The Erasure of Antifascist Memory in the Built Environment of Berlin, Germany

Julia Rose Aldred
Ellicott City, Maryland (United States)

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Sheila Crane, PhD
Lisa Goff, PhD
Louis Nelson, PhD

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Abstract

Since reunification in the 1990s, the German government has often been lauded by the international community for its *Erinnerungskultur*, or "remembrance culture." Berlin itself is a city full of memorials and monuments; one can barely walk two blocks without coming across some structure referencing the tumultuous political eras of the 20th century. While Holocaust remembrance is the primary focus (and rightly so), the diversity of dedications has only increased in the years since reunification. However, the process of reunification could more accurately be described as a process of absorption, specifically of West Germany overtaking East Germany. The following years would entail the newly unified federal government reshaping the image of its capital city, so that it would convey messages of an idealistic democratic future. In doing so, the government chose to, at least on the surface of the cityscape, sanitize its storied past of political activism. Throughout the course of Berlin history, the German government, like many others historically, has manipulated its public through usage of political architecture. By eliminating certain sites and preserving others, the German government directly impacted the way in which Berlin and its history is understood. The choices displayed through analysis of these sites depict a prime example of how architecture can shape public memory through manipulation of the physical landscape, especially as it relates to political ideology. This analysis will focus on the erasure of antifascist memorialization throughout the cityscape of Berlin, contributing to the general rightward shift of German society.

Introduction

In modern-day Germany, there are two political parties that are categorically banned. The first is the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP), better known as the Nazi Party. The second, the Communist Party of Germany (KPD): first by the Nazi Regime, then by the West German government.[1] In the months immediately preceding and following Adolf Hitler's rise to power, efforts to dissolve the communist party and its popularity included tactical legislation attacking a wide range of organizing methods. The incremental changes to German law gave the NSDAP the power to arrest, harass, and kill those suspected of having communist affiliations.[2] After the end of the war, the KPD attempted to regain public support across both East and West Germany. While the KPD was the predecessor to the Social Unity Party (SED), the state-sponsored party in the East, the Western counterpart was snuffed out by the federal courts in 1956.[3] The anti-communist leanings of the West German state can be partially attributed to its connections to the United States, which had become increasingly neoliberal in its policies as the Cold War raged on.

Toward the end of the twentieth century, the Western world saw a general movement to the right politically in the form of neoliberalism. Neoliberalism, a political framework based in laissez-faire economic policy, was especially prominent in the American politics after the end of World War II.[4] Being a center-right ideology, neoliberalism focuses less on societal issues and more on economic relations, leaving room for historical narratives to be rewritten in service of

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[1] Patrick Major, *The Death of the KPD: Communism and Anti-Communism in West Germany, 1945-1956* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp. 16, https://academic.oup.com/book/27460.
[2] Ulrich Schneider, *Arbeiterwiderstand Im Dritten Reich* (PapyRossa Verlag, 2024).
[3] Major, *The Death of the KPD: Communism and Anti-Communism in West Germany, 1945-1956*, pp. 291-92.
[4] Wendy Brown, "American Nightmare," *Political Theory* 34, no. 6 (December 2006), https://doi.org/10.1177/0090591706293016.

the market.[5] In particular, neoliberal ideology views greater social and cultural concepts through the framework of market economics. In her article for *Political Theory*, political theorist Wendy Brown writes,

> I have argued elsewhere that in order to comprehend neoliberalism's political and cultural effects, it must be conceived of as more than a set of free market economic policies that dismantle welfare states and privatize public services in the North, make wreckage of efforts at democratic sovereignty or economic self-direction in the South, and intensify income disparities everywhere… as a political rationality, it also involves a specific and consequential organization of the social, the subject, and the state… Thus, while neoliberal political rationality is based on a certain conception of the market, its organization of governance and the social is not merely the result of leakage from the economic to other spheres but rather of the explicit imposition of a particular form of market rationality on these spheres.[6]

In Europe, similar shifts were seen across the various states, including Cold War Germany, whose political climate had been heavily influenced by the period of postwar Allied occupation. In East Germany, similar political influence came from the Soviet Union. In West Germany, the first divisions were separated between the United States, France, and the United Kingdom. However, out of the three western Allies, the United States was by far the strongest, compared to postwar Europe. The transition away from European global power had started in the interwar period, and the widespread destruction from World War II only accelerated the growth of American power. Thus, the culture and political stances of the Federal Republic of Germany (BRD) were heavily influenced by the anti-communist, neoliberal Cold War politics of the United States.

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[5] Kevin Vallier, "Neoliberalism," in *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy*, ed. Edward N. Zalta and Uri Nodelman, Winter 2022 (Metaphysics Research Lab, Stanford University, 2022), https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2022/entries/neoliberalism/.

[6] Wendy Brown, "American Nightmare," *Political Theory* 34, no. 6 (December 2006): 693, https://doi.org/10.1177/0090591706293016.

These ideological differences came to a head in the city of Berlin, which had been divided between the four Allied states, the tension enhanced by the city's position in East Germany. After the construction of the wall in 1961, West Berlin became an island closed off from the rest of the Western world, leading to tense standoffs between the U.S. and the U.S.S.R. Berlin grew into a microcosm of global political tumult, and its current cityscape reflects those shifts. Modern-day Berlin is littered with memorials, ranging from Prussian-era war monuments to the abstract sites of Holocaust remembrance. Memory culture, or *Erinnerungskultur*, has become central to German society since the fall of the Nazi regime. Generally, the focus remains on the crimes during the Holocaust, especially in tribute to the absolute destruction done to the Jewish communities of Europe. James E. Young, the founding director of UMass Amherst's Institute for Holocaust, Genocide, and Memory Studies, described Germany's relationship with memory and the intricacies of memory culture, stating, "Germany's struggle with memory of its Nazi past is reflected in nearly every aspect of its national being: from its deliberations over the government's return to Berlin to its ambivalence over a single national holiday; from the meticulously conceived museums on the former sites of concentration camps to a new generation of artists' repudiation of monumental forms, still redolent of Nazi art."[7] For a country searching for an appropriate expression of cultural unity after years of destructive nationalism, memorialization became the primary method to rebuild the German identity. Berlin, once again the capital city of a unified Germany, became a city of memorials, but the development of memory culture is never apolitical.

For better or worse, the reunification of the German states entailed the envelopment of the German Democratic Republic (DDR), East Germany, by the BRD, rather than a system of

[7] James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1993), 22.

compromises. Little was done to acclimate the East German population back to a capitalist system, leading to drastic economic disparities between the two.[8] Former East Germans felt left behind by their government, which had chosen to completely eliminate the history of the DDR. These decisions included the physical landscape of Berlin, especially in the choices made regarding DDR-era memorials for communist political and cultural figures. Brian Ladd, urban historian and author, details the urban history and memorialization of Berlin in his book *The Ghosts of Berlin: Confronting German History in the Urban Landscape*. Of the reunification era in the early 1990s, he recounts, "When the city was officially reunified in October 1990, East Berlin still had a full complement of statues and memorials… It was above all Western conservative politicians who wanted to ratify their triumph by sweeping away the Communist past – either by demolishing the monuments or removing them all to a park dedicated to the failure of Communism (as had happened in Budapest and Moscow)."[9] Conservatives all over the world conflated the crimes of the authoritarian DDR with the millions killed by the Nazi Regime, participating in the Cold War ideologies pushed by the American government throughout the twentieth century. Such conflations led to inflammatory debates around the representation and recognition of various communities, from the Jewish victims of the Holocaust to the WWII conscripts of the German army. To this day, Holocaust memorialization and atonement for the crimes of the Nazi regime remain at the center of domestic politics in Germany, with some Germans fighting to continue remembrance efforts and others arguing that the country should be allowed to move forward.

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[8] Public Relations Division, "Annual Report of the Federal Government on the Status of German Unity 2018" (Federal Ministry for Economic Affairs and Energy, 2018), https://www.bmwk.de/Redaktion/EN/Publikationen/jahresbericht-zum-stand-der-deutschen-einheit-2018.pdf?__blob=publicationFile&v=3.

[9] Brian Ladd, *The Ghosts of Berlin: Confronting German History in the Urban Landscape* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1997), pp. 193.

In this analysis, I will be considering objects and sites from two major movements within the German antifascist movement, one of the first targets of the Nazis: the workers' rights movement (communism, socialism, etc.); and the queer liberation movement. Both components of this movement, while being major aspects of the resistance against the Nazis, seem to be lacking representation in Berlin's memorial landscape (Figure 0.1). Considering the German state's role in developing the city's memorialization processes, the absence of antifascist recognition raises questions about its political biases. Brian Ladd's book, *The Ghosts of Berlin*, contains an objective and nuanced discussion of memory preservation in Berlin, bringing in political contexts, as well as biases, through each era following 1945. The book is divided based on political eras of the twentieth century, and Ladd assesses how public memory has affected the layers of Berlin's built environment. Using different contentious sites, including the Reichstag, the Palace of the Republic, and the Berlin Wall, Ladd peels back these layers, framing his spatial analysis through the politics of German memory. At the very core of these debates around memory sit the political history of Germany, an unavoidable reality of the country's culture. The narrative continually returns to the themes of politics, remembrance, and forgetting, which Ladd acknowledges in the first page of his introduction:

> Berlin is a haunted city. By the middle of this century, people living in Berlin could look back on a host of troubles: the last ruler of an ancient dynasty driven to abdication and exile by a lost war; a new republic that failed; a dictatorship that ruled by terror; and that terror unleashed on the rest of Europe, bringing retribution in the form of devastation, defeat, and division. Now that division, and the regime that ruled East Berlin, are also memories. But memories can be a potent force. There are, of course, Berliners who would like to forget. They think they hear far too much about Hitler and vanished Jews and alleged crimes of their parents and grandparents… Probably most Germans and most Berliners feel this way, but at every step they find they must defend their wish to forget against fellow citizens who insist on remembering. The calls for remembrance – and the

> calls for silence and forgetting – make all silence and all forgetting impossible, and they also make remembrance difficult.[10]

Compared to other histories, the focus on urbanity grounds the discussion and helps to better visualize the concept of a *memoryscape*, which is how I refer to Berlin's geographic relationship with memory. The term "memoryscape" literally refers to landscapes of memory, often comprised of objects and sites like monuments and memorials, which are essential to the formation of Erinnerungskultur and public memory. Ladd's book opened the door for my analysis by establishing the relationships between German politics, memory, and Berlin's urban history. In addition to Ladd's work, I have also found helpful *The Claims of Memory: Representations of the Holocaust in Contemporary Germany and France*, written by Caroline Wiedmer, a scholar in literature, history, and memory. Similar to Ladd's work, Wiedmer's work explores memory throughout Germany, though much of the book focuses on Berlin.[11] The two authors align in statements regarding memory, but Wiedmer focuses on sites and objects related to Holocaust remembrance. Ladd, on the other hand, provides a broad analysis of memory sites across Berlin. The ways in which Ladd and Wiedmer provide political context to the installations they discuss inspired the framework I use in my own analysis, though I pursue an explicitly political angle of understanding when reading Berlin's memoryscape.

The first chapter will focus on the story of the Neue Wache and its relationship to artist Käthe Kollwitz, as a replication of her work stands in the current Neue Wache. In addition to Wiedmer's commentary of the Neue Wache post-reunification, the article "Neue Wache 1818-1993" by Polish historian Zbigniew Mazur provides an in-depth timeline from its initial construction to discussions during and after reunification. While he offers some analysis on the

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[10] Ladd, *The Ghosts of Berlin*, pp. 1.
[11] Caroline Wiedmer, *The Claims of Memory: Representations of the Holocaust in Contemporary Germany and France* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1999).

architectural history of the structure itself, Mazur primarily delves into the complex and intense debates that occurred within the government and public opinion regarding changes made to the Neue Wache through the years.[12] These debates dealt with the concept of memory culture and who has a right to be remembered, as well as the decisions made by former Chancellor Helmut Kohl. Kohl had the ultimate say on the interior changes made during reunification, especially having to do with the inclusion of Kollwitz's artwork. As for the story of Käthe Kollwitz, I drew on multiple sources, but found Martha Kearns' *Käthe Kollwitz: Woman and Artist* particularly insightful. Art historian and professor at Moravian University, Kearns tells the story of Kollwitz's life through a lens informed by feminist theory.[13] Kollwitz's experience as a mother greatly influenced her political activism and art, so Kearns' perspective provides an important layer in my foundation. These authors work within the confines of their respective subjects, leaving a gap in analysis of the inherent relationship between the artist and the site her work was inserted into. This correlation, as well as the consequent political implications of the Neue Wache, became the narrative upon which my analysis of the site is based. While analyses of the Neue Wache memorial often mention Kollwitz, discussions about the inherent contradictions that arise do not yet exist.

The next chapter focuses on the workers' rights movement in Berlin, which includes the KPD, Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD), and trade/labor unions. One of the most influential sites for this chapter is the exhibition "Enthüllt" at the Spandau Citadel, currently run by director Dr. Urte Evert. I am incredibly grateful for Dr. Evert's gracious invitation to the exhibition, as well as the support and knowledge she has provided for me in the months since. She gifted me two exhibition catalogs, published by the museum and its staff, which have been

[12] Zbigniew Mazur, "Neue Wache 1818-1993," *Przeglad Zachodni*, 2011.
[13] Martha Kearns, *Käthe Kollwitz: Woman and Artist* (The Feminist Press, 1976).

absolutely essential to my research of the various memorials and sites associated with the KPD, SPD, and other antifascist figures/groups. Without the information within these catalogs, finding background for the majority of the objects and sites is extremely difficult. On a more practical note, Dr. Evert's exhibit provides a harbor for discarded objects, which allows their stories to be told and preserved. To build my foundational understanding of these groups' resistance to the NSDAP, I referred to *Arbeiterwiderstand im Dritten Reich* (Workers' Resistance in the Third Reich) by Dr. Ulrich Schneider, an antifascist historian and leader in the International Federation of Resistance. Schneider breaks the chapters into each facet of the workers' rights movement,[14] primarily the KPD, SPD, and the labor unions – which is how I define the workers' rights movement in my analysis. Integrating these sources and experiences allowed me to flesh out the history of persecution of the antifascist movement, tying that into the stories of their respective memorials and sites. Although the history of the German workers' rights movement is incredibly well documented, there is an absence in the documentation in physical representations of its memory. In my academic studies, this caused me to question the effect that such an absence would have on public memory and the intentions of the German federal government.

The final chapter will explore the history of the queer community in Germany, with Berlin serving as the main focal point. There are four major works that I rely on to build an extensive and comprehensive history of the gay liberation movement in Berlin: *The Hirschfeld Archives: Violence, Death, and Modern Queer Culture* by Heike Bauer; *States of Liberation: Gay Men between Dictatorship and Democracy in Cold War Germany* by Samuel Clowes Huneke; Robert Beachy's *Gay Berlin: Birthplace of a Modern Identity*; and the article "Decriminalization, Seduction, and 'Unnatural Desire' in East Germany" by Jennifer Evans. All

[14] Schneider, *Arbeiterwiderstand Im Dritten Reich*.

of these sources are less than or about fifteen years old, showing how recently these themes have begun to enter mainstream academia. Bauer's book, published in 2017, investigates what remains of Magnus Hirschfeld's research and writings in order to produce a comprehensive, holistic view of his theories.[15] I found this book particularly relevant because of Bauer's discussion of Hirschfeld's problematic beliefs in German colonialism and race science. Bauer's research also compiled information that is difficult to find in one place, making it more accessible to continued academic work. The other two books, by Beachy and Huneke, each focus on different periods of time in Berlin, which gave me the ability to piece together timelines and shifts in social perspectives surrounding homosexuality. Beachy's *Gay Berlin* extensively details the origins of the gay liberation movement, before the establishment of the German state in 1871. The extensive narrative shared in Beachy's work aids in understanding how much progress had been lost because of the Nazi regime.[16] Huneke's book documents the queer liberation movement in the aftermath of the Nazi regime, both in East and West Germany.[17] Once again, these authors are aligned ideologically with one another, but their writings chronicle specific periods of time. Each of these analyses form a piece of the overall timeline I utilize to build out the foundation upon which I construct a brief urban history of Berlin's queer community. This chronology brings attention to the occurrences of memorialization and political sanitization of the first queer liberation movement.

Both the workers' rights and gay liberation movements were major components of the overall antifascist resistance movement in the early twentieth century, yet both are seemingly

[15] Heike Bauer, *The Hirschfeld Archives: Violence, Death, and Modern Queer Culture* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, n.d.).
[16] Robert Beachy, *Gay Berlin: Birthplace of a Modern Identity* (New York: Vintage Books, 2014).
[17] Samuel Clowes Huneke, *States of Liberation: Gay Men between Dictatorship and Democracy in Cold War Germany* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2022).

absent from the greater memoryscape of Berlin. In the process of reunification, the dominance of neoliberal thought required a movement toward a “democratic,” balanced image for the reunified German capital city. Happening in the wake of the Cold War era, communist imagery became antithetical to the ideologies reliant on the free market and limited regulations. As for the queer liberation movement, its original sites have been razed, but memorials have risen in their place. The movement has been honored, yes, but its importance and relevance in the antifascist resistance is not emphasized in the recognition that does exist. As shown in my choice of literature, many authors have covered topics within these themes and timeframes, but I will be directly placing select sites and objects from varied corners of the antifascist movement in conversation with one another. By comparing these objects and sites of memory through the lens of political analysis, I seek to understand how the decisions made by the German government (in all of its forms) have influenced the acknowledgement of antifascist memory.

Chapter 1: Through the Eyes of the *Pietà*: Käthe Kollwitz and the Neue Wache

The Neue Wache (new guardhouse) was designed and built by Karl Friedrich Schinkel, notable German neoclassical architect, between 1816 and 1817 (Figures 1.1 and 1.2). The site was a part of Schinkel's greater project along Unter den Linden, the main boulevard in the city's core district (Mitte), known as *via Triumphalis*, constructed in celebration of Prussia's victory in the Napoleonic Wars in the early nineteenth century. These developments accompanied the return of the Quadriga, the bronze chariot pulled by four horses that had adorned the Brandenburg Gate, which had been taken by Napoleon. These features of the boulevard were connected through neoclassical design elements. The Neue Wache served as a guardhouse for the royal guard regiment serving the Kronprinzpalais (palace of the crown prince). However, the building became a symbol of national identity, primarily associated with the "myth of the war of 'liberation.'"[18] Its status was further cemented by the classically inspired monuments to Prussian military leaders that flanked the exterior walls of the building. Schinkel's chosen style for the guardhouse, neoclassicism, would contribute to the construction of German identity. The Age of Enlightenment dominated the eighteenth century, leading to the revitalization of "classical" ideals based in Ancient Greece and the Roman Empire. These concepts emerged through art and architecture, especially in government-sanctioned projects like Schinkel's *via Triumphalis*.

The usage of neoclassical design elements, typically modeled after Greek temples, reinforces the preconstructed notion that European culture evolved from the noble Ancient Mediterranean civilizations, emphasized through the decorative statuary directly tying German military conquest to antiquity. Schinkel's work in Berlin contributed to this ideology in particular. Although the Neue Wache served as an unofficial memorial to Prussian militarism, its

[18] Mazur, "Neue Wache 1818-1993," pp. 52.

official role began only after the end of World War I, until which it continued serving as a guardhouse to the crown prince's palace and the occasional temporary prison. The first world war led to the abdication of Kaiser Wilhelm II, the last monarch in modern German history.

The Weimar Democracy, founded in 1919, began discussions regarding usage of the Neue Wache as a memorial to those killed in the war, but disagreements between the political factions delayed any progress in its conversion. In 1930, the government launched a design competition for the memorial at the guardhouse. Many notable designers and architects entered, including Hans Grube and Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, but in the end the winning design was that of Heinrich Tessenow. According to Mazur, while instructing at the Technische Hochschule in Charlottenburg. Tessenow attracted students that aligned with the German right wing. One such student was Albert Speer, who would later become one of Adolf Hitler's favored designers. Zbigniew Mazur explains, "Tessenow believed that architectural style grows out of the nation's spirit and that there is no such thing as culture outside nations."[19] Tessenow's design reflected his preference for stark forms, an absolutist expression of national identity that worked perfectly in tandem with the image of nation conveyed by the Neue Wache. The guardhouse retained its original neoclassical exterior, especially as a direct contrast to the Kaiser's baroque structures. Tessenow's renovations focused on the interior space, central to the design was a large, black granite slab resembling a sarcophagus, which included a plaque that read simply, "1914-1918." On top of the slab sat a wreath of silver-coated oak leaves. Otherwise the interior of the space was bare, with the other two additions being dark mosaic flooring and the oculus in the ceiling directly above the granite (Figure 1.3) One year later, the site was renamed "Gedächtenisstätte für die Gefallenen des Weltkrieges" (Commemorative Space for the Fallen of the World War).

[19] Mazur, "Neue Wache 1818-1993," pp. 54.

Tessenow's original design for the Neue Wache was simplistic and stark, largely apolitical in its imagery. The neutral, objective image was necessary in light of the heated debates surrounding the narratives of WWI – otherwise, the memorial likely would not have come to fruition.

The Neue Wache was not free from the political strife of the Weimar Republic. Different factions disagreed on the reality of Germany's defeat in the war, which placed the newly minted memorial at the center of many debates. Mazur notes, "In fact the Weimar Republic faced a task which was unsolvable: how to reconcile the remembrance of the individual fallen soldiers with remembering about the very doubtful cause they gave their life for."[20] The progressive leadership worried about the old guardhouse becoming a site dedicated to hero worship and militaristic romanticization, because of the narratives pushed by the right wing. These narratives are described by the late John A. Moses, scholar of modern German history, as the following: "As far as the vast majority of Germans at the time were concerned, the Great War was brought about by the sinister encirclement of the German Fatherland by the envious English, the revanche-lusting French and the land-grabbing Russians. In short, Germany was the victim of an evil plot which had been woven over a long period and with great skill by the Entente Powers led by Great Britain."[21] The German right wing embraced victimhood, refusing any accountability for their participation in the war. They bemoaned the terms of the Treaty of Versailles, which asserted that Germany must accept full responsibility for the war and its aftermath, both symbolically and monetarily. German historian Wolfgang Kruse criticized the handling by the centrist and left-wing parties for not adequately combatting the right-wing narrative of heroism. Mazur recounts, "Kruse emphasized that the example of Neue Wache showed that efforts were

[20] Mazur, "Neue Wache 1818-1993," pp. 56.
[21] John A. Moses, "The War Guilt Question: A Note on Politics and Historiography in the Weimar Republic," *Australian Journal of Politics & History* 61, no. 1 (2015): 129, https://doi.org/10.1111/ajph.12091.

made to honour the dead soldiers in an integrative manner and not to polarize that is to refer to death, suffering, and the valour of soldiers. However, the problem was that this had to logically lead to the entanglement in the acceptance of the war policy of the empire."[22] The right wing continually pushed nationalistic narratives, exploiting the loss faced by the German populace to do so. The very same neutrality necessary for the memorial's completion allowed room for varied interpretations, especially that which accepted uncritical German state of victimhood.

In 1933, the NSDAP came to power democratically through parliamentary elections. As for the Neue Wache, the memorial remained mostly unchanged. The only tangible interior addition made was a large wooden cross. The regime began staging soldiers around the exterior of the building, and in 1935 they began a ceremonial changing of the guard. The following year, the memorial was rededicated once again, now called "Ehrendenkmal für die Gefallenen des Weltkrieges," or "Memorial in Honor of the Fallen of the World War". These changes, while minimal, signified the state-approved status of the Neue Wache as a site of explicit hero worship, especially under the militaristic right-wing regime. The NSDAP itself capitalized on the narrative of victimhood to capture public support. Moses explains, "An incalculable section of Hitler'selectoral support came from people who were convinced by Hitler's promise to liberatethe nation from the 'shackles of Versailles'."[23] Furthermore, the lack of any major cosmetic alterations conveys the level of congruence between the Prussian state and the Nazis.

Similar to the period immediately following WWI, the end of WWII brought about discussions regarding the usage of the Neue Wache going forward. However, the Allied occupation of Berlin meant that the Neue Wache fell under the jurisdiction of the Soviet Union. In the immediate aftermath of the war, the building sat in disrepair until restoration efforts began

[22] Mazur, "Neue Wache 1818-1993," pp. 56.
[23] Moses, "The War Guilt Question," pp. 133.

in 1957. The site retained its function as a memorial, but the change in the state's political ideology affected decisions made in its restoration. On May 8th, 1960, the Neue Wache was officially renamed the "Mahnmal für die Opfer des Faschismus und Militarismus" (The Memorial in Admonition to the Victims of Fascism and Militarism), immediately shifting the focus and intention of the memorial under the new state structure. The restoration of the memorial involved multiple phases between the 1960s and the 1970s. The first stage, the restoration project, changed little about Tessenow's interior and Schinkel's exterior.[24] However, in the second stage, the state hired a new designer to renovate the entire interior space: Lothar Kwasnitz. Kwasnitz's alterations removed Tessenow's mosaic flooring and the granite sarcophagus, which had been damaged in the war. He replaced it with the "Eternal Flame" piece, a glass cube with internal geometric facets. At the center of the object sat a lit torch, the "Eternal Flame," leading to the addition of a glass dome atop the oculus to protect the fire. At this time, the last major addition would be the East German emblem, the hammer and compass, to the back wall of the interior space (Figure 1.4). In 1962, the government stationed a permanent guard outside, a "special regiment" known as "Friedrich Engels," named for the German socialist. The next major round of additions occurred in 1969 included two urns: the first held ashes of the "unknown soldier" (Unbekannter Soldat), the second the ashes of the "unknown resistance fighter" (Unbekannter Widerstandkämpfer), as well as respective plaques (Figure 1.5). From this point forward, the Neue Wache's purpose shifted toward WWII remembrance, remaining unchanged until the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989.

Although the leadership of the DDR and FDR worked through the logistics of unification for months, the official recognized date of reunification became October 3, 1990, almost a year

[24] Ladd, *The Ghosts of Berlin*, pp. 218.

after the fall of the wall. The new government adopted the same name as former West Germany, signifying the continuation of neoliberal, democratic influence on the "new" Germany. While the country utilized the title of the West, the federal government decided to relocate its capital from Bonn back to Berlin. Thus, the 1990s entailed projects of revitalization in order to establish a democratic image in the capital city.

The Neue Wache became a central point of contention in the series of conversations regarding atonement and memorialization in reunified Berlin. Prior to its official dissolution, the East German government voted to remove the DDR's emblem from the back wall of the Neue Wache on May 31, 1990. Going forward, the German chancellor, Helmut Kohl of the Christian Democratic Union (CDU), took the lead on determining what the next iteration of the memorial would entail. Kohl having absolute power over the Neue Wache's future incensed the greater Reichstag, pointing out that the lack of cooperation was not representative of the new era of reunification.[25] While Kohl dominated the design choices made for the interior space of the memorial, the greater parliament deliberated on the content of the inscription on the exterior of the structure. This particular debate exposed the continued disagreements between the left- and right-leaning political factions regarding which groups deserved memorialization. The changes made to the memorial, as seen in previous renovations, had the capability to completely alter the message of the site as a whole.

Although the FDR had gone through a period of "denazification," many NSDAP party members and sympathizers remained in power. Out of the powerful political parties, the CDU consistently, often cautiously, pushed back against villainization of the German military in WWII. Similar to the ideological conflicts following World War I, these conflicts centered

[25] Mazur, "Neue Wache 1818-1993," pp. 65.

around the difference between perceived victimhood, whether that be those killed by the Nazi Regime, or those who died fighting in its name. The CDU focused on the latter, while the left-leaning parties, such as the Socialist Party (SPD) and the Greens, advocated for the former. Kohl proposed a new dedication: "To the Victims of War and Tyranny" (Für die Opfer von Krieg und Gewaltherrschaft). On its face, the phrasing is harmless, but the underlying connotations revealed the intentions of the CDU. Mazur explains these complexities, stating, "The Christian Democrats found it difficult to accept as they wanted to emphasize that first there was 'war' and only later 'tyranny'. In this way the Nazi 'dictatorship' was somehow overshadowed with the communist 'dictatorship' taking first place."[26] The "victims of war" referred to the Nazi soldiers killed in battle, while the "victims of tyranny," in the opinion of the CDU, referred to those victimized by the DDR. The CDU, the center-right of the larger parties, sought to blur the lines between the "categories of the fallen." Ultimately, Kohl's proposed dedication would prevail, but debate would continue regarding the inscription on the exterior of the building. The SPD pushed for an excerpt of a speech given by former President Richard von Weizsäcker (CDU) in 1985, because of the specificity given to the aforementioned "categories of the fallen." While the inscription was approved by the SPD, the final text conveniently omitted elements of Weizsäcker's original speech that inculcated German perpetrators. The inscription only mentions communism by name, never mentioning the NSDAP or German perpetrators of violence. Mazur writes, "The victims became completely and systematically mixed; the Jews, Sinti and Roma found themselves next to the victims (of course German) of 'expulsion' and the 'fallen' that is as one can suppose the soldiers of the Wehrmacht. Weizsäcker also mentioned the Poles and the

[26] Mazur, "Neue Wache 1818-1993," pp. 69.

Soviet citizens but there was not enough space on the plaque."[27] Weizsäcker's original speech did just the opposite, the selection reading:

> We recall the victims of the resistance movements in all the countries occupied by us. As Germans, we pay homage to the victims in the German resistance-among the public, the military, the churches, the workers and trade unions, and the Communists. We commemorate those who did not actively resist, but preferred to die instead of violating their consciences.[28]

The final inscription, an edited version of the same excerpt, reads,

> We remember all of the people who had to die because of their religious or political convictions. We remember everyone who became a victim of tyranny and went innocently to death. We remember the women and men who sacrificed their lives in the resistance against the tyranny. We honor everyone who preferred to go to their death than compromise their conscience. We remember the women and men who were persecuted and murdered because they resisted the totalitarian dictatorship after 1945.[29]

The passive language and exclusion of German fault obscures the complacency and participation of the German public, as well as ignoring the legacy of resistance against the NSDAP. The finalized plaque would feature the version that sanitized German responsibility, also shifting its focus from World War II to the Cold War.

The final major alteration to Tessenow's original plans was the replacement of the sarcophagus slab with an enlarged replication of Käthe Kollwitz's *Pietà*, or *Mutter mit totem Sohn* (Mother with dead son) (Figure 1.6). According to Mazur, from the moment Kohl saw the original *Pietà* on display, he was determined to include it in the revitalization of the Neue Wache. Although nobody questioned the choice of artist or her work, some raised concerns about the religious imagery associated with the *Pietà.* Kohl claimed, based on Kollwitz's own journals,

[27] Mazur, "Neue Wache 1818-1993," pp. 71.
[28] "Weizsäcker: 1985 Speech vs. 1993 Berlin Neue Wache Inscription," accessed January 6, 2025, https://marcuse.faculty.history.ucsb.edu/present/neuewachetext.htm.
[29] "Weizsäcker: 1985 Speech vs. 1993 Berlin Neue Wache Inscription."

that the figure was not overtly religious or made with religious intent. However, the imagery of the *pietà* is directly associated with images of the Virgin Mary holding the body of her son, Jesus Christ. Thus, many of Kohl's opponents argued that – whether or not Kollwitz intended it as such – the figure was explicitly Christian. Considering the millions of Jews murdered in the Holocaust, using such an overtly Christian image, some argue, disrespected the Jewish victims. Additionally, Kollwitz's political activism contradicts the ultimate message pushed by Kohl and the Christian Democrats.

Käthe Kollwitz (nee Schmidt) spent most of her professional life in Berlin, living with her husband, Karl Kollwitz, and their sons, Hans and Peter. The majority of her early work centered around motherhood and the life of the working class, especially women. While she did not belong to any particular organizations or parties, Kollwitz continually aligned herself with socialists and other leftist movements. Her artwork reflected these alignments, often depicting political demonstrations and the realities of working class life at the turn of the 20th century. She focused on critiquing the Kaiser, considering his position as the representative of the German ruling class. The rule of Kaiser Wilhelm II relied on three main tenets: the divine right to rule; a public imbued with militaristic values of courage, honor, and blind obedience; and contempt for civilian or parliamentary rule. In 1912, she produced and distributed posters highlighting the poor living conditions of the working class. The Kaiser had them removed for "inciting class violence,"[30] as well as referring to her work as "art of the gutter."[31] However, her attention soon shifted once World War One began in 1914. Although their ideology clashed with nationalism, many European socialists found themselves caught up in the fervor of wartime patriotism. Kearns writes, "On June 28, 1914, the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand, successor to the

[30] Kearns, *Käthe Kollwitz: Woman and Artist*, pp. 130.
[31] Kearns, pp. 130.

Hapsburg throne, triggered the rapid series of events that, by the first days of August, had plunged Europe into the tragedy of the First World War… In the Holocaust that followed, socialists of one nation fought against socialists of another, all in the name of defense of their homelands."[32] Each member of the Kollwitz family participated in the war effort: her husband, Karl, was a doctor and continued to serve in that capacity; Käthe volunteered in local kitchens; and the two sons joined the military. Her second son, Peter, was killed in battle late in 1914, challenging her initial support for the war effort.[33] Her experience resembled that of many other Europeans, considering that the change in warfare technology led to a dramatic increase in deaths on all sides.

Kollwitz's art became a major outlet for her grief. Her work had always included imageries of motherhood, but going forward, it often included death. Here, we return to the *Pietà*, one of many such works. She began working on the small sculpture in 1937, over twenty years after Peter's death.[34] Kollwitz diligently kept a journal, much of which was later published by her husband and son. Regarding the *Pietà*, she wrote on October 22, 1937: "I'm working on the small sculpture that emerged from a three-dimensional experiment… It was never meant to look like some sort of Pietà. The mother sits with her deceased son lying in her lap between her knees. There is no more pain, only contemplation."[35] Notably, the original title was "Mother with dead son," not Pietà. This excerpt of her journal supports Kohl's argument for utilizing this particular object in the renovated Neue Wache. The enlarged sculpture was produced by sculptor Harald Haacke, then cast in bronze by Herman Noak. Haacke's recreation is slightly larger than

[32] Kearns, *Käthe Kollwitz: Woman and Artist*, pp. 132.
[33] Kearns, pp. 133-4.
[34] "Pietà, Seeler 37 - Käthe Kollwitz Museum Köln," accessed April 7, 2025, https://www.kollwitz.de/en/pieta-seeler-37.aspx.
[35] "Pietà, Seeler 37 - Käthe Kollwitz Museum Köln."

life (see Figures 1.6 and 1.7), while Kollwitz's original is only about 40 centimeters high (Figure 1.8).[36] In changing the scale of the work, the replicated bronze sculpture lost the delicate nature of the grief portrayed. The original was made in the palm of Kollwitz's hand with handheld tools, while the recreation required casting. Both are made by an artist, but the smaller scale of the original piece enhances the personal connection to Kollwitz as the artisan. The later recreation is comparatively detached, both as a copy of the original and its size, which was specifically tailored to the scale of the Neue Wache.

The Neue Wache, one of the original symbols of Prussian empire, directly represented the supposed strength and power of the Kaiser's position. Kollwitz spent her life fighting that very same monarchy, and the addition of her art is contradictory to her professed beliefs. This dissonance was immediately present, as her family required the removal of the Prussian war memorials from the exterior décor. Although Kollwitz's work was included with the permission of her family, the renovations completed under Helmut Kohl directly conflict with her political activism prior to and throughout the Nazi regime. At the beginning of the Weimar Republic, Kollwitz was one of many socialists that found themselves at odds with the SPD and its decisions. For example, Kearns explains, "The dreams of Kollwtiz and of many socialists, however, were not matched by the actions of the temporary SPD government leadership… The SPD met none of the revolution's major demands – democratization of the army, public control of heavy industry, and redistribution of land and property. Instead, the SPD government decided that its next step would be to hold national elections in a month – on January 9, 1919."[37] These disagreements led to the eventual formation of the Communist Party of Germany (KPD), headed by activists Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. Both Luxemburg and Liebknecht were

[36] "Pietà, Seeler 37 - Käthe Kollwitz Museum Köln."
[37] Kearns, *Käthe Kollwitz: Woman and Artist*, pp. 153.

arrested and executed for their radicalism, a move that Kollwitz referred to as “infuriating” and “despicable.” She would later produce a tributary woodcut piece to Karl Liebknecht at the request of his family (Figure 1.9).[38] Kollwitz was not a “card-carrying” communist due to the party’s support of violent direct action. Aside from her strict pacifism, Kollwitz supported the general goals of the KPD. For Kollwitz’s art to be used in service of erasing the movements she supported adds to the thematic disconnect between the Pietà copy, the architecture of the Neue Wache, and the implications of the memorial.

Käthe Kollwitz was an artist at one of the highest leadership positions in Berlin, especially as a woman, and her life and career were ruined by both right-wing German nationalism and its descendant, the Nazi Party. Just before the deaths of Liebknecht and Luxemburg, Kollwitz was elected to “full professorship” at the Prussian Academy of the Arts. Due to her political activism, she was later forced to resign from the Academy by the NSDAP, eventually leading to her exile from Berlin. The inclusion of an enlarged replication of her artwork dedicated to her son, killed as a result of German militarism, while ideologically inconsistent, only partially contributes to the memorial’s contradictions. The problem lies in the exclusion of antifascist recognition in the memorial, as well as a refusal to acknowledge the perpetrators of state violence prior to 1945. The usage of Kollwitz’s work conveys an implicit support from the artist herself for the erasure of the very ideology she supported and professed. The story of the Neue Wache and its relationship with Käthe Kollwitz parallels the treatment of the sites and objects included in this analysis, especially following the reunification of the German states in the 1990s.

[38] Kearns, *Käthe Kollwitz: Woman and Artist*, pp. 154.

Chapter 2: The Ghosts of the Workers' Rights Movement

In the years preceding their rise to power, the NSDAP constantly found themselves embattled with the various antifascist political factions that stood against them. This resistance movement was centered around leftist organizations, such as socialists, communists, and trade unions. The most prominent organizations were the SPD and the KPD, though they clashed often before and during the Weimar period. These disagreements exploded in the aftermath of WWI, when the Spartacus League (predecessor of the KPD) staged an attempted coup as the recently installed Weimar leadership, dominated by the SPD. No matter their alignments, all leftists fell under persecution by the Nazis. In the early 1930s, political opponents were arrested and held in "wild camps," the first iterations of the sophisticated system of concentration camps. These sites were far from the brutal efficiency of the eventual extermination camps. Instead, these prison camps were utilized to instill fear into political dissenters. Although systemic death was not the ultimate goal, many political prisoners died during their time in the labor camps. Those that survived were held for weeks at a time, periodically recaptured and released as a method of control, some agreeing to flee Germany in exchange for their freedom.[39] Due to the continuation of anti-communist sentiment following the end of the second World War, the contributions of these individuals have been cast aside. However, one later instance of resistance has indeed been highlighted: the attempted military coup of July 1944.

On July 20, 1944, ranks of the Nazi military leadership carried out an assassination attempt on Adolf Hitler, led in particular by chief of staff Claus Schenk Graf von Stauffenberg. Von Stauffenberg and his accomplices were executed for their treason, leading to the eventual

[39] Andreas Nachama, *Topographie Des Terrors: Gestapo, SS Und Reichssicherheitshauptamt in Der Wilhelm- Und Prinz-Albrecht-Straße; Eine Dokumentation* (Berlin: Stiftung Topographie des Terrors, 2010).

creation of the German Resistance Memorial Center in 1968. The executions took place at "Bendlerblock," formerly the headquarters of the Nazi Army leadership, which now houses the German Ministry of Defense.[40] Initially, the resistance center, located within Bendlerblock, focused solely on the attempted coup of July 1944. The Bendlerblock sits in former West Berlin, under the jurisdiction of the BRD, which was heavily influenced by the United States and its anti-communist policies. As a right-wing military official, Stauffenberg's profile aligned with the Cold War agenda. Ladd questions, "Was the Bendlerblock really an appropriate icon of German democracy, or just of the Cold War? The leading conspirators were conservative officers and aristocrats. Many of them supported the Third Reich until it began to lose the war – unlike Communists and other leftist resisters, whom the West did not honor."[41] Thus, recognition of Nazi crimes often omitted the stories of resistance that aligned with the Soviet Union and its allies. For the Bendlerblock, this decision was actively pushed by the Stauffenberg family, who argued against the inclusion of other resistance groups, especially communist leaders.[42] Eventually, as German memory culture expanded to include these stories, so did the German Resistance Memorial Center. These exhibits are still enclosed within Bendlerblock, meaning the public is not exposed to them in the same manner as other sites of memorialization. Rather than coming upon them unintentionally in the cityscape, they must be deliberately sought out. One of the largest, yet also hardest to find, is the Memorial to the Socialists.

The Memorial to the Socialists (Figure 2.1), located in the Lichtenburg district on the eastern side of Berlin, sits on one end of the Friedrichsfelde Friedhof (Friedrichsfelde Cemetery; see cemetery layout in Figure 2.2). Established in 1881 and maintained by the state, the cemetery

[40] Ladd, *Ghosts of Berlin*, pp. 149-51.
[41] Ladd, pp.150.
[42] Ladd, pp. 151; James E. Young, *The Texture of Memory: Holocaust Memorials and Meaning* (New Haven: Yale University Press, n.d.), pp. 52.

gained notoriety following the burial of Wilhelm Liebknecht, founder of the SPD, leading to its unofficial designation as the "socialists' cemetery."[43] Later, Liebknecht's son, Karl Liebknecht, would establish the Spartacus League alongside Rosa Luxemburg. In 1919, both were executed for their participation in an attempted coup, with Luxemburg's body being dumped into the Landwehrkanal. The KPD, established soon after, and its allies would push for both leaders to be buried at the Friedhof der Märzgefallenen der Revolution von 1848 (Cemetery for the March Fallen of the 1848 Revolution), but the city magistrate refused.[44] Thus, both Liebknecht and Luxemburg were buried at the Friedrichsfelde Cemetery, continuing its association with the German workers' rights movement.[45]

In 1926, the party celebrated the establishment of the Revolutionsdenkmal (Revolution Memorial), a monument to the January revolution of 1919. Designed by Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, the wall-like structure stood fifteen meters long and six meters high, with the KPD's emblem (the star with the hammer and sickle) at the top right corner (Figure 2.3). The memorial was made of reinforced concrete with a brick façade, seeming as if it were a staggered pile of large bricks.[46] Compared to Mies van der Rohe's later works of glass and steel, he chose brick to pay homage to how the buried were shot in front of brick walls.[47] It was relegated to the south end of the cemetery in plot 64, according to the original plans from 1919 (Figure 2.4).[48] The plot held the remains of both Wilhelm and Karl Liebknecht, Luxemburg, and other 1919

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[43] Panel 01: Vom "Armenfriedhof" zum "Sozialistenfriedhof" (From "Poors' Cemetery" to "Socialists' Cemetery), *Ausstellung zur Gedenkstätte der Sozialisten* (Exhibition of the Socialists' Memorial), Zentralfriedhof Friedrichsfelde, Berlin, Germany.
[44] Panel 02: Die Gräber der Revolutionsopfer; Das Revolusionsdenkmal (The Graves of the Revolution's Victims; The Revolution Memorial), *Ausstellung zur Gedenkstätte der Sozialisten*.
[45] Panel 02, *Ausstellung zur Gedenkstätte der Sozialisten*.
[46] Ralf Hartmann and Andrea Theissen, *Enthüllt. Berlin Und Seine Denkmäler*, Ausstellungskatalog Des Bezirksamtes Spandau von Berlin (Berlin: Stadtgeschichtliches Museum Spandau, 2017), pp. 206.
[47] "Mies' Memorial to Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht (1926)," The Charnel-House, July 10, 2013, https://thecharnelhouse.org/2013/07/10/mies-memorial-to-rosa-luxemburg-and-karl-liebknecht-1926/.
[48] Hartmann and Theissen, *Enthüllt. Berlin Und Seine Denkmäler*, pp. 208.

revolutionaries, providing a space of recognition and celebration for the leaders of the communist movement in Berlin. After the Nazi Party's rise to power, the fascist regime sought to destroy any instance of antifascist recognition. For the Revolutionsdenkmal, the first step was the removal of the KPD's emblem from the memorial; the object was later displayed as a trophy in the NSDAP's museum glorifying their "revolution," as seen in Figure 2.5. After years of disuse, the regime razed and cleared the land, leading to the destruction of these revolutionary leaders' remains.

Geographically, the Friedrichsfelde cemetery fell under the postwar Soviet occupation, leading to discussions about the restoration of the antifascist leaders' graves. In January 1946, a temporary recreation of the memorial was erected, in the same design as the original. The major change was the inclusion of Rosa Luxemburg's last known words: "Ich war, ich bin, ich werde sein," which means, "I was, I am, I shall be!"[49] The quote was meant to be included in the original memorial, but it was destroyed before the change could be made. The original KPD star was never reintroduced to its original site. After its time in the NSDAP's museum, the star has since been held by the German History Museum in Mitte.

In early 1949, the mayor of East Berlin, Friedrich Ebert Jr. (SED), tasked party chairman Wilhelm Pieck with conducting a search for designers to construct a new memorial in the Friedrichsfelde Cemetery. Pieck selected architects Richard Jenner and Hans Mucke, as well as landscape architect Reinhold Lingner, only requesting that the design account for a list of names with space for expansion. He also specified that the overall configuration should be ideal for landscaping and gardening. The final memorial was unveiled in 1951.[50] The plan is round, the

[49] Hartmann and Theissen, pp. 206.
[50] Panel 03: Gedenkstätte der Sozialisten (Gravestones of the Socialists), *Ausstellung zur Gedenkstätte der Sozialisten*.

main boundary being a red brick wall with a break at its entrance (Figure 2.1). The central rondel includes a main stele that reads “Die Toten Mahnen Uns” (The Dead Remind Us). Aside from its material and simple décor, the site bears no resemblance to Mies’ original.

The graves in this “inner rondel” surround the stele, arranged similar to spokes of a wheel. These eight graves include the following individuals: Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Franz Mehring, Franz Künstler, Rudolf Breitscheid, Ernst Thälmann, John Scheller, and Wilhelm Sült. Unfortunately, due to the Nazi’s razing of the original graveyard plot, some of these graves include soil from the Revolutionsdenkmal’s original site, Section 64, in lieu of the deceased’s bodies.[51] The designers intended the outer rondel to have the opportunity for expansion, which is clear in its final design. Unlike the inner one, the outer rondel is comprised of multiple styles of memorials, including twenty-three gravestones, sixty-eight urns, and a large plaque with a list of names. The gravestones include names like Wilhelm Liebknecht and Paul Singer, two men associated with the establishment of the SPD. The urns are the more recent additions, many of them holding the remains of East German politicians. Finally, the large plaque (Figure 2.6) lists the names of those killed through various revolutions and political executions in the interwar period, as well as fighters in the Spanish Civil War and those “killed by fascism.”[52]

While the site is still accessible to the public, the Memorial to the Socialists remains on the outskirts of the city, rather than the city center, Mitte. The cemetery is about a twenty minute train ride from Mitte, not including the ten minute walk from the station to the memorial. While there are basic listings on Berlin’s official government websites, the site does not get nearly as much attention as other memorials throughout the city. The entrance to the cemetery is not

[51] Panel 03, *Ausstellung zur Gedenkstätte der Sozialisten*.
[52] Panel 11: Die Große Gedenktafel (The Large Memorial Stele), *Ausstellung zur Gedenkstätte der Sozialisten*.

explicitly indicated, nor is there signage leading to it. The small exhibition for the memorial at the entrance is only in German, and the signage of the exhibition itself is dirty and even marked with graffiti (Figure 2.7). Compared to other public memorial sites, even other ones in natural settings, the Memorial to the Socialists is clearly not top of mind for the Berlin government. The lack of recognition for the memorial, which highlights the lives of antifascist resistance fighters, contributes to the overall erasure of the workers' rights movement and its history in Berlin.

The Friedrichsfelde Cemetery is one of the only remaining completely public sites recognizing socialist, communist, and overall antifascist resistance in the general cityscape of Berlin. Some have been preserved, but sequestered away to museum exhibits. One such exhibit is the main feature of the Spandau Citadel, a historic Renaissance-era fortress that has been adapted into a museum. While Spandau is a district of Berlin, it resides in the far west, so the citadel ranges from forty minutes to an hour from Mitte by public transit. The citadel's permanent exhibition, called "Unveiled" (in German, "Enthüllt"), displays and contextualizes controversial and unwanted objects from the various political eras of twentieth century Berlin. For example, the national socialist section includes work by Arno Breker, one of Hitler's favored artists.[53] The exhibition space is organized chronologically, so the room following the objects from the Nazi era include various socialist memorials from the DDR. The inclusion of both political eras inherently places them in conversation with one another. The socialist- and communist-era objects displayed at the "Unveiled" exhibition show just how many antifascist memorials and monuments have been removed from public view.

The first object relevant to this discussion has already been mentioned: the Eternal Flame, the DDR's addition to the Neue Wache's interior memorial space. The memorial

[53] Hartmann and Theissen, *Enthüllt. Berlin Und Seine Denkmäler*, pp. 232-35.

somewhat follows Tessenow's design precedent by following the sarcophagus type. Instead of a solid granite slab, the object is a glass cube with geometric facets throughout its interior. At the front of the slab are two plaques, each commemorating "unknown" individuals: the "unknown resistance fighter" and the "unknown soldier." As I explained in the previous chapter, the Eternal Flame was removed from the Neue Wache under the direction of Helmut Kohl after reunification. Between the change of décor and dedication, the German government implied that the crimes of the DDR were equal to that of the NSDAP. The equivocation of the Nazi and socialist regimes began soon after the establishment of the East and West German states. This process was heavily influenced by the anti-communist policies of the United States and other western powers, bleeding into German politics through the leadership of the CDU. Thus, the Eternal Flame, along with other objects in the "Unveiled" exhibit, have become tangible representations of memory erasure in public spaces.

The next object is a memorial to two specific individuals, a set of brothers named Werner and Friedrich Meister (Figure 2.8). The gravestone reads,

> The dead remind us
> Fighters against fascism
> Werner Meister born September 14, 1904
> Executed on January 21, 1945
> At Plotzensee
> Friedrich Meister born January 12, 1912
> In Berlin
> Murdered on July 14, 1938
> In Emmerich[54]

Both brothers had gone to Spain to fight in the war against the Franco regime, while also being active participants in the workers' rights movement back in Berlin. Both brothers were arrested by the NSDAP and killed: Friedrich died in his time at Emmerich am Rhein, and the elder

[54] Hartmann and Theissen, *Enthüllt. Berlin Und Seine Denkmäler*, pp. 262.
Unless otherwise noted, all translations are my own.

Werner was executed by the state at Plotzensee.[55] Unfortunately, aside from the exhibit, there is little information easily accessible about the lives and beliefs of the two brothers. Werner is briefly mentioned in Augustin Souchy's autobiography, *Beware! Anarchist: A Life for Freedom*, alleging him to an agent for the German communists.[56] Friedrich is mentioned in Jeroen Dewulf's *Spirit of Resistance*, recounting the man's extradition from Spain back to Nazi Germany, which ultimately led to his death.[57]

The first gravestone for the Meisters (Figure 2.9) was erected in 1958 by the National Front of the DDR, a coalition of political parties and organizations, on the fifteenth anniversary of Werner Meister's execution. Unfortunately, the original memorial was made of travertine, an extremely porous limestone. The choice in material led to physical degradation due to elemental exposure; the second version of the gravestone was installed in 1969 on the corner of Syringen Way and Oleander Street in the Prenzlauer Berg neighborhood. The chosen design is comprised of two concrete bars connected by a "brass hinge"[58] with the aforementioned dedication. Twenty years later, the memorial was removed to make way for new construction in the neighborhood.[59] Since its removal, the gravestone has remained tucked away from the public eye. Similar to the Eternal Flame, the language of the monument, both in design and actual words, is strictly antifascist, honoring two men that stood against Nazi terror – without glorifying the East German state.

Returning from Spandau to the city core of Berlin, the Rosa Luxemburg Memorial was installed along the Landwehrkanal in 1987. Located on the walking path along the canal, the

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[55] Hartmann and Theissen, *Enthüllt. Berlin Und Seine Denkmäler*, pp. 262.
[56] Augustin Souchy, "1936-1939: The Spanish Civil War by Augustin Souchy," in *Beware! Anarchist: A Life for Freedom*, accessed April 7, 2025, https://libcom.org/article/1936-1939-spanish-civil-war-augustin-souchy.
[57] Jeroen Dewulf, "Antifascist Literature in the 1930s," in *Spirit of Resistance: Dutch Clandestine Literature during the Nazi Occupation* (Boydell & Brewer, n.d.), pp. 25.
[58] Hartmann and Theissen, *Enthüllt. Berlin Und Seine Denkmäler*, pp. 262.
[59] Hartmann and Theissen, pp. 262.

memorial reads “Rosa Luxemburg,” with her name emerging beneath the surface of the water in the canal (Figures 2.10 and 2.11). Opposite the memorial on the brick wall is a plaque (Figure 2.12), providing backstory and context for the site’s relevance and Luxemburg’s story. The plaque reads,

> On the evening of January 15, 1919, Drs. Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were assaulted and killed by soldiers and officers of the Garde-Kavallerie-Schützen-Division.
> Rosa Luxemburg, critically injuried or dead, was thrown into the Landwehrkanal by her murderers at this location.
> Soon after, at Neuen See, only a hundred meters north from here, Liebknecht was shot.
> The other part of this memorial marks the location of his assassination.
> The fight against oppression, militarism, and war died when Rosa Luxemburg fell victim to an insidious political assassination.
> The disrespect of life and the brutality against an individual reveals the capability of humanity to barbarity. It cannot and must not become an acceptable means of conflict resolution in any way.

The design is simple yet effective, conveying Luxemburg’s story and ideologies through industrial material, as well as allowing her to rise from the canal where she met her end. The Luxemburg memorial was installed through private endeavors, rather than being endorsed by the city government. Additionally, while the location is extremely relevant to Luxemburg and her life, there is little signage or reference to it aside from the object and the accompanying text. Its installation represents the shift in public perception of antifascist history, because of the interest driving private participation in public memorialization. However, the language of the memorial itself still participates in political sanitization of antifascist history, due to its omission of Luxemburg’s position as a prominent founder of the KPD’s predecessor, the Spartacus League. The continued dilution of different facets of resistance only continue to sanitize the extensive history of antifascism in the city of Berlin.

Decisions made by the neoliberal leadership of reunified Germany trended in favor of American anti-communist policies, leading to the eventual sanitization of Berlin’s cityscape as

we see it today. In the process of removing or relocating these memorials and monuments, the stories of German resistance against fascist forces are relegated to the background. The antifascist movement was made up of leftists, socialists, labor unions, and communists; to omit these stories is to deny their role as early leaders in the fight against far-right sentiments across Germany. Rather than honoring these fighters, the government opted to separate itself from the policies of the DDR for the public good, especially after the failure of the Soviet Union and its collapse in the 1990s. Removing these symbols of antifascist history, while removing fascist symbols at the same time, equivocates the two ideologies and the damage they caused to German society as a whole.

Chapter 3: The Queer Liberation Movement and Political Convenience

When studying the origins of the queer liberation movements worldwide, many focus on the events of Stonewall in New York, or even the trial of Oscar Wilde in Great Britain. Though when it comes to the very term "homosexuality," the roots of these movements can be traced back to Germany in the mid-to-late nineteenth century. In the modern era, Berlin has long held a reputation of acceptance and pride for its strong queer community, but few know just how much queer history is firmly anchored in Germany as a whole. The very existence of queerness itself is inherently antifascist, as the rejection of gender and sexuality constructs breaks from the strict traditionalism and social control at the core of fascist ideology.[60] This chapter will focus on the timeline of the first gay liberation movement and its connections to the antifascist resistance in Berlin.

In 1867, a man named Karl Heinrich Ulrichs made the first known public condemnation of anti-sodomy laws as a speaker at the Association of German Jurists in Munich. While he faced plenty of immediate backlash from the crowd, some of his colleagues encouraged him to continue. He would continue to profess his beliefs until his death, arguing that sexuality is an innate human trait instead of a pathology or choice. Despite Ulrich's contributions, the establishment of the German state in 1871 would lead to Prussian anti-sodomy laws becoming standard in the German penal code. Prior to unification, the various principalities enforced their laws differently, and the Prussian edition was the strictest out of the states that specifically enforced it. The statute, known as Paragraph 175, read, "An unnatural sex act committed between persons of male sex or by humans with animals is punishable by imprisonment; the loss

[60] Elizabeth S. Corredor, "Unpacking 'Gender Ideology' and the Global Right's Antigender Countermovement," *Signs* 44, no. 3 (2019): 613–38; Arlene Stein, "Gender, Authoritarian Populisms, and the Attack on Democracy," *Sociological Forum* 38, no. 4 (2023): 1340–48, https://doi.org/10.1111/socf.12947.

of civil rights might also be imposed."[61] Notably, the inclusion of bestiality in the very same statute directly conveys the inhumanity with which lawmakers viewed homosexuality. However, Ulrich's work would inspire the first leaders of the gay liberation movement, especially Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld.

In the modern day, Hirschfeld is possibly the most well-known figure involved in the history of queer Berlin, particularly as the face of the Institute of Sexology (Institut für Sexualwissenschaft). A prominent Jewish scientist and socialist, he studied various fields related to medicine and physiology, eventually receiving his doctorate in 1892. His studies inspired him to advocate for the decriminalization of homosexuality from a scientific and academic viewpoint. In 1897, he and several colleagues of different professional fields founded the Scientific Humanitarian Committee (Wissenschaftlich-humanitäres Komitee), the first known gay rights organization in the world. A little over twenty years later, in 1919, Hirschfeld would establish the Institute of Sexology in central Berlin. He would continue to argue in favor of decriminalization through the lens of science, coining the term the "third sex." Unfortunately, he would flee Berlin due to political violence under the National Socialist Party started gaining power in the early 1930s. This escape would save him from the looting of the Institute of Sexology, done by a Nazi student group soon after Hitler gained legislative power in 1933. This looting was followed by Nazi forces later that evening, leading to the burning of thousands of Hirschfeld's and his colleagues' studies (Figures 3.1 – 3.3). Hirschfeld would spend his exile in France, passing away in Nice in 1935.[62]

[61] Paul Halsall, "Nazi Germany: Paragraph 175 and Other Sexual Deviance Laws," Internet History Sourcebooks Project, n.d.
[62] Robert Beachy, *Gay Berlin: Birthplace of a Modern Identity*.

In the same year as Hirschfeld's passing, Heinrich Himmler, a major leader in the SS (Schutzstafel, a paramilitary organization), edited the language of Paragraph 175, allowing more widespread persecution and varied interpretations. The Nazi version of Paragraph 175 also included expanded clauses, reading,

> Paragraph 175: A male who commits a sex offense with another male or allows himself to be used by another male for a sex offense shall be punished with imprisonment. Where a party was not yet twenty-one years of age at the time of the act, the court may in especially minor cases refrain from punishment. Paragraph 175a: Penal servitude up to 10 years or, where there are mitigating circumstances, imprisonment of not less than three months shall apply to: (1) a male who, with violence or the threat of violence to body and soul or life, compels another male to commit a sex offense with him or to allow himself to be abused for a sex offense; (2) a male who, by abusing a relationship of dependence based upon service, employment or subordination, induces another male to commit a sex offense with him or to allow himself to be abused for a sex offense; (3) a male over 21 years of age who seduces a male person under twenty-one years to commit a sex offense with him or to allow himself to be abused for a sex offense; (4) a male who publicly commits a sex offense with males or allows himself to be abused by males for a sex offense or offers himself for the same. Paragraph 175b: An unnatural sex act committed by humans with animals is punishable by imprisonment; the loss of civil rights might also be imposed.[63]

The particular language in the first clause gave Nazi officials the ability to harass and attack any individual that they perceived as deviant, leading to a sharp increase in the number of arrests attributed to homosexuality. These arrests continued past the end of the Nazi Regime, even with the implementation of "denazification" and the Allied occupation.

Denazification was supposed to include a complete overhaul of German government, political leadership, and its legal code. However, with the initiation of the Cold War, the Allies focused primarily on pushing anti-communist policies, rather than purging the West German government of low-to-mid level Nazi officials. In the reworking of the penal code, many in the Justice Ministry did not consider Paragraph 175 to be a "Nazi" law, opting to leave it in place in

[63] Halsall, "Nazi Germany: Paragraph 175 and Other Sexual Deviance Laws."

its current form.[64] Dr. Robert Moeller, an expert in 20th century German history, writes, " Justice Ministry officials remained particularly concerned that, freed from criminal penal ties, adult homosexuals would intensify their 'propaganda and activity in public' and put male youth at risk. Most homosexuals were not born that way; rather, they fell victim to seduction or excessive sexual desires that exceeded the boundaries of heterosexuality."[65] Although the East German state would not immediately decriminalize homosexuality, the SED chose to revert Paragraph 175 back to its initial language, a choice greatly influenced by the KPD's participation in the liberation movement. In 1990, American security analyst Raelynn Hillhouse wrote an article describing the changes in perceptions and legality of homosexuality in the DDR. Hillhouse explains,

> In contrast to the western occupation zones of Germany, the Soviet zone (because of the influence of German Communists) did not retain the complete Nazi version of paragraph 175 even though the Soviet Union had similar strict punishments for homosexuality. The party's refusal to legalize homosexuality completely continued its ambivalent treatment of homosexuality. Until recently the general prudery of the Stalinist era, rather than the libertine traditions of some German Marxists, has remained a hallmark of SED policy.[66]

To be clear, the SED took another two decades to completely decriminalize homosexuality, but these legislative changes still took place sooner than they did in the West German state. For one, according to a timeline from the DEFA Library (German Film Corporation, formerly the state-run production company of the DDR), the recognition of homosexuals as Nazi victims led to limits being placed on prosecution, supposedly "waiving prosecution unless an infraction poses a risk to socialist society."[67] Meanwhile, in the BRD, the government arrested 100,000 men from

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[64] Robert G. Moeller, "Private Acts, Public Anxieties, and the Fight to Decriminalize Male Homosexuality in West Germany," *Feminist Studies* 36, no. 3 (2010): 530.
[65] Moeller, pp. 534.
[66] Raelynn J. Hillhouse, "Out of the Closet behind the Wall: Sexual Politics and Social Change in the GDR," *Slavic Review* 49, no. 4 (1990): 591, https://doi.org/10.2307/2500548.
[67] DEFA Film Library, "The Gay and Lesbian Movement in East Germany: A Timeline of Selected Laws, Events and Activists," 2020,

1949 to 1959, leading to around 59,000 convictions.[68] I will reiterate that the DDR was not kind to its queer community, but the BRD would take until 1969 to decriminalize sexual relations between two men over 21. The two states would incrementally move toward total legalization, though at different rates: the East German state eliminated Paragraph 175 from its laws in 1968, replacing it with Paragraph 151 to dictate age of consent laws; the West German state never completely removed Paragraph 175 until post-reunification, in 1994.

One of the central locations for the origins of the movement, the Institute of Sexology was located in the northern region of Tiergarten, where the Haus der Kulturen der Welt stands today, in the direct vicinity of the Reichstag and the Brandenburg Gate (Figure 3.4 and 3.5). The original villa, seen in Figure 3.6, was originally commissioned by violinist Joseph Joachim. The Institute (Figure 3.7), established in 1919, was the first known research and treatment center focused on gender and sexuality studies. Under the leadership of Magnus Hirschfeld, many experiential gender-affirming procedures and treatments took place, following the general theory that Hirschfeld professed: homosexuality was an innate, biological component of a person, not a moral failure or illness. The Institute also provided social and residential spaces for the local queer community, becoming the nucleus of the German gay liberation movement. Following the looting of 1933, the structure was abandoned and bombed out (Figure 3.8), later completely removed in 1950. Instead of preserving its remains, the government opted to include it in the city-wide Internationale Bauausstellung (International Building Exhibition) project. The site became home to the Kongresshalle, the original name for what is now the House of the Cultures

https://www.umass.edu/defa/sites/default/files/The%20Gay%20and%20Lesbian%20Movement%20in%20East%20Germany.pdf.

[68] United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, “Paragraph 175,” in *Holocaust Encyclopedia*, accessed April 7, 2025, https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/paragraph-175-and-the-nazi-campaign-against-homosexuality.

of the World (Haus der Kulturen der Welt, or HKW), a large, modern and organic building that houses artistic and cultural exhibits from around the world. Other than the 2015 dedication of spaces to Magnus Hirschfeld and Lili Elbe,[69] the first individual to receive a sex-change surgery at the Institute, the original site has been completely overwritten (Figure 3.9. The dedication of these spaces, while explicitly referenced and discussed on the HKW website, is a shallow method of recognition for such an essential site in the first gay liberation movement in world history.

While the villa has been completely erased, there is one marker relatively close to the original site of the Institute, a stele known by a few different names, such as "Memorial to the Institute of Sexology" or "Memorial Tablet of Magnus Hirschfeld." The stele sits along the Spree River on the walking path through Tiergarten, a brief walk away from the HKW (Figure 3.10). This memorial was funded by private individuals and non-profits, including multiple chapters of the Green Party and the SPD, as well as the Magnus Hirschfeld Society (see list in Figure 3.11). Designed by sculptor Georg Seibert, the memorial appears as a steel lectern, with an angled plaque narrating a brief overview of Hirschfeld and the Institute. Similar to Seibert's other works, the steel composition is completely exposed to the elements, allowing a degree of wear and rust that add to its visual impact. The slightly crooked text appears to be hand-stamped into the steel (Figure 3.12). It reads,

> Per Scientiam ad Justitiam
> - Through Science to Justice -
> With these thoughts in mind the doctor and sexual scientist
> Dr. Magnus Hirschfeld
> * May 14, 1868 in Kolberg
> + May 14, 1935 in exile in Nice

[69] "Das Gebäude | HKW Haus der Kulturen der Welt," HKW, accessed April 7, 2025, https://www.hkw.de/the-house/the-building/the-building#main.

> Because of his work on June 17, 1919 in the vicinity of this stele at In Den Zelten 9A-10, the Institute of Sexology was founded.
> Officially recognized as a foundation by the Prussian state, this building would be plundered and emptied by the National Socialists in May 1933, so that its around 12,000 papers could be openly burnt.
> That which was destroyed in WWII, the Institute of Sexology, was the first such institute worldwide, that combined research and theory of sexuality, a place of medical care and refuge for all who were, due to their sexuality, socially ostracized.[70]

The text provides ample contextualization for the importance of the site in the space allowed. This object, installed independently in 1994, was the first commemoration of the Institute, rendering the details included even more essential.

Berlin had regressed in its social progress, with activists fighting to claw back the gains they had made before the Nazi regime. This fight would continue into the present, especially the fight for recognition and memorialization of this community. The first government-sanctioned memorial for the queer community, located just south of the Brandenburg Gate at the edge of Tiergarten was installed in 2008, called the "Memorial to Homosexuals Persecuted Under Nazism." (Figures 3.13 and 3.14). Since then, the German government has made an effort to include the story of the queer community in its memorial landscape, with another memorial called the "Memorial to the First Gay Liberation Movement" installed across the Spree from the Hirschfeld stele in 2017 (Figures 3.15 – 3.17). Both memorials are within the bounds of Tiergarten in Mitte, where the "Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe" and the "Memorial to the Sinti and Roma Victims of National Socialism" are within walking distance. However, these installations do not acknowledge the choice to completely erase the existence of the Institute of Sexology, whose remains were razed and built over by the West German government.

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[70] Georg Seibert, Memorial Stele Text, *Gedenktafel Magnus Hirschfeld am Ort des ehemaligen Instituts für Sexualwissenschaft*, (Magnus Hirschfeld memorial plaque at the site of the former Institute for Sexual Science), Berlin, Germany.

The queer community and its persecution has received increased support and recognition in the twenty-first century, but this movement has also led to the development of "pink-washing." The concept of pink-washing, when discussing the actions of states and governments, includes the disingenuous support of the queer community and its associated movements in order to distract from other harmful actions done by said government.[71] In the case of the modern German government, the commemoration of the queer community rings hollow, considering both the harm done to it and the careless disregard for the remains of an essential site to LGBTQ+ history. While the objects of recognition and memorialization are publicly accessible, they do little to acknowledge the importance of this community to the resistance movement and the continued persecution by both German states. By folding queer history into the agenda of the neoliberal federal government, centrists are easily able to sanitize the political history related to the gay liberation movement. As I mentioned, Hirschfeld himself was a Jewish socialist, which only increased the persecution he faced. Thus, the queer history of Berlin becomes severed from its antifascist origins, further forcing the greater antifascist history of Berlin into the background.

[71] Maya Mikdashi, "Gay Rights as Human Rights: Pinkwashing Homonationalism," Jadaliyya - جدلية, December 16, 2011, https://www.jadaliyya.com/Details/24855.

Conclusion

In the process of establishing a "democratic" image for its reunified capital city, the German federal government has removed icons of radical ideologies from public spaces, while downplaying the political alignments of others. The resulting landscape has very little reminders of any antifascist historical narratives, which has, in my opinion, contributed to the cultural, economic, and political divisions that have formed between the former East and former West. The German federal government has been specifically tracking the economic disparities, because the shock of being forced back into a capitalist system dramatically affected various aspects of the former East's economy. In the annual report produced by the federal government in 2018, it states, "Wage levels and economic strength in eastern Germany are still behind those in western Germany. The fragmented economy in eastern Germany and the lack of company headquarters are key factors behind disparities… this structural difference is also reflected in lower research and innovation activities and in a lower degree of internationalization. This is compounded by lower productivity and a lack of top salaries."[72] Similar to how the NSDAP was able to gain support during the Great Depression, the economic situation in the former Eastern states has likely influenced the general rightward shift in those very same states.

The people of this region have been left behind by their government, so when a new, loud, and polarizing political party entered the scene, its popularity grew out of the east. This party, known as Alternative for Germany (AfD), has seen increasing support in elections in the last decade. Its continued existence has been debated, as the xenophobic, racist, and nationalist rhetoric is reminiscent of similar messaging pushed by the far-right in the 1920s.[73] Between the

[72] Public Relations Division, "Annual Report of the Federal Government on the Status of German Unity 2018."
[73] Scott Neuman, "Germany's Domestic Intelligence Labels Right-Wing AfD Party as Extremist," *NPR*, May 3, 2025, sec. World, https://www.npr.org/2025/05/02/g-s1-64037/afd-germany-extremist-alternative.

national German elections in 2021 and 2025, the AfD went from 10.4% support to 20.8%, making it the second largest party bloc of the Bundestag in 2025.[74] When looking at a map depicting how the votes were distributed geographically, as seen in Figure 4.1, the support for the AfD almost exactly follows the former boundary between East and West Germany (see Figure 4.2). As explained in a podcast episode by German journalist Hanno Hauenstein, "You know, like German nationalism has always been complicated, and when the GDR was still existing, there was a kind of like, there was always a counter-narrative and kind of a state anti-fascist counter-narrative that had its own flaws. No question about it, but like ever since reunification, the German left has basically focused its efforts on like questioning that like surge of nationalism."[75] The revival of German nationalism has slowly grown into a dangerous movement, possibly due to the lack of an official narrative against fascism.

The removal of tangible symbols of antifascist resistance is not the sole reason for the popularity of the AfD, but the lack of representation within the capital city contributes to the overall erasure felt by those that lived in East Germany. Whether or not the DDR appropriately conflated itself with the antifascists of Berlin, the refusal to honor antifascists in the cityscape implies that the federal government opposes the movement against fascism. The DDR was an authoritarian regime that oppressed its citizens, and the experiences of its citizens are nuanced and play a part in the narrative of Germany's history; to exclude these narratives is to silence them. Without public memorials and monuments to those that stood against the Nazi Regime, the stories of these fighters fade from collective public memory. Without these stories of resistance,

[74] "2025 Bundestag Election: Final Result - The Federal Returning Officer," accessed April 7, 2025, https://bundeswahlleiterin.de/en/info/presse/mitteilungen/bundestagswahl-2025/29_25_endgueltiges-ergebnis.html.
[75] Matt Lieb and Daniel Maté, "Bad Hasbara 67: Deutschland Unter Alles, with Hanno Hauenstein," Bad Hasbara, n.d.

fascism is allowed to regain power and control. Considering the popularity of the AfD in the most recent elections, the German public has already started to forget.

Illustrations

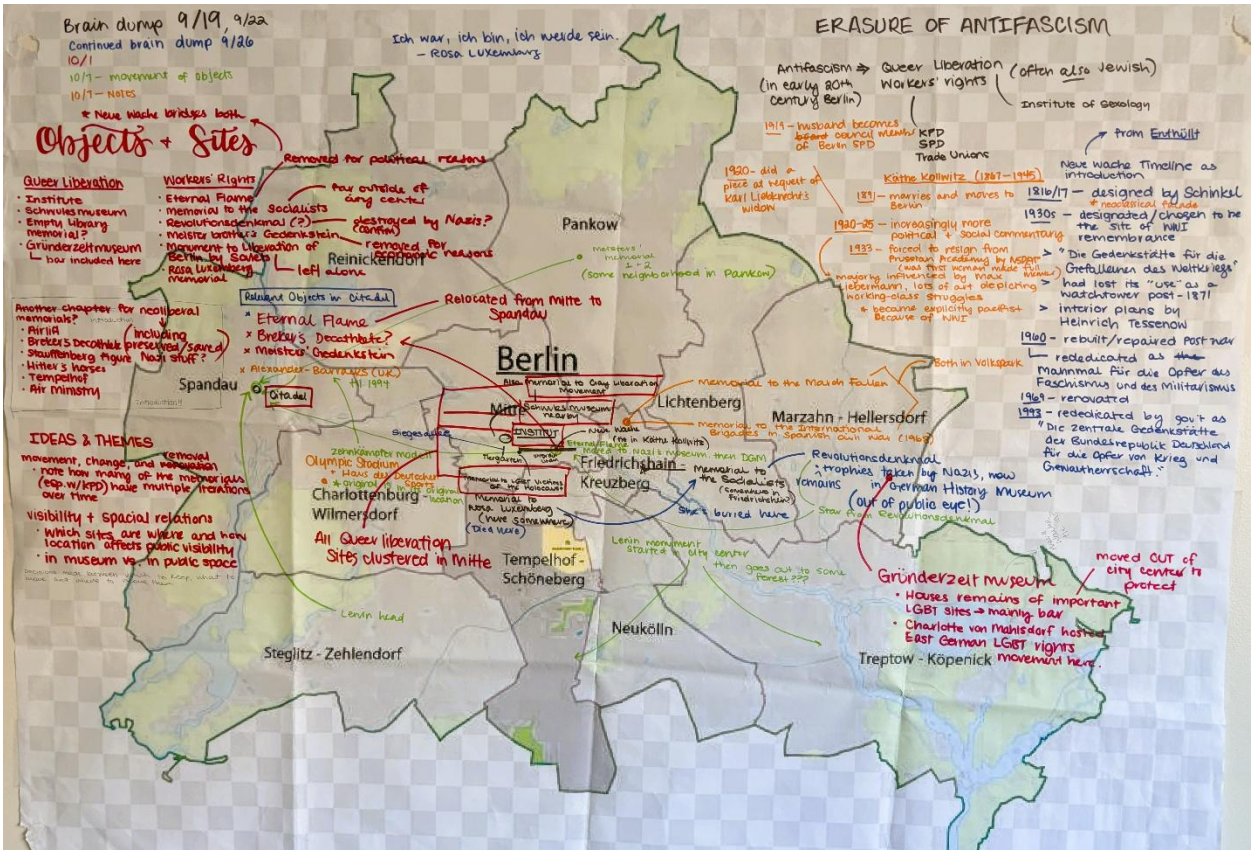


Figure 0.1. Map of Berlin and its districts, including my own notes from the process of brainstorming in the process of writing this thesis. Photograph taken by Julia Aldred, October 8, 2024.

Figure 1.1. Image of the Neue Wache and its southern façade, the main entrance. Photograph taken by Julia Aldred, June 1, 2023.

Figure 1.2. Postcard including photograph of the Neue Wache, reading “Greeting from Berlin.” “Gruss Aus Berlin. Die Neue Wache. [Greetings from Berlin. The New Guardhouse]; Verso: Verlag: Max Marcus, Berlin W. s. Dcss. 21a. [Divided Back, No Message] on JSTOR,” accessed April 3, 2025, https://www.jstor.org/stable/community.22381227.

Figure 1.3. Photograph taken from the entrance of the Neue Wache around 1930. “Berlin: Neue Wache (New Guard) - Heinrich Tessenow,” Google Arts & Culture, https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/berlin-neue-wache-new-guard-heinrich-tessenow/ZwESijCJTItojQ.

Figure 1.4 (above). Photograph taken inside of the Neue Wache in 1983. Karl Friedrich (German architect Schinkel painter, and printmaker, 1781-1841), *Neue Wache*, accessed April 3, 2025, https://jstor.org/stable/community.185540.

Figure 1.5 (left). The “Eternal Flame” at the Spandau Citadel. Photograph by Julia Aldred, July 4, 2024.

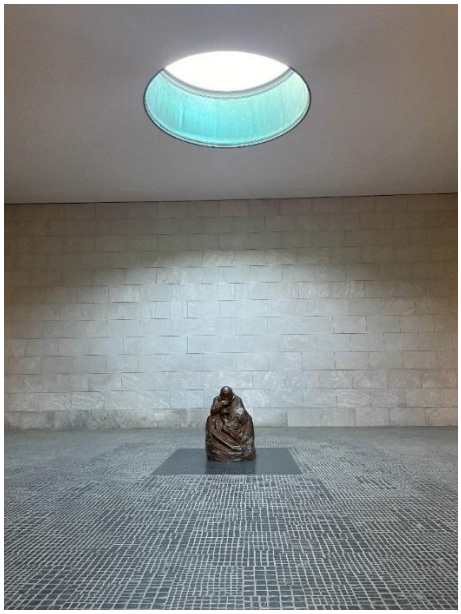


Figure 1.6 (above left) Harald Haacke, the main artist, and Herman Noak, the bronze caster, with the replicated Kollwitz piece, circa 1993. From "Pietà (Vergrößerung) – Harald Haacke," accessed February 23, 2025, https://harald-haacke.de/pieta/.

Figure 1.7 (above right). Image of the Neue Wache's *Pietà*, taken from the entrance to the building. Photograph by Julia Aldred, June 1, 2023.

Figure 1.8 (left). Image of Käthe Kollwitz's *Mutter mit totem Sohn* (Mother with dead son). "Pietà, Seeler 37 - Käthe Kollwitz Museum Köln," accessed April 7, 2025, https://www.kollwitz.de/en/pieta-seeler-37.aspx.

Figure 1.9. Käthe Kollwitz's tributary woodcut piece to Karl Liebknecht, with the caption that translates to "The Living to the Dead. Memory from the 15th of January 1919." Käthe Kollwitz, *Gedenkblatt für Karl Liebknecht*, 1920, woodcut, "Gedenkblatt für Karl Liebknecht - Käthe Kollwitz Museum Köln," accessed May 4, 2025, https://www.kollwitz.de/gedenkblatt-fuer-karl-liebknecht.aspx.

Figure 2.1. Image of the Memorial to the Socialists at Friedrichsfelde Friedhof, taken from the break in the outer rondel. Photograph by Julia Aldred, July 4, 2024.

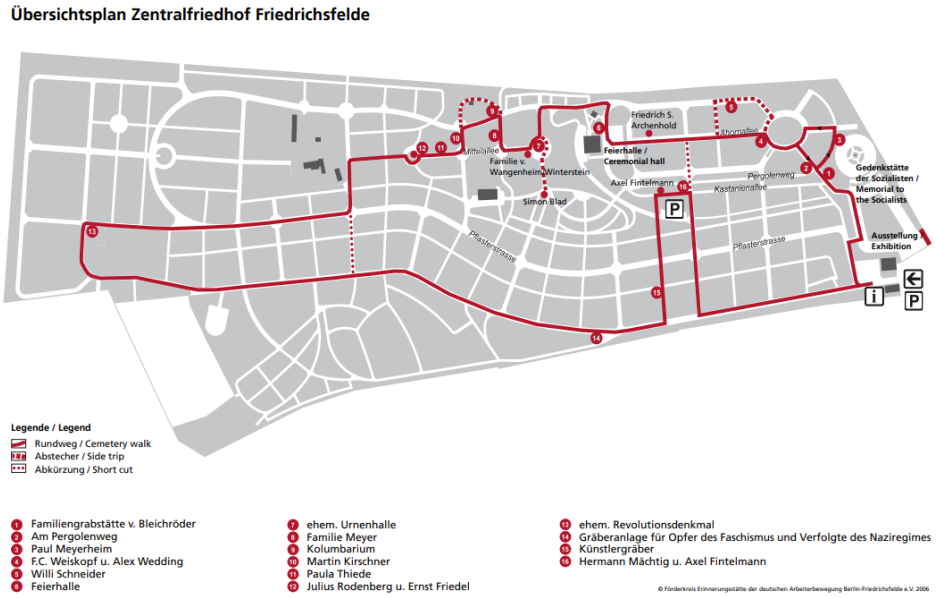


Figure 2.2. Aerial map of the Friedrichsfelde Cemetery, showing the Memorial to the Socialists on the righthand side. “Rundgang,” accessed May 4, 2025, https://www.sozialistenfriedhof.de/index.php?id=rundgang.

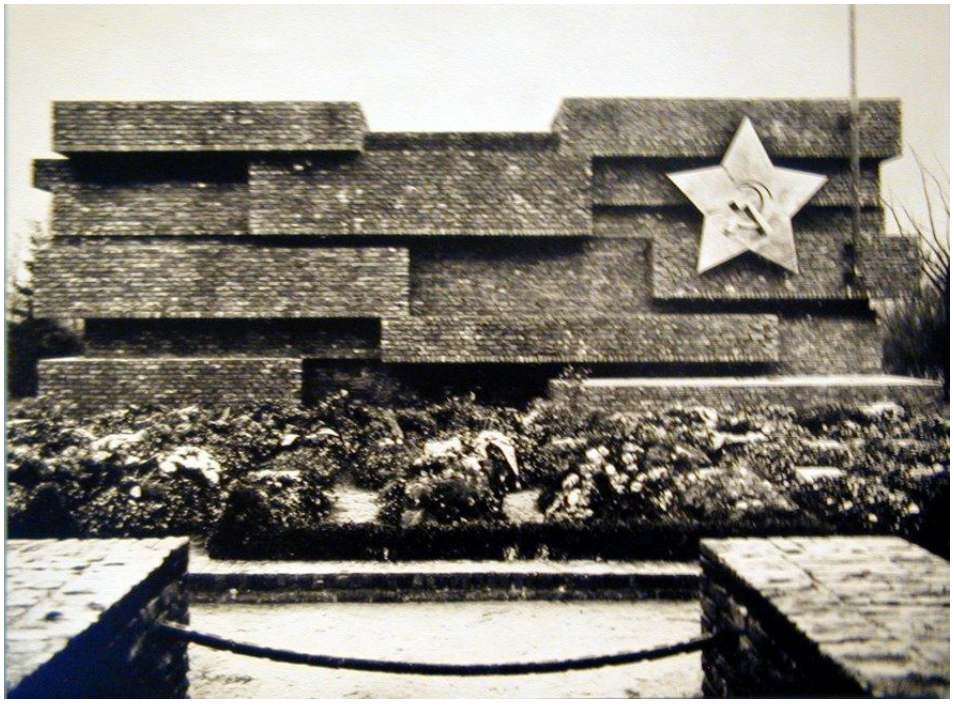


Figure 2.3. Photograph of the original Revolutionsdenkmal, circa 1926. archINFORM-Sascha Hendel, “Revolutionsdenkmal (Zentralfriedhof Friedrichsfelde), Berlin,” archINFORM, accessed April 4, 2025, https://www.archinform.net/projekte/11085.htm.

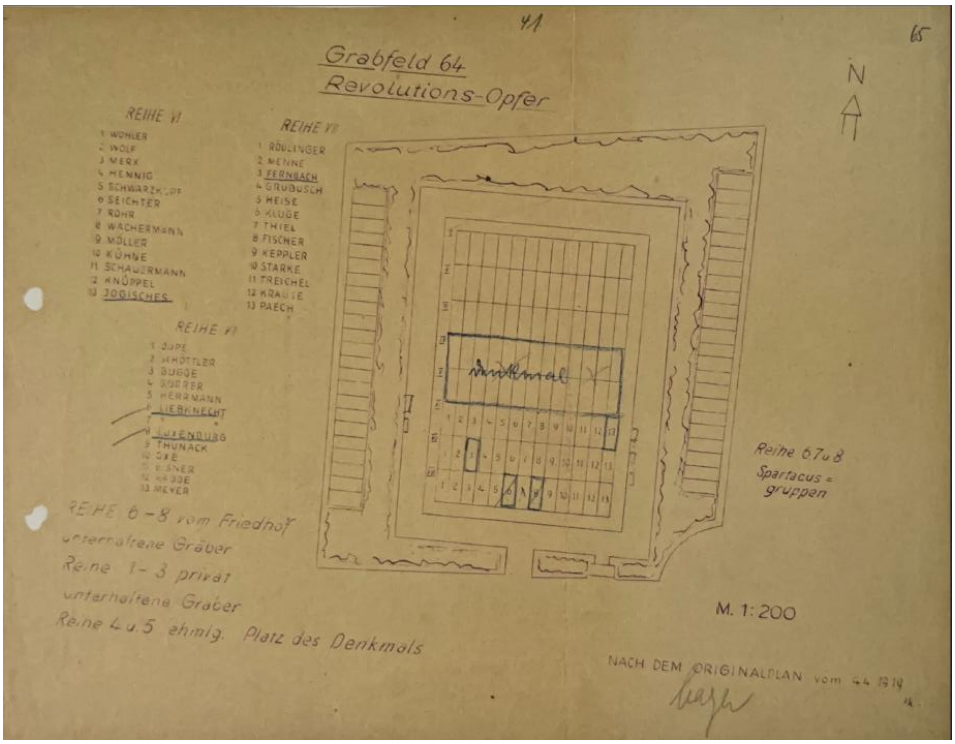


Figure 2.4. Aerial plan of the "Graveyard 64; Victims of the Revolution," showing the layout for the original Revolutionsdenkmal and the layout of the graves. From Ralf Hartmann and Andrea Theissen, *Enthüllt. Berlin Und Seine Denkmäler*, Ausstellungskatalog Des Bezirksamtes Spandau von Berlin (Berlin: Stadtgeschichtliches Museum Spandau, 2017), pp. 208.

Figure 2.5. Photograph from within the NSDAP's National Socialist Revolution Museum, showing the KPD emblem taken from the Revolutionsdenkmal, circa 1938. From Ralf Hartmann and Andrea Theissen, *Enthüllt. Berlin Und Seine Denkmäler*, Ausstellungskatalog Des Bezirksamtes Spandau von Berlin (Berlin: Stadtgeschichtliches Museum Spandau, 2017), pp. 209.

Figure 2.6. Image of the Memorial to the Socialists at Friedrichsfelde Friedhof, taken from in front of the large list of names with the title “Glory and Honor to the Undying Fighters for Socialism.” Photograph by Julia Aldred, July 4, 2024.

Figure 2.7. Image of the permanent exhibition at the Memorial to the Socialists, nearby the entrance to the cemetery. Photograph by Julia Aldred, July 4, 2024.

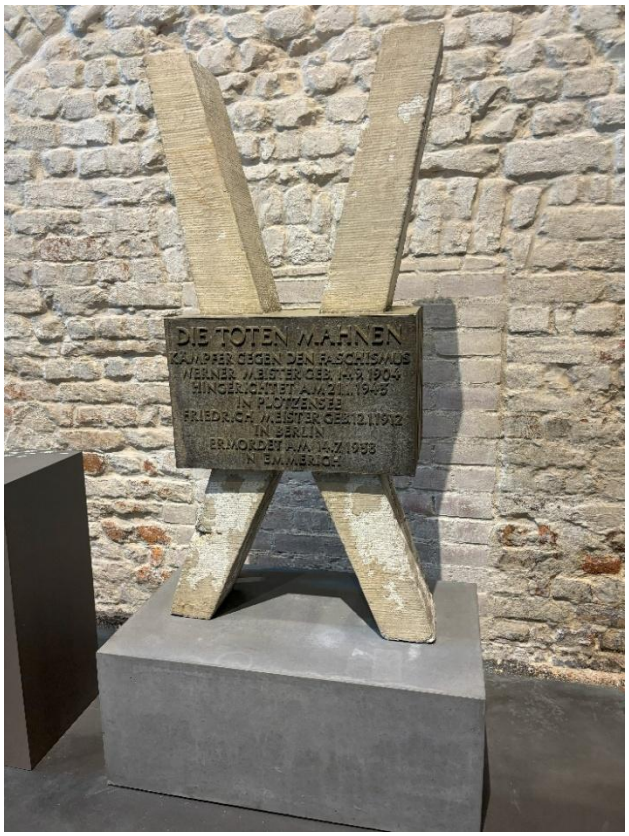


Figure 2.8 (left). Image of the second memorial to the Meister brothers, currently located in the Spandau Citadel's permanent exhibition called "Enthüllt." Photography by Julia Aldred, July 4, 2024.

Figure 2.9 (right). Image of the original memorial to the Meister brothers, circa 1958. From Ralf Hartmann and Andrea Theissen, *Enthüllt. Berlin Und Seine Denkmäler*, Ausstellungskatalog Des Bezirksamtes Spandau von Berlin (Berlin: Stadtgeschichtliches Museum Spandau, 2017), pp. 264.

Figures 2.10 (top), 2.11 (middle), and 2.12 (bottom). Images taken of and around the Rosa Luxemburg Memorial along the Landwehrkanal. Photographs taken by Julia Aldred, July 3, 2024.

Figure 3.1 (top). National-socialist youth group marching outside of the Institute of Sexology on May 6, 1933. Unknown author, May 6, 1933, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bucherverbrennung-book-burning-Nazi-1933-Institute.jpg#/media/File:Bucherverbrennung-book-burning-Nazi-1933-Institute.jpg.

Figure 3.2 (left). Two young men, one in a Nazi uniform, looking through the materials looted from the Institute of Sexology. Unknown author, May 6, 1933, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Institut_f%C3%BCr_Sexualwissenschaft_-_Bibliothek_1933.jpg.

Figure 3.3 (right). Book burning at Opernplatz in Berlin. Pahl Georg, *Berlin, Opernplatz, Bücherverbrennung*, May 11, 1933, German Federal Archives, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Bundesarchiv_Bild_102-14597,_Berlin,_Opernplatz,_B%C3%BCcherverbrennung.jpg.

Figure 3.4 (left). Map showing the former location of the Institute of Sexology (the red dot) and the current location of the Magnus Hirschfeld Memorial Stele (the green dot). From Harald Rimmele, "Magnus-Hirschfeld-Gesellschaft" (Magnus-Hirschfeld-Gesellschaft e.V. Berlin), accessed April 4, 2025, https://www.hirschfeld.in-berlin.de/frame.html?https://www.hirschfeld.in-berlin.de/gedenken/institut_stele.html.

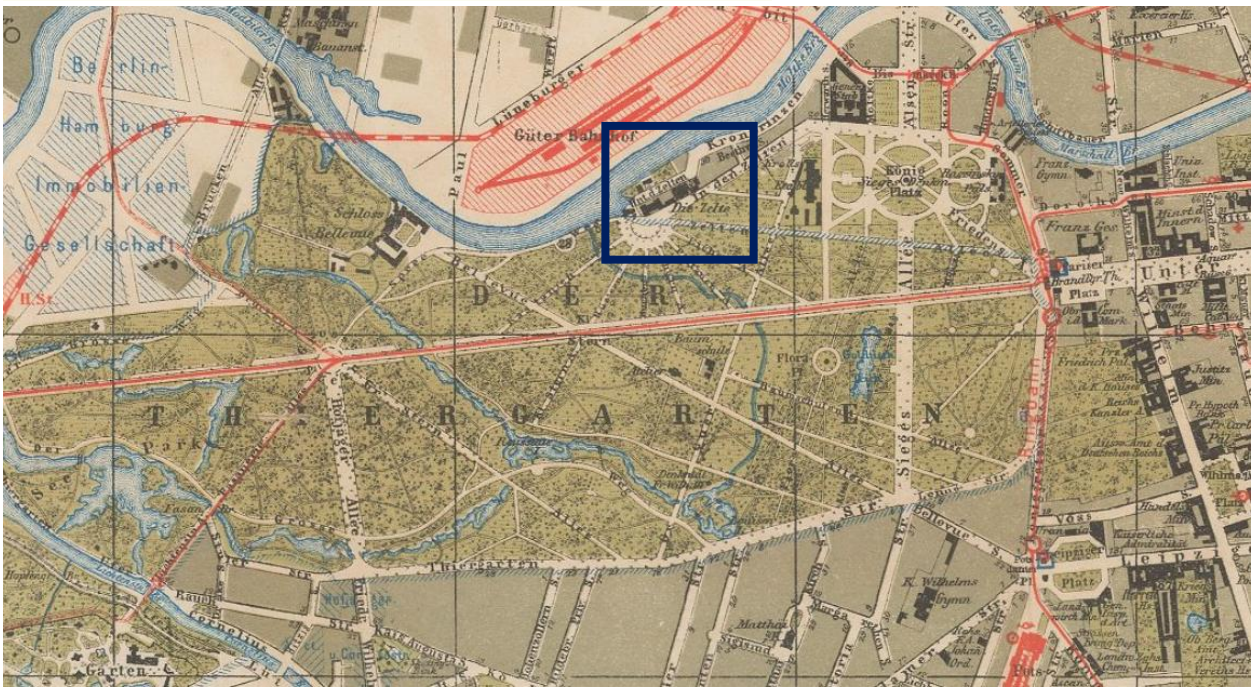


Figure 3.5 (above). Detail of Julius Straube's 1877 map of Berlin; the box shows the building complex where the Institute of Sexology stood. Julius Straube and Geographisches Institut und Landkarten-Verlag Jul. Straube. "Plan von Berlin mit nächster umgebung." Map. Berlin: Geogr. Inst. u. landkarten-verlag Jul. Straube, 1877. *Norman B. Leventhal Map & Education Center*, https://collections.leventhalmap.org/search/commonwealth:kh04p686f.

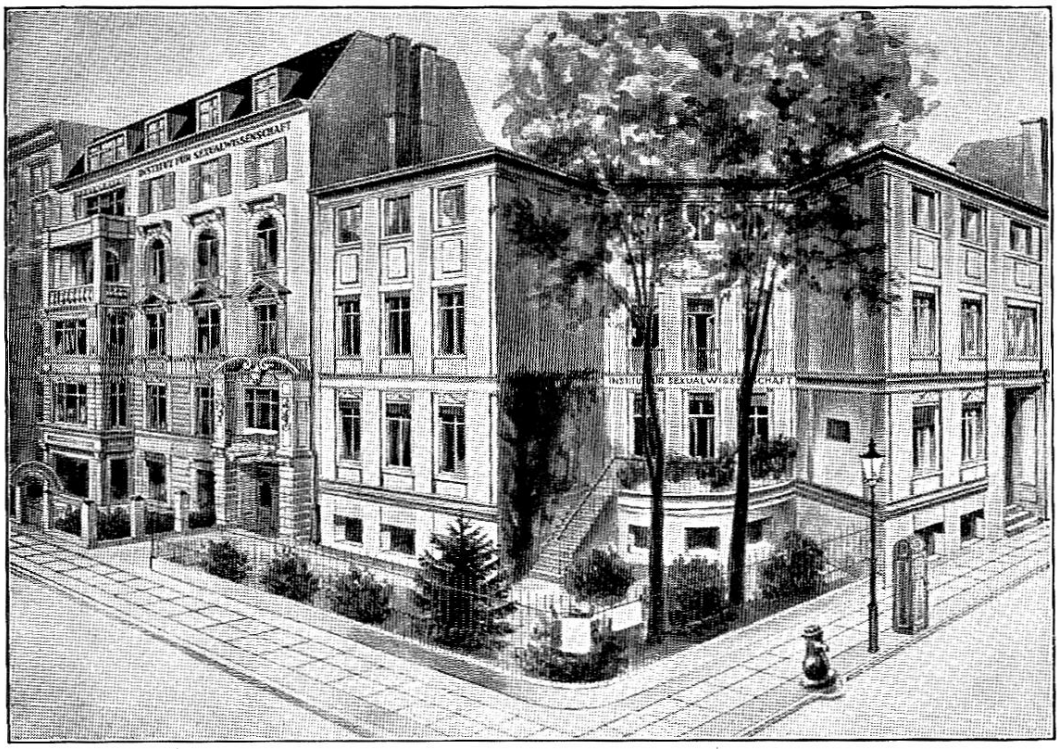


Figure 3.6 (top). Watercolor perspective of Villa Joachim. Architekturmuseum der Technischen Universität Berlin, Berlin, Germany. From Robert W. Eshbach, "Villa Joachim, Berlin," Joseph Joachim, September 26, 2014, https://josephjoachim.com/2014/09/26/villa-joachim-berlin/.

Figure 3.7 (above). The villa after becoming the Institute of Sexology. From Robert W. Eshbach, "Villa Joachim, Berlin," Joseph Joachim, September 26, 2014, https://josephjoachim.com/2014/09/26/villa-joachim-berlin/.

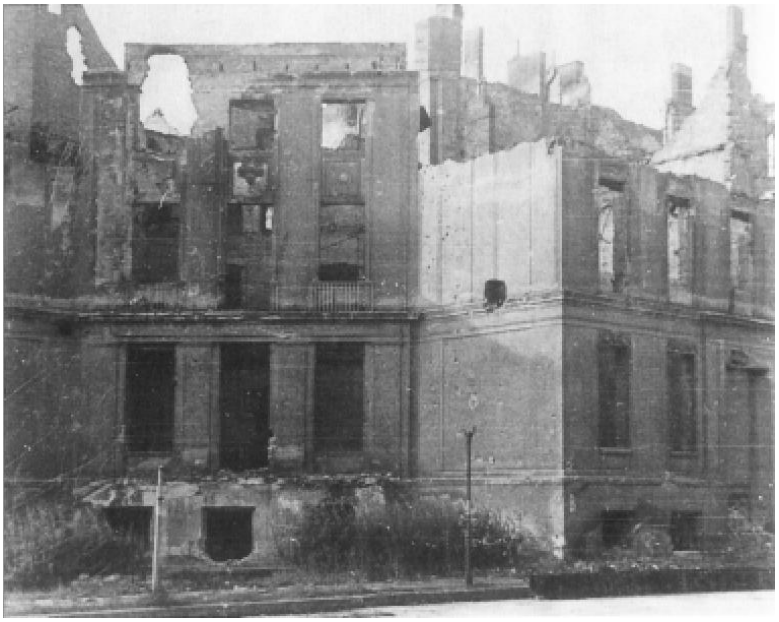


Figure 3.8 (top). The Institute of Sexology after bombing during World War II, circa 1943. From Robert W. Eshbach, "Villa Joachim, Berlin," Joseph Joachim, September 26, 2014, https://josephjoachim.com/2014/09/26/villa-joachim-berlin/.

Figure 3.9 (below). Exploded floorplan of the Haus der Kulturen der Welt; I have highlighted the Magnus Hirschfeld Bar and Lili Elbe Garden. From "Andere Geschichten schreiben: Zur Benennung der Räume am HKW | HKW Haus der Kulturen der Welt," HKW, accessed April 7, 2025, https://www.hkw.de/the-house/the-building/resignifying-hkw#main.

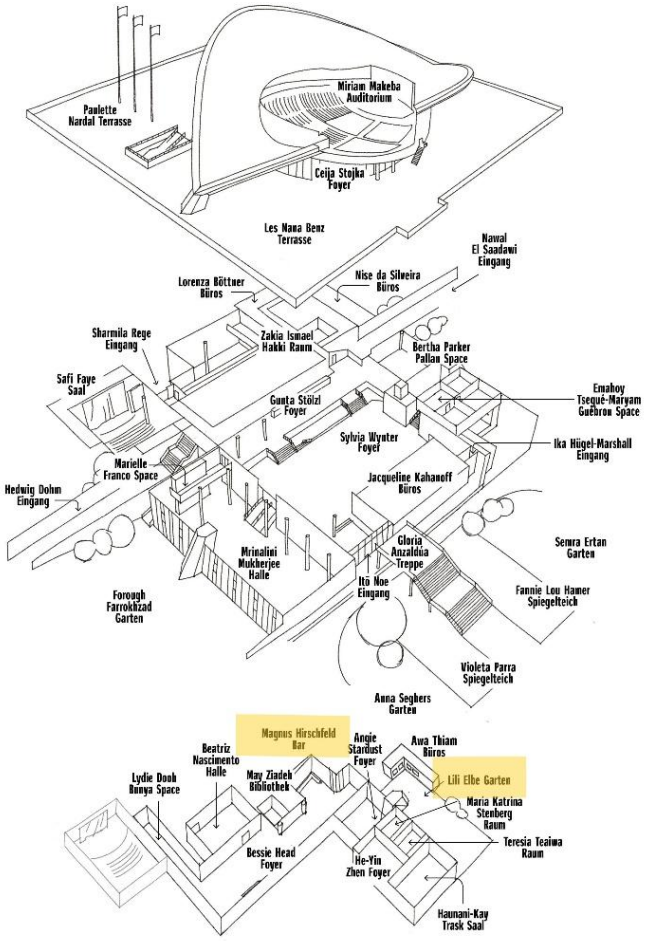


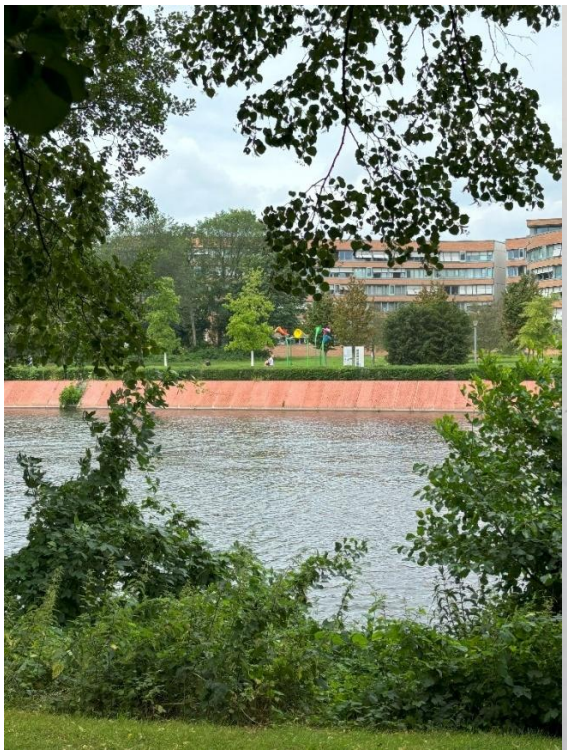
Figure 3.10 (top left). Magnus Hirschfeld Memorial Stele in Tiergarten. Photograph by Julia Aldred, June 30, 2024.

Figure 3.11 (above). Detail image of the inscription on the left side of the Magnus Hirschfeld Memorial Stele, listing the artist, Georg Seibert, the installation date, 1984, and the donors, which reads literally as follows: BVW Tiergarten, Bündnis 50 / Grüne Tiergarten, SPD Tiergarten, Bündnis 90 / Grüne <AL> / UFV Berlin, Jürg Diedrichsen , Ernst Freiberger, Fam. Rudolf Hirsch, Prof. Dr. Helmut Kentler, Jörn Jensen Stadtrat, Sabine Nitz-Spatz Stadträten, Magnus-Hirschfeld-Gesellschaft, Homosexuelle und Kirche Huk E.V., Schwule Lehrergruppe der GEW. Photograph by Julia Aldred, June 30, 2024.

Figure 3.12 (bottom left). Detail image of the tributary inscription on the Magnus Hirschfeld Memorial Stele. Photograph by Julia Aldred, June 30, 2024.

Figure 3.13 (left). The Memorial to Homosexuals Persecuted Under Nazism, located on the eastern edge of Tiergarten. Photography by Julia Aldred, September 4, 2021.

Figure 3.14 (below). Detail shot of the Memorial to Homosexuals Persecuted Under Nazism, showing the window into the structure; inside plays a short film on repeat, depicting imagery from the queer liberation movement through the years. Photography by Julia Aldred, September 4, 2021.



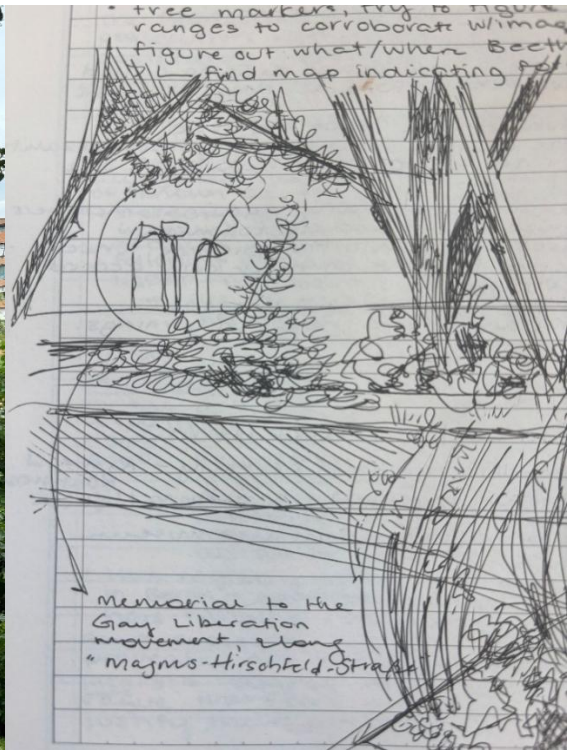


Figure 3.15 (top). The Memorial to the First Gay Liberation Movement. Photograph by Julia Aldred, July 3, 2024.

Figure 3.16 (above left). Image of the Memorial to the First Gay Liberation Movement, taken from across the Spree River while at the Magnus Hirschfeld Memorial Stele. Photograph by Julia Aldred, June 30, 2024.

Figure 3.17 (above right). Field notes and sketches from visit to the Magnus Hirschfeld Memorial Stele, showing the view of the Memorial to the First Gay Liberation Movement. Photograph by Julia Aldred, April 4, 2025.

Figure 4.1 (top right). Map showing the election results from the 2025 German federal election: CDU is dark gray, SPD is red, and AFD is light blue. From Wikimedia Commons, April 26, 2024, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:2025_German_federal_election.svg.

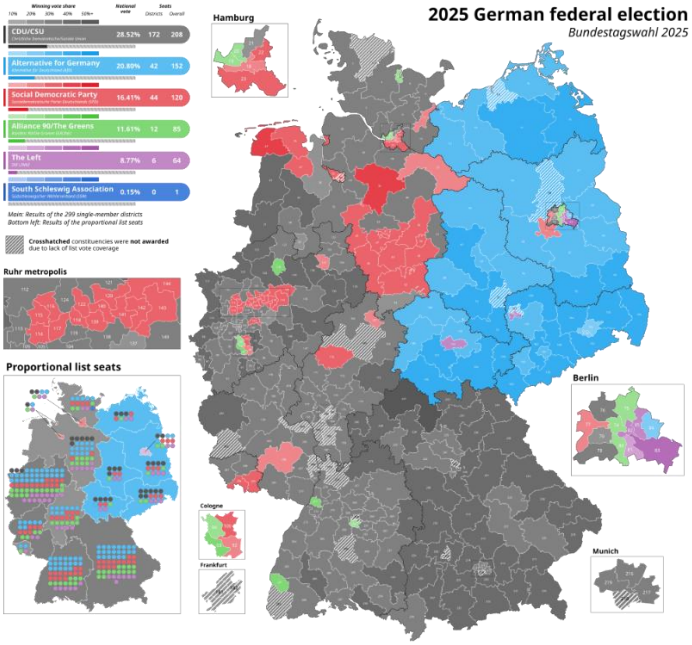


Figure 4.2 (bottom right). Map showing the former boundaries of the East and West German states: the states labeled with red text are the former DDR, and the black text states are the former BRD. From United States Central Intelligence Agency, *East Germany and West Germany* (Washington, D.C.: Central Intelligence Agency, 1990), http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.gmd/g6080.ct002946.

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