30 November 1968).

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

The development of self-interest in the post-war period was therefore seen to be clearly reflected in planning policies. The *Berliner Morgenpost* reported on *Aktion 507*'s 'Day of Construction Bureaucracy':

Yesterday, at the critical architecture exhibition "Diagnose" at Ernst-Reuter-Platz, opinions collided. The occasion was a discussion on the topic of building management and construction services. The most prominent participant was Professor Walter Gropius, the world-renowned architect.

Thus, the dissatisfied architecture students targeted the too strong an "entanglement" between building authorities and the management of state housing associations. Strong words were made against "hierarchical thinking", and also the "authoritarian behaviour" of officials. Finally, the student critics castigated the personnel composition of the building committee and the main committee in the Chamber of Deputies.

These statements culminated approvingly accepted claims, such as, "Capital is the basis for political success" and "public money is spent without examining real needs".

A further point of criticism: the public was inadequately informed about all the details and development plans for large settlements - such as the Märkisches Viertel, Gropiusstadt and Falkenhagenerfeld. The exposition of the plans in the town halls of the districts and their explanations in the Berlin Official Gazette were entirely inadequate. Here Walter Gropius said: "The democratic system must be respected, even if it is lengthy. But communication is missing between the many people who are responsible."

[...]

Apart from a few exceptions, the discussion participants agreed that much of the building management had to be changed. But the arguments went unheard in the building shell of the Institute for Urban Development at the TU, owing to the fact that Minister Schwedler, Minister Directors Lecher and Arlt, as well as other accountable people, had not appeared for discussion.⁶²

What Mitscherlich terms the 'heartlessness' and Bloch terms the 'hollowness' of new construction was therefore understood as a result of land ownership which 'makes any creative, profound reorganisation impossible'.⁶³ Bloch continued:

⁶² 'Mit Gropius - ohne Schwedler: Altmeister der Architekten stellte sich jungen Kritikern', *Berliner Morgenpost*, (13 September 1968).

⁶³ Mitscherlich, *Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte*, p. 19.

No one has seriously denied that the misery of German reconstruction is closely connected with the distribution of ownership, the speculative prices of land, and the remaining political attempt to reconstitute the urban realm. For private property, without prejudice concerning its potentially fatal consequences for the community, is a taboo, a fetish that no one dared to touch. None of the legislative bodies, neither of the parties.⁶⁴

It was this impossibility that *Aktion 507* sought to address in order for it to become a topic for public debate. For this reason, *Aktion 507* dedicated much time to discussing the policies of land ownership and the related bureaucratic economic policies and directly cite the *Bürgerliches Gesetzbuch* [BGB or German Civil Code]:

I. Das Privateigentum und seine Grenzen

§ 903 BGB:

"Eigentum ist das umfassendste Herrschaftsrecht, das die Rechtsordnung an einer Sache zuläßt."

Das Privateigentum ist der Grundpfeiler unserer Gesellschaftsordnung - es gilt als Garant der Unabhängigkeit der Person.

"Das Privateigentum weckt die Eigeninitiative, stärkt die Selbstverantwortung und gewährt wirtschaftliche Sicherheit." (Höfner)

Seine magische Kraft individualistischer Persönlichkeitsentfaltung bewahrt angeblich vor den Gefahren der Vermassung und des Kollektivismus - anscheinend wachsen Besitz und kritische Wachsamkeit proportional.

Die Richtigkeit des Schlusses wird vom Zusammenfallen des Zwanges zum Konformismus und der Abschaffung des Eigentums in den östlichen Staatsapparaten abgeleitet - allerdings ohne daß die gegenseitige Bedingung bewiesen ist.

⁶⁴ Ibid. pp. 19-20.

I. Private Property and its Limits

§ 903 BGB

“Property is the most comprehensive rule of law that applies the legal system to an object.”

Private property is the cornerstone of our society - it is a guarantee of the independence of a person.

“Private property awakens initiative, strengthens individual responsibility and provides economic security.” (Höffner)

This magical power of individualistic personality development is supposed to guard against the dangers of massification and collectivism - apparently ownership and critical vigilance grow proportionally.

The correctness of the conclusion is proven by the concurrence of the compulsion to conform and the abolition of property in the eastern state apparatuses - but without the mutual condition being proved.⁶⁵

The conviction with which *Aktion 507* addressed the idea that ownership created a sense of independence and thus a critical consciousness was seen to be demonstrated by the situation in East Germany, which removed property ownership and by association the individual lost their agency and instead longed to conform. The argument made by *Aktion 507* had its basis in the Frankfurt School's discussion of society's "repressive mechanisms" whereby only those in power could own their own property which caused highly compressed urban areas, land owners without social responsibility, and to land speculation. Bahrdt commented: “We need to get serious with the social obligations of property ownership,” the Munich mayor Hans-Jochen Vogel said last year, and the Berlin Minister Rolf Schwedler expressed something similar.⁶⁶ In line with the Marxist thought the students were reading, the situation in West Berlin was understood as a struggle between the proletariat and the dominant political interest groups which now became embodied by the large housing companies.⁶⁷ Mitscherlich quoted Konrad Adenauer, Chancellor of West Germany (1949-63) in the 1920s: ‘I regard this incorrect land policy as the main source of all

⁶⁵ *Aktion 507*, ‘Manifest’, (p. 4).

Joseph Höffner (1906-1987) was a Roman Catholic Cardinal. This quote is from a larger text which states that ‘The Catholic social doctrine is based on the assumption that without the institutions of private property, a social and economic order which is responsible for human and Christian dignity is not possible.’ The quote cited in the Manifesto is the first of Höffner's essential conditions of private property. For the full text see Joseph Höffner, ‘Eigentumsstreuung als Ziel: Der Sozialpolitik (1959)’, in *Joseph Höffner (1906-1987): Soziallehre und Sozialpolitik: “Der Personale Faktor...”*, ed. by Karl Gabriel and Herman-Josef Grosse Kracht (Paderborn: Schöningh 2006), pp. 173-86.

⁶⁶ ‘Es bröckelt’, p. 62.

⁶⁷ Urban, ‘Märkisches Viertel’, (p. 185).

of the phenomena of physical and mental degeneration from which we are now suffering' and 'the land reform questions are, according to my conviction, questions of the highest morality'.⁶⁸ Mitscherlich doubted this conviction and saw it as an example of the taboo operating in private property by posing the question 'what happened to ground reform in the Adenauer era? Nothing'.⁶⁹ According to the critics of urban planning, it was this disjuncture between problems identified by politicians and the lived reality that was at the root of many of society's problems.

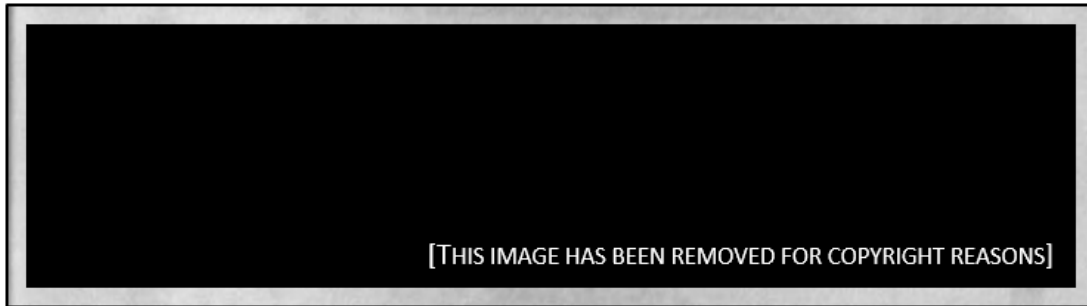


FIG. 2.8: AKTION 507, *MANIFEST*, "COMPETITION PRAXIS, PHILHARMONIC, MATTHÄIKIRCHPLATZ, NATIONAL GALLERY, NATIONAL LIBRARY, NEW CONSTRUCTION OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM...OR 'CITY PLANNING CONCERNS US ALL'", 1968

For *Aktion 507* this was evidenced by the functioning of architectural competitions. In the manifesto they condemned the non-open and undemocratic nature of granting and selecting winners and the constitution of the jury, and instead they called for precise criteria, publication of results, examination of results by competent institutions, and more open competitions.⁷⁰ Jonas Geist recalled the slogan at the time 'We chanted at that time, "Borne, Dütt and Eiermann, let the others have a go!' demonstrating the perceived closed nature of the architectural competition process.⁷¹ *Aktion 507* printed extracts of the laws of tender and critiqued them as examples of an undemocratic, authoritarian system that was hostile to criticism, where the entrants were without power and input into the process as the land owners and organisers dominated decisions.⁷² *Aktion 507* called on the press not only to critique results of the competitions but also the conditions with the aim of changing them:

⁶⁸ Adenauer quoted in Mitscherlich, *Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte*, p. 21.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ *Aktion 507*, 'Manifest', (pp. 89-91).

⁷¹ Geist, 'In Memoriam', 3.

Refers to the post-war architects Fritz Bornemann, Werner Düttmann, and Egon Eiermann.

⁷² *Aktion 507*, 'Manifest', (pp. 92-5).

Wir fordern:

1. Anstelle einer "Veröffentlichung" der Wettbewerbsausschreibung nach dem Motto Friß-Vogel-oder-stirb muß eine Wettbewerbsaufgabe wirklich "öffentlich" gestellt werden: a) Ausschreibung, Fixierung der Auswahlkriterien und Auswahl des Preisgerichts müssen apriori öffentlich diskutiert werden können, b) Programmkritik in Gestalt eines Wettbewerbsbeitrags (darf nicht allenfalls geduldet werden, sondern) muß möglich und erwünscht sein, muß vor allem als solche gewertet werden.
2. Die Wettbewerbsbeiträge - und damit die Autorität ihrer Verfasser - unterliegen öffentlicher Kontrolle durch das Preisgericht und durch die Ausstellung sowie durch Publikationen. Das gleiche, nämlich öffentliche Kontrolle ist auch für die Preisgerichtsarbeit zu fordern. (Wenn beispielsweise die Fachpresse Zugang zu den Sitzungen hätte, brauchte sie nicht hinterher mühsam zwischen den Zeilen informationsarmer "Protokolle" nach kritischen Ansätzen zu suchen, und das Niveau der Beurteilung würde steigen.)
3. Wettbewerbskritik in der Fachpresse muß aufhören, bloße Kritik der Ergebnisse zu sein - das ist kaum mehr als ein Ventil für angestauten Ärger - muß anfangen, Kritik an den Voraussetzungen zu werden, mit dem Ziel, sie zu verändern.

We demand:

1. Instead of a "publication" of the competition tendering according to the motto "Friß-Vogel-oder-stirb" a competition project must be genuinely "public": a) an invitation to tender, fixing of the eligibility criteria and the selection of the jury must be openly discussed *a priori*, b) programme criticism in the form of a competition contribution (must not be tolerated at best, but rather) must be possible and desired, must be judged above all as such.
2. Competition entries - and thus the authority of their authors - are subject to public scrutiny by the jury and through exhibition and publications. The same, namely, public control, must also be demanded of the jury. (For example, if the trade press had access to the meetings, it would not be difficult to look for critical approaches between the lines of informative "protocols", and the level of the assessment would increase.)
3. Criticism of competitions in the press must cease to merely criticise the results - which serves little more than an outlet for pent-up anger - they must begin to be critical of the conditions with the aim of changing them.⁷³

⁷³ Ibid. p. 96.

These demands were created in an attempt to counteract what *Aktion 507* saw as the “undemocratic” nature which underpinned contemporary planning, and the style of new construction was seen to symbolise this undemocratic ethos in built form. The promoted rationality and democracy of the state was seen to belie the real driving forces in society. Likewise, the promoted “democratic” and rational architectural style and associated urban planning policies were believed to mask the real way society was operating. The pragmatic nature of these solutions were reflected in many of *Aktion 507*’s proposals across the board; openness through co-operation with the media, the involvement of the public, and an embracing of criticism as a tool for positive development. Professor Koller at the TU, was reported by *Der Tagesspiegel* to support the students’ criticism in this respect in his description of competition guidelines as ‘inadequate and unqualified’.⁷⁴

It was therefore urban planners and architects who were identified as the profession most capable of instigating change. One can also assume that Mitscherlich’s direct plea rallied members of *Aktion 507* to take action:

I can only appeal to the civil courage of urban planners and architects not to be paralysed by the force of designing, expectation and rethinking. They are the experts who have to pave the way for reason against the irrational and selfish motives of land owners.⁷⁵

The architects, according to Mitscherlich, had to work together with the public to instigate change in the initial stages:

For the time being, the construction expert will not be able to tackle it because he is powerless against the egos of the land owners. The politician will do even less because he is in need of votes and fears the accusation: You communist! Thus, a precisely described dissatisfaction of the exploited citizens of the cities can force a change.⁷⁶

Aktion 507 developed this theory into praxis. In their section ‘Proposed Solutions for the Reorganisation of Ownership- and Construction Policy’ they suggested six ‘individual actions’:

Friß-Vogel-oder-stirb literally reads as Eat-bird-or-die and is something akin to the English proverbs “sink or swim” or “it’s my way or the highway”.

⁷⁴ ‘Kritik an Wettbewerbsbedingungen: “Aktion 507” diskutierte über die Vergabe-Politik des Senats’, *Der Tagesspiegel*, (18 September 1968).

⁷⁵ Mitscherlich, *Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte*, pp. 20-1.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.* p. 22.

Lösungsvorschläge zur Neuordnung von Eigentums- und Baupolitik

Die einzeln aufgeführten Vorschläge sind in ihrem Zusammenwirken als Lösung der gegenwärtigen Misere zu verstehen. Es bedarf dazu der grundsätzlichen Entscheidung, ohne Rücksicht auf bestehende Machtkonstellationen ein kompromißloses Programm im Dienste aller Menschen dieses Staates aufzustellen, das herrschende Prinzip der Erpressung durch die Wenigen zu beseitigen.

Jede Einzelmaßnahme wird durch den Einfluß starker Interessengruppen zunichte gemacht und durch die Übermacht des Bestehenden außer Kraft gesetzt. (Zur Erinnerung: die Mühle der Subventionen, die affirmative Funktion der Bodenbewertungsausschüsse.)

Ein liberal getarntes antidemokratisches Verhalten ist Grundlage des geübten Geschäftsgebarens. Evolution schließt sich aus.

The proposals are listed individually and in their interaction, are to be understood as a solution to the current mess. The fundamental decision, without regard to existing power constellations, requires the establishment of an uncompromising programme in the service of all the people of this state, of eliminating the prevailing principle of extortion by the few.

Each individual measure is undermined by the influence of strong interest groups and overridden by the supremacy of the existing power. (Reminder: the mill of subsidies, the affirmative function of land evaluations.)

Liberal, camouflaged, anti-democratic behaviour is the foundation of the established way business is conducted. Evolution is suspended.⁷⁷

The six proposals were: '*Trennung von Baugrund und Bauwerk*' [Separation of Land and Construction] where it was believed that this separation would break the cycle of increasing value and increasing rent.⁷⁸ The second proposal was '*Zonung des Bodens*' [Land Zoning] which would consist of four types of land; private property (restricted as above) so that extreme profits were not possible; leasehold with set end dates depending on the region; group property based on self-determination of inhabitants; and land in public ownership which was required for many functions and defined as irreplaceable (urban land, lakeshore, forest).⁷⁹ The third proposal was the '*Ende der Subventionen*' [Ending of Subsidies] (see p. 188) which it was believed would stop high land prices, speculative rental pricing and high construction costs and the money previously used for subsidies was to be reallocated to land acquisition.⁸⁰ The fourth proposal was '*Kontrolle der Mietpreise*' [Control of Rental

⁷⁷ Aktion 507, 'Manifest', (p. 22).

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Ibid. p. 23.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

Prices] which *Aktion 507* stipulated should not exceed the cost of living and as a way of redistributing the national income.⁸¹ The fifth was the '*voller Entzug des Planungswertzuwachses*' [Complete cancellation of the appreciation of value from planning] so that the focus was not on profit and the remaining forms of individual and group ownership were not to be allowed to have preferential beneficiaries.⁸² And finally, the sixth proposal was the '*Beteiligung der Betroffenen*' [Involvement of Stakeholders]:

'through education about possibilities, through consultation (which would support planners' decisions), through group property (so inhabitants' interests are activated), and through a collective for housing administration (a non-profit which would safeguard the interests of residents)'.⁸³

Baller commented in hindsight '[we were] critical perhaps, but not in a confrontational sense. We also wanted to learn something pragmatic in order to avoid certain mistakes in the future'.⁸⁴ This was a desire for reform rather than a complete revolution based on realistic decisions about how institutions could be changed for the better rather than completely dismantled. As Baller recalled '*Aktion 507* was visionary but pragmatic'.⁸⁵ These were the practical solutions which *Aktion 507*, as the next generation of architects, had the possibility of implementing.

⁸¹ Ibid. p. 24.

⁸² Ibid.

⁸³ Ibid.

⁸⁴ Baller, 'Der Vertrauensarchitekt der Besetzerszene', (p. 19).

⁸⁵ Baller, 'Aktion 507'.

SECTION CONCLUSION

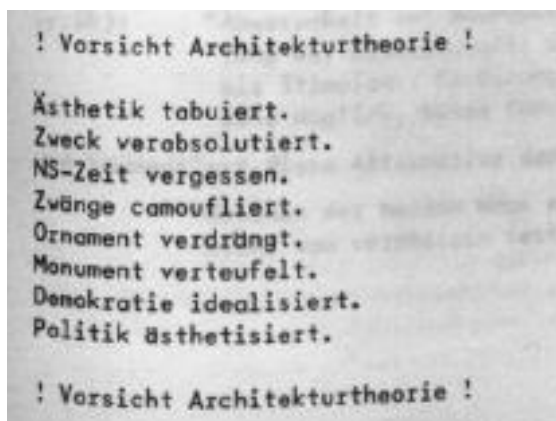
What can be ascertained from the above discussion is a deep-set frustration within the new generation at society's insular nature, its values, and its morality. The lack of desire to discuss or come to terms with the past was a source of a myriad of issues *Aktion 507*, and the student movement in general saw them as prevalent in society. *Aktion 507*, in their criticism of the institution of architecture, illustrated the closed system in their diagrams showing conflicts of interests between various figures within the planning sector, as well as in the concentration of a multitude of urban planning powers in the single figure of the *Bausenator*. In its report on the exhibition, the newspaper *Der Abend* commented that 'a presentation of the interweaving of interests even by the highest construction officials with board seats in some of the many construction companies, is graphically attempted, but not very successful'.⁸⁶ The hierarchies were seen to be a mirroring of the self-interests of the upper layers of capitalist society in their desire to prevent others from infiltrating the sector. The lack of openness about planning policies, coupled with closed architectural competition processes, were seen as an example of the post-war pretence at democracy. The students called on the media to force openness and critique in the competition process but also took it upon themselves to attempt to instigate a more fundamental change in mentality. First, the students sought to analyse the conditions as a product of the past and the forces which kept them in place, and once this was understood, methods for change could be developed through co-operation with a variety of groups and individuals.

⁸⁶ 'Zorn am Ball Berlin-West: Stadtplanung im Visier; kritische Diagnose der Studenten', *Der Abend*, (9 September 1968).

SECTION 2.2 THE POST-WAR PSYCHE

The '68 generation believed that the post-war preoccupation with materialism and consumerism nullified critique of both the present and, more importantly, the inherited past. The focus on material prosperity was understood by cultural critics such as Marcuse, to blind the population to the realities of contemporary existence. Even within the arts, critique was identified as being subsumed back into the commodified system. Theorists such as Adorno and Marcuse addressed the need for art to retain its critical function and it was post-war artists such as Gerhard Richter (1932-), Josef Beuys (1921-86), Wolf Vostell (1932-98) and others, who directly confronted the responsibility for society to address its role in the rise of fascism. This focus in the arts occurred at a time when psychologists, behaviourists and psychoanalysts were attempting to understand the involvement of so many Germans in Hitler's rise to power. This led to a discussion of the post-war trend of analysing the psyche as a means to attempt to understand the development of fascism, the acceptance of Hitler's rule by the German populace, as well as their silence and perceived denial in the aftermath. *Aktion 507* referenced many of these theorists, such as Fromm, Horkheimer, and Pollock, in order to understand the impact of society upon the individual. This section will therefore trace art's attempt to engage with the National Socialist past and consider the discussion of the psyche in relation to the struggle between individual and society. It will also be seen that the study of the psyche was inherently embedded within a social critique that extended into the field of urban planning. How theorists such as Mitscherlich, Horn, Lorenzer and Berndt drew these ideas into the urban planning sphere will therefore be analysed in relation to *Aktion 507's* manifesto.

During the twentieth century in Germany, with architecture being so intently deployed by the National Socialist propaganda machine, architecture's relationship with politics became more pronounced. In the desire to express progressive materialism, "beauty" was reduced to a synonym and was materialised, which *Aktion 507* linked to an "'unlimited" hostility to theory' and to an 'aesthetic-taboo'.⁸⁷ In the post-war situation, there was a concern that aesthetics were linked to ideology, and beauty in its subjectivity was something to be feared, as it could not be rationalised. Thus, the purely functional and rational were favoured due to its ability to be justified by fundamental rules and universal theories rather than based on the viewpoint of an individual. In architecture, *Aktion 507* evidenced this by highlighting that during the National Socialist period 'it was called the "art of building [*Baukunst*]" and 'in the post war period "architecture [*Architektur*]" is preferred' which they saw as being convenient as '*Baukunst* can happen without it being called art [...] "art" and the tediously related "beauty" are taboo terms'.⁸⁸ *Aktion 507* summed up the post-war context as follows:



!Caution Architectural Theory!

Aesthetics tabooed.

Purpose made absolute.

National Socialist era forgotten.

Constraints camouflaged.

Ornament repressed.

Monument demonised.

Democracy idealised.

Politics aestheticised.

!Caution Architectural Theory!⁸⁹

The aestheticisation of politics is a reference to Walter Benjamin's *Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (1939) which was concerned with the manipulation of the arts by politics.⁹⁰ The basic concept was that politics was a form of art and the fascist politician

⁸⁷ *Aktion 507*, 'Manifest', (p. 68).

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ *Ibid.* p. 61.

⁹⁰ See Walter Benjamin, *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, (New York: Schocken Verlag, 1969); and Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*. First published in German as *Das Kunstwerk im Zeitalter seiner technischen Reproduzierbarkeit* in 1939.

became an “artist-politician” who shaped and moulded the masses.⁹¹ Benjamin’s work was highly influential in the post-war period and became a key intellectual source for the student movement. The first meeting of the *Internationale Walter Benjamin Gesellschaft* [International Walter Benjamin Society], for example, was organised by students in Hamburg in 1968. Several of Benjamin’s works were also published posthumously in Germany during the 1960s, such as *Illuminations* (1961) and *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction* (1963). Benjamin’s thesis on the relationship between art and politics fed into the perceived idolisation of democracy rather than as an honest intention to be democratic. This was seen by *Aktion 507* as mapping the systems of National Socialism on to the post-war world by changing the ideology but not the processes and policies which operated beneath its facade.



FIG. 2.9: PHOTOGRAPHS OF DIAGNOSE EXHIBITION PANELS, “CAUTION ARCHITECTURAL THEORY”, 1968

⁹¹ See Simonetta Falasca-Zamponi, *Fascist Spectacle: The Aesthetics of Power in Mussolini’s Italy*, (London: University of California Press, 1997), pp. 13-23.

The section in *Aktion 507's* manifesto titled '*Der Senat kann alles, darf alles, macht alles*' [The Government Can Do Everything, is Allowed to Do Everything, Does Everything] quoted the *Wohnungsgemeinnützigkeitsgesetz* [Non-Profit Housing Act] introduced in 1940. The quotation includes a section where allegiance to the National Socialist Party has been crossed out:

§13 Reliability of the administration

"There must be no facts that justify the assumption that business operations do not or will not comply with the statutory objectives or morals. Members of the Executive Board, the supervisory body and the company's senior staff have to be VOLKSGENOSSEN [German countrymen] where there are no doubts about their business ~~or political~~ reliability. ~~Assessment of the political reliability is subject to the public authority of the National Socialist German Workers' Party.~~"

The deleted lines were omitted after the Second World War. The basic facts remain.⁹²

The "basic facts" being that the old methods of politics were still believed to be in operation in post-war society. Benjamin's strong condemnation of fascism and his understanding of architecture in the hands of the regime as the aestheticisation of politics sent a strong message about the potential agency of architecture.⁹³ As discussed in Chapter One, in the post-war period, the function of architecture was not just a need to house a large proportion of the population but also in its ability to create a break with the recent past and to forge a new identity for a country struggling with its place in the post-war world. The reconstruction of German cities was identified by Mitscherlich as a 'post-phase of the collective psychosis of "national socialism"' which had led to the destruction of the urban fabric.⁹⁴ Architecture and construction policies were therefore understood to be intrinsically linked to the legacy of National Socialism.

⁹² Aktion 507, 'Manifest', (p. 56).

The term *Volksgenossen* has strong National Socialist connotations.

⁹³ Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, p. 36.

⁹⁴ Alexander Mitscherlich, *Thesen Zur Stadt Der Zukunft*, (Frankfurt a.M.: Suhrkamp, 1971), pp. 66-7.

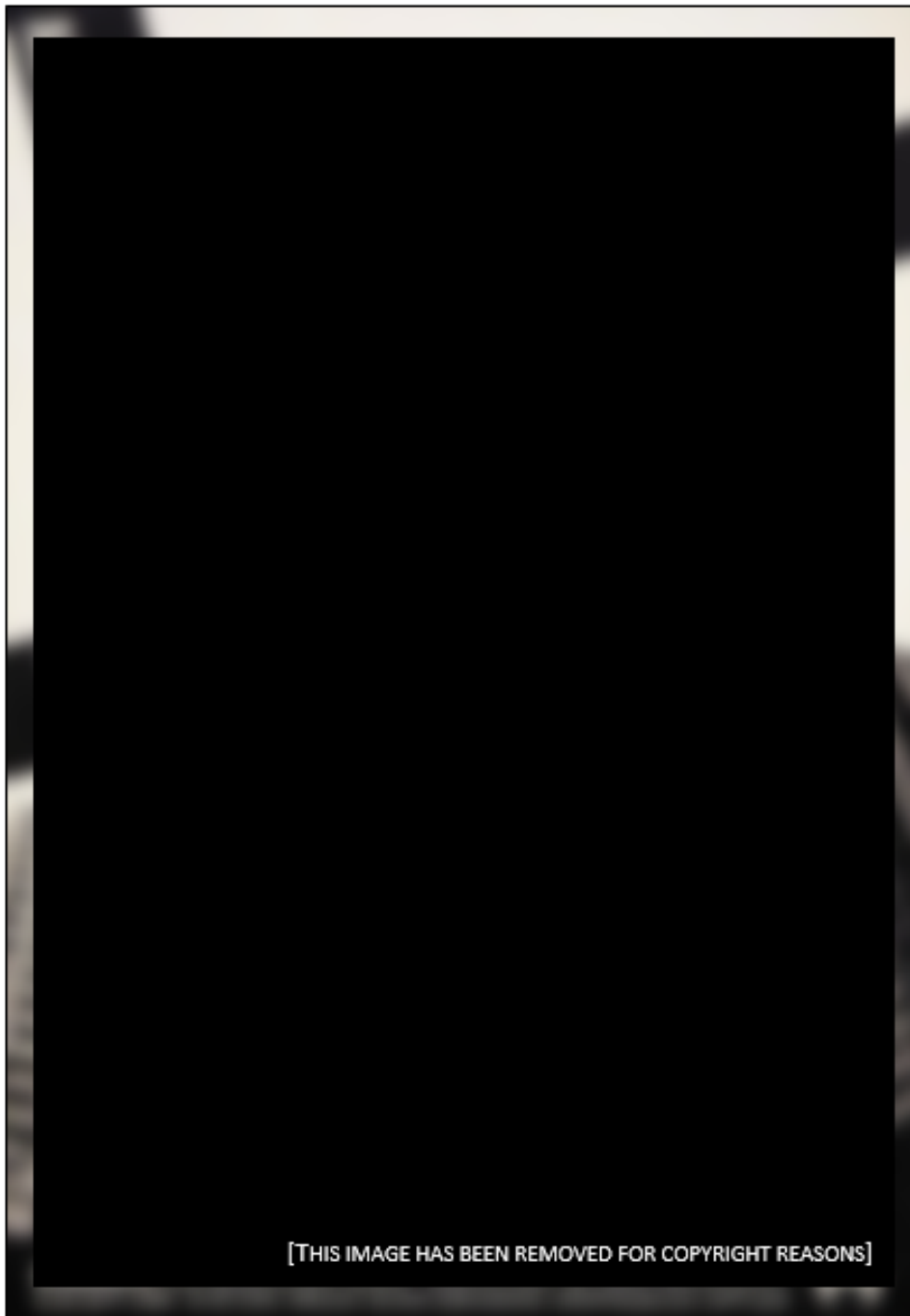


FIG. 2.10: *DIAGNOSE* EXHIBITION POSTER, DESIGNED BY JÜRGEN HOLTFRETER, 1968

The poster for the *Diagnose* [FIG. 2.10] demonstrated this clearly in its strong anti-National Socialist undertones with the government [*Senat*], speculators [*Spekulanten*], construction companies [*Baugesellschaften*] and architects [*Architekten*] locked in a swastika-like relationship that exerted its domination over the city. The poster was designed by the artist Jürgen Holtfreter, most famous for his political montages in the vein of John Hartfield. Holtfreter's most famous image '*Alle reden vom Wetter. Wir nicht*' [*Everyone talks about the weather. We don't*] (1968), [FIG. 2.11] was designed for the SDS and quickly became a

symbol and catchphrase for the movement at large. Holtfreter was born in Rostock in 1937 and immigrated to West Berlin in 1958 where he is reported to have lived at the SDS headquarters on the Kufürstendamm. He is also reported to have supplied his friends and family in the East with banned literature: ‘Holtfreter [...] remained the go-to guy for a number of different East German political groups when it came to obtaining literature. When he had children in the 1970s, he often smuggled books in their nappies’.⁹⁵ In the *Diagnose* poster, the link to the past is blunt and the intended connotations are clear; the past was not *in* the past, rather, it was inextricably linked to and was exerting its force on the present. The design and potency of the image demonstrates the importance placed on visual imagery in brokering the silence about the inherited past which will be discussed throughout this chapter. The poster successfully conveys the key focus of the exhibition: how the inherited past was affecting the urban landscape of West Berlin. The poster also indicates the extent of the bureaucracy that *Aktion 507* perceived as casting an impenetrable network of entangled interests throughout the planning sector. The connection between the arts and politics was therefore a fundamental action point for the post-war generation. The students were questioning the institution and society that they were training themselves to enter.



FIG. 2.11: JÜRGEN HOLTFRETER (RIGHT) AND ULI BERNHARDT, “EVERYONE TALKS ABOUT THE WEATHER. WE DON’T”, 1968

⁹⁵ James Mark and Anna von der Holtz, ‘Encounters’, in *Europe’s 68: Voices of Revolt*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), pp. 131-63 (p. 138).

As demonstrated by the *Diagnose* poster, society was seen to have become dominated by a preoccupation with profitability and economic success in the form of subsidies, tax breaks and incentives to invest. Caruso commented that the basis of existence was a 'sordid materialism' which recognised 'no other power than money'.⁹⁶ For many, the focus on material wealth and embracing the capitalist ethos was a means of avoiding confronting the past. According to Jakob Nordberg, scholar of German literature, for example, 'democracy was a convenient way to promote material prosperity'.⁹⁷ The key voice of Adorno condemned capitalist society for 'displacing and bewitching usefulness' so that society believed objects were created as necessities whereas they were 'in fact produced for profit's sake; they satisfy human needs only incidentally' and in doing so created new needs which were maintained by the profit motive.⁹⁸ Post-war materialism was therefore charged both with distracting the populace but also with creating a new ideology that provided the motive for all of society's activities.



FIG. 2.12: MARCUSE AT A 'TEACH-IN' AT THE *FREI UNIVERSITÄT*, WEST BERLIN, JULY 1967

⁹⁶ Caruso, 'Psychoanalysis and Society', 29.

⁹⁷ Jakob Norberg, 'Perspectives on Postwar Silence: Psychoanalysis, Political Philosophy, and Economic Theory', *German Politics & Society*, 29 (December 2011), 5.

⁹⁸ Adorno, 'Functionalism Today', (p. 17).

No discussion of the relationship between capitalism and society, especially in the context of the 1960s, would be complete without the inclusion of Marcuse who came to be seen as the 'Father of the New Left' with his seminal publication *One Dimensional Man* (1964). Marcuse wrote extensively about the post-war consumerist culture and the society it came to represent and thus became heavily involved in the global student movement. He spoke at student 'teach-ins' at the FU [FIG. 2.12] and was seen as the intellectual representative of the students' grievances and desires. Students painted "Marx, Mao, Marcuse" on walls, indicating the key place he held within their ideology.⁹⁹ As with the other intellectuals who fed into the 1968 critique, Marcuse saw the processes of capitalism as preventing a critical awareness and positive development of society:

A highly-developed consciousness and imagination may generate a vital need for radical change in advanced material conditions. The power of corporate capitalism has stifled the emergence of such a consciousness and imagination; its mass media have adjusted the rational and emotional faculties to its market and its policies and steered them to defence of its domination.¹⁰⁰

Despite his widespread popularity, surprisingly, the manifesto makes no direct reference to Marcuse's writings but it does use the term "one dimensional" in reference to urban planning objectives and technical rationalisation.¹⁰¹ In *One Dimensional Man*, Marcuse argued that the "other" dimension by which he meant the sphere of higher culture which critiques society, had been incorporated into the 'established order' creating a 'one dimensional' society incapable of critique, which he termed the "co-optation" of the critique.¹⁰² The aspects of society capable of providing a lens through which to see intrinsic issues, most notably the arts, were brought into the realm of culture and reduced to the level of the common denominator, into the form of commodity.¹⁰³

Despite this, and perhaps in retaliation to these claims, there were a number of artists working in West Berlin who deliberately sought to confront capitalism and commercialisation. Wolf Vostell's work *Proposal for an addition to the Museum des 20. Jahrhunderts in Berlin, 1968* [FIG. 2.13] proposed an addition to Mies van der Rohe's *Neue*

⁹⁹ Douglas Kellner, 'Introduction: Radical Politics, Marcuse, and the New Left', in *The New Left and the 1960s: Collected Papers of Herbert Marcuse*, ed. by Douglas Kellner (London: Routledge, 2005), pp. 1-37 (p. 7).

¹⁰⁰ Herbert Marcuse, *An Essay on Liberation*, (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969), p. 9.

¹⁰¹ Aktion 507, 'Manifest', (p. 148).

¹⁰² Marcuse, *One Dimensional Man*, p. 60.

¹⁰³ Ibid. p. 61.

Nationalgalerie which was completed in 1968 and officially opened as part of the 1968 *Berliner Bauwochen*.



FIG. 2.13: WOLF VOSTELL, *PROPOSAL FOR AN ADDITION TO THE MUSEUM DES 20. JAHRHUNDERTS IN BERLIN*, 1968

The proposed addition was a gigantic electric mixer poised precariously on top of the roof of the museum. The work suggests that the most prized artworks of the twentieth century, rather than being works by the most notable artists, were rather mass-produced household appliances. The scale also suggests something of the dominance of materialistic concerns and the productivity of the housewife had over more meaningful cultural forms. Within the capitalist system, Marcuse identified the new technological situation as having undermined the very basis of artistic alienation by invalidating ‘the very substance of art’.¹⁰⁴ Vostell’s proposal indicates this reduction in the power of art to its economic and use value.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid.

The new generation were firmly connected to the cultural sphere and West Berlin played a key part in fostering an art scene. Financially during the period of the Cold War, 'state funds continued to be distributed liberally for cultural projects' which combined with the unique situation to create distinctive artistic outputs.¹⁰⁵ René Block's gallery fostered key players in the new generation of artists keen on expressing the current cultural climate. Block (1942-) grew up in Düsseldorf and was inspired to move to Berlin in the summer of 1963 after reading Döblin's *Alexanderplatz*.¹⁰⁶ Block opened *Galerie Block* (1964-79) at the age of twenty-two in a basement at 18 Frobenstraße in the Schöneberg district of Berlin. He stated that his initial objective was of necessity due to the 'insular situation' in West Berlin which 'lacked confrontations and explorations of the immediate artistic present'.¹⁰⁷ Block saw the function of his gallery as a moral institution which aimed at reflecting the, sometimes difficult, social and political concerns of the period.¹⁰⁸

The arts were therefore seen as the place where the contradictions within society could be worked through; where the truth could be presented through aesthetics. There was a general consensus by the younger generation that if art could not be justified by political engagement that it was no longer worthy of pursuit.¹⁰⁹ As modern art was deemed "degenerate" by the National Socialists it was adopted as the national style by governments in both East and West Germany. This appropriation of modern art was intended to distinguish the new governments from their predecessors and placed them as the antithesis to what had preceded them. Modern art therefore, was not the anti-establishment outlet the new generation needed, and so new modes of artistic expression were developed. Physically, the students were surrounded by the re-building of the city in the wake of the war and would have been constantly reminded of the destruction the past had wrought on the city and society. Thus, the issue of the inherited past was something that the students could not and did not want to ignore, with the consequences of National Socialism being commonly used as a metaphor for many of society's ills. One of the biggest

¹⁰⁵ Claudia Mesch, 'Modern Art at the Berlin Wall: Demarcating Culture in the Cold War Germanys', (London: Tauris, 2009), (p. 69).

¹⁰⁶ See Alfred Döblin, *Berlin Alexanderplatz: Die Geschichte Vom Franz Biberkopf*, (Berlin: Fischer, 1929).

¹⁰⁷ Sylvia Ruttimann and Karin Seinsoth, 'An Interview with René Block', *ONCURATING.org*, (April 2014), 73.

¹⁰⁸ Dietmar Elger, *Gerhard Richter: A Life in Painting*, (London: University of Chicago Press 2009), p. 76.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.* p. 153.

questions which concerned the new generation was why there had not been a greater dialogue or reaction after the fall of the Third Reich, and the arts aided the discussion.

In *Die Unfähigkeit zu trauern* [The Inability to Mourn] (1967), Alexander and Margarete Mitscherlich argued that the reason the new generation had to confront the past, was due to the “weak ego” of the previous generation which meant their character had merely been assimilated by National Socialism.¹¹⁰ This caused the individual to identify with Hitler, but not to have developed true feelings and so the loss of the leader was met with indifference.¹¹¹ The solution was therefore that the Germans had to express their reasons for supporting Hitler in order to overcome their inability to discuss or deal with the repercussions.¹¹² Clearly, a discussion of Hitler’s merits would have been almost impossible in post-war Germany, nevertheless there was a concern regarding the lack of working through of the past and a belief that in order to move forward, the past had to be addressed. This generation condemned the older generation in their blind continuation of daily life, and instead wanted to directly confront problems rather than focusing on daily tasks and the pursuit of materialism which was seen to divert attention from necessary analysis. Many of the younger generation therefore directly instigated activities that would force a discussion, critical analysis and confrontation with the past.

¹¹⁰ Alexander Mitscherlich and Margarete Mitscherlich, *Die Unfähigkeit zu trauern: Grundlagen Kollektiven Verhaltens*, (München: Piper, 1970).

¹¹¹ Norberg, ‘Perspectives on Postwar Silence’, 6-7.

¹¹² *Ibid.* p. 7.

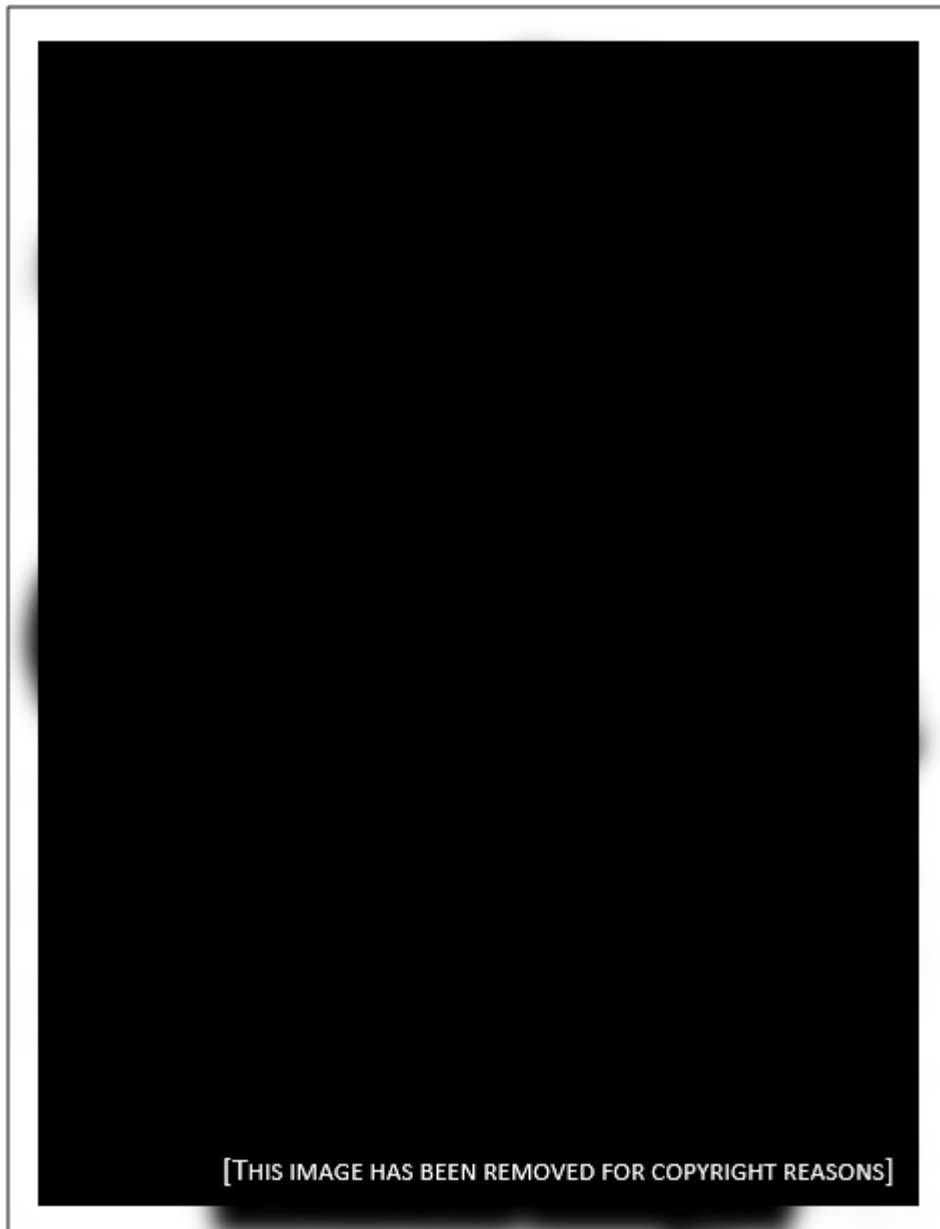


FIG. 2.14: BERNHARD HÖKE, *ANTI-NAZI SPRAY*, 1968

In 1967, the *Hommage à Lidice* [Homage to Lidice] exhibition was held at Galerie Block in memorial to the massacre perpetrated by the National Socialists in 1942 where all inhabitants of the Czech town were murdered, and the village razed to the ground. In 1967 the British 'Lidice Shall Live' Committee asked artists to donate artworks to a memorial museum and René Block curated the work of twenty-one invited artists in Berlin.¹¹³ The exhibition invited artists who had a particular relationship with the National Socialist atrocities, both in order to memorialise one of the many vanished towns but also to

¹¹³ Ulrike Andres, 'Ich kenne kein Weekend: The Archive and Collection of René Block', (Berlin: Berlinische Galerie, 11 September 2015), (p. 3).

contribute to a new beginning.¹¹⁴ Works included painting, found objects, assemblage, and “object painting”, such as Bernhard Höke’s *Anti-Nazi Spray* (1968) [FIG. 2.14].¹¹⁵

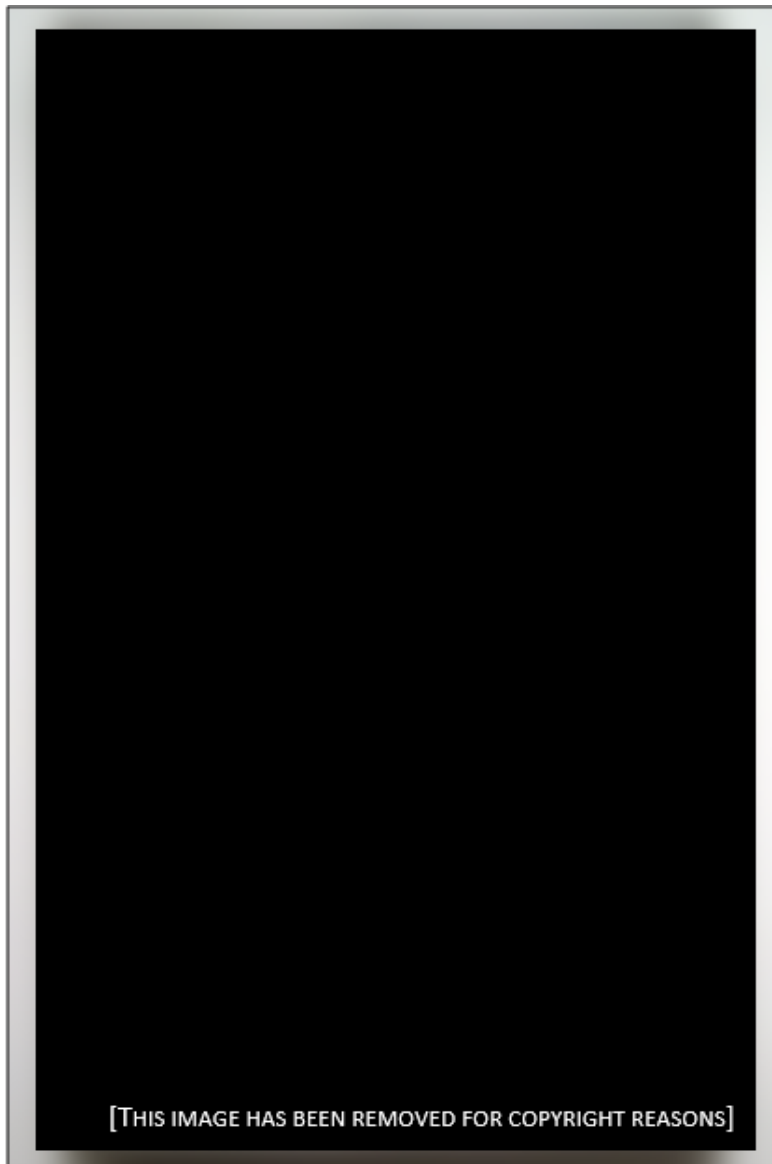


FIG. 2.15:
GERHARD RICHTER,
UNCLE RUDI, 1965

One of the most notable images included in the collection was Gerhard Richter’s *Onkel Rudi* [Uncle Rudi] (1965) [FIG. 2.15]. *Onkel Rudi* shows Richter’s Uncle Rudolf Schönfelder standing upright and smiling in his Wehrmacht officer’s uniform, before his death during the early days of the war.¹¹⁶ Richter recalled having felt compelled and proud to donate the work and saw the appropriateness of his painting in directly confronting difficult and contemporary issues such as both individual and collective responsibility for the National

¹¹⁴ Mesch, ‘Modern Art at the Berlin Wall’, (p. 52).

¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ Elger, *Gerhard Richter: A Life in Painting*, p. 140.

Socialist atrocities.¹¹⁷ This was a collective working through events which saw the beginnings of a generation coming to terms with their inherited past. The direct connection between Richter and the National Socialist officer in the painting forced the connection between fascism and the current generation, and suggested that accountability now lay in the hands of this post-war society.¹¹⁸

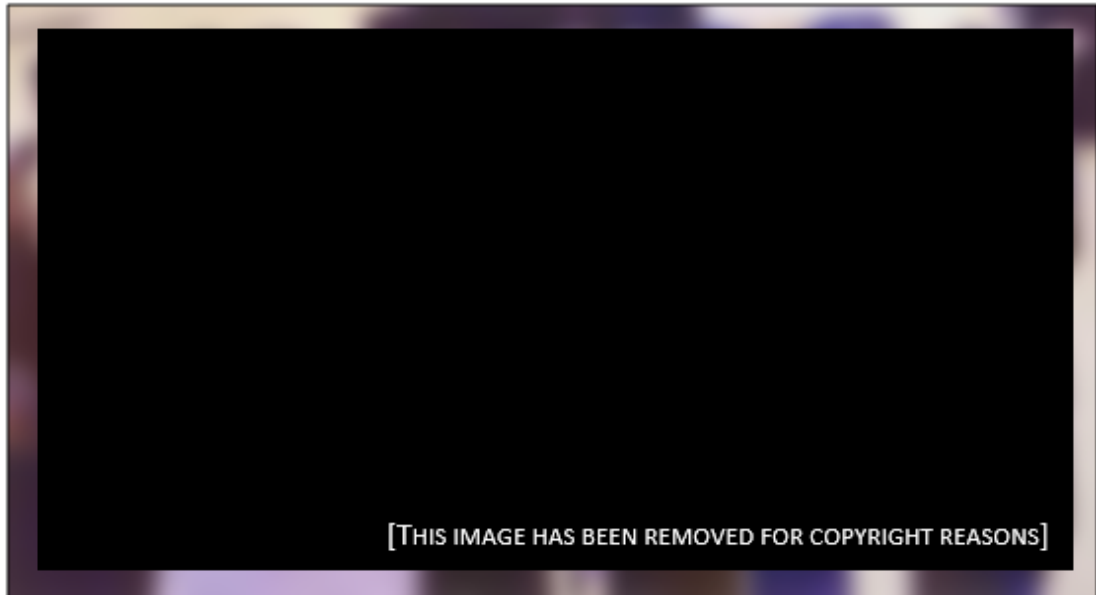


FIG. 2.16: ULRICH BAEHT, *FRIES FÜR LIEBERHABER*, 1965

Work exhibited by the members of *Großgörschen 35* (see p. 253) in their use of a disused factory as their studio, directly confronted the National Socialist past and attempted to develop new modes of artistic expression. The first exhibition at the gallery included works by founding members, such as *Fries für Lieberhaber* [Frieze for Lovers] by Ulrich Baecht [Fig. 2.16], who modified a still from a National Socialist propaganda recording.¹¹⁹ Art therefore became a place where difficult subjects could be confronted and the spaces within the city had an instrumental effect in instigating that dialogue. Re-using disused, historic buildings was seen as an autonomous and subversive act; the artists were engaged in reclaiming both the city and its history.

¹¹⁷ Ibid. p. 144.

¹¹⁸ Ibid.

¹¹⁹ Mareike Nieberding, 'Grundstein für Kunst-Berlin: als sich die Künstler selber halfen', *Der Spiegel*, (10 June 2014) <<http://www.spiegel.de/kultur/gesellschaft/galerie-grossgoerschen-35-ausstellung-im-haus-am-kleistpark-in-berlin-a-974220.html>> [accessed 19 November 2015].



FIG. 2.17: “UNDER THE ROBES, THE MUSTINESS OF 1000 YEARS”, HAMBURG, 9 NOVEMBER 1967

One of the major issues for the student population was that ‘former Nazis were still in positions of power, and the population was still adhering to authoritarian patterns of behaviour’.¹²⁰ The demonstrators saw this as indicative of an inauthentic society which was attempting to deny its past. As *Kommune Eins* pleaded in 1967: ‘Berliner, do not let yourself be deceived!’¹²¹ Many of the students grew up with parents who remained silent about the events leading up to World War Two and these students then saw this reflected in society at large. This generation, who were born in the 1940s and entered university in the 1960s were much more critically engaged with Germany’s past and could see its ramifications everywhere. Ulrike Meinhof (journalist and later member of the Baader-Meinhof Gang) commented in her 1961 article ‘Hitler Within You’ that:

this generation...has grown up with and into the arguments of the present, entangled in the blame for something it is not responsible for [however this cannot] be used as an instrument by those who want to refuse young people the right to have their say about history.¹²²

This highlights the emphasis that was placed upon revoking the silence regarding the past as a means of reclaiming a sense of agency. As the historian Wilfried Mausbach asserted, this idea of cultural and historical identity is ‘grounded in space and time’; by retelling our

¹²⁰ Cornils, ‘The Struggle Continues’, (p. 101).

¹²¹ FUAB, Kommune I/1967/Box 433/26 pp. Kommune I. Leaflet entitled: Muss sich der AStA ändern, damit diese Universität erträglich wird?, 24 May 1967, p. 11.

¹²² Ulrike Meinhof, ‘Hitler within You [1961]’, in *Everybody Talks About the Weather... We Don’t: The Writings of Ulrike Meinhof*, (New York: Seven Stories, 2008), pp. 138-43 (p. 138).

past we explain who we are.¹²³ In the same vein, the APO coined the motto: “*Unter den Talaren - Muff von 1000 Jahren*” [“Under the Robes, the Mustiness of a 1000 Years”], which Mohr commented also hid ‘former Nazis, hypocrites and followers, spin doctors and apologists of Nazi terror’ [Fig. 2.17].¹²⁴ A flyer also indicates the confrontation between the students and the right-wing Springer press as a continuation of themes from the preceding political system with the Springer Offices indicated with a swastika:



FIG. 2.18: LEAFLET CALLING FOR A DEMONSTRATION AGAINST THE SPRINGER PRESS, 1968

Equally, the anger the students had regarding the fact that former National Socialists were still present in governing institutions was palpable and stood as an indicator of the myriad of issues the students identified within society. In a flyer distributed in May 1968, students asked the question: ‘Today! Germany’s past is a threat to our future?’ and a date and time is given for a discussion at the TU Audimax ‘about the dangers of Neo-Nazism’.¹²⁵

The second Auschwitz Trial (1963-7), which saw the prosecution of twenty-two people for their role in the Holocaust, caused the emergence of more critical left-wing groups and a

¹²³ Wilfried Mausbach, ‘America’s Vietnam in Germany - Germany in America’s Vietnam: On the Relocation of Spaces and the Appropriation of History’, in *Changing the World, Changing Oneself: Political Protest and Collective Identities in West Germany and the U.S. In the 1960s and 1970s*, ed. by ed. by Belinda Davis , Wilfried Mausbach, Martin Klimke and Carla MacDougall (New York: Berghan Books, 2010), pp. 41-64 (p. 43).

¹²⁴ Reinhard Mohr, ‘Die Liebe zur Revolution, in *1968, Die Revolte*, ed. by Daniel Cohn-Bendit and Rudiger Dammann (Frankfurt am Main: S. Fischer, 2007), pp. 19-46 (p. 24).

¹²⁵ UTUB, Berlin/Flugblätter 1968-9/n.p. AStA der TU. Flyer, May 1968.

claim by the SDS that it was 'carrying on the anti-fascist struggle'.¹²⁶ This trial was seen by members of the movement as indicative of a morally corrupt society, as too few people were impeached and those who were prosecuted were identified as scapegoats for society as a whole. Meinhof for example, stated: 'when the perpetrators of crimes are let off, the people become criminals'.¹²⁷ The only way to address the issue of a National Socialist legacy was to engage in a collective coming to terms with the past; 'a *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*...The sins of the parent were to be faced'.¹²⁸ After the attempted assassination of Rudi Dutschke on 11 April 1968, a pamphlet issued by the *Sozialistische Jugend Deutschlands* [The Socialist Youth of Germany or SJD] stated that: 'The fascist potential in this city is mobilised'.¹²⁹ This indicates the constant presence of the National Socialist past within the context of the student movement, both politically and intellectually.

¹²⁶ Winter, *Dreams of Peace and Freedom*, p. 148. Winter, *Dreams of Peace and Freedom*, p. 148.

¹²⁷ Ulrike Meinhof, 'Dresden [1965]', in *Everybody Talks About the Weather...We Don't: The Writings of Ulrike Meinhof*, (New York: Seven Stories, 2008), pp. 134-37 (p. 137).

¹²⁸ Winter, *Dreams of Peace and Freedom*, p. 148.

¹²⁹ FUAB, Berlin/Flugblätter, Zeitungsausschnitte, Ahentat Sristchulke Diverses/1968/Box 4/n.p. Sozialistische Jugend Deutschlands. Leaflet entitled: SJD-Die-Falken – Landesverband Berlin, 12 April 1968.

SECTION 2.2.B THE PREVALENCE OF PSYCHOANALYSIS IN POST-WAR GERMANY

It was thought that by understanding the psyche which allowed for the National Socialist atrocities to occur, then it would be possible to prevent something similar from happening again. *Aktion 507* referenced Claus Offe in his belief that 'the considerable potential for social changes lies in the psyche'.¹³⁰ This fed into extensive intellectual effort in post-war Germany that was placed in trying to understand a society which enabled a National Socialist government. The key thread to this understanding was in the study of the psyche. By understanding how the individual was affected by society it would also be possible to create urban environments which were more able to allow for the development of a critically engaged populace. *Aktion 507* summarised their reading of the contemporary situation:

To summarise: essentially the differences between the statements are as follows: while architects consciously and unconsciously conceal and gloss over difficulties, residents' statements demonstrate their social isolation and their open aggression. While the architects constantly talk of sun and orientation, residents complain of unbearable noise, stench, and draft.

Finally, the architects conjure a concept of the individual and society, that makes a mockery of any notion of a democratic public. It escapes them that for the residents, society has meanwhile developed as a purely economic system of control, and equally that fellow humans are the controllers in this milieu. The individual, for whom the architect fights, materialises as one, in whose incapacitation they play a significant part.

A loss of reality and the architects' related stereotypical thinking, aggression and associated isolation amongst the residents, are dimensions of a scale established by Adorno and colleagues with socio-psychological research methods, in order to determine anti-democratic character structures. (7)

[...]

Given the unambiguity of the remarks if assessed against the anti-democratic scale, it is necessary to use an apparatus developed from the local conditions, in order to release the social contradiction, which in our situation of advanced prosperity lies primarily in the psyche (4) in order to facilitate social changes.¹³¹

¹³⁰ *Aktion 507*, 'Manifest', (p. 47).

Aktion 507 are referencing (7) Theodor W. Adorno, *The Authoritarian Personality*, (New York: Science Editions, 1964). And (4) Claus Offe, 'Technology and One-Dimensionality: A Version of the Technocracy Thesis?', in *Critical Theory and the Promise of Utopia*, ed. by Robert Pippin, Andrew Feenberg, and Charles P. Weber (London: Macmillan Education, 1988), pp. 215-24.

¹³¹ *Aktion 507*, 'Manifest', (pp. 46-7).

The key place that understanding the psyche played in the development of more satisfactory living conditions is therefore evident. There was a strong concern for the impact on those who inhabited the perceived dishonest modern architecture. Writing in 1933, Benjamin charged glass as the 'enemy of secrets' which forced the individual to retreat into themselves due to the fact that personalisation of space, which Benjamin believed came naturally to individuals, was prevented and so personality became internal and something to be ashamed of.¹³² The students condemned new glass constructions such as the Europa Center on the Kufürstendamm in the centre of Berlin's shopping district as demonstrating the contradictions between various social groups.¹³³ For the cultural critic, Kracauer, in his work *Strassen in Berlin* (1964) the Kufürstendamm was devoid of both historical and psychological memory:

Elsewhere, the past clings to the places where it resided during its lifetime; on the Kufürstendamm it departs without leaving so much as a trace. Since I have known it, it has changed fundamentally again and again in no time at all. The new businesses are always brand new and those they expel are always wholly obliterated.¹³⁴

The processes called into question by Kracauer were not just that new buildings were reflective of a modern alienation but the constant changing of the cityscape erased the memory of the spaces and exacerbated the feeling of anonymity and confusion in the metropolis.

For the sociologist Anselm Strauss, writing in 1976, an uncertainty about the character of the environment would 'only engender deep psychological stress' and it is this which was of primary concern to many in the post-war period.¹³⁵ This was echoed in a *Der Spiegel* article from 1969 concerning housing construction:

Breakdown of social control mechanisms, abandoning of traditional city structures, renouncing an aesthetically reasonable living environment - these are widely the results of the German reconstruction after the Second World War.¹³⁶

¹³² Walter Benjamin, 'Experience and Poverty', in *Selected Writings*, ed. by Michael W. Jennings, Howard Eiland, and Gary Smith (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), pp. 731-36 (p. 734).

¹³³ Aktion 507, 'Manifest', (p. 31).

¹³⁴ Quoted and translated in Graeme Gilloch, 'Impromptus of a Great City', in *Tracing Modernity: Manifestations of the Modern in Architecture and the City*, ed. by Mari Hvattum and Christian Hermansen (London: Routledge, 2004), pp. 291-306 (p. 300); Siegfried Kracauer, *Strassen in Berlin und Anderswo*, (Berlin: Arsenal, 1987), p. 51.

¹³⁵ Anselm Strauss, *Images of the American City*, (New Brunswick: Transaction Books, 1976), p. 17.

¹³⁶ 'Es bröckelt', p. 41.

Florian Urban further elucidated that *Aktion 507* adhered to the long-standing cultural tradition that the life of a city-dweller was determined by the physical characteristics of their environment.¹³⁷ Particularly in Berlin, there is a tradition of intellectuals feeling compelled to write about the city's characteristics as reflective of the society it supports; Walter Benjamin, Bertolt Brecht and Siegfried Kracauer being key examples. In the 1960s, considerations of the city dweller continued to develop in relation to the changing post-war cityscapes. For Kracauer, post-World War One Berlin was haunted by the alienated modern condition which left inhabitants lonely, empty, lacking in social cohesion, without community, and devoid of meaning and hope due to a 'disenchanted, functionalised, mechanised modernity'.¹³⁸ It is this combination of concern surrounding urban planning practices coupled with the concern for the psyche of the city dweller that became a main priority for post-war critics. The impact on the psyche in the context of new functionalist housing estates was seen to be particularly significant; the 'disintegration of the urban region into autonomous individual functions', meant that information was received by the citizen second and third hand rather than through direct experience.¹³⁹ This reliance on external sources of information (see Section 1.3.A) was seen to lead to a decrease in a critical consideration of existence. Mitscherlich termed this a 'degradation in affective behaviour' which he believed was a decisive factor as 'stagnation can only have an unfavourable effect on an increase in critical consciousness'.¹⁴⁰ Mitscherlich quantified this by saying that if the individual showed no interest in connecting to the environment then there will be no passion for design and therefore no 'problem-orientated consciousness'.¹⁴¹

The study of the psyche was also used as a means to rationalise the behaviour of the German nation as a whole and was, in some instances, used to negate responsibility. For example, in order to create a distance between the individual and the crimes of National Socialism, studies and interest in animal behaviour as a means to understand past events became popular in the West German media. In 1963 *Das sogenannte Böse: Zur Naturgeschichte der Aggression* [The So-Called Evil: On the Natural History of Aggression] by the animal behaviourist Konrad Lorenzer was highly influential and identified aggression as a universal trait which effected animals just as much as humans i.e. it was not a

¹³⁷ Urban, 'Märkisches Viertel', (p. 194).

¹³⁸ Gilloch, 'Impromptus of a Great City', (p. 295).

¹³⁹ Berndt, 'Funktionalismus', (p. 32).

¹⁴⁰ Mitscherlich, *Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte*, p. 41.

¹⁴¹ Ibid.

characteristic that applied only to Germans.¹⁴² For *Aktion 507*, the behavioural traits of fascism were directly linked to contemporary problems within society, as well as to the problems within the urban environment:

Historical Excursus: Urban Planning and Alienation

The realisation of consciousness of alienation resulting from the physical suffering of the working class was the start of a social solution to the contradiction between the productive forces of monopoly capitalism and its modes of production.

Fascism has obscured this conflict founded upon class consciousness by alienating it through the ideology of the petty bourgeoisie, which presupposes that the ruled identify with the rulers.

The properties of the sado-masochistic character type resulting from this ideology are known, described by Freud, Fromm and others as – love of order, a sense of honour and duty, an outward ostentatiousness, social encapsulation, lack of criticism. The real consequences of the mass psychological alienation mechanism are known. The pent-up aggression in the unresolved conflicts erupted with fascism in cruelty and obedience.¹⁴³

Aktion 507 therefore charged a deep-set frustration within society as a catalytic factor in the growth of the appeal of National Socialism. In contrast, Konrad Lorenzer's theories claimed that aggression was a "good" force which formed the basis for all cultural processes.¹⁴⁴ The New Leftists rebelled against this concept in that it negated any responsibility and reduced individuals to pawns, at the mercy of their urges. Instead, critics used Freud's concept of aggression to try to understand how the individual was manipulated by society and encouraged to violence.¹⁴⁵ Following on from Freud's psychoanalysis in the twenties, aggression was seen as the underlying factor which was somehow latent in the population and had been released under National Socialism. *Aktion 507* summarised:

Other people however, are steered by external aggression. It arouses fear in them that makes them incapable of action. They immediately experience aggression excessively because permanently working on repressing their own unintegrated aggression sensitised them towards any sign of attack. The paralysis with which they face external acts of aggression, makes them weak, defenceless or too amiable. Genetically speaking, their fear is not caused by the threat of being overwhelmed by external reality, but is much rather a

¹⁴² See Konrad Lorenz, *Das Sogenannte Böse: Zur Naturgeschichte Der Aggression*, (Wien: G. Borotha-Schoeler, 1973).

¹⁴³ *Aktion 507*, 'Manifest', (pp. 31-2).

¹⁴⁴ Dagmar Herzog, 'On Aggression: Psychoanalysis as Moral Politics in Post-Nazi Germany', *Max Weber Lecture Series*, (10 December 2014), 2.

¹⁴⁵ *Ibid.* p. 5.

matter of their own unresolved aggression. They are the ones that the cannot hold their ground against the authorities; a large part of the conformists, “other-directed” people to quote David Riesman, belong to this group.

The opposite type would be those who experience of external aggression amplifies the reactive pressure of the internal aggression, leading to an explosion, an explosion that then resumes in a chain reaction of reciprocating aggressive acts. Such people make the contingent of “trouble-makers” who are in perpetual conflict with the authorities. But even with them it occurs only as an acting-out, as an everlasting feud, rather than actual activity.” (Mitscherlich, 1958)¹⁴⁶

The anti-social behaviour of the inhabitants of the post-war satellite housing settlements was a key and highly reported characteristic. Here *Aktion 507*, using Mitscherlich as a basis for their understanding, concluded that the “trouble-makers” in districts such as the Märkisches Viertel were acting out an eternal feud against the authorities due to a suppression of aggression; the same suppressed aggression that was understood to have been unleashed in fascism. The effect of the new satellite districts was seen to be indiscriminate: *Der Spiegel* quoted a doctor working in the Märkisches Viertel: ‘young people come with symptoms such as irritability, restlessness, insomnia, heart palpitations, dizziness and stomach pains which have no medical source’ and were instead caused by ‘isolation, uprooting, and considerable aggressive potential against anonymous magistrates’.¹⁴⁷ *Aktion 507* also drew attention to the theory that the individual faced acts of aggression with paralysis due to their inability to deal with their own internally unresolved aggression; a potential reason for the lack of action taken against the National Socialist regime.

¹⁴⁶ *Aktion 507*, ‘Manifest’, (p. 39).

Aktion 507 are quoting from Alexander Mitscherlich, ‘Aggression und Anpassung (II)’, *Psyche - Zeitschrift für Psychoanalyse*, 12 (1958).

David Riesman (1909-2002) was an American sociologist who wrote *The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character*, published in 1950 and concerned with the coercive nature of life in American suburbia. He theorised that post-war society encouraged the individual to abandon their “inner-directed” nature and focus on the “other-directed” (i.e. relinquish their internal desires and take on the same desires as those around them).

¹⁴⁷ ‘Es bröckelt’, p. 41.

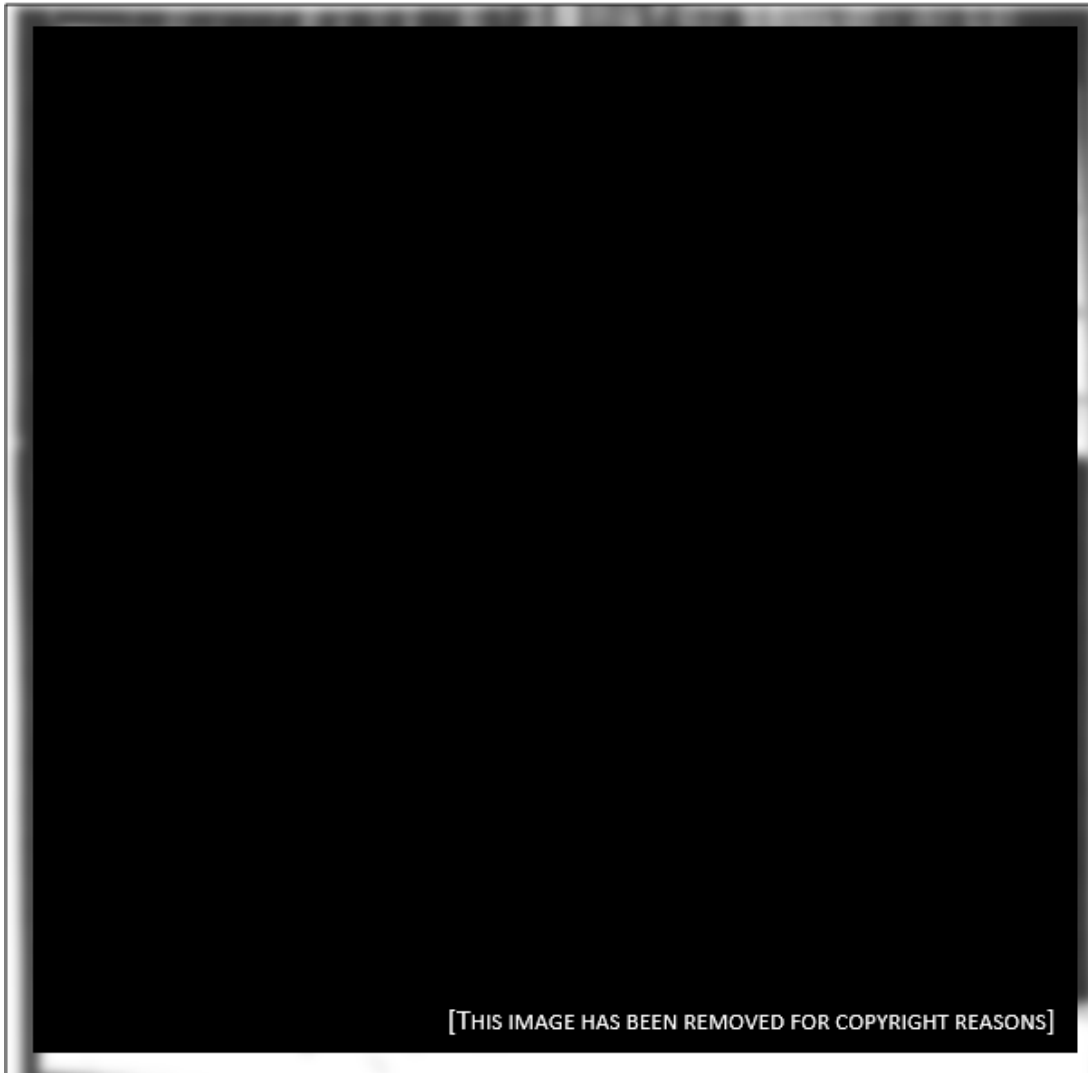


Fig. 2.19: PHOTOGRAPHS OF DIAGNOSE EXHIBITION PANELS, “ADAPTATION, ALIENATION”, 1968

Aktion 507 linked the repressed citizen and their resultant “aggression” to the operations of capitalism and used Pollock to enforce their belief in the repressive forces of this economic system:

In parallel, the development of technology goes through automation, necessarily resulting in the “... separation of all employees into (two groups) the minority which carries out the essential functions of production and administration and the “professionals”, who based on their social status also belong to the grey majority, who have nothing but run-of-the-mill qualifications and who are incapable of understanding the functioning of economy and society, and who on top of that mainly carry out “unproductive” labour in the sense used by classical economics” (Pollock, 1957). Pollock establishes the consequence: “The concentration of power in the minority as well as the human impoverishment of the majority will inevitably create the full completion of the development, indicating the point at which the transition would become an authoritarian social system.” (Pollock, 1957).

Politics that is unaware of these consequences, has the task of passively balancing the diverging interests of, as Pollock calls them, “officers”, who are “accessories of the machine” and those that will do the dirty work that will not be abolished in fifty years. “The institutions of political decision making are organised as a ring of power groups, their influence simply consists of a less active representation of specific interests, so that they can refuse certain demands and requirements of sanctions on the basis of their economic power and its importance for the survival of the whole system, which makes the political task of prudent crisis management and long-term prevention strategy un-accomplishable. In this framework of economic power groups two political complexes of systemic risk arise that need to be masked by the political centre:

1) the risk of economic crisis and growth failure

2) the risk of uncontrolled establishing of motives and interpretation of needs, which would jeopardise the high demand for legitimacy of the political system and economic institutions.” (Bergmann et al, 1969)

The second risk refers to the new quality of the opposition:

“...the new definition of the conflict, whose dominant front is no longer between social classes, but rather it is now between reified rationality and latent human needs... The system of needs, the binding starting point of every (theory), shifts from the sphere of political economy into the psychoanalytic.” (Offe, 1988)¹⁴⁸

It was the powerlessness, instigated by a competitive and technological society which was seen to exacerbate the human trait of aggression as well as negating the capacity of the individual for political resistance.¹⁴⁹ Caruso commented that capitalism itself was not neurotic, but rather was ‘anachronistic and unjust’ which consequently caused an environment to develop which is ‘particularly conducive to neuroses’.¹⁵⁰ The perceived danger of “one-dimensional” social systems such as the one evidenced by the Märkisches Viertel, was that they were detrimental to the earliest impulses of excitement which caused the development of the submissive individual in their unquestioning adaptation to the bleak “one-dimensionally” functionalised landscapes.¹⁵¹

The authoritarian state was therefore understood by its critics to have negated the possibility for opposition and prevented the incorporation of the human element into the historical development of society. The philosopher and sociologist, Max Horkheimer resisted pressure to publish his earlier works which analysed how to deal with the National

¹⁴⁸ Aktion 507, ‘Manifest’, (pp. 32-3).

¹⁴⁹ Herzog, ‘On Aggression: Psychoanalysis as Moral Politics in Post-Nazi Germany’, 6.

¹⁵⁰ Caruso, ‘Psychoanalysis and Society’, 26.

¹⁵¹ Berndt, ‘Funktionalismus’, (pp. 40-1).

Socialist past, however the students then pirated editions of these works in the mid-1960s.¹⁵² Horkheimer's 1940 essay *The Authoritarian State*, for example, was widely circulated by students due to its analysis of bourgeois society as a perceived method of domination.¹⁵³ The text discussed the capitalist understanding of the individual as an object and that 'integration is the price which individuals and groups have to pay in order to flourish under capitalism'.¹⁵⁴ This domination of the general public by those at the top of a hierarchical society was not something which was believed to have ended with the conclusion of the war. The "modes of repression" were seen to have merely been transformed, as *Aktion 507* elucidated:

Society in Germany after the war has not broken down this ideology. It has not remembered the conflict, whose fading remembrance it caused through a lack of awareness about the disguised contradiction of late capitalism. Rather, the post-war society is based on the same ideology of the petty bourgeoisie, in so far as its aggression potential is discharged by re-introjecting the Führer-ideal into anti-Communism, through political indifference and the ensuing infantilisation of the masses by ideas of prosperity and the balancing mechanism of mass communication. "Rather than mourning to cope with the murder of the Jews, processing the issue was made taboo. This results in political indifference as an affectively employed avoidance attitude and the impossibility of dealing with antiquated roles (such as: government/the governed as oppressors/rebels or leader/followers) which determine our political atmosphere". (von Baeyer-Katte, n.d.)¹⁵⁵

The quote from von Baeyer-Katte that *Aktion 507* integrate into their manifesto demonstrated their concern with the propagation of previous social norms which they understood as having had a profoundly negative impact on the individual. The "inability to mourn", as the Mitscherlichs titled their 1967 work, was believed to assert itself in an apathetic society who wanted to avoid dealing with the past, as well as preventing any critical analysis of social roles.¹⁵⁶ Mitscherlich declared that it was the rigidity of this

¹⁵² John Abromeit, 'The Limits of Praxis: The Social-Psychological Foundations of Theodor Adorno's and Herbert Marcuse's Interpretations of the 1960s Protest Movements', in *Changing the World, Changing Oneself: Political Protest and Collective Identities in West Germany and the U.S. In the 1960s and 1970s* ed. by Belinda Davis, et al. (New York Berghahn Books, 2010), pp. 13-40 (p. 20).

¹⁵³ See Max Horkheimer, 'The Authoritarian State', in *The Essential Frankfurt School Reader*, ed. by Andrew Arato and Eike Gebhardt (New York: Continuum, 1982 [1940]), pp. 95-117.

¹⁵⁴ Ibid. p. 99.

¹⁵⁵ *Aktion 507*, 'Manifest', (pp. 32-3).

¹⁵⁶ See Mitscherlich and Mitscherlich, *Die Unfähigkeit zu trauern: Grundlagen kollektiven Verhaltens*.

attitude that impeded the adaptation of individuals to new living conditions and uses the example of land owners to illustrate this:

the one who, by possession of urban land or even by land speculation, causes the most immediate damage to his fellow citizens, seeks not only rational arguments in order to defend his attitude but also to interfere with his unconscious feeling of guilt.¹⁵⁷

The feeling of guilt was deemed to be unconscious due to the fact that individuals had surrendered themselves to the “apparatus” of society, and this “apparatus” also assumed the role of moral agent.¹⁵⁸ Responsibility was therefore displaced from individual to society and affected individuals were prevented from action due to an ever-increasing dependency. The ‘Consequences of the Increasing Basic Rent’, as identified by *Aktion 507*, for example, were that the tenant became more and more dependent on the owner as increases in land value were born by the tenant.¹⁵⁹ They continue that the impact of high land value was the construction of small apartments which resulted in the slums of the future: ‘the inflated rents are the link in a spiral without end’.¹⁶⁰ In their interviews with *Aktion 507*, the residents of the Märkisches Viertel commented that the struggles in paying the rent overshadowed all other aspects of their lives:

...young people are already beggars, they are educated by housing benefit...the rent consumes them so that they no longer consider their livelihood...

...what they have at all as a way of control, you do not know at all, they must have some control and they will have it, but what kind of control, you do not know...

...with the rent, they push us down further, child benefit is spent on rent, anyhow it all contradicts itself, they give us something then take that from us, who should we believe now? The actual costs always stay the same, they can rotate them as they want.

...the people are forced dictatorially here so they give the money they earn back again, which is not enough to pay Father State, where lies the sense?

...they only have to pay rent here and we live as prisoners...¹⁶¹

What was seen as a deliberate repression of those residents who were kept in a loop of economic desperation was deemed to be for an obvious political benefit: ‘anyone who lives

¹⁵⁷ Mitscherlich, *Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte*, pp. 150-1.

¹⁵⁸ Marcuse, *One Dimensional Man*, pp. 82-3.

¹⁵⁹ *Aktion 507*, ‘Manifest’, (p. 17).

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

in their own house, and who is month after month paying off debt, is in no mood for strikes or political insubordination'.¹⁶² Architecture was therefore seen as a means through which to dominate the populace and to distract their attention from becoming actively critical about their social situation.



Fig. 2.20: ADOLF ARNDT, SPEECH ON STATUTE OF NAZI CRIMES, 10 MARCH 1965

Aktion 507 referenced the speech '*Demokratie als Bauherr*' [Democracy as Builder] which was delivered by Adolf Arndt at the opening of the 1960 *Berliner Bauwochen*. As well as Horkheimer, Arndt also referred to the "authoritarian state" and the geometric architecture it produced as based 'on a person on a grid who does not exist, the architecture of totalitarian powers dominates the unconscious which erodes society to become one with the state'.¹⁶³ Much of this erosion was seen to have been achieved with the acceptance and development of capitalism and escalated under National Socialism. Resistance within the individual was believed to have been gradually corroded so that 'the organism is being preconditioned for the spontaneous acceptance of what is offered'.¹⁶⁴ In the same way that Mitscherlich's critiques of urban planning were popularised by the media, his studies on psychoanalysis and their ties to National Socialism were also widely circulated. For example, when he won the Peace Prize at the Frankfurt Book Trade in 1969, his speech '*Über Feindseligkeit und hergestellte Dummheit*' [On Hostility and Manmade Stupidity] was

¹⁶² 'Es bröckelt', p. 52.

¹⁶³ Arndt, 'Demokratie als Bauherr', (pp. 224-5).

¹⁶⁴ Marcuse, *One Dimensional Man*, p. 77.

published in full in *Der Spiegel*.¹⁶⁵ The key theme was concerned with the aforementioned idea of 'socially induced aggression'.¹⁶⁶ The solution, according to Mitscherlich, was that:

It is necessary, therefore, to fight your stupidity, which is often cultivated in ignorance and unconsciousness, as one of the most essential tasks of assuring peace.¹⁶⁷

In relation to concepts from Freud and psychoanalysis, blind acceptance and neurotic behaviour was understood as a protest against acceptance and adaptation to contemporary morality. In the manifesto, *Aktion 507* referenced Igor Caruso's 'Psychoanalysis and Society' (1965) and his belief that the novelty of psychoanalysis lay in the fact that individuals were studied in relation to the world and the way they modify and are modified by contemporary society.¹⁶⁸ As a result, psychoanalysis was understood as being both dialectical and social. Every neurosis was described by Caruso as being 'comparable to a work of art' in the sense that it was indicative of both the author and the epoch in which it was created.¹⁶⁹ The loss of the aura in the arts meant that there was a superficial construction of the personality in both the idealisation of the soldier and the cult of the leader in fascism.¹⁷⁰

In *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego* (1921) referenced by *Aktion 507*, Freud stated that 'the leader of the group is still the dreaded primal father; the group still wishes to be governed by unrestrictive force; it has an extreme passion for authority; [...] it has as thirst for obedience'.¹⁷¹ Freud related this to his belief that man is a 'horde animal' who is ruled by the attitudes of the group and led by a chief.¹⁷² Similarly, the reading of many theorists such as Fromm, Reich, Horkheimer, Adorno and others propagated the concept that those who were the victim of authoritarian behaviour during childhood were more likely to develop a personality which was predisposed to serving an authoritarian state.¹⁷³ In the post-war period, this provided reasons for the adherence of so many to the tyranny and

¹⁶⁵ See Alexander Mitscherlich, 'Aggression ist eine Grundmacht des Lebens', *Der Spiegel*, 42 (13 November 1969), pp. 206-12.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibid.* p. 209.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.* p. 212.

¹⁶⁸ Caruso, 'Psychoanalysis and Society', 24.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.* p. 27.

¹⁷⁰ Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, p. 35.

¹⁷¹ Sigmund Freud, *Group Psychology and the Analysis of the Ego*, (London: The International Psychoanalytical Press, 1922), pp. 99-100.

¹⁷² *Ibid.* pp. 82, 89.

¹⁷³ Beate Kutschke, 'Anti-Authoritarian Revolt by Musical Means on Both Sides of the Berlin Wall', in *Music and Protest in 1968*, ed. by Beate Kutschke and Barley Norton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), pp. 188-204 (p. 89).

prejudices of the National Socialist regime as well as the lack of resistance in the post-war situation.

Post-war society, the students believed, was built upon the same mechanisms of political indifference and the continuation of old modes of existence such as the 'leader-ideal'.¹⁷⁴ Even in reference to the profession of architecture, the image of the individual genius was being eschewed and replaced with social responsibility. As Ungers (Professor of Architecture at the *Technische Universität*, 1963-7) advised his students: 'the idea of the genius has been seen as the cause of all problems in society and so is no longer the correct ideal of the architect'.¹⁷⁵ Therefore, in the post-war world, the "cult of the leader" transformed into the hierarchy of professions and in the production of film stars. The function was to subdue the 'emergence of the masses as a self-conscious force' which would undermine the anachronistic character of class relations in the capitalist system.¹⁷⁶ And this fear of independent agency was identified as 'a continuous feature of our contemporary culture' by Mitscherlich.¹⁷⁷ This fed into Adorno's critique of mass culture in its reduction of the critical capacity and thus enabling forms of repression to continue. As evidenced by Benjamin's text, the result of all of this was seen to be linked to the aestheticisation of self-interested parties. The question posed by Caruso, and subsequently considered by *Aktion 507*, was 'whether to reform man first, so that he can reform society, or to reform society first, so that it can reform man'.¹⁷⁸

The continuation of themes regarding the impact of society on the individual in relation to fascism were also brought into the sphere of urban planning. Bahrdt and Mitscherlich's harsh critique of urban policies was quickly absorbed by *Aktion 507* particularly in reference to the policy of removing workers from tenements and replacing the old housing stock with anonymous blocks.¹⁷⁹ The students believed that architectural design and urban planning should reflect the society for which they were built and take note of the current social situation. They saw this as absent in modernist planning: the 'alienation of work and

¹⁷⁴ *Aktion 507*, 'Manifest', (p. 32).

¹⁷⁵ Oswald Mathias Ungers, 'Berufsbild ober Bord: Professor Ungers über die Architekten-Praxis', *Der Spiegel*, (8 September 1969), p. 80.

¹⁷⁶ Benjamin, *The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction*, p. 35.

¹⁷⁷ Mitscherlich, *Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte*, p. 65.

¹⁷⁸ Caruso, 'Psychoanalysis and Society', 31.

¹⁷⁹ J. G. Hajdu, 'Phases in the Post-War German Urban Experience', *The Town Planning Review*, 50 (1979), 275.

increases in regression cannot be eliminated through spatial configuration'.¹⁸⁰ Lorenzer argued that if the individual could no longer find any correspondence with his imagination in the external environment then it would be regarded as 'cold, evil, hostile, and sinister' causing a reduction in contact with the outside world.¹⁸¹ The debate surrounding the development, regression, and existence of the public and private sphere was an area of intense discussion during the post-war period, for both students and intellectuals. The slogan from the student movement "make the personal political" for example was concerned with the politicisation of every element of existence and hinged on questioning the boundaries and/or relationship between public and private spheres. The public sphere was seen as a key indication of democracy in demonstrating how free an individual was within society.¹⁸² In terms of architecture this manifested itself in Berlin's traditional closed block building which ensured an inward privacy whilst the representative facades that faced the street formed a visible connection to the public life of the city.¹⁸³

It can therefore be seen that the study of the psyche was inherently embedded within a social critique that extended into the field of urban planning. Mitscherlich bridged the divide between psychoanalysis and the post-war city by combining animal behavioural analysis with urban planning in stating that 'the city is so old that urban planning may be regarded as something similar to animal instinct behaviour'.¹⁸⁴ And yet, he continued that these innate methods were no longer appropriate as 'the city planner has to deal with circumstances that have completely blown their natural framework'.¹⁸⁵ The question was how to remedy this situation and the answer lay in the idea that if society changed then human behaviour could be changed, and society could only be changed by a development of critical consciousness. In order to alter the development of the city Mitscherlich stated 'we would have to feel responsible for [cities] again, to be touched by them' before the inhabitant would be able to turn desire into action.¹⁸⁶ Thus, reflection and an emotional connection was seen to be fundamental: 'thinking about the world outside of myself will increase my ability to influence the environment' wrote Mitscherlich.¹⁸⁷ In the vein of

¹⁸⁰ Aktion 507, 'Manifest', (p. 47).

¹⁸¹ Lorenzer, 'Städtebau', (p. 71).

¹⁸² Berndt, 'Funktionalismus', (p. 25).

¹⁸³ Ibid.

¹⁸⁴ Mitscherlich, *Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte*, p. 14.

¹⁸⁵ Ibid. p. 16.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid. pp. 158-9.

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. p. 158.

Freud, thinking was a trial, an action which did not change the world but prepared the change.¹⁸⁸ This is perhaps where *Aktion 507* saw their agency in being both part of the criticality of the student movement as well as students of design who had the possibility of influencing urban development. Under the subheading 'Administration' *Aktion 507* discussed hierarchical systems in the animal kingdom which could not be changed, and came to the conclusion that what could be changed was the relationship between the hierarchical administration and decision makers.¹⁸⁹ Theoretical suggestions therefore led to practical action with the associated revolution of consciousness and the development of the forces of critical behaviour. An understanding of the psyche, especially in relation to the post-war situation, and in relation to its urban context, gave *Aktion 507* the foundation for critique and reform. Thus, in retaliation to the dominance of mass culture, practical solutions were combined with theoretical concerns in an attempt to engage society in its own betterment.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid. p. 69.

¹⁸⁹ *Aktion 507*, 'Manifest', (pp. 50-5).

SECTION CONCLUSION

Clearly an understanding of the cause of so many people to become complicit in the National Socialist past was seen by many theorists and intellectuals in the post-war world, as fundamental in order to come to terms with the past. The trend for psychoanalytic and behavioural theories is evidence of this desire for comprehension, and in other ways to negate the responsibility of Germans for the atrocities of the regime. Of interest to the students and to *Aktion 507* was how these theories became manifest in the city; how society could affect the individual to such an extent as to make them passive bystanders. The ending of the war was not seen to have indicated an end in the manipulation of the individual by society and politics, rather they were still seen to be at the mercy of the system. For those intellectuals who brought these theories in to the sphere of architecture and planning, the lack of individual agency was identified as the most prominent issue inherited from the past. The “circle without end” that *Aktion 507* discuss in the planning sector was reflected both in the operations of the sector but also in the relationship between the psyche and the city. And the question of how to break that cycle was the focus of much of *Aktion 507*'s debate. Their views, informed by the intellectual context, saw the relationship the individual and the city they inhabited as fundamental to the solution.

SECTION 2.3 POST-WAR DEMOLITION OF HISTORIC CITY SPACES

In order to return the discussion to the physical spaces of West Berlin and to tie together the discussion in the previous two sections, the focus of this section is how new construction projects were carried out at the expense of the inner-city tenements. This section will analyse the various attitudes towards the historic city fabric; both in terms of its economic viability, cultural value, and impact on the individual. The concept of collective history is therefore important, especially in the context of post-war Berlin where history was not yet confined to the past and was rather a deeply relevant issue. It will be shown how the destruction of the old inner-city neighbourhoods reflected a desire to present Germany in progressive and therefore functionalist aesthetics. The devastation caused by the war provided a situation which was seen to be an ideal opportunity for the development of a new philosophy, free from the burden of the past, but these ideas were not without their critics. This section will therefore consider the demolition, first from a historical and from a symbolic viewpoint, before looking at the dispute concerning the economic viability of such redevelopment. The section will conclude with the attempts by the student movement to regain their agency and ownership of the city and its past.

Despite wartime destruction, more than two thirds of Berlin's post-war housing stock was comprised of *Mietskasernen* or "rental barracks".¹⁹⁰ Before the industrialisation of Berlin, the city's primary function was as a garrison town with the forced billeting of soldiers into private accommodation, which, according to the architectural historian Goerd Peschken, was the inspiration behind the term "rental barracks".¹⁹¹ Since their construction in the last decades of the nineteenth century, social reformers condemned the tenements due to their density, poor sanitation and lack of adherence to fire regulations.¹⁹² The industrial boom in the mid-nineteenth century gave rise to a private real estate market due to the intense demand for low cost housing. The apartment form which resulted was the five-storey tenement, with historicised ornamentation on the facade, organised around a central courtyard. Berlin was a city organised around large streets and deep blocks meaning that the tenements typically housed one hundred people in a single building.¹⁹³

Named as the "*größte Mietskasernestadt der Welt*" [world's largest tenement city], in 1930 by Werner Hegemann in *Das steinerne Berlin* [Stone Berlin], the *Mietskasernen* became synonymous with industrialisation, overcrowding, and poor sanitation. The flexibility of the apartments' interiors meant that rooms were easily divided into smaller sub-sections, which aided overcrowding when housing demand increased alongside industrialisation. The fact that the apartments were often shared between families, and combined with the lack of toilet facilities and running water, diseases such as tuberculosis spread rapidly. *Der Spiegel* commented that architects and urban planners, post-1945, when debating how to rebuild Germany, were 'dominated by the memory of the concentrated tenements...whose lightless backyards had been hotbeds for tuberculosis and rickets'.¹⁹⁴ However, the quality of the tenements themselves, in comparison to low cost housing in other European cities was high, being both solidly built and with generously sized rooms.¹⁹⁵ Despite this, the image of the *Mietskasernen* was almost entirely negative, the traditional tenement blocks

¹⁹⁰ Florian Urban, *Tower and Slab: Histories of Global Mass Housing*, (Abingdon: Routledge, 2012), p. 62.

¹⁹¹ Goerd Peschken "The Berlin 'Miethaus' and Renovation' in Berlin: An Architectural Profile, ed. by Doug Clelland (London: AD Publications, 1983), p. 51 quoted in Ladd, *Ghosts of Berlin*, p. 100.

¹⁹² Rogier, 'The Monumentality of Rhetoric: The Will to Rebuild in Postwar Berlin', (p. 168).

¹⁹³ Ladd, *Ghosts of Berlin*, p. 101.

¹⁹⁴ 'Es bröckelt', p. 44.

¹⁹⁵ Ladd, *Ghosts of Berlin*, p. 101.

were blamed for social issues as well as the 'undemocratic spirit in the city'.¹⁹⁶

Conservatives, socialists and the middle-classes equally viewed the tenements negatively: for the conservatives the buildings represented the destruction of traditional social connections, the middle class saw the tenements as threatening the progress of industrialisation, and the socialists saw the barracks as a clear example of private property callously exploiting the working class.¹⁹⁷



FIG. 2.21: INNER-CITY TENEMENT DEMOLITION, WEST BERLIN, C. 1960S

In the post-war period, the architectural style of the tenements came under attack, adding to their social condemnation. By the 1960s, the nineteenth century came to be seen as a period devoid of history with the architecture interpreted as an inaccurate copy of earlier periods. At the turn of the twentieth century, the Austrian architects Otto Wagner and Adolf Loos were at the forefront of the revolt against nineteenth-century architecture. In an essay published in *Secession's Ver Sacrum* in 1889, Loos condemned Vienna's Ringstrasse for 'screening its modern commercial truth behind historical facades'.¹⁹⁸ The use of historicising forms by the architects of the late-nineteenth century was deemed inappropriate for incorporation with new building forms emerging from large-scale

¹⁹⁶ Urban, 'Recovering Essence through Demolition', 360.

¹⁹⁷ Ladd, *Ghosts of Berlin*, p. 102.

¹⁹⁸ Adolf Loos quoted in Carl E. Schorske, *Fin-De-Siecle Vienna: Politics and Culture*, (New York: Vintage Books, 2013), p. 339.

industrialisation. This eclectic style was seen as an inaccurate reflection of the society it was intended for and as such it did not have a place in the historical continuum. Therefore, in order to recover the historic trajectory in the twentieth century, it was widely accepted that the city had to remove its nineteenth-century architecture.¹⁹⁹ In their manifesto, *Aktion 507* opposed this viewpoint and commented that ‘the Government has long lost interest in its architectural heritage. Its whole attention is on the modern, and affordable to construct’.²⁰⁰ *Bausenator* Schwedler however, rejected criticism of the destruction of nineteenth-century tenements and stressed commitment to retaining Berlin’s historic buildings whilst implementing the *Kahlschlagsanierung* policy, [“total chop-down remodelling”] which saw the removal of the inner courtyard divisions. Thus demonstrating how large-scale demolition in the 1950s could equate to a retention of historical continuity.²⁰¹

Alongside reconsideration of the concepts included in the Athens Charter (discussed in Chapter One) also came a reassessment of architectural history in the form of “critical appraisal”. Books such as Ernst Heinrich’s *Berlin und seine Bauten* [Berlin and its Buildings] (1964) and Peschken’s *Technologische Ästhetik in Schinkels Architektur* [Technological Aesthetics in Schinkel’s Architecture] (1968) are indicative of this counter-current by demonstrating the significance of the nineteenth century to the architectural identity of the city.²⁰² One of the key texts which introduced the public to criticism of post-war demolition policies was Wolf Jobst Siedler and Elisabeth Niggemeyer’s *Die Gemordete Stadt* [The Murdered City] (1964), which also paved the way for a sociological and historically informed analysis of city development.²⁰³ The book is subtitled ‘farewell to putto and street, square and tree’ and bemoaned the destruction of the tenement and its associated ornament. The book’s review by *Der Spiegel* summarised the content as follows:

Using the example of Berlin, writer and photographer glorify the charm of big-city backyards and *Gründerzeit* facades and mock the sad results of modern urban planning. The witty, but also self-deprecating storybook-elegy on the loss of urbanity caused by “restructuring” and “decongestion”, comes

¹⁹⁹ Urban, ‘Recovering Essence through Demolition’, 361.

²⁰⁰ *Aktion 507*, ‘Manifest’, (p. 12).

²⁰¹ Urban, ‘Recovering Essence through Demolition’, 362.

²⁰² Helmut Geisert, ‘Eupalinos - Berlin’, in *Josef Paul Kleihues: The Art of Urban Architecture*, ed. by Josef Paul Kleihues, et al. (Berlin: Nicolai, 2003), pp. 9-24 (p. 13).

²⁰³ Wolf Jobst Siedler and Elisabeth Niggemeyer, *Die gemordete Stadt: Abgesang auf Putte und Straße, Platz und Baum*, (Berlin: Herbig, 1964).

to honour old trees, pubs and lanterns and even “four permanent, cast-iron urinals” (Herbig; 192 pages; 19.80 Marks).²⁰⁴

The book found resonance with many architects, planners, and others concerned with the destruction of the historic city fabric. Those tenements that were spared demolition were subjected to *Entstückung*, a policy which saw the removal of nineteenth-century ornament from their facades. In the district of Kreuzberg for example, 60 per cent of surviving tenements had their ornament removed between 1945 and 1979.²⁰⁵ The *Spandauer Volksblatt* reported on tours of historic neighbourhoods and Gropiusstadt for the *Berliner Bauwochen*:

The sightseeing tour led among other things to Chamissoplatz in the Kreuzberg district bordering Tempelhof. Old, typical Berlin stucco facades were refurbished with help from the government, as in Charlottenburg’s Christstraße [...]. Previously, Gropiusstadt had had a lot of trouble with its business and pub-free residential towers.

A comment from Schwedler was recited again to the viewer about both construction examples: “Since the Interbau in 1957, Berlin has once again been one of the cities that are called when talking about urban questions and seeking examples.” A deputy whispered to his neighbour: “So, honestly – for me, Chamissoplatz is better.”²⁰⁶

There was also criticism of the destruction in the conservative press such as the *Berliner Morganpost* and *Welt am Sonntag* but the mainstream and left-wing accepted the official line that the vast majority of tenements were beyond salvage and that a break with the past could be forged through new architecture. It was understood that modernist architecture would attract both international architects and the international style, and would therefore negate any sense of nationalism and demonstrate an outward-looking, cooperative attitude.

²⁰⁴ ‘Bücherspiegel’, *Der Spiegel*, 12 (18 March 1964), p. 129.

Gründerzeit translates literally as “founders’ period” and refers to the economic boom in 19th-century Germany before the stock market crashed in 1873. The architecture style was roughly historicism with ornate facades and historicising forms combined with developments in technology such as steel and glass facades.

²⁰⁵ Miles Glendinning, *The Conservation Movement: A History of Architectural Preservation: Antiquity to Modernity*, (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 300.

²⁰⁶ ‘Anzeichen für Normalisierung?: Vermieter bleiben bereits auf alten Wohnungen sitzen’, *Spandauer Volksblatt*, (10 September 1968).



FIG. 2.22: ORNAMENT IN WEST BERLIN, *DIE GEMORDETE STADT*, DIR. MANFRED DURNIOK, 1965

The view expanded in *Die Gemordete Stadt* was at odds with those in favour of a simpler aesthetic. For Adorno, Loos's goal of a state free of ornament, referenced in *Aktion 507's* manifesto, would equate to a 'utopia [...] no longer in need of symbols'.²⁰⁷ In a utopia the citizens would no longer have any desires or longings which needed expression in the collective sphere, and the question was whether this was indeed reflective of post-war Germany. Philosopher Andrew Benjamin elucidated that if you eliminate the utopian factor architecture would merely be an articulation of the world as it is.²⁰⁸ Linked to this, was the growing sentiment, demonstrated by Siedler's work which saw ornament as intimately linked with the history of the city and of the individual that had an important social function. Siedler's *Die Gemordete Stadt* was made into a film in the same year, directed by Manfred Durniok and narrated by editor-in-chief of *Bauwelt* between 1957-88, Ulrich Conrads.²⁰⁹ Conrad narrated:

²⁰⁷ Adorno, 'Functionalism Today', (p. 10).

²⁰⁸ Andrew E. Benjamin, 'Allowing Function Complexity: Notes on Adorno's 'Functionalism Today'', *AA Files*, 41 (Summer 2000), 44.

²⁰⁹ Manfred Durniok, 'Die gemordete Stadt', (Berlin: rbb Rundfunk, 1964).

The cleansed facades show nothing of the spirit of their origins, awake no memories. The owners of these houses still do not realise that knocking down the cornices and ornaments not only destroys their own house but the face of the city.²¹⁰

The film mourns the loss of buildings in 'whole city districts' spared from destruction during the war only to be destroyed by post-war urban planning policies.²¹¹ The destruction of the historical character of the city districts was linked to a loss of individuality of the city, to nuances and vitality. 'Cleanliness' claims Siedler, 'cannot make facades interesting or alive'.²¹² *Aktion 507* dedicated example seventeen of their "theoretical cases" in their manifesto to the concept of ornamentation, demonstrating its significance to the group and contemporary discourse:

example 17 -

a theoretical case

Ornament

"All this returns time and again to the problem of new ornament, to artistic excess..."

(E. Bloch, *Formative Education, Engineering Form, Ornament.*)

Never was there so much indulgence, which was as perverse as ornament was after Loos. Each piece of wood, each pebble, each shell has become a piece of an authentic substitute for ornament. Nature is still the greatest artist. –

In the display cabinet it was still called kitsch or 'knick-knacks', on the shelves it is Arts and Crafts and is seen as something constructively honest.

Loos has theorised only on the basis of his information, today his compulsion to cleanse is more polemic. According to the critical state of his knowledge ornament manifested as atavistic - was that it? How could he conclude, with regards to the empty role of ornament in pluralist styles, the verdict of ornament as crime?

His success was overwhelming: ornament was forced underground in consumer products and mass-produced industrial products because it was no longer tolerated as "good" form. Lack of imagination was henceforth regarded as greatness, simplicity as modesty.

Today we are honest enough to live in between "wooden" plastic furniture.

...Whether the ornament free honesty itself could, for purely *Zweckform* [functional form] take the form of a fig-leaf in order to conceal the not so great honesty of any other conditions?" (E. Bloch, op. cit.)²¹³

²¹⁰ Ibid.

²¹¹ Ibid.

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ *Aktion 507, 'Manifest', (p. 78).*

Ornament was therefore seen to express the inner psyche of the individual artist or creator and yet, in reference to the Arts and Crafts movement, Adorno and others recognised the impossibility of returning to hand-crafted ornamentation due to the logic of mass-production. Bloch further elucidated on these ideas in 'The Production of the Ornament' (1957), in which he expressed a need for ornament to express the *Kunstwollen* [will-to-form] of each epoch and the imagination of the individual and collective consciousness.²¹⁴ The bareness of modern architecture, Bloch argued, created alienation in its disassociation from the desires and hopes of man and its rejection of imagination.

A significant figure who also argued against alienation, Aldo Rossi, published *L'architettura della città* (1966) which was highly influential in its critique of the modernist dogma that form follows function. A key influence for Rossi was the rediscovery of Boullée's essay *On Architecture*, which had 'programmatic significance' for the self-perception of the avant-garde in the late 1960s.²¹⁵ Boullée called for a reintegration of the "poetic" within architecture, for a connection between art and nature rather than an acceptance of what had traditionally been viewed as aesthetically pleasing.²¹⁶ The implication was a desire for individuality and a connection to the intrinsic elements of a building in a given context, rather than a constant construction of the same elements in loosely varying forms. Rossi's argument was therefore that form is adaptable and connects to the "city consciousness"; architectural design must be continuously linked to the existing fabric.²¹⁷ The idea of finding new forms of architecture by studying pre-existing forms that characterised the collective memory was a clear reaction to the 'silent forms' of later modernism.²¹⁸ The modern style, devoid of collective memory, was argued to cause the 'decay of collective consciousness'.²¹⁹ Thus, the zoning of the city and the removal of the inhabitants to peripheral housing estates, and the destruction of historic buildings, caused a disjuncture between the nature

²¹⁴ The term *Kunstwollen* is attributed to the work of the Austrian art historian Alois Riegl (1858-1905). The term specifically is reflective of a historical and artistic expression, unaffected by technology, functional, or material concerns.

²¹⁵ Geisert, 'Eupalinos', (p. 19).

²¹⁶ Etienne Louis Boullée, 'Architecture, Essay on Art', in *Boullée & Visionary Architecture*, ed. by Helen Rosenau (London: Academy Editions, 1976), pp. 81-116 (pp. 84-5).

²¹⁷ Michael Hesse, 'Rediscovering Architecture and the City', in *City of Architecture of the City: Berlin 1900-2000*, ed. by Thorsten Scheer, Josef Paul Kleihues, and Paul Kahlfeldt (Berlin: Nicolai, 2000), pp. 317-28 (p. 322).

²¹⁸ Adrian Forty, *Words and Buildings: A Vocabulary of Modern Architecture*, (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2000), pp. 215, 17.

²¹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 217.

of the city and its form; a break in its historic trajectory. Rossi's manifesto was read widely by the new generation of architects and provided a basis for the development of anti-modern sentiment.²²⁰ This is evidenced in Fassbinder's reference to the time of the *Diagnose* as 'a celebration of collective memory'.²²¹ The incorporation of Rossi's theories into the consideration of the urban environment tied together trends regarding the importance of the past in the city, a past that was produced by the residents who lived within the spaces of the city, and one which was negated by the classical modernist who took an 'uncompromising stance against historicism'.²²²

Most critics however accepted the inevitability of the loss of ornament in the contemporary situation as it was no longer appropriate for the mass mechanisation of society.²²³

Ornament was understood however, to function as a bridge between art and society, as expressive of those who undertook its construction. Adorno heavily built on Siegfried Kracauer's *Mass Ornament* of 1927 (published in book-form in 1963) which encapsulated the importance of ornament as a signifier of the society which created it. Kracauer stated, 'the surface-level expressions...by virtue of their unconscious nature, provide unmediated access to the fundamental substance of the state of things'.²²⁴ The concept of semiotics in the form of ornamentation and the structure of cities and so-called 'spatial images' were, according to Kracauer 'the dreams of society...wherever the hieroglyphics of these images can be deciphered, one finds the basis of social reality'.²²⁵ Through an analysis of the surface of a culture, Walter Benjamin believed it possible to identify deeper, more fundamental characteristics.²²⁶ Thus, the formation of society and the architecture and cityscape could be analysed in order to better understand society in itself and as part of the greater trajectory of history. Prior to the change in society's "mode of operation", ornament was seen to be expressive of a social collective consciousness, and yet, as Kracauer argued, in the age of mechanisation, the masses no longer moved individually and it was rather the movement of the hands of the labour force, and the legs of dancing girls

²²⁰ Hohensee, 'Influence of Critical Reconstruction', 63.

²²¹ Fassbinder, 'Gegen-Planung', 352.

²²² Kleihues, 'Destruction to the Critical Reconstruction', (p. 407).

²²³ Adorno, 'Functionalism Today'.

²²⁴ Siegfried Kracauer, 'The Mass Ornament (1927)', in *The Weimer Essays*, ed. by Thomas Y. Levin (London: Harvard University Press, 1995), pp. 75-88 (p. 75).

²²⁵ Ibid.

²²⁶ Heynen, *Architecture and Modernity*, p. 115.

which became the mass ornament of the age.²²⁷ Ornament is produced by a particular culture at a particular time and is so intimately linked with expressions of nationality and thus the continued use of ornament, for critics, was to deny the cosmopolitan nature of modernity.²²⁸



FIG. 2.23: 'CLEANSED FACADES' IN WEST BERLIN, *DIE GEMORDETE STADT*, DIR. MANFRED DURNIOK, 1965
Aktion 507 reflected this argument in their belief that contemporary architecture in its bareness became an overcompensation of symbolism.²²⁹ According to Adorno, man cannot help but imbue every form with symbolism; he referenced Freud and the individual's need to create a symbol, even for technological products such as aeroplanes, in order to create a connection to the object.²³⁰ Adorno also dismissed the notion that everything can be reduced to objectified form and material: 'for the forms, and even the materials, are by no means merely given by nature...history has accumulated in them, and spirit permeates them'.²³¹ Returning to the arguments of Rossi and Siedler, ornament was understood as a representation of society that allowed the individual to connect physically and historically

²²⁷ Kracauer, 'The Mass Ornament (1927)', (p. 79).

²²⁸ Benjamin, 'Allowing Function Complexity', 43.

²²⁹ *Aktion 507*, 'Manifest', (p. 77).

²³⁰ Adorno, 'Functionalism Today', (p. 9).

²³¹ *Ibid.* p. 12.

to their context. The stripping of ornament from the facades of tenements was therefore significant in its removal of the individual, as the function of ornament was in its ability to position the individual within the larger society; to allow them to understand themselves as part of the trajectory of history.²³² That is not to say that nineteenth-century ornamentation was appropriate for the post-war inhabitant, but that encapsulated in the desire to create an architecture appropriate for contemporary society, the ornament of the nineteenth century would show the development of history and allow the individual to understand their place in that history. This view was echoed by the architect Helmut Geisert who commented on the destruction of the tenements as 'expressing the suppression of our own history'.²³³ Ornaments and tenements were seen therefore by critics to enrich the city, showing its historical development and unique character. The demolition therefore, not only affected the social networks of the residents but disrupted historical continuity and suppressed the individual image of the city with the anonymity of the international style. Those planners making decisions about what was of value in the cityscape were seen by critics to be making decisions about the heritage and identity of the city without consideration or consultation. The lack of ornament was therefore seen as a 'complete reproduction of a dominant society in which the aesthetic moment as potentially transcending, remains suppressed'.²³⁴

Not all of the criticism of the demolition policies was from a historical and often conservative sympathy, with *Aktion 507* claiming that the ideologies and hierarchies of the existing hegemony were embedded in the financial operations of planning policies (see Section 3.1). Architect Helmut Geisert remarked on the removal of tenements for short-term financial gain, which he connected with modernist ideas of functionality and manageability with the intention of eradicating vast swathes of nineteenth-century architecture.²³⁵ Although the policy of demolishing nineteenth-century buildings was not specific to Berlin or to Germany, Helga Fassbinder (1941-), urban planner, political scientist and member of *Aktion 507* saw 'the restructuring [*Sanierung*], in its relative detachment from the economic driving forces characteristic of urban growth' as assuming 'a particularly arbitrary and parasitic rationality'.²³⁶ The term *Sanierung* was favoured by policy-makers

²³² Karsten Harries, *The Ethical Function of Architecture*, (London: MIT Press, 1997), p. 61.

²³³ Geisert, 'Eupalinos', (p. 13).

²³⁴ Horn, 'Zweckrationalität in der modernen Architektur'.

²³⁵ Geisert, 'Eupalinos', (p. 20).

²³⁶ Fassbinder, 'Gegen-Planung', 350.

which can be translated as ‘rehabilitation’, ‘remediation’, ‘restructuring’. *Aktion 507*, in contrast, defined the term as follows:

Sanierung

imprecise term for the forced clearing of older residential areas for investment, well used, however, because the illusion is nourished that it “heals” something that remains at least partially intact²³⁷

One of the main critiques of the *Hilfgesetz* (see p. 183) was the suggestion that it would have been cheaper to repair old tenements rather than building completely new homes, which critics believed was done purely for the benefit of investors at the expense of the city’s residents. Professor Werner March (architect of Berlin’s 1936 Olympic Stadium) published a report detailing the demolition process on Wassertorstraße 5 in Kreuzberg with the conclusion that repair would have cost 91,500 marks and demolition ended up costing 250,000 marks.²³⁸ The journalist Stephen Becker elucidated on the “vicious cycle” in hindsight: there was a need to build in order to re-accommodate the inhabitants of demolished *Mietskasernen* and then in order to offset the cost, additional areas in the city centre were demolished.²³⁹ A problem that Becker sees as having repercussions to the present day as the former financing structure set rental rates for social housing which were beyond social compatibility resulting in ‘decades of subsidies’.²⁴⁰ The students saw this as another example of the domination of the contemporary hegemonies under the guise of universal good. Fassbinder recalled her reaction to the implementation of urban renewal policies:

I can still remember the shock of seeing the semi-demolished open concrete stalls on my rambles through Berlin, that there, boring into the stucco and brick facades of Wassertorstraße in Kreuzberg...For a newcomer from West Germany, filled with a mixture of idealistic humanism and historicising aesthetics [...] the hole that was torn in Lenne’s plan, was unbearable.²⁴¹

In reaction, *Aktion 507* called for an end to the ‘premature demolition of apartments in redevelopment areas, until socially underprivileged groups benefit from new measures’.²⁴²

²³⁷ *Aktion 507*, ‘Manifest’, (p. 143).

²³⁸ ‘Slums verschoben’, p. 138.

²³⁹ Stephen Becker, ‘Zurück zur Stadt der Besitzer’, *Die Tageszeitung (Taz)*, (11 January 2011).

²⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

²⁴¹ Fassbinder, ‘Gegen-Planung’, 351.

Peter Joseph Lenné (1789-1866) was a landscape architect who re-designed many areas of Berlin, including Kreuzberg (1840).

²⁴² Becker, ‘Zurück zur Stadt der Besitzer’.

A distributed leaflet refutes the Government's claim that current residents could move into new homes planned for the site, when the reality was that rents would be much too high and would instead attract 'middle-income groups' as a precursor to later anti-gentrification campaigns.²⁴³ In the section subtitled '*Kritik der Baupolitik in sozialistischer Perspektive*' [Critique of Housing Policy from a Socialistic Perspective] *Aktion 507* argued that landowners' focus on profit caused old houses to be neglected as the cost of repair outweighed the rent increases resulting in the creation of slums.²⁴⁴ They claimed that this was the fault of new construction and that the Government had lost interest in its architectural heritage in favour of construction and profitability: 'Without the diversity of its history it can be neither an urban nor a human city'.²⁴⁵ Thus reflecting the arguments of Adorno, Bloch, and Rossi that in rejecting the historical city in favour of profit and an aesthetic style seemingly without historical connotations, the city rejected the individual.

²⁴³ UTUB, Berlin/Sammlung Gude 1967-70/n.p. Studenten. Leaflet, June 1970.

²⁴⁴ *Aktion 507*, 'Manifest', (pp. 128-9).

²⁴⁵ *Ibid.* p. 141.

This condemnation of the destruction of nineteenth-century tenements, especially in the Kreuzberg district, by *Aktion 507* and others led to the formulation of strategies which aimed to stop the destruction of historic parts of the city. The poor-quality of housing stock in Kreuzberg, and the subsequent cheap rents, attracted many of the new arrivals to the city (students, artists, bohemians) thus causing it to become a significant site for the counterculture. Consequently, *Aktion 507* reacted to city planners' modernist ideology of enclosed suburban and residential areas, seeing this as indicative of another example of state control of the past. Author and participant in the student movement Peter Schneider (1940-) recalled that:

the streets echoed with chants of Berlin...on the crumbling facades, almost daily, there appeared new slogans announcing "victory in the *Volkskrieg*" [peoples' war].²⁴⁶

Member of *Aktion 507*, Ingrid Krau recalled the group's demand for a 'stop to the premature demolition of housing in redevelopment areas at the expense of socially underprivileged groups'.²⁴⁷ In response, a group of students moved into abandoned factories in the area and rented an office on the corner of Oranienplatz and Naunynstraße in which they had discussions, wrote leaflets, designed a '*Kiez* [neighbourhood] newspaper', organised protests and resistance to the demolition, and developed a 'counter-plan for a concrete utopia'.²⁴⁸ *Aktion 507* condemned contemporary principles by calling for a complete alteration of existing urban renewal policies, as well as of society in general, and all power relations this encapsulated. As a result, *Aktion 507* strongly advocated renovation of the old *Mietskasernen* believing that 'through the use and adaptation of substance, you create new content, and break up the old political order by appropriation from the inside out'.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁶ Peter Schneider, *Rebellion und Wahn, mein '68: eine autobiographische Erzählung*, (Bonn: Bundeszentrale für Politische Bildung, 2008), p. 7.

²⁴⁷ Krau, 'Die Zeit der Diagnose', 342.

²⁴⁸ Fassbinder, 'Gegen-Planung', 351.

²⁴⁹ Krau, 'Die Zeit der Diagnose', 342.



Fig. 2.24: PHOTOGRAPHS OF DIAGNOSE EXHIBITION PANELS, “REDEVELOPMENT”, 1968

The debates regarding the urban planning of the city were linked to what students perceived as a universal character and an increasing sense of globalisation, homogeneity and lack of individuality. The band *Ton Steine Scherben* sang (in German) ‘We do not need homeowners, because the houses belong to us’.²⁵⁰ This indicates the feeling amongst the activists that the demolition of architectural heritage and the construction of modernist buildings free from connotation was not the right of the State, nor the right way of dealing with the German past. The cityscape therefore became synonymous with ideas regarding agency within Berlin and reclaiming the past. This is particularly significant when looking at Berlin and considering the position the city held within the global political events of the twentieth century. As Matt Frei reflected; ‘in Berlin the past is alive’.²⁵¹ Karl Dietrich Wolff

²⁵⁰ Ton Steine Scherben, ‘Die letzte Schlacht Gewinnen wir’, in *Keine Macht für Niemand* (Berlin: David Volksmund Produktion, 1972).

²⁵¹ Matt Frei, *A Clash of Histories*, (London: Institute of Germanic and Romance Studies, 2011), p. 9.

(1943-), a former participant in the student movement, reiterated this by stating in hindsight:

Germany is full of ghosts. The Nazi ghosts and the Shoah ghosts and also the Red Army ghosts...There has been no debate, no true public debate.²⁵²

Students and critics were not only interested in the emotional reaction people have with the spaces they inhabit, but it also the importance of history; the knowledge of past events and how this modifies people's interpretation of places. The widely-held belief was that the desired change in the consumerist culture of the 1960s would begin with a re-connection to the spaces society inhabited in order to create a relationship with the world, and thus to engender a change in the perception of society and ultimately of politics and culture. The belief in creative autonomy propagated by the student movement, when transposed to West Berlin, transformed into a belief in autonomy through the reclaiming of city spaces as autonomous zones.²⁵³

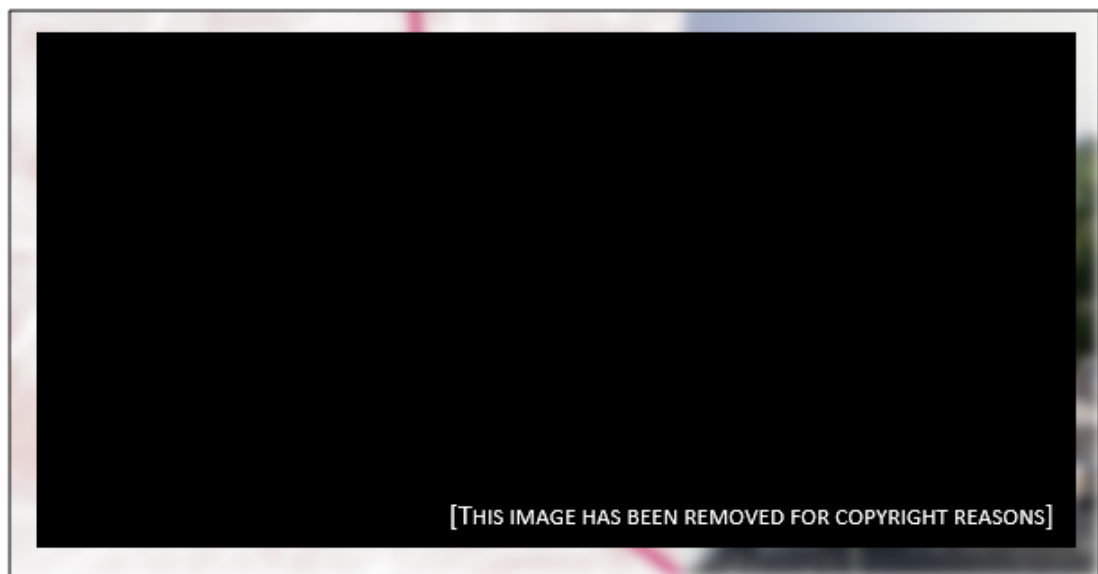


FIG. 2.25: MAP AND STREET VIEW OF GROßGÖRSCHENSTRASSE 35, SCHÖNEBERG, WEST BERLIN

The artistic group *Großgörschen 35*, for example, set up an art space in a former factory on Großgörschen Straße in Schöneberg district of West Berlin [Fig. 2.25]. This group is seen today as being a precursor of Berlin's image today as an "art city" in its use of the city's

²⁵² Various, "'We Didn't Know How It Was Going to Turn Out': Contemporary Activists Discuss Their Experiences of the 1960s and 1970s', in *Changing the World, Changing Oneself: Political Protest and Collective Identities in West Germany and the U.S. In the 1960s and 1970s* ed. by Belinda Davis, et al. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010), pp. 277-302 (p. 288).

²⁵³ Charity Scribner, 'Buildings on Fire: The Situationist International and the Red Army Faction', *Grey Room*, 26 (2007), 44.

open spaces and appropriation, its DIY mentality, and with its project spaces and pop-up galleries.²⁵⁴ In the Schöneberg district of West Berlin, during June 1964, each of the fifteen founding members paid a deposit of 30 DM and then a following 15 DM every month to rent an old factory floor at *Großgörschenstraße 35*.²⁵⁵ The most notable founding members of the group were Markus Lüpertz, Karl Horst Hödicke, Lambert Maria Berger and Arnulf Spengler.²⁵⁶ The group had no manifesto and were not a programmatic artistic group, the action was instead based on the idea of individual art practices collated in a disused space in the city to promote new art and a new way of life.

With a similar intention and specific to West Berlin, the concept of the *Kommune* grew out of a reaction to the imposed conformity of the family unit and instead was concerned with a more authentic mode of living within the historical spaces of the city. The SDS (*Sozialistische Deutsche Studentenbund* or Socialist German Student Union) in West Germany rejected the concept of the political party and instead heralded the commune as the revolutionary form for decentralisation and for workers' control.²⁵⁷ Dieter Kunzelmann (1939-2018), the "writing member" of the situationist-inspired artistic group *SPUR*, left the group in 1962 due to his frustration with the lack of "direct action" and relocated to West Berlin from Munich where he became one of the founding members of *Kommune Eins*, along with Rainer Langhans (1940-) and Fritz Teufel (1943-2010). The (in)famous *Kommune Eins* also included the *Aktion 507* signatory Andreas Reidemeister and was based upon the concept of occupying spaces of the city not valued by the state, i.e. *Mietskasernen*.

²⁵⁴ Nieberding, 'Grundstein für Kunst-Berlin'.

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

²⁵⁶ Other members included; Hermann Albert, Ulrich Baehr, Peter Benkert, Werner Berges, Hans Jürgen Burggaller, Edwin Dickman, Hans-Jürgen Diehl, Leiv Warren Donnan, Johannes Dornhege, Yolander Fong, Eduard Franoszek, Eberard Franke, Mienske Janssen, Wolf Kahlen, Siegfried Kischko, Franz-Rudolf Knubel, Reinhard Lange, Siegfried Neuenhausen, Dieter Opper, Joachim Palm, Wolfgang Petrick, Heimrad Prem, Arnulf Rainer, Michael Rühl, Michael Schoenholtz, Peter Sorge, Hans-Wilhelm Sotrop, Peter Tuma, Reinhard Wagner, Gruppe Zebra (Dieter Asmus, Peter Nagel, Nikolaus Störtenbecker, Dietmar Ullrich), Jürgen Zeller.

²⁵⁷ David Caute, *Sixty-Eight: The Year of the Barricades*, (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1988), p. 80.



FIG. 2.26: MAP SHOWING VARIOUS LOCATIONS OF *KOMMUNE EINS*

These locations were to be the sites of Marcuse's Great Refusal which included the 'refusal of all forms of oppression and domination, relentless criticism of all policies that impact negatively on working people'.²⁵⁸ The *Kommune* also demanded a different societal attitude which rejected the bourgeois value system of the ruling classes based on ideas of an alternative operation of society, whereby all decisions were made collectively, in an anti-authoritarian manner. *Kommune Eins* moved at various times before it finally settled in the Charlottenburg district. For the first few weeks, the group was located in the vacant apartment of the author Hans Magnus Enzensberger (1929-) at Fregestraße 19 and in then the studio apartment of New York resident and writer Uwe Johnson at Niedstraße 14 in the district of Friedenau. They then moved to Johnson's main home at Stierstraße 3, then to the corner Kaiser-Friedrich-Straße 54 in Charlottenburg and finally Stephanstraße 60 in Moabit [Fig. 2.26].²⁵⁹ Demonstrating the opportunistic nature of the group, as well as their connections with important intellectuals as both Enzensberger and Johnson were members of the literary *Gruppe 47* and Enzensberger was editor of *Das Kursbuch* between 1965-75.

²⁵⁸ Douglas Kellner, 'From 1984 to One-Dimensional Man: Reflections on Orwell and Marcuse', *Current Perspectives in Social Theory*, 10 (1990).

²⁵⁹ Ulrich Enzensberger, *Die Jahre der Kommune I: Berlin 1967-1969*, (Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 2004), pp. 105-8.

Gretchen Dutschke-Klotz recalled the formative stages of the *Kommune* concept in 1966, reflecting that although the idea was new to Germany, it quickly became popular.²⁶⁰ Rudi Dutschke saw the focus of the *Kommune* in its politically organised form which could then be the basis for the ‘political coexistence of exterior space’.²⁶¹ In a pamphlet distributed by K1, they advocate similar actions in other cities ‘because of the powerful force of the major “happenings” across Europe’.²⁶² The architect and member of *Aktion 507* Andreas Reidemeister, is quoted to have said at a meeting of K1:

“We can start to make a new life here and now in a house that is designed exactly for an emancipated future,” said Andreas. It was an exhilarating flight of thought. Andreas designed a model “communal house”, and we thought about everything that had to be there to meet our needs. The house was in the shape of a human body.²⁶³

This demonstrates the significance of particular architectural practices and how they fed into the ideology of the politically active. Reidemeister’s concept for the *Kommune* was based on the idea that if spaces and architecture are constructed around the proportions of man then the functionality of architecture is increased. Thus promoting the idea that architecture has an impact on the psychological state of its inhabitants.

This idea was also taken up by the *Utopische Wohnforum Gruppe* [Utopian Living Forum Group] in 1969, by advocating the formulation of architectural ‘approaches related to psychological need’.²⁶⁴ *Wohngemeinschaften* [communal living communities or WGs] also demonstrated this representation in miniature of the global society. Behind the facades of the city, WGs became trials for the ‘development of the self and new societal structures’ from the inside out, which could then be mapped onto society as a whole.²⁶⁵ Jonas Geist, signatory of *Aktion 507*, recalled that the first meeting of *Aktion 507* occurred in the WG of Baller, where two other signatories of the manifesto, Ingrid Krau and Frauke Fischer also lived.²⁶⁶ Krau remarked that the intent was ‘the breaking up of the old system of rule by taking possession of the old *Mietskasernen* from the inside out’.²⁶⁷ The practical step of

²⁶⁰ Gretchen Dutschke-Klotz, ‘Rudi Dutschke: Wir hatten ein barbarisches, schönes Leben: Eine Biographie’, (Köln: Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1996), (p. 96).

²⁶¹ *Ibid.* p. 98.

²⁶² FUAB, Berlin/Kommune I/Box 433/n.p./p. 6. Kommune I. Pamphlet, 24 June 1967.

²⁶³ Dutschke-Klotz, ‘Rudi Dutschke’, (p. 97).

²⁶⁴ UTUB, Berlin/Sammlung Gude 1967-70/p. 2. Utopische Wohnforum Gruppe. Flyer, 8 January 1969.

²⁶⁵ Davis, ‘City as Theater of Protest’, (p. 264).

²⁶⁶ Geist, ‘In Memoriam’, 3.

²⁶⁷ Krau, ‘Die Zeit der Diagnose’, 342.

reclaiming the historic spaces of the city was therefore seen as a step towards the larger goal of dismantling the old system of rule and replacing it with a different type of society. Krau continued that the common goal here was for better public control over the structural development of the city and a new attitude towards the urban environment.²⁶⁸ Historian Belinda Davis noted that the media's fascination with the *Kommunards* and those who reclaimed city spaces was centred on their place as *Lebenskünstler* [life artists], who were those who saw themselves as creative projects, defying their pasts and contextual constraints to reconstruct themselves, 'as part of a political project'.²⁶⁹ The significance of reclaiming elements of the city that the state wanted to destroy, and the creation of new, alternative modes of habitation was therefore paramount to the student movement and directly involved members of *Aktion 507*.

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ Davis, 'City as Theater of Protest', (p. 252).

SECTION CONCLUSION

This section has discussed the various attitudes and policies promoted by the government in reaction to the post-war housing situation. The demolition of the *Mietskasernen* was seen as a deeply political act that was linked not only to apparently self-interested economic considerations but also to more ideological concerns. The destruction of the historical aspects of the city were seen to be linked to the destruction of history; a physical representation in the city space of the breaking with the inherited National Socialist past. Framed in the context of the nineteenth century and the connotations with over-crowding and poor sanitation, this also reflected a desire to create a new cityscape indicative of a new Germany, unhindered and unlinked to the past. The contemporaneous discussions regarding ornament demonstrate the reconsideration of style and symbolism in relation to the industrialised world. Most intellectuals came to the conclusion that new construction should not imitate ornament from the past but that to remove the ornament from historical buildings was seen to distort the history of the city. It was agreed that modernisation of the old city districts was necessary but how best to balance the strong tension between a respect for the historic city and a desire and commitment to progress was a highly contentious issue.

To the students, the destruction was seen to create a symbolic break with the regime as Krau recalled: 'with the elimination of backyards on the block, the destruction of the old political order appeared possible'.²⁷⁰ The *Diagnose* critiqued the entire cityscape of West Berlin, from bureaucratic controls, to economics, engineering, and urban renewal and expansion.²⁷¹ The students saw their identity as different to the previous generation and they wanted to engender a change within the practice of architecture, as well as within the mentality of society as a whole, orientated away from economics and material gain, and instead to focus on a more authentic mode of living within the historical spaces of the city.

²⁷⁰ Krau, 'Die Zeit der Diagnose', 342.

²⁷¹ Hartmut Frank, "'Alle Häuser sind schön, hört auf zu bauen!'", *Stadtbauwelt*, 80 (1983), 355.

CHAPTER TWO CONCLUSION

The destruction caused during the war was thus repackaged as an opportunity to create the kind of city that was reflective of a modern, progressive and democratic society. Critics, however, were quick to condemn as the idea of a “new” society, when questions surrounding the last regime had not been answered, which caused new German reconstruction to be seen as a false representation. The criticism of the philosophy behind the new buildings fed into a general international critique of modernist architecture that became more heated in the deeply politicised post-war city. The critiques became more pronounced the longer the ideology of modernism was the dominant influence on planning in post-war Germany. For Bloch, it was indicative of the slogan that began to accompany the Bauhaus: ‘hurray, we have no ideas left’.²⁷² An alternative style was not suggested by any of the critiques, but rather the students hypothesised, that once the processes and mentality of the society that produced it changed, then the style would follow.

Within their manifesto, *Aktion 507* rarely criticised architectural style directly, instead the focus of much of the manifesto was on the hierarchical ways in which architecture was created and constructed during the post-war years as expressive of the mechanisms of control which perpetuated ruling interests. The critique was therefore not stylistic but structural, with a belief that either the zeitgeist or Marxist-structural changes would bring about ideological (and stylistic) changes. One of the key texts for the students was Adorno’s ‘Functionalism Today’ (1965) which situates the production of architecture in a particular conception of historical time with the title giving explicit reference to the present social and historical context.²⁷³ There was a focus on the idea of time, on historical time and the immediate present; ideas about the immediate present contained both particular interpretations about the past and intrinsic ideas about the future. For both Loos and Banham, the future was in modernism, if only it could be freed from the past, which Adorno, Bloch, Rossi and Siedler argued, was impossible. Adorno’s premise was that the “culture industry” and its mechanisms of pacification allowed for the continuation of capitalism, for which the key to resolution was the adoption of Critical Theory and an actively engaged citizen.²⁷⁴ *Aktion 507* related this work to the built environment and came

²⁷² Bloch, ‘Building in Empty Spaces (1959)’, (p. 187).

²⁷³ Benjamin, ‘Allowing Function Complexity’, 42.

²⁷⁴ See Theodor W. Adorno, ‘The Culture Industry’, *Communications*, 3 (1963), 12-18.

to the conclusion that self-interested planning policies coupled with a lack of theory within the architectural profession had led to an architecture which was no longer fit for purpose. The destruction of the historical buildings became emblematic of a more widespread disregard for the political past. The economic reasons given by the authorities for their destruction were counteracted by their critics as being without credible evidence. Again, this was seen by students as tantamount to a deliberate pretence at democracy that was hiding the real intentions of city authorities. The discussion of the design and construction of the new developments as well as the destruction of tenements and their associated heritage succinctly demonstrates why planning became such a focus for conflict.

The loss of historical elements in the city fabric was reflected upon in relation to its effect on the individual. Without historical reference points, it was argued, the individual became lost in the spaces of the city. They were unable to place themselves in the historic trajectory and thus became alienated, introverted and repressed. Carving and symbolic ornamentation from previous decades was seen as inappropriate for new construction, but needed to be retained in its historical context. They stated plainly that the 'alienation of work which causes increases in regression cannot be eliminated through spatial configuration'.²⁷⁵ *Aktion 507* believed that the psyche would continue to be alienated in the environment due to the lack of correspondence between the scientific consciousness and the unconscious conflict 'such as the one imminent in the Märkisches Viertel'.²⁷⁶ The problems in society could therefore not be rectified by displacing the problem. The task of urban planning, was identified as 'grasping existing conflicts which are not yet spatially localised' and they gave examples of these conflicts which they saw as the most serious:

1. Student accommodation can be found on the Berlin city plan in isolated and elitist locations. Recently workers barracks also appeared in isolated but less elite locations. We suggest that both are not to be regarded as separate, but should be settled as a unit in context, with the use of public space. Such an experiment would be a paradigm for living even considering the destruction of ghettos.
2. Abolition of the separation of bureaucracy and praxis, which would result in the dissolution of bureaucracy. e.g.:
 - (a) Bureaucracy and education (university and school)
 - (b) Construction bureaucracy and the university

²⁷⁵ *Aktion 507*, 'Manifest', (p. 47).

²⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

3. Relocation of the university to the city or the workers zone.²⁷⁷

All of these demands were intended to reintegrate all sections of society with the desire to increase vitality and to engender a change in society through critical reflection and praxis, without calling for a denial of the recent past.

The city's visual representation, as an indicator of the society, was a key debate in the post-war city. The perceived manipulation of the forms of modernism to indicate a democratic society was seen as akin, albeit more subversive, to the propagandist role architecture played in the Third Reich. With the help of theorists, such as Arndt, *Aktion 507* identified a dishonesty and disconnect between what the students saw as the ideology propagated by the post-war architecture and the real lack of democracy within the state's institutions. The denial of the past, which was seen by the students in the demolition of the old tenements, was linked to a deliberate denial of responsibility, and a desire to avoid an open debate about the National Socialist period. The lack of agency felt by the younger generation when faced with the bureaucracies and rapid construction of new "monuments to capitalism" was evidenced in the desire to inhabit and re-claim the old spaces of the city. This was an attempt to assert agency and take control over an alternative city, one which attempted to address and critically analyse the past. The globally increasing trend for the concern for the psychological impact of life within new housing developments caused widespread condemnation of the priorities of the state. However, it was still the closed, hierarchical systems that prevented a new concept of urban planning from developing, rather than the intentions of architects. Therefore, the question became how the architect could reconsider their role in instigating change within institutions and within society.

²⁷⁷ Ibid.

CHAPTER THREE
THE FUTURE

INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER THREE

This chapter builds upon the theoretical influences on the student movement as previously discussed and, following the work of *Aktion 507*, transfers these influences to the city space of West Berlin. The focus of this chapter therefore is the reconsideration of urban locations by *Aktion 507* and the student movement in general, and how the protesters attempted to directly alter the future of the city. As demonstrated in the previous chapters, at the heart of *Aktion 507*'s criticism was a concern for the absence of the resident in the planning process as well as a lack of consideration for individual needs in contemporary planning. Intellectual sources played a large part in this interpretation, as writer Timothy Garten Ash recalled:

You could recognise the '68er at once...The apartment would have bare floorboards, white painted walls and a pine bookshelf with serial copies of the journal *Kursbuch* and the totemic books by Enzensberger, Bloch, Adorno and Marcuse.¹

Mohr supported the significance of these cultural critics in his comment that the philosophers Bloch and Marcuse expressed the 'deep yearning' of the generation within their 'principle of hope' and 'concrete utopia', that there was 'another world yet to dream and fight for'.² West Berlin therefore symbolised both a potential utopia and an actual dystopia, and it was this that attracted tens of thousands of young people to the *Weltstadt* [world city] in the 1960s and 1970s, causing many older people to leave the city to a younger generation.³ Reinhard Mohr (1955-), who participated in the student movement, commented upon the importance of 'the sensation of being part of an historic upheaval'.⁴ Thus, generation-specific experiences had an impact on the events of the 1960s, owing to the conservatism of the 1950s and its corresponding commercialism. Instead of pursuing a materialistic lifestyle, Winter suggested that some students chose to question the 'moral character of the world they had inherited'.⁵ This questioning, combined with the impact on the urban planning sphere, and potential remedies, will be discussed in the following sections. As Krüger reflected in 1966 'there is the certainty that Berlin will only be saved if

¹ Timothy Garten Ash, *The File: A Personal History*, (London: Flamingo, 1997), p. 32.

² Mohr, 'Die Liebe zur Revolution', (p. 22).

³ Davis, 'City as Theater of Protest', (p. 249).

The term *Weltstadt* refers to a city that has political, economic, and cultural global significance.

⁴ Mohr, 'Die Liebe zur Revolution', (p. 37).

⁵ Winter, *Dreams of Peace and Freedom*, p. 147.

the great questions of the century, raised in Berlin and pushed to the extreme, are answered'.⁶ This generational conflict became more pronounced and it was the new generation's intention to force a complete break with tradition, as Davis commented, 'the disparity between real life in hard Berlin and the idealism of activists related to the general disparity between generations'.⁷ Mohr authenticates this in reflecting:

"We've got to get out of this place!" sang Eric Burdon with his Animals and this reflected a sentiment among many young people. Just get out into the open, distance, strangers! Away from the musty narrowness of home.⁸

A survey conducted by the Allensbach Institute found that students with radical political goals tended to be those who studied away from home, rather than those who still lived with parents.⁹ In post-war West Germany, many people were separated from their extended families and thus were "foreign" to their surroundings, thus causing individuals to move, often several times and across long distances.¹⁰ This increased mobility caused younger Germans to actively seek out alternative ways of doing things and as such, created a sense of *Weltoffenheit* [openness to the world].¹¹ The mobility of this generation engendered a change in their interaction with the physical environment and caused them to analyse the world more critically. It is this criticality and reinterpretation of the city and institutions as a centre for action that is the focus of this chapter. As Feenberg and Freedman remarked, 'they wanted to change the nature of the universities before they had to lead them'.¹² Urban space was therefore highly politicised and provided the *kampfplatz* [battleground] for the new generation. As *Aktion 507* defined the phrase 'Generational Conflict' as the 'universally accepted definition of youth confrontation with the environment'.¹³ It is therefore unsurprising that *Aktion 507* decided to take on the case of

⁶ Krüger, 'Das Glitzerding', p. 61.

⁷ Davis, 'City as Theater of Protest', (p. 253).

⁸ Mohr, 'Die Liebe zur Revolution', (p. 22).

The Allensbach Institute, founded in 1947, was Germany's first public opinion research institute based in Allensbach, Baden-Württemberg and was contracted by the government to carry out public opinion surveys.

⁹ UTUB, Berlin/Bestand 705/Signatur 470/Standort C136-4/Unterschrift I.A.Sb/, p. 4. Institut für demoskopie Allensbach. Student und Politik Sommer 1967, June 1967.

¹⁰ Belinda Davis, 'A Whole World Opening Up: Transcultural Contact, Difference, and the Politicization of New Left Activists', in *Changing the World, Changing Oneself: Political Protest and Collective Identities in West Germany and the U.S. In the 1960s and 1970s*, ed. by Belinda Davis, et al. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010), pp. 255-73 (p. 257).

¹¹ Ibid. p. 255.

¹² Feenberg and Freedman, *When Poetry Ruled the Streets*, p. iv.

¹³ Aktion 507, 'Manifest', (p. 142).

urban planning and titled a section within their manifesto “Urban Planning and Conflict”. This chapter will therefore discuss the action that students took in an attempt to instigate that change and considers the critiques that fed into their beliefs. The battle over the image of the city and the agency of individual actors within the city will be the focus of analysis.

Section 3.1 considers how the city could be instrumental in changing society. The section focuses on the urban landscape of West Berlin as a product of the post-war ideology, in a visual sense, and how this was contested by the students. As demonstrated in the previous chapters, *Aktion 507* rarely critiqued architectural style directly, but saw it as a product of an inauthentic society. These ideas were taken from a key intellectual trend in the post-war world and linked to fundamental discussions which were taking place concerning redefining the image of the city. Theorists such as Arndt, Bloch, Horn, and Marcuse provided a stimulus for *Aktion 507* in their belief that contemporary architecture represented a morally corrupt society. The generation’s concern with the hegemonies that determined the visual and immaterial operation of the city caused the physical city spaces to become embroiled in a fight for ownership of the city. This section will therefore look at the debates surrounding how the image of the city was contested and the action that the students took in an attempt to subvert the dominant narrative. Sites of protest within the city will also be included to indicate how the city became the place for fundamental debates regarding the ownership of city spaces. The theoretical trends which fed into an understanding of agency within the city and a desire to contest its image and ownership will be demonstrated in the cultural field, including the function of the arts in redefining the relationship between citizen and city will be discussed. *Aktion 507*’s criteria for an appropriate architecture will also be presented as well as how it would be possible to instigate a democratic form of architecture.

Section 3.2 returns to the concept of sociology and see how the sociological understanding of the urban environment and a reconsideration of the role of the architect could instigate change when transferred to the reality of West Berlin. The section will also consider the sociological concerns which were presented by scholars such as Mitscherlich and how the post-war urban environment exacerbated these issues. The social issues of tenants, the social homogeneity which was seen to accompany the estates, and the moral critique of the expectations of social housing will be demonstrated. The importance placed on the incorporation of sociological concerns into the urban planning process during the late

sixties will be considered with reference to the writings of Mitscherlich and Bahrdt. The section will then return to the idea of the architect and the place that *Aktion 507* felt they could fulfil in the post-war context. The perceived changing role of the architect will form a focus, particularly with regards to the inherited concept of the demiurge and its perceived lack of relevance in the post-war period. The key role that a sociological understanding of the relationship between the individual and the environment will also be significant for this analysis, as well as the architects place in the development of a critical consciousness. Solutions and strategies for instigating change initiated and conceived by *Aktion 507* and the broader student movement will be presented and analysed, such as the formation of the *Kritische Universität*, *Basisgruppen* and the *MV-Studie* group established in the Märkisches Viertel.

Section 3.3 looks more specifically at the practical action taken as a result of the *Diagnose* exhibition as well as the issues that these activities brought to the fore. How the engaged citizen and a promotion of interdisciplinarity were seen as precursors to a changed society. The direct action of the students, which built upon dense theoretical trends, will be shown in their translation onto the streets and into the urban spaces of West Berlin. The section will also be interspersed with attitudes from the younger generation, including the role of the cultural sphere, elements such as music, theatre, and the role of the university will be included in order to demonstrate the elements that fed into the critique of architecture that extended beyond the discipline. The intention of this section is to demonstrate how the new generation interpreted and acted upon the theories that fed into their critique, in their belief that this would counteract the inherited hierarchies, power structures and the insular nature of institutions, with the ultimate goal of engaging the individual in a changed society. This relates to the advocacy of many theorists in the post-war period for interdisciplinarity in order to formulate better solutions by using a wide-range of skills and expertise.

The first two chapters have looked at the overarching concepts of urban planning and society in the post-war period and how the context of West Berlin was manifested in policies and masterplans for the city. This chapter seeks to present the solutions identified by *Aktion 507* and other critics as to how the future of the city could be altered. The previous two chapters have shown the situation the students were faced with and the influence of the past upon that present. This chapter therefore presents the potential

futures as identified and advocated by students, intellectuals, politicians, policy makers, and other critics. How the concepts were translated to the built environment by the students will be discussed, as will the “direct action” that was undertaken in order to regain a sense of agency within the cityscape.

SECTION 3.1 THE CONTESTED VISION OF THE CITY

As demonstrated in the previous two chapters, the significance of contemporary urban planning to this generation of young, radical architects meant 'not only aesthetic breakdown and boredom, but bureaucratic control and repression in disguise'.¹⁴ The students chose to occupy the condemned buildings in reaction to destroying, rather than facing the past, as well as confronting the ideology of the present. In Paris, the movement stated plainly 'transform our ghetto into a fortress of liberty and imagination'.¹⁵ This was an ideology of redefining the urban environment into something more fluid and open to discussion. The section will begin with a consideration of sites of protest, and the idea of the right to the city, and then will consider how art was instrumental in changing the relationship between individual and city space. The reflection of issues within the arts is significant in demonstrating the wider symbolic implications that urban planning policies were seen to contain. Therefore, the attention in this section is also how the arts became the place where an image of an alternative city was developed.

This will then be followed by a consideration of how this changed relationship between citizen and city could then be transformed into a democratic form of architecture. How architectural aesthetics could become an accurate reflection of society was under much scrutiny by intellectuals such as Arndt, Bloch, and Bahrtdt and the city therefore became the battlefield between competing city images. It is important to emphasise, that this was more a critique of the institutions of architecture rather than architecture per se. However, it did not prevent the architectural style of post-war construction from becoming synonymous with the perceived corrupted system which lay behind its facade. This section will therefore also consider *Aktion 507's* concern with how to create an architecture that could adapt urban forms appropriate to society and how architecture could become instrumental in a changed society.

¹⁴ Dessauce, 'On Pneumatic Apparitions', (p. 20).

¹⁵ Feenberg and Freedman, *When Poetry Ruled the Streets*, pp. 89-91.

In 2001, the architect Daniel Libeskind commented on the dialectic in Berlin with reference to architecture and history:

Nobody ever wanted Berlin to look this way. It's not a product of anybody's intentions. It's a negative by-product of a series of misunderstandings and false calculations and catastrophes. But then we come to Berlin...and it forms, I think, inevitably, unconsciously, a framework of thinking about the future.¹⁶

In this, Libeskind referred to the organic nature of the city of Berlin and its place as the product of the twentieth century, that the city reflects the development and events of society. He also acknowledged the need to take some form of control over the nature of the city and what it represents. After a bipartisan student coalition demanded the democratisation of university and society at a sit-in at the FU on 22 June 1966, elements of protest specific to West Berlin began to develop. Klimke stressed the symbolic, if limited, disregard for conventional boundaries through direct action which gradually became a 'distinctive component of West German student protest'.¹⁷ The students felt that they had a right to the street and in particular that Berlin was about being listened to, being able to communicate and belonging.¹⁸ It has been noted that the different districts of the city gave the movement different qualities, for example the SDS was seen to have adopted a new 'defiant, confrontational and radical' tone once it had moved away from the university campus to an office on the Kurfürstendamm.¹⁹ The Kurfürstendamm [FIG. 3.1] was the main commercial street in West Berlin and saw the most action during the movement, with demonstrations over two-miles long being very disruptive to both businesses and citizens alike. Thus highlighting both the significance of place to the movement's character, and also the importance of the location of demonstrations for the impact of the movement.

¹⁶ Daniel Libeskind, *The Space of Encounter*, (London: Thames & Hudson, 2001), p. 70.

¹⁷ Martin Klimke, 'West Germany', p. 105.

¹⁸ Davis, 'City as Theater of Protest', (p. 256).

¹⁹ *Ibid.* p. 258.



FIG. 3.1: PROTEST ON THE KURFÜRSTENDAMM, WEST BERLIN, 21 OCTOBER 1967

West Berlin was seen as a hard city on the front line of the Cold War with its cold, grey and stark bombed buildings which is said by Davis to have 'contributed to the "hard" nature of activists in Berlin'.²⁰ Therefore, the sites chosen for protest were generally due to audience and impact, either on the basis of size or potential disruption. As student activist, Rainer Langhans commented in 1967, 'we want to...fundamentally change society - revolution - and therefore our methods are precisely the disruption or destruction of this society'.²¹ The Henry Ford Auditorium at the FU was often used due to its sheer scale and features often as the meeting place sited in leaflets; it is also significant in name, as well as in capacity.²² The Republican Club was a more human-scale meeting place where participants could sit and discuss issues in comfort.²³ There are also many references in the primary material to squares and streets across the city which were chosen with the intention of obtaining as much attention as possible. The student revolutionaries believed in the possibility of fully

²⁰ Ibid. p. 250.

²¹ UTUB, Berlin/Bestand 705/Signatur 470/Standort C136-4/Unterschrift I.A.Sb/, p. 37. Institut für demoskopie Allensbach. Survey entitled: Student und Politik Sommer 1967: Ein Beitrag zur Frage nach der Ursache der Unruhe an den Universitäten, June 1967.

²² Davis, 'City as Theater of Protest', (p. 264).

²³ Ibid.

expressing cultural creativity, combined with the attention capital cities attract and West Berlin's particularly high profile 'all but guaranteed a wide audience'.²⁴



FIG. 3.2: LOCATION OF THE KURFÜRSTENDAMM, WEST BERLIN

These concepts regarding the power of architecture culminate in sociologist, Sharon Zukin's assertion that to ask 'whose city?' suggests more than a politics of occupation; 'it also asks who has a right to inhabit the dominant image of the city'.²⁵ Inherent in this is the idea that elements of exclusion and segregation were mapped onto streets, neighbourhoods and buildings, as well as being institutionalised in architecture and related planning laws, making social structure and rules intelligible in physical form.²⁶ The idea of occupation is a complex concept, especially in relation to West Berlin in the post-war period; West Berlin was politically occupied and thus the reclaiming of the city was a significant and tangible concern of the protesters.

²⁴ Ibid. p. 257.

²⁵ Sharon Zukin, 'Space and Symbols in an Age of Decline (1996)', in *The City Cultures Reader*, ed. by Malcolm Miles, Tim Hall, and Iain Borden (London: Routledge, 2000), pp. 81-94 (p. 81).

²⁶ Ibid.



FIG. 3.3: FROM ARTICLE 'WHO MAKES GERMAN FASHION?', *CONSTANZE MAGAZINE*, 1963.
BOMB DAMAGED KAISER-WILHELM-GEDÄCHTNIS-KIRCHE AND NEWLY CONSTRUCTED BIKINKI SHOPPING CENTRE, WEST BERLIN

The reconsideration of the relationship between the individual and society was fundamental to the critique of the '68 generation. As previously discussed, one of the key features of society which the movement reacted against was the increase in consumerism that escalated rapidly in the 1950s; the post-war "economic miracle" was seen as vacuous to a generation that had grown-up in the shadow of austerity. This reflects Mannheim's assertion that the more elevated the speed of social and cultural change, the greater the possibility that a particular generation will react to the changes by producing their own principles and identity.²⁷ Student activist "Bommi" Baumann and later key members the Baader-Meinhof Gang confirmed this in reflecting on the liberation that came with 'the possibility of changing yourself, your lifestyle or your identity'.²⁸ Helmut Schelsky predicted, in the 1950s, that this "rebellious" generation would not accept the conservative society

²⁷ Mannheim, 'The Problem of Generations', (p. 309).

²⁸ Bommi Baumann, *Terror or Love?: The Personal Account of a West German Urban Guerrilla*, (London: John Calder, 1979), p. 25.

without protest.²⁹ This added to an already established history in Berlin of protesting in the streets, from the interwar violence of the 1920s to the rise of National Socialism in the 1930s with its associated street warfare. As a *Der Spiegel* editorial reflected in 1966:

Everywhere in the magic district of Berlin, cells and circles have tended to be found - usually still hidden and usually without connection - literati, student groups, film-makers.

Most of them are fleeing, escaping from the industrious platitude of the Federal Republic to Berlin's isolation, which is nevertheless more worldly than any West German city.

"To live in Berlin" said the graphic artist Uwe Bremer, who moved from Bischleben via Hamburg to Berlin, "lifts the sensory perceptions almost like LSD. You see more, you smell more, you live more intensively than in the consumption sanatorium of the Federal Republic."³⁰

The search by the younger generation for 'the direct, the genuine, the real' had existed since the beginning of the twentieth century with the movement against industrialisation, urbanisation, the division of labour, and the subsequent alienation of the individual.³¹ This then caused the development of radical political movements after World War One which sought to reconnect the individual with society through a sense of community. West Berlin's community was now a global one, owing to the imaginary geography of world significance that was enhanced by the arrival of many non-Germans in to the city.³² Many came to Berlin specifically after travelling for months and years as they found it to be the city that reflected the 'world experience'.³³ The city, in its representation of contemporary society, became the subject for analysis and the space for protest.

The first exhibition at *Galerie Block* (see p. 213) was *Neodada, Pop, Décollage, Kapitalistischer Realismus* [Neo-dada, Pop, Décollage, Capitalist Realism], which was composed of work by then unknown artists such as Gerhard Richter, Joseph Beuys, Wolf Vostell, Sigmar Polke (1941-2010) and Nam June Paik (1932-2006). The role of the arts in instigating a critical consideration of society was of key importance. The role of music and

²⁹ See Helmut Schelsky, *Die skeptische Generation: Eine Soziologie der deutschen Jugend*, (Düsseldorf: Diederichs Verlag, 1957).

³⁰ Krüger, 'Das Glitzerding', p. 61.

³¹ Detlef Siegfried, 'White Negroes: The Fascination of the Authentic in the West German Counterculture of the 1960s', in *Changing the World, Changing Oneself: Political Protest and Collective Identities in West Germany and the U.S. In the 1960s and 1970s*, ed. by Belinda Davis, et al. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010), pp. 191-214 (p. 191).

³² Davis, 'City as Theater of Protest', (p. 249).

³³ *Ibid.* p. 254.

fashion are well known as the creators of a generational identity, but in the sixties, the arts were being pushed forward in an attempt to regain their role as the sphere for critique. Düsseldorf is generally identified as the hub of German post-war artistic movements, mainly in the form of “Capitalist Realism” which was a term coined in 1963 by Richter, Polke, Konrad Lueg (1939-96) and Manfred Kuttner (1937-2007). A term that began as a critique of consumerism in a city where the post-war economic miracle was particularly evident, when transferred to West Berlin it became a more general social critique with the involvement of artists such as Wolf Vostell, Karl Horst Hödicke (1938-) and Klaus Peter Brehmer(1938-97).³⁴ The second exhibition at *Galerie Block* was a solo exhibition by Richter entitled *Bilder des Kapitalistischen Realismus* [Images of Capitalist Realism]. Block chose to exhibit the work of his generation, formed of those who had all started together in the mid-sixties from ‘point zero’ and who had grown up together in an unknown political and cultural sphere.³⁵ The interest was in the ability of these artists to combine the reality of the object and the social situation in West Berlin into an artwork.³⁶

It was the Fluxus art movement, however that best suited the situation in West Berlin and provided a concrete reappraisal of the city spaces of West Berlin in order to engender a reaffirmation of the place of the arts in the development of cultural and architectural critique. For example, Fluxus artist, Dick Higgins (1938-98), asserted in 1969 that ‘architecture...is the last art still in a primitive state. Virtually none of the aesthetic revolutions of the twentieth century have touched it’.³⁷ The only innovations Higgins identified were structural and material, whilst the perception, use and function of space had been ‘allowed to remain quagmired in the nineteenth century’.³⁸ The old zoning practices in the vein of Le Corbusier were seen by the Fluxus members as no longer serving contemporary needs to counteract the ‘aridity in our experience’ of the ‘sensory environment’ of the 1960s.³⁹ Higgins believed that architecture could be saved from the

³⁴ Andres, ‘The Archive and Collection of René Block’, (p. 2).

³⁵ Ruttimann and Seinsoth, ‘An Interview with René Block’, 73.

³⁶ Andres, ‘The Archive and Collection of René Block’, (p. 2).

³⁷ Dick Higgins, ‘Introduction’, in *Fantastic Architecture*, ed. by Dick Higgins and Wolf Vostell (New York: Something Else Press, 1969).

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*

tedium of static relationships by using the aesthetic impulses of art which take into account the world as 'he finds it'; politically, socially, formally, perceptually.⁴⁰

The artists involved in the international movement did not see themselves as part of a group or advocates of a particular style, but rather as promoters of an alternative attitude towards art, culture and life.⁴¹ Within the German arm of Fluxus, there was a desire to connect the materiality of place and the objects of daily life to the post-war landscape and the destruction of the modern city.⁴² Wolf Vostell (1932-98) was heavily involved in the international movement and held his first "happenings" at the *Block Galerie* in 1965 including *Phänomene* [Phenomena] and *Berlin 100 Ereignisse: 100 Minuten-100 Stellen für Zufallspublikum* [Berlin 100 Events: 100 minutes-100 points for a random audience]. Vostell was focused on developing a form of urban intervention which intended to alter a well-known place in the city.⁴³ His interest in the social implications of urban living led him to directly connect his work to the streets of Berlin where everyday life was taking place. The function of Vostell's interventions were to open critical spaces within the city in which inhabitants could contemplate the cities destruction, reconstruction and traces of memory and trauma.⁴⁴ Vostell said of his intention:

I consciously make individual ACTIONS and THOUGHTS into an aesthetic process and thus into an artwork. Nonviolent action and thinking in space and time are psycho aesthetic works, sculptures that pass from human energies, - important for every individual's development of self-realization.⁴⁵

For practitioners of art, this demanded a return to the specificity of place and a need for the inhabitants to reconsider the spaces of the city in order to generate a new relationship with the cities in which they lived, but also to re-ignite a sense of individuality and belonging. Vostell coined the term *dé-coll/age* which reflects ideas of breakdown and disjuncture but also a re-assemblage and according to the art historian Claudia Mesch, 'aspires to the remembrance of daily life' through phenomenological relationships with

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Owen F. Smith, 'Fluxus: A Brief History and Other Fictions', in *In the Spirit of Fluxus*, ed. by Janet Jenkins (Minneapolis: Walker Art Center, 1993), pp. 22-37 (p. 24).

⁴² Mesch, 'Modern Art at the Berlin Wall', (p. 176).

⁴³ Markus Heinzemann, *Das Theater ist auf der Strasse: Die Happenings von Wolf Vostell*, (Bielefeld: Kerber 2010), p. 138.

⁴⁴ Claudia Mesch, 'Vostell's Ruins: Dé-Collage and the Mnemotechnic Space of the Postwar City', *Art History*, 23 (2000), 96.

⁴⁵ Vostell quoted in Lisa Bosbach, 'Wolf Vostells Guided-Tour-Happenings: Interventionsstrategien im öffentlichen Raum', *Kunsttexte.de*, 4 (2012) [accessed 23 November 2015] (p. 1).

objects in the space of post-war urban Berlin.⁴⁶ The urban spaces of post-war Germany were areas where both destruction and renewal were in constant conflict, there was a desire both to salvage the city from the destruction of war but also to create a *tabula rasa* for modernisation.

Through Vostell's concept of *dé-coll/age*, the known was dissected and assembled with the new in order to decode and re-appropriate the spaces of the city to engender an analysis of the relationship between people and the world.⁴⁷ The objects of *dé-coll/age* were linked to a particular place in the city and through their re-appropriation created an allegory through which the former function of the object was removed from the object itself and the perception of the object and its function were altered.⁴⁸ The materiality of the *dé-coll/age* object retained a link to the "real world" whilst also encapsulating the modernist tendency to refuse points of reference, akin to the modernist housing estates which showed their link to the present but refused to refer to place.⁴⁹ With his focus on material history, the gathering of the found objects for the artworks became a collective performance between artist and audience.⁵⁰ Thus, the participants were forced to engage with the objects in a different manner due to their removal from the urban space. The participants were both forced to confront previously neglected or repressed places, but also to interact with them. Mesch asserted that Vostell re-appropriated or re-interpreted Benjamin's concept of *flânerie* to make it an active stimulus in the post-war world, was an attempt to 'encompass the cultural necessity of remembrance'.⁵¹ This was a deliberate attempt to force the inhabitants of a city, in the face of a worldview intent on progress, to reflect on the past and the place of the individual within history.

Vostell's focus on fostering a direct relationship with the memory of the city in its post-war state is indicated in his Berlin Happening, *100 Events*, where *flânerie* became a performance method that navigated the urban to invoke a critical perception of the urban environment.⁵² Vostell's interest in the dual aspect of technology resonated in his provocation to contemplate the devastation that technology caused within the city as well

⁴⁶ Mesch, 'Modern Art at the Berlin Wall', (p. 57).

⁴⁷ Bosbach, 'Wolf Vostells Guided-Tour-Happenings', (p. 5).

⁴⁸ Mesch, 'Vostell's Ruins', 93.

⁴⁹ Ibid. p. 96.

⁵⁰ Mesch, 'Modern Art at the Berlin Wall', (p. 55).

⁵¹ Mesch, 'Vostell's Ruins', 88.

⁵² Ibid. p. 100.

as demonstrating the failure of the modernist city, reflecting a general intellectual and artistic ambivalence towards technology in twentieth-century Germany.⁵³ There was a deliberate attempt to reconnect the urban dweller to the city space both; to connect individual and collective memory to public space but also to encourage a contemplation of the present and future connection between the individual and their environment.

Vostell developed a means to express the processes of thought and action in aesthetics to re-examine an individual's relationship with the world. He believed that his audience learned to 'live again' and how to 'capture the psychological truth of the environments' in terms of social and aesthetic processes.⁵⁴ The intention was to make the participant/observer an objective viewer of the world operated within by decontextualizing everyday events. Thus reflecting the mantra that the personal became the political resulting in a greater analysis of the city and society. Lisa Bosbach, art historian, identified Vostell's deliberate seeking of voids in the urban space which held an atmosphere of rupture in post-war Berlin, and in detaching everyday events from their location as attempting to stimulate an alternative view of everyday life.⁵⁵ In *Fantastic Architecture* (1969) authored by Vostell and Higgins, Vostell demanded 'an expansion of physical surroundings, sensibilities, media, through disturbance of the familiar'.⁵⁶ He believed that the contemporary 'repressive architecture of bureaucracy and luxury' imposed restrictions on people and that his and other utopian architectural projects contained within *Fantastic Architecture* would 'free man...from his frustrations'.⁵⁷ Clearly Vostell echoed the link between the urban environment and the current political and social tensions: 'Action is architecture! Everything is architecture!'⁵⁸ Thus, the notion of the static cityscape was being brutally questioned.

Many ideas and actions traversed disciplines and art forms. The idea of the *Spaßguerilla* [fun guerrilla] for example, was built around the concept of revolution through playfulness.⁵⁹ Gilcher-Holtey called the actions of the students *vis ludens* [playful violence]

⁵³ Mesch, 'Modern Art at the Berlin Wall', (p. 177); Mesch, 'Vostell's Ruins', 101.

⁵⁴ Vostell quoted in Bosbach, 'Wolf Vostells Guided-Tour-Happenings', (p. 2).

⁵⁵ Ibid. p. 5.

⁵⁶ Wolf Vostell, 'Preface', in *Fantastic Architecture*, ed. by Dick Higgins and Wolf Vostell (New York: Something else press, 1969).

⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ See Simon Teune, 'Humour as a Guerrilla Tactic: The West German Student Movement's Mockery of the Establishment', *International Review of Social History*, 52 (2007), 115-32.

or *vis subversiva* [subversive violence], and stated their effectiveness as a means of forcing the public to take a stance.⁶⁰ This new experimental social politics was a conscious break with the 'grey austerity and coldness of the old left' in favour of 'a sense of revolution and playfulness' which Lefebvre referred to as carnivalesque; it took on the character of 'the eruption of play in everyday life'.⁶¹ Dieter Kunzelmann stated at the time that 'cities are sand-boxes for grown-up children'.⁶² Thus, the city was the place where students felt they could experiment with new ideas for a new society. And it was in this way that the *Block Galerie* became the focus of action art, sound art, performances and happenings such as the first action to take place at the gallery, Stanley Brouwn's (1935-2017) "This Way Brouwn" where Brouwn asked pedestrians at random to draw directions on a piece of paper in homage to the idea of the *flâneur*.⁶³ Although the gallery was the centre of these activities, artists often extended their actions into the urban space of the city for example Wolf Vostell held a happening in a junkyard, Paik in front of the Brandenburg Gate, and Brazon Brock (1936-) staged experimental theatre on the Kufürstendamm.⁶⁴ The Forum-Theater on the Kufürstendamm became a second venue of the *Block Galerie* and held film evenings by Richard Hamilton (1922-2011) and Dan Graham (1942-), concerts including jazz, modern classical and the electronic *Tangerine Dream*, festivals such as 1970 *Festum Fluzorum*, and performances where Gilbert and George appeared as living sculptures.⁶⁵ This was a "taking-over" of the city, a concept that deliberately traversed boundaries between internal and external, as well as public and private spaces. This founding principle of social critique was presented in a fun and light-hearted manner. Mohr reflects this in relation to the student activist Bernd Rabehl:

[Bernd] thought in the rush forward: It has to be something like liberation, chaos...In happiness and self-irony, in which demonstrators were able to shout in the street: "We are the disciples of Mao and we love the chaos!"⁶⁶

⁶⁰ Ingrid Gilcher-Holtey, 'Transformation by Subversion? The New Left and the Question of Violence', in *Changing the World, Changing Oneself: Political Protest and Collective Identities in West Germany and the U.S. In the 1960s and 1970s*, ed. by Belinda Davis, et al. (New York: Berghahn Books, 2010), pp. 155-70 (p. 165).

⁶¹ Winter, *Dreams of Peace and Freedom*, p. 155.

⁶² Davis, 'City as Theater of Protest', (p. 253).

⁶³ Andres, 'The Archive and Collection of René Block', (p. 2).

⁶⁴ Ibid. p. 3.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Mohr, 'Die Liebe zur Revolution', (p. 34).



FIG. 3.4: FRONT COVER OF AGIT 883, NO. 60, MAY 1970. “AMERICANS OUT OF WEST BERLIN! HAVE THE COURAGE TO FIGHT, HAVE THE COURAGE TO WIN”. PRODUCED IN KREUZBERG, WEST BERLIN

Adding to the increased sense of agency and desire for action, students also set up various newspapers and publications, most notably *Berliner Extra Blatt* and *Agit 883* [FIG. 3.4] who saw their work as a ‘practical contribution to a counter-public sphere’.⁶⁷ This then developed into the political action of ‘Book Theft’ which Andreas Schwab, a former member of the student movement described as ‘the national sport of the Left’ where activists would ‘expropriate’ volumes of Marx’s *Das Kapital* from a ‘bourgeois’ bookshop: ‘a “revolutionary act” in both senses’ [FIG. 3.5].⁶⁸ These books were then handed out at

⁶⁷ Davis, ‘City as Theater of Protest’, (p. 261).

⁶⁸ Andreas Schwab, Beate Schappach, and Manuel Gogos, *Die 68er: Kurzer Sommer - Lange Wirkung*, (Essen: Klartext, 2008), p. 36.

demonstrations to then be discussed at subsequent teach-ins.⁶⁹ This not only highlights the importance of intellectuals to the movement but also the combination of intellectual engagement with physical action. Where possible, the spaces of the city were co-opted to reflect an element of political conflict. Illustrating the complete cultural revolution that was taking place; all forms of art were seen as a foundation for principles and actions that would then transfer to the street and convert the whole of society.



FIG. 3.5: BOOK SHOP CHARLOTTENBERG, WEST BERLIN, 1970

Some of the signatories of the *Diagnose* manifesto were also involved in the establishment of the journal *Arch+*. The first issue was published in January 1968 by students and assistants at the University of Stuttgart with a founding impetus based on ‘a kind of longing for informational theoretical philosophy as taught by Max Bense in Stuttgart’.⁷⁰ Mentors included Dieter Hoffmann-Axthelm, Julius Posener, Otl Aicher, Bruno Schindler, Joachim Krause and Vilém Flusser. Although the magazine was established during the height of the student movement, the topics were not generally political but instead focused on the idea that architecture should include other themes such as planning theory, semiotics,

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Rolf Lautenschläger, ‘Hundert Mal “Arch +”’, *Die Tageszeitung*, (23 February 1990).

mathematics, and quantum theory.⁷¹ It was only after 1972 when offices were opened in Aachen and West Berlin that the magazine became sociologically orientated with signatories of *Aktion 507* taking up editorial positions; notably Nicholas Kuhnert and Marc Fester in Aachen, and Helga Fassbinder in West Berlin.⁷² By 1973 the political orientation of the paper was clear:

we see criticism in the sense of a materialistic analysis of existing social conditions as a basis for the political practice developed by Marx in the system of political economy. This criticism aims at laying the scientific foundations for a political strategy development in the process of the necessary emancipation of the whole society from the social conditions themselves.⁷³

However after the failed attempts to ‘contribute to the organised struggle of wage earners against these living conditions’ the Berlin group left the paper in 1975 and the “protest period” of *Arch+* was over.⁷⁴ The place of literature and the creation of publications to instigate change and to inform the public about “what was really going on” was therefore fundamental to the action of the student movement as a whole. Fassbinder recalled that it was ‘closely connected with thoughts on emancipatory education. One arm was the formation planning by progressive principles, the other arm was public elucidation’.⁷⁵

There are references throughout the texts, both literary and archival, to the café at Steinplatz, near the TU where students, including Dutschke, would go ‘to learn where many ideas were revolutionary law in the world’.⁷⁶ Dutschke is reported to have had a meeting with members of *Subversive Aktion* in the IG-Metall-Haus in Pichelsdorf in June 1967. This meeting occurred shortly after the decisive shooting of the student Benno Ohnesorg by police during a demonstration, which is widely cited as a turning point in the student movement to a much more radical and violent form of protest. Hartmut Frank recalled that in the days following the shooting the FU and TU reacted in an ‘unprecedented manner by distributing leaflets to every household in the city, informing them about what had really been happening. For the several days the campaign lasted, the TU students took over the

⁷¹ ‘Editorial’, in *Arch+*, (1 December 1973), pp. 1-5 (p. 4).

⁷² ‘Arch+: Kurzfassung’, ARCH+ Verlag GmbH, (2010)
<<http://www.archplus.net/home/about/44,0,1,0.html>> [accessed 22 August 2017]

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ ‘Editorial: Zur Berufspraxis der Architekten’, in *Arch+*, (1 July 1974), pp. 1-7 (p. 1).

⁷⁵ Krau, ‘Die Zeit der Diagnose’, 343.

⁷⁶ Ibid.

north of West Berlin, and the FU students, the south'.⁷⁷ It is also interesting to note that Room 507 again became the focus for activity: 'it was no accident as the campaign had been run almost exclusively by architecture students, and Ungers's seminar room boasted an efficient printer which was used for printing departmental publications.'⁷⁸ According to Gretchen, 'Rudi called it a historic meeting about the present and future of West Berlin' with the result of creating 'a plan for the seizure of power in the city'.⁷⁹ The idea was that, ultimately, the new West Berlin would serve as a 'transmission belt that would transform both the Federal Republic and the GDR'.⁸⁰ This indicates not only the significance that was placed on West Berlin as a revolutionary city but also demonstrates the sheer scale of ambition within certain pockets of the student movement.

⁷⁷ Frank, 'Crisis or Sea Change?', (p. 171).

⁷⁸ Ibid.

⁷⁹ Dutschke-Klotz, Rudi Dutschke, p. 143.

⁸⁰ David E. Barclay, 'Benno Ohnesorg, Rudi Dutschke, and the Student Movement in West Berlin: Critical Reflections after Forty Years', in *Berlin Divided City: 1945-1989*, ed. by Philip Broadbent and Sabine Hake (New York: Bergahn Books, 2010), p. 131.

It can be seen therefore, how central the arts were in re-defining the relationship between citizen and city and that *Aktion 507* were intent on instigating this change within the architectural profession. When transferred to the sphere of built architecture, the question became one of authenticity; did architecture accurately reflect the society that constructed it, was the capitalist post-war world indeed democratic, and furthermore, was a democratic aesthetic even possible?

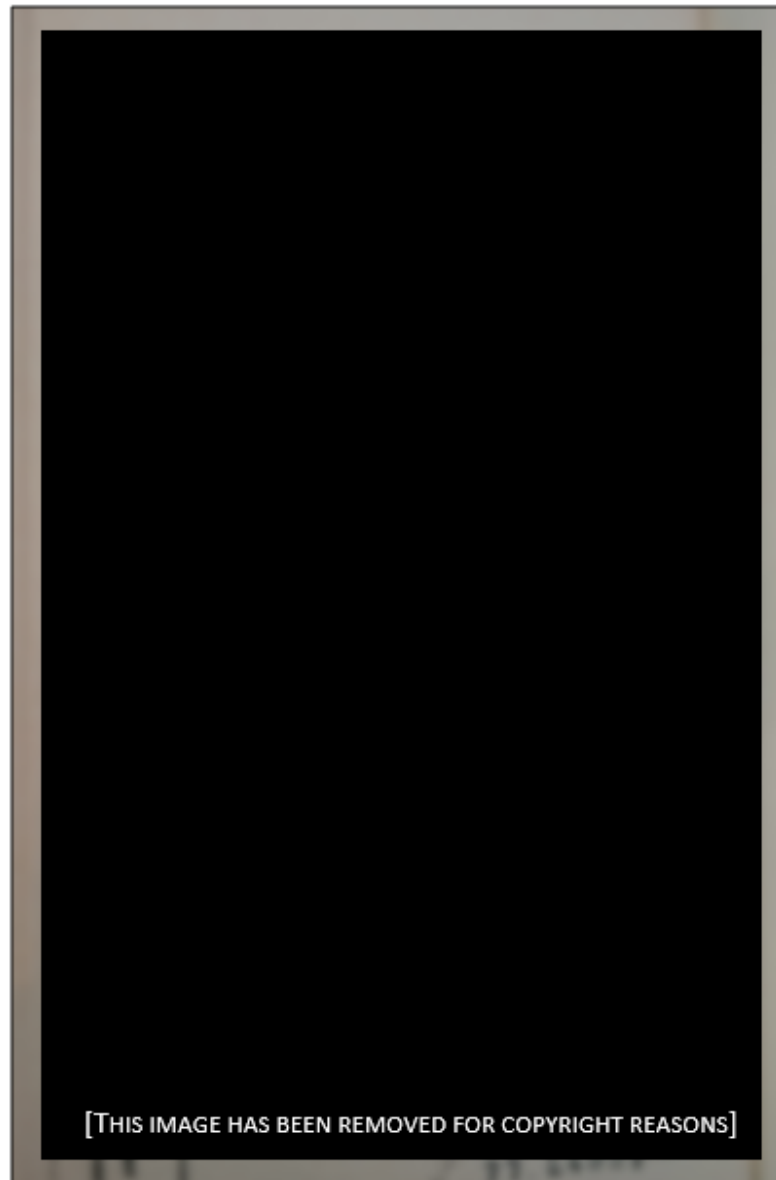


FIG. 3.6: FIST OF SOLIDARITY INCORPORATED INTO A SKETCH OF A HIGH-RISE, IN JOHANNES BECK, *WOHNSTE SOZIAL, HASTE DIE QUAL*, 1975

The key figure who critiqued this concept of a democratic form of building was Adolf Arndt. His famous lecture '*Demokratie als Bauherr*' [Democracy as Builder] (1960) held a key

position within *Aktion 507*'s manifesto and particularly their discussion of "political architecture":

Political Architecture

- a case study

In his lecture "Democracy as Builder" on the occasion of the *Bauwochen* Festival 1960, Adolf Arndt regarded it as secondary to ask:

"How do the trustees of the public sector, the authorities, have to act towards construction for them to be democratically credible in their processes"

He was primarily concerned with:

"from a political point of view, to build is not about the number of administrative buildings, but rather their inherent politically held form and spirit."

Arndt asked:

"Embodied in these buildings is there something of the spirit of democracy, something of the new political understanding of man, his community and his freedom?"

A. Arndt focused on conspicuous democratic achievement at the hands of the "[*Baumeister*] Buildings' creator":

"For political reasons, for the sake of democratic self-consciousness of social forces, I am convinced though that an inner core of public buildings, in which the whole community finds its highest and comprehensive expression, cultural buildings, political structures, are to be entrusted to independent architects- because of the objective that such buildings should be works of architecture."

As long as the primary concern is with such model building projects, and not a democratic mode of developing our built environment, the idea of democracy in building does not go beyond substitutes guided by historical models of self-expression.

Does the notion of a possible identity of the form of the state and the form of architecture not give rise to a similar appraisal of the relationship between architectural supply and social influence? Corresponding to the KU [*Kritische Universität*] slogan:

"Stop building" (Symposium 67), which at least, consciously or unconsciously, starts from the same premise.

Democracy does not require the intent of "democratic" representation, if those who build, build for the democratic process. This also requires no formal prejudice. (see the Aestheticisation of Politics - W. Benjamin)⁸¹

⁸¹ Aktion 507, 'Manifest', (p. 82).

The key question for many, including Arndt, was whether ‘architecture in a democracy must be different from architecture within a non-democratic system’.⁸² Arndt saw a politically totalitarian space that was not orientated on man but, ‘to speak in the language of inhumanity’, man orients.⁸³ Arndt went on to comment that it was not a coincidence that secret police operated in basements or that barracks rose above cities so that they responded to people by inducing particular emotional responses: the Coliseum for example ‘turned the monstrous colossal man into a pavlovian dog’.⁸⁴ Thus, the ability of architecture to manipulate was of fundamental concern. One of the *Diagnose* working groups “Social Psychology and Politics”, saw ‘form as an expression of the creation of contained authoritarian rule over people’.⁸⁵ The decisions behind urban planning were therefore seen to be imbued with ideological intent to make society behave in a particular and predictable way and it is this concern with controlling influence of architecture that is the concern of this section.



FIG. 3.7: ERNST REUTER PLATZ, WEST BERLIN, 1960

Arndt used Ernst Reuter Platz where *Aktion 507*'s architecture school was based [FIG. 3.7] to demonstrate this point:

⁸² Arndt, ‘Demokratie als Bauherr’, (p. 217).

⁸³ Ibid. p. 222.

⁸⁴ Ibid. pp. 222-3.

⁸⁵ Krau, ‘Die Zeit der Diagnose’, 344.

it is not a game, not a mere adornment that Berlin's east-west axis is interrupted by Mr Düttmann at Ernst-Reuter-Platz by fountains; because the retaining of an axis in such a road, would be the retaining of temptation.⁸⁶

The old east-west axis was part of Hitler and Speer's plans for the capital of Germania and Arndt sees the disturbance of this axes by fountains as a means of preventing temptation towards fascism or perhaps to action of any kind. Architecture and urban planning was therefore understood as a means of exercising control over a populace that was not just limited to totalitarian regimes. For *Aktion 507*, this attitude related to a:

monumental blindness to the realisation that through the superficial avoidance of ruling symbols – as can be the case with monumentality – actual power relations are not touched, but are camouflaged.⁸⁷

The students identified the deliberate lack of symbols in architecture as an intentional disguising of the post-war situation. For *Aktion 507*, post-war functionalist architecture was deceitful in its pretence of reflecting a democratic and post-fascist ethos. *Aktion 507* condemned the functionalist aesthetic with the same ideological character of National Socialist architecture – as a propagandist task imbued with self-interest and “repressive control mechanisms”. Post-war critics believed that the homogeneity enforced by new construction could be altered through a change in human relations in urban space rather than through building structures. Buildings were seen to create the two avenues of escape; that of the family which was incapable of altering human interactions in a wider setting, and aesthetics which deceptively replaced affective relationships.⁸⁸ There was therefore a cycle which prevented development; society created architecture and architecture in turn created society. Caruso for example, commented on how society created its own individual climate, both socially and psychologically:

the mode of production and of the exchange of cultural values in a given society determines the structure of its institutions. Institutional organisation serves to maintain society by perpetuating its structure and its type of human relations. The system of ownership and exchange, perpetuated by the dominant institutions, directly influences the psychosocial factors which form the framework inside which groups and individuals develop. A given society, for example capitalist society, creates a psycho-social climate all of its own.⁸⁹

⁸⁶ Arndt, 'Demokratie als Bauherr', (p. 223).

⁸⁷ Aktion 507, 'Manifest', (p. 36).

⁸⁸ Mitscherlich, *Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte*, p. 38.

⁸⁹ Caruso, 'Psychoanalysis and Society', 28.

Both the “alienation from work” and the need for competition caused a lack of solidarity and was seen to manifest itself in a struggle by everyone against everyone.⁹⁰ The relationships between individuals were understood to have developed alongside developments within society. In the past, those who were wealthy and thus had an impact on the development of the urban structure, were seen to be represented in the architecture of the city by constructing their homes in the centre which demonstrated ‘their share in the life of the community’.⁹¹ By contrast, industrialised society was understood to demonstrate the lack of interest capitalists had in the fate of the city despite the key part they played in altering its appearance. Bahrtdt complained that the industrialists and capitalists with their great political power remained invisible in the city and instead chose to live outside of the metropolis at the edge of the forest ‘where the soot of their factories does not penetrate’.⁹² This was seen as deeply immoral:

anyone who, by investing in industrial goods, can disturb the whole life of a city also has a duty to look after what the city is now. This duty has not yet been met by building apartments for employees on a grand scale.⁹³

There was therefore seen to be a lack of responsibility in post-war society. The reliance on rational policies was seen to diminish the importance of the individual in the creation of society and this led to a society in which those involved had no sense of duty towards the whole. In discussing Hillbrecht’s question of what right economic enterprises had to determine the silhouette of the city, Horn believed was answered simply: ‘organisations name the right themselves’.⁹⁴ *Der Spiegel* noted that those determining urban planning policies had neglected to follow article fourteen, paragraph two of the *Grundgesetzes* [German Constitution] in reference to property: ‘its use should also serve the public good’.⁹⁵ For Arndt however, the idea that any mass could be democratic was absurd:

a mass as manipulatable, deprived of purpose by the ideology conscious requires totalitarian power. Democracy depends on individuation because it is the only form of state and society that does not satisfy a forced or seduced ignorant and irresponsible agreement, a unilateral and blind obedience, but instead the existence of free and conscious consent.⁹⁶

⁹⁰ Ibid. pp. 28-9.

⁹¹ Bahrtdt, *Die moderne Großstadt*, p. 87.

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ Horn, ‘Zweckrationalität in der modernen Architektur’, (pp. 135-6).

⁹⁵ ‘Es bröckelt’, p. 62.

⁹⁶ Arndt, ‘Demokratie als Bauherr’, (pp. 235-6).

In this way, Arndt acknowledged the difficulty in achieving absolute democracy due to its dependence on the interactions of organised political power and the free elements of political society alongside politically engaged people, however it was 'the most human lifestyle' and thus something to be striven for.⁹⁷ Everything, including architecture, within a democracy was required by Arndt to be 'set up to help man to his maturity and to allow him to be conscious of himself in the world' that he is a 'political being who [...] contributes his part to a shared historic responsibility'.⁹⁸ Arndt used the example of the failure of the Weimar Republic to demonstrate the failure of democracy in a state that was democratically organised but with a society which was anti-democratically structured which had led to the development of 'a-political people'.⁹⁹

This belief in the ideological and repressive content of functionalism led the students to conclude that 'any profound sociological, psychological, medical, technological, or economic reflection was neglected'.¹⁰⁰ Ideology of any kind was identified as inhibiting self-reflection and development for the common good. The students then identified four ideological responses in the sphere of architecture in the 1960s:

Small typology of the counter-currents in the 60s:

1. the return of architecture as art(pieces) in the form of an eclectic return to modern classics or the phenomena of traditional architecture including ornament, monument, symmetry,
2. the sociologists with the global construction ideology of the play set and social aesthetic,
3. the utilitarians with the message of salvation from prefabricated construction,
4. the utopians, who give themselves social interests, but in principle put nothing forward but the absolute potential of today's technological modes of production as a framework for the future.¹⁰¹

The criticism of the above approaches aligned with the students' criticism of society and all of its institutions and related bureaucracy, which in their view was akin to adhering to a totalitarian ideology. Adorno neatly encapsulated this as evidence of the fact that 'absolute rejection of a style becomes style'.¹⁰² *Aktion 507's* manifesto referenced Reyner Banham's

⁹⁷ Ibid. p. 236.

⁹⁸ Ibid. p. 225.

⁹⁹ Ibid. pp. 225-6.

¹⁰⁰ *Aktion 507*, 'Manifest', (p. 69).

¹⁰¹ Ibid. p. 71.

¹⁰² Adorno, 'Functionalism Today', (p. 8).

Theory and Design in the First Machine Age (1960) in which he noted that although the functionalist aesthetic was austere, the style was in fact imbued with associations and current symbolic values.¹⁰³ Bloch referred to these modernist planning principles as the urban fantasy of the “vacuum clean” in which the architecture of the *New Sachlichkeit* [New Objectivity] corresponded to ‘creatures of steel furniture, concrete cubes, and flat roofs’ that:

stood around without history, highly modern and boring, seemingly courageous and truly trivial, allegedly full of hatred against the empty phrases of all ornaments and yet more stuck in schemes than any copy of style during the terrible nineteenth century.¹⁰⁴

Thus, *Aktion 507* and those scholars whom they were influenced by, called into repute the idea that modernism was without a particular intent or ideology. Clearly, Bloch did not have any appreciation for an architectural style that reused the “terrible” nineteenth century, but he likewise refuted the claim that modernism was adhering to schemes any less. The adherence to functionalist aesthetics as a display of non-ideology was deemed dishonest, but also impossible. Adorno for example stated: ‘no form can be said to be determined exhaustively by its purpose’.¹⁰⁵ The fear was that the authority of technical interests had extended into the social sphere and functionalism was seen to add to this development, which Horn criticised as “ideology”.¹⁰⁶

This was linked to what *Aktion 507* saw as the totalitarian rule and the pre-war continuation of the bourgeois hierarchies with the masses being dominated by the few as discussed in Chapter Two. Representational building was seen to be impossible to Bahrtdt in the contemporary context, as shifting to an invention of symbols or to a new monumentality would jeopardise the honesty of modern architecture, and disturb daily life in its jarring with reality.¹⁰⁷ He questioned:

¹⁰³ Banham, *Theory and Design in the First Machine Age*, p. 325.

¹⁰⁴ Bloch, ‘Building in Empty Spaces (1959)’, (p. 188).

¹⁰⁵ Adorno, ‘Functionalism Today’.

¹⁰⁶ Horn, ‘Zweckrationalität in der modernen Architektur’, (p. 108).

¹⁰⁷ Bahrtdt, *Die moderne Großstadt*, p. 122.

Do we love our epoch so much that we want to capture it in monuments? Shall we flaunt and attempt to outdo our monumental utility buildings with state buildings which we can only fill with bureaucracy? Shall we surround ourselves with a forest of beautiful but abstract signs, with a firework of blinkers, all of which point to something that remains invisible? Or do we not have to persist in a puristic, largely functionalist approach, and hope that our gradually sharpened vision of simple and dignified solutions will read out what concerns us all?¹⁰⁸

The argument was that constructing an architecture that was deemed to be symbolic was disingenuous as post-war society was still not critically capable of accurately reflecting on the contemporary situation.

This lack of critical awareness was also seen to be prevalent in modern architecture. It was this deliberate masking of an inherent ideology which *Aktion 507* and many other critics of the post-war situation found so reactionary. In his essay 'Building in Hollow Space' (1959), for example, Bloch referred to the space of capitalism as *Hohlraum* [hollow space] where the external 'glimmering' surface was a veil hiding an empty shell which was seen to reflect the empty values of capitalism which demanded pursuit.¹⁰⁹ The criticism of capitalism was due to its idealisation of progress in terms of economic prosperity, and despite the promotion of society as democratic and non-ideological, cultural and architectural critics saw a dominant ideology which had a particular set of aesthetics. As Marcuse stated: 'domination has its own aesthetics, and democratic domination has its democratic aesthetics'.¹¹⁰

From a political perspective, Arndt believed that architects and particularly those who were influenced by the Bauhaus, 'turned towards industrial building' so that work spaces became more human but also that human spaces became more industrial.¹¹¹ Capitalism created a "hollow life" and the architecture created by this impulse was seen to reflect this sterility. Bloch's criticism of modern architecture was that it was forcing a connection to the outside world which was premature:

¹⁰⁸ Ibid. p. 124.

¹⁰⁹ Heynen, *Architecture and Modernity*, p. 123.

¹¹⁰ Marcuse, *One Dimensional Man*, p. 68.

¹¹¹ Arndt, 'Demokratie als Bauherr', (p. 219).

The essential feature with which the new architecture began was openness: it broke the dark stone caves, it opened up fields of vision through light glass walls, but this will towards an adjustment with the outside world was undoubtedly premature. The de-internalisation turned into hollowness, the southern pleasure in the outside world did not, at the present sight of the capitalist outside world, turn into happiness. For nothing good happens here in the street, in the sun; the open door, the opened windows are threatening in the age of growing fascism, the house prefers to become a fortress again, if not a catacomb. The broad window full of nothing but outside world needs an outdoors full of attractive strangers, not full of Nazis; the glass door right down to the floor really requires sunshine to peer and break in, not the gestapo.¹¹²

The outside world first needed to be made worthy of the full-length windows, it needed to enhance the interior and by default the lives of those who lived behind the glass windows. According to Horn, a home was created by increasing the degree of enlightenment and recognition within society and therefore the problem was not primarily a question of architecture but one of 'architecture in *this* society'.¹¹³ The relationship between private and public spaces needed to be re-envisaged to justify the architectural connection between interior and exterior. Horn elucidated:

the disassembly of subjects into functions and the construction of their immediate environment according to the criteria of only very specific socio-functional needs [...] belongs to the standard scientific instruments of rule, which also includes architecture. In this form of the merely purposeful relation between subjects and nature, to one another and to oneself, the social division of labour reproduces itself in the private sphere.¹¹⁴

It was argued that relationships between individuals became rationalised due to a mirroring of the experience in the workforce. The philosopher Georg Lukács explained this Marxist concept of reification as 'his own labour becomes something objective and independent of him, something that controls him by virtue of an autonomy alien to man'.¹¹⁵ This influenced the form of construction as well as how people behaved within the spaces. The real issue was that architecture was deemed to be unreflective of reality. For example, when Bloch and Adorno were invited by the *Deutscher Werkbund* to contribute to a seminar '*Bildung durch Gestalt*' [Education by Design], Bloch questioned whether the concept behind functionalism of honesty, in terms of form and materials, was appropriate for a society that

¹¹² Bloch, *The Principle of Hope*, Vol. 2, p. 734.

¹¹³ Horn, 'Zweckrationalität in der modernen Architektur', (p. 130). Author's emphasis.

¹¹⁴ Ibid. pp. 122-3.

¹¹⁵ Georg Lukács, *History and Class Consciousness: Studies in Marxist Dialectics*, (London: Merlin Press, 1971), p. 87.

was not itself characterised by honesty.¹¹⁶ Horn elucidated that the goal of functionalism was perceived as an attempt to provide an honest architecture which was appropriate for the Age of Reason, able to dispense with symbolic ornament as unfulfilled hopes had since been satisfied. Yet, what developed, according to Horn, was the 'absorption of human needs into suitably constructed basic commodities' and caused functionalism to become involved in a dominant relationship.¹¹⁷ Architectural style was therefore seen to actively propagate and enforce the rule of capitalism on those who lived within its buildings.

Aktion 507 make it clear that they believed the dominance of capitalist economics and the resulting division of society as being evidenced in the built environment:

This politics of balancing interests serves the interests of individuals in the roles of the sanctioned apparatus. In the form of these roles, the economically determined society compulsively opposes the psyche. Increasingly, the pre-existing division of society is becoming spatially visible.¹¹⁸

In her analysis of functionalism, Berndt suggested that the increased division of labour and society caused an emphasis on transport and the division of urban spaces, in contrast to the medieval town where the rich were safely enclosed in the centre and certain groups were isolated outside of the city walls.¹¹⁹ The situation was almost reversed in the post-war world with the poorest and socially undesirable again isolated on the edge of the city. The new elites demonstrated their dominance in the city centre with the erection of buildings declaring economic power and defining the city silhouette. For Arndt, it was not necessarily a case of the amount of the administrative buildings, but rather their 'internal, politically-conceived shape and spirit'.¹²⁰ This was noted by Goerd Peschken, member of *Aktion 507*, who commented that the intention was for Berlin to look as though it were 'economically blooming'.¹²¹ Aesthetically, there was a direct correlation between rational forms and economic development which dominated construction in the post-war city. Before industrialisation, cities were arranged around the 'tension between the dual centres of church and state (cathedral and city hall) which allowed for the expansion of space, yet the emergence of factories, according to Arndt:

¹¹⁶ Heynen, *Architecture and Modernity*, p. 124.

¹¹⁷ Horn, 'Zweckrationalität in der modernen Architektur', (p. 110).

¹¹⁸ *Aktion 507*, 'Manifest', (p. 33).

¹¹⁹ Berndt, 'Funktionalismus', (p. 16).

¹²⁰ Arndt, 'Demokratie als Bauherr', (p. 221).

¹²¹ Peschken, 'Aktion 507'.

pushed the geometric violence of absolute rule which imposed its linear dominance...by carving streets and prospects into “axes” in the landscape and even startled the plants into geometric shapes.¹²²



FIG. 3.8: FRIEDRICH EBERT, HERMANN JÜNEMANN AND HANS SCHÄDEL, *PLÖTZENSEE CHURCH OF MARIA REGINA MARTYRUM*, WEST BERLIN, RECONFIGURED IN 1963

This ironic tone indicates the perceived force of capitalism and its corresponding urban forms which were seen to spare nothing in their desire for dominance and adherence. For Marcuse, this was also linked to an aesthetics of globalisation where cities and roads and national parks replaced villages, valleys and forests and ‘then these areas lost their character as a qualitatively different reality, as areas of contradiction’.¹²³ A lack of inspiration in the current cityscape was deemed problematic for the development of true democracy. Capitalism created the consumer who was seen to have developed into a living-space consumer, and the question was developed as to how this consumer could instigate change in the city.¹²⁴ What had occurred, according to Mitscherlich, was the self-destruction of the urban culture at the hands of capitalism. Horn used the example of the Plötzensee Church of Maria Regina Martyrum [Fig. 3.8] which was reconfigured in 1963 to show the prevailing desire for social reason and rationality. It is worthy of note that the

¹²² Arndt, ‘Demokratie als Bauherr’, (p. 218).

¹²³ Marcuse, *One Dimensional Man*, p. 69.

¹²⁴ Mitscherlich, *Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte*.

building was designed as a memorial to ‘honour the martyrs for freedom of religion and conscience in the years 1933-45’ as the direct translation of the church’s full name states, due to its location close to Plötzensee Prison, where those who resisted National Socialism were executed, including those involved in the assassination attempt on Hitler on 22 July 1944. Horn stated that its design and construction were based solely on the profit motive due to its functionalist aesthetic and use of the means of mass production and, contrary to the traditional function of religious buildings, not on the needs of people, leaving behind *Baukunst* [the art of construction] in favour of ‘psychological hygiene’.¹²⁵



FIG. 3.9: DELIVERY OF PREFABRICATED PANELS, MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, 1969

Even the use of panels in construction [FIG. 3.9] was seen to express a social trend; according to Arndt, it ‘came from a time that hid much and had much to hide’ and so the cladding of buildings, rather than being functionless, had the political function of concealment.¹²⁶ This perceived deliberate denial of reality was what spurred much of the criticism. Adorno for example commented that ‘a work must cut through the contradictions

¹²⁵ Horn, ‘Zweckrationalität in der modernen Architektur’, (pp. 120-1).

¹²⁶ Arndt, ‘Demokratie als Bauherr’, (p. 227).

and overcome them, not by covering them up, but by pursuing them'.¹²⁷ The style of architecture was both seen to be indicative of a blatant attempt to disguise the post-war realities but also, as argued by Mitscherlich, to demonstrate social weakness:

When I look at these blocks of flats they appear to me as the epitome of a surrendering to the high head count. The monotony of the window sequences of most of the high-rise buildings and the rigid addition of housing estates are abject proof of weakness in order to keep pace with biological processes (reproduction) and those triggered by technology (agglomeration).¹²⁸

With regards to much of the discussion about what an appropriate architecture would look like, most of the intellectuals consulted by *Aktion 507* returned to the idea that once society had changed for the better then a reflective architecture would naturally evolve; or in Marxist terminology the superstructure would reflect the base. *Aktion 507* concluded that there was no definitive way to achieve their aims as they did not want to formalise approaches and would rather they arose naturally from the situation.¹²⁹

The aesthetics of new construction were therefore understood to prevent much needed critical appraisal and reconsideration of the discipline. The global nature of the international style meant that the city was not only losing its image in favour of the government's vision, but also the elements which were seen to make individual cities unique were being reduced into a generic image of the democratic west. The German artist, Gerhard Richter directly addressed this issue in the 1960s and 1970s. He produced almost fifty *Stadtbilder* [townscapes] paintings between 1968-70, some of which were exhibited at *Galerie Block*. The *Stadtbilder* show aerial views of various cities, mainly in West Germany, but also of Paris and Madrid, in abstraction. Most of the images he selected from architecture books were deliberately generic, lacked detail and were titled to obscure their identity. Richter also intended a visual connection to post-war imagery of war-damaged cities, which Richter recalled in hindsight: 'When I look back on the townscapes now, they do seem to me to recall certain images of the destruction of Dresden during the war'.¹³⁰ Richter was interested in showing the similarities in the block-like appearance of post-war

¹²⁷ Adorno, 'Functionalism Today', (p. 17).

¹²⁸ Mitscherlich, *Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte*, p. 19.

¹²⁹ *Aktion 507*, 'Manifest', (p. 47).

¹³⁰ Richter, Comments on Some Works, 1991 in Dietmar Elger and Hans Ulrich Obrist, 'Gerhard Richter: Text: Writings, Interviews and Letters, 1961-2007', (London: Thames and Hudson, 2009), (p. 262).

urban architecture. The pictorial sources for his townscapes, plates 106-24 show aerial photographs of various West German cities such as Essen, Wuppertal, Frankfurt am Main and Bonn as well as photographs of architectural models.¹³¹ Richter's *Atlas* exhibition catalogue includes the photographs Richter collated, from magazines, newspapers, and books as well as those he had taken himself to use as source material for his paintings.¹³²



FIG. 3.10: GERHARD RICHTER, PLATE 108 SHOWING THE MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL

The upper left image on plate 108 [FIG. 3.10] shows a view of the Märkisches Viertel alongside similar developments in other German cities such as Munich and Wuppertal. Thus, a connection can be made between the Märkisches Viertel development and the new seemingly generic face of post-war German cities. Richter stated: 'I was attracted by those dead cities' and refers to them as 'stony wastes, arid stuff' and that his *Stadtbilder* were 'an attempt to convey content of a more universal kind'.¹³³ Indicating that many of those involved in the arts in the post-war era were considering the cityscape as a place of deeply contested views. The universality and homogeneity of contemporary construction meant that the student movement, and many of the intellectuals who fed into their critique, wanted to return a sense of individuality to the spaces of the city and that the image of the city should be one that reflected the unique nature of that place. In post-war Berlin, the

¹³¹ Elger, *Gerhard Richter: A Life in Painting*, p. 158.

¹³² See Gerhard Richter, *Atlas of the Photographs, Collages and Sketches* (London: Anthony d'Offay, 1997).

¹³³ Interview with Benjamin H. D. Buchloh, 1986 in Elger and Obrist, 'Gerhard Richter: Text', (p. 174).

weight of history drove the planners and officials to desire a lack of individuality for the city, and rather to demonstrate that the city and its inhabitants were the same as their new allies in the West; forward-thinking, democratic, without any thoughts of dominance, hierarchy or individuality. The fear for some however was that with the loss of capital city status, Berlin would also lose its own specific identity in the domination of functionalist aesthetics. For example, Krüger of *Der Spiegel* commented:

In many ways, West Berlin resembles its widows. It threatens to become as functionless as they are. The same as her life in the city of memory - as a survivor of German history and of the great men who lie ivy-entwined in old cemeteries. [...] Many old Berliners are so intimate with the past that they refuse to perceive reality. They have never been to the Wall and are afraid to see it.¹³⁴

For *Aktion 507*, the inherent irony with which the state claimed to be democratic and that urban planning was focused on the needs of the individual, was understood as a method of repression from which there was no escape without a new critical mentality:

SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY

Social Psychology and Politics

“The interest in knowledge ... requires a specific experience that is held just as in Hegel’s *Phenomenology of Spirit*, as in Freud’s psychoanalysis -. The experience of emancipation through critical insight in violent relationships, whose objectivity alone comes from the fact that they cannot see through it”

Urban Planning and Liberation

Urban development, which has the liberation of man as its goal and not the perpetuation of power relations and its supporting rules, must be based on a critical theory that reflects the contradictions in society in their current form. These contradictions manifest themselves not only in classes and social classes on the basis of the power of control, but in solidified role structures and their spatial correspondence: cultural-, sleep-, consumption, labour- ghettos.

Marx, in the *Appropriation of Surplus Value* (alienation from the product) highlighted that alienation will be perpetuated in our society. The social contradiction appears disguised: society is divided into ruling and dependent consumers. Politics, that upholds this system, by maintaining this economic control loop, cannot be called democratic. It is repressive.

That is why all that is to be expected from urban planning measures, which start with the freedom of living, consumption, and entertainment, attach so much importance to their creators and to public opinion in order to consolidate the contradictions. The objectivity of the compulsory nature of

¹³⁴ Krüger, ‘Das Glitzerding’, p. 48.

this freedom is precisely what remains incomprehensible, and the constantly stated freedom of the individual is thus currently prevented.¹³⁵

Politics which allowed for the continuation of the previous system of alienation of the individual from society, was therefore seen to be unable to authentically call itself democratic. The impenetrability of the present economic policies and the use of the media in obscuring this reality was identified by *Aktion 507*, as preventing the freedom which the state claimed it was enabling. For *Aktion 507*, and the student movement in general, the need for intervention was paramount, and it was they who converted the theories into practical action.

The critiques of post-war architecture attempted to demonstrate that space was a product of these complex social relations and the role of architecture directed how society operated, and so architecture was understood to codify places 'set within the system of power relations'.¹³⁶ Therefore, these power relations needed to be disrupted through criticality and discussions between various interest groups. Other suggestions from influential theorists bordered on the practical. Bahrtdt, for example, suggested that the solution was to plan apartments first around the private needs of individuals, which would then determine the form of the sub-assemblies, followed by districts and city boundaries.¹³⁷ Horn also identified the main problem with society was that it was built from the outside in, rather than from the inside out.¹³⁸ Thus, the determination of private living needs were at the centre of many critics' demands for change in current planning policies. The need to investigate and determine exactly what those needs were, was therefore at the forefront of the development plan which included an interdisciplinary approach.

¹³⁵ *Aktion 507*, 'Manifest', (p. 30).

¹³⁶ Gordana Fontana-Giusti, *Foucault for Architects*, (London: Routledge, 2013), p. 253.

¹³⁷ Bahrtdt, *Die moderne Großstadt*, p. 114.

¹³⁸ Horn, 'Zweckrationalität in der modernen Architektur', (p. 128).

SECTION CONCLUSION

It can be seen therefore, that the ownership and potential futures of the city were under deep contestation, both within the student movement as well as within institutions. The need to engender a critical voice in the post-war world was seen to be fundamental in triggering a change within society. The arts became the place where changes in the relationship between inhabitant and city could be fostered. The consideration of *if* and *how* a democratic architecture or urban planning ethos was possible fostered much debate in a post-war world dealing with the aftermath of political extremes. The debate came to be about the fundamental morality of the post-war world and how that society valued its individuals, and the built environment became a place where this morality was made visible. The concern with the domination and manipulation possible through urban planning and architecture was heightened in the aftermath of fascism, and thus the debate about the possibility of a truly democratic architecture gained traction. *Aktion 507's* pragmatic suggestions, indicate this combination of agency and criticality which was intended to bring the citizen out of subservience and into a pivotal role in creating a society that was fit for the needs of the individual.

SECTION 3.2 SOCIOLOGY PROVIDES A POTENTIAL SOLUTION

This section will consider the solutions identified by *Aktion 507* and the intellectuals they were influenced by. Many architects, including some of those working at the Märkisches Viertel, such as Shadrach Woods and O.M. Ungers who were both members of Team 10, identified the same problems as *Aktion 507* in their condemnation of functionalist planning. However, somewhat surprisingly, Baller recalled that:

Team 10 was largely unknown to the students. I myself worked for Hermann Hertzberger, the secretary of Team 10 when his IBA project was realised in Berlin. So there were connections.¹³⁹

Team 10's manifesto stated: 'realisation of the inadequacies of the processes of architectural thought which they had inherited from the modern movement' reflecting the criticism of *Aktion 507*.¹⁴⁰ However, contrary to *Aktion 507*, Team 10 saw 'the appropriateness of any solution may lie in the field of architectural invention rather than social anthropology'.¹⁴¹ *Aktion 507*, however, saw social anthropology as fundamental to developing an appropriate architecture. This section will therefore incorporate the social critiques into the alternative ways in which key protagonists in the post-war debates considered the urban environment. The fundamental ways in which the role of the architect could change as well as the action that was seen as essential to this will be shown in the founding of the *Kritische Universität* [Critical University] as well as in other activities that took place in the Märkisches Viertel.

¹³⁹ Baller, 'Aktion 507'.

¹⁴⁰ Alison Smithson, 'Team 10 Primer', (London: Studio Vista, 1968), (p. 3).

¹⁴¹ Ibid. p. 75.

As identified in the previous two chapters, a key element of criticism was that many of the new housing developments such as the Märkisches Viertel were earmarked for social housing. The new estates were highly contentious in their use of the term “social”.

Mitscherlich, for example, stated:

To apply the word “social” to subsidized housing after 1945 can only be called hypocrisy. It promoted the exclusion of the citizen from urban traditions, he was made asocial.¹⁴²

Many of the post-war satellite housing estates were termed “social” as they, for the most part, were constructed by housing associations on behalf of the government for those of a low socio-economic status. Social welfare problems were generally not aligned with a particular party due to the high demand for housing, with almost fifty per cent of the population qualifying as in need of social housing. State welfare policies were therefore supported across the political spectrum and the critique was taken up by both left and right-wing media. The concepts and ideas relating to the design of social housing had been reduced and scaled down to such ‘unreasonable measures’ that, according to *Der Spiegel*, social housing had become a caricature.¹⁴³

¹⁴² Mitscherlich, *Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte*, p. 39.

¹⁴³ ‘Es bröckelt’, p. 41.

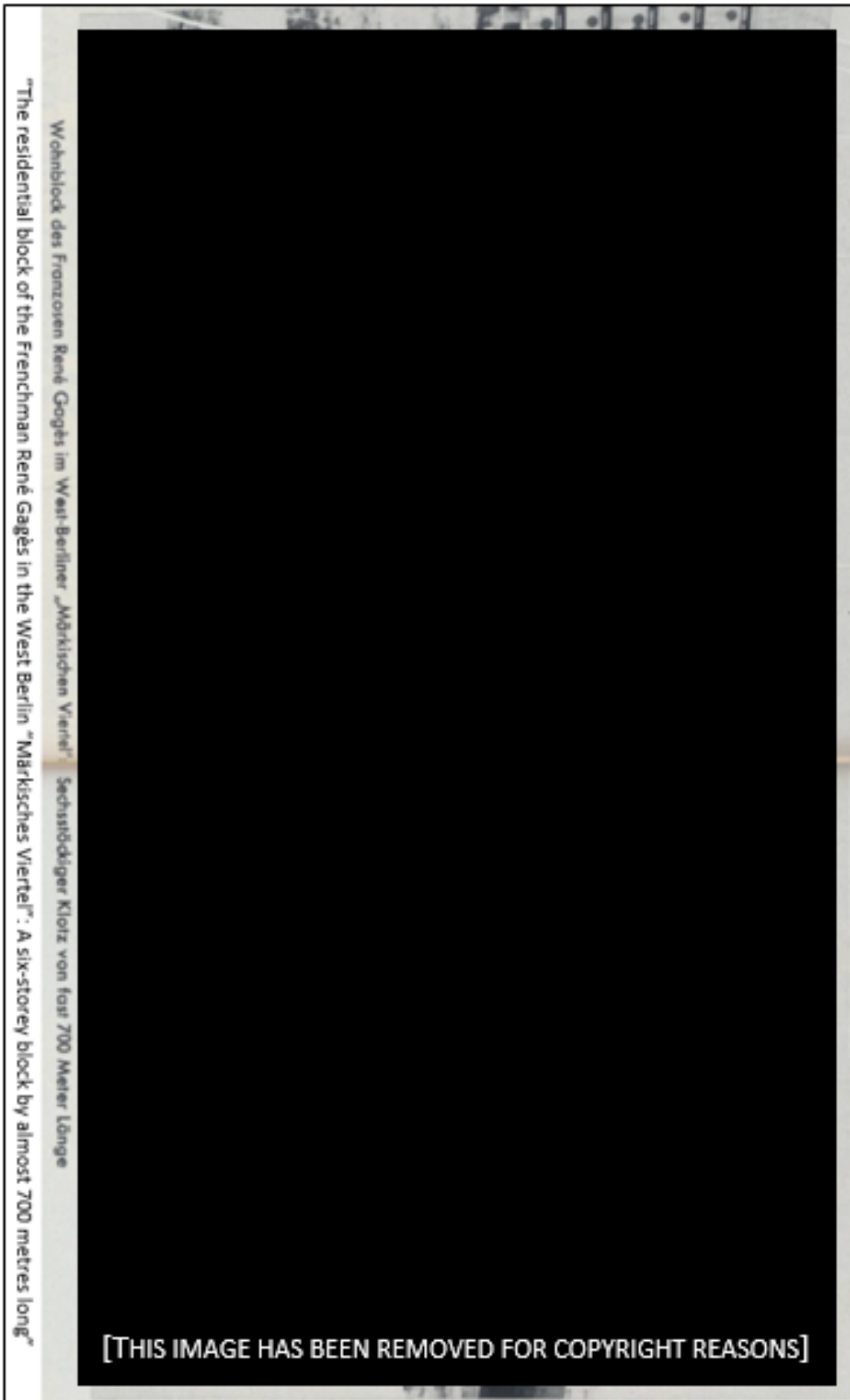


Fig. 3.11: IMAGES OF THE MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, *DER SPIEGEL*, 1968

As discussed in Chapter Two, *Aktion 507* saw functionalism as causing this development of what they term 'ghettos': 'the ideal of purely technical connections that generate the culture, sleep, consumption, workers-ghettos'.¹⁴⁴ In the creation of these "ghettos" the group was strengthened from the inside at the expense of alienating groups from the outside which were understood to develop a lack of tolerance.¹⁴⁵ Urban planning and architectural design was therefore combined with sociology to determine the causes of the extent of the problems in the new districts. For example, the separation of the city into functional zones that served evermore limited purposes and uses, indicated to Berndt 'how little urban planning is designed for the needs (especially the psychological needs) of man'.¹⁴⁶ A resident of the Märkisches Viertel interviewed by *Aktion 507* illustrated this by commenting 'in the evenings there is nothing here, even though there are shops, everything is dead here'.¹⁴⁷ Another resident added 'what isn't somehow dead, is blunted...'.¹⁴⁸ The physicality of development was also identified as the cause by *Der Spiegel*:

Helpless, articulate, suburban-settlers protest against the paralysing monotony of hastily constructed, barely completed satellite cities, which can become breeding grounds for boredom, disease and crime. A teenager in the Märkisches Viertel stated: "either you become a square here, or you become a criminal."¹⁴⁹

The idea that the settlements would become "breeding grounds" for particular types of behaviour as well as more physical ailments relates to concepts discussed by Arndt. Arndt recognised the success of social housing in providing homes quickly and economically for a large number of people but he was concerned that the housing would incite totalitarianism due to the design of boxes stacked one on top of another and, echoing Mitscherlich's thoughts, that more emphasis should be placed on the 'humane'.¹⁵⁰ The widespread fear was that the landscape of German cities would be dominated by the architectural sins of the fifties and sixties for decades to come, and that these mistakes would manifest themselves sociologically and psychologically and would prove particularly detrimental to the younger generation (see p. 135).¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁴ *Aktion 507*, 'Manifest', (p. 34).

¹⁴⁵ Berndt, 'Funktionalismus', (p. 32).

¹⁴⁶ *Ibid.* p. 33.

¹⁴⁷ *Aktion 507*, 'Manifest', (p. 42).

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁴⁹ 'Es bröckelt', p. 41.

¹⁵⁰ Arndt, 'Demokratie als Bauherr', (p. 228).

¹⁵¹ 'Es bröckelt', p. 46.

This echoed the ideas of social psychologist Horn, who saw architecture as presenting the problem of how the 'stranger' could be given form in an environment that was controlled by scientific praxis.¹⁵² For many, the answer to this was through a psycho- and sociological analysis of the needs of the individual.



FIG. 3.12: CARTOON FROM *DIE WELT*. RE-PUBLISHED IN *DER SPIEGEL*, 1969

Although the ideas behind the housing estates may have been social in their aim, its critics condemned planning for not being based on a sociological understanding of the inhabitants. *Aktion 507* took it upon themselves to attempt to reconfigure the planning hierarchies and in order to respond to the sociologist, Heide Berndt's question 'how do today's people perceive their surroundings and what consequences can their perceptions have on their actions?'.¹⁵³ *Aktion 507*'s interviewing of tenants was evidence of their

¹⁵² Horn, 'Zweckrationalität in der modernen Architektur', (p. 105).

¹⁵³ Berndt, 'Funktionalismus', (p. 33).

response to this question, quotations of which *Der Spiegel* reprinted to coincide with the exhibition opening.¹⁵⁴

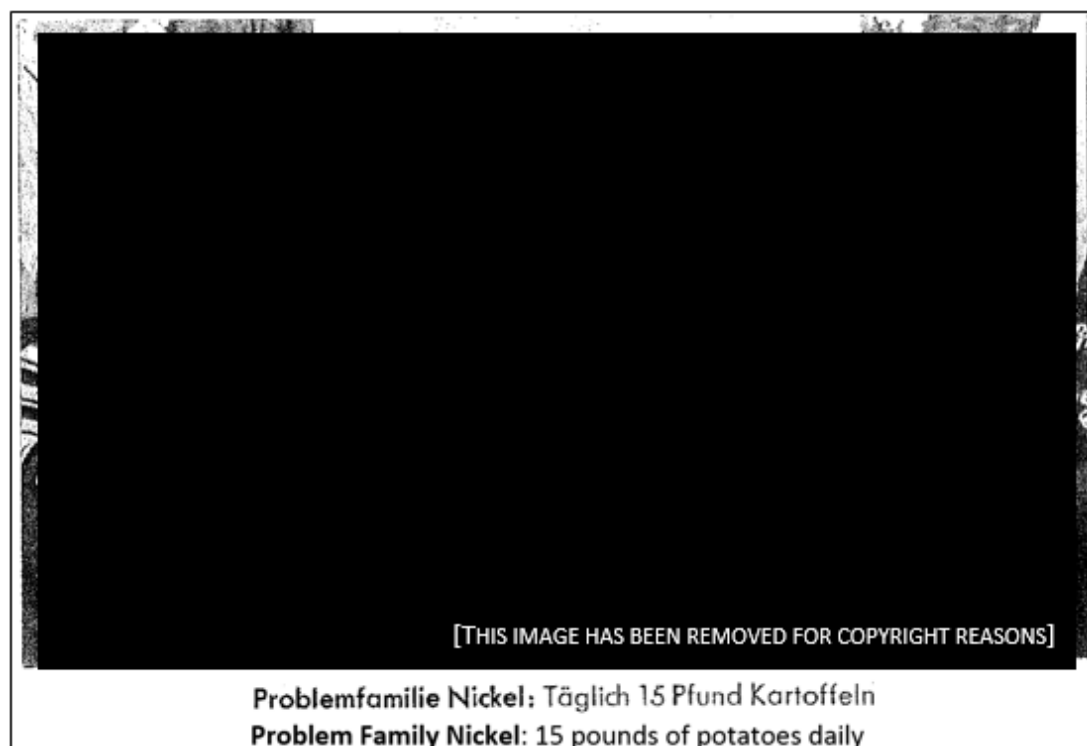


FIG. 3.13: IMAGE OF A FAMILY IN THE MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, *DER SPIEGEL*, 1970

The students' main aim was to draw attention to the social issues that were a direct result of the relocation of inhabitants from inner-city tenements to the satellite towns, under the guise of social housing. This led to the coining of the motto "*Wohnste sozial, haste die Qual*" [social housing, hasten the agony].¹⁵⁵ An interview with a resident from September 1968 stated that the development was 'hell' and that it was too expensive to live in: 'We could spend less with dirt'.¹⁵⁶ The papers reported that child benefit was being used to pay the rent, that there were unprecedented levels of rent arrears with ten to twelve per cent of the population affected, the district's head bailiff Horst Kraft, identified the amount as between 120,000 and 330,000 DM.¹⁵⁷ By the end of 1975, seventy-five families who believed they had escaped homeless shelters were evicted from the Märkisches Viertel with another twenty families a year being forcibly removed.¹⁵⁸ During a gathering of

¹⁵⁴ 'Mit dem latein am Ende', p. 89.

¹⁵⁵ Bodenschatz, 'Kultobjekt', (p. 20).

¹⁵⁶ 'Die Hölle is det hier: West-Berlins "Märkisches Viertel" im Urteil seiner Bewohner', *Der Spiegel*, 37 (9 September 1968), p. 138.

¹⁵⁷ Krüger, 'Menschen im Experiment', p. 231.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

Märkisches Viertel residents convened to try and prevent the eviction of the Puhle family, one resident shouts: 'We didn't want to come here - we were forced by the housing office'.¹⁵⁹ The relocation of families was part of a government policy which made West Berlin a "white-circle" (area where rent controls did not apply (see p. 189), slum housing and emergency shelters were to become free, and the existing homeless shelters were to be dissolved.¹⁶⁰ At the same time as these changes in social policy, the first 'concrete blocks' in the Märkisches Viertel were ready and so, according to *Der Spiegel*:

from all of the Western districts of Berlin, from the demolition districts of Neukölln and Moabit, as well as from the shelters in Wittenstraße and Salzufer, large and vulnerable families were evacuated.¹⁶¹

Urban pointed out that many of the refurbishment victims did not understand the full consequences of moving until it was upon them: the commutes, the higher rents, and the isolation.¹⁶² This is supported by *Der Spiegel* who quoted Dr. Mackrodt who worked as a medical doctor in the Märkisches Viertel: 'most people in the neighbourhood...are slipping into something that they are not ready for'.¹⁶³ *Der Spiegel* went on to quote Herbert Grigers, the then district mayor of Reinickendorf:

The problem families were expelled into the Märkisches Viertel - people whose family income despite housing benefit, child benefit and social support cannot support an apartment of this standard.¹⁶⁴

The major concern for many of the urban commentators and for *Aktion 507* was that the real needs of the residents were not considered. A change in approach and attitude was seen by Mitscherlich as the only way the problem could be made visible but the increased uniformity of the architectural style was believed to prevent the potential for democracy:

¹⁵⁹ *Ibid.* p. 233.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.* p. 223.

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁶² Urban, 'Märkisches Viertel', (p. 189).

¹⁶³ Krüger, 'Menschen im Experiment', p. 226.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.* p. 223.

the employees behind the unformed glass facades of the high-rise buildings are then to be placed in the uniform monotony of the residential blocks, so a state has been created that makes any planning for a democratic freedom illusory. Because it cannot be experienced anywhere. Where no imagination is affective in forming group relations, where the dynamics of these relations are not inspired by the boldness of the attempt, the individual remains only in the retreat into an archaic dreaming of dreams, which can be converted into dull action without strong resistance. The critical consciousness becomes – as our Nazi past demonstrates – successfully overrun.¹⁶⁵

The sociological basis for much of the analysis of the urban condition led many to believe that the task of architecture was to create a form appropriate to present needs. For example, Lorenzer used the example of the German philosopher, Eberhard Schulz's (1929-2010) interpretation of the Atriumhaus [Fig. 3.14] at the Hansaviertel as corresponding to the current need for protection.¹⁶⁶ The task of architecture, as Lorenzer saw it was to create a 'common domain' which he differentiated from the neighbourhood concept, but rather viewed it as a 'symbolic formation that allows for the successful integration of urban planning'.¹⁶⁷



FIG. 3.14: ALOIS GIEFER & HERMANN MÄCKLER, *ATRIUMHAUS*, HANSAVIERTEL, HÄNDELALLEE 47, 1958 Architecture was seen as a nexus at which place, people and symbols could and should be entwined to create a sense of social and urban integration.¹⁶⁸ The symbolisation contained in the new satellite developments was understood as a reflection of self-interested ruling parties (see Chapter Two). The implication being that the residents would never develop a feeling of satisfaction while living in a design which symbolised their greatly restricted existence. Thus, the alien character of the new settlements prevented the development of a positive relationship between resident and home. The solution was identified in

¹⁶⁵ Mitscherlich, *Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte*, p. 41.

¹⁶⁶ Lorenzer, 'Städtebau', (p. 94).

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.* p. 98.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.* p. 99.

correlating the interior and exterior world which would allow for integration and therefore the task of urban planning was to predict this symbol formation.¹⁶⁹

In 1968, Feuerstein commented on the critique by the younger German architects and believed that 'from these critical attitudes there will ultimately emerge a completely new conception of the sociological role of architecture'.¹⁷⁰ He believed that the concern of the younger generation was with the social implications of architecture and the emergent new technologies, such as prefabrication.¹⁷¹ This sociological and psychological basis for critique was firmly embedded in the student movement with the lived environment understood to fundamentally impact one's life, and resulted in the prominent position of urban planning in the students' discourse. The significance of which was in the revival of the social conscience of the architect, and the collaboration across social strata between students and residents that occurred during the *Diagnose*. Changing the format and inclusiveness of the discussion caused those involved to feel connected to the realities of contemporary existence that encouraged and promoted positive action.

Aktion 507 identified the problems inherent in the architectural profession as the architects' loss of reality, stereotyping of the tenant as a standardised individual, and a lack of focus on the needs of the individual. The solution was to look at the socio-psychological research methods used by Adorno and others to identify the possibilities for social change. Architect and former member of *Aktion 507*, Ingrid Krau recalled that although Mitscherlich had popularised the ideas of the relationship between psyche and material environment at the Faculty of Architecture, it had not however, led to the point of constructive application, for example, 'in the form of large-debate or in a debate about the nature of the specificity of place'.¹⁷² *Aktion 507* therefore called for a redefinition of the role of the architect to become more socially aware, a development which began with the direct interviews with inhabitants of the Märkisches Viertel. The feeling which comes across in many of the quotes from residents compiled by *Aktion 507*, is one of dejection, of a feeling that the architects and policy makers, and members of the administration had no interest in how they would feel living in the new housing estates. In terms of the rent, a resident asked

¹⁶⁹ Ibid. p. 100.

¹⁷⁰ Feuerstein, *German Architecture*, p. 83.

¹⁷¹ Ibid. p. 97.

¹⁷² Krau, 'Die Zeit der Diagnose', 342.

'how are we supposed to afford the high rent, that doesn't matter to them, it doesn't bother them...' ¹⁷³ Another commented:

...we cannot be treated as dirt, those that live here, allotment owners, asylum seekers and all, the Mr Architects should look at the mess here again, then they will see enough appalling circumstances... ¹⁷⁴

For the sociologists consulted by *Aktion 507*, the feeling of abandonment created a cycle of deprivation whereby the individual's sense of self was constantly under attack. This indicated to *Aktion 507* that the basic needs of residents were not being met; *Aktion 507* believed that the needs of housing should rather enable people to live together, relax, eat and sleep, and that:

To organise these areas can no longer be the task of the architect, but instead everyone should be able to create their own home according to their own ideas and desires for their family's situation. ¹⁷⁵

The condemnation of the architects as being out of touch and presuming that they knew what was best for residents was echoed across disciplines and political parties. This scale of building which was seen to anonymise the individual was the product of architects who did not have knowledge of those for whom they were building. Mitscherlich asked 'from their scientific training, do the experts know the needs of man in his various stages of life? How do they connect with the inhabitants of the city?' ¹⁷⁶ He continued 'what do these surveying engineers and road builders know about human expectations and attitude?' ¹⁷⁷ Bahrtdt extended this argument to suggest that architects were aware of this downfall:

Architecture - so many modern architects explain - can only be a self-presentation of a social life that is in order... These architects usually know that today's society is not in order. They are also aware that neither their education nor their professional life has given them sufficient knowledge of social problems. ¹⁷⁸

The concern therefore, was that the general public were not involved in urban planning and that decisions were being made on their behalf using outmoded disciplinary constructs. In discussing new housing, *Der Spiegel* commented that architects 'illustrate the intellectual bankruptcy of a profession, whose representatives mostly still think of themselves as if they

¹⁷³ Aktion 507, 'Manifest', (p. 42).

¹⁷⁴ Ibid. p. 44.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid. p. 49.

¹⁷⁶ Mitscherlich, *Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte*, p. 30.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid. p. 37.

¹⁷⁸ Bahrtdt, *Die moderne Großstadt*, p. 9.

were the pioneers of the social and urban progress'.¹⁷⁹ The Saint-Simonian idea of the architect as leader of society was no longer relevant in the post-war context. This concept was no doubt influenced by the work of the sociologists that they were reading at the time. Mitscherlich for example, declared that although it may be utopian to suggest, there was a need for people to read books on the issue before going to election meetings and 'putting their candidates through their paces'.¹⁸⁰ This not only suggests a direct link between theory and praxis, but also a need for the dissemination of knowledge about the contemporary situation; an aspect that *Aktion 507* were attempting to address in their work for the *Diagnose* exhibition. *Aktion 507* therefore considered their own position in instigating change due to their role as the next generation of architects: how could theory become praxis? *Aktion 507* defined praxis as 'a blow against theory'.¹⁸¹ The concept of social responsibility, ownership, and right to settlement played into this concern. A flyer issued by students in 1968 stated:

We work in Berlin's homeless settlements.
We think of grievances.
We show the residents.
We show the authorities.
The authorities are taking.
The residents are thinking
Soon they will act.
We help them to help themselves.
You can help us!¹⁸²

Aktion 507 therefore saw their function as presenting the problems and aiding a conversation about how to remedy the problems. The flyer suggests that the students were determined to place agency back in the sphere of the public and it was their task to facilitate this. The one positive result of these 'failures of the past', according to the Munich-based architect, Richard Dietrich, was that the ivory towers crumbled.¹⁸³ The severe errors in judgement about post-war construction policies, were seen to have drawn attention to the problem within the architectural profession and offered the potential opportunity for change.

¹⁷⁹ 'Es bröckelt', p. 44.

¹⁸⁰ Mitscherlich, 'Alexander Mitscherlich Über Hans Paul Bahrdt: Humaner Städtebau: Unser Aller Versagen', p. 171.

¹⁸¹ *Aktion 507*, 'Manifest', (p. 142).

¹⁸² UTUB, Berlin/Flugblätter 1968-9/n.p. Studenten. Flyer, 9 June 1968.

¹⁸³ 'Es bröckelt', p. 46.

The *Kritische Universität* was one such measure that the students initiated as a catalyst for the development of democracy which was to include the university as well as society at large. The group was established with the intention of looking at society and analysing how and why it operated as it did in order to develop alternatives. The term “Critical” University comes directly from the Frankfurt School’s concept of critical theory which rejected the notion of absolute knowledge and instead believed it to be a product of time and place; as a product of historical and social processes. Practitioners of Critical Theory therefore developed the theory out of a dissatisfaction with current Marxist Theory which saw fascism as a temporary and secondary phenomena. For members of the Frankfurt School, Adorno, Marcuse and Horkheimer, fascism was the opposite; they saw it as a long-lasting phenomena which could be identified in a ‘series of interlinked, repressive developments in the spheres of culture and politics and those of family and personality structure’.¹⁸⁴ The key difference was that new Marxist thought saw politics as the dominant force rather than economics. Those who adhered to Critical Theory were expected to reject the current way of thinking in order to reveal how society really operated. Knowledge was therefore seen to equate to social criticism and, combined with the desired rejection of the historical distinction between theory and praxis, was intended to lead to social action. The absence of critical theory was seen to be particularly damaging to society, as *Aktion 507* mentioned in their “West Berlin Alphabet”:

Stupidity [*Dummheit*]

A real gift from heaven, a starting point for happiness, created by complacency. Stupidity is contagious as long as intellect does not appear epidemically. The stupid, fear truth, satire and humour as if it were fire.¹⁸⁵

The idea for the *Kritische Universität* was therefore developed as a collaboration between the universities and colleges of West Berlin. The purpose was to give rise to a ‘democratic institution in a democratic society’.¹⁸⁶ As discussed in Chapter Two, the university was seen as intrinsically linked to wider society:

¹⁸⁴ Woodiwiss, ‘Critical Theory and the Capitalist State’, 177.

¹⁸⁵ *Aktion 507*, ‘Manifest’, (p. 142).

¹⁸⁶ AStA der Freien Universität, *Kritische Universität*, (Köln: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1967), p. 1.

what's going on in Berlin, is just as in society, a conflict whose central subject is neither longer studies nor more vacations, but of dismantling oligarchic rule and the realisation of democratic freedom in all areas of society...it is important to see freedom in the university as a problem that transcends beyond the scope of the university.¹⁸⁷



FIG. 3.15: FRONT AND BACK COVER OF *KRITISCHE UNIVERSITÄT* PAMPHLET, 1967

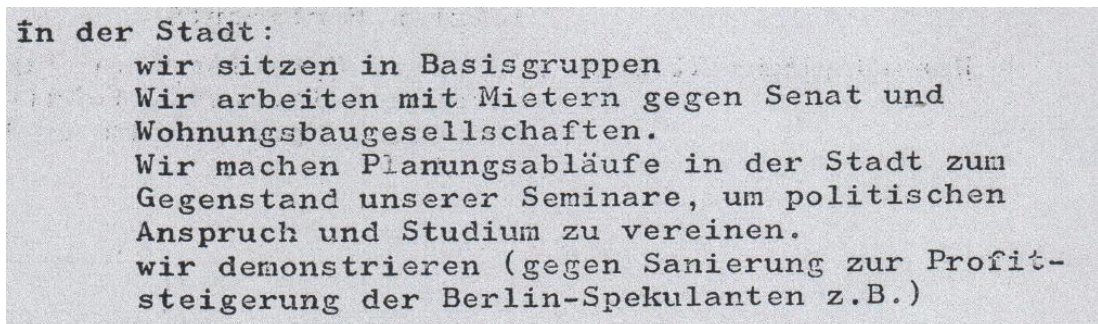
The function of the "Architecture and Society" group, organised by Michael Wegener (1946-), now Professor of Urban and Regional Research at TU Dortmund and former signatory of *Aktion 507's* manifesto, was to analyse current trends in architectural practice. Therefore, Wegener's intention was to come to an understanding of the impact of contemporary theoretical approaches on 1) the self-understanding of the architect, 2) communication with a society orientated on social criticism and 3) better social practice.¹⁸⁸ The focus on collaboration, interdisciplinarity and abolition of university hierarchies formed the basis of *Aktion 507's* solutions, but also important was the desire to translate theoretical concerns and concepts into practical action. Student activists, for example,

¹⁸⁷ Ibid. p. 3.

¹⁸⁸ Michael Wegener, 'Architektur und Gesellschaft', in *Kritische Universität*, (Köln: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1967), pp. 63-65 (p. 64).

stated in a leaflet distributed in 1968: 'revolutionary architecture is made on the road building barricades'.¹⁸⁹

The extension beyond the university and the level of direct action was a constant concern of the various groups of the student movement. The SDS, for example, towards the end of the anti-Emergency Law Campaign (the laws were passed in June 1968), feared the lack of a future strategy and focused on areas outside of the university. The result was the founding of the *Basisgruppen* which were transformed from the earlier *Stadtteilgruppen* [District Groups] that were established after the assassination attempt on Rudi Dutschke (11 April 1968). By the time of the May Day demonstrations in 1968, eleven groups were in operation which corresponded to the Berlin districts of Moabit, Kreuzberg, Neukölln, Schöneberg, Wedding, Spandau, Wilmersdorf, Zehlendorf, Friedenau, Reinickendorf, and the Märkisches Viertel.¹⁹⁰ The majority of the groups were composed of students, but they also included young workers, apprentices, and secondary school pupils who had previously belonged to the *Kritische Universität*. The direct work in the city was seen to be fundamental to the activities of the student movement as a leaflet entitled '*Wir sind die Linken!!!*' [We are the Left] from the time stated:



in der Stadt:
wir sitzen in Basisgruppen
Wir arbeiten mit Mietern gegen Senat und
Wohnungsbaugesellschaften.
Wir machen Planungsabläufe in der Stadt zum
Gegenstand unserer Seminare, um politischen
Anspruch und Studium zu vereinen.
wir demonstrieren (gegen Sanierung zur Profit-
steigerung der Berlin-Spekulanten z.B.)

In the city:

we sit in Basisgruppen
We work with tenants against the government and housing associations.
We make planning processes in the city the subject of our seminars to unite
political aspiration and study.
we demonstrate (against redevelopment to increase the profit of Berlin
speculators, for example)¹⁹¹

Horst Lange reported on his involvement in what he termed the *Stadtteilzelle* [District Cell] at the Märkisches Viertel which began after the research project of the *Pädagogische*

¹⁸⁹ UTUB, Berlin/Flugblätter 1968-9/n.p. Studenten. Flyer, 9 June 1968.

¹⁹⁰ Vasudevan, *Metropolitan Preoccupations*, p. 239.

¹⁹¹ UTUB/Berlin/Flugblätter/Fakultat III/n.p. Leaflet entitled: Wir Sind die Linken!!!

Hochschule, in the district as ‘an invasion of students into the district’ demonstrating the connection between *Aktion 507* and the wider student movement.¹⁹² Lange defined them ‘all committed groups who gained their first experiences in the APO’.¹⁹³ There were a number of *Arbeitskreise* [Working Circles or AK] of which three were most politically active; the Rent and Housing AK, the *Märkisches Viertel Zeitung* and the *Sontagskreis* [Sunday Circle] which was so called because they met every Sunday at 10am in the district. He recalled his first meeting:

The district cell was only busy with students from the city centre, with the exception of two film makers, one of whom lived in the neighbourhood. When I joined them in the *Sontagskreis* in March 1970, I had already been to several sessions of the AK “Rent and Housing” that consisted of 12-15 people. They discussed necessary actions, the possibilities for involving the citizens of the MV in the actions and proletarian revolution. I stood like a deer in the headlights. I had absolutely no knowledge of the “bourgeoise and proletariat”, of “class struggle”, “historical materialism” and “materialistic dialectic” – words and terms that were constantly used by the students, but meant nothing to me. The students taught me a term whenever I was reporting on an experience from my own working life. They then underlined their thesis if they were not in agreement amongst themselves at any point. At first, I felt quite stupid in the club. However, it soon became apparent that the students belonged to or sympathised with different political groups. I challenged it soon after - it was probably after the first “action” in the MV for the 10,000th apartment that the Sunday Circle was extended. After much conversation - the Sunday Circle was understood as an “underground organisation”.¹⁹⁴

The *Stadtteilgruppen*, as organs of the SDS, dominated the groups in the district and widened the gap between inhabitants and students, whilst exacerbating their own internal rifts. The transfer of theory to praxis with the new housing developments was therefore fraught with issues. The quote above demonstrates much of the organisational problems when the students were confronted with the realities of the city districts. The reliance on theory created the inaccessibility they fought to eradicate. The reason *Aktion 507*’s manifesto lacked any theorising about architectural style can therefore be understood through their adherence to the theories they were reading:

¹⁹² Horst Lange, ‘Die Stadtteilzelle Mv 1970’, in *Wohnste sozial, haste die Qual: “Jetzt reden wir”*, (Reinbek b. Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1975), pp. 80-87 (p. 80).

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁴ *Ibid.*

It turns out, that social-psychological considerations that lead to suggestions for the spatial resolution of the division between theory and practice. The proposed combinations inevitably change practice to political practice. Approaches to formalise optimisation models will not be dictated, so that they arise naturally and remain accessible.¹⁹⁵

It is clear that for *Aktion 507*, the importance was in making approaches “accessible” which arose spontaneously from discussion between disciplines and with residents which was understood as being inherently democratic.



FIG. 3.16: PHOTOGRAPH FROM *DER SPIEGEL*, 1969

There was therefore clearly a strong desire to appeal to various interest groups both internal and external to the district, and a lack of confidence about the success of the *Diagnose* exhibition in this aspect: ‘Like a sword of Damocles, the responsible persons were burdened with how an audience stream could be generated. The poster was soon available, but the confidence that then the masses would flock was low’.¹⁹⁶ The questions then turned to how an audience could be attracted to the exhibition, so the media was used to draw attention from a wider public, and it was known that the architects would

¹⁹⁵ Aktion 507, ‘Manifest’, (p. 47).

¹⁹⁶ Baller, ‘Aktion 507’.

automatically come due to the involvement of the BDA and AIV. Baller recollected that the press only began to attend the exhibition after *Der Spiegel* was published, but then the press coverage increased daily with more than fifty contributions, in publications from Frankfurt, Hamburg, Hannover, Augsburg and Osnabrück. The *Tagesspiegel* published fifteen contributions, the *Berliner Zeitung* and *Berliner Morgenpost* published eleven articles, other Berlin newspapers contributed sixteen reports, and outside Berlin eleven articles were published including in *Der Spiegel*. The coverage was reported to be so high that the BDA together with the AIV distanced themselves from these events. However, according to Baller, and reported in the *Tagesspiegel* (22 September 1968) the reactions of the two associations were caused by the threat of the Government Building Director Müller that individuals could no longer be members of the AIV and BDA 'if they approved of discussions of this kind'.¹⁹⁷ Still, the themed evening discussions attracted up to 500 guests, but the question of how to encourage the attendance of Märkisches Viertel residents was more problematic. A leaflet from Holtfreter's personal collection [FIG. 3.17] shows the flyer distributed to the residents of the Märkisches Viertel advertising the '*Tag der Betroffenen*' [Day of those Affected] which was intended to bring inhabitants, architects, planners and representatives of the construction companies in direct confrontation in the evening panel discussion.

¹⁹⁷ 'Bauen mit oder ohne Politik: manöverkritik zum Ausklang der "Diagnose" - inoffizieller Planungsbeirat', *Der Tagesspiegel*, (22 September 1968).

[THIS IMAGE HAS BEEN REMOVED FOR COPYRIGHT REASONS]

Wer Interesse hat, über die Probleme im
Märkischen Viertel zu hören und zu sprechen,
ist eingeladen, an der Diskussion am
Sonntag, 15. Sept. 68, 18⁰⁰ Uhr
in der Architekten-Ausstellung "Diagnose"
am Ernst Reuter Platz teilzunehmen.

Wir wollen besonders sprechen über:

Mieten und Mietzuschuss (Kindergeld)

Soziale Einrichtungen, Schulen und Kindergärten

Einkaufs- und Verkehrsbedingungen.

Um 17³⁰ Uhr wird ein Bus vom roten

Informationspavillon zur Ausstellung

fahren, er fährt am Schluss der Diskussion

ins Märkische Viertel zurück.

"Aktion 507"
Ausstellung "Diagnose"

Tag der Betroffenen

15. September 1968

FIG. 3.17: JÜRGEN HOLTFRETER, LEAFLET, *DAY OF THOSE AFFECTED*, 1968

The leaflet states:

Whoever is interested in listening to and discussing
the problems in the Märkisches Viertel,
is invited to participate in the discussion on

Sunday, 15. Sep. 68, 18⁰⁰ hours
in the architecture exhibition “Diagnose”
at Ernst Reuter Platz.

We especially want to talk about:

Rent and rental subsidies (child benefit)
Social services, schools and kindergartens
Shopping and transport conditions.

At 17³⁰ a bus from the red information
pavilion will drive to the exhibition,
and will return to the Märkisches Viertel
at the end of the discussion.

“Aktion 507”
Exhibition “Diagnose”¹⁹⁸

Reidemeister recalled the lack of uptake on the offer, after distributing 5000 flyers into letter boxes one night: ‘we thought that 200 inhabitants would come. When there were 20 residents at the bus stop we were disappointed’.¹⁹⁹ It was not until a while later that she came to understand the bravery of the appearance of any residents at the university, faced with Springer’s “sermons” and the leaflets distributed anonymously.²⁰⁰ She recalled:

from the fierce attacks by the women of the MV, those responsible for the construction were quickly forced into a defensive position. They tried quite helplessly with one silly or cynical justification after another.²⁰¹

Baller also commented on how striking the silence of the inhabitants was, ‘unaccustomed to the big round table’ and who ‘were much more reserved than in the interviews in their apartments, but the original audio was embedded in the exhibition’.²⁰² The mixed media of the exhibition and the inclusion of inhabitants’ viewpoints, demonstrated the need for the representation of residents’ views in a professional setting.

¹⁹⁸ Personal collection of Jürgen Holtfreter.

¹⁹⁹ Reidemeister, ““Diagnose””, (p. 36).

²⁰⁰ Ibid. pp. 36-7.

The Springer Press led an inflammatory campaign against the student movement during the sixties and seventies.

²⁰¹ Ibid. p. 37.

²⁰² Baller, ‘Aktion 507’.

During the course of the *Diagnose* activities, it was the film-maker and social worker Helga Reidemeister who went into the Märkisches Viertel to interview the displaced tenants:

I wanted to document statements about the “new architectural situation” and went door to door in the Märkisches Viertel’s “Lange Jammer” with a tape recorder for days on end. I myself came from a relatively secure material situation and was unaware of the pressures of existential hardship there: intolerable rents, tediously petty battles with the authorities, social control by “non-profit housing associations” and social care. I was shocked by the mutual discrimination, the open and covert aggression of the inhabitants against their closest neighbours, all in the misery of forced isolation.²⁰³

Despite their absence at the *Diagnose* exhibition, many of the inhabitants of the Märkisches Viertel did organise and take part in protest meetings. This therefore became a question of architecture as social agent rather than architecture as a product of design.

Reidemeister recollected:

In July 1968, the first protest meeting of the inhabitants took place in the 26th primary school in the Märkisches Viertel. City councillors, district mayors and housing representatives were to provide information about the immeasurable shortcomings in the so-called “Residential civic amenities” (kindergartens and nurseries, schools, youth centres, play- and sports grounds, etc.). The 300 to 400 MV residents crowded in a gym that was much too small. It was probably one of the first non-student protest meetings, even if it was influenced by the left-wing movement in Berlin. Despite some unrest, the elected officials - some of whom were also on the GESOBAU supervisory board - still got off, using their practiced appeasement tactics, excuses, and blatant lies. Latecomers to this meeting would have been able to identify the willingness of the MV residents to rebel against the dominant (living) conditions.²⁰⁴

In the wake of the *Diagnose* exhibition in the spring of 1969, teachers and students from the Department of Social Education at the *Pädagogische Hochschule* [Teaching College] established the *MV-Studie*. Under the direction of the educational scientist C. Wolfgang Müller, the intention was that the graduate students would undertake study projects of one and two years, to allow them to gain practical experience in social and educational work outside of institutions.²⁰⁵ The entire concept was to practice the students’ ability to align themselves with sections of the working population under the label “Action Research”. One of the projects, funded by the Volkswagen Trust, was tasked with finding

²⁰³ Reidemeister, ‘1968: Protest-Ausstellung “Diagnose” deckt das MV-Elend auf’, (p. 20).

²⁰⁴ Reidemeister, ““Diagnose””, (p. 38).

²⁰⁵ Helga Reidemeister, ‘Märkische-Viertel-Studie der Pädagogischen Hochschule Berlin’, in *Wohnste sozial, haste die Qual: “Jetzt reden wir”*, (Reinbek b. Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1975), pp. 77-80 (p. 77).

out 'whether and by what means it is possible to reconstruct the direct self-help communication structures of the old workers' quarters in the new neighbourhoods'.²⁰⁶ As part of this, the district newspaper, the *MV Zeitung*, was founded which it was hoped would be taken over by residents and allow them to analyse and find solutions to their own problems. The aims of the *MV Zeitung* were presented as follows:

Establish a basic public with the aim of an anti-capitalist politicisation of the contradictions that are experienced directly by the people of the MV

Organisation of the struggle against housing associations and the policy of the district office and the government against the episodic cost increases of landlord and tenant

Pressure the district office for the accelerated establishment of social and educational facilities

Attempt to establish a link between the problems in residential areas and in the workplace

An organ in support of working class grassroots groups

The long-term goal is to establish an organisational structure in the Märkisches Viertel with basic democratic aims.²⁰⁷

The political aspect of this was clear to those involved: 'to enable educational intelligence to expand the scope of action of the working people in the district, with the aim to make evident the fact that the living space offered is part of capitalist exploitation'.²⁰⁸

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Ibid.

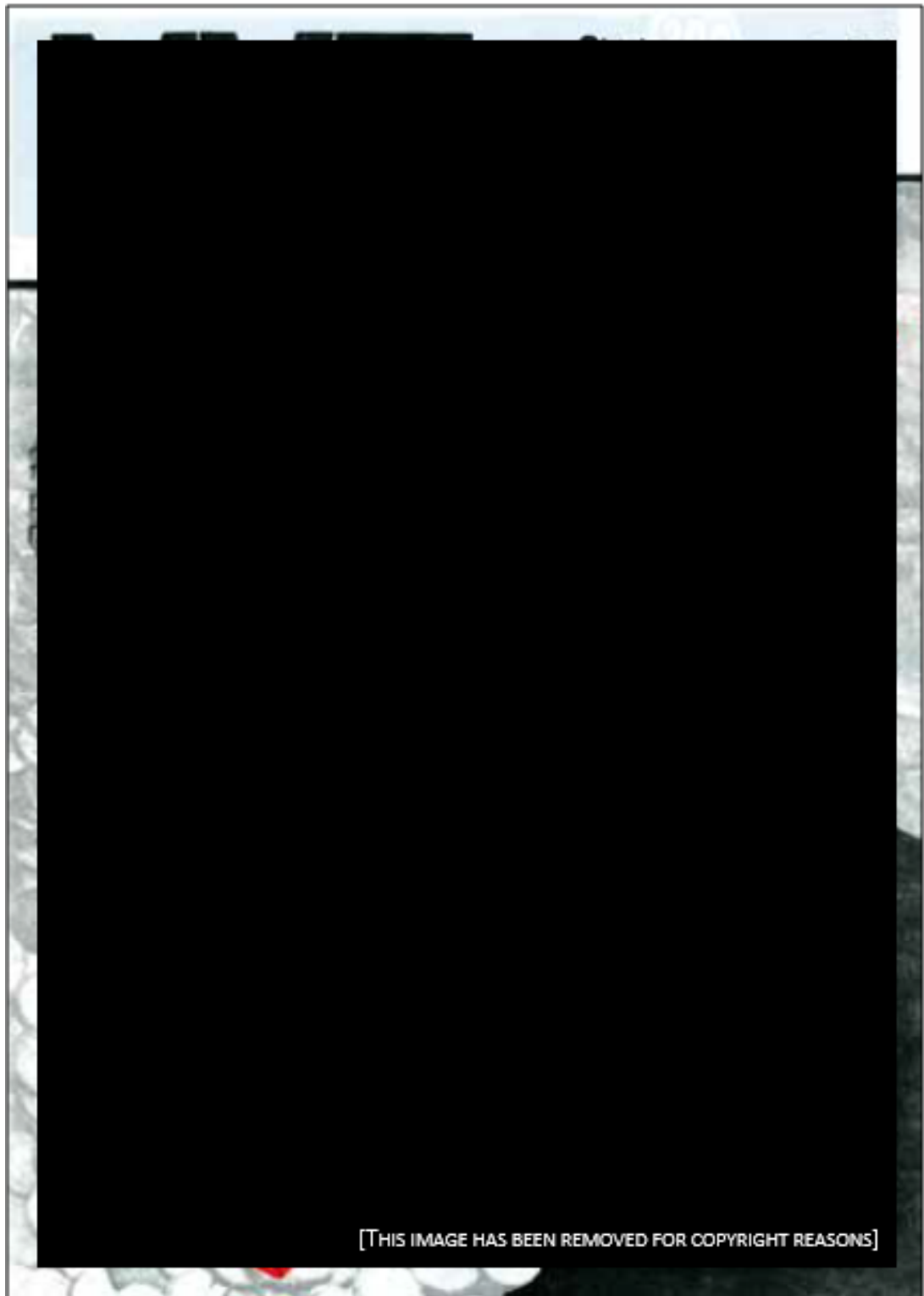


FIG. 3.18: "NOT A PFENNING MORE RENT!", FRONT COVER OF THE *MV ZEITUNG*, OCTOBER 1971

An extract from the *MV Zeitung* demonstrated the paper's focus on voicing the concerns of residents and the desire to inform them about the complexities of their situation:

The financial problems cannot be solved by these families. Our government knows this. Therefore, 'Wohngeld' [housing benefit] is paid. So; - first the rents are fixed at a dizzying height, only to be reduced again by housing benefits, ... In the pursuit of tenants by housing construction companies it is then said, if the eventual tenant has overcome their first dizzy spell on account of the cost of rent ... they can apply for housing allowance...²⁰⁹

The educational intention of the paper is clear, but the different "class positions" soon became a problem with the inhabitants concerned with redundancy and threats of eviction and the researchers, filmmakers and students on the other hand who had a more secure existence and were more concerned with career progression and exams.²¹⁰ The paper ran for around one year with a monthly circulation of around 3000 copies, and became the locus for action in the district, but suffered due to a lack of coordination and in-fighting. The students also recalled that they did not appreciate the amount of work it would take, and often the papers were out-of-date by the time they were distributed:

the deadlines for completed articles were pushed back again and again. This was largely due to the workload of most of the editorial staff, who worked in different groups in the MV. We were faced with the following difficulty: If there was something going on in the neighbourhood, we were usually involved in it so we were often only able to report on the subject afterwards, when calm returned to the political landscape of the MV. This was also due to the small number of employees at the newspaper and our inability to integrate new MV residents interested in the cooperative into the work.²¹¹

The desire for direct work in the districts was therefore hindered by the practicalities of the amount of work involved, the integration of the inhabitants, and various ideological viewpoints of those involved. However, the circulation of the newspaper, combined with the interdisciplinary approach provided a translation of the theories presented by the student movement into praxis.

²⁰⁹ Extract from the MVZ quoted in Marie-Luise Scherer, "Brei für alle", *Die Zeit*, 47 (21 November 1969).

²¹⁰ Reidemeister, 'Märkische-Viertel-Studie der Pädagogischen Hochschule Berlin', (p. 78).

²¹¹ Autorengruppe Märkische Viertel Zeitung, *Stadtteilzeitung: Dokumente und Analysen zur Stadtteilarbeit*, (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt, 1974), p. 245.

SECTION CONCLUSION

This section has demonstrated the key impact that sociological theories had on the interpretations of *Aktion 507* about the best remedies for the post-war planning situation. As the new housing estates contained mostly social housing, this added another layer to the strong criticism of post-war policies. The concern was what the experiences of the inhabitants indicated regarding the morality of a society that dictated those terms. The criticism of a society that allowed the poor treatment of the lowest socio-economic classes was based on issues that extended beyond the realm of urban planning. The shocking nature of the revelations about life within the estates was even more alarming as these were the people in society who were most in need of help. In the face of fascism, the morality of society was already under sustained attack and *Der Spiegel* publications fanned the flames with its aggressive exposés.

Redefining the role of the architect as a figure who should be deeply involved in the social needs of the future inhabitants of their designs was seen as a step towards dismantling the closed nature of the institution of architecture. As Baller commented: 'we were able to get through with the argument that only those who attend are able to listen, and if none came then our action would go into a void'.²¹² This was about disseminating information with the intention of activating individuals into action. The discussions above indicate how *Aktion 507* were fundamentally influenced by theorists but took the ideas to a practical level which sought to engage society in its operations. They sought to take the theories and apply them to direct situations in order to push the confrontation of the past into pragmatic action. The establishment of the *Kritische Universität*, *Basisgruppen* and the *MV-Studie* were practical measures taken to directly instigate change in this field, providing training that was egalitarian, open, and democratic. The inhabitants of the districts were however not as accepting of the measures as the students had expected or desired.

²¹² Baller, 'Aktion 507'.



FIG. 3.19: MAY DAY DEMONSTRATION, 1971

The institutions were the key point of criticism for the movement and the university was an accessible and easy target for that condemnation. The university was understood as a central point that could be the catalyst and basis for other actions. It will be seen how the desire for the change in mentality of society instigated many of the actions within the architectural faculties at West Berlin's universities. The pragmatic demands that *Aktion 507* made to free architecture from the perceived entanglement of capitalist society, will also be discussed in their call for an interdisciplinary approach to urban planning which they believed could engender beneficial change in construction and in society.

How to propagate this change in social attitude was a key concern for the '68ers and for the theorists that influenced their approaches. In the context of architecture and urban planning, the students of these disciplines understood that change had to come from below and so they had the potential to instigate this change. The impetus of the *Bauwochen*

propelled the students to collate their thoughts on the discipline and present it in a form which demonstrated their critique and potential areas for change. This section therefore looks specifically at what *Aktion 507* saw as their role within the desired change; from what it was to be an architect to what constituted an interdisciplinary approach to urban planning. Continuing the theme of the previous section, this section looks at the activities which developed in the Märkisches Viertel as a result of the *Diagnose*, but with a particular focus on the place of interdisciplinary work within these actions.

We had sympathizers even in residential construction, and our interdependence tables of leading figures and the vehement criticism of the MV, the Märkisches Viertel, kicked up dust. Some of them felt this in their professional practice.²¹³

The fundamental concept was a complete overhaul of the functioning of the discipline through a more inclusive approach without hierarchy. The reaction against the past with its closed systems and hierarchical power structures was understood as a fundamental cause of the repressive society identified by critics. The challenge therefore began within the new generation and an addressing of the inherited problems in order to create a completely different system. The established closed system was to become open, the undemocratic was to become democratic, the hierarchical was to become egalitarian, and all processes were to become open and inclusive.

One of the most fundamental elements that connected the movement on a global scale was the central position of the university as the main nucleus of action and the main focus of criticism. The state, and the students, well-understood the audience that West Berlin attracted and thus the Allies were intent on using Berlin as an example of Western democracy (the so-called “Berlin-model”), hence the establishment of the *Freie Universität* in Berlin. The name “*Freie*” [Free] *Universität* was a cause for provocation as a 1968 flyer states: ‘To all students of the FU: You study at a “free” university. Freedom is an empty phrase ... claim your freedom!’.²¹⁴ The FU itself was established in 1948 and the architect of the University, Shadrach Woods commented that the focus of the University design was centred on the street:

[the] street as a feeder for all the activities which make a city. The street seen as a linear centre around which the city could grow. The street as a void which allows the flow of people, goods and facilities. The street as the only permanent element of the city. As long as this void was kept clear, the rest could adapt to changing needs.²¹⁵

This comment demonstrates how the model of the city was translated to the university, and therefore how the university was seen as a representation, in miniature, of society’s problems. In his design for the FU, Woods was influenced by the nineteenth-century French

²¹³ Geist, ‘In Memoriam’, 3.

²¹⁴ UTUB, Berlin/Flugblätter 1968-9/n.p. Christian Wiessenschaftliche. Flyer, November 1968.

²¹⁵ Gabriel Feld, ‘Free University, Berlin: Candilis, Josic, Woods, Schiedhelm’, (London: Architectural Association, 1999), (p. 97).

philosopher Charles Fourier as an 'illustration of how urbanism and architecture were incorporated into a social reformist movement', with an emphasis on social interaction.²¹⁶ Woods had a certain affinity with the students in stating that urbanism could only deal with present realities, and that 'the present reality is sufficiently difficult to occupy us all'.²¹⁷ When confronted, students commented that they did not object to the design of the university, but they were angered as they had 'not been consulted during the development of the design'.²¹⁸ Thus demonstrating the importance of democracy to the students and the idea of architecture as reflective of larger issues, both political and cultural. This was exemplified by the example of a teach-in turned sit-in at the Henry Ford Building at which students demanded the democratisation of the overall governing of the university as reflective of their wish for the 'realisation of a democratic freedom in all areas of society'.²¹⁹

Generally, universities are more likely to attract people from outside the area and Berlin was no exception; the attractiveness of Berlin as the city of the century brought many ideas and cultures which added to the 'glamorous as well as gritty strangeness that West Berlin represented'.²²⁰ The sociologist, S.N. Eisenstadt in analysing the effects of modernism on protest, stated that the product of education is in creating a group of individuals who adhere to certain socio-political values and demonstrate commitment to various socio-political groups.²²¹ This is evident in West Germany from the 1960s onwards as many college students attended lectures and political meetings on local university campuses.²²² Combined with the West German policy for actively accepting students from outside the country, this led to an increasingly diverse student life that made students more aware of global issues.²²³ The conditions of university study in West Germany led to its specificity and popularity as students moved between universities, chose when to take examinations, took as long as they wished to complete their studies, which resulted in more time for students

²¹⁶ Ibid. p. 115.

²¹⁷ Ibid. p. 19.

²¹⁸ Liane Lefavre and Alexander Tzonis 'Planning and Tomatoes', Casabella, January/February 1992, 146-149 cited in Ibid. p. 139.

²¹⁹ Martin Klimke, *The Other Alliance: Student Protest in West Germany and the United States in the Global Sixties*, (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2010), p. 71.

²²⁰ Davis, 'City as Theater of Protest', (p. 250).

²²¹ Shmuel Noah Eisenstadt, *Modernization: Protest and Change*, (Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1966).

²²² Davis, 'A Whole World Opening Up', (p. 257).

²²³ Ibid. p. 261.

to 'become politically formed, more time for them to think, read and struggle before they [were] reabsorbed into capitalist society'.²²⁴ Hence, in the post-war situation of West Berlin, and throughout the global student movement, the younger generation formed the belief that they could challenge the authority of the institutions.

The inward-looking architectural profession and the romantic vision of the singular artist leading society caused *Aktion 507* to come to the conclusion that they were not adequately prepared to face the realities of post-university employment, nor the real needs of the residents. This led both *Aktion 507* and critics such as Mitscherlich and Bahrtdt to identify a trend in contemporary planning which created labels for particular approaches to architecture which they saw as one-dimensional. *Aktion 507* included an 'ABC of current architectural critique' which satirised the contemporary solutions to architectural planning – Under 'M', for example – *Die menschliche Lösung*:



The extract above indicates *Aktion 507*'s satirisation of the architectural profession in its use of empty phrases that were understood to be uncritically applied. The narrow frame of reference for the architects and their lack of interaction with the "real needs" of the people and society they were designing for left many, including *Aktion 507*, to feel that the university was failing them. Architect Hans-Joachim Lenz commented to *Der Spiegel* that:

In many respects [...] mathematicians, physicists, mechanical engineers and economic engineers are better suited to plan and shape our environment.²²⁵

²²⁴ Wolff-Dietrich Webler, 'The Sixties and the Seventies: Aspects of Student Activism in West Germany', in *Student Politics: Perspectives for the Eighties*, ed. by Philip G. Altbach (London: The Scarecrow Press, 1981), pp. 103-18 (pp. 106-7).

²²⁵ 'Es bröckelt', p. 58.

In line with Adorno's declaration that 'the time is over when we can isolate ourselves in our respective tasks', *Aktion 507* believed that the solution was in an egalitarian and interdisciplinary overhaul of the architectural institution.²²⁶ For this to occur, *Aktion 507* declared that:

Critical and reflective architectural theory is to develop into a discipline that includes and reflects on existing theoretical approaches within architecture and neighbouring disciplines (social psychology, perception theory, information theory, sociology, anthropology and medicine, but also philosophy, history, economic sciences, political sciences, etc.).²²⁷

The significance of a redefinition of architectural theory was seen as fundamental in proving the applicability of architectural concepts.

Aktion 507 saw the Architectural Theory symposium organised by Ungers at the TU in 1967 as indicative of this 'newly awakened appetite' for architectural theory.²²⁸ Many of the most prominent names in architecture at the time attended the event, such as Sigfried Giedion, Kenneth Frampton, Colin Rowe, Reyner Banham, Julius Posener, and Ulrich Conrads. In the first issue of the newly founded *Arch+*, Peter Lammert reported: 'The symposium barely corresponded to the actual needs of students, i.e the future architect [...] at least now they suspect the end of classical architectural theory'.²²⁹ The problem for the students was that the event adhered to the old understanding of architectural theory: 'essentially history, style and morphology, representation and aesthetics, regardless of the increasingly noticeable psychological and sociological impact of aesthetics'.²³⁰ Again, the past was hindering the development of the present with old modes of understanding and disciplinary approaches condemned as inappropriate in the new post-war context. As Ungers was involved in the Märkisches Viertel, it meant that he was part of the "*Diagnose*", as Baller recalled: 'As a participant in the Märkisches Viertel, Ungers was roughly classified in the diagnosis of all schematism, as shown in the facade photo in the *Spiegel*'

[Fig. 3.20].²³¹

²²⁶ Adorno, 'Functionalism Today', (p. 16).

²²⁷ Aktion 507, 'Manifest', (p. 73).

²²⁸ Ibid. p. 72.

²²⁹ Peter Lammert, 'Architekturtheorie', *Arch+*, 1 (1968), 72.

²³⁰ Aktion 507, 'Manifest', (p. 73).

²³¹ Baller, 'Aktion 507'.



Residential Facades in West-Berlin's "Märkisches Viertel": desolate growths of concrete architecture
FIG. 3.20: IMAGES OF FACADES IN THE MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, *DER SPIEGEL*, 1968

[NB: *DER SPIEGEL* HAS INCORRECTLY ATTRIBUTED THE BUILDINGS OF O. M. UNGERS TO LUDWIG UNGERS; TOP-CENTRE AND BOTTOM-RIGHT]

The only speaker who gathered support from the attending students was Jörn Janssen (1935-), who declared that the theme of the symposium was not 'Problems of architectural theory and architectural criticism', but rather 'Secrets of ideology and taste in architecture'.²³² Janssen criticised the accepted approach of studying architectural history through the lens of palaces, cathedrals and prisons but supported "real" architectural history which was a product of social conditions. The housing estates which promised the designers neither fame nor glory were therefore seen to be more worthy of study in their representation of a particular historical moment. The event ended in turmoil with the unfurling of a banner with the slogan "*Alle Häuser sind schön, hort auf zu bauen*" [All houses are beautiful, stop building] which was attributed in the manifesto to the action of

²³² Cepl, *Ungers*, p. 228.

the *Kritische Universität. Aktion 507* commented that ‘it was good that we didn’t allow any of the cited approaches to have their say’.²³³ The symposium fed into the theoretical position of the authors of the *Diagnose*:

Scepticism towards their own course of study,
towards the traditional job description of “demiurges”,
towards quickly customised utopianism

and against all non-binding talk of interdisciplinary work, as long
as the terminological requirements are missing and as long
as nothing is understood it will be like dabbling in the
neighbour’s garden.

These scepticisms are not Scepticism. It means no isolation of artist-architects, but rather is based on the interest in and desire for more information about neighbouring fields.²³⁴

The sociologist Hans Paul Bahrtdt was at the forefront of the call for expert knowledge from various disciplines to be combined in order to create a more successful urban environment. According to Bahrtdt, as the new installation, extension, remodelling and reconstruction of cities contained many complex sociological problems, it was only logical that sociologists should be involved in the planning process.²³⁵ The danger was however, that specialist consultants merely added rather than integrated their skills and so the built environment remained abstract in relation to individual needs.²³⁶ It was therefore not only the combination of ideas from different disciplines that was the solution, but also the way in which those ideas were integrated and developed. Bahrtdt did not underestimate the difficulties in a sociological involvement in planning processes recognising ‘the slowness of many municipal administrations in which – as in all traditional bureaucracies – teamwork that goes beyond departmental limits is difficult to achieve’.²³⁷ Through a combination of philosophy, social anthropology, sociology, and the national economy, Bahrtdt believed that the basic concepts of urban development could have a more successful basis, that of the social.²³⁸

The inclusion of social psychologists into the urban planning process was not intended as the addition of another specialist but as a representative of the critical consciousness,

²³³ Aktion 507, ‘Manifest’, (p. 72).

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ Bahrtdt, *Die moderne Großstadt*, p. 7.

²³⁶ Horn, ‘Zweckrationalität in der modernen Architektur’, (p. 123).

²³⁷ Bahrtdt, *Die moderne Großstadt*, p. 7.

²³⁸ Ibid. pp. 111-2.

which was seen to be fundamental in the design of the human environment.²³⁹ The inclusion of the critical consciousness was deemed necessary to counteract the 'manipulative intelligence' which had transformed the human environment to such an 'incalculable extent'.²⁴⁰ The politician could not be expected to be a scientific expert but Mitscherlich believed two things could be demanded of him; an open-mind to professional knowledge in order to gain an understanding of the problems, and the power to make the public aware of these problems.²⁴¹ For Arndt, this meant that experts should not be convened to act as public builders on behalf of the state, rather they should be able to speak as individuals 'in their own name as free citizens of a free society'.²⁴² Despite the focus of the '68 movement on institutions, students in Berlin were conscious of the need to extend their involvement and critique into the city in order to connect with those from outside the university. The students reinterpreted the use of the city in a variety of ways in order to stimulate discussion about the city as a concrete reflection of society. In her novel *Ein Brief Aus Dresden* set in divided Berlin, Brigitte Hilge, commented that:

from the lecture hall to the street, was the motto. We must be perceived by the general public more.²⁴³

²³⁹ Mitscherlich, *Die Unwirtlichkeit unserer Städte*, p. 48.

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Ibid. p. 106.

²⁴² Arndt, 'Demokratie als Bauherr', (p. 232).

²⁴³ Brigitte Hilge, *Ein Brief aus Dresden*, (Norderstedt: Books on Demand GmbH, 2009), p. 138.

Aktion 507 therefore strongly adhered to the idea that critical thinking was the key to the development of a new planning theory and praxis:

However, in order to make a planning theory possible, a stronger coordination of scholarship is called for, and above all architectural scholarship. For architects, that would mean a role for the demi-urge, the charismatic utopians, the great directors, who in the days of the so-called public builders also had to act as constructors and thus have double responsibility to re-integrate themselves.

But this in turn requires continued authority of those who could better pursue the role of the builder.²⁴⁴

The combination of knowledge from a variety of fields and the dismantling of traditional professional roles was seen to be the solution to many of the contemporary problems. It was hoped that critical analysis of current practices would lead to a conception of an architecture that would more adequately reflect society and accommodate individual needs. Adorno, for example, stated that functionalism desired to break out of its entanglement with the 'fetishized character of goods' and yet 'it can only rattle its chains in vein as long as it remains trapped in an entangled society'.²⁴⁵ Society therefore needed to change first, and architects should be at the forefront of that change as they bridged the divide between society, art, culture, politics, economics and construction.

The general feeling of students and other critics, therefore, was that the boundaries between disciplines needed to be removed. These disciplines also included those of the arts which were seen as fundamental in expressing and disseminating issues identified within society. The title of the *Ton Steine Sterben's* first album, released in 1971, *Warum geht es mir so dreckig* [Why am I so miserable], as the historian Timothy Scott Brown commented, captured the mood of the generation who were concerned with 'exploring the subjectivity and psychology of oppression rooted in the experience of daily life'.²⁴⁶ The first single '*Macht kaputt was euch kaputt macht*' [Destroy what destroys you], was an example of the collective refusal, which combined with a new desire for concrete and even violent action to earmark the beginning of the 1970s.²⁴⁷ Another faction of the movement in West

²⁴⁴ *Aktion 507*, 'Manifest', (p. 74).

²⁴⁵ Adorno, 'Functionalism Today', (p. 16).

²⁴⁶ Timothy Scott Brown, *West Germany and the Global Sixties: The Anti-Authoritarian Revolt, 1962–1978*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), p. 177.

²⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

Germany, the 'Central Board of Wandering Hash Rebels', used the above song title by *Ton Steine Scherben* as their motto.²⁴⁸

The end of the 1960s saw the emergence of alternative music that explicitly sought to change society through its revolutionary potential, in that it was not only consumed but also could shape consciousness.²⁴⁹ Schwab reflected that music was the medium for their 'collective unease', 'this mostly ran free in the streets' but in 1965 when the Rolling Stones played in Berlin, the venue 'fell victim to a spontaneous creative urge'.²⁵⁰ In September 1965, the Rolling Stones concert in West Berlin's Waldbühne ended in a battle between the fans and police: 'the protagonists, many of them "Rockers" from Berlin's working class Märkisches Viertel, had broken through police lines earlier in the day in order to enter the concert ground without tickets.'²⁵¹ The place of the Märkisches Viertel is significant here, as is the transformation of particular spaces within the city through music's ability to express the collective consciousness of a generation.



FIG. 3.21: STILL FROM HERBERT VESELY, *DIE STADT*, 1959. BILL HALEY AND THE COMETS CONCERT, BERLIN SPORTPALAST, 26 OCTOBER 1958

²⁴⁸ Schwab, Schappach, and Gogos, *Die 68er*, p. 44.

²⁴⁹ Davis, 'City as Theater of Protest', (p. 261).

²⁵⁰ Schwab, Schappach, and Gogos, *Die 68er*, p. 52.

²⁵¹ Vasudevan, *Metropolitan Preoccupations*, p. 158.

The importance of music was not only in its expression of an alternative reality but also in its authenticity, as *Ton Steine Scherben* sang: 'They know the struggle continues and they know the truth will prevail'.²⁵² Although the influences from the West were strong, the specifically German musical style, Krautrock, wanted to be neither German nor Western. As Ralf Hütter of the band Kraftwerk commented: 'after the Second World War all music was gone, it was wiped out, and our generation had to start again'.²⁵³ Reflecting both the feeling across the arts, but also the arts as a reflection of the desired changes in society.

At the opening of the *Diagnose* exhibition the programme also sought to demonstrate a cross-discipline collective, and included a series of musical performances:



²⁵² Ton Steine Scherben, 'Der Kampf geht weiter', in *Warum geht es mir so dreckig?*, (Berlin: David Volksmund Produktion, 1971).

²⁵³ Ben Whalley, 'Krautrock: The Rebirth of Germany', (London: BBC Four, 2009), p. 58:25 mins (p. 29:16).

- Sun 8.9 Exhibition Opening with Programme
- 19:30 “Beat for Orpheus” for Cello and Tape by Thomas Kessler
- 20:00 Projections in hall
- 20:30 “Permutation II for 3 flutes” premier by Karl-Heinz Wahren
- 20:45 Ceremonial Address by BDA-President Fritz Bornemann
- 21:00 Opening Discussion
- 21:30 “De Architectura” for 3 groups and 3 tape recordings after the text by Leon Battista Alberti. Premier, by Wilhelm Dieter Siebert

Soprano: Rosi Rohr; Speaker: Helmut Krauss; Flute: Eberhard Blum, Rainer Lafin, Martin U. Senn; Violoncello: Christoph Kapler; “Die Erlebnisgeiger”, “Free Jazz Band”; and the group “A 507”.²⁵⁴

Signatory of the manifesto, Hinrich Baller, studied music and architecture and so was the connecting figure with the musicians for the opening. Wolf Dieter Siebert was an established composer in the avant-garde music scene and they collaborated on the idea of the production of the piece ‘De Architectura’. The central hall of the Rohbau lent itself to the performance with the soprano Rosi Rohr standing on the top level and, Baller recalled:

with her clear, bell-like voice, [Rohr] sang texts from Leon Battista Alberti’s famous architectural theory, in Latin and partly in German in a strict 12-tone technique, accompanied by Eberhard Blum on the flute in the counterpoint, while in the sound space of the exhibition rooms, construction sounds in musical alienation (shortened in pitch and with rhythm shifted etc.) were heard from distributed loudspeakers and 3 audio tapes.

On the lower scaffolding under the soprano the actor Helmut Krauss sat and read from the Bavarian building regulations about lavatories. Why the Bavarian and not the Berlin building regulations remains Siebert’s artistic secret, probably because the Berlin Building Regulations know of no lavatories.

This musical-spatial centre of the composition was supplemented by a “Free Jazz Band” and the “Erlebnisgeiger” [Experiential Violinists], two very unusual sound bodies, arranged in the room and contributing their part during the composition. At its peak, a lot of inferno could arise, which was still dominated by the sounds of the pile driver tamed by the loudspeakers.

The “Erlebnisgeiger” comprised of 5 violinists, centred on Johannes Grützke (who would later become a famous painter) and his then wife Roswitha, who struck their instruments according to the experiences of the 5 instrumentalists without any tonality but which produced all the more colourful sound and euphoric elements. Siebert could incorporate them into

²⁵⁴ Baller, ‘Der Vertrauensarchitekt der Besetzerszene’, (p. 23).

his composition – clearly they also arranged themselves. For those present, sounds were created, which were previously unimaginable for everyone - as was the effect.

By contrast, the opening music of Thomas Kessler “Beat for Orpheus” and the second premiere “Permutations II for 3 flutes” by Karl-Heinz Wahren, were almost classical avant-garde, which was also true of members of the group New Music. They could pick up the listeners and prepare them for “De Architectura”.²⁵⁵



FIG. 3.22: IMAGES FROM THE *DIAGNOSE* EXHIBITION OPENING, SEPTEMBER 1968

The use of music in this context suggests the cross-fertilisation of ideas from various disciplines that characterised the '68 student movement. The desire to cross boundaries also reflected the desire to break down all barriers that restricted the lives of large swathes of the population. The setting of texts by Alberti (fundamental to the teachings and development of the architectural discipline) to new avant-garde music reflected the desire for the students to create something new in the world of architecture; to go back to the roots of the discipline and to create a new understanding. This was an occupation of the discipline to assert their agency in its development, but also to allow for a reconsideration

²⁵⁵ Baller, 'Aktion 507'.

The '12-tone technique' is a type of musical composition which freely uses all twelve tones of the chromatic scale without adherence to a particular key. Developed by Austrian composer Arnold Schoenberg (1874–1951).

much in the same vein as the happenings, book thefts, and artistic ventures that forced a reconsideration of the known. Baller commented on the desire for the group to actively practice the interdisciplinarity that they sought:

In addition to science, social engagement and a precise argument, we also wanted to show ourselves at the highest level artistically, whilst making the interdisciplinary demands tangible. The texts of Alberti, the sounds of various musicians, and even the spatial experience, amongst real and technical sounds and the naturalism of a pile driver, conveyed our comprehensive demands.²⁵⁶

For that reason, alongside the desire to attract the public, the opening of the exhibition was accompanied by music. Thus, the cross-disciplinary approach was actively practiced by members of *Aktion 507* to demonstrate its effectiveness and plausibility as a methodology.

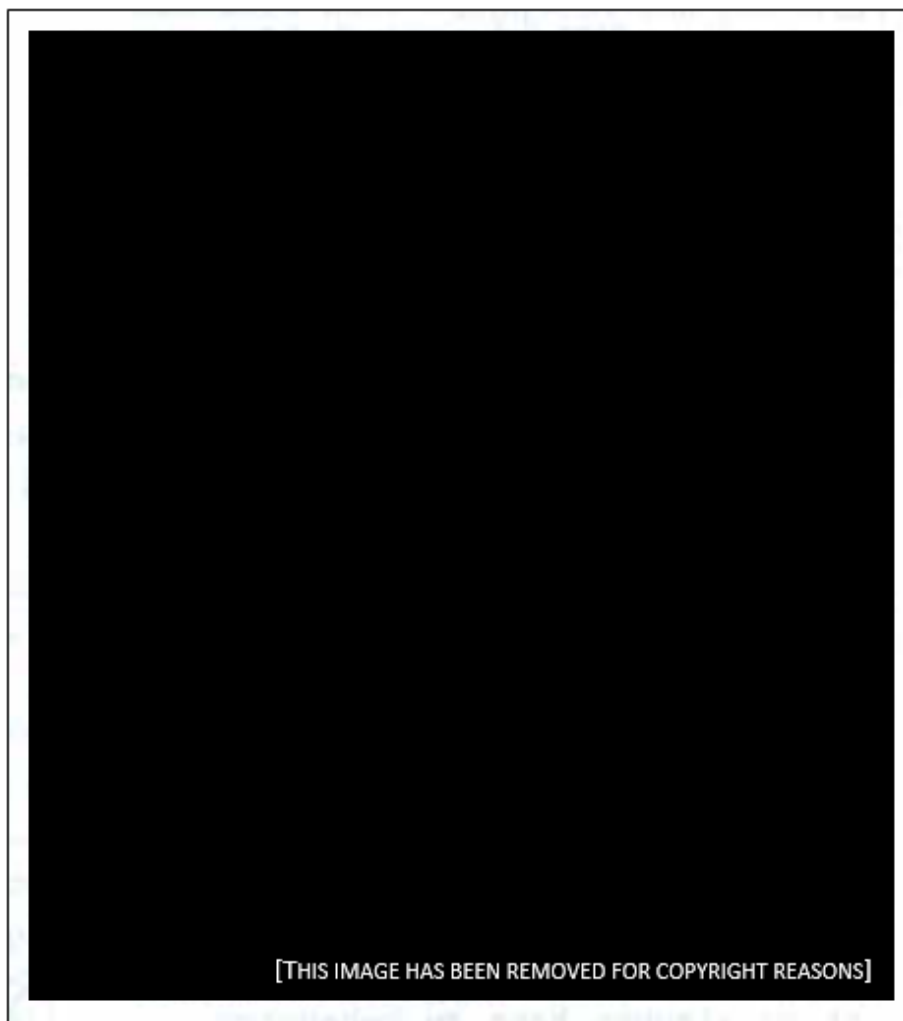


Fig. 3.23: "A FILM ABOUT THE PROTESTS AND ACTIVISTS OF THE TENANTS OF THE MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL AGAINST RISING RENTS" ADVERTISED IN *MV ZEITUNG* NO. 6 1972/73

²⁵⁶ Ibid.

Der Spiegel reported on the interdisciplinary approach to “direct action” in the Märkisches Viertel in the wake of the *Diagnose*, which sought to instigate change through collaboration and a variety of cultural outputs:

A protest meeting has been convened. In the pouring rain, film apparatus and a screen are to be assembled. In the film about the force of the bailiff, appears the text: “The henchmen of the system that do the dirty work for the GESOBAU” Kraft says, “I’m just an executive body.” A documentary is shown: “How the Puhle family is kicked out”.²⁵⁷

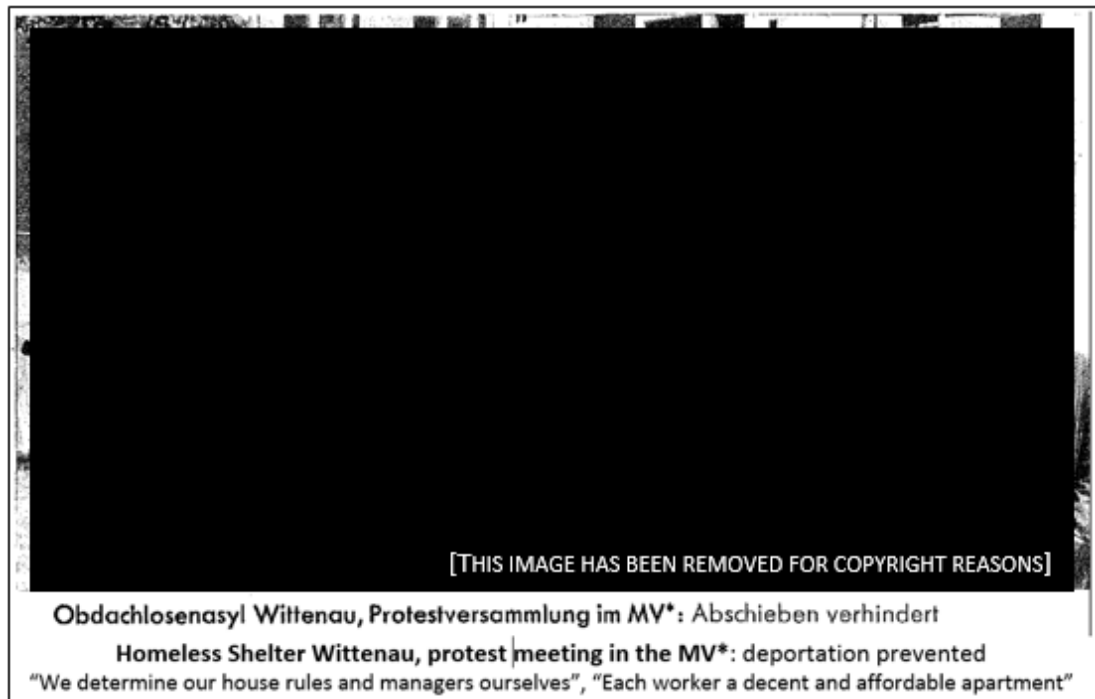


FIG. 3.24: PROTEST AGAINST THE PLANNED EVICTION OF THE PUHLE FAMILY, MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, 1970

Film, like art, became embroiled in a consideration of its function as a political process.

Forms of revolutionary and alternative cultural production from the 1920s were rediscovered, in particular the Russian revolutionary Kinovi movement by Dziga Vertov with its idea of mobile Kinoki.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁷ Krüger, ‘Menschen im Experiment’, p. 231.

Kraft was the head baliff in the Märkisches Viertel.

²⁵⁸ Katja Reichard, ‘Uffdecken der janz kleenen persönlichen Scheisse’, *Kulturrisse: Zeitschrift für radikaldemokratische Kulturpolitik*, 02 (2008) <<http://kulturrisse.at/ausgaben/022008/>> [accessed 25 July 2017].

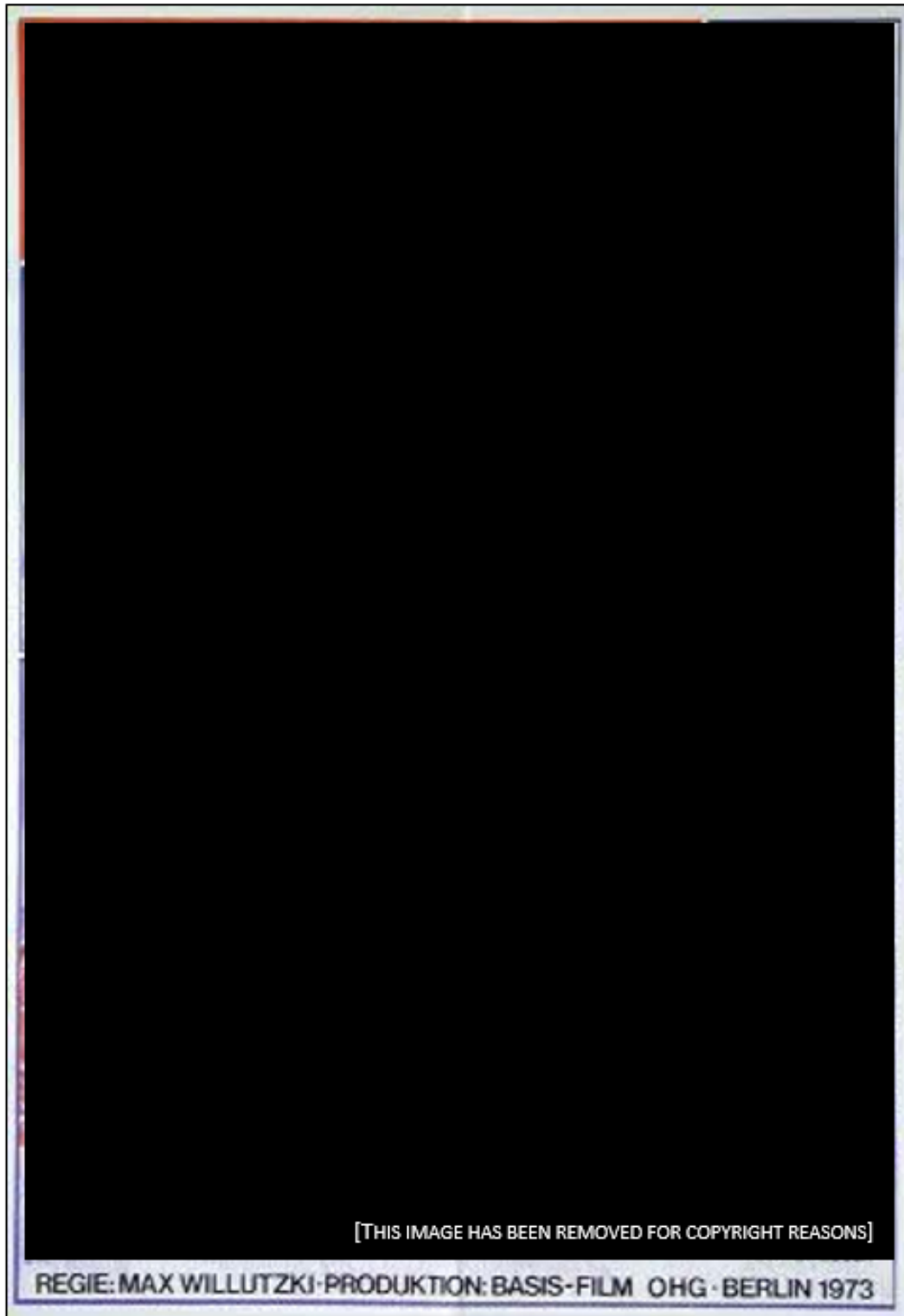


Fig. 3.25: MAX WILLUTZKI, *DER LANGE JAMMER*, (BERLIN: BASIS-FILM, 1973)

Students who were expelled from the *DFFB* [*Deutsche Film- und Fernsehakademie Berlin* or German Film and Television Academy Berlin] due to their political activities, notably Thomas Hartwig (1941-), Jean-François le Moign, Max Willutzki (1938-), and Christian

Ziewer (1941-), founded a film group in the Märkisches Viertel. Willutzki and Ziewer attempted to support the political work in the district by presenting the problems of the Märkisches Viertel's inhabitants via newsreel projections called Kinograms. The function of these Kinograms was to present "basic" films that would further the political work in the district through education and involvement. For four weeks, films were presented to an audience of around 200 people, which documented the ability of collective action in preventing eviction. Willutzki also produced a more conventional documentary '*Der Lange Jammer*' (1973) which documented the residents' battles against rent increases.

Developments in technology with 16 mm cameras made it possible to shoot with relative ease and in informal settings such as inhabitants' apartments. Reidemeister, who later studied film at the *DFFB* (1973-8), attempted to develop an alternative documentary style which involved giving the inhabitants cameras and allowing them to document their lives themselves. In an interview in 1982, she recalled the residents' distrust of filmmakers such as Willutzki and Ziewer:

The family said, "They are always making films about us, but never with us. They never show us the way we really want to be shown."²⁵⁹

The families were excluded from the production and editing process and so

Reidemeister sought to negate this issue:

These filmmakers either documented or interpreted, but always excluded the families from the production process, and, of course, from the final editing. For someone like me, a complete ignoramus, I felt safest beginning work *with* people in *their* homes.²⁶⁰

²⁵⁹ Helga Reidemeister, 'The Working Class Family', in *Jump Cut*, ed. by Marc Silberman (July 1982), pp. 44-45 (pp. 44-45).

²⁶⁰ *Ibid.*



FIG. 3.26: STILL FROM *WIR WOLLEN BLUMEN UND MÄRCHEN BAUEN* [WE WANT TO BUILD FLOWERS AND FAIRY TALES] BY THOMAS HARTWIG AND JEAN-FRANÇOIS LE MOIGN, 1970

Reidemeister's first film *Der Gekaufte Traum* [The Purchased Dream] (1977) was made with the Bruder family who used the camera themselves. Reidemeister attempted to get other students in her class interested in her work by re-using the Paris 1968 phrase "Let's put the camera into the hands of the workers," but there was a lack of interest.²⁶¹ Reidemeister put this down to two reasons:

First, these unskilled workers, as measured on the scale of political hubris in the student movement at that time, did not seem politically useful or revolutionary enough. Second, students found it too troublesome to get involved in workers' daily lives.²⁶²

DIY film-making was seen as a way to politicise their daily activities as well as to make the inhabitants aware of the political nature of their subjectivity, with the aim of engendering political action. In *Von wegen Schicksal* [Because of Fate] (1979), for example, the worker Irene Rakowitz, documents her 'emancipation' from the role of wife and mother.²⁶³

²⁶¹ Ibid.

²⁶² Ibid.

²⁶³ Reichard, 'Uffdecken der ganz kleenen persönlichen Scheisse'.



FIG. 3.27: STILL FROM *VON WEGEN SCHICKSAL* [BECAUSE OF FATE] BY HELGA REIDEMEISTER SHOWING IRENE RAKOWITZ, 1970

The films *Wir wollen Blumen und Märchen bauen* [We Want to Build Flowers and Fairytales] (1970) and *Rudi* (1972) by Thomas Hartwig and Jean-François le Moign, *Urbs Nova?* (1971) by Herbert Ballmann and Wolfgang Patzschke, and the documentary feature film *Der lange Jammer* (1975) by Max Willutzki were broadcast on the public television channel ZDF [Zweites Deutsches Fernsehen] in the early 1970s. The broadcast on a public service television channel demonstrates the widespread appeal of the combining of urban and social criticisms. Reidemeister's *Der gekaufte Traum* (1977) and *Nun kann ich endlich glücklich und zufrieden wohnen* [Now I Can Finally Live Happily and with Content] (1970) by Christian Ziewer, Max Willutzki and Klaus Wiese were shown in the cinema and at festivals. As social historian Christiane Reinecke stated: 'throughout these films, so-called proletarian or underprivileged protagonists were the focus.'²⁶⁴

A resident of the Märkisches Viertel, Hans Rickmann, became a key figure in the media; he was interviewed by Reidemeister, cited in *Der Spiegel*, acted as the main protagonist of *Urbs Nova?*, and was one of the figures in Willutzki's *Der lange Jammer*. *Urbs Nova?* follows the relocation of Hans Rickmann and his wife to West Berlin, from a worker's hostel, to an apartment in Kreuzberg, and then to the Märkisches Viertel. Reinecke commented on how

²⁶⁴ Christiane Reinecke, 'Am Rande der Gesellschaft', *Zeithistorische Forschungen: Studies in Contemporary History*, 11 (2014), 225.

the film was praised as a “sociogram” of a representative inhabitant of West Berlin.²⁶⁵

When interviewed in the film he stated:

We began to build upon what others had already begun. At that time, I felt as if I was on the edge of society [...] you have to realise that I never had another option other than standing on the edge of society, ever since I entered the world.²⁶⁶

This revolutionary rhetoric made Rickmann particularly interesting for the young filmmakers, but the ZDF reported on numerous complaints from other residents of the Märkisches Viertel after the film was aired on its network, as they did not believe that Rickmann was an accurate representative of the average inhabitant of the district.²⁶⁷ The students therefore did not always get the response they were hoping for:

[Residents] shouted in front of the camera for discipline and order and called for the “dirty and perverted slackers” to be given a few weeks in the workhouse. They admired the Communist FDJ and the radical right-wing NPD. “They would be slaughtered for what they do,” said 19-year-old Klaus, “and it impresses me.”

The anti-authoritarian theories of students, on the other hand, considered it “cowardice and weakness.” Mike: “I cannot learn from our subjects.”²⁶⁸

The nature of the “sociograms”, as a means of documentary that was based in social research did however successfully broaden the awareness of issues within the district and actively engaged the inhabitants in a way that was not possible in printed material. The *MV Zeitung* and *Aktion 507's* manifesto, as well as the daily newspapers, reprinted the opinions of residents in the Berlin dialect, demonstrating the desire to represent the inhabitants as they were, without mediation. The scale of the developments and the variety of the inhabitants, still led to a feeling that the residents had too little influence on the media portrayals of the district.²⁶⁹ However, the films and publications demonstrated the students’ desire to break out of the control of the universities and engage directly with the world outside.

²⁶⁵ Ibid. p. 226.

²⁶⁶ Herbert Ballmann, ‘Urbs Nova?’, (West Germany: ZDF, 22 September 1971), p. 1 hr 35 mins; Quoted in Reinecke, ‘Am Rande der Gesellschaft’, 226.

²⁶⁷ Reinecke, ‘Am Rande der Gesellschaft’, 227.

²⁶⁸ ‘Gescheiterte Aktion’, *Der Spiegel*, 51 (14 December 1970), p. 184.

²⁶⁹ Reinecke, ‘Am Rande der Gesellschaft’.

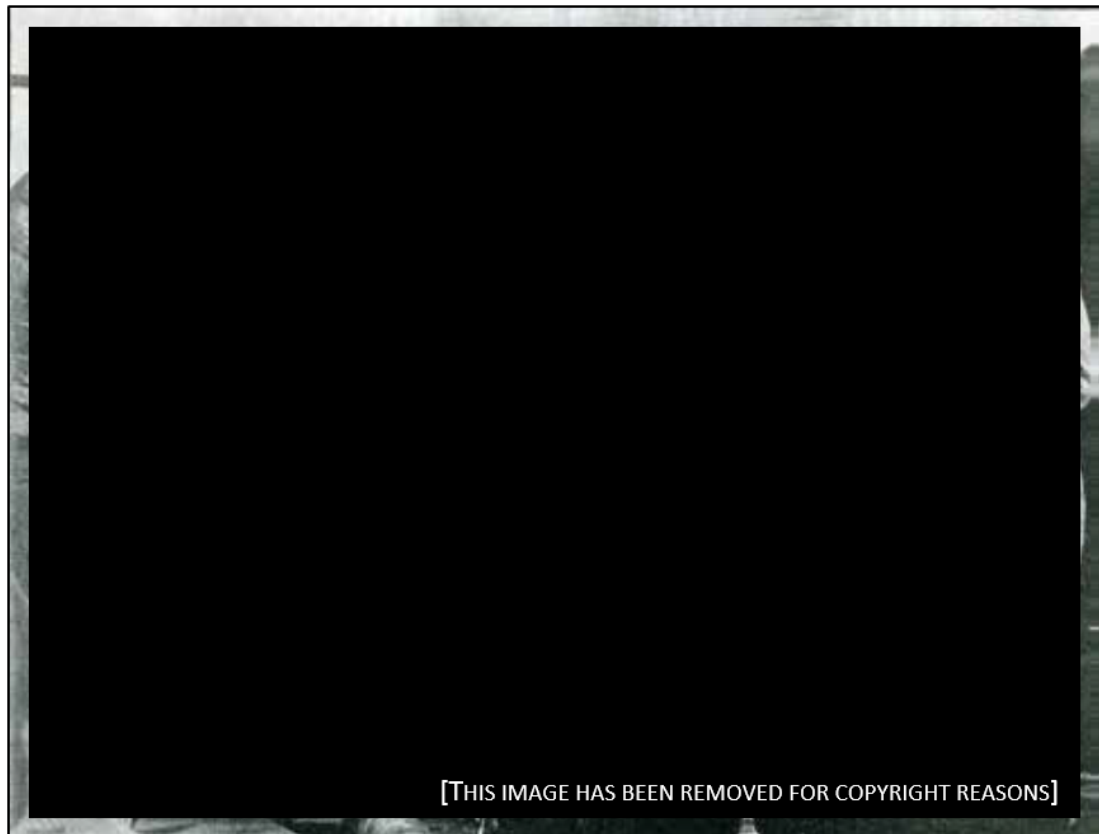


FIG. 3.28: HOFFMANN'S COMIC THEATRE IN THE MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL. IMAGE FROM *MV ZEITUNG*, NO. 8, 1970

Theatre was another sphere that played a key part in the “direct action” in the district and demonstrated some success in engaging residents in finding solutions to their grievances. On the evening of 1 May 1970, a small theatre troupe, Hoffmann’s Comic Theatre, began an impromptu performance in the middle of the Märkisches Viertel’s shopping district, accompanied by a live band. The group was formed in 1969 by three brothers Gert, Peter and Ralph Möbius (who later formed *Ton Steine Scherben*) and quickly gained a reputation for staging political events on the streets of West Berlin. The events were focused on ‘the everyday conflicts that shaped the lives of Berlin’s working-class residents’.²⁷⁰ The group developed an engaged “agitprop” style in which ‘the predominant cultural and political consciousness of the audience member’ became the ‘starting point for the planning and realisation of play’.²⁷¹ The performance in the Märkisches Viertel was reported on by the *Rote Presse Korrespondenz* in June 1970:

²⁷⁰ Vasudevan, *Metropolitan Preoccupations*, p. 2.2

²⁷¹ Hoffman’s Comic Theatre Group Guidelines, quoted in Brown, *West Germany and the Global Sixties*, p. 173.

On 1 May, the ultimatum for the provision of recreation areas in the Märkisches Viertel (for 5000 youths) expired, which the groups working in the Märkisches Viertel had given to the Minister for Youth and Sport, without the requested spaces being agreed. Instead, the GESOBAU had the insolence to revoke the premises of the student shop in the Märkisches Viertel.

On the evening of May 1, in the centre of the Märkisches Viertel shopping centre, the Hoffmann Comic Theatre Group represented the misery of the district in an improvisation piece. Several policemen and civilian bulls [plain clothed policemen] were already lying in wait. Following the last scene, which represented the closing of the student shop, the spectators decided to symbolically occupy a residential house in order to make the public aware of the untold profits of GESOBAU, which only build expensive rental apartments and not youth centres. Halfway it was discovered that this house was already surrounded by bulls. Consequently about 100 people moved to a factory building that was previously promised as a recreational space, and occupied the building.

In the factory hall, the working groups in the Märkisches Viertel and working families who supported this action, along with about thirty children, began to discuss the next steps. In the meantime, several support cars had already arrived from the famous Schulzendorfer *Schlägertruppe* [group of thugs, a police unit from a district in the Brandenburg]. The bulls surrounded the building and, without calling for the factory to be vacated, immediately smashed in the door. Approximately thirty bulls stormed into the hall with drawn truncheons, and in their famous gangster style, thrashed at the edge of the seated circle.

The residents formed themselves in chains and evacuated the building under the blows of the bulls that indiscriminately hit children, women, and men. Three young people were admitted to hospital with severe head injuries. The bulls could only behave so brutally because the factory building lay in a secluded area. When, at the big May Day demonstration that same morning, the bulls tried to arrest a comrade, they received such blows that they had to withdraw.

Even though the bulls were able to make a military victory this time in the Märkisches Viertel, they will not stop the youth's struggle for their interests. More workers' families and young people participated than ever before at the first events in the Märkisches Viertel concerning the police terror of 1 May.²⁷²

Significantly, over one hundred activists, performers and other local residents were able to stage an occupation together, which was a strong and seemingly successful

²⁷² 'Polizeiterror im Märkischen Viertel', in *Rote Presse-Korrespondenz*, (West-Berlin, 8 June 1970), p. 11.

The Rote Presse Korrespondenz was founded in February 1969 with the aim of 'constantly reporting on the active struggle' of various leftist groups in operation in West Berlin.

example of a collaboration between students, workers, and inhabitants of the district. Human geographer Alexander Vasudevan, recently commented on the significance of the event: ‘while the factory occupation in the Märkisches Viertel was itself short-lived, it was nevertheless the first squatted space in a city where the radical politics of occupation would soon assume a new and enduring significance’.²⁷³ The interdisciplinary approach to action in the district, and within the *Diagnose* therefore played a crucial role in instigating the cooperation between residents and students, which was central to the wishes of *Aktion 507*. To escape beyond the confines of the university and beyond the disciplinary boundaries was a key element of *Aktion 507* in breaking down the hierarchies that they believed prevented the development of a truly democratic society.



FIG. 3.29: ARREST OF THE JOURNALIST ULRIKE MEINHOF AT THE PROTEST OCCUPATION OF THE FACTORY IN THE MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, WEST BERLIN, 1 MAY 1970
IMAGE KLAUS MEHNER, BERLINPRESSSERVICES

In an attempt to navigate the issues that arose as a result of the various actions in the district, Ulrike Meinhof wrote the *Vorläufiges Strategie-Papier MV* [Preliminary Strategy-Paper MV] in 1970. With a background in philosophy, sociology, and education, Meinhof (later key member of the RAF), was highly active as a sociologist in the Märkisches Viertel.

²⁷³ Vasudevan, *Metropolitan Preoccupations*, p. 3.

She developed the Strategy Paper after her arrest during the factory sit-in which intended to:

establish a consensus among the “Leftist” working groups about the priorities of the political work in the MV, in order to be able to determine the next steps in the long-term strategy of the Left in the MV, i.e. a revolutionary strategy.²⁷⁴

The importance of the Strategy Paper was that a variety of groups were called upon to work together to produce a more effective set of actions. The difference between Meinhof’s view and the views of other groups, was in her desire to instigate a revolution. Meinhof’s main criticism in the paper reflects the issues raised in Chapter Two, such as a focus on profit, capitalist property relations, the perceived manipulation of the housing market, subsidies, tax incentives, and the effect on the inhabitants of the district. Meinhof added that ‘the Berlin policy of American imperialism’ was deeply embedded in the government’s activities in the Märkisches Viertel.²⁷⁵ Meinhof wished to identify the most potentially revolutionary groups within the district and saw the priority as to ‘agitate this group [...] in order to politicise them’.²⁷⁶ The position of the Märkisches Viertel was seen as a key battlefield for wider debates in the city of Berlin as Meinhof stated:

We will not be able to make a contribution to the development of class struggles in Berlin until the proletariat in the MV decides to cooperate with us. The first step, however, must be done by consistently and purposefully working towards mobilising and politicising the proletariat in the neighbourhood.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁴ Ulrike Meinhof, ‘Vorläufiges Strategiepapier Stadtteilgruppe Märkisches Viertel’, International Association of Labour History Institutions (IALHI), (January 1970)

<<http://www.socialhistoryportal.org/raf/308381>> [accessed 28 March 2016]

²⁷⁵ Ibid. p. [2].

²⁷⁶ Ibid.

²⁷⁷ Ibid. p. [3].



FIG. 3.30: “TENANTS PROTECTION ASSOCIATION”, MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, WEST BERLIN, 1970

For this, Meinhof advocated using a loudspeaker and car in the district as it ‘requires less time and effort than leaflets’.²⁷⁸ Public relations were key to the development of the revolution, with flyers, stickers, and the *MV Zeitung*. Meinhof also suggested developing “actions” such as providing spaces for young people as this would be the beginning of a longer-term cooperation, in contrast to the provision of playgrounds, where the cooperation had ended with the construction of the facility.²⁷⁹ In the early 1970s, other actions were developed such as an *autokorso* [car parade] that involved 150 cars driving from the district to the Berliner Rathaus, and in 1972, 3000 tenants hung sheets and towels out of their windows as a sign of protest against rent increases. *Der Spiegel* referred to the activities in the district as ‘failed action’:

²⁷⁸ Ibid. p. [4].

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

When the educators designed a room with mattresses to “create a stimulating atmosphere that alleviates the climate of fear and violence,” the youngsters “preferred a padded cell” to let off steam.

And when a student had been crushed by the thug Rudi, when the self-governance did not work and the “Brücke” gang reached for the bottle again, the consultants broke off the experiment - albeit not without success: Rudi, whom the teachers had finally added to their team in order to “neutralize” him, today works in a “children’s shop” in Bremen and is training as a teacher for environmentally damaged children.²⁸⁰

The move from theory to praxis was the focus of activity in the immediate aftermath of the *Diagnose* and yet the problems encountered caused the movement to lose its focus and the groups to fracture. Helga Reidemeister, as member of the SDS, signatory of *Aktion 507*, social worker in the Märkisches Viertel, filmmaker, former flatmate of Rudi Dutschke, and married to the architect Andreas Reidemeister, illustrated perfectly the complexities of the competing interests, and cross-linking between various factions and sub-groups of the wider student movement. As Fassbinder commented in the 1980s with the benefit of hindsight, that although there were ‘stubborn differences between the parties involved’ there was also a unified “‘position” to the outside’.²⁸¹ She continued:

what united us in time was a certain working-class move for equality. Even those who had come because they hoped to create the opportunity to become architects and pressed for the moderation of criticism, we were all working-class “have-nots”, and as such had morality on our side.²⁸²

²⁸⁰ ‘Gescheiterte Aktion’, p. 184.

²⁸¹ Krau, ‘Die Zeit der Diagnose’, 340.

²⁸² Ibid. p. 341.

SECTION CONCLUSION

Hartmut Frank claimed ‘architecture is dead!’ and the students intended to replace it with a socially responsible attitude to the cityscape.²⁸³ As presented in this section, much was made of the duty of architects to improve the environment for the inhabitants of West Berlin. Within society at large this meant educating the general public about the contemporary situation and encouraging their engagement by engendering a sense of agency. The manifesto therefore, in its “diagnosis” of current issues, rather than a collection of solutions, was an attempt to fulfil the need to disseminate criticism in order to incite change within the urban planning sphere. The *Tagesspiegel* newspaper even reported that the ‘CDU welcomes good criticism’ in reference to the *Diagnose* exhibition:

Yesterday, in reference to the exhibition “*Diagnose zum Bauen in West Berlin*”, the CDU parliamentary group in the House of Representatives explained that “a group of young people are demonstrating not just a sizable critique, but also an example of good criticism”. The *Bausenator*, they said, had not succeeded, because reasonable singular successes could not replace an overall planning concept.²⁸⁴

To the students, society could be changed only from the bottom up. The training of new architects, in discussion groups, to think critically about their education, and direct engagement in the city districts, was seen as a precursor to a change within the institutions once the architects entered the world of work. The demand for interdisciplinarity and the direct work in the city districts based on these aims, demonstrated *Aktion 507*’s pragmatic reformism that was strongly linked to a wilful engagement in society.

²⁸³ Frank, “‘Alle Häuser sind schön, hört auf zu bauen!’”, 356.

²⁸⁴ ‘Das große Buh’.

CHAPTER THREE CONCLUSION

This chapter has shown that the choice of architectural policy for the city was strongly connected to deeply political issues and included a strong ideological conception of what the dominant vision for the city should be. Ideas about the post-war conception of Germany as a society were embedded within these decisions and these ideas spilled out onto the streets of West Berlin. The city was the theatre for debating fundamental issues about society: as Jean Baudrillard commented ‘the city is the right place for a revolt, for a revolution because it is there that the banality and the triviality of everyday life are played out’.²⁸⁵

The new generation were exposed to theories, as well as new forms of music, art and film which they were also involved in creating, which gave them an alternative conception of the world around them. The revolution in the cultural sphere expressed their distrust of institutions and a desire to develop alternative ways of existing; in the direct work in city districts, in the establishment of a *Kritische Universität* and *Basisgruppen* for discussing alternatives, and in the dissemination of material which circulated their viewpoint amongst the wider public. The students’ desire to actively engage citizens with their city indicates the fundamental role of theory in the ideology of the student movement. *Aktion 507* went a step further than many of their intellectual sources and sought answers as to how the theory could be translated into direct action: ‘we were concerned with direct action, not aloof social criticism’.²⁸⁶ The group undertook the task set out by those scholars who bridged the gap between cultural critique and urban planning; to use architecture as a means to instigate change in society. As the art that traversed into the physical and practical realm, many students, as demonstrated by the writings of Vostell, saw architecture as holding the most potential to instigate change. This was also about taking back control from the institutions and returning it to the residents, but also gave students direct agency in developing the kind of society and institutions of which they were to become members. Jonas Geist (1936-2009) remarked in hindsight that: ‘I still stand by the abolition of the professional civil service expressed in the manifesto; it turns academia in to property’.²⁸⁷

²⁸⁵ Jean Baudrillard, ‘Le Ludique et le Policier’, *Utopie*, 2-3 (1969), 10.

²⁸⁶ Krau, ‘Die Zeit der Diagnose’, 341.

²⁸⁷ Geist, Jonas, ‘In Memoriam Jonas Geist’, *Arch Plus*, 191/192 (2009), 2-4, p. 3.

The solutions advocated by members of the student movement also indicate how it was not a protest of complete rejection, but was rather a protest of reconsideration, and criticality in relation to everyday life. The interviewing of residents and inclusion of them in processes was a direct answer to the pleas of intellectuals to reconfigure the relationship between urban planner and individual. Although much of the manifesto is a compilation of criticism, *Aktion 507* were not only attempting to identify perpetrators, but were also intent on reintroducing the critical into consciousness. The fear of dogma also goes some way in explaining the lack of concrete proposals for a different kind of urban planning, as does the emphasis on individuality and the local. It would not be possible or desirable to dictate a new type of architectural style or practice in a situation where it was believed that society needed to alter the way it operated. Once the attitude changed then it would be possible to see what kind of urban planning and architectural style would be appropriate for society as they defined themselves, and not as they were defined from above. The idealistic view of how society was deemed capable of change is clearly open to criticism itself, but the emphasis on the concerns of residents, the inclusion of the public, a democratic planning process, and the establishment of district newspapers and community meetings were attempts to engage citizens in their city. To give the streets and city back to the citizens was the ultimate intention of the student movement, rather than dictating outcomes, it was a dictation of methods and a demand for engagement.

The various practical actions which took place in the Märkisches Viertel demonstrate the force of the students' intentions to directly work within the spaces of the city, and traverse the boundaries between institutions and real life. The outlined examples demonstrate the difficulties that the various groups faced in the districts, perhaps more difficult than they had anticipated. This also extended to the *Diagnose* exhibition itself with *Der Abend* reporting that the exhibition was 'very engaged, but hardly understandable for most outside their circle' which did not justify their criticism nor offer an alternative.²⁸⁸ The criticism that was based on complex theoretical readings, as well as the specifics of criticism towards particular institutional workings, methodologies, ideologies, and terminology aimed at a particularly informed audience. Other elements of the critique such as the interviews with residents, and the sociological criticism, or the demand for the restoration of the Luxemburg and Liebknecht memorial were more accessible. This equally reflects the

²⁸⁸ 'Zorn am Ball Berlin-West'.

difficulty across the student movement of coordinating activities between various groups. The subsequent splintering of the student movement and the descent of particular factions into terrorism during the seventies indicate some of the implications of the *Diagnose*; the issues were agreed upon but the ways to rectify these problems were where complications began to arise.

Based on understandings of Critical Theory and the repressive forces of hierarchies and power relations, *Aktion 507* understood that a change within the architectural discipline had to begin with a change in attitude. Within universities, this meant a collaboration with other disciplines in order to make use of a trans-disciplinary expertise to reflect the place of architecture at the nexus of many subjects and to better fulfil the needs of inhabitants. To *Aktion 507*, this meant the institution of architecture, rather than architectural style. In the second edition of the manifesto, the *Planer-Flugschrift* produced by an ad-hoc group within *Aktion 507* focused on teaching methods in higher education and called for a planning faculty instead of the Faculty of Architecture. They argued that ‘unlike the artistic architect, who was now socially irrelevant, planners with a scientific training had the genuine potential to change society’.²⁸⁹ This demand, according to Hartmut Frank, led to the foundation of the Department of Planning and Social Theory and the Faculty of Architecture became the Department of Construction Planning and Implementation. The slogan of the ‘68 movement devised by Rudi Dutschke, the “long march through the institutions”, was therefore reflected by students of architecture. The desire, across every sphere of the student movement, was for a removal of hierarchy and a practiced form of democracy, inclusivity and openness. This included the transfer of information across boundaries and an inclusion of the public as equals. For *Aktion 507*, this built upon texts by Bahrtdt and Mitscherlich who saw the value of the inclusion of sociological theories into the discipline of architecture in its ability to develop an architecture which served its function as a tool for the betterment of individual lives.

The importance placed on returning art’s critical function, the loss of which was protested by Adorno, Horkheimer and others, is demonstrated in the various artistic groups that were founded with precisely this intention. The identification of the “culture industry” by Adorno and Horkheimer was, according to the sociologist Graeme Gilloch, clearly prefigured by

²⁸⁹ Frank, ‘Crisis or Sea Change?’, (pp. 173-4).

Kracauer's critique of mass culture and distraction.²⁹⁰ Gilloch highlighted that Kracauer's training as an architect led him to see modernity not in the buildings themselves but in the non-places or *Zwischenräume* [spaces in between].²⁹¹ In this way, the training of the members of *Aktion 507* also afforded them this viewpoint; it was not necessarily the architectural aesthetics which personified society's problems, but it was the spaces created by the buildings and the context and policies behind the construction itself. This was not something as simple as architectural style equates to political ideology, but rather that the architecture was a visual stimulus for the immaterial. As the architectural historian Marc Dessauce commented 'this [post-war] urbanism would mean not only aesthetic breakdown and boredom, but bureaucratic control and repression in disguise'.²⁹² It was this deliberate masking of the political, or aestheticisation, in the vein of Walter Benjamin, which was a deeply political act.²⁹³ The problem, according to Arndt, was that democracy had difficulty in becoming manifest, in comparison to emblems of domination which easily became objects of wonder so that the political force was made visible as both foreign and yet tangible.²⁹⁴ The task of democracy was therefore to make the unseen seen 'so that men catch sight of themselves in this coexistence of their fellow humanity, their society, their community'.²⁹⁵ So rather than waiting for society to realise its agency, architecture was placed within the process of that realisation. The actions undertaken by *Aktion 507* and the role played by the cultural sphere in instigating a reconsideration of the relationship between the citizen and their city space demonstrates the potentiality that the students saw in the future of their city.

²⁹⁰ Gilloch, 'Impromptus of a Great City', (p. 297).

²⁹¹ See Ibid.

²⁹² Dessauce, 'On Pneumatic Apparitions', (p. 20).

²⁹³ Leach, 'Architecture or Revolution?', (p. 4).

²⁹⁴ Arndt, 'Demokratie als Bauherr', (p. 227).

²⁹⁵ Ibid.

**CONCLUSION
POST-MORTEM**

THE AFTERMATH: REFORM OR REVOLUTION?

As has been shown, the fundamental aim of *Aktion 507* was to “diagnose” the problems within the sphere of urban planning, which was deeply intertwined with a critique of society. As an extension of the theories within the wider student movement, the lack of critical reflection was understood to have a damning effect on society and *Aktion 507* sought to rectify this within their own sphere. The march through the institutions, included the institution of architecture both within the the university and in the professional sphere, as the institutions were seen to mirror society. The intention to make the personal political was activated in the vested interest of those involved who moved into the contested city districts and politicised the activities of daily life. What was seen as a repressive and hierarchical society, dominated by the views of those in positions of power, was turned on its head by focusing on those at the lower levels of society.

The progression of the student movement in relation to the Märkisches Viertel and the lack of perceived improvement in the satellite settlement, is demonstrated in the fact that members of the various groups in the Märkisches Viertel later formed the key contingent of the terrorism that Germany experienced in the 1970s. The district was therefore emblematic of greater problems within society but also became the focus of these criticisms. Later members of the RAF who were involved in the Märkisches Viertel were Jan Carl Raspe and Katarina Hammerschmidt who were active in the *Kinderladen* [alternative kindergartens] and in experimentation with different educational models.¹ also Gudrun Ensslin, Andreas Baader, Astrid Proll and her brother Thorwald met while working amongst youths in the district involved in criminality or drug use.² Horst Mahler’s first practical militant activity before the development of the RAF terrorist group, also took place in the Märkisches Viertel with Baader and Ensslin, when they conducted an arson attack using Molotov cocktails on an administrative building in the district.³

Two weeks after the production of the Märkisches Viertel Strategy Paper, Meinhof took part in helping Andreas Baader to escape from prison in Tegel, which led to the formation of the RAF. The founding declaration of the RAF declared ‘declassed’ layers in social

¹ Donatella Della Porta, *Social Movements, Political Violence, and the State: A Comparative Analysis of Italy and Germany*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), p. 98.

² Ibid.

³ Michael Fischer, *Horst Mahler: Biographische Studie zu Antisemitismus, Antiamerikanismus und Versuchen deutscher Schuldabwehr*, (Karlsruhe: KIT Scientific Publishing, 2015), p. 229.

hotspots as the focus of their terrorist 'action propaganda' as young people and families in the new construction and redevelopment areas were singled out as being particularly receptive to the group's ideology.⁴ The work in the Märkisches Viertel, had a direct impact on the increasing development towards terror. *Die Rote Armee aufbauen Erklärung zur Befreiung Andreas Baaders* [The Red Army Construct an Explanation for the Liberation of Andreas Baader] (5 June 1970), shows the increasing frustration with the system:

Without simultaneously building the Red Army, any conflict, any political work in society, in Wedding, in the Märkisches Viertel, in Plötze, and in the courtroom, degenerates into reformism, that is:

You only plant better disciplinary means through better methods of intimidation, better methods of exploitation.

This only destroys people, that does not destroy what destroys the people! Without the Red Army, the pigs can do anything, the pigs can continue: lock, dismiss, fatten, steal children, intimidate, shoot, reign.

To drive the conflicts to the top means that they can no longer do what they want, but have to do what we want.⁵

It was capitalism that was ostensibly seen as the destructive force within society, rather than the individuals per se. Once it was seen that the individuals were not committed to changing their role in perpetuating the rules of capitalism, the RAF developed a more radical approach. This is indicated in their text, '*Dem Volk dienen Stadtguerilla und Klassenkampf*' [The People Served by Urban Guerrilla Warfare and in the Class Struggle] from April 1972:

35,000 people live in the Märkisches Viertel in Berlin, in 1980 the figure is set to be 140,000.

The people say: "This here looks brutal, completely base, somehow it kills you, - but inside, the apartment is well designed in and of itself." In the Märkisches Viertel everything is missing: playgrounds, transportation, schools, affordable shopping, doctors, and lawyers. A breeding ground of poverty, child abuse, suicide, gang criminality, bitterness, distress. The Märkisches Viertel is a social future.

(Bourgeois authors, whose results are referred to here, do not bother to analyse their observations of the movements of capital, to expose capital concentration among banks, insurances, property, and land as a cause of

⁴Rüdiger Bergien and Ralf Pröve, 'Spießer, Patrioten, Revolutionäre: Militärische Mobilisierung und gesellschaftliche Ordnung in der Neuzeit', (Göttingen: V & R Unipress, 2010), (p. 310).

⁵RAF, 'Die Rote Armee aufbauen: Erklärung zur Befreiung Andreas Baaders vom 5. Juni 1970', in *Rote Armee Fraktion: Texte und Materialien zur Geschichte der RAF*, ed. by Martin Hoffmann (Berlin: ID-Verlag, 1997), pp. 24-6 (p. 26).

Plötze is a women's prison in the West Berlin district of Plötzensee.

impoverishment. They arrange themselves with their search results by verbal protest.)

The actuality of poverty is not identical with the actuality of the revolution. The poor are not revolutionary, not quick to erupt, not by themselves. Their aggressiveness is directed more towards themselves than against their oppressors. Aggressive objects are even poorer, not the beneficiaries of poverty, not the housing associations, banks, insurance companies, corporations, city planners, but their victims. Non-mobilising, rather depressing, deterrent examples, fascist material for *Bild* and ZDF.

The ZDF implements something like this: In Wiesbaden's slums, the children had to play for a ZDF team in the dirt, beating each other, screaming. The adults had to yell at each other. Television gives the phrase "The Federal Republic is not Latin America," the poor in the Federal Republic have themselves to blame, they are criminal, there are only a few poor people - the vivid evidence. The Springer Press prints something like that. Fascist material.⁶

This demonstrates how various elements of the student movement divided and fractured, not necessarily in relation to identification of problems, but rather in the proposed solutions as Krau recalled: 'There was no collective agreement'.⁷ The pragmatism of the sixties was soon overtaken by the force of the emotion behind more violent acts which became more and more extreme as the 1970s advanced. The significance of the Märkisches Viertel can be seen in the development of these critiques within the experience of West Berlin and in the use of urban planning policies as a visual representation of the wider issues in society. For those who studied the Märkisches Viertel it was a microcosm of society's ills and made identification of those ills possible.

⁶ RAF, 'Dem Volk Dienen Stadtguerilla und Klassenkampf April 1972', in *Rote Armee Fraktion: Texte und Materialien zur Geschichte der RAF*, ed. by Martin Hoffmann (Berlin: ID-Verlag, 1997), pp. 112-44 (pp. 130-1).

⁷ Krau, 'Die Zeit der Diagnose', 343.



FIG. 4.1: PHOTOGRAPHS OF *DIAGNOSE* EXHIBITION, 1968

The publication '*Wohnste sozial, haste die Qual*' (1975) collated some of the information from the *Diagnose* period and demonstrated that the issues highlighted by *Aktion 507* had not yet been addressed. One of the contributors to the book, Reidemeister commented that 'proposals and approaches developed within the "*gegen-Universität*" [counter-university] in 1967 remain without resonance'.⁸ She continued:

⁸ Reidemeister, "'Diagnose'", (p. 38).

What the “diagnosis” of the MV had touched on would have been sufficient to develop seminars in which practical work in the district was connected with research and education. The MV was perceived as a typical housing form of capitalist urban development by some leftist students and assistants, and partial aspects were examined. These analyses were, however, only realised within the university as diploma theses, disposed of, and never reached the affected inhabitants themselves. The claim of conducting materialistic societal analysis that only accumulates theories, information, and facts, remains a luxury attitude of the Left, as long as the directly concerned are not given a practical use. In relation to the MV, this meant the means to defend themselves against harassment by institutions.⁹

When the above was published in 1975, it was stated that there was still a lack of information about the background to decision-making processes within housing associations, the government, and the SPD; a lack of information about rental prices, housing allowances and ‘pacification funds’; and a lack of information about psychological distress.¹⁰ These are very similar to the criticisms put forward during the time of the *Diagnose* and so it could be said that by 1975, these issues had not been addressed and so in that way, the exhibition and demands of *Aktion 507* failed to have a direct impact.

What the long-term effects of the *Diagnose* were, depends on identification of the main intention of the exhibition as its creation increased knowledge about the contemporary planning issues which reflected the intention of “diagnosing”. By the time those who were involved in the *Diagnose* became practicing architects, they carried with them the ideas and concepts of the exhibition and incorporated them into their own practice. Involvement in the work of the exhibition however was seen to have a negative impact on the careers of some of the participants. For example, Reidemeister recalled that:

Some of the *Diagnose*-collaborators lost their posts as assistants at the TU after the end of the protest exhibition. Others tried to quickly add a progressive cover before they abseiled into the university mill or into mammoth urban planning offices. *Kultursenator* Stein’s great pacification wave was just beginning to spread over Berlin’s universities. With the help of the 1500-2000 DM monthly salary, including the possibility of promotion, it was possible to buy some 800-1000 left-wing oppositionists as assistants at the *Frei Universität* and *Technische Universität* and at the *Pädagogische Hochschule*, in order to pacify, to keep them quiet.

If you have something to lose, you do not want to risk it!

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid. pp. 38-9.

The co-builder [Volker Theissen] of the “Lange Jammer”, also a participant in the protest exhibition, accepted the 7000 DM Berlin Art Prize for the “Lange Jammer” facade from the hands of Berlin’s governing mayor Schütz, and donated it to the liberation front of the Vietkong. How is this to be assessed?¹¹

Despite some of the negative implications on the career of those who participated in the *Diagnose*, many of those who were involved went on to become practicing architects. One of the main protagonists, Hinrich Baller has a large portfolio of buildings across Germany and until his retirement was Professor at the *Hochschule für Bildende Künste Hamburg* [College of Fine Arts in Hamburg]. After her involvement in *Aktion 507* Helga Reidemeister worked as a social worker (1968-73) before studying at the *DFFB* [German Film and Television Academy Berlin] (1973-8) and today is a lecturer in documentary film at the *Filmakademie Baden-Württemberg*. Joachim Schlandt, noted that his participation in the *Diagnose* encouraged him to address three things in his subsequent architectural projects; ‘a programmatic attempt to; integrate the life of the surrounding residential areas as much as possible; to consider the encounter with the city after a long residence; an interest in other suggestions made by the 1400 registered participants’.¹² Others became involved in consultation and planning policies, for example Ingrid Krau was a consultant to the planning office in Duisburg whilst also conducting research into the living conditions of steel workers. And between 2004-14 Helga Fassbinder was a member and vice chair of the *Technische Advies Commissie Hoofdgroenstructuur* [Technical Advice Committee for the Protection of Green Zones] in the City of Amsterdam. Others, such as Jonas Geist pursued a career in academia, who succeeded Julius Posener as Professor of History, Theory and Criticism of Architecture at the *Hochschule der Künste* in Berlin. In the foreword to his most notable publication *Das Berliner Mietshaus* (published in three volumes between 1980-9) he highlighted the influence of the sixties on his work:

the research focus “Theory and history of construction, space and everyday culture”, was established at the *Hochschule der Künste* in West Berlin [...] What is lacking from scholarship thus far, are exact investigations not only about construction, but also about the social and cultural history of the tenement using a concrete example.¹³

¹¹ Ibid. p. 39.

Volker Theissen was awarded the *Berliner Kunstpreis* for *Baukunst* in the young generation in 1968. Klaus Schütz (1926-2012), was member of the SPD and was Mayor of West Berlin between 1967-77.

¹² Schlandt, ‘Metamorphosen’, 348-9.

¹³ Johann Friedrich Geist and Klaus Kürvers, *Das Berliner Mietshaus, 1945-1989*, (München: Prestel, 1980), p. 7.

This clearly suggests the impact of the social and cultural aspects of the *Diagnose* on the later work of its members. Kleihues is arguably the most famous member of the group and his founding of the practice of “critical reconstruction” came directly from his experience of post-war Berlin:

it was certainly an altered consciousness, tempered by a nostalgic backward glance at the intact cityscape of the great prewar capital, that led to increasing criticism of postwar housing and urban planning policy in Berlin, and eventually to the idea of a project, perhaps along Interbau lines, to show that things could be done differently. What emerged was a project of comparatively modest scope, the International Building Exposition, limited to the area of the former diplomatic quarter at the southern edge of the Tiergarten, whose foremost aim was to exemplify the potential of modern public housing.¹⁴

He continued that his experience of the vast swathes of demolished housing in the post-war years explain why the IBA was ‘devoted to reconstructing the ruined city’, not as a replica, but to create a link to Berlin as a city of the Enlightenment, as a place of humanist principles, combined with modern requirements.¹⁵ His definition of critical reconstruction, strongly reflects the ideas and principles discussed by *Aktion 507*:

Critical reconstruction involved a recognition of the elements that constitute a city in both the intellectual and the formal aesthetic sense, and a retention of those historical traces that embody the sufferings, hopes, and disappointments of past generations in order to be in a position to enrich the identity of the city in terms of social and artistic criteria.¹⁶

The architectural historian, Andreas Schätzke commented on the significance of the group in that ‘it was not the beginning of thought about the city and its critique, but it was the beginning of public discussion on the subject’ which was begun and maintained for the following three decades by the same individuals.¹⁷ As Urban pointed out, the critique of the Märkisches Viertel was not a critique of the buildings per se, but rather about the urban situation and top-down planning.¹⁸ The criticism itself therefore was not new, but the approach was. As Lore Ditzen of the *Publik* newspaper reported in 1968:

¹⁴ Kleihues, ‘Destruction to the Critical Reconstruction’, (p. 406).

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Schätzke, ‘A Matter for the Polis’, (p. 57).

¹⁸ Urban, ‘Märkisches Viertel’, (p. 175).

The claims do not appear to be new, so summarised and condensed. What is new is perhaps the criticism that is now raised by the group of architects, which for the first time, is directly concerned with an activation of the public. They do not want to keep to themselves. They want to continue the encouragement of tenant groups that had already begun to articulate demands, wishes or even questions. They have set up a bureau for urban regeneration as an educational centre, and they are reckoning with a continuation of the discussion, in the new places where the *Diagnose* are made. A politician as a conversation partner is then often present.¹⁹

In their manifesto and exhibition, *Aktion 507* sought to present two facts; first was the gap between architects and residents which demonstrated 'the architects' total loss of reality'.²⁰ The second was:

the expressions of residents cannot ascertain or measure the distance of architects from the needs of the residents, since these are offset by an unexpectedly great need in the form of an almost completely unreflective struggle for existence.²¹

¹⁹ Ditzen, 'Thesen statt Freibier'.

²⁰ Aktion 507, 'Manifest', (p. 41).

²¹ Ibid.



FIG. 4.2: DOOR TO ROOM 507 AT THE ARCHITECTURE DEPARTMENT OF THE TECHNISCHE UNIVERSITÄT, 2016

In this way *Aktion 507* acknowledged the emotional situation of the residents as reflective of a battle for a certain standard of existence. *Aktion 507*'s manifesto clearly indicates their biases and desire to show evidence to support their claim that architecture was in great need of reinvention. In an attempt to gain an understanding of the effects of the new building complexes as well as to try and place the public at the centre of the planning process, *Aktion 507* played recordings of residents talking about their experiences in satellite developments at the *Diagnose*. The wish was to reverse the normal mode of representation: the views of architects were replaced by those of tenants. With a certain degree of irony, *Berliner Bild* reported that: 'Wegner highly values at least some of the architects of "Aktion 507". "Perhaps they really are better than the architects of the Märkisches Viertel."' ²² Krau recalled in hindsight her memories of the exhibition:

²² "Zustände wie im Wilden Westen".

The Märkisches Viertel is, and remains, the most impressive product of public creative power in 1960s Berlin. As such, it pushed itself from the outside to the interior of the group, with vehemence, to the forefront of the clashes. In the image of my memory, which is spatially fixed in the hall of the Scharoun building, which retains the emotional-sensual impressions - in contrast to many other images of memory - it is reduced to black-and-white shades - contrasts are condensing: Cello, flutes, voices from the tape, an elaborate, artistically-moderate sound-affront in the hollow concrete space, is overwhelmed by the excited dispute of a female and a male voice, both loudly, until they sink into a shrill accusation swelling in the strongest Berlin dialect. These are the events of three days, which are superimposed here (as reconstructed in conversation with those involved at that time). The composition, *de architectura*, in which Leon Battista Alberti's texts encounter the dry paragraph of the (Bavarian) building code, is the commission for the cultural staging of the *Diagnose*. The dispute between a member of the "Social Psychology and Politics" Working Group on the contribution to the "Märkisches Viertel" and a member of the Secretariat who is responsible for external contacts, is concerned with the question of what is permissible in the context of the confrontations. And then she follows, the grievous and agitated woman - speaking publicly for the first time, tangles herself up, catches herself - is the first of the twenty inhabitants who came with courage from the Märkisches Viertel to the "Day of those Affected" with accusations regarding the conditions and attacked the responsible persons, Düttmann as architect and Müller as *Senatsbaudirektor*.²³

On the last day of the *Diagnose*, *Aktion 507* held a "post-mortem" discussion that was conceived as a self-critique. The veto placed on the attendance of members of the BDA and AIV was lifted for this particular event. The reason that the political nature of the exhibition contravened the association's code of practice, was refuted by *Aktion 507* who believed that building could not be considered unpolitical in any sense.²⁴ *Die Zeit* reported that 'The Märkisches Viertel, a sensational sightseeing destination in the north of Berlin, can only be said to perform as an architectural venture'.²⁵ The fact that the student movement was intent in breaking boundaries meant that architecture could no longer be understood as distinct from society. An article in *Der Tagesspiegel* also reported that the:

BDA and AIV, of course, acknowledged that many of the mistakes had been rightly criticised in the discussions. "If, for example, a senior spokesman in the Government Building Administration narrows down existing guidelines, we will try to find better regulations." However, the

Hermann Wegner was the personal advisor to Bausenator Schwedler.

²³ Krau, 'Die Zeit der Diagnose', 342.

²⁴ 'Bauen mit oder ohne Politik'.

²⁵ Scherer, "'Brei für alle'".

members of “Aktion 507” protested against the relationships that had to be used for this purpose.

In yesterday’s plenary session of the action, plans were discussed, among other things, on how the exhibition could be continued. Among other things, it was proposed to make it more comprehensible in order to make it more accessible to a broader public. There is also the intention to create an unofficial planning committee at the university, which is to be critical of the plans of the Government Building Administration and to draw up concrete plans for competitions.²⁶

As a result of these discussions and the desire to be more accessible to the wider public, the exhibition, after its time at the TU, moved to Neukölln, as the *Berliner Morgenpost* reported:

The exhibition “*Diagnose*” [...], can be seen for another month beginning on the 7 October where it can be analysed at the State Engineering Academy for Construction at Leinestrasse in Neukölln. As explained by the young architects and students of “Aktion 507”, the continuation of the exhibition is intended to further discussions about construction in our city.²⁷

The intention was always to include the public and act in a way that redefined the role of the architect. The actual involvement and view of the public is difficult to ascertain, although a reader’s letter to the *Berliner Stimme*, 12 October 1968, stated the following:

The public purse as builder and client should finally free itself from comfortable and sensational practical thinking, and become conscious of its heavy responsibility as a cultural mediator between the artistic creator and the functional user of a building. Therefore, as an urgent postulate to all who are concerned, to commit to the individual artistic idea of meaningful forms and high-quality designs, so that after the eras of oppression, the destruction and the hectic and unsatisfactory reconstruction of our city, buildings with a lasting cultural and social value can emerge, which, because of their standard, have a positive influence on their inhabitants and users.²⁸

The rational nature of the criticism and solutions reflected the pragmatic nature of the exhibition and reformist intention of the group as a whole. Although many of the larger debates that were circulating influenced their critiques, the wish here was to act practically. The role of the media as an informant, and the degree of objectivity clearly played a large part in the reception of *Aktion 507*’s criticisms. Although *Aktion 507* were set on objectivity,

²⁶ ‘Bauen mit oder ohne Politik’.

²⁷ “‘Diagnosen’ jetzt in Neukölln zu sehen’, *Berliner Morgenpost*, (2 October 1968).

²⁸ ‘Leitbild Moderner Baupolitik in Berlin? [Letter from Reader Horst M. Schmidt, Berlin, 26]’, *Berliner Stimme*, (12 October 1968).

it is clear that the emotive personal accounts were something that appealed more widely. The pragmatism of the group meant that the exhibition was discussed more objectively in the press. With Anna Teut of *Der Welt* commenting:

That the criticism comes from “young” architects does not mean much. But that more than 100 design artists and urban theorists have combined to form a concrete action with concrete political objectives is memorable and will have consequences. Not just in Berlin.²⁹

It was the visionary pragmatic, which for Baller ‘has accompanied [his] own work to this day’.³⁰ He continued:

A final evaluation after nearly 50 years is hardly possible. Only a few facts are available to judge. In post-war Germany no architectural exhibition has shown such an echo in the press, and the *Spiegel* contribution, regardless of its professional quality, is the greatest architectural contribution that *Der Spiegel* has ever been able to produce - with corresponding effect. In the exhibition rooms with the discussion events were several thousand guests and in the follow-up event in the State Engineering Academy for Building Industry, interested persons from the administration, architects and above all students had the opportunity to study the material at the Kurfürstenstraße for another 3 months.

[...]

A critical examination of the architect’s self-perception - with the self-importance of the government administration, but also with the training of monument preservation, and in particular of the already customary large-scale demolition - had not existed in this scale before, even if much of the present discussion corresponded to the general state of the dialog in specialist university circles. Even the entanglement of the government administration with the large construction companies was no secret. The complexity of the approach made it impossible for short-term improvement to occur.

But after seven years, in 1975, Harry Ristock was one of the Left and top unorthodox politicians of the SPD, became Minister for Construction and Housing. His activity was the International Building Exhibition, with the help of which he built his own building administration for the IBA areas parallel to the government administration, according to criteria similar to the results of the *Diagnose*. Hardt Walter Hämer (Careful Urban Renewal) and Josef Paul Kleihues (Critical Reconstruction) were the planning directors and Jürgen Nottmeyer the managing director, who [...] gave support and exhibition space to the *Diagnose*.

²⁹ Teut, ‘Im Dickicht der Städte’.

³⁰ Baller, ‘Aktion 507’.

There has been a paradigm shift, that Harry Ristock's successors (Ulrich Rastemborski, Klaus Franke, both CDU) had nothing to oppose. The CDU had already assessed the *Diagnose* criticism positively. There was a relapse, of course, according to the criteria of the *Diagnose* with Hans Stimmann as Government *Baudirektor* - but Berlin is big and his work will soon be forgotten.³¹

Aktion 507's combination of theory and action did indeed gradually lead to more democratic planning processes in West Berlin and to the downscaling of the satellite settlements in favour of a return to the variety of the city centre. As noted by Urban, in 1974 West Berlin's Second Urban Renewal Policy was introduced which favoured the idea of "coring" rather than complete demolition.³² This saw the removal of the inner buildings within the courtyard and the renovation of the buildings around the perimeter, which retained both the historical Berlin block and community ties. And it was not until 1982 that the "Principles of Careful Urban Renewal" were passed by the Berlin government which banned the demolition of tenements completely.³³ The 1976 amendment to the *Städtebauförderung* [Urban Renewal Act] made law the consultation of those affected, which the anthropologist Gisa Weszkalnys identified as redefining the relationship between urban space and the social, and significantly, a beginning of the modern concept of "citizenship".³⁴

When Georg Heinrichs was questioned about *Aktion 507* and their criticism his response was:

The student movement had no influence on my architecture. The development of the Märkisches Viertel happened after the government rejected the previous development plan and was given to us due to our competition for another residential area.

Because of this clear mandate I was not particularly interested in the criticism. In an interview in the German weekly "Der Spiegel" I gave the following comment about the criticism: "Whoever criticises me should consult the tenants in 10 years time."³⁵

Indeed Florian Urban, reported that by the 1980s, sixty-nine per cent of tenants were pleased or very pleased with their residential situation.³⁶ The reasons for this change are

³¹ Ibid.

³² Urban, 'Märkisches Viertel', (p. 191).

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Gisa Weszkalnys, *Berlin, Alexanderplatz: Transforming Place in a Unified Germany*, (Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2010), p. 39.

³⁵ Georg Heinrichs, 'The Märkisches Viertel (2)', (Email to the Author, 24 July 2016).

³⁶ Urban, 'Märkisches Viertel', (p. 192).

not clear; perhaps it was because the original residents were forced to relocate; the old communities were destroyed; the infrastructure was not complete; the greenery had not developed; the building forms were alien; or that the scale and density were just too great. In his comment, it seems clear that Heinrichs foresaw that the opinion of the development would become more positive as time went on; that the alien character of the development would be negated over time.

In the 1960s however, Kleihues and *Aktion 507* reassessed the nineteenth century by adapting and developing the architectural language of that period by acknowledging the poetic within architecture.³⁷ The students' declaration that the isolation of workers and students should be reversed, that separation of bureaucracy and praxis should be abolished, and that the universities should be relocated back into the cities or into to working class areas: 'such an experiment would be a paradigm for living'.³⁸ These demands were intended to reintegrate society, increase vitality, and engender a change in society through critical reflection and praxis. Critical reflection, would then develop into an architectural style which was organic and non-dogmatic in its conception. The first issue was a change in society which would then be followed by the natural development of a representative architectural style. In advocating a shift in the focus from top-down to bottom-up planning, *Aktion 507* demonstrated the fading of post-war modernist ideals in favour of a paradigm shift.³⁹

In a similar vein to the students, this thesis has sought to elucidate, present and analyse the complexities of the spatial ontologies that created the experience of living in West Berlin in the 1960s, and how they influenced the interpretations of *Aktion 507*. The beginning of the occupation of city spaces to engender a change in the perception of the ownership of city spaces, and the belief in alternative modes of living that deliberately sought to divert the accepted narrative, began at the Märkisches Viertel. The conclusion calls into question who the main protagonist is within this thesis; *Aktion 507* or the Märkisches Viertel. As the urban space that became the focus of fundamental debates about society, post-war Germany and the morality of the modern world, and as the space which saw many of the new activities co-opted and continued by the Left in the following years, the significance of the Märkisches Viertel cannot be underestimated. The development of pragmatic solutions

³⁷ Geisert, 'Eupalinos', (p. 13).

³⁸ *Aktion 507*, 'Manifest', (p. 47).

³⁹ Geisert, 'Eupalinos', (p. 9).

to society's problems and *Aktion 507's* approach was deeply embedded in the atmosphere of the time. The methodology employed has attempted to demonstrate this complexity and the fluidity of ideas and concepts across boundaries; individual, group, disciplinary, and institutional. By developing a picture of the experience of West Berlin as a cultural and social product, the hope was to create an anthropological analysis of the development of political attitudes and alliances. The complexities of existence, combined with the experience of living on the streets of a particular time and place, have been combined in the desire to remove the 1960s from nostalgia, from objective presentation, and from the focus on one particular discipline or another. But rather to see the '68 student movement as the product of a time and place that is part of the greater trajectory of history, embroiled in all the debates that make an individual a subjective being; as *Kommune 1* questioned 'What do I know? What should I do? What can I hope? What is man?'⁴⁰ The consideration of these fundamental questions of the student movement and how they were woven into the everyday life of students in the 1960s has intended to present the subjectivity of life on the streets of West Berlin and in the TU's Faculty of Architecture in the post-war context.

⁴⁰ Dutschke-Klotz, 'Rudi Dutschke', (p. 118).

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FIG. 0.2: *AKTION 507, MANIFEST*, 1968

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FIG. 0.3: MAP SHOWING LOCATION OF SIGHTS IN THE 1968 *BERLINER BAUWOCHE*

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FIG. 0.4: PREPARATORY MEETING OF *AKTION 507* IN ROOM 507, *TECHNISCHE UNIVERSITÄT, WEST BERLIN*, 1968

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FIG. 0.5: POSTERS DESIGNED BY JÜRGEN HOLTFRETER ADVERTISING THE *DIAGNOSE*, WEST BERLIN, 1968

Personal collection of Jürgen Holtfreter

FIG. 0.6: SIGNATORIES OF *AKTION 507, MANIFEST*, 1968

Aktion 507, 'Manifest', (West Berlin: Rump, 1968), p. 2

FIG. 0.7: HINRICH BALLER, ARCHITECT AND SIGNATORY OF *AKTION 507*, 2015

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FIG. 0.8: PHOTOGRAPHS SHOWING *DIAGNOSE* EXHIBITION INSIDE ATRIUM OF TU-FACULTY OF ARCHITECTURE (SEE FIG. 0.9), 1968

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FIG. 0.9: TU-FACULTY OF ARCHITECTURE, DESIGNED BY BERNHARD HERMKES (COMPLETED IN 1968) WITH EXTENSION BY HANS SCHAROUN (COMPLETED IN 1969)

Online Press Archive of the TU-Berlin [http://archiv.pressestelle.tu-berlin.de/lange_nacht/2006/040_ernstreuterplatz.htm, accessed July 2015]

FIG. 0.10: *AKTION 507, EINLADUNG* OR INVITATION TO THE *DIAGNOSE* EXHIBITION, 1968

Personal Collection of Hinrich Baller

FIG. 0.11: *AKTION 507, MANIFEST*, 1968

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FIG. 1.1: HELMUT HENTRICH AND HUBERT PETSCHNIGG, EUROPA CENTER, WEST BERLIN, 1963-5

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FIG. 1.2: PHOTOGRAPHS OF *DIAGNOSE* EXHIBITION, 1968

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FIG. 1.3: IMAGES OF THE MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL PHOTOGRAPHED BY GERHARD ULLMAN, 1968

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FIG. 1.4: PHOTOGRAPHS OF *DIAGNOSE* EXHIBITION PANELS, *URBAN RENEWAL*, 1968

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FIG. 1.5: HANS SCHAROUN, *KOLLEKTIVPLAN*, 1945/6

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FIG. 1.6: EAST BERLIN MAP INDICATING WEST BERLIN

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FIG. 1.7: HANSAVIERTEL, WEST BERLIN, 1957

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FIG. 1.8: HEILIGER OTTO, 'INTERBAU', *DER SPIEGEL*, 7 JULY 1957

Heiliger Otto, 'Interbau', *Der Spiegel*, 31 (7 July 1957), p. 50

FIG. 1.9: "MAISONETTE (ARCHITECT VAGO)...FOR 'SOCIAL HOUSING'", *DER SPIEGEL*, 1957

Heiliger Otto, 'Interbau', *Der Spiegel*, 31 (7 July 1957), p. 50

FIG. 1.10: MAP SHOWING LOCATION OF POST-WAR SATELLITE HOUSING SETTLEMENTS, PLUS THE INNER-CITY HANSAVIERTEL

Author's own, 2017

FIG. 1.11: VIEW FROM A MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL APARTMENT ON DANNENWALDER WEG-26, c. 1970

Luise Rellensmann 'Radically Modern in 60s Berlin: Revisiting Modern Housing Projects in East and West Berlin', in *uncube* (13 October 2015)
<<http://www.uncubemagazine.com/blog/16132547>> [accessed May 2017]

- FIG. 1.12: GROPIUSSTADT, 1962-75**
 <<https://www.flickr.com/photos/itineri/9232710062>> [accessed August 2015]
- FIG. 1.13: TAUT'S HUFEISENSIEDLUNG (1925-33) AND GROPIUSSTADT (1952-75), 2016**
 Author's own, 2016
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 Author's own, 2016
- FIG. 1.15: MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, 1964-74**
 Joseph Paul Kleihues, Paul Kahlfeldt, Andres Lepik, et al. *Josef Paul Kleihues: The Art of Urban Architecture*, (Berlin: Nicolai, 2003), p. 70
- FIG. 1.16: PHOTOGRAPH SHOWING PROXIMITY OF THE MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL TO THE BERLIN WALL, AKTION 507, MANIFEST, 1968**
 Aktion 507, 'Manifest', (West Berlin: Rump, 1968), p. 39
- FIG. 1.17: BAUSENATOR SCHWEDLER INTRODUCING THE MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL PROJECT, 1963**
 Community des Märkischen Viertels in Berlin, 8 September 2010
 <http://www.maerkisches-viertel.de/album/details.php?image_id=970> [accessed August 2015]
- FIG. 1.18: MODEL AND PLAN FOR GEORG HEINRICH AND HANS MÜLLER'S BUILDING, MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, WEST BERLIN, 1967**
 Martina Schneider, 'Berlin, Märkisches Viertel - Ein Zwischenbericht', *Bauwelt* (20 November 1967), p. 1210
- FIG. 1.19: FLOOR PLAN FOR GEORG HEINRICH AND HANS MÜLLER'S BUILDING, MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, WEST BERLIN, 1967**
 Martina Schneider, 'Berlin, Märkisches Viertel - Ein Zwischenbericht', *Bauwelt* (20 November 1967), p. 1210
- FIG. 1.20: FLOOR PLAN FOR RUDOLF PLARRE'S BUILDING, MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, WEST BERLIN, 1967**
 Martina Schneider, 'Berlin, Märkisches Viertel - Ein Zwischenbericht', *Bauwelt* (20 November 1967), p. 1198
- FIG. 1.21: IMAGES BY ALEXANDER ENGER THAT ACCOMPANIED THE ARTICLE 'EIN FARBEN FROHES WOHLGEFÜHL', BERLINER MORGENPOST, 10 SEPTEMBER 1968**
 Heinz Metzger, 'Ein Farben Frohes Wohlgefühl: Unsere Welt ist kleiner Geworden', *Berliner Morgenpost*, 10 September 1968
- FIG. 1.22: UTZ KAMPMANN, DESIGN FOR BRIDGE INTENDED TO SPAN WILHELMSRUHER DAMM**
 'Berlin, Märkisches Viertel – Ein Farbiges Gesamtbild?', *Bauwelt*, 20 November 1967, p. 1213
- FIG. 1.23: KARL FLEIG'S BUILDING, MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, WEST BERLIN**
 'Berlin, Märkisches Viertel – Ein Farbiges Gesamtbild?', *Bauwelt*, 20 November 1967, p. 1214
- FIG. 1.24: RENÉ GAGÈS'S BUILDING, MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, WEST BERLIN**
 'Berlin, Märkisches Viertel – Ein Farbiges Gesamtbild?', *Bauwelt*, 20 November 1967, p. 1214

FIG. 1.25. BRUNO TAUT, FALKENBERG HOUSING ESTATE (1913-16), BERLIN, 2016

Author's own, 2016

FIG. 1.26: IMAGES BY ALEXANDER ENGER THAT ACCOMPANIED THE ARTICLE 'EIN FARBEN FROHES WOHLGEFÜHL', *BERLINER MORGENPOST*, 10 SEPTEMBER 1968

Heinz Metzger, 'Ein Farben Frohes Wohlgefühl: Unsere Welt ist kleiner Geworden', *Berliner Morgenpost*, 10 September 1968

FIG. 1.27: RENÉ GAGÈS'S BUILDING, THE "LANGE JAMMER" [LONG MISERY], MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, WEST BERLIN

Staedte-Fotos, 'Das Märkische Viertel (kurz "MV") in Berlin-Reinickendorf wird in diesem Jahr 50 Jahre alt', 26 June 2014 <<http://www.staedte-fotos.de/bild/Deutschland~Berlin~Stadtansichten/48790/das-maerkische-viertel-kurz-mv-in.html>> [accessed April 2016]

FIG. 1.28: MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL UNDER CONSTRUCTION, WEST BERLIN, c. 1960s

Hinrich Baller, 'Der Vertrauensarchitekt der Besetzerszene: Ein Gespräch mit Hinrich Baller', in *Baunetzwoche*, 408, (7 May 2015), p. 21

FIG. 1.29: IMAGES OF THE MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, *DER SPIEGEL*, 1968

'Städtebau West-Berlin: Slums verschoben', *Der Spiegel*, 9 September 1968, p. 135

FIG. 1.30: PAST AND PRESENT BUS ROUTE OF A21 FROM MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL TO WEDDING AND ON TO BAHNHOF ZOO

Author's own, 2017

FIG. 1.31: IMAGES OF THE MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL PHOTOGRAPHED BY GERHARD ULLMAN, 1968

<http://scontent.cdninstagram.com/t51.2885-15/s480x480/e35/c155.0.770.770/16908902_1880625702207854_172360834339569664_n.jpg?ig_cache_key=MTQ2MDcxMDk3NDI4OTAxNTMxNQ%3D%3D.2.c> [accessed June 2017]

FIG. 1.32: IMAGES OF THE MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, *AKTION 507*, MANIFEST, 1968

Aktion 507, 'Manifest', (West Berlin: Rump, 1968, p. 38

FIG. 1.33: IMAGES AND CAPTION FROM *DER SPIEGEL*, 1970

Karl-Heinz Krüger, 'Menschen im Experiment: Das Märkische Viertel und seine Bewohner', *Der Spiegel*, 2 November 1970, p. 224

FIG. 1.34: IMAGES OF THE MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, *DER SPIEGEL*, 1970

Karl-Heinz Krüger, 'Menschen im Experiment: Das Märkische Viertel und seine Bewohner', *Der Spiegel*, 2 November 1970, p. 219

FIG. 1.35: IMAGES OF THE MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, *DER SPIEGEL*, 1968

'Städtebau West-Berlin: Slums verschoben', *Der Spiegel*, 9 September 1968, p. 135

FIG. 1.36: "30 000 NEW HOMES IN THE DISTRICT OF REINICKENDORF" [LATER MARKISCHES VIERTEL]

Getty Images <<http://media.gettyimages.com/photos/mieter-der-30000-im-bezirk-reinickendorffertiggestellten-whrendeiner-picture-id545949309?s=612x612>> [accessed August 2017]

- FIG. 1.37: IMAGE OF PHONE BOOTHS IN THE MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, *DER SPIEGEL*, 1970**
Karl-Heinz Krüger, 'Menschen im Experiment: Das Märkische Viertel und seine Bewohner', *Der Spiegel*, 2 November 1970, p. 224
- FIG. 1.38: IMAGES OF THE MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, *DER SPIEGEL*, 1968**
'Städtebau West-Berlin: Slums verschoben', *Der Spiegel*, 9 September 1968, p. 134
- FIG. 1.39: "REDEVELOPMENT FOR WHOM?", A COLLECTION OF TEXTS EDITED BY THE OFFICE FOR URBAN RENEWAL AND SOCIAL WORK BERLIN-KREUZBERG, 1970**
Helga Fassbinder, 'Gegen-Planung', *Stadtbauwelt*, 74 (1983), 352
- FIG. 1.40: MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, 1967**
Martina Schneider, 'Berlin, Märkisches Viertel - Ein Zwischenbericht', *Bauwelt* (20 November 1967), p. 1204
- FIG. 1.41: EMMERTSGRUND SATELLITE DEVELOPMENT, HEIDELBERG, 1970**
Monika Motylinska, 'a-failure-upon-completion-heidelbergs-concrete-ghetto-still-stands-45-years-on', *Failed Architecture*, 16 August 2017
<<https://www.failedarchitecture.com/a-failure-upon-completion-heidelbergs-concrete-ghetto-still-stands-45-years-on/>> [accessed October 2016]

CHAPTER TWO:

- FIG. 2.1: STILLS FROM HERBERT VESELY, *DIE STADT*, 1959. SECOND IMAGE SHOWS BILL HALEY AND THE COMETS CONCERT, BERLIN SPORTPALAST, 26 OCTOBER 1958**
Herbert Vesely, 'Die Stadt', (München: filmform oHG, 1959), 32:01 & 28:20 Min
- FIG. 2.2: PROTEST AGAINST THE *NOTSTANDGESETZ* [EMERGENCY LAWS] AT THE ARCHITECTURE DEPARTMENT OF THE *TECHNISCHE UNIVERSITÄT*, WEST BERLIN, MAY 1968**
Holger Ellgaard, 'German Student Movement', 13 July 2015
<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/German_student_movement#/media/File:TU_Berlin_1968a.jpg> [accessed August 2017]
- FIG. 2.3: PHOTOGRAPHS OF *DIAGNOSE* EXHIBITION PANELS, "ENTANGLED INTERESTS", 1968**
Personal Collection of Hinrich Baller
- FIG. 2.4: AKTION 507, *MANIFEST*, DIAGRAM SHOWING CONFLICT OF INTERESTS IN VARIOUS CONSTRUCTION COMPANIES RESPONSIBLE FOR SOCIAL HOUSING, 1968**
Aktion 507, 'Manifest', (West Berlin: Rump, 1968), p. 51
- FIG. 2.5: IMAGE FROM *DIAGNOSE* EXHIBITION IN *DER ABEND*, TITLED 'AWAY WITH SCHWEDLER - SO DEMANDS THE IMAGINATION OF THE PROTESTING ARCHITECTS IN THEIR ANTI-BAUWOCHEEN ACTION IN THE TU', 9 SEPTEMBER 1968**
'Zorn am Ball Berlin-West: Stadtplanung im Visier; Kritische Diagnose der Studenten', *Der Abend*, 9 September 1968
- FIG. 2.6: AKTION 507, *MANIFEST*, "HELP! BERLIN HELP!", 1968**
Aktion 507, 'Manifest', (West Berlin: Rump, 1968), p. 29
- FIG. 2.7: "WAGE-THEFT - GESOBAU", MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, 1970**
Karl-Heinz Krüger, 'Menschen im Experiment: Das Märkische Viertel und seine Bewohner', *Der Spiegel*, 2 November 1970, p. 218

- FIG. 2.8: AKTION 507, MANIFESTO, "COMPETITION PRAXIS, PHILHARMONIC, MATTHÄIKIRCHPLATZ, NATIONAL GALLERY, NATIONAL LIBRARY, NEW CONSTRUCTION OF THE NATIONAL MUSEUM...OR 'CITY PLANNING CONCERNS US ALL'", 1968**
 Aktion 507, 'Manifest', (West Berlin: Rump, 1968), p. 99
- FIG. 2.9: PHOTOGRAPHS OF *DIAGNOSE* EXHIBITION PANELS, "CAUTION ARCHITECTURAL THEORY", 1968**
 Personal Collection of Hinrich Baller
- FIG. 2.10: *DIAGNOSE* EXHIBITION POSTER, DESIGNED BY JÜRGEN HOLTFRETER, 1968**
 Ingrid Krau, 'Die Zeit der Diagnose', *Stadtbauwelt*, 74 (1983), 341
- FIG. 2.11: JÜRGEN HOLTFRETER (RIGHT) AND ULI BERNHARDT, *ALLE REDEN VOM WETTER. WIR NICHT*, 1968**
 Ulrich Weitz, *Plakativ, in Kontext: Wochenzeitung*, 82 (24 October 2012)
 <<https://www.kontextwochenzeitung.de/kultur/82/plakativ-934.html>> [accessed March 2018]
- FIG. 2.12: MARCUSE AT "TEACH-IN" AT THE *FREI UNIVERSITÄT*, WEST BERLIN, JULY 1967**
 Herbert Marcuse, Official Homepage
 <<http://www.marcuse.org/herbert/images/685FUBerlin450pxh.jpg>> [accessed August 2017]
- FIG. 2.13: WOLF VOSTELL, *PROPOSAL FOR AN ADDITION TO THE MUSEUM DES 20. JAHRHUNDERTS IN BERLIN*, 1968**
 Dick Higgins and Wolf Vostell, *Fantastic Architecture* (New York: Something Else Press, 1969), pp. 52-3
- FIG. 2.14: BERNHARD HÖKE, *ANTI-NAZI SPRAY*, 1968**
 'Hohlspiegel', *Der Spiegel*, 5 (29 January 1968), p. 154
- FIG. 2.15: GERHARD RICHTER, *ONKEL RUDI*, 1965**
 MateTip, Gerhard Richter in the Studio & at the Tate, 11 December 2011
 <<http://matetip.com/2011/12/11/gerhard-richter-in-the-studio-at-the-tate-until-8-january-details-of-a-press-conference-in-nyc/>> [accessed January 2017]
- FIG. 2.16: ULRICH BAEHT, *FRIES FÜR LIEBERHABER*, 1965**
 Artnet <<http://www.artnet.de/artists/ulrich-baehr/frieze-for-fanciers-fries-f%C3%BCr-lieberhaber-a-PZM4UYhp6uKylcvJ7Ur51A2>> [accessed January 2016]
- FIG. 2.17: "UNDER THE ROBES – THE MUSTINESS OF A 1000 YEARS", HAMBURG, 9 NOVEMBER 1967**
 Daniel Meßner, 'Die bekannteste Protestaktion der Hamburger Studentenbewegung fand vor 50 Jahren statt', *Universität Hamburg*, 8 November 2017 <<https://www.uni-hamburg.de/newsroom/campus/2017-11-08-unter-den-talaren.html>> [accessed June 2017]
- FIG. 2.18: LEAFLET CALLING FOR A DEMONSTRATION AGAINST THE SPRINGER PRESS, 1968**
 Freie Universität Archiv Berlin (FUAB), Flugblätter, Zeitungsausschnitte/SJD-Die-Falken–Landesverband Berlin 1968
- FIG. 2.19: PHOTOGRAPHS OF *DIAGNOSE* EXHIBITION PANELS, "ADAPTATION, ALIENATION", 1968**
 Personal Collection of Hinrich Baller

- FIG. 2.20: ADOLF ARNDT, SPEECH ON STATUTE OF NAZI CRIMES, 10 MARCH 1965**
 Deutscher Bundestag, 'Historische Debatten (4): Verjährung von NS-Verbrechen',
 14 September 2017
 <https://www.bundestag.de/dokumente/textarchiv/24031343_debatten04/19995
 > [accessed August 2017]
- FIG. 2.21: INNER-CITY TENEMENT DEMOLITION, WEST BERLIN, c. 1960s**
 Posener, Alan, 'als Berlin noch ärmer und weniger sexy war', *Die Welt*, 14 April
 2014 <[http://www.welt.de/kultur/kunst-und-architektur/article126952147/als-
 Berlin-noch-aermer-und-weniger-sexy-war.html](http://www.welt.de/kultur/kunst-und-architektur/article126952147/als-Berlin-noch-aermer-und-weniger-sexy-war.html)> [accessed July 2015]
- FIG. 2.22: ORNAMENT IN WEST BERLIN, DIE GEMORDETE STADT, DIR. MANFRED DURNIOK, 1964**
 Manfred Durniok, 'Die Gemordete Stadt', (Berlin: rbb Rundfunk, 1964)
- FIG. 2.23: 'CLEANSED FACADES' IN WEST BERLIN, DIE GEMORDETE STADT, DIR. MANFRED DURNIOK, 1964**
 Manfred Durniok, 'Die Gemordete Stadt', (Berlin: rbb Rundfunk, 1964)
- FIG. 2.24: PHOTOGRAPHS OF DIAGNOSE EXHIBITION PANELS, "REDEVELOPMENT", 1968**
 Personal Collection of Hinrich Baller
- FIG. 2.25: MAP AND STREET VIEW OF GROßGÖRSCHENSTRAßE 35, SCHÖNEBERG, WEST BERLIN**
 Author's own, 2017
- FIG. 2.26: MAP SHOWING VARIOUS LOCATIONS OF KOMMUNE EINS**
 Author's own, 2017
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 Martin Klimke, 'The Other Alliance', <[http://otheralliance.com/wp-
 content/uploads/2009/12/12a.jpg](http://otheralliance.com/wp-content/uploads/2009/12/12a.jpg)> [accessed July 2015]
- FIG. 3.2: LOCATION OF THE KURFÜRSTENDAMM, WEST BERLIN**
 Author's own, 2018
- FIG. 3.3: FROM ARTICLE 'WHO MAKES GERMAN FASHION?', CONSTANZE MAGAZINE, 1963. BOMB DAMAGED KAISER-WILHELM-GEDÄCHTNIS-KIRCHE AND NEWLY CONSTRUCTED BIKINKI SHOPPING CENTRE, WEST BERLIN**
 <[https://suitesculturelles.wordpress.com/2011/11/14/tracing-the-locations-of-
 berliner-chic-then-and-now/](https://suitesculturelles.wordpress.com/2011/11/14/tracing-the-locations-of-berliner-chic-then-and-now/)> [accessed May 2017]
- FIG. 3.4: FRONT COVER OF AGIT 883, NO. 60, MAY 1970. "AMERICANS OUT OF WEST BERLIN! HAVE THE COURAGE TO FIGHT, HAVE THE COURAGE TO WIN". PRODUCED IN KREUZBERG, WEST BERLIN**
 Feminist Berlin 1968 <<http://feministberlin1968ff.de/militant-women-1970/>>
 [accessed May 2016]
- FIG. 3.5: BOOK SHOP CHARLOTTENBERG, WEST BERLIN, 1970**
 Wilfried Mommert, "'Der lange Sommer der Theorie" von Philipp Felsch',
EchoOnline, 18 May 2015 <[http://www.echo-online.de/freizeit/kunst-und-
 kultur/literatur/der-lange-sommer-der-theorie-von-philipp-felsch_15420756.htm](http://www.echo-online.de/freizeit/kunst-und-kultur/literatur/der-lange-sommer-der-theorie-von-philipp-felsch_15420756.htm)>
 [accessed June 2016]

- FIG. 3.6: FIST OF SOLIDARITY INCORPORATED INTO A SKETCH OF A HIGH-RISE IN JOHANNES BECK, *WOHNSTE SOZIAL, HASTE DIE QUAL*, 1975**
 Johannes Beck, *Wohnste Sozial, Haste Die Qual: Mühsamer Weg Zur Soldarisierung* (Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 1975), [unpaginated]
- FIG. 3.7: ERNST REUTER PLATZ, WEST BERLIN, 1960**
 Online press archive of the TU-Berlin <http://www.pressestelle.tu-berlin.de/menue/tub_medien/newsportal/innenansichten/2012/tui0112_ein_platz_mit_rabiat_verkuerzter_geschichte/> [accessed July 2015]
- FIG. 3.8: FRIEDRICH EBERT, HERMANN JÜNEMANN AND HANS SCHÄDEL, PLÖTZENSEE CHURCH OF MARIA REGINA MARTYRUM, WEST BERLIN, RECONFIGURED IN 1963**
 SOS Brutalism <<http://www.sosbrutalism.org/cms/15890299>> [accessed March 2017]
- FIG. 3.9: DELIVERY OF PREFABRICATED PANELS, MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, 1969**
 'Wohnungsbau: Es Bröckelt', *Der Spiegel*, 3 February 1969, p. 58
- FIG 3.10: GERHARD RICHTER, PLATE 108 SHOWING THE MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL**
 Joe Hage, 'Atlas Sheet: 108', 2018 <<https://www.gerhard-richter.com/en/art/atlas/cities-11688/?p=4&sp=32>> [accessed April 2018]
- FIG. 3.11: IMAGES OF THE MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, *DER SPIEGEL*, 1968**
 'Städtebau West-Berlin: Slums verschoben', *Der Spiegel*, 9 September 1968, p. 134
- FIG. 3.12: CARTOON FROM *DIE WELT*. REPUBLISHED IN *DER SPIEGEL*, 1969**
 'Wohnungsbau: Es Bröckelt', *Der Spiegel*, 3 February 1969, p. 63
- FIG. 3.13: IMAGE OF A FAMILY IN THE MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, *DER SPIEGEL*, 1970**
 Karl-Heinz Krüger, 'Menschen im Experiment: Das Märkische Viertel und seine Bewohner', *Der Spiegel*, 2 November 1970, p. 223
- FIG. 3.14: ALOIS GIEFER AND HERMANN MÄCKLER, *ATRIUMHAUS*, HANSAVIERTEL, HÄNDELALLEE 47, 1958**
 Architekt Tourist, '50er-Jahre-Atriumshaus', 23 August 2017 <<http://www.architektourist.de/50er-jahre-atrimumhaus/>> [accessed October 2016]
- FIG. 3.15: FRONT AND BACK COVER OF *KRITISCHE UNIVERSITÄT* PAMPHLET, 1967**
 AStA der Freien Universität, *Kritische Universität* (Köln: Pahl-Rugenstein, 1967).
 Personal Collection of Michael Wegener
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 'Wohnungsbau: Es Bröckelt', *Der Spiegel*, 3 February 1969, p. 60
- FIG. 3.17: JÜRGEN HOLTFRETER, LEAFLET, *DAY OF THOSE AFFECTED*, 1968**
 Personal Collection of Jürgen Holtfreter
- FIG. 3.18: "NOT A PFENNING MORE RENT!", FRONT COVER OF THE *MV ZEITUNG*, OCTOBER 1971**
Mieterecho, 384 (October 2016), p. 9
- FIG. 3.19: MAY DAY DEMONSTRATION, 1971**
Mieterecho, 384 (October 2016), p. 8

- FIG. 3.20: IMAGES OF FACADES IN THE MARKISCHES VIERTEL, WEST BERLIN**
 'Städtebau West-Berlin: Slums verschoben', *Der Spiegel*, 9 September 1968, p. 137
- FIG. 3.21: STILL FROM HERBERT VESELY, *DIE STADT*, 1959. BILL HALEY AND THE COMETS CONCERT, BERLIN SPORTPALAST, 26 OCTOBER 1958**
 Herbert Vesely, 'Die Stadt', (München: filmform oHG, 1959), 26:38 Min
- FIG. 3.22: IMAGES FORM THE *DIAGNOSE* EXHIBITION OPENING, SEPTEMBER 1968**
 Ingrid Krau, 'Die Zeit der Diagnose', *Stadtbauwelt*, 74 (1983), 345
- FIG. 3.23: "A FILM ABOUT THE PROTESTS AND ACTIVISTS OF THE TENANTS OF THE MARKISCHES VIERTEL AGAINST RISING RENTS" ADVERTISED IN *MV ZEITUNG* NO. 6 1972/73**
Mieterecho, 384 (October 2016), p. 10
- FIG. 3.24: PROTEST AGAINST THE PLANNED EVICTION OF THE PUHLE FAMILY, MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, 1970**
 Karl-Heinz Krüger, 'Menschen im Experiment: Das Märkische Viertel und seine Bewohner', *Der Spiegel*, 2 November 1970, p. 231
- FIG. 3.25: MAX WILLUTZKI, *DER LANGE JAMMER*, (BERLIN: BASIS-FILM, 1973)**
 MoviePilot, 'Der lange Jammer' <<https://www.moviepilot.de/movies/der-lange-jammer/images/413010>> [accessed August 2017]
- FIG. 3.26: STILL FROM *WIR WOLLEN BLUMEN UND MÄRCHEN BAUEN* [WE WANT TO BUILD FLOWERS AND FAIRY TALES] BY THOMAS HARTWIG AND JEAN-FRANÇOIS LE MOIGN, 1970**
 Michael Drechsler, *Selbstorganisierte Medienarbeit in Basisdemokratischen Initiativen: Die Filmprojekte im Märkischen Viertel Berlin* (Berlin: K. Guhl, 1980), p. 49
- FIG. 3.27: STILL FROM *VON WEGEN SCHICKSAL* [IS THIS FATE?] BY HELGA REIDEMEISTER SHOWING IRENE RAKOWITZ, 1970**
 Michael Drechsler, *Selbstorganisierte Medienarbeit in Basisdemokratischen Initiativen: Die Filmprojekte im Märkischen Viertel Berlin* (Berlin: K. Guhl, 1980), p. 103
- FIG. 3.28: HOFFMANN'S COMIC THEATER IN THE MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL. IMAGE FROM *MV ZEITUNG*, NO. 8, 1970**
 'Kämpfende Hütten: Urban Proteste in Berlin von 1872 bis Heute' (Berlin: Das Ausstellungskollektiv, 2016), p. 15
- FIG. 3.29: ARREST OF THE JOURNALIST ULRIKE MEINHOF AT THE PROTEST OCCUPATION OF THE FACTORY IN THE MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, WEST BERLIN, 1 MAY 1970. (IMAGE KLAUS MEHNER, BERLINPRESSSERVICES)**
 Berlin Press Services, 'Mai-Randale im Märkischen Viertel', 11 April 2016 <<https://agentur.berlinpressservices.de/photo/1264/Mai-Randale-im-M%C3%83%C2%A4rkischen-Viertel.html>> [accessed June 2017]
- FIG. 3.30: "TENANTS PROTECTION ASSOCIATION", MÄRKISCHES VIERTEL, WEST BERLIN, 1970**
Mieterecho, 384 (October 2016), p. 8

CONCLUSION:

FIG. 4.1: PHOTOGRAPHS OF *DIAGNOSE* EXHIBITION, 1968

Personal Collection of Hinrich Baller

**FIG. 4.2: DOOR TO ROOM 507 AT THE ARCHITECTURE DEPARTMENT OF THE *TECHNISCHE UNIVERSITÄT*,
2016**

Author's own, 2016