

A Reader in Uncomfortable Heritage and Dark Tourism

Edited by Sam Merrill and Leo Schmidt

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Introduction: Reading Dark Tourism & Uncomfortable Heritage

Leo Schmidt and Sam Merrill

Between October 2008 and March 2009 the Architectural Conservation Department of the Brandenburgische Technische Universität Cottbus, hosted a study project entitled “*Dark Tourism and Uncomfortable Heritage*”. It aimed to build on the recent development of the sub-discipline of Dark Tourism Studies and extend the growing and current emphasis of uncomfortable, difficult or sensitive heritage sites within the discipline of Heritage Studies. In recognising the shared characteristics of both disciplines’ research foci, namely the locations which act as both dark tourism attractions and sites of uncomfortable heritage, the project hoped to foster understandings which reconciled the economic concerns of one discipline with the traditionally conservational and educational concerns of the other. During the course of the study project around 25 participants contributed from numerous national backgrounds. Lively debate followed with student presentations and excursions fueling discussion. Emphasis was placed on innovative approaches to the subject matter and the discussion of a breadth of geographical and chronological contexts was encouraged in order to highlight key themes and issues. As such the study project’s description and departure point read:

The memorialisation and remembrance of death, pain and suffering is not a new phenomenon. The Great Pyramid of Giza in Egypt memorialises an individual’s death and arguably incorporates intangible aspects of the suffering of many more, Trajan’s Column in Rome commemorates Roman military victories against the Dacians and the Templo Mayor of the Aztec city of Tenochtitlan in Mexico is synonymous with the mass human sacrifice that took place there. However, the sensitivity of these sites is reduced by their temporal isolation from those who visit them as tourists today. The same cannot be said for more recent sites of death, pain and suffering, which still encompass public memory and consciousness, and are more regularly being recognised as heritage sites and, furthermore, as attractions in the growing field of „Dark Tourism“. The growth of „Dark Tourism“ has led to „Uncomfortable Heritage Sites“, such as Auschwitz Birkenau in Poland, Robben Island in South Africa and The Hiroshima Peace Memorial in Japan, to attract more and more visitors with a range of motives and expectations. Therefore, the knowledge of how to manage these sites in a

sensitive manner with an understanding of the complex ethical, theoretical and practical processes that affect each of them is paramount for any potential heritage professional.

The study project resulted in over forty separate research papers of which 24 are included in this reader. The papers were subdivided into those which highlighted specific case studies along with their characteristics as dark tourism attractions and uncomfortable heritage sites and those which revealed wider cross cutting themes related to the subject matter as a whole. This reader is divided in the same manner accordingly.

Part One: Case Studies Sites, Memorials and Exhibitions, includes a twelve research papers which consider various examples of dark tourism attractions and uncomfortable heritage sites across their diversity. These range from the more often cited examples of Alcatraz (A. Prodran), Chernobyl (JR. Perez) and the Berlin Jewish Memorial (C. Rellensmann) to those more implicit relevance, such as a former Nazi KdF (Kraft durch Freude/ Strength through Joy) seaside resort (H. Pinkepank), a Cold War Berlin field station (F. Hansell), the African Quarter of Berlin (H. Hack), or the London Underground (S. Merrill). The scale of sites considered is also diverse and is reflected by papers which investigate: single memorial sites such as the Valley of the Fallen in Spain (R. Príncipe Martínez); memorial landscapes like those which refer to the GDR (A. Merbach), serial sites, such as the Torgau prison sites (J. Linke); and defence systems such as the Atlantic Wall (L. Rellensmann) which cross national borders. In terms of chronological breadth the published papers focus primarily on the recent past but discussion during the study project sessions also encompassed that of the more distant past and also the present. The later is reflected by consideration of Guben Plastinarium (S. Dicks).

Part Two: Themes Mediation, Politics and Ethics, provides a further twelve papers which build on the comprehension of the case studies and introduce wider crosscutting issues and themes. The first few papers consider how uncomfortable heritage sites and dark tourist attractions should be negotiated. Various approaches are taken from those which emphasise the need for clear typologies and understandings of determining factors (S. Merrill) to those which highlight the multiplicity and insueing dissonance of uncomfortable heritage (J. Linke). The importance of modern media marketing strategies is noted (F. Johnigk) and the potential for the continued contemporary use of sites is reflected upon (L. Rellensmann). Unsurprisingly much consideration was given to the political dimension of uncomfortable heritage and dark tourism with in turn an emphasis on the need to come to terms with and understand uncomfortable pasts. This is reflected by papers which focus of

Germany's Third Reich (H. Pinkepank and F. Hansell) and GDR (H. Hack and A. Merbach) periods of history, as well as that which deals with the Spanish Civil War and Dictatorship (R. Princep Martínez). Political and ethical concerns are bridged by a comprehension of „Walls“ and all their consequences (P. Posada) before some practical ethical concerns are grappled with (S. Dicks). The reader concludes with a more philosophical reflection on the relationship of uncomfortable heritage and forgiveness (JR. Perez).

It is hoped that these papers will provide students and academics alike with a useful and diverse range of examples and key issues to bear in mind when approaching uncomfortable heritage sites and the visitors they attract.

Part One: Case Studies

Sites, Memorials & Exhibitions

1. Alcatraz Island: Historic Monument & Uncomfortable Heritage

Anca Prodan

Introduction

Figure 1: San Francisco Bay



Source:
(<http://history.howstuffworks.com/american-history/alcatraz.htm/printabl>)

Surrounded by swift currents, on a rocky island in the middle of San Francisco Bay (Fig. 1), stand the physical reminiscences of over 160 years of American history. Few people haven't heard of the "escape-proof prison" called Alcatraz or "the Rock", home of some of the most renowned gangsters and bank robbers of the 1930s. From this point of view, Alcatraz has always been well known to people and was much feared by convicts, many of whom would have given years of their life to be anywhere but there. Its history however goes much further back in time and is not only made up of this one-sided story highly commercialized by Hollywood film producers. With all the good will of perceiving Alcatraz in its entirety, its less pleasant aspects seem to have supremacy and extend its historical significance to including these sombre aspects.

We examine its history, we extract its significance but we conclude that whereas Alcatraz is no doubt a historic monument with a rich significance, we simply have to acknowledge that imprisonment and human suffering constituted part of its existence and this turns Alcatraz in to what can be called "uncomfortable heritage".

History of Alcatraz

It is considered that the first explorers, who sailed the seas of San Francisco Bay where Alcatraz Island is situated, may have seen "the Rock", but they paid little attention to it since Alcatraz was then just a barren, irregularly shaped rock, jutting out of the bay, entirely devoid of flowing water as well as vegetation. However, it constituted a good fishing place and although there is no clear evidence, it is believed that Indians used it as such (Thompson, 2007, 15). There is no general agreement regarding its discovery, but according to some documents, perhaps the first one who not only noticed but also visited the island was Don Juan Manuel de Ayala, who explored it in 1775 and also named it La Isla de los Alcatrazes (Thompson, 2007, 16-17). The US Government showed little interest in "the Rock" until 1849, when John Charles Fremont, appointed governor of California, who considered the island "as the best position for lighthouse and fortifications in the Bay of San Francisco" drew attention to its

strategic location in the bay and its possible use for defensive purposes: "...situated abreast the entrance [Golden Gate] directly in the middle of the inner harbor it covers with its fire the whole of the interior space..."(Thompson, 2007, 29). This moment marked the destiny of Alcatraz, which was, shaped and reshaped to become as we know it today and played a significant role in the history of the United States. The most important historical periods will be sketched in the following, which, as we will later see, contributed greatly to the cultural significance of Alcatraz.

Figure 2: First Lighthouse on Alcatraz



Source:
(<http://www.militarymuseum.org/AlcatrazCitadel.html>)

Military History (1853 – 1933)

As early as 1849 the US Government started a detailed survey of the island and as soon as it was completed, they decided to proceed to the construction of fortifications, a lighthouse (Fig. 2) and defensive barracks and, since the island presented natural advantages for the site of a battery, guns and batteries were also mounted. By 1859 the island was fortified on all sides. Additional buildings, roads, wharves, and others, which were needed by the garrison and construction workers, came to complete the works and by 1870 Alcatraz had acquired the appearance of a settled military post. Erwin N. Thompson offers (2007) a lengthy description of the entire defensive history of Alcatraz, the essence of which is that it had been the first post in the bay to mount permanent guns when the Civil War began (Fig. 3) and it was also the only post to be effectively armed in the Spanish American War.

Typical for army posts in the US at that time was to include accommodation for soldiers of its garrison who had violated the army's rules and regulations. This was also the case of Alcatraz, which, apart from its defensive functions, operated a small prison. The prisoners were usually employed for the construction of buildings and the practice of military convicts working on engineering works originated. The Army decided later to incarcerate all of its military prisoners thus the number of convicts increased greatly. New buildings were added several times, the last construction taking place in 1909 when the army tore down the Citadel (Fig. 4) – old army building –, leaving its basement level to serve as the foundation for a new military prison. This was then built by military convicts between 1909 and 1911 and was designated the Pacific Branch, U.S. Disciplinary Barracks for the U.S. Army (Federal Bureau of Prisons).

The former wooden structures were replaced by steel and iron but the corrosive effect of the salt water implied frequent and expensive maintenance work. Because of the advanced state of deterioration and the high operational costs, in 1933 the army decided to abandon

Figure 3: Civil War Soldiers and Mounted Rodman Gun



Source: (NPS, 2009)

Figure 4: The Citadel, Circa 1893



Source:
(<http://www.militarymuseum.org/AlcatrazCitadel.html>)

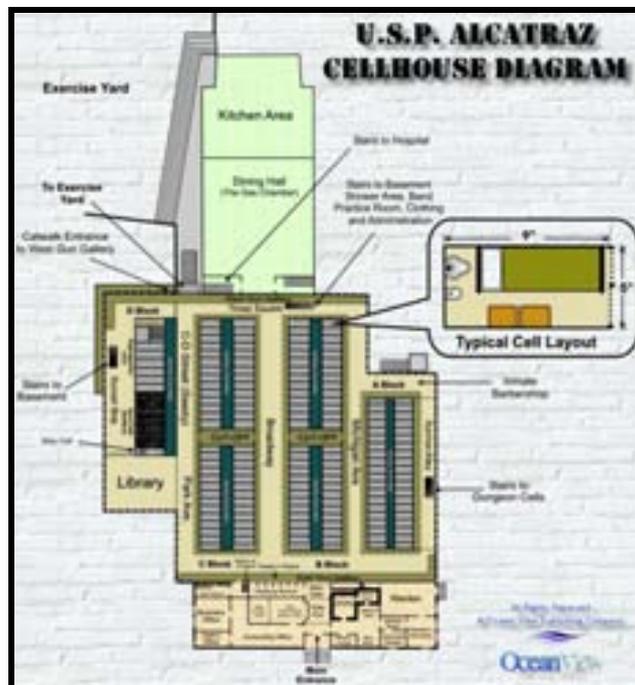
the site. The Department of Justice took over to open Alcatraz as a maximum security federal penitentiary.

Federal Penitentiary (1934 – 1963)

Sanford Bates, director of the Bureau of Prisons, decided that Alcatraz “would make an ideal place of confinement for about 200 of the most desperate or irredeemable types in the federal penitentiaries at Leavenworth and Atlanta” (Thompson, 2007, 357). Alcatraz did not host well known gangsters but prisoners who refused to conform to the rules and regulations at other federal institutions, who were considered violent and dangerous or who were considered escape risks. Alcatraz served as the prison’s system prison- if a man did not behave at other institutions he could be sent to Alcatraz where the highly structured, monotonous daily routine was designed to teach an inmate to follow rules and regulations (Federal Bureau of Prisons).

In November 1933 Warden James A. Johnston, who was known as a very strict disciplinarian, was selected to be the first warden of Alcatraz and he promised to turn the Rock into a place of rigid discipline and cold impartiality (Thompson, 2007, 383).

Figure 5: Cell House Diagram



Source:

(www.alcatrazhistory.com)

Figure 6: Alcatraz Broadway



Source:
(<http://www.flickr.com/photos/97601535@N00/2433798671>)

The building was also redesigned (Fig. 5). Norman Johnston (2000) explains that the Federal Bureau of Prisons remodelled the cell block to make the prison the highest security prison in the federal system. Four ranges of inside individual cells on three levels – known as cellblocks A, B, C, and D - were housed within a single structure. The main floor running between blocks B and C was known as the Broadway (Fig. 6). Running between the back of the cells in each range was a corridor and there were raised catwalks and gun galleries, all arranged so that inmates were separated from security personnel (Johnston, 2000, 144). Cellblock D also contained isolation cells, known as “the holes” and feared by all. In fact the whole prison was feared by all and was known for its harsh rules.

Figure 7: D Block Cell House, Panoramic View



Source: (<http://www.alcatrazhistory.com>)

For almost 30 years the prison functioned as it was designed: a maximum security prison with a system based on rigid discipline. Eventually the Bureau of Prisons arrived at the same conclusion as the U.S. Army did; mainly because of physical isolation, Alcatraz was too expensive to continue operating.

It was nearly three times more expensive to operate than any other federal prison (in 1959 the daily per capita cost at Alcatraz was \$10.10 compared with \$3.00 at USP Atlanta). On March 21, 1963 Alcatraz was closed down (Federal Bureau of Prisons).

Alcatraz under Indian occupation (1969 – 1971)

There were plenty of ideas about Alcatraz's future: placing there a statue of peace, turning it into casino, establishing a centre for humanities or as a tourist attraction. No decision had been taken yet when in 1969 newscasts informed Americans that a group of Indians calling themselves “Indians of All Tribes” had taken over Alcatraz Island and that they intended to stay there until their demands were met.

Figure 8: „Welcome to Indian Land“: Sign on the Dock at Alcatraz



Source: (NPS, 2009)

People were puzzled. Why would anyone voluntarily go to Alcatraz, a place everybody was running away from?

In the Alcatraz Proclamation they say: “We are on Alcatraz Island to make known to the world that we have a right to use our land for our own benefit”; that is, they wanted to turn it into a centre for Indian spiritual growth, ecological and native studies, and a museum. There is certain irony in their words when they further say:

“We feel that this so-called Alcatraz Island is more than suitable for an Indian reservation, as determined by the white man’s own standards. By this, we mean that this place resembles most Indian reservations in that:

- ***It is isolated from modern facilities, and without adequate means of transportation.***
- ***There are no oil or mineral rights***
- ***The population has always been held as prisoners and kept dependent upon others”***

(Indians of All Nations, 1969)

They held the island for 19 months, their number increasing to as much as a thousand in the summer of 1970 and declining to 15 the following summer, when they were escorted off the island by federal officials. Even if they did not manage to hold the rock for good, most historians agree that Alcatraz was the signal event in the rise of a new attitude among Indians and, on the part of the American public, about Indians (Page, 2003, 380).

Alcatraz and the National Park Service (1972-)

Fig. 9: Bird's Eye View of a Brandt's Cormorant Colony



Source: (NPS, 2009)

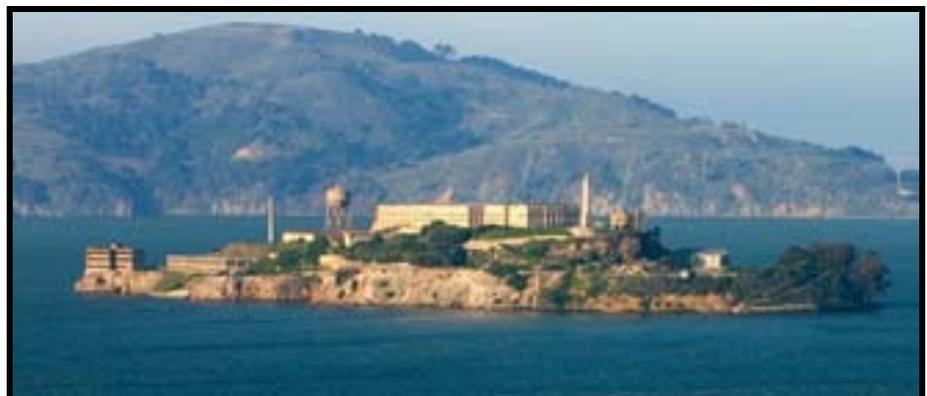
In 1972 Alcatraz was incorporated into the Golden Gate National Recreation Area and is now operated by the National Park Service. Since then it has been opened for tourists, whose number increased to over 1 million per year. A museum and shops were opened on the island and there are self guided as well as guided tours comprising its overall history, including natural history. Alcatraz became famous already in its years as a federal penitentiary mainly because of its escape- proof status and of the population incarcerated on it, but since its history is much more varied, the National Park Service and its rangers are striving to present Alcatraz in its rich historical complexity.

Apart from the historic value of Alcatraz there is also a natural value attached to the island. Since the prison was closed down, the island turned into a bird sanctuary (Fig.9). Several species found home on Alcatraz and their number has been constantly increasing. Eventually, birds on Alcatraz became so important that, during breeding and nesting, parts of the island are closed to visitors (NPS, 2009).

Alcatraz as Cultural Heritage Site

As it most probably arises from the statements in the previous chapter, Alcatraz not only has a rich history but this history allowed it to accumulate a rich cultural significance. Therefore, it is a heritage site but a heritage site one can be both proud of and at the same time affected by certain aspects of its past as a prison (Fig. 10).

Figure 10: Alcatraz Island Today



Source: (www.inetours.com/images/Tours/Alcatraz_Tour_0489.jpg)

Both sides are analyzed in this chapter but the emphasis falls on the uncomfortable aspects, whose physical remains make it persist as such in people's memory.

Historic Monument and National Landmark

Figure 11: New Lighthouse erected in 1909 on the place of the old one



Source:
(<http://www.lighthousefriends.com/light.asp?ID=74>)

Alcatraz in its entirety is a monument. In 1976 it was inscribed on the National Register of Historical Places and ten years later it was declared a National Historic Landmark. The statement of significance which was included with the nomination as a landmark is comprehensive and, since it captures the essence of Alcatraz's significance, it is cited here as follows:

“Alcatraz Island has been the site of events that have had an important impact on the nation as a whole from before the Civil War through an Indian Occupation of the 1970s. Its significance in the area of military history, social history (penology), and maritime commerce is enhanced by the integrity of the resource... Maritime commerce was aided by the first US lighthouse on the Pacific Coast built here in 1854; its successor still serves (Fig.11). By the start of the Civil War, Alcatraz was the key fort in the centre of the most important Pacific port in nineteenth century America, mounted the first permanent cannons on the west coast of the United States, and featured a brick and masonry defensive barracks that may have been unique in the annals of American military architecture. In the areas of both military and social history, Alcatraz is noteworthy because it was the first army prison in the nation. When it became a federal penitentiary in 1934, it quickly gained nationwide attention due to its association with many of the most infamous criminals of the gangster era and the bloody escape attempts made from there...” (NPS, 2007)

The statement of significance is lengthy but it is not that complex. “An Indian Occupation of the 70s” or rather The Indian Occupation seems not to be highlighted, although it had a great significance at least from the point of view of the Indians. For them “Alcatraz was a big enough symbol that for the first time this century Indians were taken seriously”. John Trudell, a Sioux Indian, explains how Alcatraz put him back into his community and helped him remember who he was. He further says that “it was a rekindling of the spirit. Alcatraz made it easier for us to remember who we are” (Winton, 1999). Perhaps the Indians have a point when they say that “it would be fitting and symbolic that ships from all over the world, entering the Golden Gate, would first see Indian land, and thus be reminded of the true history of

the nation.”(Indians of All Nations, 1969) It is an interesting point of view which might even enhance the significance of Alcatraz.

Uncomfortable Heritage

Figure 12: Aerial View of Alcatraz:



Source:
(www.freewebs.com/jelmer1989)

Figure 13: Regulation 5, Institution Rules and Regulations



Source:
(<http://www.parksconservancy.org/store/product.asp?cat=1&sub=1&product=1040>)

When Alcatraz was closed down in 1963 and there was discussion about its future use, there were voices which opposed opening it for tourists because they believed it was a dark page in American penology and it should not be commemorated (Thompson, 2007, 481). Strange and Kempa also note that the idea of turning it over to tourists as a prison museum was one of the least favored schemes for its reuse. Much more viable was commercial or recreational development that would have erased its history as a place of punishment (2003, 6). This section attempts to reveal the less “comfortable” sides of Alcatraz and explain why it may be perceived as heritage that is difficult to remember and acknowledge as part of someone’s identity.

The harsh, almost brutal treatment of its inmates for which Alcatraz became infamous in its years as a federal penitentiary did not characterise its period as a military prison but this doesn’t mean that as an army prison Alcatraz was a nice place to be. It definitely wasn’t. In the late 1890s when the number of prisoners increased very much there were no accommodation facilities for such a large number of convicts so they slept en mass upon the floor. The post quartermaster Capt. A. M. Fuller visited the island and said that the sanitary condition was very dangerous to health and the prison buildings were rotten, unsafe and fire traps of the most approved kind. Overcrowding and lack of sanitation often caused illness but also recruiting officers overlooked the physical and mental health of the inmates and some of them were insane. Prison homosexuality and sodomy were also reported at times. Most of the prisoners were military convicts – sentenced to “hard labor, wearing ball and chain and put into isolation cells on bread and water if they refused work” – but with one occasion there was a group of Indians incarcerated because they refused to conform to the state policy issued for their “education and civilization”(Thompson, 2007, 279- 319).

In its later years under the Federal Bureau of Prisons, the whole institution was remodeled. From then on Alcatraz was to be operated on three basic principles: maximum security, strict adherence to routine and limited privileges to inmates. Prisoners were only “entitled to food, clothing, shelter and medical attention” (Fig. 13). Everything else was a privilege, including working, mail and visits. Privileges could only be earned by behaving exemplarily but they could be lost at the smallest violation of the regulations (United States Penitentiary

Alcatraz, 1956). James Johnston's rules of conduct were the most rigid in the correctional system but by far the most unbearable rule was the silence policy. In a resume of regulations he wrote: "...inmates were not allowed to ramble, loiter or go from cell tier to cell tier, cellblock to cellblock or shop to shop. They were not allowed to talk when standing in line, on the cell tiers or from cell to cell when locked up. In the mess hall they could talk as much as was necessary for passing food. The only places where they could converse freely were in the recreation yard on Saturday afternoon and Sunday morning and in the shops."(Thompson, 2007, 432-433) The silent solitude of the whole place was probably not only a matter of much complaint but also one of the causes of insanity, depression, suicide, riots, strikes and desperate escape attempts, none of which were reported as successful (Federal Bureau of Prisons). Strict adherence to routine meant doing the same thing from morning till evening, day after day, year after year. A former prisoner recalls: "Life gets so monotonous. You feel like bucking the rules to break the monotony. That's it – the monotony is driving the men screwy." (Thompson, 2007, 436)

We should perhaps mention that there were also positive things about Alcatraz. A library was operating there and it could be used at times, provided the privilege had been acquired. Sometimes prisoners were allowed to play musical instruments and even a band was set up. Food was also of good quality and was considered better than at other institutions. But not even by far were all these enough to compensate for convicts' miserable life.

Irrespective of prison conditions, imprisonment in itself is a traumatic experience with a deep impact upon the life of an individual as a whole. Michel Foucault captures perfectly the essence of a prison when describing it as exhaustive disciplinary apparatus for transforming individuals and whose action on the individual is an unceasing discipline that cannot be interrupted (1991, 233-235).

At Alcatraz, it was not just monotony and routine which made life almost unbearable. It was the loss of control upon someone's own life. Lucas (1836) explains how "In prison the government may dispose of the liberty of the person and of the time of the prisoner; from then on, one can imagine the power of the education which, not only in a day, but in the succession of days and even years, may regulate for man the time of waking and sleeping, of activity and rest, the number and duration of meals, the quality and ration of food, the nature and product of labour, the time of prayer, the use of speech and even, so to speak, that of thought..."(cited in Foucault, 1991, 236).

The feeling imposed by this inner order and the total isolation – from the world, from guards, from each other – was enhanced by the setting (Fig. 14). Glenn Williams, a former convict, said in a newspaper article that:

“part of the pain of being incarcerated on Alcatraz was being so close to yet so far away from San Francisco. Sometimes we’d be out in the yard and it was one of these clear beautiful days and you’d see a sailboat go by...and to me that sailboat was the ultimate image of freedom. We never said a word, we just watched, but we knew we were all thinking the same thing”

(Alcatraz Alumni Association)

Figure 14: View of San Francisco from Alcatraz



Source: (<http://manilastreetwalker.files.wordpress.com/2008/08/alcatraz-view.jpg>)

Alcatraz was an institution designed for punishment and incarceration rather than rehabilitation. The particular atmosphere which existed on the island was made up of fear, oppression and deprivation of liberty, harsh punishments, monotony, silence, solitude and the psychological effects of the architecture. Alcatraz perceived from such an angle is an uncomfortable place to remember for both the convicts and the State. “Preserved prisons” note Strange and Kempa, “are stony silent witnesses to the things former regimes were prepared to do to people who violated laws or who seemed threatening or suspicious” and the harsh deterrent philosophy of

Alcatraz became an embarrassment to liberal penal reformers by the 1960s (2003). It was the U.S. Attorney General himself, Frank Murphy, who characterized Alcatraz as a place of so much horror “that the prisoners should be removed elsewhere. The whole institution was conducive to psychology that builds up a sinister and vicious attitude among the prisoners” (Thompson, 2007, 424).

Moreover, the island was also a place of horror for some guards and their families who lived there. Frank Heaney recalls “the terror of being a new, young guard and walking down “Broadway” to jeers, whistles and threats” or Joyce Ritz, who grew up on Alcatraz as the daughter of an officer, and who to that day couldn’t sleep without a light on. (Alcatraz Alumni Association).

Lastly when the Indians took over Alcatraz they also perceived it as a symbol of fear and oppression and they chose it because these were exactly the conditions governing their own lives (Thompson, 2007, 438).

Alcatraz may be the site of the first lighthouse on the west coast and it may have played a major role in the defence of the harbour but in its years as a prison it was indeed a dark and feared place and it is this side of the story which makes the island uncomfortable heritage.

Concluding Remarks

Not only historical monument but also a symbol of fear and oppression, to some extent Alcatraz will always be the site of pain and cruelty, of sufferance and distress. “Learn more about the colourful past of the island” as featured by the National Park Service on their homepage is not enough to erase this dark memory and draw attention to its overall significance. (NPS, 2009)

Perhaps this dark side will always have the leading influence in the molding of people’s perception. Perhaps acknowledging the uncomfortable past as heritage would make a change. But perhaps it is the destiny of the island to stand alone as a witness, always prepared to reveal the grim story which it carries.

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2. US Field Station Berlin: A Monument of the Cold War?

Friederike Hansell



Source: (<http://marodes.de/marodesueberregional/fotogalerieberlin>)

Introduction

Figure 1: Map of Cold War



Source: (www.britannica.com)

Berlin 1945, the victorious powers divided the city into four sectors (Fig. 1) (Melzer, no date). Each sector was controlled by one of the victorious nations. The Allies administrated their zones differently to the area controlled by Russia. This was the starting point for the Cold War, which mainly evolved from the distrust, already present during the Second World War, between the United States and the Soviet Union. In 1961, the GDR cut itself completely off from the West by building the Berlin Wall, the most well known symbol of the Cold War and the system of confrontation between East and West. But the Berlin Wall is not the only uncomfortable remnant of the Cold War in Germany. Beside the Wall and its related monuments, we have other sites of the Cold War which are to the same extent difficult to mediate. These include field stations which are related to one considerable, highly dangerous and uncomfortable feature of the Cold War: secrecy and espionage. Spies and spying was a part of the Cold War game and is still today one of its most mysterious issues. Of course, due to its location West Berlin was a favourable place for the Western signals intelligence. Therefore a high number of listening posts of different operators were erected. One of the most important

was the Field Station Berlin (FSB) on the top of the Teufelsberg (Fig. 2).

Figure 2: Field Station Berlin



Source: (www.wikipedia.org)

The following analysis of the Field Station Berlin will evaluate the importance of the site as a monument of the Cold War. The main aim is to discuss the meaning of the site as an uncomfortable heritage site but also to consider the urgent question of the future of the Field Station Berlin.

The Cold War

The 20th century was dominated by three major conflicts of global importance. While the two World Wars dominated the first half, the Cold War was the defining force in the second half of the 20th century (Gaddis, 2005; Stöver, 2003). The Cold War was an ideological conflict for nearly 45 years that developed between the United States and the Soviet Union and their respective allies after the Second World War. It was a conflict which immensely influenced all areas of life: politics and military, economics and culture, the arts and literature, sciences and education, media and sports, religion and everyday life - all were massively impacted by the struggle for global hegemony.

The period was characterised by military coalitions, propaganda, espionage, weapons development, industrial advances, and competitive technological development. Most frightening was the growth in weapons of mass destruction and the resulting nuclear arms race. Nuclear technology was a leading issue for both sides and, of course, both sides wanted to know what the other was doing in this field. Both sides used spies as a way of acquiring knowledge of what the other was doing or to spread false knowledge of what one side was doing. Secrecy and espionage was a dominating feature and West Berlin, located in the enemy region, was a favourable place for the Western signals intelligence.

In short, the Cold War was a military conflict waiting to happen - all preparations had been made. It was a war that happened everywhere and nowhere, leaving a multifaceted legacy made up of propaganda and secrecy. To preserve and interpret the uncomfortable heritage of this era in Germany is a great challenge.

History and importance of the Field Station Berlin

Cold War era

Figure 3: Aerial image of the FSB before the US Army left



Source: (http://fsbvg.homestead.com/files/tburg85_small.jpg)

To get rid of the rubble of the Second World War the so called "Teufelsberg" was erected directly above the ruins of the „Wehrtechnische Fakultät“ of Hitler in the Grunewald, southwest of Berlin (Hartmann & Schuhbauer, 2005). Primarily, the 115 metre high hill was planned to use for recreation. But right after the beginning of the Cold War it was occupied by the US Army due to its prominent position: in the middle of the enemy region. Since 1951 the hill served as a US listening post and from 1964 onwards permanent buildings were erected (Fig. 3) (Grube, 2003). The field station was then used till 1990 by the U.S. Army & U.S. Air Force Intelligence together with the NSA¹ for tapping and interfering with the radio communication of the Eastern Bloc. The whole area was until 1992 an off-limits area and as a centre of espionage „top secret“. Until the retreat of the spies in 1993 only English and American intelligence corps and military police were allowed to enter the area.

The FSB was one of the premier listening posts of the Cold War (CCC, 2001). From here the radio communication and the air space could be observed as far as into the area of the „Warsaw Pact“. The field station had unhindered reception of signals and viewed from West Berlin, in all directions „the East“ (Fig. 4). The station is considered to be part of ECHELON, which is a special signals intelligence (SIGINT) collection and analysis network operated on behalf of the five signatory states to the UK – USA Security Agreement and it is still used today (Schmid, 2001, 23f). And, of course, the Soviets knew that the place was used for spying and therefore all Soviet missile and artillery bases used the coordinates of the Teufelsberg as an exercise target.

Therefore it was obvious to all the Americans stationed at the FSB that they would be defeated in the case of an armed conflict (Hartmann & Schuhbauer, 2005). So the area was not only top secret and frightening for the locals but also a potential target in a military conflict.

¹ The National Security Agency (NSA) is a part of the United States Department of Defense responsible for the collection and analysis of foreign communications and foreign signals intelligence. Its existence was kept secret for years and still today little is known about their activities (Hartmann / Schuhbauer 2005).

Figure 4: FSB – viewed in all directions „the East“



Source: (<http://commons.wikimedia.org>)

After the German reunification 1989

Figure 5: “Teufelsberg Resort” - a failed project



Source: (Hansell, 2008)

Since the station was given up in 1992/93 there is an ongoing discussion about the further use of the area (Aulich & Strauss, 2005; Dobberke 2004; Eitzel, 2008, 2008a; Fuchs, 2002, 2004; Schmiemann, 2008; Schoenbeck, 2008; Teufelsberg, 1996 & 2009). At the beginning, the area was temporarily used for civil flight control. But already in 1996 the Berlin Senate sold a 48.000 m² area for €2.65 million to a group of investors from Cologne. Since the preservation of the dominating towers was a precondition for the purchase, the investors planned to erect a so called “Teufelsberg Resort” on the hill. The complex should consist of a luxury hotel, a restaurant, sports facilities and luxury apartments. Additionally, it was planned to preserve the listening station as a spy museum. Despite a few fundamentals and a show apartment the project was never realised (Fig. 5). After the building permission ran out in 2004 the Teufelsberg was considered as forest in the land use planning system of the Berlin Senate which makes new constructions nearly impossible (Dobberke, 2004).

Parallel to the plans of the investors there has always been the call for a future use of the area and site for gastronomy and/or re-naturation. But a prerequisite for the re-naturation process is the repurchase of the area by the city of Berlin (Schoenbeck, 2008). This seems to be very unlikely, as the area is encumbered with a mortgage of nearly €33 million and the offered purchase price is too low for the owners (Aulich & Strauss, 2005). Finally, in 2007, the Maharishi Foundation purchased the area and now plans to erect a university and a so called “tower of invincibles” as a symbol for the

German reunification² (Schoenbeck, 2008). The realisation of this project is very unlikely. Today the site is mainly used as an adventure playground by youth and weekenders and military/war tourist site for visitors and FSB veterans.

Despite all discussions about the future use of the area, the fact is, that the Field Station Berlin has since 2004 been exposed to vandalism and is now heavily destroyed. So the urgent question is: demolition or preservation?

Field Stations – a symbol of the Cold War?

The armed conflict of the Cold War luckily never happened. It therefore was a war without battlefields leaving a broad range of heritage less obviously tangible and not as easy to identify and interpret. Therefore to reveal and mediate the full significance of this era the preservation of Cold War heritage should be complex and broad-ranging. The United Kingdom and the United States here have behaved in an exemplary manner. In the United States, the switching from full military readiness to historic preservation mode within a day lead to perfectly preserved and presented historic sites (Schmidt, 2005, 8). In this context field stations should be taken into account as a symbol of the secrecy and espionage of the Cold War era and therefore be preserved. Field stations are the tangible testimonies of a main feature of the Cold War: secrecy and espionage. They demonstrate the spying system but also can be seen as monuments of fear and distrust created through espionage. Not only was spying a highly dangerous job and often ended in death, but it was also feared by the population as an integral part of the Cold War.

There is an example of a preserved Field Station in Germany: the so called “Stasi mosque” (Fig. 6). The “Stasi mosque” is the best known GDR field station, located on the Brocken. Since 1993 the restored site shows a permanent exhibition of the history of the Brocken, which includes the military history. Also a few original interiors have been saved and are now presented.

Figure 6: The “stasi mosque” former listening post of the GDR



*Source: (www.raymond-faur
e.com/*

² To give some background information: one of the achievements of the members of the Maharishi foundation was the fall of the Berlin Wall that was caused by the positive energy generated by 7000 jumping and mediating yogic airmen. For this reason the new university will have only positive impact upon Berlin (Eltzel, 2008).

Figure 8: Heavily destroyed FSB



Source: (Hansell, 2008)

Figure 9: A vandalized room



Source: (Grube, 2003)

Figure 10: Aerial image of the destroyed FSB



Source: (Schmiemann, 2008)

Besides the demolition of some of the existing structures the site itself is in a very bad condition (Fig. 8). The field station has since 2004 been exposed to vandalism and heavily destroyed (Schmiemann 2008). The windows are broken and all still existing installations and cables have been torn out (Fig. 9). The walls are sprayed with graffiti. So to say, there is only an outer shell left with no content. That is the striking point. Is it worth saving the place? Is, in this case, the historical background reason enough to justify the preservation as a historical monument? And does such a heavily destroyed building still bear the crucial value and meaning of the Cold War or would it be a pure reconstruction?

Definitely, until 2004 the field station was in a very good condition and the preservation of the site as a historical monument would have been a good solution but today the place lacks authenticity. Despite the fact that the site is still inspiring interest and visiting the site gives you a weird feeling, there is nothing left but human imagination. The “space” reminds us that secrecy and espionage was a frightening aspect of the Cold War and still exists in modern times but the architecture itself is expressionless (Fig. 10). The reconstruction of the site as a museum or a Cold War memorial would be an extraordinary effort which would not give the place its lost authenticity back. Thus, in this case the demolition of the site seems to be the only reasonable choice or, if environmentally compatible, the controlled decay of the site. There is another field station in Bad Aiblingen which hopefully will be treated in a better way when it is abandoned.

Conclusion

In conclusion, field stations have the potential of being preserved as heritage sites. They are uncomfortable monuments of the Cold War era. The perception of field stations obviously has changed today from a more negative to a positive connotation but the topic “espionage” with all its related myths and secrecy still inspires interest not only among military/war tourists. Surely, some field stations like the one still used in Bad Aiblingen, are worth being opened up for the public.

But what will happen with the heavily destroyed site in Berlin? According to the Field Station Berlin Vets Group the German Senate has been recently planning to demolish the Station³. Thus they have

³ According to the Berlin Senate the Maharishi Foundation is the owner and the city Berlin has no influence upon the future of the site (Teufelsberg 2009).

Figure 11: Emblem of the “save the Teufelsberg” campaign



Source:(<http://eichkamp.two day.net/stories/5572415/>)

started a huge “Save the Teufelsberg” campaign including petitions and merchandise articles (Fig. 11). The campaign is supported by locals and the non-profit organisation “West Allierte Berlin e. V.” (FSBVG, 2009; Lange 2009; Teufelsberg 2009). The aim is to save the Field Station as a

“... Cold War Monument commemorating all the allies who stood shoulder - to - shoulder with the West Berliners and West Germans. ... Let us SAVE TEUFELSBURG so that it will not be forgotten by Berlin, by Germany, by America, and by any future enemies who would try to threaten the peace. It can be a lasting memorial to the mutual friendship and peace of peoples who once fought one another in great wars.” (FSBVG, 2009)

Whether the campaign is successful or not, the Berlin Field Station was and still is unquestionably an uncomfortable monument. On the one hand as silent testimony to the Cold War game which caused uneasy emotions among its players and, on the other hand, the site demonstrates to us in an impressive way that governmental required “heritage preservation” for purely economic reasons is completely senseless. Responsibility can’t be purchased. Due to its state of maintenance the Field Station Berlin today it is more a memorial of irresponsible handling than a heritage worth protecting.

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3. Uncomfortable Heritage & Dark Tourism at Chernobyl

Jose Ramon Perez

Introduction

The first time I ever heard the name Chernobyl I was 14 years old. As a boy growing up in Mexico, I never heard much of the news from the USSR, let alone Ukraine. It was in a short verse by one of my favourite singer-songwriters. He wrote “dark like the sky of Chernobyl”, among two dozen other verses, making grim comparisons to an out-of-love situation. Doing some research, I learned that the event at Chernobyl had been a terrible explosion in a nuclear power station, with widespread, long-lasting and most appalling consequences.

A Scientific Matter

Two years before the accident, my young mind must have been thinking about the recent explosion of the Challenger Space Shuttle in Florida. There had been more people killed on the spacecraft than at the power plant. But the true Soviet tragedy was not the number of deaths at that specific moment and place. It was the chronic diseases and impairments, the ecological damage, the psychological doom, and much more than what will be mentioned in this paper.

Figure 1: The control room



Source: (Hansen, 2006)

In the summer of 1983, Reactor Number 4 of the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant was put into operation (Fig. 1). Science had come a long way since the dawn of the nuclear age, since the time when Einstein had recommended Enrico Fermi, the Italian physicist, to US President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The scientific world had praised Fermi, working in Rome, for the discovery of nuclear fission in 1934, after his successful splitting of the uranium atom. This research was interrupted when Fermi and his family escaped Mussolini's Fascist government, fleeing from Sweden to the USA immediately after his reception of the Physics Nobel Prize in Stockholm.

Once the Italian scientist was well established in his teaching position at New York's Columbia University, he continued to work on nuclear research. He was closer to harnessing nuclear power as a positive energy when he joined the Manhattan Project, in 1940. The 'Manhattan Project' was the subsequent code name of very broad,

top-secret research, carried out by several elite US scientists, looking for the breakthrough in physics that could change the course of the Second World War.

After relocating with his team to the University of Chicago, Fermi finally succeeded in creating the world's first nuclear reactor, Chicago Pile Number 1, on 2nd December, 1942. Only days after Fermi achieved a controlled self-sustaining nuclear chain reaction, the US Government began the construction of the first 'giant reactors', on the Columbia River, with three large scale nuclear reactors at Hanford, Washington State.

But following the triumph of producing nuclear power, Fermi's qualifications and capabilities did not follow on the same path; they were redirected to a laboratory at Los Alamos, New Mexico, where the scientific aims of the Professor would change. He would become one of the pioneers of the atom as a destructive force.

It was in New Mexico, on 16th July, 1945, where Fermi alongside Robert Oppenheimer and Kenneth Bainbridge accomplished 'Trinity', the development and test explosion of the world's first atomic bomb. Less than a month later, two such bombs, nicknamed Little Boy and Fat Man, had been dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki respectively, resulting in the signing of the Japanese surrender.

The Second World War had ended, but the atomic age had just begun. Alarmed at what he saw in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Stalin pushed the Soviet nuclear program full speed ahead. His scientists completed and exploded their first bomb in 1949, taking the Cold War into its peak. In the next few years France, China and other countries conducted their own atomic test explosions. Enrico Fermi eventually voiced his disappointment at the way in which the 'Manhattan Project' had turned into a race for nuclear arms.

Figure 2: The power plant



Source: (Hansen, 2006)

Within the atomic industry of the USSR, as in many other Soviet affairs, this arms race and the tensions of the Cold War, led to many corners being cut, and precision being sacrificed over speed. The Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant (Fig. 2) was no exception: design and safety were dealt with quickly and cheaply. In the summer of 1983, due to pressures from the Communist Party, Reactor Number 4 had been put into full commercial operation early, without completing the necessary safety test. This was celebrated by the authorities as a labour victory. If the plant director had not agreed to do it, thousands of workers, engineers and his superiors in the ministries would have lost awards and bonuses worth up to three times their monthly salaries (Quigley, 2003).

On April 25, 1986, Reactor Number 4 was programmed to have its annual maintenance shutdown. It was an ideal opportunity to carry out the long over due safety test, given that the conditions needed for it were 20 to 30 percent of the normal output level. A first obstacle came with a phone call: the Kiev grid controller demanded an increase in the output of Chernobyl, to compensate for a regional power station that had gone down. Complying with this request meant that the test had to be rescheduled during the night shift. A smaller crew at this time meant less hands and less expertise for the test, but the plant director and the plant's chief engineer agreed to do so.

After midnight, ten hours behind schedule, while power was being reduced in preparation for the test, a mistake at the control room caused the output of the reactor to drop to 7 percent, a level too low for the test (Imanaka, 2008). The three operators now needed to raise the power quickly, and to do so they had to go beyond safety regulations, they had to disable the automatic shutdown mechanism, designed to prevent the reactor from going into meltdown. After a brief argument on abandoning the test, the situation being too dangerous, the engineer in charge said that they had their orders and assumed responsibility for switching off the automatic override. The test was begun, but in only a few seconds the power increase was dramatic, and when the second engineer pressed the emergency button, it was too late to stop the chain reaction. At 01:23 hours on 26th April, a first steam explosion blew off the roof of the reactor, while subsequent hydrogen and graphite explosions set parts of the building on fire and scattered nuclear fuel and debris kilometres away (Fig. 3).

Soon the alarm was sounded, and in a few hours the firemen had controlled the flames outside and on the roof of the reactor (Fig. 4). The fire inside the reactor continued smoking for days, releasing deadly radioactive contamination in large amounts into the atmosphere. Radioactive clouds spread mostly over Belarus, as well as over northern Ukraine and the Bryansk region of Russia, and in lesser extent they reached places as distant as North America and the Far East.

The town of Pripyat, created for the plant's workers, was evacuated within 36 hours, but again it was too late. The levels of radiation absorption on the 45,000 residents had been enormous. Other towns in the area were evacuated in the following days, bringing the number of evacuees to 120,000. Millions of people who were not evacuated still live on contaminated land, resulting in effects of the disaster yet to be discovered.

Figure 4: The damage



Source: (Hansen, 2006)

Figure. 3: Reactor Number 4 after the explosion



Source:

(Imanaka, 2008)

In an interview years after the incident, Anatoly Shimanskiy, a journalist, commented:

"Write about it? I think it's senseless. You can't explain it, you can't understand it. The papers and magazines compete to see who can write the most frightening article. Instead of writing, you should record. Document. Show me a fantasy novel about Chernobyl. There isn't one! Because reality is more fantastic."

(cited in Alexievich, 2006)

A Social Issue

The first time ever I read about visiting Chernobyl I was doing research for an upcoming trip. I was tired of the poor contact with the embassy and discouraged by the bureaucratic visa requirements. While reading the travel information, I did not know what to think of such a visit, but I was certainly not interested. In a couple of weeks I finally got my visa, and the next month I spent three splendid days in the city of Kiev. I heard nothing, however, about the frequent day trips that run from the capital to the site, 120 kilometres to the north.

In my guide book to the city of Kiev (Evans, 2004) there are four sections that mention Chernobyl. The first is the chapter on History, in a paragraph under the 'Perestroika and Independence' subtitle. The

second is the Health section, as the first of five topics, stating that radiation at the site is not a "serious health threat", and recommending caution with local food "known to contain radiation", like mushrooms, berries, and fish. The third section is the museums listing, with a short entry for the "National Chernobyl Museum", described as "exploring the human side of a most devastating nuclear tragedy".

The fourth and longest section, encompassing seven pages, is the chapter 'Beyond the city', describing the area and informing about visiting Chernobyl. It begins by telling the reader that "the site of the world's worst nuclear accident now tops the curiosity of tourists, who probably knew about the event before most Ukrainians." It goes on to say that there are different attitudes from Ukrainians to this type of tourism, some not really knowing how to react to this rising interest of travellers, and that international and government agencies see a positive side to honest tours, as they can "take away some of the stigma at home and abroad".

This section further explains that "you will not become sterile or get cancer by visiting" and that "the only thing to see in 'the zone' is that there is little to see"; that anyone can contact the appropriate ministry and apply for the passes needed to get in, but that visiting with a private company is much less complicated; and that visitors will most likely be fitted with face masks, shoes, hats, even jump suits, all unnecessary, but highly dramatic. The seven pages on visiting Chernobyl conclude with the contact information and details of three tour companies, the government ministry and a scientific agency.

Other tourism sources on the internet offer visits in which they give the travellers Geiger counters and radiation measuring equipment, or specify that they offer lunch half way through the tour, which is brought from outside the zone and is not contaminated. Some companies centre their visits on Pripyat, an abandoned theatre, a fairground, an empty hospital, a school with books on the benches. Many guides go into private apartments, where the visitor finds the personal belongings of the former occupants. Some itineraries include several towns, most of which were farming communities, and some now accommodate re-settlers who dared to return after evacuation. A few guided tours even go into the reactor...

In other web pages one can find the accounts of people who have visited Chernobyl, complete with surreal pictures and superlatives to fear, like "one of the most un-nerving, yet strangely beautiful experiences". One page is even a complete diary of several days

spent in the area, in different corners of 'the zone', within the two concentric circles cordoned off at radiuses of 30 km and 100 km.

Figure 5: Liquidators



Source: (www.kievukraine.info)

In comparison, chronicles of the people who were really involved in the catastrophe leave an abyss in between. The records of engineers, scientists, residents, politicians, farmers, re-settlers, continue to confuse our understanding. After the initial group of firemen, the aftermath of the explosions was handled by a large crew of soldiers, miners, and factory workers, who were known as "liquidators" (Fig. 5). They worked, deactivating the contamination and sealing the remains of the reactor in a shelter called the "sarcophagus" (Fig. 6). Another such group was in charge of the evacuations, (Fig. 7) and when this was done, of the elimination of the remaining cattle and pets. And then there are the diseased, their families, their nurses, their doctors. Following are five extracts of interviews with some of them, conferring the bizarre realities of each of these affected groups.

Figure. 6: The reactor and the "sarcophagus"



Source:

(Hansen, 2006)

Figure 7: The evacuation



Source: (Hansen, 2006)

"An evacuation, it's a terrible thing. For three days, was the order. They would trick the little kids: 'We're going to the circus.' People thought they would come back. The dogs howled, trying to get on the buses. They ran a long way after the cars... One collective farm chairman would bring a case of vodka to the radiation specialists so they would cross his village off the lists for evacuation; another would bring the same case so that they would put his village on the list." (cited in Alexievich, 2006, 95)

"Our son was in fourth grade, and he was the only one from Chernobyl in the class. The other kids were afraid of him. His childhood ended so early." (cited in Alexievich, 2006, 153)

From a former director of the Institute for Nuclear Energy at the Belarusian Academy of Sciences.

"On April 26 I was in Moscow. When I learned about the accident, I called Nikolai Slyunkov, the general secretary of the Belarusian Party, in Minsk, with emergency information. It took me two hours to finally reach him. I told him: 'The radioactive cloud is moving toward us, toward Belarus. We need to perform an iodine prophylaxis of the population and evacuate everyone near the station.' 'I have already received reports', said Slyunkov. 'There was a fire, but they've put it out.' 'That's a blatant lie! Graphite burns at five tons per hour. Think of how long this is going to burn!' I got on the first train to Minsk. In the morning I was home. I measured my son's thyroid. He needed iodine. A child needed two to three drops in half a glass, an adult needed three to four. The reactor burned for ten days, and iodine should have been taken for more days. But no one listened to the scientists and the doctors! They pulled science and medicine into politics."

"I decided to go to the Gomel region. I went to the major towns, just twenty, thirty kilometres from the station. I needed more information. I took all the instruments to measure radiation. The next morning at 8 a.m. I was already sitting in Slyunkov's reception. Hours later a famous poet walked out of Slyunkov's office. I knew him. He said to me, 'Comrade Slyunkov and I discussed Belarusian culture.' I exploded: 'There won't be any Belarusian culture; there won't be anyone to read your poems, if we don't evacuate everyone from Chernobyl right away! If we don't save them!' 'What do you mean? They've already put it out.' I finally got in to see Slyunkov. I told him what I saw the day before. In the Ukraine, I had called there, they were already evacuating. We needed to talk about physics, but instead we talked about enemies. 'Why are you running around with a dosimeter, scaring everyone, starting a panic? I have already consulted with Moscow, and they say everything's normal.' It was a country of authority, not people. The State always came first, and the value of human life was zero."

"The city had 700 kilograms of iodine concentrate for that very purpose, but it just stayed where it was. People feared their

superiors more than they feared the atom. Everyone waited for the order, for the call, but no one did anything himself. Bureaucrats laughed at the Ukrainians. They were on their knees at the Kremlin asking for more money, medicine, radiation-measuring equipment. Meanwhile our man, Slyunkov, had taken fifteen minutes to lay out the situation. 'Everything's fine. We'll handle it ourselves.' They praised him: 'That's how it's done, our Belarusian brothers!' How many lives did that bit of praise cost? I kept speaking out. We kept making trips out there. Our Institute was the first to put together a map of the contaminated areas. This is already history, the history of a crime. They took away all the Institute's measuring equipment. They just confiscated it, without any explanations. I began receiving threatening phone calls at home. 'Quit scaring people, Professor. You'll end up in a bad place'... What do we do with this truth now? How do we handle it?" (cited in Alexievich, 2006, 205)

"Now people come to Chernobyl from other wars. Thousands of Russian refugees from Armenia, Georgia, Abkhazia, Tajikistan, Chechnya, from anywhere where there's shooting, they come to this abandoned land and the abandoned houses that weren't destroyed and buried by special squadrons. There are over 25 million ethnic Russians outside of Russia, a whole country, and there's nowhere for some of them to go but Chernobyl. All the talk about how the land, the water, the air can kill them sounds like a fairy tale to them. They have their own tale, which is a very old one, and they believe in it, about how people kill each other with guns." (cited in Alexievich, 2006, 235)

From a professor from Gomel State University.

"I started wondering what's better, to remember or to forget. Here's what I remember. In the first days after the accident, all the books at the library about radiation, about Hiroshima and Nagasaki, even about X-rays, disappeared. They said it was an order from above." (cited in Alexievich, 2006, 84)

An Environmental Problem

"The third angel blew his trumpet, and a huge star fell from the sky, burning like a ball of fire, and it fell on a third of all rivers and springs. This was the star called Wormwood and a third of all water on earth turned bitter with Wormwood, so that a great many people died from drinking it"

(From the Book of Revelation, chapter 8, verse 10)

The existence of so many versions of the ecological impacts of Chernobyl makes it difficult to come to scientific conclusions. But the intuition, for any average person, of the extent of the environmental damage, is nothing less than frightening. Document after document related to the accident mentions contamination with caesium, strontium, plutonium. They all talk about radiation measurements in roentgen, becquerel, curie.

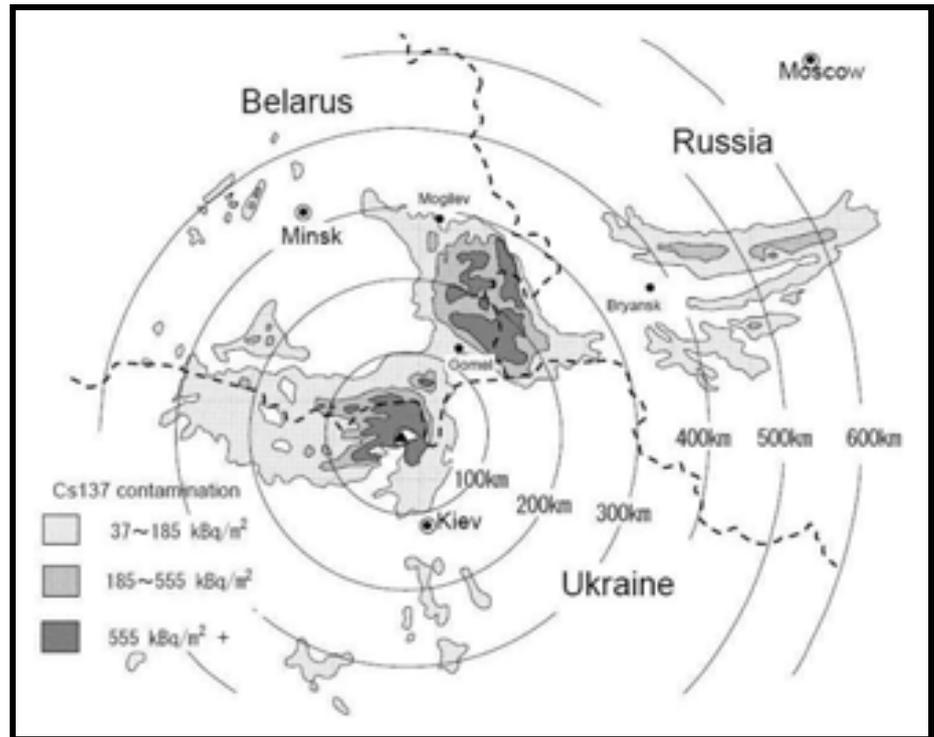
Dozens of maps show shaded areas in Ukraine and Belarus, (Fig. 8) they show the entire Soviet Union or the whole of Europe, they show the northern hemisphere with affected areas everywhere. How should this be translated into the air Belarusians breathe and the water Ukrainians drink? How can people sow and harvest? How can they eat without fear? And how do we all understand the absurdity of the liquidators killing animals, burying houses, burying the earth itself? Digging pits on the ground to put away the contaminated soil and everything radiated?

Myths of contamination have thrived around the globe, and yet not without a certain degree of truth. "I lived on the other side of the world in Australia. All I remember is my mother telling me I couldn't eat chocolate from Europe. The milk in it might be contaminated. Now I work at the International Atomic Energy Agency in Vienna. The media call us 'the world's nuclear watchdog'" (Hansen, 2006). Nicknames and metaphors abound; Arkady Filin, one of the liquidators, called Chernobyl "this fantastic world, where the Apocalypse met the Stone Age" (Alexievich, 2006, 87). Following are five more transcripts of interviews with "Chernobylites", as they have come to be called.

"My son calls from Gomel: 'Are the May bugs out?' 'No bugs, they're hiding.' 'What about worms?' 'There aren't any.' 'That's the first sign. If there aren't any May bugs and no worms, that means strong radiation' 'What's radiation?' 'Mom, that's a kind of death. Tell Grandma you need to leave. You'll stay with us.' My father kept bees. They didn't come out for two days, not a single one. They just stayed in their nests... 'Something's happened to nature', our neighbour told us. The radio wasn't saying anything, and the papers weren't either, but the bees knew"

(cited in Alexievich, 2006, 51)

Figure 8: A map showing caesium contamination



Source:

(Imanaka, 2008)

From the head of the Mogilev Women's Committee for the Children of Chernobyl.

Figure 9: Farmer's milk



Source: (Knoth, 2006)

Figure 10: Farmer's milk



Source: (Knoth, 2006)

"At first we thought, what's it to us? Let the authorities worry about it. That's their problem. And it's far away. We didn't even look at the map. But when they started putting labels on the milk that said "for children" and "for adults" that was a different story"

(cited in Alexievich, 2006, 213) (Fig. 9&10)

"There was disbelief, the sense that it was a game. But it was a real war, an atomic war. We had no idea, what's dangerous and what's not, what to watch out for, and what to ignore? No one knew... At school we'd been taught that this was a 'magical factory' that made 'energy out of nothing', where people in white robes sat and pushed buttons"

(cited in Alexievich, 2006, 43)

"We ran into an old lady. 'Children, tell me, can I drink milk from my cow?' We look down at the ground, we have our orders: collect data, but don't interact with locals. Finally the driver speaks. 'Grandma, how old are you?' 'Oh, more than eighty. Maybe more than that, my documents got burned in the war.' 'Then drink all the milk you want'"

(cited in Alexievich, 2006, p. 169)

From a former chief engineer of the Institute for Nuclear Energy.

"In our lectures, we used cans of condensed milk from the Rogachev milk factory as examples of a standard radiation source. In the meantime, they were being sold in stores. When people stopped buying milk from Rogachev, there suddenly appeared cans of milk without labels. I don't think it was because they ran out of paper" (cited in Alexievich, 2006, 161)

A Health Predicament

"Blessed are they who mourn, for they shall be comforted"
(From the Gospel according to Saint Matthew, book 5, verse 5)

As with the environmental topic, there are dozens of theories about the health consequences of Chernobyl. And there are also hospitals and asylums specifically for the people from Chernobyl, in Moscow, in Kiev, in Minsk, in Gomel. With a population of 10 million people, Belarus has suffered the largest technological accident of the twentieth century as a national catastrophe. But there are no nuclear plants in Belarus. According to Belaruskaya Entsiklopedia, 23 percent of the country's land is contaminated, and living on it is one out of every five Belarusians, including 700,000 children. Among the demographic factors responsible for the depopulation of Belarus, radiation is number one. In the Gomel and Mogilev regions, where the contamination from Chernobyl was the greatest, mortality rates are 20 percent higher than birth rates, and the number of people with cancer, genetic mutations, mental retardation and neurological disorders (Figs. 11-14) increases yearly.

On 'The consequences of the Chernobyl accident' the Sakharov College on Radioecology reports that "it took less than a week for Chernobyl to become a problem for the entire world." But the prohibition for Soviet doctors to cite "radiation" on death certificates lasted years. And then there were other sicknesses "not caused by the radiation itself, but by the stresses connected with resettlement, loss of property, fear of radiation..." (Adamov, 1996). Following are another five quotes from interviews that, as one evacuee mentioned, turn from House of Horrors to Cartoons.

Figures 11 & 12: Anya with cancer and Ramzis with hydrocephalus



Source:

(Knoth, 2006)

Figure 13: Minsk Novinky
Asylum



Source: (Fusco, 2006)

Figure 14: Minsk Children's
Cancer Hospital



Source: (Fusco, 2006)

From the wife of a deceased fireman:

"It was a hospital for people with acute radiation poisoning. Fourteen days. In fourteen days a person dies... If anyone got indignant and wanted to take the coffin back home, they were told that the dead were now heroes, and that they no longer belonged to their families. They belonged to the State"

(cited in Alexievich, 2006, 12)

"The other day my daughter said to me: 'Mom, if I give birth to a damaged child, I'm still going to love him.' Can you imagine that? She's in tenth grade. Her friends, too, they all think about it. We could have left, and decided not to. We were afraid. Here, we're all Chernobylites. Anywhere else, we're foreign, we're lepers. We're afraid of everything. We're afraid for our children, and for our grandchildren, who don't exist yet. They don't exist, and we're already afraid. People smile less, they sing less at holidays. Everyone's depressed. It's a feeling of doom"

(cited in Alexievich, 2006, 193)

From two liquidators:

"I got home, I'd go dancing. I'd meet a girl I liked and say, Let's get to know each other. What for? You're a Chernobylite now. I'd be scared to have your kids."

"We came home. I took off all my clothes and threw them down the trash chute. I gave my cap to my little son. He really wanted it. And he wore it all the time. Two years later they gave him a

diagnosis: a tumour in his brain... You can write the rest of this yourself. I don't want to talk anymore"

(cited in Alexievich, 2006, 40 & 46)

"I won't be able to give birth again. I wouldn't dare. It's a sin. I heard the doctors talking about my little girl: 'if we showed it on television, not a single mother would give birth'... When we go home for a month she asks me, 'when are we going back to the hospital?'" That's where her friends are, that's where they're growing up... It took me four years to finally get a paper from the doctors that confirmed the connection between ionized radiation and her terrible condition... At the hospital they play with their dolls. The little girls close their eyes and the dolls die"

(cited in Alexievich, 2006, 81)

"This wasn't just ordinary cancer, which everyone is already afraid of, but Chernobyl cancer, even worse... After dying the men from Chernobyl are radioactive. The graves of the fire-fighters who died in the Moscow hospitals and were buried near Moscow are still considered radioactive; people walk around them and don't bury their relatives nearby. Even the dead fear these dead. Because no one knows what Chernobyl is"

(cited in Alexievich, 2006, 228)

A Heritage Dilemma

Svetlana Alexievich was born in Ukraine. She studied journalism in Belarus, at the University of Minsk. She compiled interviews on Chernobyl for a few years after the fall of the USSR. Her book was published following the 10th anniversary of the accident. In her epilogue she wrote: "I used to think I could express almost everything... But the Zone, it's a separate world, a world within the rest of the world, and it's more powerful than anything literature has to say." More than a decade has passed. During this time, Alexievich too, developed cancer.

Figure 15: Liquidators



Source: (www.1618.es)

But it was not as if everything was devastation. After the poorly designed reactor was accidentally exploded by incompetent staff, heroic events unfolded. While the authorities were covering up the disaster with lies, and claiming once and again that everything was under control, they were also mobilizing all the buses they could from all over Ukraine for the evacuations, and they were frantically recruiting men from every corner of the Soviet Union to come work in deactivation (Fig. 15).

One such man told Alexievich:

"Different people reacted differently: some wanted to be interviewed, show up on television, some just saw it as their job, and then a third type, they felt they were doing heroic work (ref)"
Another man from the clean-up crews said: "Our system, it's a military system, and it works great in emergencies... And in those times the Russian shows how great he is. How unique... The troops from the Baltic States refused to come... We'll never be Dutch or German. But there'll always be plenty of heroes"
(cited in Alexievich, 2006)

Figure 16: Monument to the liquidators



Source: www.lindsayfincher.com

Figure 17: Monument to the firemen



Source: www.englishrussia.com

According to one source these men were three hundred thousand. According to another, eight hundred thousand. Memorials and monuments in Chernobyl, (Fig. 16) Kiev, Moscow remember them all. The Chernobyl Museum in Kiev commemorates them as well, along with the unsuspecting firemen who put out the first fires, (Fig. 17) and the helicopter pilots who dropped tons of sand on the reactor, (Fig. 18) and the many other affected groups.

About these heroes and commemoration, Sergei Sobolev, from the Chernobyl museum management, told Alexievich:

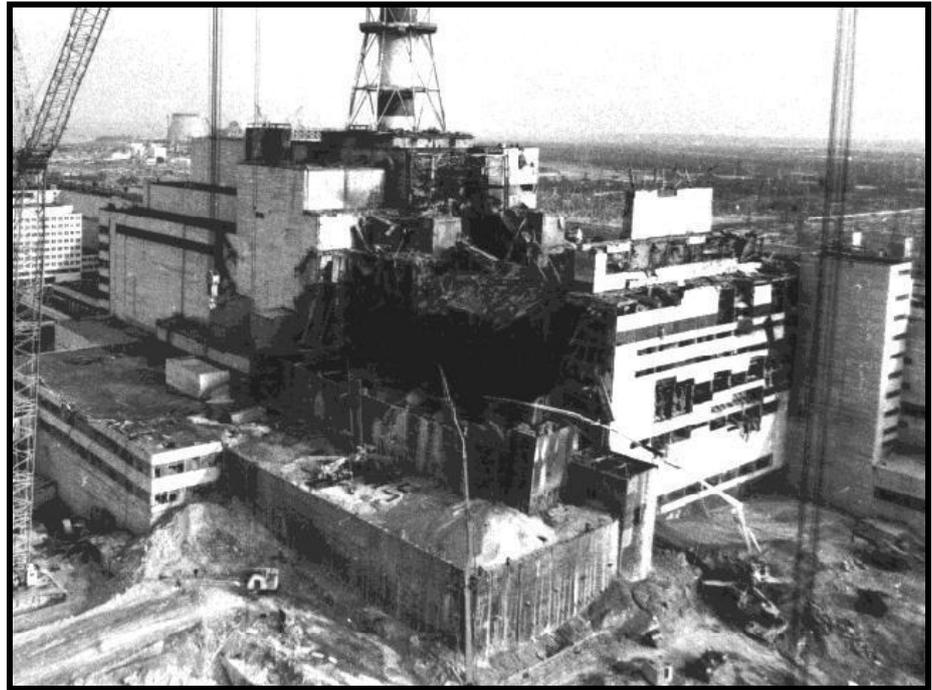
"A few thousand men worked on cleaning the roof of the reactor, gathering fuel and graphite, shards of concrete and metal, filling special wheelbarrows. They got radiated the worst. They had lead vests, but the radiation was coming from below, and they were not protected there. They wore cheap imitation-leather boots. They spent two minutes on the roof each day, and then they were discharged, given a certificate and an award"
(cited in Alexievich, 2006)

"They were young guys. They're dying now, but they understand that if it wasn't for them, the catastrophe could have been a lot worse... These are people who came from a certain culture, the culture of the great achievement. They were a sacrifice... Those people don't exist anymore, just their documents in our museum... I consider them heroes, not victims. They call it an accident. But it was a war. The Chernobyl monuments look like war monuments"
(cited in Alexievich, 2006)

This kind of memorialization can be seen as an attempt by the Soviet System to gloss out their faults, to purge their many burdens of guilt. There are no memorials for the politicians, for the three engineers in the control room, for the two engineers directing the plant.

But there are also not enough memorials for the countless true victims, who are not as well known, as highly looked at, who have still not voiced everything out. It's easy for these monuments to become just one more layer of discomfort on the already uncomfortable heritage. What is not easy is to separate the victims from the perpetrators. Most of them were radiated.

Fig. 18: The reactor and all the sand dropped from helicopters



Source:

(www.1618.es)

Chernobyl is a new world, one that no one imagined could ever be. It has too many problems and hardly any solution. It only has new phases and different angles. Perpetrators as well as victims want to assimilate. Many want to forget, some want to remember, most just want to go on with their lives. But they also want to tell the story, they want the world to know.

Conclusion

In his interview with Alexievich, a professor from Gomel State University, Yevgeniy Brovkin, concluded dismally: "If we had beaten Chernobyl, people would talk about it and write about it more. Or if we had understood Chernobyl. But we don't know how to capture any meaning from it. We're not capable of it. We can't place it in our

human experience or in our human time-frame. So what's better, to remember or to forget?"

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4. The Uncomfortable Heritage of the KdF-Seaside Resort Prora

Heidi Pinkepank

Introduction

Figure 1: KdF-seaside resort along Prorer Wiek/ Island of Rügen



Source: (Seng, 2008)

Figure 2: Towards the end of the construction phase in 1939



Source: (Deutsche Wochenschau, 1941)

As a German citizen, the preoccupation with uncomfortable (architectural) heritage easily leads to an investigation of remaining Third Reich building complexes. The KdF-seaside resort Prora (Fig.1), even though it was built, on the surface, for recreational purposes, it appears uncomfortable – ideologically, as well as purely pragmatically.

Since Prora was the largest construction project of the Third Reich which reached this level of completion, and it remains the largest Third Reich building in existence, it was designated a listed monument in 1992 (Fig.2). The seaside resort is situated on the east coast of the Baltic Sea island of Rügen, along the beach at Prora. It is about 4.5 km long, separated from the sea only by a slim area covered by a pine forest. According to Jürgen Rostock, who studied the complex in great detail, the KdF-seaside resort Prora is situated along the most beautiful part of the German Baltic Sea Coast, the Prorer Wiek, between Binz and Sassnitz.

Nevertheless, Prora has been considered as uncomfortable heritage not only after the last political change in 1989, but since its planning. In order to understand Prora's significance, it is important to analyse its history in the context of the respective political systems since the 1930's, and the changes made by the occupation of thereon related groups of people. The fate of the KdF- seaside resort in Prora after it was acquired by the German government and later the Department for the Protection of Historical Monuments will be discussed, as well as the present situation and future plans.

The information presented in this paper was mainly gathered during a research trip to the site and in particular the Documentation Center run by the NEUE KULTUR foundation, as well as from Jürgen Rostock's book *Paradiesruinen* (Rostock, Zadnicek, 1992).

The National Socialist's association *KdF*

Since the Prora seaside resort was planned and commissioned by the KdF, it is important to investigate this National Socialist

Figure 3: KdF advertisement



Source: (Federal Archive Berlin, 1938, in NEUE KULTUR, 2005)

association and its ideology. KdF is the abbreviation for "Kraft durch Freude", translated as "Strength through Joy" (Fig.3). It is the name of the leisure organization of the Third Reich founded on November 27, 1933 as a sub-section of the German Labour Front ("Deutsche Arbeitsfront"), which was the labour union of the National Socialists. As the name implies, the aim of KdF was to strengthen the German workers by bestowing affordable "truly relaxing" (Spode, Steinecke, 1991, 79) leisure time; strengthening as propaganda and preparation for the upcoming war. Joy should be brought by a wide range of leisure activities, such as sports, concerts, theatre, travelling, holiday, etc., as well as affordable cars, such as the KdF-car the VW Beetle. All those endeavours were meant to completely control the working population. Private recreational activities were not desirable; instead, each person should become a member of the "Volksgemeinschaft" (literally "people's community"). Already after two years of its existence, every second German was intended to have taken part at least once in a KdF-program, and therefore ought to be recorded by the organisation. Particularly cruises on KdF-ships, partly built specially for the organisation, enjoyed great popularity. Cruises as an example for rather elitist leisure activities became available for the average German worker. KdF promoted an illusion of "[...] social mobility and the elimination of social differences" (NEUE KULTUR, 2005: 39). At the same time the situation in Germany became increasingly explosive due to very low wages, comparably high expenses, and the divesture of labour organisations; the KdF association, on the other hand, became very popular. Thus, "in 1935 plans were made to establish [five identical] seaside resorts for workers" (NEUE KULTUR, 2005, 42) along the Baltic Sea. However, only one of the five planned complexes was ever built: the Prora seaside resort. (Rostock, Zadnicek, 1992; NEUE KULTUR, 2005)

Prora seaside resort through time

1930s

The area which would be transformed into the resort, called *Schmale Heide*, had been a nature protection area until 1935. After the plans were made and the property was seized on the same year, an architectural contest took part the following year in which Albert Speer⁴ invited eleven architects to participate. Clemens Klotz, who

⁴ Albert Speer was one of the leading architects in the Nationalist Socialist regime, Hitler appointed him as Minister for Armament and War Production and later on, the entire wartime economy was under his authority.

was favoured by Hitler, won; however, the construction of the festival hall was given to Erich zu Putlitz (Fig.4). The constructions began in May 1936 and were intended to be completed by 1941. Nevertheless, the outbreak of World War II in 1939 stopped the construction activities. (NEUE KULTUR, 2005)

Figure 4: Drawing of zu Putlitz's Festival Hall



Source: (Das Bauen im Neuen Reich, 1938, in NEUE KULTUR, 2005)

Figure 5: An accommodation unit planned by Klotz



Source: (Deutsche Bauzeitung, 1939, in NEUE KULTUR, 2005)

During the construction period, Rügen, and in particular its inhabitants, experienced several advantages. Whereas the island was barely populated in winter, the construction of the seaside resort brought thousands of workers, and thus, customers to the island, as well as job opportunities for unskilled labourers, farmers, and craftsmen. Even public infrastructure such as railways and streets were built in order to reach the former natural woodland (the first train connection Berlin-Binz via Prora opened in May 1939). For the structural work eight large building enterprises, one for each apartment building, were entrusted; amongst them there were several still currently well-known enterprises such as Philipp Holzmann AG, Siemens-Bauunion, Hochtief and Dyckerhoff und Widmann. In addition, several small enterprises were set up, bringing the number of companies involved to about fifty. The KdF-resort became “the prestige construction site of the Third Reich” (acc. to Völkischer Beobachter, Süddeutsche Ausgabe, 29.05.1938, in: Rostock, Zadniecek, 1992, 76).

Figure 6: Prora-seaside resort after the workers had been withdrawn from the construction site



Source: (Deutsche Wochenschau, 1939, in NEUE KULTUR, 2005)

Already in October 1938, the first of the apartment buildings was erected, even though the foundations were only started in April of the same year. Over 2.000 people worked simultaneously on the construction site. To maintain the workers efforts and even to improve them, board, lodging, and good quality entertainment was provided. With the start of the War, the construction abruptly stopped in September 1939; vacationers never reached the Prora seaside-resort (Rostock, Zadnicek, 1992) (Fig.6).

During World War II

In a 1990 interview, a former site manager said assuredly that “the seaside resort complex did not have anything to do with the War. Most of the workers and tools had to be moved, and the site was closed down” (Interview Hans Schulten, 1990, in: Rostock, Zadnicek, 1992, 82). And perhaps, in a very direct way Prora did not have anything to do with the War. However, it had a lot to do with propaganda and preparation for the War, with physical and mental exercises.

The structural works of almost all the buildings of the complex were finished at the time when the workers and site managers had to move to military or other construction sites. During the War, several refugees from Hamburg (which had been heavily bombed in the

course of Operation Gomorrha), as well as forced labour, reached Prora and stayed in the staircases of the first southern wing, in staff dwellings and fatigue duty camps. (Rostock, Zadnicek, 1992; NEUE KULTUR, 2005)

Post-War Period

After the end of the War, the occupying Soviet power organized a radical disassembling of all movable parts such as heating elements, doors, windows, prefabricated wooden units, and even tracks, with the help of German inhabitants, who were often the same people that had supported the construction several years before. After the Soviets left in 1947, the remaining ruins were left open for building material extraction and plundering; even bricks were taken out of the walls. After a few people died during the demolition period, the southernmost apartment building, as well as parts of the northern constructions, was blasted. (Rostock, Zadnicek, 1992; NEUE KULTUR, 2005)

GDR Period

The demolition stopped in 1949, and at the same time a division of the riot police moved from Kühlungsborn to Prora. Therewith, a militarization of the former KdF-resort began. In 1950 the reconstruction of the left three southern and two northern buildings started. The former entrance hall and the restaurant-theatre-complex in the middle part were turned into a *House of the Army*, comprising a restaurant, a sports hall, and a saloon for about 1.000 persons. Again, many of the workers who had constructed and deconstructed the building complex now joined the reconstruction. Additionally, 20.000 servicemen of the army were contributed to this project. The extensions made in the 1950's hardly corresponded with the original plans; the military did not have aesthetic demands. The largest reconstruction works ended in 1956; nevertheless, Prora stayed in a permanent construction phase. In the following years, the Red Army inhabited the northern parts and the National People's Army the southern buildings, including a military school and a holiday home for officers with around 1,000 beds, which lasted until 1990. A large area surrounding the Prora complex, including Binz-Saßnitz Street, became a restricted zone. The two northernmost buildings, which remained in ruins, were used for military purposes and blasting exercises until the 1970s. Different military divisions inhabited the buildings during the GDR period. (Rostock, Zadnicek, 1992; NEUE KULTUR, 2005)

Figure 7: Larger than life bronze sculpture by Gerhard Thieme, 1975 (in Prora until 1992)



Source: (Zadnicek, 1990, in NEUE KULTUR, 2005)

Prora's significance

Prora in architectural context

Figure 8: Main platform of the Nazi Party rally grounds at Nuremberg



Source: (Postcard, 1938)

The megalomania of the seaside resort Prora, its monumentality and overwhelming size was characteristic of numerous Third Reich building projects, such as the Nazi Party rally grounds in Nuremberg (Fig.8), the Ordensburg, the Reich Chancellery in Berlin or the House of German Arts in Munich. However, a seaside resort for 20.000 vacationers “[...] was indeed rather groundbreaking” (NEUE KULTUR, 2005: 58). The various challenges the plans involved were, until then, only found in urban planning. Hitler, on the occasion of the German Architecture and Handicraft exhibition in Munich in 1938 stated:

“Every period of greatness finds its concluding expression of values in its constructions. If peoples experience great times inwardly, they will design those times outwardly, as well. This word will then be more convincing than the spoken one: it is the word of stones!”⁵

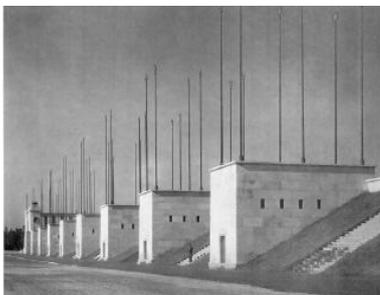
Figure 9: The Staircases of the Northern Complex



Source: (Pinkepank, 2008)

(acc. to *Pommersche Zeitung für Stralsund*, 24. Januar 1938, „was wir planen das wird gebaut“, in: Rostock & Zadniecek, 1992: 28)

Figure 10: The Zeppelinfeld/ Nuremberg surrounding wall



Source: (Rittich, 1938)

Hitler and the National Socialists, as well as other rulers, long before and after Hitler, viewed architecture as an excellent tool to manipulate the masses. The Prora building complex sought to make the grade to embody National Socialist ideology. The size in particular served to depersonalize the people, to show how insignificant a single person was, as well as to distribute (mainly by the length and the placement of the complex and the efficient staircases) and direct them (to the festival hall in the middle, in which the propaganda took place). Because of the length (4.5 km) and curve (along the shore) of the entire complex, it reminds almost instantly of a medieval city wall (Fig.9). Also the Airbase Tempelhof/ Berlin and the surrounding wall of the Zeppelinfeld/ Nuremberg show the same design (Fig.10 & 11). Here the staircase sections allegorize the control towers, with the dining rooms between the apartment blocks, in which the vacationers came together, acting as the entrances to the (medieval) city. The wall itself was tall (6-storeys high) and slim (only comprising the width of the hallway and the length of one room). Speaking about Nazi-style, however, is inappropriate. The seaside resort is “[...] a

⁵ Translation by the author:

Figure 11: Airbase Tempelhof Berlin



Source: (TAZ, 2008)

combination of different styles including neo-classical building features, elements of modern construction of the [nineteen] twenties and of the *Heimatschutzstil*⁶ (NEUE KULTUR, 2005: 59).

Particularly the aspects of repetition, uniformity and monotony made the complex very applicable for the later military use by the National People's Army during the GDR period. (Rostock, Zadnicek, 1992; NEUE KULTUR, 2005) (Fig.12).

Figure 12: The Facade of the shore side of the Northern Complex



Source:

(Pinkepank, 2008)

Prora in socio-political context

The KdF project was the birth of mass tourism, similar to today's; however one is an economical phenomenon, the other a rather socio-political one. KdF was part of the National Socialist's propaganda program, the seaside resort, thus, acted as its machine. Twenty thousand vacationers were planned to stay in Prora, each for 10 days. Robert Ley, the head of the KdF intended to make vacations more efficient, more "intense". In this way, an increasing number of people could "enjoy" National Socialist propaganda, while at the same time be controlled and registered by the regime. The specific uncomfortable aspect is manifested in the purpose the complex was built for. Workers should be distracted from their social and economic

⁶ *Heimatschutzstil* is an architectural style of the early 20th Century which opposed the principles of modern construction.

predicament; the inner balance had to be maintained for an undisturbed preparation of the War. The masses ought to rest and “keep nerves” while the political situation in Germany was getting ready to explode.

The seaside resort served to equalise the population, to manipulate and depersonalize it. (Rostock, Zadnicek, 1992; NEUE KULTUR, 2005) (Fig. 13)

Figure 13: The Restricted Military Zone at Prora



Source: (Zadnicek, 1990, in NEUE KULTUR, 2005)

Prora’s war and military periods should not be neglected, though. Particularly the placing of forced labour under very poor conditions during the War is striking, as well. The uncomfortable feeling a restricted army zone gave in GDR times, the unawareness of what was happening inside, the military exercises along the beautiful Prorer Wiek, have to be added here.

Figure 14: Staircase with broken windows in the Northern Complex



Source: (Pinkepank, 2008)

Prora – present and future

Although Prora is a historical monument of immense importance, the German Treasury has made attempts to commercialize it and sell it to private investors for several years.

At the moment, the state of decay is already far advanced reaching from a partly renovated and used building in the middle via a complex with broken windows in the north and south to the ruins that are partly fenced (Fig.14). The after-use of a decrepit building complex of such a size including the different layers of discomfort is challenging indeed. The military left the site until 1992; then it became open to the public. From then on, up to approximately 2000 parts of the building complex were still in use; a youth hostel with almost 1.000 beds (the

Figure 15: Partly renovated apartment building in the middle of the complex



Source: (Pinkepank, 2008)

Figure 16: Future Plans for the former KdF-seaside resort



Source: (FTD, 2008)

Figure 17: Markings on the façade of one of the apartment buildings



Source: (Pinkepank, 2008)

largest in Europe), a gallery, art work studios, a museum mall, and a large discotheque; additionally a few workshops and symposia have taken place at the site. Many of the users left because the buildings were kept for sale to financially strong investors in 1999. Since 2000 the NEUE KULTUR foundation opened a documentation centre beside the former theatre (later House of the Army) at Prora to overcome the fall into oblivion. A permanent exhibition called MACHTUrlaub opened in 2004 and is still on display. (Dokumentationszentrum Prora, 2009)

Only very recently, all five single blocks left were sold to different investors (Ostseezeitung, 18.11.2008), presumably to overcome the equalised, orderly aspect of the whole complex reminding of the military and National Socialist ideology. The new investors plan a new youth hostel and a camp site in addition to a spa and a hotel, vacation homes and rented apartments (Fig. 15). Currently, the future uses of the site, their appropriateness as measured by its historical significance and whether its original appearance ought to be kept or not, are being discussed (Fig.16). Right now the discomfort of the complex lies in its state of decay, the size and the uncertainty about how to present it most appropriately.

Conclusion

In the present paper the uncomfortable aspects of the Prora-seaside resort are identified by analyzing the historical as well as the present and future use of the complex. The aspect of dark tourism, “which encompasses the presentation and consumption of real and commodified death and disaster sites” (Foley & Lennon, 1996, 198), is here of less importance, mainly because Prora is not, on the surface, a victim site. However, in maintaining a site of such historical significance, there is always the danger of establishing a place of pilgrimage, in which the history (here the National Socialist, and in particular the GDR period) will be “pseudo-religiously” or at least “naïve-nostalgically” glorified (acc. to Dr. Bernhard M. Hoppe, in: Bornholdt et al, 2002) (Fig.17). This is particularly the risk when objects are presented which have only a little to do with the actual history of the site, but appear as crowd pullers (e.g. the various GDR exhibits in Prora reaching from motorbikes to all kinds of everyday objects), or the site is used for vacation homes. To analyse those issues in greater detail further investigations will be done.

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5. War, Terrorism & Disaster Beneath: The London Underground as a Traumascape

Sam Merrill

Introduction

“King’s Cross: For hours, convoys of ambulances took away the victims”
(Akbar & Gray, 2005)

The headline above was printed in *The Independent* on the eighth of July 2005 (Akbar & Gray) during the immediate aftermath of the London 7/7 bombings, it could, however, so easily have referenced any one of the numerous tragic events that have afflicted stations like King’s Cross in particular and the whole London Underground network in general. Since it opened as the world’s first underground railway in 1863 (TfL, 2008) the London Underground (LU) has been the location of recurrent disasters including fires and crashes. It has also faced attacks associated with both war and terrorism. As such this paper argues that it encompasses *Uncomfortable Heritage* and constitutes what Tumarkin terms a „*Traumascape*“ (2005). The paper will explore this notion in four separate parts. The first part discusses the relevant theoretical perspectives with reference to the LU. The second, third and fourth parts will, respectively, describe and consider the implications of the acts of war, terror and disaster that have afflicted the London Underground. Finally, the conclusion will argue that the LU represents an implicit *traumascape* which is symbolically represented by the microcosm of the King’s Cross Station. The possible reasons for this status will be briefly introduced before they are analysed in more detail in a second separate paper.

The Theory of Uncomfortable Heritage

“The past enters the present as an intruder, not a welcome guest”
(Tumarkin, 2005, 12)

Recent definitions of *Difficult Heritage* provide a departure point for defining *Uncomfortable Heritage*. Such definitions recognise *Difficult Heritage* to be a reflection of “the destructive and cruel side of history” related to pain and shame (Logan & Reeves, 2009, 1). Whilst the two terms are broadly synonymous this paper adopts the following definition for *Uncomfortable Heritage*.

Heritage associated either directly or indirectly with human death, pain and/or suffering, whether explicitly embodied in tangible sites or implicitly contained within periods of a site's history.

Academic research into *Uncomfortable Heritage* is in its infancy with only one recent substantial publication approaching the subject matter from a heritage management perspective (Logan & Reeves, 2009). However, there are applicable existing theoretical approaches available from the sub-fields of tourism research and studies, commonly termed *Dark Tourism* or *Thanatourism*. Dark Tourism refers to "...tourist interest in recent death, disaster and atrocity" (Lennon & Foley, 2000, 3). Similarly, Thanatourism relates to "travel to a location wholly, or partially, motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death" (Seaton, 1996, 240). However, despite these two prominent and the many other attempts to define and characterise "death related tourist activities...the literature remains eclectic and theoretically fragile" (Stone & Sharpley, 2008, 575). It is questionable whether collective experience of and uncomfortable heritage sites themselves should only be considered in terms of dark tourism (Ibid). This is particularly poignant for the LU which only coincidentally attracts" tourists. Arguably, most tourists, like commuters consider the LU as a means to an end, for travel and not, an end in itself, as a tourist destination. However, individual LU memorials are an exception as they represent potential dark tourist attractions (Seaton, 1996, 131). Similarly, „specialists" who seek "the locations of their relatives" sufferings" (Lennon & Foley, 2000, 23) might consider the LU as a tourist destination. Personal experience suggests that LU memorials do attract attention from the friends or family of victims. However, these „specialists" are often distinguished from dark tourists (Ibid). Furthermore, whilst coincidental tourist interest in these memorials, whether caused by morbid curiosity or circumstantial opportunity, constitutes dark tourism for Lennon and Foley (Ibid), it does not constitute Thanatourism for Seaton, due to the lack of a pre-meditated motivation to visit the memorial (1996, 240). Therefore, this paper maintains that the LU's uncomfortable heritage should be considered in totality, not as a series of individual events and memorials, but as an assemblage present in a living landscape and as such not as a dark tourist attraction. It is, as a landscape scarred by recurrent tragedy much closer to the concept of traumascapes. Tumarkin defines traumascapes as "a distinctive category of place, transformed physically and psychically by suffering" (2005, 13) and as places which are;

"...marked by traumatic legacies of violence, suffering and loss, [which]... become much more than physical settings of

tragedies: they emerge as spaces, where events are experienced and re-experienced across time. (Ibid, 12)

Tumarkin's use of the word „trauma“ to characterise these landscapes relates to the pathological state, often termed post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), which is diagnosed “when an individual has experienced intense fear, helplessness or horror in response to a traumatic event” (Deprince & Freyd, 2002, 72). However, the application of PTSD to a landscape is distinguished from a medical condition that can be cured and is instead recognised as eliciting “an individual and collective response to loss and suffering” which is ongoing and “affects people at their very core” (Tumarkin, 2005, 13). Likewise, trauma in this context is not necessarily „unpleasant“, „emotionally taxing“ or „intensely painful“, instead it is considered as „overwhelming“ (Ibid, 11). Therefore, traumascapes as encompassing “visual and sensory triggers capable of eliciting a whole palette of emotions [which] catalyse and shape remembering and reliving of traumatic events” can overwhelm those who experience them (Ibid, 12). Tumarkin's idea of a landscape that is psychologically and physically scarred by trauma, which is not necessarily explicitly unpleasant but has the capability to overwhelm, is highly applicable to the LU's uncomfortable heritage. This applicability is linked to three aspects of the LU's past, namely, war, terror and disaster.

The London Underground at War

Figure 1: „People sheltering in the Tube, Elephant and Castle Underground Station“



Source: (Brandt, 1942)

“They illustrated dramatically the tragedy of modern war and the resilience of ordinary people” (Fields, 2007, 188)

Although, underground stations were used as shelters during the First World War (Cooper, 2006a), they are most widely recognised for their role as communal air-raid shelters during the Second World War (WW2). Particularly during the sustained bombing of London by Nazi Germany between September 1940 and May 1941 which became known as the „Blitz“ (Fields, 2007, 185-186). Although, originally prohibited due to fears that it would hinder the free movement of commuters and troops and result in a “deep shelter” mentality where occupants would refuse to leave, the LU was eventually opened for use as communal shelters (Ibid). By mid-September 1940 around 150,000 people a night slept at underground stations (Ibid). London was the primary and most consistent target of the „Blitz“ and as a result suffered 30,000 casualties, 51,000 seriously injured and extensive physical damage to buildings (Ibid, 183 - 185). The „Blitz“ also caused psychological injuries including serious examples of

Figure 2: The memorial plaque at Bethnal Green



Source: (BBC, 2008a)

Figure 3: The planned memorial at Bethnal Green



Source: (BBC, 2008a)

„bomb neurosis“ and signs of emotional stress such as, “anxiety attacks, extreme fatigue, eating disorders, apathy, feelings of helplessness, trembling, tics, and weeping spells” (Ibid, 187). Whilst, all of London’s population was affected by these factors, it was the minority of Londoners that used mass shelters including the LU that came to symbolise the suffering caused by the bombing raids most prominently. These individuals became the “yardstick of government failure” (Ibid, 188). Each night they faced crowded and sometimes unsanitary conditions, the resentment of Tube travellers and illnesses ranging from „shelter throat“, head lice and scabies to tuberculosis, meningitis and scarlet fever (Ibid). These conditions are expertly portrayed by the photography of Bill Brandt (Fig. 1). Underground shelters didn’t even necessarily guarantee survival with significant fatalities occurring as both direct and indirect results of the bombing raids (Ibid). Present records show that nearly 350 people died at LU stations during WW2 (Table 1).

The most significant loss of life occurred at Bethnal Green station on 3rd March 1943. 173 people were crushed to death when the unrecognised sound of a new type of anti-aircraft rocket caused a stampede for the underground shelter (Cooper, 2006a). A memorial plaque marks the site today (Fig 2) and a £750,000 memorial is planned (Fig 3) (BBC, 2008a).

Table 1: Underground fatalities during World War Two air-raids

Station	Date	Fatalities
Balham	14/10/1940	64
Bank	11/01/1941	56
Bethnal Green	03/03/1943	173
Bounds Green	13/10/1940	19
Camden Town	14/10/1940	5
Chalk Farm	17/04/1941	1
Green Park	11/01/1941	1
King's Cross	09/03/1941	1
Lambeth North	16/01/1941	1
Paddington	13/10/1940	8
Trafalgar Square	12/10/1940	7
Turnpike Lane	05/01/1941	1

Source: (Adapted from Cooper, 2006b)

Figure 5: The memorial plaque at Balham



Source: (Merrill)

Significant loss of life also occurred at the Balham, Bank and Bounds Green Stations where 68, 56 and 19 people died respectively when they suffered direct hits. These were devastating as the image of Bank Station immediately following the incident demonstrates (Fig 4). Again memorial plaques mark the Balham and Bounds Green sites (Fig 5 & 6)

Figure 4: Bank station following the direct hit of 11th January 1941



Source: (LTMPA, 2008)

Figure 6: The memorial plaque at Bounds Green



Source: (Cooper, 2006)

The LU and its users witnessed firsthand the affects of WW2. The air-raids caused widespread architectural damage and resulted in the deaths and injury to many people. However, this period can be distinguished from those of terror and disaster at least in so far as;

the users of the LU were more aware of and prepared for the risks associated with the underground. In contrast, the events of terrorism and disaster that have afflicted the LU came without warning.

Terrorism on the Tube

„Felt trapped – surreal. Felt like I was being electric – did not know where I was. Seemed unreal like was not on tube...Felt current running through my body.“

(H.B. cited by Whalley et al, 2007)

Terrorism has been defined as “the systematic use of terror especially as a means of coercion” (Merriam-Webster Online Dictionary) and whilst, its most recent manifestation on the LU has brought extensive media coverage, terror on the tube is not a new phenomenon. The earliest terrorist attacks on the LU date to the late 19th Century and are attributed to Irish Nationalists (Smith, 2008). Following attacks in 1883 and 1885 the first deadly attack came in 1897 when the Aldersgate bomb killed one person and injured sixty (Smith, 2008). Since then the LU has been the target of the suffragettes, Irish Republican Army (IRA) and Islamic Extremists. The latest, most recent and devastating attack in 2005 reinforced the notion “that mass transit systems have become the terrorists' latest target of choice--and that such systems are uniquely vulnerable to attack and almost impossible to protect” (Marek et al, 2005).

On the 15th May 1913 a bomb was discovered in Westbourne Park station which is most often attributed to the work of the Suffragettes (Cooper, 2006c). Twenty-six years later the LU witnessed the first of many IRA terrorist attacks that would intermittently punctuate the Tube's history from 1939 to 1992. During one of the IRA's sustained period of attacks in the summer of 1973 two bombs exploded within 50 minutes of each other on the 19th September, the first in King's Cross station and the second at Euston station. The attack injured 13 people (Wallace & MacManus, 1973) and one witness reported seeing people being thrown through the air and stated that “it was a terrible mess, they were bleeding and screaming” (BBC, 2008b). However, in terms of casualties and fatalities the IRA attacks were dwarfed by the coordinated terrorist attack that took place on the 7th July 2005. On that day four bombs exploded within 50 minutes of each other during the rush hour killing 56 people (including the 4 suicide bombers) and injuring over 784 (Home Office, 2006, 1-6). Three of those bombs exploded at locations between stations on the LU and accounted for 39 of the fatalities and over 674 of the injured (Ibid). The first three underground bombs detonated almost

simultaneously at around 8.50 am - the first exploded on the Circle Line between the Liverpool Street and Aldgate stations, the second on the Circle Line just outside the Edgware Road station and the third on the Piccadilly Line between the King's Cross and Russell Square stations (Ibid). The final fourth bomb exploded at 9.47am in Tavistock Square killing 14 people and injuring over 110 (Ibid). Again these events had psychological impacts including PTSD, in some cases as somatosensory re-experiencing of pain memories, in other words memories of physical pain that are accompanied by "an actual experience of pain" (Whalley et al, 2007, 332). One such case was patient H.B. a 37 year old male who had been sitting just 4 metres from the bomb that exploded on the Edgware train and who described the experience as akin to being electrocuted (Ibid,333). The psychological impact on the collective was less pronounced with commuters returning to use the tube the next day (Guardian.co.uk, 2008a) albeit at an overall reduced capacity (Fig. 7) (Guardian.co.uk, 2008b). However, this may have been made more significant had the attempted repetition of the attacks two weeks later not have failed.

Figure 7: Rush hour on 8th July 2005



Figure 8: The planned Hyde Park memorial



Source: (BBC, 2008c)

Source: *(Guardian.co.uk, 2008b)*

Just as they mark the places where people died during the World War Two, memorials have been used to maintain the memory of the victims of the London terrorist attacks of July 2005. Memorial plaques were unveiled at King's Cross, Russell Square, Edgware Road, Aldgate and Tavistock Square a year after the attack (BBC, 2006)

and a £ 1 Million memorial featuring 52, 10 feet steel pillars, is to be erected in Hyde Park was approved in 2008 (Fig 8)(BBC, 2008c).

Acts of terrorism have physically and psychologically transformed the LU in similar ways to the acts of war. They also both represent intentional attacks on the LU, a characteristic that is not shared by the third aspect of the LU's history that contributes to its uncomfortable heritage. Although not intentional, disasters have just as much potential to transform landscapes.

Figure 9: The Moorgate tube crash



Source: (DoE, 1976)

Figure 10: The Kings Cross ticket hall after the fire



Source: (DoT, 1988)

Figure 11: The Kings Cross memorial clock



Source: (Merrill)

Deep Disasters

“the holocaust and Hiroshima compressed into a second and rolled into one”

(King's Cross Fire survivor cited in Rosser et al, 1991)

The LU has not escaped accidental tragedy. It has experienced both train crashes and fires, each made even more traumatic but their subterranean locales. The LU has witnessed numerous crashes in its history including the Chancery Lane crash of 2003 which injured 30 people (BBC,) and the Leyton crash of 1984 which killed one and injured 25 (Townsend & Reilly, 2003). However, the most serious train crash to have occurred on the LU was at Moorgate station on the 28th February 1975. At 8.46 am a 6-car train overran its platform at speed and collided with an extension tunnel (DoE, 1976, 2). The collision crushed the first and second cars to approximately half their original length (Fig. 9), killed 43 people and injured 74 (Ibid).

On the 18th November 1987 the LU station at King's Cross experienced the worst fire in the LU's history and the first loss of life due to accidental fire since it had opened in 1863(DoT, 1988, 18). The first signs of the fire on the Piccadilly Line escalator 4 came at 7.29pm at which point the alarm was raised. The first fire engines arrived at 7.42pm (Ibid, 49-52). At 7.45pm a flashover which saw “a jet of flames shoot up from the escalator shaft” occurred (Ibid, 53). From the time of the flashover it took 30 fire engines 6 hours to contain the fire (Ibid, 57). When the smoke had cleared 31 people had lost their lives and over 60 had been injured (Ibid, 184). The architectural impact of the fire was severe. The image below demonstrates how brutal the conditions must have been in the ticket hall during the flash over (Fig.10). Again, besides the physical loss associated with the fire there were also psychological consequences with vast numbers of people reporting psychological trauma after the event (Rosser et al, 1991, 4).

A memorial clock (Fig. 11) now stands in the ticket hall where the flashover occurred there is also a memorial plaque (Fig. 12) listing the names of the 31 victims including Station Officer Colin Townsley who was the first fire-fighter to enter the ticket hall and who died trying to rescue a woman from the fire when the flashover erupted (Grimwood, 2008)

Figure 12: The Kings Cross memorial plaque



Source: (Merrill)

Figure 13: The Attention of a Passerby is drawn to the King's Cross Fire memorial plaque 21 years after the event.



Source: (Merrill)

The degree to which LU users acknowledge traumatic aspects of its past is highlighted well by consideration of the Kings' Cross Fire memorials. On various visits to Kings' Cross Station the author has noticed the disparity in the amount of attention that the memorials attract from visitors. Between September and November 2008 numerous visits and direct observation by the author revealed that most often the memorials command little attention and represent merely background noise in the daily commute of the people who use King's Cross Station (one of the busiest transport interchanges of the LU). Most often attention was characterised as a passing glance or mere curiosity at the author's own interest. This fact was vividly demonstrated by the fact that often the memorial clock was physically masked from view by the daily line service display board. On one coincidental visit the author was able to engage in conversation a fire-fighter who had been at King's Cross on the night of the fire and who had personally known Station Officer Colin Townsley. He commented that the memorial plaque "is like a church to me" and "whenever I am passing through I take a moment to remember Colin" (Anonymous, 2008). This person clearly represented what Foley and Lennon termed a "specialist". The author himself became a "specialist" visitor as he and his father retraced the steps his father had taken on that evening in 1987, 21 years earlier to the day. On this 21st anniversary it was also observed that the red roping placed around the plaque and the flowers placed by the family of one of the victims drew far more attention from the passing public than was usually the case (Fig. 13).

Consideration of the disasters that have contributed to the LU's history have again revealed aspects of its uncomfortable heritage. A uncomfortable heritage which is most often neglected by the common traveller but which for some transforms the LU into a space of remembrance

Conclusion

In conclusion, discussion of the acts of war, terror and disaster that have afflicted the LU has demonstrated its uncomfortable heritage. A formative theory of uncomfortable heritage, based upon tourism and

geography studies has provided the framework by which to analyse this uncomfortable heritage further. Therefore, it can be argued effectively that the LU's uncomfortable heritage is manifested in two ways. Firstly, as potential individual dark tourist attractions characterised by memorials. Visitation to these memorials represents one of Seaton's five categories of activities related to death tourism and as such cannot be ignored (1996, 131). Secondly, and more characteristically the LU's uncomfortable heritage contributes to a wider traumascape that is symbolically represented in the microcosm of King's Cross Station (which witnessed the impacts of war, terrorism and disaster). In other words, traumatic events and their physical and psychological implications have reshaped the LU and the individual and collective experience of it. The result is a two-fold transformation of the LU linked to the original event and then again, to the physical and psychological codification of that event in the landscape of the underground and in the minds of its users. The physical codification of events has resulted in the erection of memorials throughout and sometimes outside the LU. The psychological codification process is characterised by; the PTSD of victims; the necessitated sublimation of traumatic events by everyday users; and the quiet and arguably sacred remembrance of the friends and families of victims. The overall outcome is a place physical and psychologically transformed by trauma. A place where the traumatic past hangs like tension in the warm stagnant air, a place where tragic events lurk intangibly, play on emotions, imaginations and fears and yet, where, due to necessity, the past which causes these tensions, emotions, imaginings and fears, is codified, put to the back of one's mind, forgotten or never truly revealed in the first place. It is a subterranean landscape that through necessity lives alongside its traumatic past, a past related to war, terror and disaster. The LU as a traumascape represents an implicit example of uncomfortable heritage in comparison to more explicit examples which often become the focus of dark tourism.

To understand the implicit nature of the LU traumascape and to determine the implications that function, necessity and scale have on it; it is beneficial to consider and compare a range of uncomfortable heritage sites and to develop further, the theoretical underpinnings of uncomfortable heritage sites and their respective relation or interaction with traumascales and dark tourist attractions not to mention their independent and variant focuses and motivations (see Merrill, this volume)

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6. The African Quarter in Berlin

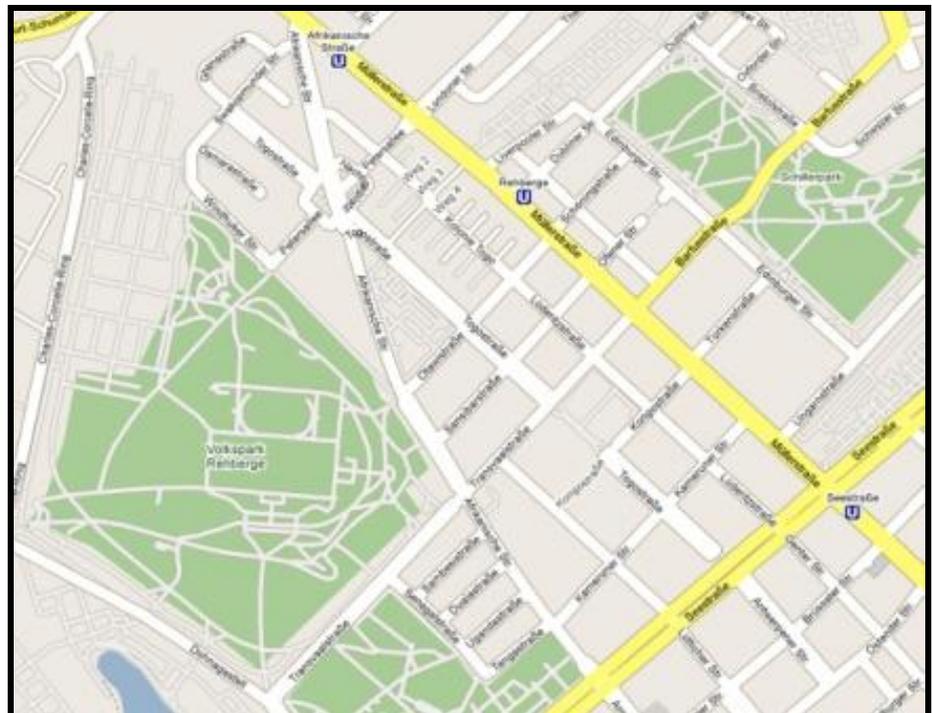
Hans Hack

Introduction

Berlin is a city, which in its relatively short life has had to deal with many difficult heritages such as being the capital of the Third Reich and the capital of the GDR. A less recognised layer of the capital city's difficult heritage is its central place in the history of German colonialism. This may result from a lack of any obvious tangible monuments to the period. However, a striking memorial to this time can be found just outside the city centre in an area where the thematic street naming works to create a map of memory.

The so called African Quarter (Afrikanisches Viertel) (Fig.1) in Berlin lies in the northern district of Wedding. It consists of 23 streets whose names are remnants of and reactions to the difficult heritage of German colonialism. They help one to orientate in the city but also in the colonial history of Germany.

Figure 1: The African Quarter



Source:

(www.google.com)

This paper will chronologically go through the inauguration process of the streets thereby explaining the meaning of the names, their historical contexts and the reasons why they were given the names. Furthermore it will look at how these names have been dealt with over time.

In this way, it will show how the African quarter manifests all stages of German colonialism and the connecting politics dealing with the past: ownership, nostalgia, pain of loss and absence of critical reflection (A. Honold 2004). As a conclusion the paper will look at ways of how to deal with this difficult heritage.

The Creation of German Colonies

Figure 2: German Colonies in Africa



Source: (www.wikipedia.com)

Figure 3: Kaiser Wilhelm II



Source: (www.dhm.de)

Before the creation of the African quarter, certain events occurred in Berlin which influenced the street naming. In 1884 to 1885 the so called Berlin Conference took place which was attended by many European powers without any participation of native Africans. At the conference, the majority of Africa was divided into colonies and Germany officially became a colonial power. As a consequence institutions and associations were opened in the capital of the new colonial power such as the colonial department in the foreign ministry in 1890. To increase the interest of the public in the German colonies, a colonial exhibition was held in the Treptower Park in Berlin in 1896. Within the trade exhibition, natives from the German colonies such as Togo, Cameroon and German-East Africa were 'exhibited'. This was done in a way by which these people had to decorate and stage within reconstructed African villages to portray a stereotypical image of their cultures. The exhibition was well visited and it was therefore decided to open up a colonial museum a few years later which included some remains from the colonial exhibition.

Due to the ever growing marks that colonialism left on Berlin, it was only consequential that the colonial commitment should also be reflected within the cityscape of the capital (Honold 2004).

By instruction of Kaiser Wilhelm II (Fig.3), the streets Kameruner- and Togostraße were inaugurated in 1899 to commemorate the first German colonies of Cameroon and Togo which were created 15 years before at the Berlin conference. These streets were the first ones laid out in the area where the African quarter can be found today.

Due to Berlin's increasing population at the turn of the 20th century and the resulting housing shortage, whole living quarters were planned with a network of streets. It is therefore not uncommon that certain topical coherences in the street names can be found in many quarters of this time. This was also the case with the African quarter where new streets, connecting to the existing ones, were laid out for new residential housing. Consequently, the streets connecting to the Togo- and Kameruner Straße were given names with an African "theme".

Nevertheless, the real boom of street names with African colonial connotation and the name "African quarter" can be traced back to the plans of Carl Hagenbeck who wanted to create an exotic park at the nearby located Rehberge Park. His intention was to exhibit animals and natives from Africa. Due to the outbreak of the First World War his plans were however stopped but the name giving had already taken place.

Figure 4: Adolf Lüderitz



Source:
(www.traditionsverband.de)

Crossing the Kameruner Straße, the Lüderitzstraße was built and inaugurated in 1902 in honour of Adolf Lüderitz (1834-1886) who was seen as the founder of the German South West Africa (SWA), an area known today as Namibia. In 1883 he founded the first German trading station in that area which became the starting point of the German colonisation of South West Africa. Apart from trading with alcohol and weapons he also negotiated many land purchasing contracts with the local Nama tribe. His methods can be seen as "perfect examples of reckless and inhuman expansion" (Speitkamp 2005, .27). Instead of dealing with English miles, as the Nama presumed, he used German miles which gave him five times more land. Later, these illegal land grabs were one of the reasons that caused war from 1904 to 1908 between the local people and the Germans which cost thousands of lives.

In 1903 the Guineastraße was inaugurated. The name refers to the Berlin Conference in which the Guinea border dispute between France and Portugal was settled. Also the Kongostraße, inaugurated in 1912, bears reference to the Berlin Conference since the borders of the colony of Belgium Congo were laid out there. The conference was seen as an important event as it marked the entrance of Germany in the race for colonies and raised Germany's status as a global player.

As the main axis through the African quarter, the 2 km long Afrikanische Straße was laid out in 1906. The street bears yet again witness to memorialising the German colonial commitment in Africa.

The Transvaalstraße, inaugurated in 1907 was named after an area which today lies in the south east of South Africa. The area was an independent free Boer state from the mid 19th century until 1902 when it became part of the British Empire. The street commemorates the free Boer state because the Boers were seen as a German “blood brother” (Van der Heyden 2002, 261) and were supported by Germany until they lost their independence to the British.

Figure 5: Starving Herero-Children in a Swakopmund concentration camp



Source: (www.mahali.de)

At the crossing of the Afrikanische- and Togostraße the Nachtigalplatz was inaugurated in 1910 which till today forms the central square of the quarter. It was named in honour of the 25th anniversary of the death of the German explorer and geographer Gustav Nachtigal (1834-1885). He was seen as the “founder” of the German colonies Togo and Cameroon because he obtained German protectorate status for these areas and thereby made them into German colonies. He also legitimised Lüderitz’ land buying cheats.

The Swakopmunder- and the Windhuker Straße were inaugurated in 1911 to commemorate places in German South West Africa. The Windhuker Straße was named after the capital Windhuk and the Swakopmunder Straße after an important port. Three years before the inauguration of the Swakopmunder Straße, one of the first officially declared concentration camps was built in Swakopmund where thousands of Herero’s (a local tribe of the area) died (Fig.5). Naming a street after a place where just three years before, mass murder had happened reflects the ruthless attitude Germany had towards the local people in the colonies.

The German interest in exploiting the colonies for its resources, Hunold (2004) argues, is reflected in the name Otawistraße. It was inaugurated in 1911 and named after the Otawi copper mine in German SWA which was founded in 1900. The Otawi Mine and Railway Association, who had its headquarters in Berlin, had the goal to exploit natural resources of the region.

The Sansibarstraße was inaugurated in 1912 to commemorate the island of Sansibar which was a German colony from 1885-1890 and was later traded for Helgoland.

The Loss of German Colonies

Until this point all the street names in the African quarter were testaments of German expansionism. This changed due to the fact that in 1918 Germany lost the First World War which resulted in the loss of its colonies and the end of German interest in the involvement

in colonialism. Nevertheless the new streets in the African quarter were still given African names.

In 1927 a whole network of new streets was laid out which included the names Senegalstraße, named after the country; the Sambesistraße, named after the Sambesi River; the Dualastraße, named after the former capital of Cameroon; the Ugandastraße, named after the country of Uganda and the Tangastraße, named after a region and town in Tanzania. The Damarastraße and Mohasistraße, inaugurated in 1937, and the Usambarastraße, inaugurated in 1938, were also named after areas in Africa that used to be part of German East Africa.

Figure 6: Carl Peters



Source: (www.umbruch-bildarchiv.de)

In contrast to the streets that were inaugurated before the First World War, these street names show that the African landscape and its people, and not the German influence on Africa, were put in the foreground, (Hunold 2004). The names can therefore be understood as nostalgic reminiscence to the German colonies but without the political intensions of new expansionism.

The Rise of Nazism

With the rise of the Nazi party in Germany a new shift in the meaning of the names in the African quarter can be observed.

Figure 7: Sign of the Dauerkolonie Togo e. V.



Source: (Hack, 2009)

In 1939 a part of the Londonerstrasse, leading onto the Nachtigalplatz, was renamed into Petersallee to commemorate Carl Peters (1856-1918) (Fig.6). He was seen as the founder of the German East African colony which today partly consists of Tanzania, Burundi and Ruanda. By cheating and using force he made various dubious contracts with local chiefs (Aikins and Kopp 2007; p.5). The contracts guaranteed him, by German law, large amounts of land in east Africa. In 1885 he obtained German protectorate status for these areas which laid out the foundation for the German colony in east Africa. In 1904 he was shortly suspended from his position due to raping and executing his African employees. This fact was happily ignored by the Nazi regime.

In the same year of the inauguration of the Petersallee, an association for a group of allotment gardens was founded, called Dauerkolonie Togo e.V. (permanent colony Togo association) (Fig.7). The name bares reference to the former German colony of Togo. It can be interpreted as a sign that the colony would always exist in the German memory.

The names Patersallee and Dauerkolonie Togo reflect the Nazi propagandist intentions to monopolise the colonial memories with the goal „to integrate the colonial heroes and myths in the cult of the new regime“(Speitkamp 2005,171) and show the greatness of Germany.

Accepting Independence

The last street that was built in the African quarter was the Ghanastrasse, inaugurated in 1958. The Ghana region was long known as the golden coast which was a major place for the slave trade. The street was however named after the state of Ghana which became independent in 1957. The name can therefore be seen as a concession to the decolonialisation period (Honold, 2004).

Figure 8: Street signs



Source: (www.umbruch-bildarchiv.de)

In 1986, local Berlin delegates complained about the fact that the Petersallee was named after a murderer and racist. It was proposed by the alternative list to rename the street after an African freedom fighter such as Hendrik Witbooi or Nelson Mandela. Since no majority with other parties could be found, it was proposed to name the street Namibiastrasse. No majority for this proposal could be found either. Eventually the social democrats, proposed to name the street after Albert Schweitzer. The proposal was declined because a street, named after Schweitzer, already existed in Berlin. To escape the criticism, the city council eventually put up a little sign above the existing street sign which reads: Prof. Dr. Hans Peter, Stadtverordneter, *1896 † 1966. (Van der Heyden 2002; p.263) (Fig.8 & 9). The street was therefore not renamed but the meaning was changed from the murderer Peter to a Peter that was a not very well known Berlin CDU politician. However the meaning was only officially changed and its original meaning is still intact due to the context it has with the other streets in the African quarter.

Figure 9: Street signs



Source: (Hack, 2009)

Since then various attempts have been done to change the street names that have been named after colonialist pioneers but with no success.

Conclusion

The history of the streets names in the African quarter shows that the choosing of the street names is a political act that is decided by ideological needs and political distribution of forces. The street names are therefore remnants of the German colonial past and the related politics towards it over time. The names reveal all the German political attitudes towards colonialism in Africa over time. Five phases can be observed:

1. The German intension of ownership and expansionism is reflected within the names between 1899 and 1912.
2. The nostalgic attitude towards the loss of the African colonies is reflected within the names between 1918 and 1927.
3. Using the colonial history as propaganda is reflected in the names from 1939.
4. A concession to the decolonialisation period is reflected within the name Ghanastraße.
5. The absence of critical reflection is reflected in the fact that colonialists that from today's perspective are criminals and murderers are still honoured in Berlin's cityscape.

The African quarter has in effect unintentionally become a monument to the difficult heritage of German colonialism. However, it is not generally recognised because the original meanings and messages of the street names have mostly been forgotten. People's memory of German colonialism is only very marginal or nonexistent due to the temporal distance and unawareness.

The quarter could therefore give the chance for a critical reflection on German colonialism. The fact that colonial pioneers (Nachtigal, Lüderitz and Peters) who are not acceptable with the common good are still honoured whereas the victims of colonialism are ignored should be a good reason for this reflection. How this would be done is arguable. The names could be changed to anti colonialists such as the freedom fighter Hendrik Witbooi or Nelson Mandela. This would add a new layer of forgotten aspects of colonialism but would also take away another. From a conservation point of view, the cultural significance should be preserved. As long as people remain unaware of the true heritage of the site, the street names remain innocuous. However, with proper educational and interpretative practices, this site could initiate a discussion on whether it is appropriate to retain these street names or rather use a process of name changing as a way of addressing this difficult heritage. Maybe adding an additional layer, that would not hinder the function of the street names, could be the answer.

There is great potential for this site to become a memorial landscape. Although there are „only“ street names it is possible to topographically experience the site. Through proper interpretation it could become more than it actually is. Such ways could be organised tours, signs or maps that would raise awareness of the sites and its connecting history. The African quarter could therefore become an official monument that would fill the gap in Berlin's monumental landscape

that until today has no monument dealing with the history of German colonialism.

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7. The Atlantic Wall: An Uncomfortable Heritage Site with Dark Tourism Activity

Luise Rellensmann



Source:

(Rolf, 1998)

Introduction

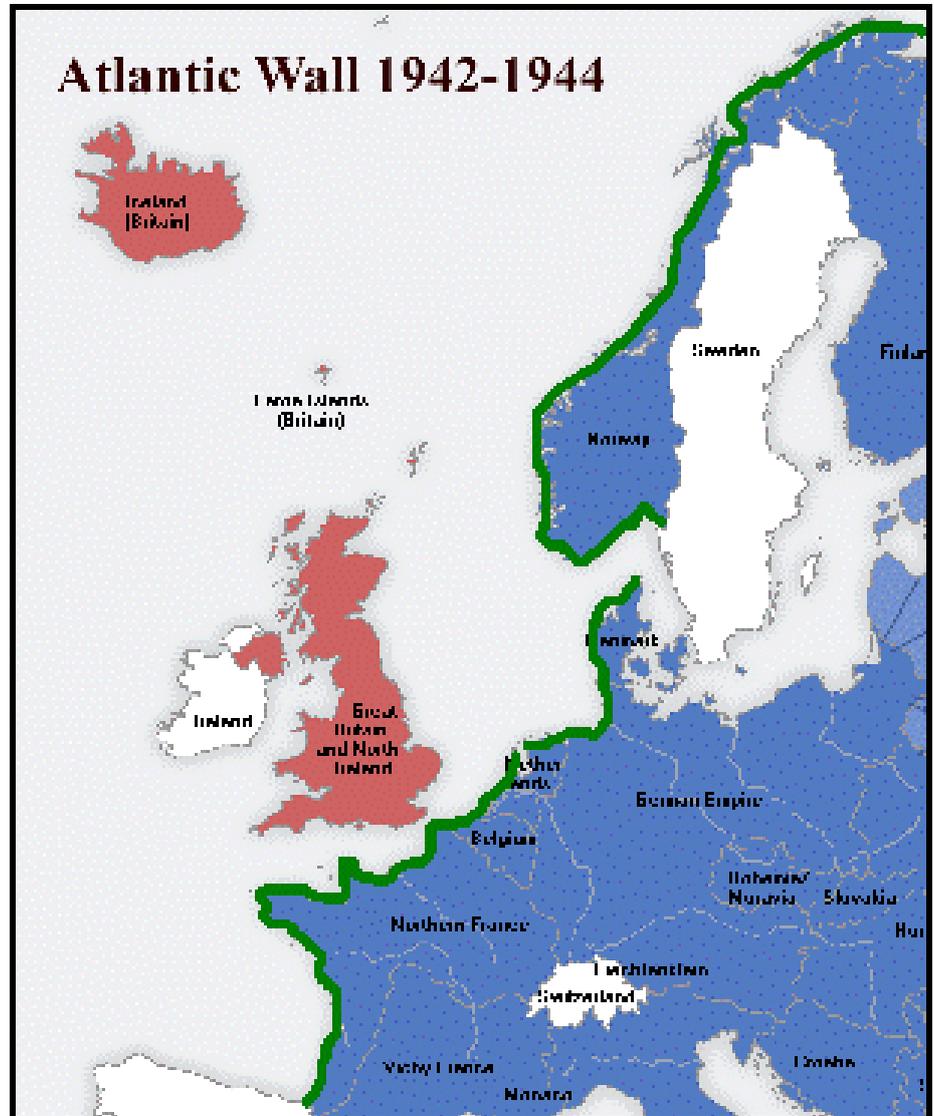
The Atlantic Wall was built between 1940 and 1944 by the Nazi Regime. It was constructed as a supposedly invincible defence line along the European Atlantic coasts from Norway to Southern France (Fig.1). However, it was never completed and not invincible either. This became clear during the allied invasion in June 1944, when the wall did not protect Europe occupied by German troops at that time.

The remains of this giant fortification line can still be found today. Along the 2685 km Norwegian, Belgian, French, British, Danish, German and Dutch shoreline one can find thousands of bunker constructions of all shapes and sizes (Neumann, 2000, 260).

This case study determines the aspects that make the Atlantic Wall “uncomfortable” heritage and investigates the defence line as a destination for dark tourism. Therefore the paper will firstly give a brief outline of the Atlantic Wall’s history and its development after WWII. Then the paper analyses the uncomfortable aspects about it and

points out different forms of dark tourism located at Atlantic Wall sites in Norway.

Figure 1: Atlantic Wall Map



Source: (<http://schools-wikipedia.org/images/408/40826.gif>)

The Atlantic Wall – Defence Line During WWII

The Atlantic Wall was constructed as a defence line along the European Atlantic coast during the Second World War. It consisted mainly of batteries, bunkers and minefields that stretched from the French-Spanish boarder into Norway. At first it was differentiated between the “Neuer Westwall” (Germany, Denmark, Norway) and the “Atlantikwall” (Netherlands, Belgium, France). Later both defence

lines were summarised under the term “Atlantikwall” (Atlantic Wall) mainly for propaganda purposes. Film reports presented the defence line as an indestructible wall in the west. Built in order to defend against an anticipated Allied invasion of the Continent from Great Britain the bunkers housed machine guns, antitank guns, and light artillery. Minefields and antitank obstacles were planted on the beaches themselves, and underwater obstacles and mines were planted in the waters just off shore. The intention of all this was to destroy the Allied landing craft before they could even unload.

Figure 2 Submarine pen during construction works (Fall 1942)



Source:

(Bundesarchiv, in: Rolf, 1998, 62)

The building process can be divided into three major phases: The first construction phase began in summer 1940. After the conquest of Denmark and Norway German artillery from World War I was brought to Calais and Cap-Gris-Nez in France. The second building stage began in fall 1941 after Germany had caused the two-front-war; plans were made to build batteries such as the ones in Cap-Gris-Nez on the Channel Islands and in Norway as part of a defence strategy against England. In a directive from December 14th 1941 – three days after the declaration of war to the USA – priorities concerning the fortification of the West coast were assigned as follows: Norway, the French-Belgian coast, parts of Normandy and Brittany where the first submarine pens had already been built (Fig.2), the Dutch and Danish west coast, the German Bight including the Dutch and German Wadden Sea Islands and the Baltic Coast.

Hitler gave the official instruction for the erection of the Atlantic Wall in directive Number 40 on 23rd March 1942. In total he ordered the construction of 15.000 artillery bunkers along the Belgian and French coast. This extreme target was almost fulfilled. 11.000 bunkers were built in France and Netherlands, just 265 in the German coastal area, in Denmark more than 1.400 bunkers were built and in Norway another 1.600. The fortification included various construction types for different artilleries. Most fortifications and bunkers were located on rock promontories overlooking beaches, harbors and potential landing sites (Neumann, 2000, 261).

The final building phase started in November 1943 when Generalfeldmarschall Erwin Rommel took charge of the Atlantic Wall. He soon recognised that there was a huge difference between the propaganda and reality and that the wall was not capable of resisting a possible invasion. In his first report he stated that the French littoral was “nothing more than a holiday resort.” (Virilio, 1975, 73) Thus he ordered a fortification by planting antitank obstacles and minefields on the beaches, a total of 6.765.000 mines were laid until May 1944.

In the end, this giant building project was never completed and it didn't resist the Allied invasion either. Some fortifications didn't even resist longer than a day while others lasted until the unconditional surrender on May 8th 1945.

In conclusion one could assume that the whole project was nothing more than proof of the megalomania of the Nazi Regime and was useless right from the beginning. However, combined with the Propaganda the building of the Atlantic Wall definitely had an impact on the course of war although the gain for the Nazis stood in no proportion to the material, economic and human expense involved in the building process (Rolf, 1998, 248).

Afterlife and Development – The Atlantic Coast a Deserted Battlefield

The clearest feeling was still one of absence: the immense beach of La Baule was deserted, there were less than a dozen of us on the loop of blond sand, not a vehicle was to be seen on the streets; this had been a frontier that an army had just abandoned, and the meaning of this oceanic immensity was intertwined with this aspect of the deserted battlefield.

(Paul Virilios first impression of the French Atlantic Coast in Fall 1945, Virilio, 1975, 9)

Immediately after WWII the allies started taking inventory of the bunker constructions in their territories. Mobile reusable objects such as fixtures and other equipment were removed from the concrete buildings. Some bunkers were destroyed by blowing them up (Virilio, 1975, 13).

Figure 3: Sinking Bunker

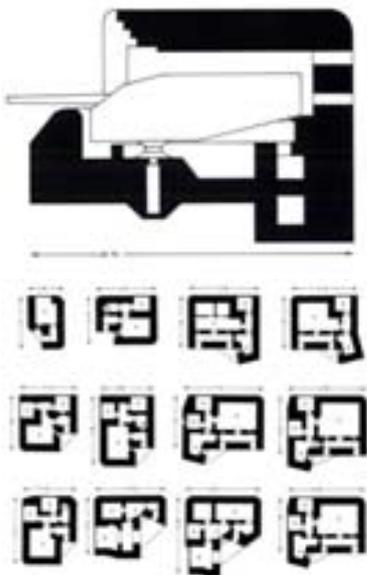


Source: (Virilio, 1975, 177)

Among the political leaders of the different countries there was a certain amount of mistrust which arose concerning the handling of the batteries and submarine pens; whether the bunkers should still be employed as fortifications by their new owners. Defence constructions on German ground – such as the “Westwall” or the island of Heligoland that had been converted into single fortifications – had to be rendered unusable. Concerning the bunkers on the Channel Islands and the French Atlantic coast the discussion was far more controversial; France refused England’s demand to make the constructions redundant (Rolf, 1998, 244).

During the post-war years the military of the particular countries each dealt with rebuilding a defence strategy for the coastal fortification. In some cases former German fortifications and bases were reused by the country’s own army. In the 1950s most of the bunkers were abandoned by the allied troops and stood in ruin in the landscape of sand dunes (Fig.3).

Figure 4: Bunker Documentation



Source: (Rolf, 1998)

In the mid 70s – about 30 years after WW II – numerous publications drew attention to the Atlantic Wall bunker ruins. Amongst them a publication by Architect Paul Virilio whose bunker photography and whose historical and technical approach to the concrete constructions lead to a kind of “Atlantic Wall – Revival” in France. (Mense, 2008, 63)

Virilio was the first to show a documentation of the way the bunkers had changed over the years, the way they had become memorials of war or the way they had been left to nature as what he refers to as “An Aesthetics of Disappearance” (Virilio, 1975, 167). With his book on “Bunker Archaeology” the Atlantic Wall got a French character and even today it is mainly associated with the French Atlantic Coast (Mense, 2008, 64).

About 20 years later Rudi Rolf published his monograph “Der Atlantikwall. Die Bauten der deutschen Küstenbefestigungen 1940-1945”. Like “Bunker Archaeology” the publication includes impressive black and white photography of the Atlantic Wall ruins. Rolf and Virilio

both deal with architectural and aesthetic aspects of bunkers and document bunker typologies (Fig.4).

From the late 1970s onwards the historical and architectural interest in the bunkers increased, leading to a museumisation of many Atlantic Wall constructions. Still there is only a small number of bunkers that are either reused or still in use like the submarine pen in La Rochelle and St. Nazaire (Neumann, 2000, 260). Most of them sit as abandoned concrete blocks on the European West coast in a continuous unstoppable struggle with nature. They form giant ruins with walls of three to five metres strength without giving any reference to their function, technical equipment or history.

In seaside holiday regions they are integrated by tourists (Fig.5); they serve as playgrounds, as private store rooms, canvases for graffiti artists, coat stands and shade providers (Lehmann-Menge, 2004).

Figure 3: Søndervig, Denmark, German Bunker at the Beach



Source: (Wölk, Rüdiger, <http://upload.wikimedia.org>)

From a Propaganda Tool to a War Memorial: Uncomfortable Aspects of the Atlantic Wall

The Atlantic Wall could be valued as a historic monument because of its historic meaning, its technical meaning and the way it shapes the European Atlantic coast. But why exactly is it „uncomfortable“?

Uncomfortable Heritage sites can be monuments or they can be the remains of a long-gone regime or system that lost its legitimization after being dissolved or overthrown. Such remains of a dissolved system become endangered and uncomfortable. (Schmidt, 2008, 110) As an outcome of the study project Merrill defined uncomfortable heritage as follows:

“Heritage which is associated either directly or indirectly with death, pain and/ or suffering. Uncomfortable heritage can be embodied by sites or memorials that explicitly relate to historic periods of suffering (...)” (Merrill, 2008)

Another aspect of uncomfortable heritage is the notion of traumascapes; places that are marked by traumatic experiences such as violence, suffering and loss (Turmakin, 2005, 12).

There are various aspects that define heritage as uncomfortable that can be related to the Atlantic Wall. The Atlantic Wall is a relict of a vanished regime, the Nazi regime. Therefore it is connected with Germany's and Europe's darkest part of history. The fortification's remains are connected with a period of time that one would rather forget. A period of time that is uncomfortable not only for Germany but also for every other country that was somehow involved in the Third Reich or suffered under it. Looking at its dimensions especially reveals the immensity of the project and the idea of total war (Virilio, 1975,12).

Not only is the Atlantic wall a military construction and a remnant of a defence system but during WWII it was also used for propaganda purposes. And thus even more represents a part of history as it was an object that served opinion-forming during and after the Nazi-Regime. Because of a lack of actual military action at the shore frontline the propaganda focused on building a psychological wall; the Atlantic Wall was supposed to create the image of an indestructible wall in the West. Reports, movies and photographs were used to underline the qualities of the Atlantic Wall. The Propaganda consisted of showing civil and multinational comradeship during the construction work, the mass of the measures undertaken, and all the impressive and terrifying aspects of the defence line, which combined was supposed to give the impression of an invincible Wall. The image of this invincibility was so powerful that it was later on adopted by the allies; they underlined the insuperability of the defence line in a sarcastic way and thus also used it for opinion forming. The bunkers of the Atlantic Wall were presented as the incorporation of evil and products of Nazi ideology. In spite of the rather harmless situation of

the coastal fortification the allied forces created an exaggerated image of German presence and power (Rolf, 1998, 243).

Figure 4: Ruins of the Battery Capbreton that had been blown up after WWII



Source:

(Rolf, 1998, 145)

The definition by Merrill is also applicable to the sites of the Atlantic Wall: The Atlantic Wall is - of course - associated with death as it is a war site, where people lost their lives fighting. Once, these bunkers concentrated the fear of death of their endangered users, in post-war times these buildings concentrated the hatred of countryside inhabitants and passers-by. From both perspectives the coastal concrete constructions are somehow „uncomfortable“.

For many of the shoreline inhabitants the remains of the defence line were frightening, the concrete giants called back too many memories and fantasies, too. Thus they were pleased with the blasting of some bunkers right after the war (Fig. 6). For them it was as if an execution without any preceding trial had taken place. A Form of “Iconoclastic vengeance” as Paul Virilio calls it (Virilio, 1975, 13).

Besides the uncomfortable aspects these concrete landmarks also represent traumascapes. The definition of traumascapes related to the Atlantic Wall does not only include the people who suffered at the bunkers while fighting there but also those that where involved in the construction process. Apart from building enterprises from Denmark, Netherlands and Belgium the workforce for building the bunkers

consisted of forced labourers and prisoners of war. These people were often in poor physical shape and sometimes even died as a consequence of the hard working conditions. If we take France as an example there were 291.000 people involved in the building process of the Atlantic Wall bunkers from November 1943 onwards. But among them there were just 15.000 German workers (Mense, 2008, 41).

People whose parents were forced labourers and died during the construction process or old people who fought there as young soldiers still come to visit. For them the concrete buildings are memorial places whose meaning cannot be conserved in textbooks or documentation centres but just in the ruin itself (Mense, 2008, 48).

Another aspect that makes the Atlantic Wall valuable as a heritage site connected with the uncomfortable aspect is, that it stands in the long tradition of the history of frontiers from the Roman limes to the Great Wall of China (Virilio, 1975, 12)

Atlantic Wall Bunkers in Norway and Dark Tourism

Uncomfortable heritage sites are popular destinations for the dark tourism branch. In the tide of history, people have always been attracted by sites and attractions linked with death, suffering, violence or disaster. Especially over the past century dark tourism or more precisely war tourism has flourished and now constitutes the largest single category of tourist attraction in the world (Stone & Sharpely, 2008, 574).

There are two tendencies influencing the approach to the Atlantic Wall; on the one hand there are people who are particularly interested in the history of architecture and its background and on the other hand there are people who are especially attracted by historical aspects of war (Rolf, 1998, 249) Taking a closer look at the bunker museums - that have developed from the 1970s onwards - it becomes clear that they focus on the latter. Thus Atlantic Wall museums can be categorized as “war-related attractions” (Stone & Sharpely, 2008, 574) which would make the visitor a consumer of dark tourism.

Figure 5: Battery DIETL



Source: (<http://www.saltenmuseum.no/content/view/99/1/>)

Along the Norwegian coast fortification tourism has become a lucrative business. Areas such as Vesterålen und Lofoten and the mainland near Nordland are popular tourist regions especially for nature tourism. There, a lot of fortifications have been converted into open air museums.

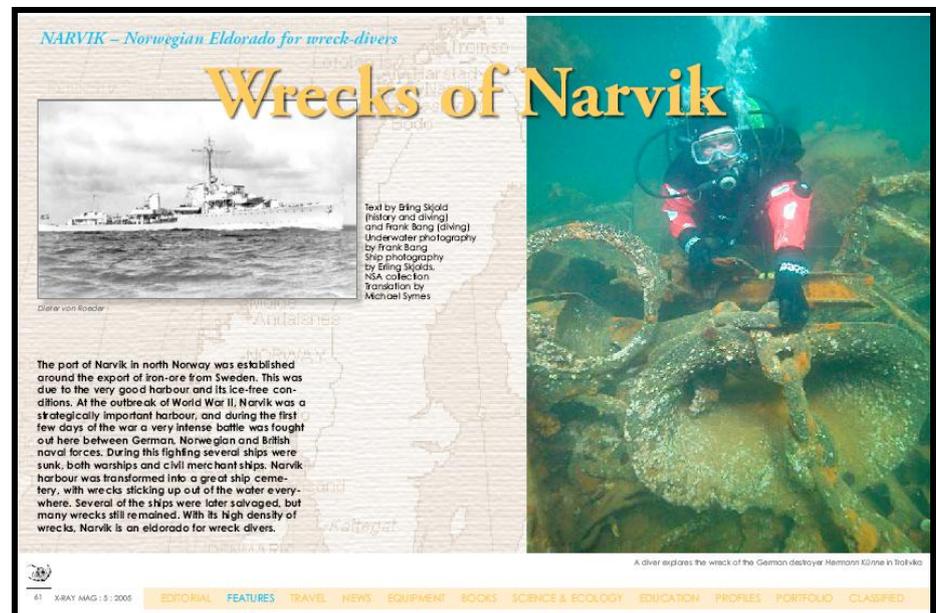
The Battery DIETL is one of the biggest Atlantic Wall museums and serves as a good example for this form of tourism in Norway. (www.deutschesatlantikwallarchiv.de) (Fig. 7). During WWII the Battery DIETL was responsible for the defence against Russia. Therefore the fortification hosted three 40.6 cm guns – the so-called “Adolf – Kanone”. However, these guns were taken away after the war. Today one out of the three gun shelters hosts a multimedia show, models of the cannons and a detailed description of the battery during war times. Guided tours are offered and there is a small café. The museum is neither part of a tourist trail nor is it located in a favourable place: the nearest town is Bodø, a small town a three and a half hour drive away (Mense, 2008, 65). Therefore we may conclude from this that the interest in war history and respectively Atlantic Wall history must be comparatively strong if people come and visit despite its isolated location.

A different type of museum can be found in Tromsø. There a coast battery has been converted into a military museum that focuses on the regional history under German occupation on the basis of the warship “Tirpitz”. The “Tirpitz” sank during air attacks in the city’s harbor in 1944. Among war-technology-enthusiasts it is known for exhibiting rare weapons (www.deutschesatlantikwallarchiv.de).

Most of the Norwegian shipwrecks of WWII, such as the above named “Tirpitz” lie in the seaport Narvik. There, another form of dark tourism related to German warfare during WWII can be found: diving schools offer guided diving tours to German and British destroyers. (Burnbridge, no date)

Furthermore one can find smaller concrete ruins in the northeast coast regions of Norway. Some of them are signposted, however, they all vary as to what extent they are worthy of a visit. They differ in their quality. In the remote areas of the south there are no coastal batteries that are used for tourist purposes.

Figure 6: Divers Explore Wrecks of German destroyers



Source:

(X-Ray Mag 5:2005)

Figure 9: Children playing with weapon in front of a



Source: (www.deutschesatlantikwallarchiv.de)

Atlantic Wall Interpretation – Dark Tourism and Preservation

From a preservationist or historian point of view there is a lack of authenticity in the way the bunkers are converted into museums and in the way these museums interpret Atlantic Wall history. Bunkers that have been converted into museums – be it because of their historic meaning, their location or size – often house various information and exhibition pieces. Thus their extraordinary character is often defaced by attachments such as window fronts, murals and masses of lined up weapons (Fig.9). In these cases they have

Figure 7: Atlantic Wall Museum with glass dome



nothing in common with their original purpose as fortifications and thus lose their authenticity.

Especially former war sites transformed into military museums tend to focus mainly on weapons and war technology (Fig.10). In consequence a visit to such a museum does not give rise to reflections on the horrors of war and the defence line as a relict of European history. An online research reveals that most websites dedicated to the Atlantic Wall focus on weapon technology. Military

Source: (www.deutschesatlantikwallarchiv.de) seem to attract a certain category of “dark war tourists” and self claimed “Fortification and Battlefield Aficionados” (www.wartourist.eu). This shows that such “atrocitiy tourism” bears ambiguities and dangers; “preserved sites of horror” are not only seen as “spiritual monuments” but they become destinations for people with a voyeuristic motivation (Finney, 2007, 287).

The most authentic presentation of the former defence line can be found in Norway’s open air museums. Here, visitors get the chance to see the bunkers’ architecture under the influence of time and nature. However, in order to appreciate them as memorials a certain historic background is a prerequisite.

Especially in its remote areas Norway presents the most authentic picture of the former defence line in a European comparison. One reason for this is that besides the geographic situation there is a lack of vegetation due to which most of the bunkers are well preserved (Mense, 2008, 66).

Conclusion

Looking at the history and the uncomfortable aspects about the remaining bunkers it becomes clear that these ruins are more than forgotten remains of the last fortification system of this kind in Europe. They can be appreciated as war memorials reminding us of the futility of war and they can be places of memory with a sentimental value for those who served as soldiers or workers at the defence line and for relatives of those who lost their lives at this frontier.

The development of the defence line during the years 1945 until today shows that the major part of the Atlantic wall lies in ruins but there are also tourism activities related to it. However, these tourism activities should not be interpreted as a particular interest in „uncomfortable“ European history. Analysing the different forms of

dark tourism in Norway reveals that tourist attractions such as museums are offered by private institutions that do not give a sufficient interpretation of the Atlantic Wall by focusing mainly on military and weapon history.

A solution to this problem could be a European master plan putting the Atlantic wall into a proper historical context and thus making it recognisable as European cultural heritage.

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8. The Uncomfortable Heritage of the Torgau Prison Sites

Jenny Linke

Torgau in between Renaissance, War and Imprisonment

Figure 1: The renaissance Castle Hartenfels in Torgau.



Source: Jenny Linke

Figure 2: American and Soviet Allied Soldiers meeting on the destroyed Elbe Bridge in Torgau in April 1945.



Source:

<http://www.torgau.eu>: 2009.

The small town of Torgau in North-West Saxony, Germany is mainly known for its Renaissance castle (Fig.1) and picturesque city centre. The annual celebration of the “Elbeday” commemorates another noteworthy historical event connected to Torgau - the first meeting of American and Russian Allied Soldiers at the end of World War II (Fig. 2). This celebration takes place mainly without reference to the “historic core”(Oleschinski, 2008) of the events, which is linked to a darker and the more uncomfortable heritage of Torgau. The American Soldiers came to the town searching for “Wehrmachtprisons” they suspected to be here. Until then Torgau had hosted two major military internment sites of the Third Reich. Torgau’s role as an imprisonment site could have finished with the end of the World War II but instead the Soviet Administration of East Germany and later the GDR Ministry of Interior took over the prisons for their purposes.

The town’s recent history is interwoven with the presence of these internment sites. Prisons that were known to their successive inmates as especially cruel, and are connected to the death and suffering of many people and to the unjust penal systems of different successive totalitarian regimes. The existence of these prisons is a rather “dark” and uncomfortable part of Torgau’s heritage. To trace that heritage and its interpretation and commemoration is the aim of this paper.

The original foundation of the prisons dates back to 1810-13 when the King of Saxony turned Torgau into a fortress with two outer bastions – the “Fort Zinna” and the “Brückenkopf” (“Bridge head”). Those were used as prisons from the beginning (DIZ, 2005a, 7). *Fort Zinna* with its distinctive star shaped outer defence and cross shaped central building (*ibid*, 9) was the most important and prominent prison that was continuously used during all phases. Due to changing function several alterations took place in the building fabric. New extension buildings and caserns appeared while others were not in use anymore.

Death and Suffering: The Uncomfortable Heritage of the Prison Sites

The Wehrmacht prisons and the Reich's War Court in Torgau (1933-1945)

Figure 3: Part of U.S. aerial reconnaissance photograph of the Fort Zinna taken on 20 April 1945.



Source: (DIZ, 2005b, 4)

Figure 4: Execution site close to the Fort Zinna (April 1945)



Source: (DIZ, 2005b, 28)

Torgau's importance in the Military Penal system of the Third Reich has two reasons. Two out of eight prisons of the Wehrmacht were located in the *Fort Zinna* and the *Brückenkopf* since 1939 (Fig.3). The town became the "centre of the Wehrmacht Penal system" (DIZ, 2005a, 17) since it hosted the *Reichskriegsgericht* the military court of the Reich. This court, being the highest authority in military law moved from Berlin to Torgau in 1943.

Prisoners in Torgau in the Third Reich were convicts of the military court. They were incarcerated inter alia for refusing military service, for desertion or for being "subverts to the power of defence" (*Wehrkraftzersetzer*) that was punished with death penalty. It is estimated that around 1000 executions took place in Torgau which is only a small part of the total victims to the military penal system. Out of 50,000 death penalties passed by German military courts during the Second World War more than 20,000 people were executed (Fig.4). Even more prisoners died and suffered under forced labour, bad living conditions and punishment or were killed in other "stations" of the complicated Nazi penalty system (DIZ, 2005a).

The Soviet NKWD-Special Camps (1945-1948)

The end of the Third Reich and liberation of the remaining prisoners (*ibid*, 2005a, 31) demarcates a cut in the prison history. The Soviet Secret Police – NKDW – took over the prison buildings in 1945 and established two "special camps" at the site. These were used for the imprisonment of so called "hostile elements" that were "to be kept in custody in internment camps" (order no. 315 cited by Oleschinski, 1997, 57). The internees arrested without trial or proper investigation, included assumed and real active members of NSDAP and other National Socialist organisations, the German Secret Service and underground organisations, directors of administrative agencies as well as suspected spies and saboteurs who were accused of attempting to undermine the Soviet military strength including authors of anti-Soviet publications. The special camp No. 8 in Torgau that held internees without sentence existed till 1947. After its dissolution the remaining prisoners were transferred to other camps in Buchenwald (No. 2) and Mühlberg (No. 1). The second Soviet prison

in Torgau, the special camp No. 10 was used for the internment of mainly Soviet citizens condemned by the SMT (Soviet Military Tribunals). It remained in *Fort Zinna* under Soviet administration until 1948. Insufficient nurture, overcrowded cells, complete isolation and forced inoccupation characterised general imprisonment conditions. According to Soviet information 800 to 850 prisoners died in Torgau during that period.

The East German Penal System in Torgau (1950-1990)

In the 1950 the Soviet Military Administration officially dissolved the special camps and transferred the remaining more than 10.000 convicts of Soviet Military Tribunals (SMT) to the GDR Ministry of Interior. That meant that the Peoples Police (Volkspolizei) took over the prison administration in Torgau. Being “drilled that [the prisoners] were, without exception, “Nazi and war criminals”” “the policemen treated the prisoners with extreme harshness and great hostility” (DIZ, 2005b, 3). Due to the bad living conditions in the prison and the outbreak of tuberculosis 115 prisoners died in the first year of Peoples Police administration. It is characteristic for the convicts that imprisonment or release was not depending on a “real” offence that a person was guilty of. Investigation and decision over imprisonment or penalty was not subject to an independent justice (Oleschinski, 2008). By the mid 1950s most SMT convicts were released, but not because there trial was revised but instead due to several amnesty actions launched by the GDR state leadership.

By the same time Torgau’s prison had already filled with new prisoners. This time convicted by GDR justice including a growing number of political prisoners convicted of “agitation against the state”, “economic crimes”, “illegal initiation of contact to the West” or attempted “flight from the Republic” (DIZ, 2005b, 17). With the end of the German Democratic Republic *Fort Zinna* the only remaining prison in Torgau came under the administration of the reunified Germany. The prison administration changed and the facilities were modernised but the site remains a prison till the present day.

Interpretation and Commemoration: the contemporary approach to the prison sites

Although the existence of prison sites in Torgau was no secret the topic remained a taboo until 1989. All research on the sites, their history and the people that suffered and died in Torgau started only in 1990. In June 1991 some Torgau citizens together with West Berlin

Figure 5: Documentation and Information Centre Torgau (DIZ). Entrance to the permanent exhibition.



Source: Jenny Linke

Figure 6: Permanent exhibition in the DIZ. Torgau in the Hinterland of the Second World War.



Source: Jenny Linke

Figure 7: Permanent exhibition in the DIZ. Today: House of Education – The penal system of the GDR in Torgau 1950 to 1990.



Source: Jenny Linke

historians founded the “Association of Friends of the Torgau Documentation and Information centre”. In this first initiative an exhibition on the Wehrmachts justice was developed in cooperation with former prisoners, convicts and forced recruits. The opening of the exhibition, which is the predecessor of the present one (Fig.5), celebrated the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II. Since 1998 the “Torgau Documentation and Information centre” (DIZ) has been administrated and financed by the Saxon Memorial Foundation. Within this new institutional framework the DIZ started its work. The focus is on a combination of research, information and education. The DIZ is the contact for researches and former prisoners or their relatives trying to get information. The work of the DIZ puts a special emphasis on the victims but it aims as well on informing a broader public on the prison sites. In cooperation with local schools “research and learning” projects encourage people to deal actively with the town’s uncomfortable heritage. The manager of the DIZ Mr. Oleschinski emphasised that “the most important task of memorial site is to bring people to think about the topic independently” (2008). Another way of informing people and one of the founding goals of the DIZ is the presentation of all scientific research in a permanent exhibition on the main three parts of Torgau prison history.

The permanent exhibition “Traces of Injustice” was successively developed from 1996 till 2004. During the process, as Mr. Oleschinski emphasised, the three parts were researched and presented with equal methods and without valuing any one layer of prison history against the other. The present exhibition consists of the parts:

- 1.) Hostile Elements are to be kept into custody. Soviet Special Camps No. 8 and 10 in Torgau 1945-48. (opened 1996)
- 2.) Torgau in the Hinterland of the Second World War: Military Justice, Army Prison, Reichskriegsgericht (opened 1998) (Fig. 6) and,
- 3.) Today: House of education – The penal system of the GDR in Torgau 1950 to 1990” (Fig. 7).

They all follow a similar structure but are distinguishable by different colour patterns. Panels give background information to the different prison sites and the different penal systems in the Third Reich, of the Soviet Military administration and GDR justice. The main focus of the exhibition is on the prisoners themselves and on individual but representative destinies. That is because biographies provide an easier and more emotional access to the history of the place for the visitor (Oleschinski, 2008). The biographical panels show

photographs and personal items of individual prisoners and provide space for “original voices” by presenting extracts from interviews, diaries or other personal items. The exhibition relies very much on the help of former prisoners. The second major resource for investigation was available military files.

What is special in the way the DIZ deals with the prison heritage is the differentiation between interpretation, documentation and information on the one hand and the more emotional commemoration on the other hand. There is the exhibition and information centre in the Castle Hartenfels in the heart of the tourist city for the first part and a memorial at the most important authentic site the former *Fort Zinna* for the second one. Both sites were initiated by the Saxon Memorial Foundation and not by the town of Torgau.

Figure 8: Memorial for the Victims of Socialist who died and suffered in Torgau from 1945 till 1989.



Source: Jenny Linke

Figure 9: Memorial for the victims of totalitarian regimes that died and suffered in Torgau.



Source: Jenny Linke

The memorial has been a conflict site that's implications are still debated. In fact there are two different memorials instead of one. The erection of a memorial for all victims that suffered and died in the prisons since 1933 was planned since the early 1990s. The failure of these first initiatives is symbolic of the conflict at hand. People are anxious that different totalitarian systems are made equal by a common memorial. They criticise that victims and perpetrators are commemorated alike since former National Socialist officials that ran the prison until 1945 might have become Torgau prisoners themselves in the following years. Although the manager of the DIZ rejects these fears because there is no evidence for pre-1945 prison wardens being imprisoned in Torgau after 1945, the conflict can not be solved at the moment (Oleschinski, 2008). This has led to a situation where a wooden cross was installed in 1992 by the “Organisation for the Victims of Stalinism” commemorating exclusively post 1945 prisoners (Fig.8). A second memorial commemorating all victims of totalitarian regimes that suffered and died in Torgau erected by the Memorial Foundation of Saxony was placed in front of the first one in the last year (Fig.9). Although being one memorial there is a spatial separation for the prisoners before and after the crucial date of April 1945. In order to give the “Organisation for the Victims of National Socialism” the chance to place another separate shrine at the site, the new memorial is not yet inaugurated.

One crucial question for every heritage site is its visitors. Who comes to see the place and why? The Torgau DIZ has no formulated specific target group but aims at a general public. The majority of visitors to the exhibition are “normal Torgau tourists” with no previous knowledge of the site. Mr. Oleschinski estimates that 12-15% of

Torgau visitors “discover” the permanent exhibition in the castle and hence visit it (2008). A major influence for the visitor numbers is the prominent location of the DIZ in the renaissance castle as the tourist highlight in the city centre. Visitors are mainly individual tourists but there is also a demand by groups and school classes for guided tours. Every year 12,000 to 15,000 mainly German visitors see the exhibition. Their reactions are described as predominantly positive and “surprised” over the existence and the character of the prisons (Oleschinski, 2008). This reaction shows a general interest in the topic although it is considered uncomfortable. People are open-minded to learn about the uncomfortable heritage sites although they might not have expected to encounter a recent dark heritage in Torgau. An important issue for the tourist function of the memorial and the exhibition is the non-inclusion in the cities visitor concept and signage system which concentrates on Torgau’s heritage of Renaissance Saxony and on the Lutheran Reformation (Oleschinski, 2008).

Fig. 10: Entrance to the former Fort Zinna used as modern prison in 2008.



Source: Jenny Linke

Figure 11: The entrance to the former Brückenkopf prisons in 2008.



Source: Jenny Linke

Although Torgau is paved with authentic sites connected to the prison heritage none of those was chosen as the site for the exhibition. Mr. Oleschinski has several reasons for that. First of all the castle is easily accessible and easy to find. The ideal site in respect to content and symbolism is *Fort Zinna*, the only authentic site for all imprisonment phases, is currently occupied by the modern prison and therefore not available as exhibition site (Fig 10). Nonetheless the place can be visited as part of a guided tour. The outside area of the prison with the memorial is openly accessible. Guided tours through the city, organized by the DIZ, include most of the authentic sites with a varying level of interpretation according to the focus of the group. Although there is some limited signage it is almost impossible to access the sites on an individual basis. The *Brückenkopf* (bridge head) buildings are abandoned except for a youth centre and a shooting range. A small, hidden panel indicates the former function of the empty barracks that are overgrown by vegetation (Fig.11). Other sites like the different caserns, the graveyard or the gravel pit where part of the executions took place lack signage completely.

Conclusion and main issues

Although there are efforts of interpretation and information in Torgau, the authentic sites seem to disappear slowly from the town’s mental map. The question is whether this is a bad thing or not. It is certainly not desirable and even less feasible to maintain all prison sites as memorials or to try to attract visitors to a rather shocking authentic

site. The *Fort Zinna* has even kept its authentic function which is often one major issue for heritage sites but indeed debatable for a heritage site connected to death and suffering. The question is how to deal with the uncomfortable heritage and the connected sites. The example of Torgau shows that consideration of traumatic past events does not necessarily demand the maintenance of the authentic sites. But what will happen on the other hand if all traces of this past have disappeared? In this respect the neglect and denial of uncomfortable aspects of a town's history in the visitor's concept and the official signage system is critical because it has a share in the process of forgetting uncomfortable heritage rather than approaching it actively.

Another issue that is delicate in Torgau is the parallel existence of several layers of uncomfortable heritage. To compare and interpret the different totalitarian regimes that used the same sites and that all "produced" their respective victims, without equating them is a difficult task to handle for the DIZ. That issue is even more sensitive because the victims are still alive and able to formulate their concerns and strong emotions toward the sites and their interpretation. A great deal of the uncomfortable character of the Torgau prison sites is due to their recent character. This makes it on the one hand, hard to interpret and research without offending the people that suffered and died in Torgau and their relatives but on the other hand it is that close distance in time that makes it important to come to terms with the past now while the victims themselves are still able to be part of the healing process.

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9. The Valley of the Fallen: Dark Tourism from Spain

Romina Príncipe Martínez

Introduction

El Valle de los Caídos or The Valley of the Fallen is the commonly used name for the Benedictine Abbey of *Santa Cruz del Valle de los Caídos* (Fig. 1).⁷

Its construction started in 1940, right after the victory of the Nationalists of the Spanish Civil War and it was inaugurated in 1959. Built 60km from Madrid on the rock outcrop of Cuelgamuros, in the Mountain Range of Guadarrama, it was conceived to become the resting place for the victims of the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939).⁸

The Valley of the Fallen has been managed by *Patrimonio Nacional*⁹ since 1957 and it is considered, among other sites, to be of “historical, artistic, cultural and, most significantly, of outstanding symbolic importance” (Smith, 2006, 163). Nevertheless, it is the most discussed heritage site in Spain because it is a case of uncomfortable heritage.

Some factors which make this site so difficult are the final function of the monument, the secrecy held during its construction and the fact that it holds the remains of the last two dictators of Spain. These are three of the reasons why this monument is a special case and has to be treated separately and in detail. Even seventy years after the end of the Spanish Civil War and thirty-four years after the end of the Dictatorship, Spain still tries to deal with it in keeping with the German *Vergangenheitsbewältigung*, which is something like processing the past in a special sense.

The aim of this essay is to present this memorial and its characteristics in order to establish a framework which can help the

⁷ Benedictine Abbey of the Holy Cross of the Valley of the Fallen (Smith, 2007).

⁸ It is much discussed whether Franco wished this site to become a commemoration place for the victims of both sides of the Spanish Civil War, or only for the Nationalists who fought for the *Patria* and for God.

⁹ National Heritage. Even though it is often translated as Crown Heritage, it no longer belongs to the Crown but to the State of Spain. All the buildings belonging to the National Heritage are available to the Royal Family when needed to carry out their official duties (Patrimonio Nacional).

reader to identify the site, not only as a place of uncomfortable heritage but also as a case of dark tourism in Spain. The first section offers a description of the monument with its characteristics, situation, meaning and function, which should contribute to the understanding of the second section which deals with the statement or thesis of this essay, the identification of the Valley of the Fallen as a case of dark tourism. In this second section, apart from an introduction to dark tourism or Thanatourism, there is also a short explanation about tourism in Spain during the Spanish Civil. A presentation of Tourism in the Valley of the Fallen and an explanation about the role of interpretation, especially in the case of the Valley of the Fallen, is also undertaken. These sections allow the essay to draw conclusions. Due to the fact that sources in different languages have been used for this essay, quotations in foreign languages will appear within the text and translations will be provided in the foot notes.

The Valley of the Fallen

Introduction

On 1 April 1940 the Dictator Francisco Franco published a foundational decree for the memorial of the Valley of the Fallen and in the afternoon he started its construction by blowing up the first hole.¹⁰ In this decree he established that the dimensions of the memorial should be reminiscent of the big constructions of antiquity and it should prevail in the future in order not to forget the heroes of the Spanish Civil War who fought for God and for the *patria*. The memorial should be a place of worship and meditation for future generations therefore it should be built in a remote place (Sueiro, 1983, 11). According to Sueiro (1976, 22), despite Franco's plans of finishing the crypt in the following year and his wish of inaugurating the whole memorial in the year 1945, the Valley of the Fallen was inaugurated on 1 April 1959.

The architect was Pedro Muguruza, who was at that time the most important architect of Spain; nevertheless Franco supervised the construction nearly daily ordering changes and extensions. It was the Jesuit Priest José A. Pérez del Pulgar who proposed in 1939 that Republican prisoners should contribute by "repairing what they had destroyed"; therefore, prisoners were sent to Cuelgamuros to start

¹⁰ The ambassadors of Italy, of Germany and of Portugal, accompanied by their wives, attended to this event in which Franco also presented the construction plans. (Sueiro, 1976, p. 13)

working on the construction (Sueiro, 1976, 47). Even though many scholars and sources affirm that Republican prisoners built the memorial¹¹, it is known that in 1950 there were only a few prisoners left in the valley. This means that Republican prisoners built the memorial together with other workers more or less until the year 1950 and from then on, only workers built and finished it.

Regarding salary, Sueiro affirms that the prisoners working in the Valley would get a religious redemption for their sins of being Republicans or for having fought against Franco's ideology. The workers would earn 2 *pesetas* per day; nevertheless they only received 50 cents (2 *reales*) per day worked at the end of the week since the rest was used for their daily needs.¹²

Jesús Cantelar Canales said during his interview with Daniel Sueiro (1976, 66):

“Trabajando seis u ocho años en el Valle, sabías que tenías la libertad asegurada”¹³

Despite the hard working conditions¹⁴, the punishments, the beatings and repression¹⁵, it was famous to be working in the Valley among the prisoners, since they not only could get redeemed but they could also enjoy the views of the mountain range and the fresh air. Some sources remind the readers that at that time, the unemployment rate was very high and it wasn't easy to find a job. That is why, it was normal to have around 1000 free labourers working at the same time for the construction. Even though Republican prisoners knew about this construction, the Valley of the Fallen was secret to the majority of Spaniards. Regarding the costs of the work, there is much contradictory information in which it is said that the cost of the

¹¹ The quantity of prisoners who worked in this construction from 1940 until 1959 is debatable. Whereas some sources talk about thousands of prisoners and hundreds of deaths, other sources speak of some 300 prisoners working in the Valley. According to Dr. D. Ángel Lausín, who was the Doctor in Cuelgamuros, only 14 people died during its construction. (Sueiro, 1976, 76).

¹² The workers had the possibility to bring their families to the Valley. Bringing their wives would increase their loan in 2 *pesetas* per day and for every child under 15 years old they would earn 1 additional *peseta* (Sueiro, 1976, 48-51).

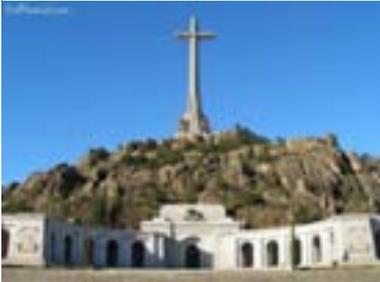
¹³ “Working six or eight years in the Valley, you knew that you would get your freedom”. For that, prisoners had to behave very well and then, they had to apply in the Ministry of Justice at the *Patronato de Redención de Penas* –Office for the redemption of sentences (Sueiro, 1976, 59).

¹⁴ It was hard especially during winter time since the Mountain Range of Guadarrama is very cold. In 1951 the range had an average temperature of 5.5 Celsius degrees.

¹⁵ Jesús Cantelar affirms that some prisoners would remain in the Valley for two or three years without being judged and without knowing exactly the reason why they were under arrest. According to him, at the end of 1943 there were 600 prisoners working for the Valley of the Fallen (Sueiro, 1976, 60-62).

construction was covered by donations from important families of that time, whereas other scholars argue that its costs were paid by the state but they have been recuperated with the entrance fees of the visitors since its inauguration.

Figure 2: Entrance of the basilica



Source:(www.feelmadrid.com)

Figure 3: The Pietà

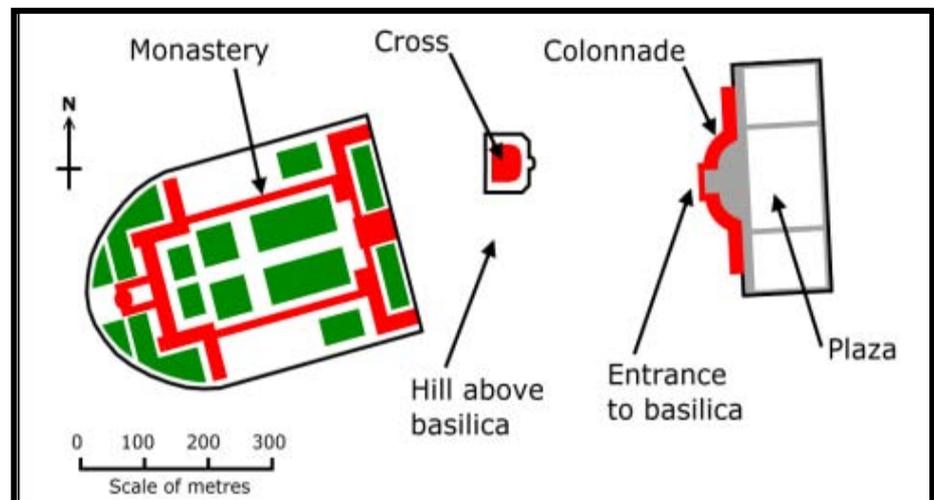


Source: (www.flickr.com/)

Description

The Valley of the Fallen consists of a crypt, a church, a monastery, a plaza and a cross, which is placed on the top of a mountain separating the two sides of the monument. On the one side, the visitors find a colonnaded plaza¹⁶ with the entrance to the Basilica (Fig. 2). Over this entrance, the famous sculpture of *The Pietà*¹⁷ (Fig. 3) (the figures are 3m high and 12m wide) by the Spanish sculptor Juan de Ávalos can be seen. The basilica is 262m long and 41m high and it is the biggest rock church in the world. In order to build its dome, they needed 5 years, 400m³ of boulders and five million *tesserae* to form the mosaic. In the burial chapels lay 50.000 victims¹⁸ of the Spanish Civil War while in the main altar there are the rests of Franco and of Primo de Rivera¹⁹.

Figure 4: Diagram of the Valley of the Fallen



Source:

(www.greyocat.org)

¹⁶ This plaza is even larger than St. Peter's Square in the Vatican (Harrington, 2005).

¹⁷ Apparently it cost four times more money than planned (Sueiro, 1976, 161).

¹⁸ It is unclear the exactly amount of Nationalists and of Republican bodies buried in the Valley of the Fallen. Smith declares that some 40.000 civil war victims lay in the monument (Smith, 2007, 107).

¹⁹ Primo de Rivera had been the dictator from 1923 until 1930 and he founded *La Falange*.

On the other side of the basilica can be found the monastery and the *hospedería* (hospice), which is now a hotel and is often used for conferences and meetings. In the monastery there is a great library with more than 20.000 items focused on social sciences.

Regarding the cross, Franco wanted a cross to be seen from everywhere. The cross is 150m high and was designed by Méndez. To build it, he inspired himself by the Statue of Liberty, 92m high, and by the highest Pyramid in Egypt of 146m, among others. The sculptures by Juan de Ávalos of the Four Evangelists (18m high and 12m wide figures) and the Four Cardinal Virtues (16m high and 6 m wide figures) are in the base of the cross (Harrington, 2005).

Function

Figure 5 Political acts in the Valley



Source: (www.elmundo.es)

The Valley of the Fallen originally had two different functions, a religious and a political/military one. The religious function is clear since the monument does have a church, with a daily mass, and a monastery with monks living inside. Concerning the political and military function, in the site can be found the remains of the last two Spanish dictators and this fact influences the function of this place.

Even though some historians suggest that Franco didn't want to be buried in the Valley of the Fallen, Sueiro (1976, 259) affirms that the hole and the gravestone were made in 1956. Therefore, the Valley of the Fallen could be understood as Franco's Mausoleum and therefore the political function will always in a way be present. Until the year 2006, it was very common that on 20 November and on the following days, followers of the Francoist regime and members of the still existing rightist radical groups would go to the Valley to attend the annual commemoration of the death of the *Generalísimo* Franco (Fig. 5).

According to an article from the Spanish newspaper *El País*, in the year 2004, around 8,000 people attended the commemoration.²⁰ The year 2006 was declared the Year of Historical Memory by the Government of PSOE²¹ and therefore, the "Law of Historical

²⁰ As it is said in the article, the Foundation Francisco Franco complained the fact that the visitors had to pay an entrance fee. Only those who arrived less than half an hour before starting the commemoration didn't pay any (El País, 2004).

²¹ *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* – Spain's Socialist Workers Party.

Memory”²² was presented and approved by the Congress of Deputies on 31 October 2007. The law was registered as the Law 52/2007, 26 December, but it was published in the BOE (*Boletín Oficial del Estado*) on the 27 December (BOE 2007).

This Law should be a Declaration of reparation and personal recognition:

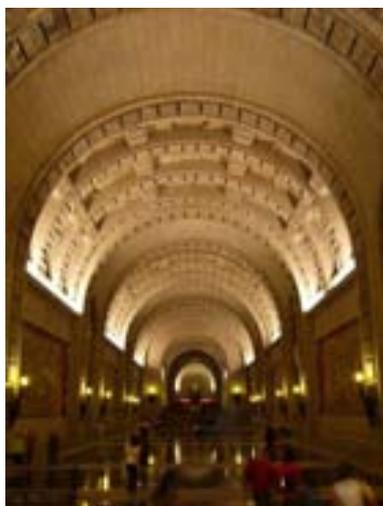
“recognises the right of those who suffered persecution and violence during the Civil War and the Dictatorship to moral restitution and recovery of their personal and family memory.”

(Ministerio de Justicia, 2007)

Articles 15 and 16 of the law are related to two issues which are or relevance to this essay. Article 15 deals with symbols and public monuments declaring that all symbols, coats of arms, plates, etc related either to the Civil War or to the Dictatorship should be removed as long as they are not part of private collections or artistic representations. In order to identify these objects, the government will collaborate with the autonomies and with local entities to prepare a detailed register of the still existing symbols and monuments.

Whereas, article 16 could clearly be seen to refer to the Valley of the Fallen, in this case, the monument will be treated like any other place of worship and public cemetery. Furthermore, it will be prohibited to perform or organise any political act related to the Spanish Civil War, its major figures or Francoism. According to an article from the Spanish Newspaper *El Periódico de Aragón*, 700 people visited the Valley of the Fallen on 20th November 2008. (*El Periódico de Aragón*, 2008).

Figure 6: The interior of the Church.



Source: (www.flickr.com)

²² This law has been and still is much discussed among politicians and the population. Some of them do agree with the necessity of such law dealing with the recognition and the reparation of wounds to the relatives of the victims -a very important issue in this law is the identification of the thousands of bodies which are still lying in communal graves. On the other side, there is a group of people who identifies this law as a mistake because it is reopening closed wounds. The main question is; are these wounds closed for everyone? Or only for those who won the Civil War or were on the right side during the Dictatorship? The relatives of the Nationalists victims had the chance to deal with their suffering differently than the relatives of the Republican victims. According to a survey published by *Instituto OPINA* in July 2006, 64.5% of the Spain's population affirmed that the Civil War should be more investigated and the victims should be rehabilitated by locating and identifying the mass graves and compensating affected people. Only 25.6% of the populations disagreed (Opina, 2006).

The Valley of the Fallen could have another function, an educational one. As some politicians and associations have indicated, it could be more used as a museum or as a place of display. For that, a new interpretation concept should be projected in order to communicate this uncomfortable Heritage as authentically and objectively as possible (discussed in more detail later).

Meaning

As a Monument, *The Valley of the Fallen* is:

“not only important thanks to its architectural and sculptural characteristics but also because of its meaning and how this meaning has been perceived since its existence” (Confino, 1997)

The huge dimensions of the complex do communicate the importance of Franco at that time and expresses the dominance he had over the whole country of Spain. Nevertheless, many people ask themselves if he really built the Valley for all Spaniards (Sueiro, 1976, 223). Even though in this foundational decree Franco presented this monument as a memorial for all victims of the Spanish Civil War, this monument turned to be a clear symbol of victory and not of reconciliation (Harrington, 2005).

One of the issues which corroborates this idea is the fact that the first Republicans were only buried there in the 1960s and the amount of Republican victims buried there is far outnumbered by nationalists.²³

At the beginning, it was problematic to transfer the victims to the Valley due to a decree which did not allow the transferring of bodies which had been dead for more than ten years. The Valley of the Fallen was finished twenty-three years after the beginning of the Spanish Civil War and its first victims, so Franco ordered a revision of this decree and extended the deadline. It was agreed they would ask for permission before bringing the victims to the chapels but it is known that in many cases they did not ask for permission and they just transferred the bodies. In other cases, families from both sides disagreed with decisions to transfer the remains of their relatives to

²³ It was planned to inscribe the names of the victims buried in the Valley on the black marble walls in order to recognise them. At the end, they had to discard the idea on the one hand because it was impossible for them to know exactly all the names related to the remains brought to the Valley, and on the other side, because they didn't want to mix names of Republican and Nationalists victims. (Sueiro, 1976 p. 226).

the Valley because they did not want them to share a space with their “enemies”.

For these reasons, the meaning of this memorial differs from individual to individual. For those who followed the ideals of the fascist regime and belonged to the winner’s side, this is a great memorial to visit. Whereas for those who lost their relatives and friends fighting against the Nationalists, for those who do not know where the bodies of their relatives are, for those who were not asked permission to transfer the remains of their relatives to the site, and for those who don’t identify themselves with Franco’s motto: “for those who died for la patria and for god”, for all those, the Valley of the Fallen can be a place of uncomfortable heritage that they prefer not to visit.

Confino suggests that:

“...the crucial issue is not what is represented but how this representation has been interpreted and perceived” (1997)

The Valley of the Fallen continues to present questions of understanding and perception, even after the Law of Historical Memory prohibiting political commemorations at the site.

A case of Dark Tourism

The terms Dark Tourism, Thanatourism, Atrocity Heritage or Grief Tourism have been used by scholars to define the kind of tourism related to a heritage site, associated with death and disaster (Trotta, 2006). According to Seaton, thanatourism is:

“[the] travel dimension of thanatopsis, defined as travel to a location wholly, or partially, motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death, particularly, but not exclusively, violent death.” (1996, 240)

The Valley of the Fallen is a memorial in which thousands of victims of the Spanish Civil War are buried and it is at the same time a tourist destination visited by at least 400,000 visitors each year.

Introduction

According to the sources, the first scholars who used the term “dark tourism” were Foley and Lennon in 1996 (Stone, 2008), nevertheless

dark tourism as such has existed for centuries. Some examples of dark tourism can be found already in the middle ages when pilgrims decided to undertake a pilgrimage to a place where a martyr had died.

Stone suggests that;

“despite increasing academic attention paid to dark tourism, understanding of the concept remains limited, particularly from a consumption perspective.” (2008, 574)

What are the motivations of the tourists to visit this kind of sites? This is one of the most important questions, which arises among scholars when trying to categorise dark tourism sites. Are tourists fascinated by death or do they just try to look for their own identity? Stone (2008, 576) affirms that it is not possible to analyse and study dark tourism without considering the reasons why tourists visit places related to death and suffering. Many scholars have tried to establish a categorisation of dark tourism sites according to their nature like Miles²⁴ or Stone²⁵, whereas a categorisation related to the motivation of the visitors would be more improbable since there are many social, political and geographical aspects which can influence any motivation. As a result, there could be uncountable kinds of dark tourism when focusing on the reasons or motivation of the visitors to visit such sites.

What could be the motives for visiting the Valley of the Fallen? It would be interesting to undertake a survey *in situ* asking the visitors about the aim of their visit. Surely, even in such a „political“ and discussed memorial, controversial responses could be found. From the visitor who has travelled there to venerate the remains of Franco and of the Nationalist victims, through the visitor who has heard that from there nice landscape views can be seen, to the visitor who is staying in Madrid and has decided to spend a day outside the city visiting *El Escorial* and the Valley of the Fallen because they are so close to each other.

²⁴ Miles proposes a distinction between sites associated with death, disaster and suffering and others which are directly sites (quoted in Stone, 2008).

²⁵ Stone proposes a range from the „darkest“ to the „lightest“ forms of dark tourism. According to him there are seven categories which are influenced by many factors (political, ideological, temporal and spatial) which gives them an “intensity of darkness”.

Tourism during the Spanish Civil War

During the Spanish Civil War, war was seen as a tourist attraction which could bring a great amount of revenues to the country. The wartime tourist service was led by Luis A. Bolín and he designed the so called *Rutas Nacionales de Guerra*²⁶ as a propaganda method by which to inform foreigners of the real situation in Spain with the Spanish Civil War in which Nationalists were saving Spain from the Republicans (Pack, 2006). They were first offered from 1 July 1938 even though the Nationalists had not won the war at that point. Tourists, not only from Europe but also from other continents like the United States of America or from Australia, booked these tours which were offered from July 1 until October. They cost 8 Pounds per person, lasted nine days and included accommodation in first-class hotels and three meals per day. The tourists were given a brochure advertising the *Rutas* (North and South Routes) and were taken to battle sites with guides who would only make a pro-nationalist interpretation (Hoguín, 2005). It could be said of Spain that it is the only country which has organised tourist tours during a Civil War. As soon as the World War II started, foreign tourists didn't come anymore but Spaniards started visiting battlefields and booked these kind of tours. Later on, foreign tourists came to Spain again so the Spanish tourism industry became more and more complex and Franco decided to create the Ministry of Information and Tourism in 1951 (Pack, 2006, 64). From then on, Franco's regime tried to develop new infrastructures and to advertise Spain, as a cheap place to go on vacations.

Tourism in the Valley of the Fallen

The Valley of the Fallen was inaugurated on 1 April 1959 and since then it has been highly visited. Visitors have since 1959 had to pay an entrance, which is said to have covered the costs of its construction. Both Holguín (2005) and Smith (2007) share the view that the Valley of the Fallen receives ca. 400.000 visitors per year although not all of them visit this place exclusively. Most tourists are visiting Madrid and decide to spend a day outside the capital by visiting *El Escorial*²⁷ and the Valley of the Fallen. The Valley of the Fallen is a recommended trip for all Madrid visitors. Within guide books there is normally

²⁶ National War Routes.

²⁷ The Royal Seat of San Lorenzo de *El Escorial* was built during the reign of King Philip II between 1562 and 1584. It is a great basilica-church and a monastery which has been used as a royal pantheon during the last centuries. The Emperor Charles V, King Charles I of Spain, was also buried here. Franco chose a place to build the Valley of the Fallen which is close (12km) to *El Escorial* (Patrimonio Nacional).

between one and two pages of explanation with one or two pictures. One of them is always a picture of the imposing cross which crowns the memorial. Regarding the descriptions, often they try to follow political correctness and they do not explain much about the history or meaning of the site.

A German guide book, "*Madrid und Kastilien*" from the collection *Richtig Reisen*, described the Valley of the Fallen as:

„die wohl merkwürdigste und umstrittenste aller spanischen Gedenkstätten“²⁸

According to the description of Dark Tourism or Thanatourism, the Valley of the Fallen could be considered a great example of dark tourism in Spain. This is not the only case of dark tourism in the country, there are also towns like *Belchite*²⁹, or towns in which the *Batalla de l'Ebre*³⁰ took place, which are also visited. These places are examples of battlefield and dark tourism.

Interpretation

Interpretation is a very important issue when it comes to provide the proper information to explain the history of a heritage place. It is an especially important and difficult task when interpreting a battlefield or a dark tourism site. As Smith states:

“the challenge for the manager and interpreter is to present the ,truth“ about the historical period and events under review without the influence of any ,political correctness“ then current at the time of creation of the interpretation”. (2007, 103)

When visiting a dark tourism site visitors expect, from the site and/or from the institution to which the site belongs to, the information related to the place in order to learn not only about its history but also

²⁸ The strangest and most controversially discussed Spanish Memorial (Braun, 1993, 102).

²⁹ The present-day village is not the original one since that one was destroyed by the Republicans in August 1937. Franco decided not to reconstruct the village but to construct a new one a few kilometres away from the original one. The old village should remain as a testimony of the “disasters” undertaken by the Republicans. This case was used as political propaganda for the Nationalists, especially when tourists visited the village, took pictures and notes about the comments and then, they published about Belchite in their countries of origin. (Holguín, 2005)

³⁰ Battle of the River Ebre. Franco designated the river as a border between both sides of the Civil War. Nevertheless, many villages and towns were separated naturally by the river, which some people had to fight against friends, neighbours and relatives during the Civil War.

about the importance and meaning of the site. Visitors rely on the information provided and expect the contents to be authentic and objective. Nevertheless, it is commonly known that interpretation doesn't always fulfil these requirements and very often offers subjective information and deformed realities.

Wight affirms (2005, 123) that manipulating interpretation, due to external factors like politics, with the aim to increase the sensational experience of the visitors, can also lead to the situation of not believing what is being explained or told. Regarding the Valley of the Fallen, Smith (2007) has realised an accurate analysis of the situation in the site concerning interpretation. He argues that the Valley of the Fallen lacks interpretation not only about its history but also about the victims buried at the site. There are no interpretation panels dealing with the Spanish Civil War or with any other issue related to the valley, apart from visitor's information on opening-times and warnings. After passing the security area, it is possible to hire an audio-guide or to buy some objects, books or postcards in the small shop. Apparently, the information of the audio-guide differs from the information of the guidebook so far, that the guidebook doesn't mention the 40,000 victims buried behind the walls of the Church, but the audio-guide does. Another criticism from Smith related to interpretation is the fact that the audio-guide explains the history of the site while using the sound of falling bombs. For scholars and part of the visitors, it is clear that this sound is only meant to relate the site with the Civil War –the war finished in 1939 and the construction of the site started in 1940. But for sure, there are visitors who leave the Valley by thinking that it was constructed during the Spanish Civil War.

Smith misses in the interpretation of the Valley any information related specially to the Civil War, but the only panels or content he gets are the tombs of Franco, of Primo de Rivera and an inscription remembering the victims which says: "*Cayeron por Dios y por España*"³¹.

Since the year 2006, with the presentation of the Law of Historical Memory, more attention has been paid to the Valley of the Fallen. Some ideas and initiatives have been published in order to give the place another interpretation, function and meaning. Turning the site more into a museum or interpretation centre would be the wish of some like of ICV (*Iniciativa per Catalunya Els Verds*)³². Opinions vary

³¹ They fell for God and for Spain.

³² Catalonia's Left Green Initiative. (Smith, 2006 p. 167).

from individual to individual, and from party to party, and it seems difficult to find a consensus on the Valley of the Fallen.

Conclusion

Dealing with Dark Tourism is a complex issue in many countries and in Spain the situation is no different. Especially, when relating it with the Spanish Civil War and with the period of Dictatorship, since both finished only recently.

In this essay, an academic framework of the history and characteristics of the Valley of the Fallen related to Dark Tourism has been established, in which a special consideration has been given to the importance of the interpretation presented at the site. Many aspects impact the objectivity and the authenticity of the information in interpretation panels, guide books, audio guides, brochures, etc. of a site. Regarding the Valley of the Fallen, the direct or indirect influence of the current political and social situation of Spain has always played and still plays a very important role when dealing with the interpretation and meaning of this site. This is especially important when working with the still living and collective memory of a great many Spaniards.

Nevertheless, much has been achieved during the periods in which the leftist party PSOE (*Partido Socialista Obrero Español*) has been in the power, like the much discussed Law of Historical Memory of 2006, which has prohibited political commemorations in the Valley and no fascist symbols are allowed at the site anymore. Another important aspect in this case study is the fact, that there are still survivors from either the Spanish Civil War or from the Dictatorship who in some occasions also contributed to the construction of this site and who have a different relationship to the Valley than external visitors. This target group has different needs and has to be taken into consideration.

For the last few years, especially since the year 2006, Spaniards are getting used to terms like Law of Historical Memory, collective memory, uncomfortable heritage, recognition, the need for the identification of mass graves, battlefield tourism, and so on. Even though not all Spaniards have the same opinion regarding these terms, it is a matter of time that interpretation will evolve to a more professional one, becoming more authentic and objective with the aim to communicate the „truth“ and educate it to the visitors.

In case readers do ask themselves if the author of this essay has visited the Valley of the Fallen, I must say that I haven't. I was born in Tarragona in 1979 and I grew up in a very Catalan milieu surrounded by relatives, like my grandfathers, who used to tell me stories about the Spanish Civil War when they fought against the Nationalists. Thanks to the stories from them and from other relatives, I realised that not only my language but also freedom and human democratic rights had been persecuted during the Dictatorship and I disagreed with the fascist regime. Therefore, I never had the wish to visit the Valley of the Fallen.

Nevertheless, after the present research for this essay I have come to another conclusion. A visit to the Valley with my own eyes will provide me a more objective opinion about its current function and its interpretation.

I wish I could improve the interpretation of the Valley of the Fallen in order to provide a more pedagogical approach of the site and its historical background to the visitors.

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10. Monuments of the GDR-Era: Difficult Remains of a German Socialist Past

Anja Merbach

Introduction

Figure 1: Marx-Engels-Forum



Source: (www.flickr.com)

Figure 2: Karl Marx monument



Source: (www.flickr.com)

Figure 3: Thälmann monument



Source: (www.flickr.com)

In its forty years of existence the German Democratic Republic (GDR) made extensive use of public space as a means of representation and cultural memory and as a propagandistic stage. Here, a central instrument to the self-presentation of the GDR was the erection of innumerable monuments commemorating central persons in the „hero mythology“ of the GDR. Every bigger town in East Germany used to have its own statue of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Liebknecht or Luxemburg (Fig.1 & 2). When the wall came down, these monuments faced different fates; most of them were demolished, some were simply removed and stored somewhere and a few remain at their place until the present day. An overarching policy or consent, how to deal with these remnants of the GDR, did not exist then and does not exist today. This paper wants to introduce two monuments in Berlin, giving a description of their physical appearance and an insight into their meaning in a GDR context. Exemplarily, by means of these two monuments, the general discussion and arguments behind the question “Keeping or demolishing?” are represented.

Ernst Thälmann monument, Berlin

Until the present day, a very representative remnant of political art in the GDR, the monument of Ernst Thälmann, can be found in the district of Prenzlauer Berg, Greifswalder Straße (Fig. 3). The monumental sculpture survived the turbulent times of 1989/1990 in a sound condition, putting aside newly added layers in form of graffiti. There is still this huge base, made of Ukrainian granite, topped with a half length bronze sculpture of Thälmann. Thälmann looks into the distant while raising his right fist and a stylized working class flag is placed behind his back. The monument, carefully arranged in interaction with the vast plain concrete structure of the place, was planned and implemented by the famous Russian sculptor Lew Jefimowitsch Kerbel in the 1980's (1981-1986) (Georg Kolbe Museum *et al*; Dickel & Fleckner, 2003, 115-116). With its big proportions of 14 meters height and 15 meters width (Georg Kolbe Museum *et al*) it dominates the otherwise empty and dreary appearing location. Also part of this composition of monument and place had originally been a

couple of big bronze plates, framing the entrance area to the place. The plates, containing engraved quotations of Thälmann and Honecker (former head of the GDR), were removed in June 1990 following a decision of the district council of Prenzlauer Berg (Dickel & Fleckner, 2003, 116). However, the removal of these plates didn't harm the expressiveness of the monument itself. Also today, it is still an obvious example of a propagandistic monument fitting into the „hero mythology“ of the GDR.

Figure 4: Thälmann monument, Berlin



Source:

(Merbach, October 2008)

The GDR policy worked with certain leading figures that were presented to the people as heroic representatives of the fight for a communist system. One of these idols was Ernst Thälmann. Thälmann, chairman of the German Communist Party from 1925 until his arrest 1933, was stylized by the Socialist Party of the GDR as THE leader of the working class movement (Börrnert, 2002, 30 et. seq.). Thälmann (or „Teddy“ according to his commonly used nickname), his life and his death in the Buchenwald concentration camp in August 1944 were central parts of GDR propaganda and were represented to the people with several key phrases (Börrnert, 2002, 30 et. seq.; Adam, 1992., 17):

- “He is the great leader of the working class.”
- “He is an advocate of the Marxism/Leninism theories.”

- “He is the best friend of the Soviet Union.”
- “He never betrayed his beliefs and died as a martyr, killed by the Nazis.”
- “Thälmann has never fallen.”

Due to this state-ordered glorification Thälmann became a common subject of worship, eternalized countless times in the public spaces of East German towns and cities. Today, the traces of this „hero of the working class“ are hardly visible anymore; only a few monuments survived the times. Also the future of the Thälmann monument in Berlin seems uncertain. After plans for an artistic competition regarding future ideas for the monument in 1992 (Flierl, 1992, 51) and discussions about its demolition, the debate about the Thälmann monument became silent. At present, no reasons for its demolition are visible, preservation however seems not to be certain as the monuments“ maintenance is very costly.

Lenin monument, Berlin

Figure 5: Leninplatz, model



Source: (Merbach, 2008)

A second well-known monument in Berlin, though not in existence anymore, is the Lenin monument. It used to stand at the Leninplatz, today called Place of the United Nations, in the district of Friedrichshain. The monument, a statue of the communist politician and leader of the Soviet Union, Wladimir Iljitsch Uljanow (Lenin), was created by the Russian sculptor and then president of the Academy of Arts of the Soviet Union, Nikolai W. Tomski and inaugurated in 1970 (Deutsches Historisches Museum 1995; Dickel & Fleckner, 200, 14). With 19 meters in height, the colossal statue was completely made of Ukrainian red granite and presented Lenin in a stern pose with his left hand at his reverse and at his back a stylized flag (Georg Kolbe Museum *et al*). This type of monument – revolutionist in front of flag – was later obviously taken as a model for the Thälmann monument, which had been designed in the same way (Adam, 1991, 55).

However, again the monument wasn't to be viewed alone but rather in the context of its surroundings. The physical structure of the Leninplatz had been created as a careful composition, the place itself designed on the basis of a plan of the architect Hermann Henselmann (1905-1995, in particular known for the „wedding-cake style“ of the Karl-Marx-Allee in Berlin) (Zimmer, 1991) (Fig.5). The Lenin monument, although originally not part of the plan of Henselmann, fitted, however, very well into the concept of the place: the statue constituted the centre, its effect and atmosphere enhanced through the high rise buildings in the background, which through their stepped appearance continued the flag motive of the monument

Figure 6: Leninplatz with Lenin monument



Source: (www.ddr-fotos.de)

Figure. 7: Lenin monument 1991 with the added inscription "Keine Gewalt" (No violence)



Source:
(www.bundesbildstelle.de)

(Schützler, 2001) (Fig.6). Hereby, the composition of the Lenin monument and Leninplatz can be considered as a typical example of the so called „synthesis concept“ of the 1960’s, a concept which ought to combine architecture and plastic arts (Adam, 1991, 51; Adam, 1992,25).

Looking back, the erection of the Lenin monument can be viewed of certain significance in the political context of the GDR. The monument was considered as a gesture towards the „brother state“ Soviet Union, showing the deep friendship between the two states (Deutsches Historisches Museum 1995). Furthermore, its erection also demonstrated the significance of Lenin and his doctrines for the political agenda of the GDR. The monument was intended to be a „monument for the people“, or, how Walter Ulbricht, then head of the GDR, expressed it at the inauguration day: “The place and the monument are a testimony, that the working class and all working people love and worship Lenin, implementing his doctrines and using all their power for the victory of the socialism.” (Schützler, 2001).

With the fall of the wall the Lenin monument experienced the same fate like many other monuments of the GDR time: it was demolished. Despite many demonstrations and even lawsuits against it, the demolition of the monument began in November 1991, based on a decision of the district of Friedrichshain (Deutsches Historisches Museum 1995; Schützler 2001) (Fig. 7). The statue was segmented into 129 pieces and the segments were buried to be forgotten in a gravel pit in the Seddiner Heide, an area in the Berliner district Köpenick (Rüttimann, 2003). The Leninplatz was renamed and the monument was replaced by a fountain with five big stones, representing the five continents.

Keeping or Demolishing?

The fates of both monuments introduced, although very different, can be considered as exemplarily for the handling of the remnants of the GDR after the fall of the wall. They are the results of an aimless appearing debate about the fate of the GDR monuments in the urban landscapes of East Germany. This debate was and is characterised by arguments from various perspectives such as the historical or the political perspective or the architectural conservation or town-planning point of view. Also arguments motivated purely by the victors-rule or nostalgia played and play a significant role. What argument prevails over the other seems to be coincidence; a common concept or at least consent does not exist. This is also visible by means of the

monuments introduced here: Whereas the Lenin monument was demolished, one couldn't agree on a decision for the Thälmann monument and in the end simply the lack of money prevented a demolition in 1993 (Handelsblatt, 2002). Altogether, the debates and following actions of the past years demonstrate helplessness rather than a proactive tackling of this issue. The heritage of GDR times polarises; it provokes many different opinions and controversial decisions, leading to solutions that often lack a long-term perspective (like the buried Lenin segments).

By examining the discussion about the monumental remains of the GDR closer, one can identify by no means all determining arguments. Furthermore, the arguments of course differ from one particular case to another. However, here it is intended to represent at least the major argumentation that can be observed in the debates about the keeping or demolishing of GDR monuments.

Thus, the main arguments argued by the representatives of the PRO KEEPING party can be identified as followed (Dickel & Fleckner, 2003, 15, 191; Zimmer 1991; Handelsblatt 2002; Stäuble, 2005):

- The monuments are testimony of the GDR history. They shouldn't be removed but rather taken as an opportunity and means to reflect on German history.
- The monuments were often officially registered monuments in careful composition with their surroundings. Their demolition leads to the destruction of ensembles in the urban environment.
- The decision for demolition is often simply a political statement (the victors write the history rule).
- There is no need for demolition. Rather one should develop interpretative concepts, adding a new layer to this difficult heritage.

On the other hand, the party CONTRA KEEPING argue the following way (Handelsblatt 2002; Zimmer 1991; Wellmann 2005):

- The keeping of these monuments is from a political point of view not justifiable. Keeping the monuments equals keeping alive the ideology of the socialist GDR system.
- A capital like Berlin has to identify itself with its monuments. The public space must represent a valid political attitude, in particular towards foreign visitors.
- Keeping the monuments contributes to a glorification of the GDR system and nostalgia.

- Keeping the monuments costs money which could be used elsewhere.

The exposed arguments of both sites show the diversity of factors, thoughts and opinions playing a role in dealing with the monumental remnants of GDR times. But however diverse the argumentation might be, one could ask the question why it seems so difficult to find consent in this matter.

Conclusion

Here, we approach the essence underlying the whole debate – the uneasy and uncomfortable emotional potential which is involved in the GDR heritage. This emotional potential originates at a first glance very clearly from the fact that the GDR heritage stems from a political system, which caused much pain, suffering and even deaths amongst its population. Thus, from a scientific standpoint the GDR heritage can clearly be ranked as „difficult / uncomfortable heritage“.

However, one has to note that there is a facet of the GDR heritage which distinguishes it from other difficult heritage sites such as battlefields or prisons: This facet is the also existing positive layer and positive perception of GDR heritage. Unlike concentration camps or prisons, the GDR heritage cannot solely be declared as presenting the „bad“ side of humans. It rather involves also positive feelings, testifying not only a time of suffering but also so much more: a forty years long phase in the life of so many people. This positive layer makes the emotional potential of the GDR heritage not less uncomfortable. Rather, it adds to the difficulties in handling this heritage as, due to the lack of a clear „good“/„bad“ classification, it makes it an even more sensitive issue.

How to deal with the different layers of the GDR heritage is the real difficulty. That the meaning of these layers will change in the course of time and with entering new semantic contexts adds to the existing difficulties. However, the multi-layered structure of heritage should be accepted and preserved and to contribute to the multi-layered chaos, maybe a new, contemporary layer should be added.

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11. The Holocaust Memorial in Berlin: a Reflection

Clara Rellensmann

Introduction

The Holocaust Memorial in Berlin demarcates the climax of a long debate in Germany concerning an appropriate form of remembrance of the genocide (www.goethe.de, 2009). One central question in this debate was the role of the memorial in relation to authentic sites of the holocaust. Another point of critique was and is that the memorial was placed in such a central and lucrative position within the cityscape of Berlin.

Under the present circumstances that contemporary witnesses of the holocaust are continuously disappearing and temporal distance to this difficult part of German history is kicking in, this paper is to reassess the two issues mentioned above.

In the following, a brief insight about the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe will be given and will point out how the memorial is trying to serve the purpose of keeping society's sensitivity for the history of the holocaust. Since the Holocaust Memorial is not an authentic site of the holocaust, the paper will discuss the importance of this site and assess the authenticity of the memorial itself. Thus, the location and purpose of the memorial will be discussed.

The Memorial and its history

The Memorial to the murdered Jews of Europe colloquially designated as the „Holocaust Memorial“ or simply as „The field of stelae“ is the result of decades of public debates and extensive planning processes (Fig.1). It consists of 2711 concrete slabs that cover approximately 19,000 square meters of unevenly sloping ground. The concrete slabs are 0.95 m deep and 2.38 m wide and of varying height from 0 to 4 m (Eisenman, 2007, 11). The memorial is supplemented with an information centre located underneath the field of stelae. The struggle for the creation of this memorial started in 1988 when publicist Lea Rosh publicly asked for a memorial dedicated for the murdered Jews of Europe (Schlusche, 2007, 14).

After the German reunification, in 1990, the association for the promotion of the memorial claimed the land "between the Brandenburg Gate and the former Chancellery of the Reich ... on top of the ruins of the centre of Nazi power" for the construction of the memorial (Schlusche, 2007, 15).

Figure 1: The field of stelae



Source:

(www.berlin.citysam.de)

In 1992 the federal government, which owned the land, declared that part of the pre-selected area be made available for the construction of a memorial, but it would still be a while for the plans to be implemented.

Two public competitions were held before a suitable proposal was found which went through several stages of modifications. Thus, after many public debates and various changes of the design, the Bundestag accepted the modified proposal that was designed by the Jewish architect Peter Eisenman (2005, 24). Thereafter in the resolution of 25 June 1999 it was stated that the memorial was to be supplemented with a Centre of Information (www.stiftung-denkmal.de).

The construction of the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe and of the underground Information Centre began on 1 April 2003.

Both, the Memorial and the Information centre were officially inaugurated on 12 May 2005.

The Information Centre

Figure 2: The four main exhibition rooms of the information centre



Source: (www.stiftung-denkmal.de)

The underground information centre was designed to complement the abstract form of remembrance that is embodied in the memorial above (www.stiftung-denkmal.de) (Fig.2). The museum is dominated by the formal language of the memorial: the ceiling shows notches where the concrete slabs above are located and some concrete slabs seem to grow into the exhibition space; display panels and various features of the exhibition design are in tune with the concept of the field of stelae (von Wilcken, 2007, 45).

Content wise, the information centre provides background material and concrete information about the dimension of the holocaust and about the Jewish victims. An important concept of the information centre is to make clear that each victim was an individual with an exceptional life story and fate (audio tour information centre). This becomes especially clear in the so-called „room of names“ where a name as well as dates of birth and death of one person is projected onto the four walls and brief biographical information about this person is read out in German and in English. The database of names is constantly being extended.

Apart from being a back-up of information for the rather abstract memorial, one major function of the Information Centre is to serve as a portal to the diverse landscape of memorial sites across Germany and Europe. A major part of the exhibition informs about European places and sites of persecution.

In the so-called „Gedenkstättenportal“, which is the last part of the exhibition, computer terminals offer the visitor information about museums, memorials and authentic places that can be visited all over Europe. Half the computers are linked to the database of names, Yad Vashem, located in Israel. A basic information search of a holocaust victim can be made on these computers by simply entering in the victims" name. One of the computers is linked to the German Federal Archive containing information about German Jews killed in the holocaust. All three databases are still being extended and thus visitors are welcome to fill out form sheets with information about a person they know of that died in the holocaust or a place of remembrance that is not to be found in the database of memorial sites yet.

A core concept of the public foundation that looks after the memorial is to offer workshops for young and old participants and to organize conferences and events concerning the latest research on the topic of the holocaust and racial discrimination.

The most recent extension of the exhibition is the video material that shows one thousand Holocaust survivors telling their own life stories. The Fortunoff Archive was established by the University of Yale and can be viewed in the Information Center's seminar rooms on appointment (Minkmar, 2008). This form of documentation is vital in order to preserve the memory of victims for future generations.

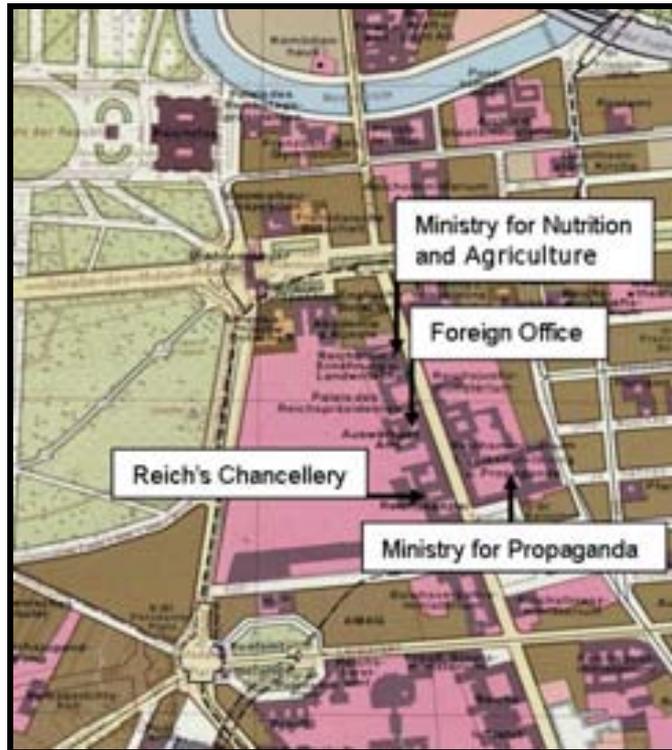
The Location

As mentioned above, the land made available for the construction of the memorial is of historical significance in many ways. The memorial is located at the edge of the Tiergarten where the former Minister's Gardens, first of the Prussian kingdom and later of the German Reich, were situated. During the era of National Socialism, important administrative units of Nazi power were based in the area of and around the memorial. The remains of the Gardens and buildings – most of them were heavily damaged after the war – disappeared with the GDR's building of the Berlin wall in 1961. The compound became part of the walls' death strip and thus each and every relict of former use was eliminated (Schlusche, 2007, 18).

Figure 3 shows the location of the memorial at the beginning of the 1940's. In close proximity were the main institutions of the National Socialist regime from where most decisions concerning the genocide were made (Schlusche, 2007, 15). Among these institutions were the ministry for nutrition and agriculture, the foreign office, the Reich's chancellery, and the ministry for propaganda.

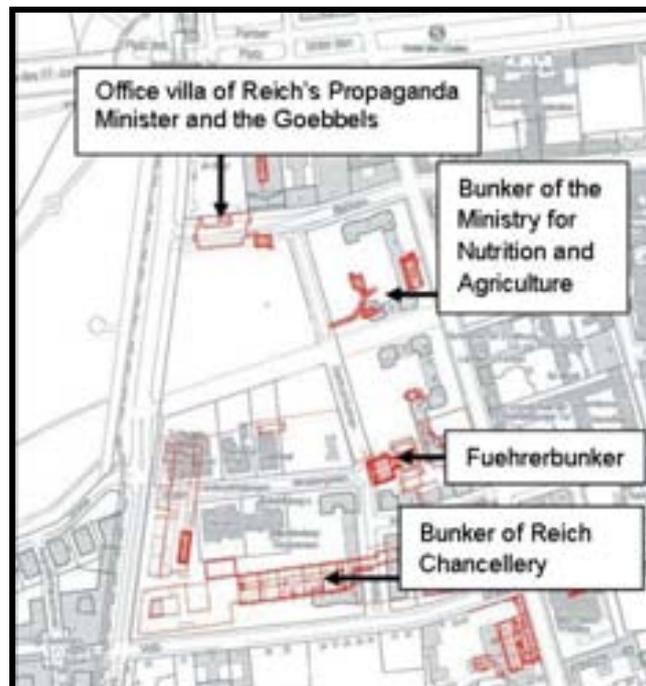
Figure 4 shows a map indicating the bunkers of the Nazi regime that were located in the area. Many do not exist anymore, but the Goebbels bunker remained unchanged on the northern edge of the memorial and is not accessible to the public at all. The „Führerbunker“ was located 200 to 300 m south of the memorial site, but above ground there is nothing to be seen besides merely an information plate telling of „the myth of the Führerbunker“.

Figure 3: Map of the area in the early 1940's



Source: (SDFEJE, 2007, 17.)

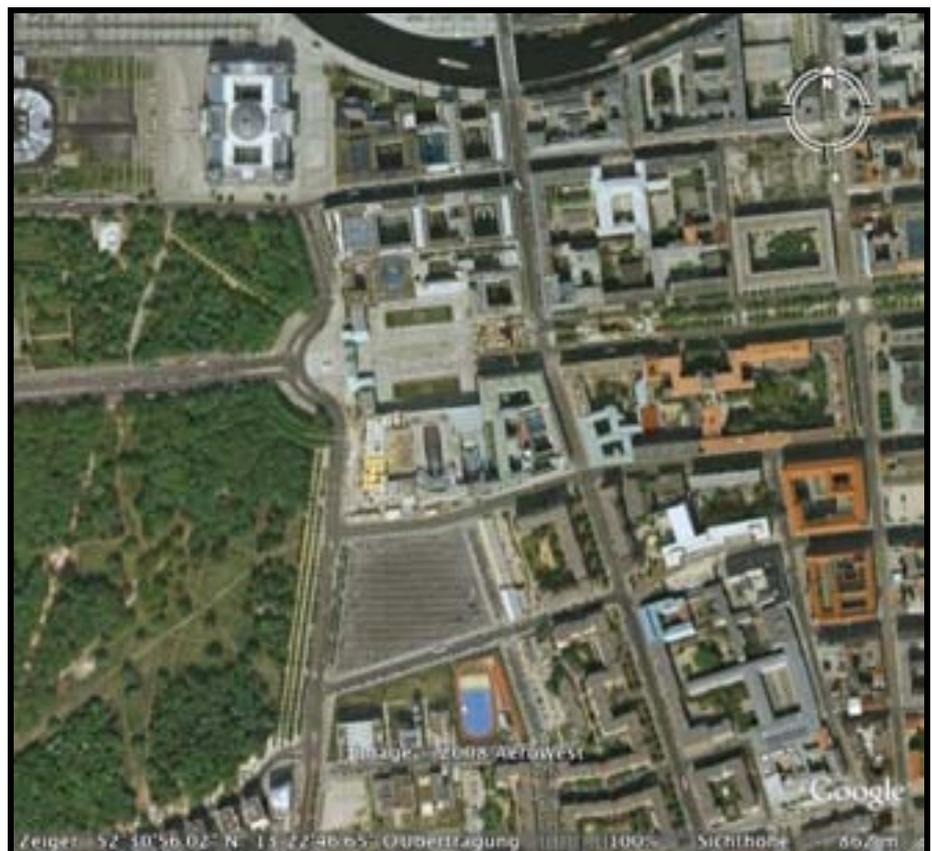
Figure 4: The field of stelae



Source: (SDFEJE, 2007, 18)

The urban planning concept was to locate the memorial right in the heart of Germany's capital city unlike most of the authentic sites of the holocaust (Heinrich, 2005, 22). Most concentration and extermination camps were established in remote areas and some of the sites were destroyed right after the extermination took place as if to deny the fact that it had ever taken place. Thus, it was important for the supporters of the memorial to place it right in the middle of public consciousness. The result is an open memorial for anyone to enter, located in one of the most popular zones of Berlin: it is only a five-minute walk from the Potsdamer Platz and located in Berlin's political centre; its immediate neighbors are Germany's federal state's embassies and the US and UK embassies and it is only a walking distance away from the Reichstag and the Brandenburg Gate (Fig.5). People claim one can consider the location of such a memorial at this very place a sign of taking political responsibility for the past (SDFEJE, 2005, 6).

Figure 5: Location of the memorial



Source:

Google Earth

Authenticity and purpose of the memorial

During the painful debates about erecting such a memorial, a major aspect of criticism was the danger of authentic sites of the holocaust losing their importance. Thus, it is vital to distinguish the different roles of authentic sites from the artificially created monument. The following paragraph points out the memorial's aspects of authenticity in the sense of being true to itself and not trying to be confused with original sites of the holocaust. The criteria used to assess the memorial's authenticity are taken from the Nara Document on Authenticity and refer to function, form and design, and location and setting.

According to the Nara Document on authenticity [...],

“depending on the nature of the cultural heritage, and its cultural context, authenticity judgements may be linked to the worth of a great variety of sources of information. Aspects of the sources may include form and design, materials and substance, use and function, traditions and techniques, location and setting, and spirit and feeling, and other internal and external factors”

(ICOMOS et al, 1994)

In the case of the „Holocaust Memorial“ the *nature of the cultural heritage* is, having been created to serve as a monument in the *cultural context* of contemporary Germany dealing with its National Socialist past.

The more specified *function* is to be read in the resolution by the German Bundestag of 25 June 1999 concerning the Memorial to the Murdered Jews of Europe. In this resolution the intention of the memorial is defined as follows:

The Federal Republic of Germany will erect a memorial to the murdered Jews of Europe in Berlin.

1.2 With the memorial we intend to honour the murdered victims, keep alive the memory of these inconceivable events in German history ,admonish all future generations never again to violate human rights, to defend the democratic constitutional state at all times, to secure equality before the law for all people and to resist all forms of dictatorship and regimes based on violence.

1.3 The memorial will be a central monument and place of remembrance, connected to other memorial centres and institutions within and beyond Berlin. It cannot replace the historical sites of terror where atrocities were committed.

(www.stiftung-denkmal.de, 2009)

Looking at the resolution it becomes clear why the Germans started naming the memorial „Mahnmal“ meaning „monument with an admonishing function“. It is to be seen as an admonishment to act righteously in the present and future.

The last sentence of paragraph 1.3 clearly states that the memorial does not aim at replacing the authentic sites of the holocaust. As described earlier, a major section of the information centre that supplements the memorial is dedicated to informing the visitor about authentic sites – even about the ones that do not exist any more for reasons of concealment during the Third Reich. In other words, the information centre stresses the importance of authentic sites and encourages the visitation thereof.

As mentioned in the resolution one of the main objectives is to keep the memory of the holocaust alive and therefore it is vital that the construction of the memorial brought this part of German history back into contemporary discourse. Almost everyone within Germany knows about the intense discussions that this Memorial caused in the media. No matter if there were many negative reactions towards the construction of the memorial, in the end, all these discussions show that the memorial has already achieved part of its purpose by just being in the public consciousness and making Germany think about its past. Some critical commentators even claimed that the long discourse is the real memorial and not the monument (www.goethe.de, 2009).

The memorial is traditional in the sense of using *material* such as concrete, which is a common means for the construction of memorials, but it is innovative in its *form and design*.

Peter Eisenman, the architect of the memorial says about its intention that

“The enormity and scale of the horror of the Holocaust is such that any attempt to represent it by traditional means is inevitably inadequate ... Our memorial attempts to present a new idea of memory as distinct from nostalgia ... We can only know the past today through a manifestation in the present.”

(www.stiftung-denkmal.de)

The design is to turn the visit of the memorial into an individual experience that causes the visitor to reflect about the genocide. Each individual entering the field of stelae will find him- or herself wandering alone, because the paths in between the concrete slabs are not wide enough for two people to walk next to each other. Thus, the visitation turns into an individual experience. Form and design of the memorial serve the function of individual memorization.

An important aspect of authenticity clearly is the *location* of the memorial on top of the ruins of the centre of Nazi power. Lea Rosh, the initiator of the memorial stated that this meant *to raise the murdered above their murderers and to raise the victims above the perpetrators* (Kirsch, 2003, 212/213). Looking at the historical significance of the claimed area, the memorial gains a layer of authenticity, but what is almost of more importance is the *setting* of the memorial in the government quarter and in the heart of the capital.

Overall, aspects like *form and design* and *location and setting* serve the purpose of the monument: to attract attention and make people think about what happened. Thus, the memorial bears up against the German term for monument, „Denkmal“, which derives from the verb to think about (www.goethe.de, 2009).

Time will show if the memorial will live up to the definition of authenticity in the sense of heritage conservation where it is understood “as the ability of a property to convey its cultural significance over time” (Stovel, 2007). For one thing is sure, that the memorial’s cultural significance is complex for being a monument to honour the Jewish victims of the holocaust and at the same time a testimony of Germany’s accounting with the past.

Conclusion

Coping with the past in the case of Germany means preserving the past. It is clear that the horror of the holocaust must never be forgotten in order to prevent the reoccurrence of similar events from ever happening again. Thus, Germany has a political responsibility that became apparent by the creation of such a memorial in a place with political and historical connotations. The memorial is not trying to replace authentic sites, but rather encouraging visitors to visit more sites of the holocaust. Although the memorial to the murdered Jews of Europe is not authentic in terms of being a place where persecution and extermination took place, it is authentic, because it

achieves its purpose by being in Germany's public consciousness concerning the holocaust – mentally through the media and physically through its location. Unlike authentic sites of the holocaust, this site is placed right in the middle of Germany's capital where it can seek the most attention.

The fact that the voices of the holocaust survivors are slowly, but surely falling silent, carries the danger of moving the memory of the holocaust further into the past. This can lead to a nostalgic form of remembrance (Kirsch, 2003, 2). As Eisenman said, *one can only know the past through its manifestation in the present*. The memorial to the murdered Jews of Europe is an attempt to transfer the past into contemporary discourse. This happens through the architecture of the memorial itself, but also through the experience one has when visiting the exhibition and walking through the field of stelae. Generation-spanning Workshops for students and seniors and the only recently publicised Fortunoff Archive are means to create new forms of remembrance.

Looking at the history of the memorial, it becomes clear that establishing a memorial for this „uncomfortable“ part of German history was a difficult issue, but necessary, because of Germany's political responsibility for its own past. It is questionable that monuments or even video archives can prevent the passing of time from having an impact on the memory, but they might be able to slow down the process of temporal distance. The „Holocaust Memorial“ could be considered as a constant reminder of the past that surely serves that purpose much better in this central location than authentic sites of the holocaust hidden in remote parts of Germany and Eastern Europe.

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12. The Guben Plastinarium: Context and Categorisation in Dark Tourism

Stephen Dicks

Figure 1: Plastinate Face



Source : (Quigley, 2005)

Figure 2: Plastinate Body



Source: (Body Worlds, 2007)

Introduction

The purpose of this essay is to examine the Guben Plastinarium and plastinate exhibits within the context of Dark Tourism. The structure of this paper is as follows; first a description of the plastination process and the Guben Plastinarium, followed by a look at the controversy and reasons for opposition to the practice and place. Next an examination within the context of existing definitions in the realm of Dark Tourism including Thanatourism and Black Spot tourism. Finally, a consideration of marketing practices and possible visitor motivation in relation to the „shades of darkness“ of the site in question and other associated exhibitions.

What is Plastination?

Plastination is a method of preserving and presenting the human body and other organic remains “for educational and instructional purposes” (Plastinarium, 2008). The process was invented by Dr. Gunter Von Hagen and was patented in 1977. Once a specimen is plastinated it is referred to as a plastinate (Fig. 1). There are two types of plastination. For standard plastination the body is embalmed and dissected to highlight the intended anatomical structures. The body is then bathed in acetone to remove soluble fats and replace the water in the body. The body is then plastinated by introducing certain rubber or plastic polymers in a vacuum chamber. The plastics replace the acetone in a process called „forced impregnation“. Plastinates are then positioned in the desired form and hardened using various methods including gas, light or heat (Fig.2).

The second method is called „sheet plastination“ (Fig. 3). The body is deep frozen, sliced into thin layers and a resin that will cure hard and clear is used during forced impregnation. Von Hagen considers the process a work in progress that has not yet been perfected. He is constantly experimenting with new polymers and infusion techniques (Plastinarium, 2008).

Figure 3: Sheet Plastinate Hand



Source: (Body Worlds, 2007)

With the liquids in the body having been replaced by the polymers what is left is mainly the plastic or rubber preserving the subject in detail with an almost unlimited shelf life. The process works on just about anything organic and the plastinates at the Guben Plastinarium range from inanimate objects like a piece of cheesecake, to mushrooms, snails, rats and pigs and full human body displays which have been preserved using both types of plastination.

What is the Plastinarium?

The Plastinarium in Guben is in their own words, “the only institution of its kind worldwide”. Part museum and part workshop, the Plastinarium “combines the exhibition “Body Worlds: The Original Exhibition of Real Human Bodies” with a transparent laboratory” that shows how the process of plastination takes place in just about every stage of the process. Body Worlds is a series of plastinate exhibits which have toured the world’s biggest and best museums and exhibition halls becoming one of the most popular and profitable museum exhibitions of all time and claiming attendance of over 25 million people since the shows first began. Over 100,000 people visited the Plastinarium in its first two years of operation (Plastinarium, 2008).

Figure 4: Guben Plastinarium



Source: (Plastinarium, 2008)

The Plastinarium, which contains about 150 individual specimens and 15 whole body plastinates, is in a sense the home base for the “Body Worlds” exhibits and though Von Hagen has several workshops, this is the only one designed as a tourist destination. Located in on the German side of Guben, a town shared with Poland, the museum resides in a 27,000sqft historic building, formerly a textile and hat factory (Fig. 4). Their goal is to contribute to medical education and healthcare as well as to showcase the plastination process (Plastinarium, 2008).

The focus of the introductory exhibit in the museum is the history of anatomy as a science including the progression of technology used to preserve organic remains. The second part is the plastination workshop (Fig. 5). Listening devices like those found at any tourist destinations allow visitors to key in numbers posted on each display to hear an explanation of the various stages of the plastination process, and they can see technicians working on plastinated bodies and body parts. While there may be only about 165 plastinates on display, the workshop contains dozens more „specimens” in some stage of completion. There is even a series

Figure 2: Plastinarium Workshop



Source: (Plastinarium, 2008)

Figure 6: Plastinate with Chess Board



Source: (Plastinarium, 2008)

of skeletons wearing hats as an interesting homage to the history of the building.

The third section of the Plastinarium houses the main plastinate exhibit hall that contains the majority of plastinated organs and where full body plastinates are located, skins removed on most to expose different systems such as the digestive, circulatory or nervous systems. Joints and bones are separated to show the different levels of musculature and in some cases comparisons are made between healthy and unhealthy organs.

The presentation is primarily scientific but is also undeniably artistic in nature. The full body plastinates are placed in various positions to look as though they are playing chess (Fig. 6), throwing a javelin or riding a bicycle. For Christmas 2008 there was a plastinated body dressed in a Santa suit, riding a sleigh drawn by four plastinated reindeer and bearing gifts, which were clear plastic boxes displaying organs such as a heart or liver, or small plastinated animals such as rats, mice and chickens. Little plastinated birds, nothing but the circulatory systems showing their form, sit in artificial trees spreading an interesting if not slightly gruesome style of holiday cheer.

Also at the Plastinarium there is a donor information room where visitors can get information on how to donate their own bodies to be plastinated, as well as a room dedicated to the life and history of the inventor of Plastination, Gunther Von Hagen. There is even a section of the prison cell he has had moved to the site to show how he lived while imprisoned by Stazi authorities under the former GDR government. Finally there is of course a gift shop where visitors can buy various plastination related memorabilia. It does not include any plastinated specimens for sale, just the regular tourist fare, mainly books, DVDs and postcards.

Figure 7: Protest in Guben



Source: (Day Life, 2007)

Controversy

Plastinate exhibits, including the Guben Plastinarium have been the subject of scrutiny, criticism, protests and boycotts from many different groups (Fig. 7). When the Plastinarium first opened in 2006 there was resistance from the local community. Protestors walked the streets carrying signs with slogans like „Profit from corpses? No thank you!“ (Day Life, 2007). Other plastinate exhibitions have been boycotted by the American Association of Clinical Anatomists (Ross, 2008), the Church of England in

Manchester (Church of England, 2008) and grassroots organisations such as „Dignity in Boston“ (Ginsburg, 2007).

The profitability of these exhibits is both a blessing and a curse for organisers of these events. On one hand the plastinate exhibits evidently provide large returns to their designers and hosts. On the other hand, the profitability gives detractors plenty of ammunition with which to attack the creators of such exhibits, their argument being that facts and figures cited by profiteers cannot be trusted as the money involved provides incentive for less than honest disclosure. With over 25 million people paying an entrance price ranging from 25 to 40 US\$ per person for the Body Worlds exhibits alone there is certainly incentive to keep these shows operational. The Plastinarium is a much more affordable visit at about eight Euros per person.

Ethical issues present themselves clearly as many believe that “human tissue should not be bought and sold or otherwise treated as an object of commerce” (Church of England, 2008). Profiting from displaying the remains of people who have donated their bodies or by selling their plastinated organs to medical schools is considered questionable ethical medical practice and furthermore, there have been serious allegations raised about the source of the bodies used by what has become the „business“ of plastination.

Figure 8: von Hagen with Plastinate



Source: (Plastinarium, 2008)

Von Hagen (Fig. 8) asserts that he only plastinates people who have donated their bodies for that purpose. All bodies in the Guben exhibit are said to have been donated by the deceased individual for plastination and display. This does not satisfy the hardened critics who question the early sources for bodies used during the experimental phase of plastination development and who continue to question the procurement of bodies from certain parts of the world. Regulations vary greatly from place to place, in England for example, proof of donation does not need to be proven for specimens acquired before 2001 (Human Tissue Authority, 2006; Church of England, 2008).

There is a rival company not directly associated with Von Hagen called Premier Exhibitions Inc that also tours plastinated body exhibits. Their shows have been highly criticised for using Chinese bodies which some believe to be those of prisoners who were executed and whose bodies were sold to the company without either the consent of the deceased or the knowledge of their families (Ross, 2008). Corcoran Laboratories supplies Premier Exhibitions and sells plastinates on their website including

individual organs, full body plastinates and fetuses in various stages of development (Corcoran, 2007).

Von Hagen has also been accused of unethical procurement of bodies and though he denies using questionable Chinese sources in 2001 he founded a private company, the Von Hagen Dalian Plastination Ltd., in Dalian, China, which currently employs a staff of 250 and a second company BIODUR Products, supplies polymers and materials for plastination to over 400 institutions in 40 countries (Plastinarium, 2008).

Though it may be disturbing to some, many are excited by the idea of being plastinated themselves. Critics say that this perpetuates the unrealistic social phenomena of attempting to deny death by attempting to halt decay, while proponents argue that the critics who refuse to accept this new form of educational tool are denying death by refusing to confront it and break down their barriers.

There have also been concerns from professionals in the field of anatomical science that the existing laws are not being properly enforced. In the United States for example there are rules and regulations guiding the transportation, storage and presentation of human remains, however the plastinates are reportedly shipped as plastic models for medical education, which is in direct contradiction to the marketing strategy advertising real human bodies (Ross, 2008). It is also this distinction between specimen and human remains that allows Corcoran Laboratories to sell plastinated bodies and body parts for profit.

Dark Tourism

Foley & Lennon's characterisation of Dark Tourism as a "phenomenon which encompasses the presentation and consumption (by visitors) of real and commodified death and disaster sites" (Foley & Lennon, 1996, p. 198) has been cited and discussed in several papers (Stone & Sharpley, 2008; Wight, 2006). They consider the presentation and commoditisation of these sites an "intimation of post modernity" (Lennon & Foley, 2000, p. 11) reliant on modern global communication and mass media that challenges "the inherent order, rationality and progress of modernity" (Stone & Sharpley, 2008, p. 478). They point out that at most sites the lines between education and commercialisation are blurred at best.

Their post-modern argument has been criticised by Stone & Sharpley (2008) as having ignored the long history of Dark Tourism which they and others including Seaton (1996) point out dates well back to the Middle Ages. Seaton sees the growing Dark Tourism phenomenon as being rooted in the basic human desire to understand and confront death. His term Thanatourism is defined as

“travel to a location wholly, or partially, motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death, particularly, but not exclusively, violent death, which may, to a varying degree be activated by the person-specific features of those whose deaths are its focal objects”

(Seaton, 1996, p. 240)

The Guben Plastinarium is not a place where death has occurred, nor does it focus on death or suffering rather, it is centered on education about the history of anatomy as a science and the advances in methods for representing and preserving organic remains. It showcases the plastination process with no mention of the actual deaths of the people whose bodies are on display. To this end it does not meet Seaton's definition of Thanatourism, though it could be said to satisfy one of his 5 activities of dark tourism as “travel to an artificial site where evidence of the dead has been assembled” (Seaton, 1996). It also provides a place for people to „encounter death“ in a very direct way, not as an idea or a memory but as a presence. The plastinates are not positioned to depict scenes of death or dying and yet they are the preserved physical remains of the dead and the idea of coming face to face with death in this way evokes strong feelings in many people.

Plastinate exhibits do not satisfy all the requirements outlined by Lennon, Foley or Sharpley either, but they do meet many of their criteria. They certainly challenge the social expectations and cultural norms established in traditional western societies, and they do make extensive use global communications, spreading the word about their profit making venture through websites, advertising and use of the instalments in popular movies like James Bond Casino Royal. News coverage about the controversy and court cases has not had an adverse effect on the popularity of the shows, quite the opposite. Just as Hirst's „Diamond Skull“ has blurred the boundary between art and commercialism, the plastinate exhibits have blended the boundaries of art, science and commercialism like never before.

The Plastinarium could be considered one of Rojek's Black Spots, not as a place where sudden or violent death occurred (Rojek, 1993, p. 136) but as a sort of transparent grave yard, inferring that the Body Worlds exhibits are in essence travelling cemeteries, moving black spots. They differ slightly in that rather than „traditional“ cemetery tourism where there is some degree of tourism management related to the gravesites of famous people; the focus with the plastinates is not on who they were but what they are. Despite the educational value and the emphasis thereupon, the main marketing strategy that draws the crowds to these exhibits is the promise of seeing „real human bodies“. Would displays of wax or plastic representations draw in the same crowds?

Categorisation and Shades of Darkness

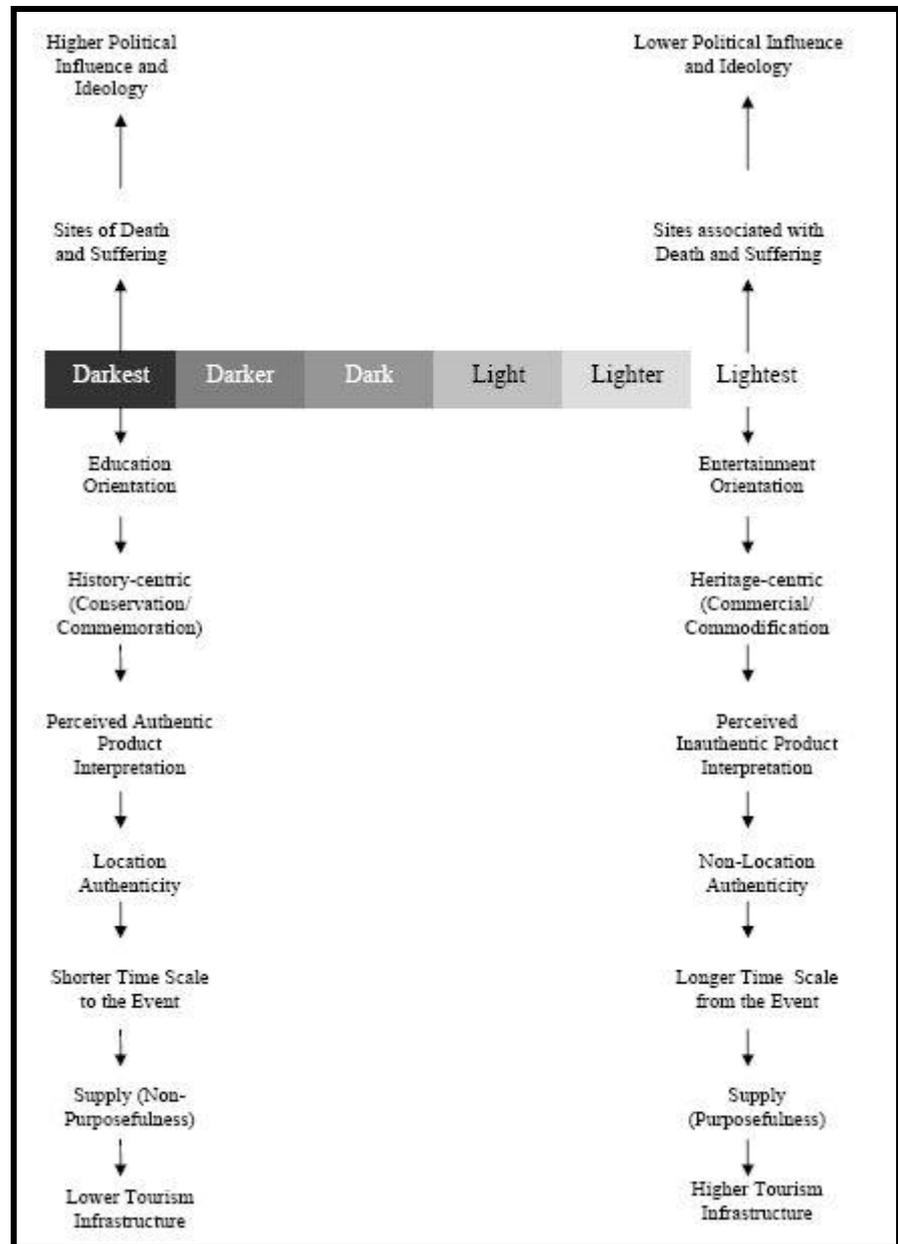
The „shade“ of Dark Tourism activities could be considered in terms of how far the activity deviates from social norms. Lighter activities being mainly accepted in the mainstream while the darkest tourism experiences would generally attract a smaller subsection of the population or exclusive groups.

In the case of plastinate exhibits, some elements Stone's Dark Tourism Spectrum (Fig. 9) are reversed due to the nature of the material presented. By his assessment, sites with high authenticity in product and location that are used for education are considered darker than commercial or commoditized sites with unauthentic product interpretation. In the case of these plastinate shows it is the authentic nature of the product and the worry that they will be used exclusively for commercial profit and not for educational reasons that creates the concerns being expressed. Using bodies for entertainment is considered more inappropriate and therefore „darker“ than using the plastinates for education.

The question „How dark is it?“ is ultimately determined by the individual visitors' motivation for seeking out dark tourism activities, and as Yuill (2003, p. 59) points out, very little research has been done as to the motivations of dark tourists. The Plastinarium is marketed primarily as an educational exhibit. If a visitor attending a site is truly there for the educational activity, the shade of darkness would be relatively „pale“ in comparison to a visit by an individual who was going to challenge themselves and confront death or more clearly, those who simply go to see body parts and dead people. There is no real way to know people's

motivation other than to ask them as they enter and trust they are being honest with their answer and themselves.

Figure 9: Stone's Dark Tourism Spectrum



Source: (Stone, 2006)

Aside from personal motivations, darkness of plastinate exhibits could be considered by balancing several factors including ethical and legal consideration such as the procurement of bodies; if the bodies cannot be authenticated as having been donated legally, or if the remains are those of executed political prisoners, murder victims or unidentified bodies from disaster sites or are being

displayed without consent, this would constitute darker sites and therefore darker tourist activities.

The marketing and focus should be considered. If a plastinate display is marketed and presented as educational in nature it would not be considered as dark as a show that is advertised as entertainment and presented in an artistic or less traditional manner. The darkest example would be an exhibit marketed as a „freak show“ or house of horrors with the bodies purposefully placed in undignified or degrading positions. It should also be ensured that what is actually being delivered is congruent with the marketing strategy; Yuill notes some inconsistencies associated with marketing dark sites as educational, pointing out that some dark sites have been known to present themselves as educational but are lacking in actual educational value (Yuill, 2003, 96).

Figure 10: Students at the Plastinarium



Source: (Plastinarium, 2008)

Given that the Plastinarium is advertised and presented as an educational experience (Fig.10), that the bodies have been donated and that bodies have been presented in a more or less appropriate way, the Guben Plastinarium can be considered quite light on the scale of darkness independent of the individual visitor motivation. Other Plastinate exhibits would have to be examined on a case-by-case basis. In 2005 the California Science Centre conducted an ethical review of the Body Worlds 4 exhibit. The review board consisted primarily of experts in medicine and theology from a variety of local religious groups and educational institutions focused on ethical and moral issues. The overall opinion of the review board was that this plastinate exhibition was of “considerable educational value ... what makes this exhibit so compelling (real bodies in everyday poses) is also what makes it most controversial” (Rudolph, Perlove, & Sass, 2005, 2). The committee outlines a code of ethics or best practice guide for hosting an exhibit featuring full body plastinates. The recommendations include that each site considering hosting such an exhibition conduct their own review to account for geographically specific laws, cultural difference and religious attitudes (Rudolph, Perlove, & Sass, 2005, 6).

Categorisation of sites such as the Plastinarium in this context has highlighted an additional concept that does not yet seem to have been considered. Neither Seaton’s five categories of dark tourism activities (1996) nor Rojek’s Black spot analysis include travel to sites or events involved in the „processes of death“ such as mortuaries, funerals, wakes etc. Is attending a funeral a form of Dark Tourism? What if you do not personally know the individual

for whom the service is being held? What of the thousands of mourners at Princess Diana's funeral or those who flocked to the funeral procession of Pope John Paul II? Were they grieving admirers, spiritual pilgrims or dark tourist? Plastination is a process associated with death that people can observe at the Plastinarium. Perhaps a new category is needed to account for this phenomenon of participating in or observing the processes relating to death to accommodate events and places like the workshop at the Guben Plastinarium.

Conclusion

The Guben Plastinarium does fulfill many of the requirements of a dark tourist site as defined and explored by those who have developed this academic interpretation of tourist behaviour, but not the central aspect of being explicitly focused on death or suffering. There is certainly an element of plastinate exhibition that makes people uncomfortable, which is primarily mitigated by focusing on the possible educational benefits.

Other plastinate exhibits that are marketed as places to see real human bodies with the educational value as secondary are on the moral borderline and the „shade“ of a visit to these sites seems mainly determined by the intentions of the visitor. It is likely that plastinate exhibits will continue to push the boundaries of moral acceptability and convention, and it seems that despite the controversy, there will come a time when plastinate displays are presented solely on their artistic merit ignoring the scientific and educational focus. The argument of critics is that education has already been made secondary, not to advance the arts or challenge social norms but to profit from curious novelty seekers, voyeurs who neither understand nor care for art or science. Finally it will be up to communities and concerned individuals to do their research, moderate discussions and decide what is appropriate for them.

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Part Two: Themes

Mediation, Politics & Ethics

13. Determining Darkness:

The Influence of Function, Necessity & Scale on the Memorialisation of Sensitive Sites

Sam Merrill

Introduction

The growing discipline relating to the study of *Uncomfortable Heritage* can be recognised to share key characteristics with the academic investigation of lived and traumatic geography exemplified by *Traumascapes* (Tumarkin, 2005), and the commercial phenomenon of *Dark Tourism* (Lennon & Foley, 2000). Each field of study can be recognised as a manifestation of the reintegration of death into the social consciousness following a modern disenchantment with the state of absent death (Lee, 2002), which has been caused by the “privatization of meaning, the medicalization of dying and the professionalization of the death process” (Stone & Sharpley, 2008, 585). Each discipline focuses on physical locations linked to human death, pain and/or suffering (from now on referred to as „sensitive sites“) and the individual and collective emotions that interaction with these locations elicits. However, each discipline also approaches these spaces and experiences from different departure points. Discussion of traumascapes draws greatly on psychological study, particularly with respect to post traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) (Tumarkin, 2005, 13) and considers the landscape as the composite result of both physical and psychiatric suffering (2005, 12). Dark tourism under any of its guises has an economic focus that investigates tourist visitation to sensitive sites, in terms of supply, with respect to dark tourism products, and demand, in terms of consumer motivation and expectation (Stone, 2006). Meanwhile consideration of uncomfortable heritage is more occupied with the traditional priorities associated with heritage management, namely the processes of; identification and definition; conservation and preservation; and interpretation and presentation. Whilst all of these disciplines are early in their academic development, the scholarly investigation of the interrelation of themselves and their subject matter namely, uncomfortable heritage sites (UHS), dark tourist attractions (DTA) and traumascapes has not been considered. Furthermore, the causes for whether a sensitive site comes to characterise one manifestation more than another and how these causes also affect how a sensitive site is memorialised has not been investigated. Therefore, this paper seeks to develop a theoretical and diagrammatical framework to demonstrate the interconnectedness of these three manifestations. A framework which reveals distinctions in each manifestation’s motives,

aims and intentions and also caters for sensitive sites which are unaccommodated in existing frameworks yet still represent UHS. Based on this framework the paper will argue that uncomfortable heritage and UHS represent a form of memorialisation which can encompass and overlap with certain forms and aspects of DTA and traumascapes, and yet exclude and be independent from others. Furthermore, this paper will demonstrate with the use of case studies and examples how function, necessity and scale influence the manifestation which sensitive sites come to characterise most and the ways in which they are memorialised. To achieve these outcomes the paper is divided into two parts. The first part; *A Theoretical Framework* draws together relevant theoretical perspectives and provides a framework to use when considering the three manifestations of sensitive sites. The second part; *Function Necessity and Scale* discusses the influence of each of these variables with respect to the memorialisation of four separate case studies. The case studies are; the London Underground, Auschwitz-Birkenau, Dunblane Primary School and the New York World Trade Centre. A final concluding section will summarise the papers findings.

A Theoretical Framework

Most of the existing academic and theoretical literature which relates to sensitive sites comes from the field of dark tourism and has focussed on aspects such as; defining death-related tourist activities and attractions; analysing specific forms of dark tourism; investigating visitor motivation; and determining whether dark tourism is demand or supply driven (Stone & Sharpley, 2008, 575). Each of these areas of interest demonstrates clearly the discipline's commercial priorities and yet it is crucial that sensitive sites are not solely analysed from an economic perspective. Anthropology, psychology and human geography offer other insightful and applicable perspectives. The long-term future of the study of uncomfortable heritage lies in integrating these perspectives with the wider concerns of heritage management and in particular themes, relating to authenticity, interpretation and memorialisation. Before this process can truly begin it is important to; recognise how uncomfortable heritage relates to dark tourism and traumascapes manifestations and their respective disciplines; to set its parameters; to understand the distinct and common features of each manifestation; and to comprehend what factors determine how a sensitive site is memorialised and how it comes to characterise one manifestation more than another. To achieve these theoretical aims a beneficial departure point is the adoption of clear definitions for each of the manifestations. These

definitions will provided the foundation from which to develop a relational framework for the three manifestations of sensitive sites.

Definitions

Dark Tourism

Tourist activity at sensitive sites has come to be collectively termed as „dark tourism“ (Stone & Sharpley, 2008, 575). Dark tourism has come to encompass all death related tourist terminology including Seaton’s „thanatourism“, Blom’s „morbid tourism“, Rojek’s „black spots“ and Dann’s „milking the macabre“ (Ibid). Whilst each has subtle nuances from the next whether related to the influence of visitor motivation or the features of the tourist product (Yuill, 2003, 10-11), each holds in common the fact that they describe an economic activity, namely, “the phenomenon which encompasses the presentation and consumption (by visitors) of real or commodified death and disaster sites” (Foley & Lennon, 1996, 198). Of further influence to the definition of dark tourism is the influence of the temporal dimension of sensitive sites. Whilst, Miles argues that this “*time gap*” has a fluid and proportional affect on the „darkness“ of tourism (2002, 1176), Lennon and Foley limit this by defining dark tourism as “tourist interest in *recent* death, disaster and atrocity” (2000, 3) (Author’s emphasis). Nevertheless Miles (2002), Lennon and Foley (2000) all support the notion that sensitive sites with a “shorter time frame to the present” and which therefore can be “validated by the living” (Stone, 2006, 152) represent dark tourism at its peak. The influence of „chronological distance“ (Lennon & Foley, 2000) will be considered again later in the paper. Therefore dark tourism can effectively be defined as the economic activity relating to the presentation of recent, commodified or real sensitive sites to be consumed by tourists.

Traumascapes

The concept of traumascapes unlike dark tourism, it is a term that has arisen in relative isolation from alternative expressions for similar expressions. The term was first coined by Tumarkin (2002, 2005) and drew significantly on the idea of „wounded space“ (Bird Rose, 1996). Wounded space refers to “geographical space that has been torn and fractured by violence and exile, and that is pitted with sites where life has been killed” (Bird Rose, 1996, 191). Wounded space has acted as the inspiration behind the application of law and justice to violence against land, in reference to the damage conducted by white settlers to Aboriginal homelands in Australia (Coralie, 2008). For Tumarkin it

inspired a different response; traumascapes evolved to encompass a psychological and psychiatric component that distinguishes it from the purely geographic idea of wounded space, the economic preoccupation of DTA and the historical focus of UHS. As such, traumascapes are defined as “a distinctive category of place transformed physically and psychically by suffering” which form “a scar tissue that now stretches across the world” (Tumarkin, 2005, 13).

Uncomfortable Heritage

Whilst the definition of *Uncomfortable Heritage* as; heritage associated either directly or indirectly with human death, pain and/or suffering, whether explicitly embodied in tangible sites or implicitly contained within periods of a site’s history, can be adopted with ease it remains problematic when one considers exactly what distinguishes a UHS from a DTA or traumacape. In essence UHS are distinguished by a focus which reflects the wider methods of good practice proposed by heritage management strategies and which recognise heritage’s “irreplaceable contribution to...the collective memory of mankind” (Kristiansen, 1989, 27). These good practices involve phases of; identification and documentation; assessment of value or significance; planning and decision making based on this value; and implementation of these plans or decisions in relation to the heritage’s future use and management (Pearson & Sullivan, 1995, 7-9). Therefore, the field of research related to uncomfortable heritage should prioritise the memorial, educational, academic and cultural value of sensitive sites and aim to unlock these values for present and future generations. UHS which follow these processes in ways which engage directly with issues of authenticity, integrity, ethics and historical accuracy should arguably be distinguished from sensitive sites that explicitly exploit their history to attract dark tourists for economic return, namely DTA and sensitive sites whose uncomfortable nature is more implicitly widespread and not formally managed as a single entity such as traumascapes. The distinguishing lines between the three manifestations are, however, far from definite. Instead they are blurred and can only be focused when the various existing typologies and distinctions are discussed.

Typologies

Logan and Reeves adopt a broad typology of „Difficult Heritage“ which recognises four dominant forms namely; massacre and genocide sites; war-related sites; civil and political prisons; and „benevolent“ internment camps and which also distinguishes between victims and perpetrators as “sites of pain and shame” (2009, 5). The lack of “clear

cut distinctions between the types” is acknowledged (Ibid) and the typology isn’t presented as exhaustive or illustrative of all the subtle nuances. As a result the dark tourism typologies that have been developed reflect a greater diversity of sensitive sites. These typologies are mostly based on “various defining characteristics, perceptions and product features” (Stone, 2006, 146) and are often described in terms of a spectrum relating to “shades” of darkness” (Stone, 2006, 146). The ways in which these shades are determined are diverse but benefit the investigation of the interrelationship of UHS, DTA and traumascapes and may help to establish whether degrees or shades of comfort are applicable to uncomfortable heritage. Seaton categorises dark tourism in terms of six tourist activities (Fig.1) (1996) to which a seventh can be added. The seventh activity; travel to witness processes related to death (see Dicks, this volume) can be exemplified by death rituals or funerals, particularly those related to famous or high status individuals such as state burials. Another example would be Von Hagens’ plastination process, which can be witnessed at the „transparent laboratory“ in his „Plastinarium“ (Gubener Plastinate GmbH, 2009) (see Dicks, this volume). Furthermore, these activities can be divided into primary, secondary and tertiary events and sites (Fig.1). Stone notes how various forms of dark tourism are distinguished by scholars based on their content (2006, 147) Gusterson’s „nuclear tourism“ (2004) is a good example of this trend, which both Dann and Stone draw on when proposing their own inventories and spectrums of DTA. Dann proposes five categories of DTA; perilous places, houses of horror, fields of fatality, tours of torments and themed thanatos (Stone, 2006, 148). Stone argues “for an analysis that accounts for multiple shades of dark tourism, with respect to identifiable product traits, characteristics and perceptions” which he illustrates with his dark tourism spectrum (Fig.2) (2006, 150). Within this spectrum he positions „Seven Dark Suppliers“ with respect to the variables and characteristics listed at either extreme of the spectrum (Fig.2) (Ibid, 152).

Figure 1: Categories of Dark Tourism Activities and their Associate Attractions

Activity	Attraction
Travel to watch death	<i>Primary Events:</i> Public hangings and executions
Travel to witness death processes	<i>Secondary Events:</i> Funerals and ritual
Travel to sites after death has occurred	<i>Primary Sites:</i> Sites where death took place (Battle fields)
Travel to internment sites and memorials	<i>Secondary Sites:</i> Sites where death is remembered (War Graves)
Travel to re-enactments	<i>Tertiary Events:</i> Re-enactments
Travel to synthetic sites	<i>Tertiary Sites:</i> Sites where evidence of death is assembled (Museums)

Source: (Adapted from Seaton, 1996)

Figure 2: Stone's Dark Tourism Spectrum

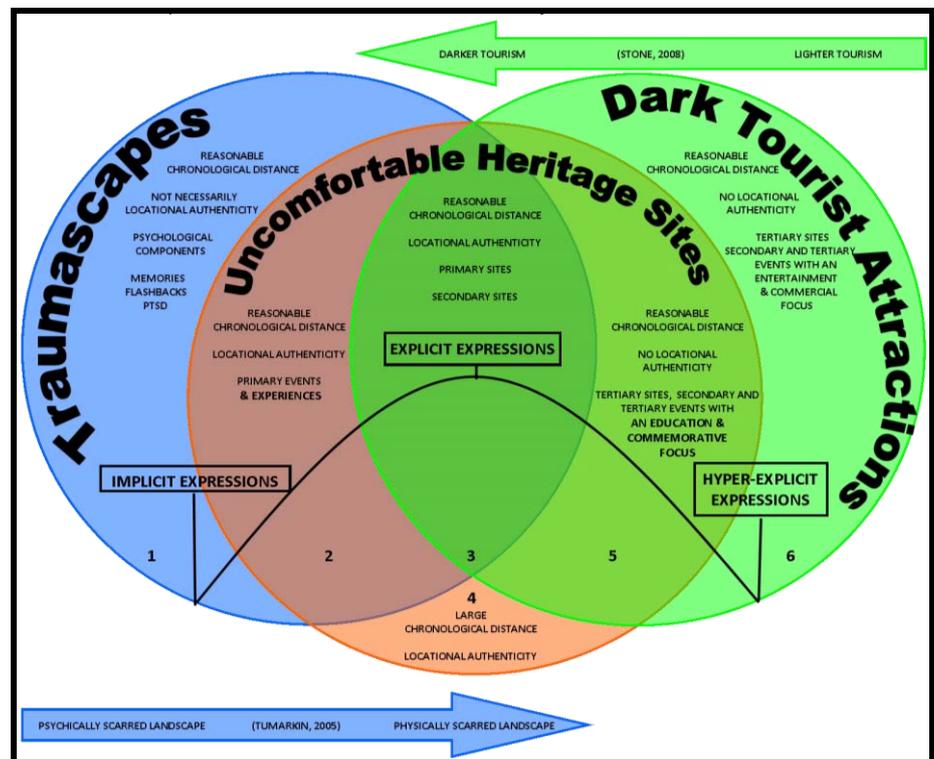


Source: (Stone, 2006, 151)

The first, „Dark Fun Factories“ are sanitized less authentic attractions with an “entertainment focus and commercial ethic”. They occupy the lighter end of the spectrum (Ibid). „Dark Exhibitions“ encompass a greater educational role but also involve tourism infrastructure and a commercial focus (Ibid). Often located away from the sensitive site (Ibid, 153) they can be classified as tertiary sites. Their “commemorative, educational and reflective message” means they occupy the darker periphery of the spectrum (Ibid). Stone’s next category; „Dark Dungeons“ relates specifically to sites linked to penal and justice codes (Ibid). Their mix of education and entertainment often in an authentic location, places them around the centre ground of his spectrum (Ibid). This is true of „Dark Resting Places“ also, as although they “revolve around a history-centric, conservational and commemorative ethic” cemeteries are “beginning to take on a more commercial and entertainment based ethic” (Ibid, 155). „Dark Shrines“ are temporary acts of remembrance that exist for a short-term period following a sensitive event. Their lack of tourism infrastructure and their temporal nature pushes them towards the darker end of the spectrum (Ibid) but also means that they are less relevant to the pursuit of a classification system for uncomfortable heritage. Finally, „Dark Conflict Sites“ and „Dark Camps of Genocide“ occupy the darkest edges of the spectrum with a clear educational and commemorative focus (Ibid, 156). Whilst this is likely to always be the case for the latter, battlefields are becoming more commercialised as they are integrated into organised tours, become the subject of battle re-enactments and are romanticised as time passes and as they move beyond living memory (Ibid, 156). Stone’s spectrum demonstrates the influence of various variables many of which dovetail with the focus of heritage management priorities, including educational and commemorative orientations. Of particular significance are those variables which relate to the *space-time* framework that Miles” adopts when considering dark and darker tourism (2002, 1175). Miles argues that the temporal dimension of a site influences the empathy of visitors and its commemorative affect insofar as the shorter the chronological distance between the sensitive event and its visitation, the darker the tourist action is (2002). This has interesting ramifications for the concept of uncomfortable heritage, where, in the field of heritage management, if anything, value is attributed more to greater chronological distances. The older something is, the more likely it is to be classified as heritage. The influence of space is clearer. Miles highlights the significance of „locational authenticity“ when he states: “just being *there* imparts to the darker tourist a uniquely empowering...commemorative potential” (2002, 1176). As mentioned earlier authenticity is a clear priority of heritage management and should distinguish UHS from its counterparts not just in terms of

location, but also in interpretation and presentation. In many ways uncomfortable heritage follows Stone's spectrum, with perhaps the exception of the influence of chronological distance, the darker the tourist product the more synonymous it is with a well managed UHS. However, UHS, just as DTA, are influenced by a multiplicity of variables, three of which are function, necessity and scale. Investigation of these particular variables remains underdeveloped. Before the next section addresses this situation the following framework is proposed to aid consideration of the various forms of UHS, DTA and traumascapes along with their associative disciplines and key characteristics (Fig.3)

Figure 3: A Diagrammatical Framework of the Relationship of Uncomfortable Heritage Sites, Dark Tourist Attractions and Traumascapes



The diagrammatical framework above demonstrates the overlap between UHS, DTA and traumascapes. It attempts to convey how each manifestation shares certain components and characteristics whilst also encompassing individual traits that mark them out from each other. The diagram also incorporates the dominant variables of time and space, a classification of sites and events as primary, secondary or tertiary and key site/ event motivations. Furthermore the central curved line provides a spectrum of explicitness of expressions, whilst, Stone's dark tourism spectrum (2008) and

Tumarkin's classification of traumascapes (2005) are represented by the green and blue arrows respectively. On the left the blue circle represents traumascapes. Traumascapes encompass; a psychological component (first segment) associated with hidden implicit expressions such as individual memories and flashbacks; a historical component (second segment) associated with the primary events themselves and their documentary evidence; and an physical component which has locational authenticity (third segment) representing the explicit tangible primary and secondary sites associated with the sensitive event. The first segment can be exemplified by PTSD such as that experience by witnesses of the London terrorist attacks of July 7th 2005 (Whalley et al, 2007, 332). The second segment might be exemplified by Primo Levi's autobiographical account of his imprisonment in Auschwitz; *Survival in Auschwitz* (1996). The third segment is exemplified by the physical remains of a traumascape such as Port Arthur and its associated Memorial Garden (Tumarkin, 2005, 45). The central red circle represents UHS, the main focus of this paper. It shares the historical and physical components of traumascapes, but not traumascapes' psychological component on the reasoning that whilst sites elicit these aspects they are in themselves not a characteristic of the site, but instead characteristic of the individual or group visiting the site. Besides the historical and physical components, it encompasses further physical components, namely, those primary sites which are temporally isolated by large chronological distances (fourth segment) and tertiary sites and secondary events which do not have locational authenticity, but whose motives are commemorative or educational and whose presentation involves interpretive authenticity (fifth segment). The fourth segment can be exemplified by the Templo Mayor of the Aztec city of Tenchtitlan. As a site of human sacrifice it constitutes a UHS, but given its temporal isolation it's not recognised as a DTA. Tourists visit the site not because of its traumatic past but instead due to the testimony it bears to an extinct civilisation. Stone's „Dark Exhibitions“ (2006, 153) would occupy the fifth segment, such as the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, Washington, D.C. (Lennon & Foley, 1999). The green circle on the right represents DTA and in addition to encompassing the third and fifth segments of the diagram it also contains a unique sixth segment. This segment is best approximated to tertiary sites and secondary and tertiary events concerned primarily with entertainment and commercial focuses. Hence they can be exemplified by Stone's „Dark Fun Factories“ such as the London Dungeon (2006, 152). The boundaries between the segments and three circles are not necessarily fixed and clear. This is well exemplified by considerations of Seaton's first death tourism activity; travel to see death, which represents arguably, the darkest shade of dark tourism and hence can be recognised as occupying,

the left extreme of the green circle, the point between segment two and three, an expression where a primary event or experience takes place at an authentic primary site.

Function, Necessity and Scale

This section discusses the influence of function, necessity and scale on uncomfortable memorialisation. It does so with reference to four key case studies, in attempt to illustrate how these variables determine the manifestation which each case study best represents. It should be born in mind that the three variables are interconnected and as such manifestations are the result of their combined influence.

The variable of *function* has been considered by Stone with respect to dark tourism in terms of supply purposefulness (2006, 152). Stone amongst others argues that sites which intentionally provide constructed death related tourist experiences represent „paler“ forms of dark tourism (Ibid). Likewise, non-purposeful sites, namely those with original functions besides the attraction of tourists and which only later become subject to dark tourism, present a „darker“ tourist product (Ibid). Whilst, consideration of this notion was primarily focussed on distinguishing synthetic sites such as Stone’s „Dark Fun Factories“ from sites with locational authenticity(Ibid) it also reveals an important distinction that must be investigated when evaluating the role of function on uncomfortable memorialisation. This is the distinction between the original function before the sensitive event and the new function following the event. As will be illustrated, the original function can also be distinguished by its own purposefulness, as either negative or positive. The new function relates significantly to the second and third variables discussed below, those of necessity and scale as they determine what the post-trauma function is deemed acceptable in terms of needs and means.

The variable of *necessity* relates primarily to the need to continue or change the original function of a sensitive site. This need may reflect numerous consciousnesses and values such as economic, social or even logistical and infrastructural. Furthermore it is tied intimately with the need to remember or forget the traumatic event, to memorialise or move on. Importantly this perceived need is dynamic and can change with time.

The variable of *scale* has been touched on with respect to DTA when Tunbridge and Ashworth considered it as a quality that enabled atrocities to be used as tourist attractions (cited in Yuill, 2003, 12).

Numbers, they postulated, were significant as “human imagination has difficulties extending sympathies to small groups” (Ibid). In this paper’s context the variable of *scale* determines the means by which or ability to continue or change the original function and measures the degree of destruction, loss and trauma. In other words, although the continuation of an original function may be deemed necessary the scale of destruction may complicate, restrict or prevent it. Similarly, the scale of loss of life and trauma may prevent the continuation of a function despite it being physically viable. This is well evidenced by the fate of the Dubrovka Cultural Centre in 2002. Weeks after a Chechen terrorist hostage situation during a performance of *Nord-Ost* and in which officially 129 hostages died, it became apparent that a revived version of the musical, in the same building, would have to be cancelled due to low attendance (Tumarkin, 2005, 120).

The Case Studies

The London Underground, UK

The London Underground (LU) has experienced multiple periods in its history which contribute to its uncomfortable heritage. Its recurrent traumatic history has included; periods associated with World War 1 and 2, including the significant impact of the „blitz“; and intermittent terrorist attacks and disasters (see Merrill, this volume).

In the case of the LU, its original function as a transport network remains its predominant function today, even after numerous traumatic events. The LU continues to be used for over 3 million passenger journeys each day (TfL, 2008) and remains a crucial part of many Londoners lives. Furthermore, this function has a positive purposefulness and intention. Opened in 1863 (Ibid), as world’s first underground railway, the LU contributed to large scale public work schemes that included the Thames embankment project and which aimed to provide an alternative transport network to ease road congestion and aid cross city travel (Oliver, 2000). The LU has adopted temporary new functions in its past which related to traumatic parts of its history most notably as deep level shelters during World War 2. However, this change in function was not in response to traumatic events which directly affected the LU but were instead precursory to them. The importance of the continuation of the LU’s transport function and in turn the necessity it provides to its users is reflected well by the events following the terrorist attacks of 7th July 2005. Whilst the attacks caused severe disruptions to the LU transport system in the immediate aftermath (Fig.3) and continued to affect service for around a month, especially on the Circle and

Figure 3: Disruption to London Underground service following the terrorist



Source (Guardian.co.uk, 2008)

Piccadilly lines, the majority of the network continued to function with some commuters returning to use the system the very next day. Not only does this demonstrate that the LU fulfils a crucial role to many commuters but also that the scale of destruction was not significant enough to prevent the continuation of the LU's primary function. Furthermore, the loss of, and injury to life which for all the coordinated attacks eventually totalled 56 dead (including the 4 suicide bombers) and over 784 injured (Home Office, 2006, 1-6) was not significant enough to affect the LU's use in the long-term or to instigate voluntary decisions to remove certain stations from service permanently as sites of remembrance or memorialisation in respect for those who lost their lives. Given the LU's physical and essential nature, it is hard to imagine a situation that would cause either the full scale destruction of the LU or the voluntary decision to change it's or even individual station's function. Furthermore, memorialisation and remembrance of death in a subterranean and claustrophobic atmosphere such as the LU, presents added problems relating to fear, anxiety and panic. What then is the best way to memorialise tragedy in this context? The first and temporary form of memorialisation following many of the LU's tragic events, which is becoming more and more commonplace in the contemporary world (Macritchie, 1997, 13), was the creation of a „dark shrine“ (Stone, 2006, 155), through the laying of tributes, often flowers, by the public. Besides this, numerous plaques have been erected at individual stations (see Merrill, this volume) often in rather unassuming spaces which don't overtly require or command attention. Possibly this relates to the added problems mentioned earlier and the desire not to induce fear, anxiety and panic in the underground, through overt references to death and disaster. This is supported further by decisions regarding planned offsite memorials, such as the 7/7 memorial which will be located at Hyde Park Corner (see Merrill, this volume) although these could merely reflect logistical factors. In total, the tragic and traumatic events that have impinged the LU's past have not caused enough damage or changed enough perceptions of necessity to require a change in its predominant function as a transport system. The continuation of this function and the desire for it to function smoothly has restricted forms of memorialisation to less imposing techniques. For example it would be unlikely that conserved disaster debris be retained or displayed onsite as a memorial. As a result of all these factors the LU has been excluded from becoming an explicit expression of either a UHS or DTA. The LU therefore is best classified as a traumascap.

Auschwitz-Birkenau, Poland

The Auschwitz-Birkenau concentration and extermination camps in Poland formed the largest concentration complex created by the Nazi Party in their pursuit of their Final Solution policy (UNESCO, 2009). During its time of operation between 1940 and 1945 it was responsible for the deaths of between 1 and 1.4 million victims (Piper & Wellers cited in Young, 2009, 52), the majority of which were Jews.

Consideration of Auschwitz-Birkenau's original function differs fundamentally from the other case studies by the fact that it encompasses negative purposefulness. The camps were conceived to carry out a purpose which has come to symbolise "one of the darkest chapters in human history" (Cywiński cited in Sawicki, 2008, 5). Since 1947, the site has functioned, under one name or another and despite recurrent issues over ownership (Wollaston, 2005, 67) and interpretation (Young, 2009, 54), which lie outside the scope of this paper, as a cemetery, heritage site, museum and memorial (Miles, 2002, 1176). These new functions adopted only two years after the camps liberation reflect the necessity to remember and learn from the events that occurred at Auschwitz-Birkenau specifically and during the Holocaust in general. The need for individual and collective remembrance relates to the fact that, as Cywiński states, "the victims demand that we remember" (cited in Sawicki, 2008, 5). The international need to learn from these events and prevent them from occurring again is perfectly summarised by the comments of Gordon Brown, the UK Prime Minister.

"The Holocaust was a uniquely tragic event in human history, and its lessons are of universal relevance. It is vital that the future generations understand the lessons of Auschwitz: it is only by remembering the horrific crimes, racism and victimisation of the Holocaust that we can hope to combat intolerance in our societies." (Brown cited in Sawicki, 2008, 6)

These necessities were in many ways demanded at Auschwitz-Birkenau for reasons of scale. The scale of loss attributed to the Holocaust and other Nazi extermination programmes is estimated to stand in the region of 11 million victims from numerous national contexts (Wollaston, 2005, 68-69). Given that, Auschwitz-Birkenau was the largest Nazi concentration complex (UNESCO, 2009) which contributed around a 10th of these victims and "is currently regarded by many as the dominant symbol of the Holocaust" (Wollaston, 2005, 67), it is unsurprising that its management is of global concern. The scale of destruction or in this case preservation is also influential. Auschwitz-Birkenau remains the "most fully preserved testimony to the

great tragedy of European history” composed of “155 buildings, 300 ruins [and] grounds covering almost 200 hectares” (Cywiński cited in Sawicki, 2008, 5). Given these circumstances, Auschwitz-Birkenau is now open to the public as a memorial and museum to evidence “one of the greatest crimes ever perpetrated against humanity” (UNESCO, 2009) and as such is visited by many people for educational or pilgrimage purposes (Young, 2009, 53). In 1979 it was awarded World Heritage Status (UNESCO, 2009). Whilst, its role in forming collective memories of the Holocaust has been criticised as over-dominant of other less visited “forgotten” holocaust sites (Wollaston, 2005, 67) and despite questions over whether the site should represent a museum, memorial or cemetery (Miles, 2002, 1176) what is apparent is, that Auschwitz-Birkenau represents perfectly the amalgamation of all three manifestations and as such should be located in the 3rd segment of the framework outlined above. As a Holocaust museum it is simultaneously a tourist attraction and memorial site (Wollaston, 2005, 66), a DTA and a UHS. Its status as a UHS is supported further by presentation and interpretation techniques that “convey information without dominating [the site’s] particular atmosphere” (Swiebocka cited in Wollaston, 2005, 67) and which “draw visitors” attention to the “cemetery” and memorial aspects of the site” (Wollaston, 2005, 67). This commemorative focus is maintained alongside an educative role that “places emphasis...on the need to learn what happened, who did what to whom, and why” (Ibid, 73). Furthermore, Auschwitz-Birkenau constitutes a traumascap, a place where the past “continues to inhabit and refashion the present” (Tumarkin, 2005, 12) most notable in the site’s changing name and interpretation emphasises. The sites status as a traumascap is heightened for survivors, those who experienced firsthand the true and full tragedy that the camps presented. As the time when there will no longer be any eyewitnesses left approaches, arguments about the site’s future have started to be debated (BBC, 2009). Whether, nature is allowed to reclaim the site in line with the wishes of some survivors or whether the stones continue to “cry out” and be preserved under the wishes of others (Ibid) remains to be seen. Future changes in function will, however, reflect contemporary consideration of necessities and scales, whilst, more broadly highlighting the dynamic nature of sensitive site memorialisation.

Dunblane Primary School, UK

On the 16th March 1996 sixteen children aged 5 and 6 along with a teacher were shot dead in a primary school gymnasium in Dunblane, Scotland by gunman Thomas Hamilton (Cullen, 1996). Dunblane was for a short time thrust into the media limelight and the “community

was besieged by press from all over the world” (Ewing, 2006, 12) at a time when they were experiencing what has been termed as „community trauma” (Edkins, 2004, 253). Community trauma has been described as “a dramatic loss of identity and meaning, a tear in the social fabric, affecting a group of people that has achieved some degree of cohesion” (Eyerman cited in Edkins, 2004, 254) in response to which the collective identity is reconfigured by the community (Edkins, 2004, 254). The ways in which the community did reconfigure its identity and the events that scarred it, related to the variables of function, necessity and scale.

Firstly, Dunblane Primary School is still a Primary School (DPS, 2009) and therefore, overall its original positive function is maintained. However, whilst the function of the gymnasium remained viable it was deemed necessary to demolish it and instead plant flower beds on the site (Macritchie, 1997, 13). Meanwhile the school itself was completely refurbished in 1997 (DPS, 2009). In essence this reflects the explicit need by the community to remove, reconfigure and to some extent forget the physical location of their and their lost ones” suffering. The flower beds themselves do not represent a memorial and so this is less an example of the space’s function changing and more of its function being sanitized. Perhaps, the scale of loss, albeit immeasurable for those involved, was of such a size and perhaps because it was felt primarily amongst the local population that it allowed the community to retain autonomy over the decision of how to deal with the gymnasium following the tragedy. The fact that the tragic event occupied only a small period in the school’s history and was not recurrent may also have supported this autonomy. It is hard to imagine, for example, a decision to demolish Robben Island in South Africa to be allowed to take place, given the scale of suffering and timeframe over which it took place. In this case therefore both the need of the community to remove the location of their suffering and the available means by which to do so outweighed the fact that the original function was still viable and so led to the demolition of the school gym. The events of 16th of March 1996 did not go un-memorialised. Again the tragedy was first met by a local, which soon turned to global, outpour of grief symbolised by the “hundreds of thousands” of floral tributes sent from all over the world (Macritchie, 1997, 13). A memorial area was built in the local cemetery where many of their parents of the victims chose to bury their children (Ewing, 2006, 13) (Fig.4). National memorials were also inaugurated in locations outside of Dunblane, such as the memorial garden at Blackhall Primary School in Edinburgh, highlighting the degree of national grief felt at the time (Bradley, 2005). Despite high media coverage there is little record of dark tourist activities having taken place. This suggests again that the very

Figure 4: The Dunblane memorial area at the local cemetery



Source: (Ewing, 2006, 13)

local scale and nature of the incident prevented the large-scale need for others, particularly those from outside Dunblane, to travel to the site in order to fully acknowledge the event presented to them by the media. The need to “domesticate...imagination” (Edkins, 2004, 260) in response to tragedies presented via the media is a growing cause of dark tourism (Lennonn & Foley, 2000, 10) and one that held significance in the aftermath of the events of September 11th 2001 in New York. The difference there being that the terrorist attack on the World Trade Centre (WTC) represented part of co-ordinated attack on a nation, whereas, the attack in Dunblane was one directed at a small community and therefore the scale of implicated stakeholders were fewer. Dunblane Primary School, presents a conundrum, it demonstrates once more the influence of function, necessity and scale in determining the memorialisation of sensitive sites but does not fall easily within one of the three manifestations presented. It is neither a UHS or DTA and its would be hard to argue that represents a physical traumascap given that it has retained its original function and remains the school for 539 running, laughing and playing children (DPS, 2009). It is better to consider Dunblane as a psychological traumascap. The physical location of the trauma no longer exists, and traces of the event are now most present in the minds and memories of those directly affected, the surviving teachers and pupils and the families, friends and community of the victims. Therefore, Dunblane Primary School can be positioned on the far left of the framework developed above and as such it should lie outside the concerns of uncomfortable heritage sites and their management and separate from dark tourism’s economic exploitation. Instead it remains the sacred preserve of those who were directly affected that day.

The New York World Trade Centre, USA

The events in New York on September 11th 2001 left over 2700 people dead (Hirschhorn, 2003) and a gaping hole where the twin towers had once stood. The origin and consequences of the co-ordinated terrorist attacks which caused destruction across the USA are well known and continue to resonate today, in contemporary life.

Since that day, the function of the site, which was termed „the hole“, „the pit“ and finally „ground zero“ (Edkins, 2004, 249) has undergone rapid transformations and for the foreseeable future will continue to do so. Firstly, it must be recognised that the New York World Trade Centre’s (WTC), original function was positive and economically focussed. However, just four months after the attacks it was becoming apparent that this function would be forever changed. At this time the first viewing platform was erected to accommodate those

who wanted to visit the site (Lisle, 2004, 4). The motivations of visitors to WTC has been highly investigated and debated, but irrespective of whether they were there for voyeurism, pilgrimage or for the need to “see for themselves” (Edkins, 2004, 260), they were there nonetheless and the site had become symptomatic of a DTA. Eventually the platform attracted more visitors than the World Trade Centre’s observation deck had before its destruction (Lisle, 2004, 4). Visitation was so high that it was necessary to queue for an hour for tickets, which allocated just three minutes at the site (Edkins, 2004, 258). When the platform closed at the end of that summer visitation to the site continued and focussed on the southern perimeter (Lisle, 2004, 4). Not only did visitors continue to leave condolences and tributes, but the sale of ground zero souvenirs was becoming common place (Edkins, 2004, 258). The destruction, soon to be construction site was a tourist attraction with its own informal gift shop. Around the same time the future and long term function of the site started to be discussed (Wyatt, 2003). Economic necessity, especially for the owner of the site; The Port Authority of New York and New Jersey, dictates that the site guarantees revenue (Ibid) and so must be redeveloped. However, it was recognised that “almost all decisions about the site would be driven by the memorial to the victims of the Sept. 11 attack” (Ibid). The necessity to balance these economic and memorial needs has lead to frustration as it became evident that the desired preservation of the footprints of the original twin towers as a memorial restricted economic goals to rebuild all 10 million square feet of lost office space (Ibid). Plans now centre on the Freedom Tower and its Reflecting Absence national memorial which are already under construction (NYC-Tower.com, 2009). Three further sky scrapers will flank the memorial and the whole site is hoped to be completed by 2012 (Fig.5) (BBC, 2006). The scale of physical destruction was so total that it was economically incomprehensible to consider leaving prime land in that location undeveloped. The destruction offered the opportunity to address issues that the WTC design of the 1970’s caused, including the chance to reconnect neighbourhoods split by the original twin towers (Wyatt, 2003). Equally the scale of loss and suffering was so significant that claims to leave the site vacant were arguably justified and as a result the future function and design by necessity had to balance open memorial space with economic and planning considerations. The current design has attempted to do this, whether it is successful or not remains to be seen. The WTC demonstrates how the manifestation which sensitive sites come to represent is dynamic and can change. In the initial months after the disaster the site most represented a DTA and yet economic imperatives ensured that this would not become the sites dominant long-term function. The original function of the site was of such significance and economic necessity

Figure 5: Development designs for ground zero scheduled for completion in



Source: (BBC, 2006)

that it will be revived and yet it must also now encompass a memorial aspect and as such it can be seen to represent aspects of both a UHS and a traumascap. However, which manifestation that the site best represents can only truly be considered following its redevelopment in 2012. Changes in that time may again highlight the dynamic nature of the impact of function, necessity and scale on the three manifestations of uncomfortable memorialisation.

Conclusion

In conclusion this paper has demonstrated that the concepts and study of UHS, DTA and traumascapes, as physical and psychological manifestations of the reintegration of death into the social consciousness, are interrelated. The diagrammatical framework proposed by this paper illustrates this interrelation along with the three manifestation's dominant characteristics. It reflects how each manifestation approaches sensitive sites from different departure points and with different motivations but equally that they are all influenced by the same myriad of determining variables and that their limits and boundaries are often blurred or complex. Two particularly determining variables are those of space and time which have been considered in terms of „locational authenticity“ and „chronological distance“. The combined influence of three other variables, function, necessity and scale has been explicitly considered with respect to four different sensitive sites. Discussion of each case study has demonstrated the ways in which function, necessity and scale can determine how sensitive sites are memorialised and why they come to represent one of the three manifestations more than another. Investigation of the LU has determined that, as a site of recurrent tragedy, it is most characteristic of a traumascap. Its function has remained unchanged despite the high scale of loss and suffering and in part due to the relatively low scale of physical destruction. Its continuing function reflects its necessity to the daily lives of millions of Londoners, a necessity which dictates the ways in which sensitive events can be memorialised in its subterranean atmosphere. Consideration of Auschwitz-Birkenau demonstrated the blurred limits of each of the three manifestations and how sensitive sites and their memorialisation can characterise UHS, DTA and traumascapes at once. The sites original function, the scale of loss and suffering and the scale of preservation necessitated that the site adopted a new memorial function. The influence of timeframes, particularly those associated with the lifetimes of camp survivors, may demonstrate the dynamic nature of the manifestations due to changing future necessities. Dunblane Primary School demonstrated how smaller-scale tragic events allowed those directly involved to retain autonomy

over memorialisation decisions. In this case these decisions, based on necessities to reconfigure the location of the community's suffering, overruled the possibility of continuing the sites specific function as a gymnasium even though the low scale of physical destruction permitted it. However, the overall function of the site as a school has continued, with the event's main memorialisation occurring off site and as such the site neither represents a UHS, DTA or physical traumascapes. Instead, it represents the most implicit manifestation of all the case studies, a psychological traumascapes in the minds and memories of those directly involved. Examination of WTC highlighted how economic necessities could lead to the rejuvenation of original functions even when the scale of physical destruction was total. However, the scale of loss and suffering also entails that economic necessities are carefully balanced with memorialisation needs, a situation, which current designs hope to achieve by 2012. The WTC case study also demonstrates how the manifestation that a sensitive site best represents can be dynamic. In this case highlighting how the emphasis as a DTA may dissipate with time. Therefore the memorialisation of sensitive sites and their respective manifestation can be recognised to be dynamic and heavily influenced by the variables of function, necessity and scale. However, these are not the only determining variables, there are many more, some like time and space have been considered in detail, others may be more implicit and only revealed in time. Determining exactly what manifestation a sensitive site may come to represent most will always remain complex; in part due to the number of variables and the nature of their combined influence; in part due also to the dynamism of the variables themselves which may be inherent, as is the case with *time*, or merely a reflection of contemporary agendas as is true of *necessity*; and finally, because of the significance of visitor motivation and individual experience, one persons' traumascapes may be another's UHS or DTA.

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14. Multiple Layers of Heritage: The Dissonant & Conflicting Stories at Uncomfortable Heritage Sites

Jenny Linke

Introduction

Figure 1: Memorial for the Victims of National Socialist "Euthanasia" murder in Pirna-Sonnestein.



Source: Information leaflet of the Memorial Pirna-Sonnestein.

Figure 2: Pirna, painted by the Italian artist Bernardo Belletto, called Canaletto, 1753/54, Staatliche Kunstsammlung Dresden.



Source:
<http://www.pirna.de/Canaletto-Bilder.4324i643/> : 2007.

"In the years 1940/41 National Socialists murdered 13.720 mentally ill and mentally handicapped people as well as at the minimum 1.031 inmates of concentration camps in this building." (Information leaflet of the Memorial Pirna-Sonnestein)

"Pirna is the beautiful gateway to the Elbe Sandstone Mountains. This attractive town on the Elbe River fascinated Canaletto, who painted Pirna and thereby put the town on the same level as Dresden, Warsaw, Vienna and Rome."

(Pirna Fascination in Stone)

What connects a site of mass murder with a small tourist town attracting visitors with cobblestone paved alley in a historic city centre? Both places are closely related, since one is situated only a few hundred meters from the other. Both citations describe two faces of the same place. One is promoting the romantic tourist identity of a Saxon town but the other refers to a darker and far more uncomfortable period in the history of the same place. How can identities so different and conflicting exist next to each other? Both are part of the heritage of the same place. The issue analysed in this study is the multiple layering of uncomfortable heritage, the dissonant and conflicting stories that exist at the heart of a heritage site.

The multiple layering of diverse heritage identities exists at every site of cultural significance. Potential conflict, the feeling of dissonance or an uneasy sentiment arises if one of these heritages is connected to human death or suffering. These are uncomfortable heritages or atrocities sites. Atrocity in that sense can be describes as "acts of singular cruelty, wickedness or ruthlessness deliberately perpetrated by people to people. Secondly, it means occurrences which are especially shocking or horrifying to others." (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996, 95) Since heritage is a major factor for tourism, uncomfortable heritage sites are popular for people to visit, too. The phenomenon that "sites associated with war, genocide, assassination and other

tragic events have become significant tourism destinations” is called dark tourism (Lennon and Foley, 2007).

Not all heritage sites that include uncomfortable aspects are necessarily associated with those darker stories. The layering of different meanings and interpretations at one site leads to a situation where different visitors may have different pictures of one and the same site (Strange and Krempa, 2003, 6 & Austin, 2002, 448). In a process of selective memory different stories or elements can be avoided and compromised (Lennon and Foley, 2007, 67). Parallel to the marginalised or dismissed value positions in heritage other heritages become dominant (Domic, 2000, 5).

In order to comprehend the conflicts inherent in the pattern of dominant and marginalized layers of uncomfortable heritage, we need to analyse first how heritage is constructed and how the multiple layering works. Furthermore, it is necessary to have a deeper look on selective memory and dissonance in relation to heritage. A central question is what influences exist that impact the domination and suppression of different layers. The interaction of different factors is dependent on the nature of the heritage site. The second part of the study deals with the case of the Saxon town Pirna. The relation of dominant and marginalized heritages in the town is traced on the example of the uncomfortable heritage of the castle Pirna Sonnenstein that has witnessed mass murder in the National Socialist “euthanasia” program in 1940/41. What different heritage identities exist in Pirna and how do these interact? The questions are how the different layers are reflected and promoted, and how positive connoted and uncomfortable heritages do interrelate.

Heritage as constructed phenomenon

Heritage is no absolute and unchangeable phenomenon. When we talk about heritage we do not deal with history-as-it-was. What we identify as heritage is rather the construction of a specific version of the past initiated by present society. “Heritage is determined by the legatee. It is thus a product of the present, purposefully developed in response to current needs or demands for it.” (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996, 6) The central question is not what has really happened but who remembers what and for which reasons.

Tunbridge and Ashworth distinguish between past as “what has happened”, history as “selective attempts to describe this past” and heritage, which is “a contemporary product shaped from history”

(Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996, 20). According to them “history is what a historian regards as worth recording and heritage is what contemporary society chooses to inherit and pass on. The distinction is only that in heritage current and future uses are paramount, the resources more varied, including much that historians would regard as a-historical, and the interpretation is more obviously and centrally to the product that is consumed” (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996, 6). Heritage is thus a far more complex construct including not only past aspects. It must always be interpreted as filtered by a contemporary perspective. “History is never an objective recall of the past, but is rather a selective interpretation, based on the way in which we view ourselves in the present” (Wight and Lennon, 2007, 527).

Selective Memory

“The past is not an immutable or independent object. Rather it is endlessly revised from our present positions. History cannot be known save from the always transitional present [...] there are always multiple constructions of the past” (Crang, 1994 cited in Wight and Lennon 2007, 527). Since heritage is an interpretation of the past from the present perspective, it is subject to change. With a different perspective arises a different selection and interpretation of the past and hence a different heritage. The heritage perspective of past generations is different from ours today and the future heritage will probably be different from ours as well. Furthermore, different heritage interpretations can exist simultaneously, given that several social groups might have varying perspectives.

It is not the past that changes, but the selection, interpretation, associations and connoted feelings. Tunbridge and Ashworth take an economic approach in explaining heritage as “selective product” that is “sold” to a heritage consumer. For them, “it is not the physical components of heritage that are actually traded, such as historic monuments or sites, but intangible ideas and feelings such as fantasy, nostalgia, pleasure, pride and the like, which are communicated through interpretation of the physical elements” (1996, 8). “When historical sites or artefacts are “sold” the physical product is rarely exchanged but an experience is” (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996, 8).

A specific heritage reflects only one of several possible interpretations connected to one physical place or past event. That implies that “heritage is obviously not the totality of the history of a place or even facets of that totality, expressed through preserved and presented

artefacts and interpretations” (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996, 10). Lennon and Foley have identified a case of “selective memory” at the memorial to the victims of Hitler’s Dictatorship in Berlin Plötzensee (Lennon and Foley, 2007, 37). The memorial at Plötzensee makes no difference between political resistance and Jewish resistance victims. Jewish victims are commemorated at the same memorial as their former oppressors – an accommodation that former victims find difficult to accept (Young, 1993 cited by Lennon and Foley, 2007,37). According to Lennon and Foley is “selective memory being employed to provide a positive memorial to national resistance” (2007, 37). More diverse facets of the victim’s identities are ignored in order to construct a unified heritage of national resistance. Selective memory means that only a part of the story is emphasised or that only a part of it is commemorated for contemporary reasons.

The self identification of a social group determines the way in which history is turned into heritage. In the case of the Channel Islands analysed by Lennon and Foley only the aspects of the period of German occupation during the Second World War are commemorated that correspond to the identity of the Islanders as occupied victims. Stories of collaboration on the other hand vanish in the shadow of an overemphasised liberation narrative. “Certain aspects of the occupation are acceptable to interpret and other dark elements are ignored” (2007, 66). “Interpretation of the occupation similarly commemorates, in the main, a view of the islands which is sanitized and avoids elements which might compromise the islanders’ self-history” (ibid, 2007, 67). The dominant heritage story reinforces the group identity of the Islanders. “Collective identity is based on the (selective) processes of memory, so that a given group recognises itself through its recollection of a common past” (Morley & Robbins 1989 cited after Domic, 2000, 14).

Dissonance in Heritage

An official interpretation of the past or a dominant selection of a heritage perspective is seldom appreciated by all affected groups. Alternative stories possibly conflict with a dominant perspective. In the case of the Plötzensee memorial is a differentiation between the resistance groups essential from the perspective of the Jewish victims. The phenomenon of conflicting stories, messages or interpretations in the same place or event is called dissonant heritage. The concept of dissonance was introduced by the psychologist Leon Festinger. It describes a conflict that arrives when someone receives information that is in opposition to his opinion, feelings or values (Zimbardo, 1995, 710). Dissonant heritage

combines this psychological concept of “cognitive dissonance, [being] a state of psychic tension caused by the simultaneous holding of mutually inconsistent attitudes or the existence of a lack of consonance between attitudes and behaviour” with “ideas of discrepancy and incongruity” that involves a “discordance or lack of agreement and consistency” (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996, 20). “Dissonance is universal in that it is a condition, active or latent, to all heritage” (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996, 21), but at the same time dissonance leads potentially to conflict over heritage interpretation.

Tunbridge and Ashworth have identified different situations where dissonance might occur. One heritage might include contradictory messages. “Messages implicit in the interpretation of the same or related heritage may conflict with each other and thus themselves create a dissonance among the consumers who have to incorporate contradictory ideas in their psychological constructs.” The same might happen if a message is received differently than intended. Dissonance may occur if a heritage message continues “to be projected to a changed society, which has quite different policies and goals from those of the society for which they were originally intended”. The last case of dissonance is caused by undesirable heritage messages “that society, or sections of it, would rather not hear themselves or permit others to hear” (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996, 29).

Dissonance evokes different reactions from voicing criticism and providing alternative information about heritages to violent protests rejecting a certain perspective. “People will adjust their behaviour so as to reduce dissonance and move to consonance” (Festinger, 1957 cited in Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996, 20). The wish to reduce dissonance can lead to the marginalisation and suppression of a certain heritage, but as well to the contrary reaction, the processing and conscious demarcation of today’s society from the past perpetrators.

Dominant Stories

With regard to the multiple layering of heritage two basic assumptions can be made. Whenever there is a dominant heritage perspective, there are as well suppressed or neglected layers of heritage. Here two options need to be considered. Either one out of several events at the same physical place becomes dominant while other events fall into oblivion. That has been the case for Robben Island. The island has been important as supply port and part of the

Dutch overseas trade system in the 17th century. It has been a fortress and leprosy colony and is an important natural heritage site. Despite the variety of possible heritage identities Robben Island is primarily infamous as the imprisonment site of Nelson Mandela. (Corsane, 2006, 401) Furthermore, it is possible that of different aspects of the same event, only one becomes dominant while others are neglected, suppressed or blocked out. That has been the case with the German Occupation of the British Cannel Islands of which exclusively aspects of resistance are commemorated while all reference to collaboration is suppressed. (Lennon and Foley, 2007, 66)

The selectivity of heritage implies in the specific case of dark and uncomfortable heritage that the uncomfortable aspects of a heritage site can be either dominant or suppressed.

Influential factors for dominant and suppressed stories and heritage layers

Not all sites that have been scene of murder or atrocity do become heritage places or even dark tourism destinations. In order to answer the central question why uncomfortable layers of a site become the dominant heritage identity it is necessary to have a closer look at the issue. There is not one single or unique determining factor but rather a variety of more or less significant influences. Although it depends on the nature of the individual heritage site whether uncomfortable aspects are dominant or suppressed, some influencing factors are more frequent than others.

Easily identifiable is the impact of visible and available information. Official interpretation offered in museums, interpretation centres, on information panels or memorials on the one hand and media coverage on the other hand plays a major role in making uncomfortable heritage public. Lennon and Foley identify global communication techniques as taking “a major part in creating the initial interest” (2007, 11). Heritage places can only gain significance if people know about them. “Museums and interpretation centres are one of the elements that contribute to the structuring of communal memories within societies.” (Walsh, 2001, 83) Thus official interpretation structures how uncomfortable heritage events become part of the collective memory. The Nazi German extermination camp Dachau near Munich has through media and interpretation been made an “icon for Western tourists” (Young after Lennon and Foley 2007, 40). “Dachau was not one of the major extermination camps yet ironically it remains one of the most visited.” This is not least due to

the heavy presentation of the camps liberation and the reportage of its on-site trial in Western media. (Lennon and Foley, 2007, 40)

Lennon and Foley have analysed the impact of available interpretation on site. It determines for instance the dominant story at the National Socialist concentration camp Sachsenhausen. "What is most interesting about the site is the extent to which later uses of the camp, following the end of the Second World War, are barely mentioned (or at least not in the presentation prepared prior to unification)" (2007, 24). Until the 1950ies the site was used for the internment of political dissidents in the GDR. "This information is available now at Sachsenhausen, but is far less obvious part of the "story" than the Jewish connection." (Ibid, 2007, 24)

If there is an "official" interpretation at a site, it features often socially and political acceptable or relevant stories of the heritage. This is often complemented by "unofficial", alternative or complementary stories that may be told by films, in publications and newspaper coverage or via the internet. These alternative stories might put another emphasis or even clash with the official heritage perspective. At the American prison Island Alcatraz for instance clash one sided "adventure story" told in films with the educative layout of the museum and guided tours. "Most tourists, both foreigners and Americans, visit Alcatraz virtually long before they set foot on the Rock. [...] Rangers concede that "they're here because of Hollywood"" (Strange, Kempa, 2003, 398).

Since heritage sites attract visitors, the local tourism strategy provides information on what heritage is promoted. A tourism product sells a certain story that is either demanded by the visitors, and thus put forward or that is based on the favoured self image of the site. The example of Dachau shows how that desired self image can collide with the uncomfortable heritage. When in the 1950ies - 1960ies the site of the extermination camp was overgrown and started to vanish from sight, the "small town of Dachau began to re-establish itself "free" of its "dark" legacy". The attempt of the mayor to marked Dachau as an ordinary Bavarian small town provoked scandalised reaction (Lennon and Foley 2007, 65). With regard to the sensible issue of the Holocaust, the selective heritage promotion is experienced as unethical.

Interpretation and education centres open uncomfortable heritage sites to visitors. "The educative elements of sites are accompanied by elements of commodification and a commercial ethics which (explicit or implicit) accepts that visitation (whether purposive or incidental) is

an opportunity to develop a tourism product” (Lennon and Foley, 2007, 11). Since tourism itself is an influence factor for the recognition of uncomfortable heritage sites, the access for visitors is a decisive factor. Infrastructure, location and accessibility impact the potential number of visitors at an uncomfortable heritage site. “It is most likely that only large cities will have a sufficient tourism demand base to allow this particular niche market [dark tourism] to be developed. However, this may depend upon the scale of the tragedy involved; for example, Auschwitz is located in a small town.” (Lennon and Foley, 2007, 120) Nonetheless, due to the widespread scale of World War II in Europe, not all sites can be interpreted as heritage sites. Which of the original sites have become significant heritage places is influenced by their accessibility. (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996, 113)

According to Beech “three factors seem to influence the strength of the market [of dark attractions]: the length of time since the events referred to, the degree of violence and number of deaths and the context from which the historical event is viewed” (2000, 38). The time that has passed since an uncomfortable event occurred and even more its presence in the living memory influences the heritage potential of this event. This can lead to the situation where recent trauma is emphasised for example shortly after natural catastrophes. Another scenario is “collective amnesia” of the painful heritage. “The success of policies of deliberate amnesia become less likely in second and subsequent generations who have less personal reasons for concealment and more potential curiosity about gaps in historical records which delayed-released archives can often fill” (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996, 109). The outstanding character of a dark heritage site is directly associated with the extent of shock over the committed cruelties and with the degree of violence perpetrated. Some events are so shocking that they become dominant and overshadow all other possible heritage aspects. “The objects of dark tourism themselves appear to introduce anxiety and doubt about the project of modernity.” Realizing that modern achievements like rational planning or technological innovations were used for mass murder, seeing “the industrial scale of death” or “the failure of “infallible” technology” cuts deep into the collective memory of modern societies (Lennon and Foley, 2007, 11). Unusual and spectacular atrocities have a higher visibility than more commonplace events (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996, 104-105). Some acts of cruelty might be perceived more shocking in times of peace than in the context of war.

Tunbridge and Ashworth have identified some further influence factors for the “usability” of atrocity events for the creation of heritage

products. Besides the “nature of the cruelty perpetrated” they take the “nature of the victims” and the “nature of the perpetrators” into account. Cases where the victims are characterised especially innocent or vulnerable and have no complicity to the perpetrators provoke strong reactions. Uncomfortable heritage is easier to handle if the perpetrators are an “unambiguously identifiable, preferably a distinguishable group, different from the victims and ideally from the observer for whom the event is interpreted.” (Tunbridge and Ashworth 1996, 104-105) Clearly distinguishable black and white stories of victims and perpetrators are far easier to sell as a tourism product than complex issues. The high-profile visibility of the original events and the quantity and quality of surviving records influence as well what can be interpreted as heritage (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996: 104-105). Furthermore the visibility of the physical heritage site needs to be considered. Is it possible at all to forget about certain aspects or is the heritage so present that it can hardly be ignored? The ruins of a city destroyed by war are far more present than for instance the remains of an underground bunker system that is more likely to fall into oblivion. Since acts of atrocity or traumatic events might occur in the heart of everyday life like in the centre of a metropolis, it is not always likely that these sites are turned into isolated heritage sites. Sometimes the pressure to reuse a site in normal life outweighs the demand for a long-term identity as heritage.

Since the heritage story is constructed from a contemporary point of view, it is essential to ask who interprets the events and from what context and perspective is a heritage story seen. “Images of the past are used to legitimise current day political ideas and provide a sense of national pride and identity. Heritage sites and sanitized representations of past greatness are one vehicle for doing this.” (Domic, 2000, 10) As in Cambodia political motivated reconciliation might be considered more important than revealing past crimes (see Long and Reeves, 2009). Heritage importance is dependent from the context, the self understanding and the interest of the interpreter. The focus and impact of an uncomfortable heritage aspect varies from the perspective thus we further need to differentiate between local, national and international points of view.

The process during that sites that witnessed atrocities, places of disaster or traumas become heritage sites and thus potential places of dark tourism are complex and vary greatly according to the nature of sites and events. In order to examine the dominance and suppression of different heritage layers follows an analysis of the case Pirna Sonnenstein.

The case of Pirna Sonnenstein

The German small town Pirna is located at the outskirts of Dresden the capital of Saxony. It forms “the gate to Saxon Switzerland” an outstanding landscape characterised by the Elbe and the Sandstone Mountains. In 2007 a German TV channel elected the 39.000 inhabitants town “as second most beautiful historic city centre” that enchants its visitors with medieval and renaissance buildings in a picturesque city centre (Pirna Online, 2008). The combination of culture and natural reserve brings Pirna a high tourist potential, but the town received as well Germany wide media presence after disastrous flooding in 2002 and because of recent Neo-Nazi activities in Saxon Switzerland. Less known is role of the place in National Socialist time when several thousand people were murdered in the gas chambers on the Sonnenstein. It is these ambivalent identities, the tension between different comfortable and uncomfortable heritages and between past and present that characterise Pirna.

History at Pirna

Pirna was never a town of major national or international importance. The town developed in the shelter of a fortified castle that sits enthroned on the Sonnenstein, a spur of the Sandstone Mountains. Castle and town were always inseparably linked in their history. First mentioned in 1233, Pirna gained regional importance in the trade on the river Elbe. The medieval town forms the heart of Pirna till the present day. The castle in contrast had a rather varied history. It was seldom a noble residence but changed from military stronghold, to prison and retirement home for soldiers until in 1811 it was turned into a psychiatric hospital.

The hospital introduced a revolutionary new concept in treatment of mentally ill people under the influence of new humanitarian ideas. The innovative institution was one of the first pursuing the aim to cure mentally ill people. Pirna quickly achieved international relevance and became the major training centre for psychologists in 19th century (Eichhorn, 1998, 18). The economic and curative success of the hospital that hosted in 1909 already around 650 patients must have been an as well economic factor for the town. With the developing racial theories changed the former humanitarian character of the institution. In the 1930ies the enforcement of “law for the control of genetic defective progeny” led repeatedly to enforced sterilisation of mentally ill people (Böhm, 1998, 13). These practices tell of the ideas that characterised the hospital in the last years before its closure in 1939.

Figure 3: The former building C14 hosting the Memorial and Documentation Centre Pirna- Sonnenstein in 2008.



Source: Jenny Linke

Nonetheless, the darkest period in the history of the Sonnenstein followed only in the years 1940/ 1941 when it became the site of National Socialist mass murder. The building “C14” of the former hospital was furnished with a gas chamber and a crematory for the industrialised large scale murder committed in the following. The authentic building still exists. It has been turned into a documentation centre and memorial to the some 15,000 people murdered at the site. Most of them were mentally ill or handicapped adults and children systematically transported from psychological hospitals, retirement homes and children’s homes to the Sonnenstein. Additionally, more than 1.000 Jewish and Polish prisoners from concentration camps were murdered in the gas chamber of Pirna.

The heritage of Nazi euthanasia in Germany

Eugenics, the racial theories that developed in the late 19th century differentiate between “healthy” and “precious” humans on the one and “weak, ill and less valuable” people on the other hand. Inhuman theories like the idea that the “weak” need to be prevented from impairing the “pure race” culminated in cruel Euthanasia practice of the Third Reich. (Böhm, 2003, 11) The killings had no official legal basis but were a secret operation, authorized by Adolf Hitler in a personal letter. The so called “Operation T4” involved NSDAP agencies and a specially created central office in Tiergartenstrasse 4, Berlin, which ran a total of six killing facilities within Germany. The first gas chamber was put into function in January 1940 in Grafeneck, followed by five institutions in Brandenburg/Havel, Hartheim, Pirna-Sonnenstein, Bernburg and Hadamar. (Böhm, 2003, 12) The “Operation T4” was stopped by Hitler only after heavy criticism from Christian churches in 1941. Nonetheless, the murder of mentally ill people continued in psychiatric hospitals but yet less obvious by intoxication or food deprivation (ibid, 2003, 13-14). Approximately 200.000 mentally handicapped people and patients from psychiatric institutions, nursing homes and hospitals were killed between 1939 and 1945. More than 70.000 of them lost their lives in the gas chambers. (von Butlar, 2003).

The “euthanasia” murder is referred to as antecedent of the Holocaust because sites like the Sonnenstein in Pirna served as preparation for the organization, technology and staff of the Holocaust (Pirna Sonnenstein Memorial, 2006).

After the war the “euthanasia” murders were only insufficiently investigated. Some responsible doctors were taken to court like in the “euthanasia process” of Dresden in 1947 but many withdrew from

Figure 4: Memorial of the Grey Busses by Hoheisel and Knietz installed in Ravensburg in 2006.



Source:
http://knitz.net/gallery2/main.php?g2_itemId=201 : 2009.

prosecution. Some physicians were even able to practice unrecognized for many years. (Böhm, 2003: 14; Klee, 1994)

National Socialist crimes and the Second World War are one of the most publicly investigated uncomfortable heritages of the 20th century. The issue is highly sensible, yet the aspect of “euthanasia” is not as publicly known as for instance the Jewish Holocaust. In addition to existing scientific publications that deal with National Socialist “euthanasia” murder, recently a number of novels have been published on the topic. Books like “Fog in August” by Robert Domes that tells the story of the 12-year old Ernst Lossa who was murdered in a children’s home or “The Doctor of Hartheim. How I discovered my Uncle’s Nazi past” by the Austrian author Mireille Horsinger-Renno. Both books were only published in 2008. Especially personal stories, “secrets” discovered by succeeding generations or children “euthanasia” seem to be of public interest.

Little by little the uncomfortable heritage sites get official recognition. Documentation centres and memorials are set up like the “Grey Bus memorial” that was installed in Brandenburg/Havel in January 2009. The replica of the busses that transported mentally ill people to their death site moves between different “euthanasia” sites (Tagesspiegel, 2009). In 2003 the Bundesarchiv Berlin (Federal archive Berlin) paved the way for systematic research when it opened an “Inventory of sources on “euthanasia” crimes between 1939 and 1945”. The inventory makes data on patients accessible in a central database and thus allows further investigation on crimes as well as information for victim’s relatives (von Butlar, 2003).

Material Analysis

This study is based on printed and online material available on Pirna and the Sonnenstein as well as two visits to the actual sites. That includes tourist information material, communal information, available publication and research predominantly published by the Memorial Sonnenstein e.V. as well as related newspaper coverage. At the site information rely on memorials or in situ interpretation, signage and the overall presence of different heritage aspects in the town. It is important to keep in mind that only available information and publicly presented heritages can be interpreted. The analysis holds an exterior perspective as feasible for every visitor to Pirna and the Sonnenstein heritage site.

Making heritage: the dominant layers of heritage in Pirna

As analysed before there is always a multitude of possible heritages of which only some become dominant while others are suppressed and neglected. In the case of Pirna two distinctive layers of heritage are very present and can thus be considered as dominant. One is the positive and unproblematic heritage of a “historic city”. It is promoted as tourist image and development factor fostering the living quality and a heritage identity of the town. The second dominant heritage is the negative and uncomfortable heritage of the castle Sonnenstein. Nonetheless this heritage is a generalisation including the heritage of the Psychiatric Hospital and the Euthanasia murder without further distinction. The dissonance between the two alternative heritage identities is visible in the fear often expressed by citizens that the uncomfortable heritage conflicts with desired development of tourism in the town (Ulbig cited in Diekmann, 2007).

The aim of the following analysis is to trace the specific factors influencing the dominance of the uncomfortable heritage layer.

Figure 5: Information Panel in the town showing Pirna’s tourism image.



Source: Jenny Linke

Tracing the uncomfortable heritage in the city

First of all Pirna’s desired identity is reflected in its “mission statement 2030” including a tourism concept launched in 2006. Integration, tolerance and responsibility of citizens for citizens are key issues in the mission statement. Heritage and the historic city structure are identified as means encouraging identity building for citizens and tourism (Leitbild, 2006). There is no explicit reference to a moral, historic responsibility, the “euthanasia” murder or the Sonnenstein. For the tourism families, people interested in city tourism, nature and sport are defined as target groups (Leitbild, 2006). The town centre and Castle Sonnenstein are advertised as unique, historically grown architectonic ensemble, as which both need to be protected (Pirnaer Anzeiger, 2006, 9). Both mission statement and tourism concept emphasize exclusively the “historic town” heritage identity.

Figure 6: Permanent Exhibition in the Memorial Pirna-Sonnenstein.



Source: Jenny Linke

Interpretation targets at both citizens and interested visitors. The “historic town” identity is underlined in the Town Museum. The institution exists since 1861 and is today located inside the former Dominican monastery in the town centre. The Town Museum features in its exhibition town and regional history as well as a collection of graphics and photography. (Stadt Museum Pirna). Since the history of town and castle are inseparably connected both are addressed in the museum. The Sonnenstein is represented in city panoramas and models but the reflected period ends abruptly with the year 1900. In

order to find the heritage of the Sonnenstein one has to visit the documentation centre and memorial Pirna-Sonnenstein on the grounds of the former psychiatric hospital. “A memorial to the victims of the Nazi “euthanasia” murders has been created at the historic site, after decades of silence and neglect. Its purpose is to foster active commemoration and learning from history, so what occurred here may never happen again” (Pirna Sonnenstein Memorial, 2006). The exhibition offers space for information. Starting chronologically from the foundation of the psychiatric hospital over the context of racial theories, the “Operation T4” at the site and the later the children “euthanasia”, the exhibition touches as well the question of the perpetrators and juridical persecution and the involvement of local citizens. It ends with the foundation of the memorial. The exhibition uses visual and audio document to emphasise individual fates of the victims. There is a spatial distinction of the exhibition and the actual memorial, which is located in the basement where the gas chamber and crematory where were placed. The memorial is constructed as a place for mourning and commemoration by letting the authenticity of the place work.

Not only interpretation but as well the visibility in the town impacts the dominance of heritage. The castle is visible from every point in the town, but high prominence of the building does not automatically cause a visibility of all heritage layers. That depends on the connotations to the buildings. Information boards all over the town and information leaflets guide visitors to “relevant” heritage places. Although the historic town centre is emphasised in suggested walks through the town both heritages appear in the official signage.

Fig. 7: Memorial Signpost of the project “Denkzeichen – The past is present”



Source: Jenny Linke.

Two recent art projects bring the uncomfortable heritage in the focus of the public space. The installation “Denkzeichen” – The Past is Present” by the Berlin artist Heike Ponwitz is highly visible. “Sixteen though-provoking memorial signposts” showing “a picture of Sonnenstein Castle taken from the Saxon court painter Canaletto, who played an important part in shaping the city’s identity” are combined with “a keyword or phrase connected with the Nazi “euthanasia” murder” (Vergangenheit ist Gegenwart, no date). The installation plays with the two dissonant heritages of the town. It was erected on the initiative of the “Saxon Memorial Foundation for the Commemoration of the Victims of Political Tyranny” in the year 2000.

The second project is the “Gedenkspur” (traces of commemoration) initiated by the Sonnenstein Memorial and local youths in 2002. A total of 14.751 small coloured crosses with continuing numbers symbolising the people murdered on the Sonnenstein are painted on

Figure 8: The traces of commemoration.



Source: Jenny Linke.

the town's pavement. "The trace connects the Memorial site for victims of the "euthanasia" murder at the Sonnenstein with the historic town centre and makes this long suppressed aspect of NS-heritage visible to the public" (Gedenkspur Pirna: no date). The memory work is never finished but it needs continuous effort and active repainting and is thus kept alive.

Both projects take the heritage of "euthanasia" murder into the town. The uncomfortable heritage is not anymore isolated at the core site or in the physical remains on the Sonnenstein but there is a close connection to the city that is emphasised.

Tracing the uncomfortable heritage in general

The National Socialist "euthanasia" murder is especially shocking because the victims are vulnerable and innocent. Patients were in need of help and had been entrusted by their families to hospitals and nurseries that instead delivered them to their deaths. The perpetrators are especially cruel. The role of doctors and nurses in this mass murder is shocking because these professions are normally connoted positively as "good", "caring" and "helping". On the other hand the crimes are clearly distinguishable as having been committed by National Socialists, a group that is already known and socially "accepted" as "evil perpetrator group". National Socialist crimes are a sensitive but dominant uncomfortable heritage. In 1967 some of the "euthanasia" physicians were found not guilty in court because they completely lacked understanding of wrongdoing. According to their world view they had done the best they could (Klee, 1984). Although the sentence seems completely incomprehensible it shows as well how difficult the topic of "euthanasia" murder is.

Figure 9: "Memorial for the Victims of Fascist crimes in the former Sanatorium on the Sonnenstein" erected in GDR time.



Source: Jenny Linke

One important issue is that mentally illness and disabled people, the majority of the "euthanasia" victims, still are an uneasy topic for many people. As the project leader of the Euthanasia inventory in the Bundesarchiv Berlin Christine Vanja commented, one reason why investigation started so late might be that mentally illness is still a taboo topic in our society (Christine Vanja cited in von Butlar, 2003).

The motivation for processing heritage changes with the distance in time. In Pirna as well succeeding generations took the initiative. The knowledge on the killing site was suppressed for over 60 years. The castle had become a fenced off area used inter alia by GDR aeronautics industry (Böhm, 1994, 75). That the uncomfortable heritage was not completely forgotten proves a small memorial already erected in GDR time, but even so the events were not

Figure 10: Part of the former Psychiatric Hospital on the Sonnenstein condition in December 2008.



Source: Jenny Linke

Figure 11: Signage indicating significant places in Pirna at the Elbe harbour.



Source: Jenny Linke

profoundly investigated. Public interest arose with a small exhibition on the crimes in 1989 that was followed by the foundation of a citizen's action group. The present permanent exhibition is the result of intensive archaeological and scientific investigation.

At the moment the Castle Sonnenstein is in a bad physical condition, but the pressure of reusing the prominent site can not be denied. Restoration work will start in 2010. The castle will then become the seat for the district administration. The neighbouring areas on the Sonnenstein have already been developed in GDR time. Outside the industrial zone grew new high rise residential area know as well as "Sonnenstein" since 1950ies. Since 1977 as well a sheltered workshop and home for mentally handicapped people exists in parts of the former psychiatric hospital (B hm, 1994, 81-81). The different uses and new connotation provide alternative identities to the uncomfortable heritage for the Sonnenstein.

Tracing the uncomfortable heritage: the contemporary impact

One reason for an increasing engagement in processing the uncomfortable heritage in the last years can be found in the current political and social situation. The region of Saxon Switzerland has seen an increase in extreme Rightist movements, structural economic problems, and demographic change since the 1990ies. People emigrate from the region. In his speech on the January 27, the Memorial Day for victims of National Socialism, the mayor of Pirna emphasised that in view of the re-strengthening of extreme Rightist groups and parties, especially in the region of Pirna, the communication of history of the Third Reich and the inhuman National Socialist policies is essential (Ulbig, 2009). His principle for fighting Neo-Nazi tendencies is learning from the heritage for the future.

Conclusion

The initial interest of this study was to find out how uncomfortable heritages do become dominant layers of heritage. A variety of influence factors determines where an uncomfortable heritage is dominant and where it is marginalized. Both tendencies work in the case of the heritage of Pirna-Sonnenstein. The heritage of atrocity was suppressed for more than half a century. Political and social changes and the distance in time have led to a new situation where a new generation in a new context is able to investigate on the "euthanasia" murder. Alternative identities exist of the city but as well of the Sonnenstein and its castle that is currently being developed to fit new and different uses. The tourism strategy promotes an

alternative and positive image of the historic town. That the uncomfortable heritage resurfaced and became a dominating aspect today is the result of many people's effort. The uncomfortable heritage has been made visible through documentation and interpretation as well as through publication, signage and art in public space. The citizens of Pirna are actively integrated in this process for instance in the project "Gedenkspur" (traces of commemoration) or the annual Memorial Day for the victims of National Socialism. It is as well due to nationwide research, education and information on the committed atrocities that the "euthanasia" murder became an issue of heritage politics. Pirna is only one place in a network of National Socialist "euthanasia" sites and the victims originated from very different places, thus the uncomfortable heritage of the Sonnenstein has a national relevance.

Heritage has become not only a means of identity building but as well an economic development factor in the tourism sector, that has a great impact after the collapse of many industries and following problems in the region of Pirna. Heritage is being employed as means of development and future orientation, of education and -in respect to the re-strengthening of Neo-Nazi and extreme rightist groups - of underlining democracy. The new emphasis on an uncomfortable heritage can be understood as conscious step away from its former marginalisation and as demarcation from the original perpetrators. Commemoration and the processing of uncomfortable heritage are signs of an active, conscious and responsible democracy.

One major interest was the interrelation of different dominant heritage layers in Pirna. Both the "heritage of a historic town" and the uncomfortable heritage of the murder of 14,751 people on the Sonnenstein during the "Operation T4" are dominant heritage stories. The heritage of atrocity is in conflict with the historic self image of the town, thus there are rather two dissonant, parallel identities. Both are connected at some places like with the art projects but are predominantly separate heritage images. Although people feared that making the uncomfortable heritage public would have a negative impact on the tourist potential, is the town contributing to the processing of the uncomfortable heritage. Promoting exclusively a sanitized image of an atrocity site irritates people visiting to commemorate the victims. Since Pirna can not change its uncomfortable heritage on the one hand but is reliant on the tourism development on the other hand it would be recommendable to integrate both heritages in one concept, instead of constructing two parallel identities as it is the case in the moment. The town has a potential for what is called dark tourism that could be developed

further in the sense of conscious and responsible heritage tourism and as means of public commemoration.

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15. Online Presentation of Uncomfortable Heritage Sites: Between Interpretation & Marketing

Friederike Johnigk

Introduction

According to the International Council of Monuments and Sites, the presentation and interpretation of heritage is a crucial aspect within the management of heritage sites, in order to inform the public about the history and the significance of the place (ICOMOS, 2007). In regard to uncomfortable heritage, such as places of war or atrocities, this might be even more important since the idea of remembrance and education about these events is essential for the understanding and the prevention of similar future events. However, uncomfortable heritage sites are, as well as normal heritage sites, a product of the tourism industry. Therefore, discrepancy is created concerning the ethical and moral responsibilities and sensibilities of a site and the extent of marketing, advertisement and promotion. Can a place like the concentration camp Auschwitz-Birkenau be promoted and be part of a cultural industry? As it is visited by thousands of international visitors annually, the answer is: yes, it can and it already is.

Presentation of a site which is associated with pain and suffering is therefore a difficult and challenging undertaking. No matter what topic, it always presents a certain point of view and it always addresses a certain group of visitors. Apart from the actual presentation on-site and the exhibit of objects, the emergence of web pages and the World Wide Web itself led to another level of display: the representation of the heritage sites in the form of homepages. Naturally, not everyone uses the internet when looking for information. Especially when taking into consideration that even today, the internet is still not accessible everywhere. However, a significant number of people use the World Wide Web when looking for information about a specific site. Assuming this, the paper aims to look at the way uncomfortable heritage sites present themselves online. The intentions of online presentation can be various: it could be to attract visitors, to provide information, to get donations or to keep the memory alive.

Instead of analysing a small number of specific homepages, the practical part will look at a larger number of homepages in order to

show a variety and to answer some key questions such as: How do uncomfortable heritage sites present themselves online? How are different degrees of marketing reflected on homepages? Is there something like a common practice concerning the display of homepages?

The first section will give a small overview of the history and definition of dark tourism as well as an attempt to create a typology in order to simplify the grouping of the homepages. The second section will introduce the issue and different aspects of heritage presentation. Afterwards, the third section focuses on internet appearance and the display of uncomfortable heritage sites as a special aspect of heritage presentation. For this part, various homepages have been analysed in regard to language, content and design and the most relevant results will be shortly presented within this paper. At the end, the final part will try to answer the key question and to draw some conclusions.

Introduction to Dark Tourism, the term and the typology

Before looking at the presentation of uncomfortable heritage sites, it is necessary to give a small overview over the phenomena of dark tourism in general. Although it is a relatively young part of tourism in regard to the research, there are different approaches concerning the term and the typology of the topic. This chapter shall, besides giving a small introduction, clarify which terms are used in the paper. Also, it seems to be useful to introduce a possible typology regarding the different types of uncomfortable heritage in order to have a basis for the grouping of the homepages.

There are different terms used for one and the same phenomena within the tourism industry: black spots (Rojek, 1993), dissonant heritage (Tunbridge and Ashworth, 1996), thanatourism (Seaton, 1996) or dark tourism (Lennon, Foley, 2000) are some of them. But no matter how they are all defined in detail, they all cover the phenomena that people are travelling to or visiting sites which are, directly or indirectly, connected with death, suffering, pain or disaster, may it be caused deliberately or coincidentally by humans or by natural catastrophes. This form of tourism is not a modern appearance, but has been practiced since hundreds of years ago, as Seaton highlights in his article "Guided by the Dark: from thanatopsis to thanatourism" (1996).

In the Middle Age, for instance, people not only enjoyed attending public executions, but the topic of death itself was a very present political and religious issue (Seaton, 1996). But even before this period, the attendance of gladiator fights or, for instance, the pilgrimages to places of religious suffering were part of the phenomena to travel to see death and/or suffering (Stone, Sharpley, 2008).

After the Middle Age, thanatourism especially evolved during the period of Romanticism. According to Seaton, "Thanatourism is travel to a location wholly, or partially, motivated by the desire for actual or symbolic encounters with death, particularly, but not exclusively, violent death, which may, to a varying degree be activated by the person-specific features of those whose deaths are its focal objects" (1996: 240) He also names different elements of this explanation, which, among others, state that thanatourism is defined by travelers motivation and that there are different categories like the witnessing of public executions, the visitation of sites of mass or individual deaths (as the most common category), visitation of interment sites and memorials, the travel to sites which are not directly connected to a place of death but show material evidence and last but not least the visitation of re-enactments of death (like for instance religious Passion plays).

In contrast to Seaton, Lennon and Foley decide to use the term "dark" instead of thanatopsis. They introduce the term "Dark tourism" to describe the visitation of "locations of death and disaster or sites of interpretation of such events" (Lennon, Foley, 1996). They emphasize on the political, economical and technological role which influences the emergence of a site (Lennon, Foley, 2000). According to them, the media industry, especially the films, are conducive to the awareness of dark tourism sites since they create kind of a closeness and recognition value.

This paper will continue to use the term "dark tourism" since it provides the inclusion of a wide range of sites connected with pain and suffering but at the same time includes automatically the fact that these sites are visited by tourists for reasons like remembrance, education or even entertainment.

However, in their definition Lennon and Foley exclude sites which are not close enough in time and where one can not pose questions about anxiety and doubt anymore (Lennon, Foley, 2000), whereas others, like Seaton (1996) also include more historical sites, such as pilgrimage sites or old cemeteries. This is an important difference, and even if the term by Lennon and Foley will be used in this paper,

the analytical part will at the same time look at sites which are more distant in time. The reason for this is the assumption that these places are still part of dark tourism since visitors might be attracted by the cruel history, such as for example slave castles or battlefields. But they are at the same time already in a state where more marketing might be practiced due to the fact that the lack of survivors provides an easier way to deal with the topic. However, even time-distant sites still need to practice a more sensible handling concerning history and presentation of suffering than “normal” tourist attractions and the presentation on the homepages might offer an interesting contrast to sites of more recent events.

When dealing with the different background of such sites, different categories appear. However, no final or complete typology exists. One approach is offered by Stone (2006): in recognizing different “shades of darkness”, he follows the categorization of Miles (2002) which goes from the darkest sites with high authenticity, political influence and education to the lightest sites, which are only associated with events, including more entertainment intentions, less authenticity and a lower political influence (Stone, 2006, referring to Miles, 2002). With an orientation towards this model, Stone divides into *dark fun factories* (having a high entertainment focus and commercial ethic as well as good tourism infrastructure, but rather low authenticity), *dark exhibitions* (having a focus on entertainment as well as on education, often using provocative strategies), *dark dungeons* including places of penal and justice, *dark resting places* like cemeteries, *dark shrines* as term for death places or graves of celebrities, *dark conflict sites* (in the means of war-and battle sites) and *dark camps of genocide*, including concentration camps and genocide memorials as the darkest shade of dark tourism (with high authenticity and a strong political ideology). These categories might be helpful, especially because they give an idea with what expectations visitors could travel to the different sites. However, this attempt is also not complete. Sites of natural catastrophes or sites of human accidents, like Chernobyl, are for instance not covered in an appropriate way, neither are terrorism sites.

For this paper, dark tourism homepages will be tried to be grouped and analyzed as examples for the following categories:

Genocide Sites, Concentration Camps, War Sites, memorial sites of celebrities and the so called “dark fun factories”, being torture museums or medieval prisons. Concentration camps form a separate section since they are often dealt with as an extra issue (see for instance Lennon and Foley 2000), being a very sensitive topic within

German and European history. Also, some types are left out, like terrorism sites, since this would go beyond the scope of this essay.

Introduction to presentation and interpretation of heritage sites

One major issue concerning uncomfortable heritage sites is the way of presentation and interpretation. This covers a wide range of different points, starting with the information that is given to the visitor, the presented objects, the placement of the objects, the relations between the objects, the presentation of interactivities or multimedia, the languages and much more. For a long time, museums and exhibitions claimed to have a universal truth, and objectivity of presentations in museums was taken for granted. Only since the second half of the 20th century, scientific discourses in museum studies started to recognize the fact that every exhibition and presentation of objects is subjective and depending on various factors, most notably on a political and social background. Also, visitors were not seen as an unidentified mass anymore, but were broken up into different groups which come along with different knowledge and different intentions (Hooper-Greenhill, 2000). This is especially true for uncomfortable heritage sites. Dealing with heritage of suffering and pain, the presentation is supposed to be done in a very sensitive and political correct way. One extreme example are the concentration camps in Germany and Poland: “Mass killing sites, particularly those associated with the Jewish Holocaust, present major challenges for interpretations and invariably questions arise concerning the nature of motivation for visitors.” (Lennon, Foley, 2000: 27)

In many cases, the presentation uses less written information and focuses more on pictures and the statement of the object itself. This is done in order to avoid problems within the interpretation and to avoid a too strong interpreted statement, as Lennon and Foley state in their work: “There are major problems for the language utilized in interpretation to adequately convey the horrors of the camps. Consequently, and because of the presence of historical records, visual representation is extensively used.” (Lennon, Foley, 2000: 28). The visitor is supposed let the object or the picture affect him, together with general background knowledge. This can be a powerful tool in order to create empathy, which plays an important role in the presentation of dark tourism sites. However, display always contains a certain statement, highlighting some information or leaving out parts of the story, depending on the intention of the site. What does the site

intends to achieve and which visitors does it intend to attract? Even the non-presentation of certain sites is volitional, if some controversial topics should rather sleep than turn into a public focus, or if the surviving victims should be protected (Lennon, Foley, 2000).

Naturally, there exist problems apart from political statements and moral correctness. Being a tourism site, the places tend to be drawn into the whole tourism industry, offering tourism products. Here, it becomes difficult to keep the difference between attraction and serious commemoration: "(...) at most sites, the boundaries between the message (educational, political) and their commercialization as tourist products have become increasingly blurred." (Stone, Sharpley, 2008: 578). Anyhow, this also depends on the definition of tourism and how much importance the economic benefit plays – most of the concentration camps, for instance, do not charge any entrance fees since it seems to be inappropriate. Here, the economic dimension is only connected to voluntary donations or bought products in the shops (if existing).

Moreover, the presentation of dark tourism sides is not just about political statements, but it also orientates itself on the expected visitor groups and their knowledge and identity. An example is mentioned by Lennon and Foley (2000: 164): "Where remembrance is both possible and encouraged in some parts of Asia, such as in the museum of Human Genocide in Phnom Penh and where commodification of death has occurred, such as at the Cu Chi tunnels near Ho Chi Min City in Vietnam, the type and tone of interpretation appear to have, at least, an eye upon the probability that many of the most economically desirable visitors will originate from the political West and, thus, tends to ignore some of the responsibility of certain Western democracies in the prosecution of these conflicts." Here, one can strongly recognize the economic dimension and its influence which lies behind the presentation. Another example is the presentation or rather the non-presentation of former Nazi-sites in Germany where it is avoided to attract sympathizers of the history (see for example Wewelsburg in Germany).

Uncomfortable Heritage Sites online

Talking about presentation of heritage sites, one nowadays needs to take into account that the dimension of presentation has been incredibly extended by the increasing use of the World Wide Web. During the last years, Internet and the accessibility of information became a common tool and goes without saying for a growing part of the population. Therefore, the online presentation of heritage sites started to become a natural part concerning marketing and promotion

of these places: “The information-based nature of this product (author’s note: tourism) means that the Internet, which offers global reach and multimedia capability, is an increasingly important means of promoting and distributing tourism services.” (Doolin et al, 2002: 557, cf. Walle 1996).

This essay deals with the online presentation of heritage sites because it assumes that people, when they want to know more about a specific site, would firstly access the Internet in order to look if there is a homepage existing. This could on the one hand be in order to get touristic information like the driving directions, the opening times and the entrance fees, but on the other hand it can be done in order to get more information about the history and the display of the place. Hence, online presentation of uncomfortable heritage sites can be seen with a dual approach: as a possibility for the accessibility of educational information and as a marketing/promotion tool. In both cases, the presentation plays an important role concerning the image and the intentions of the heritage site, as Doolin et al mention in their work (2002): “The content of tourism destination Web sites is particularly important because it directly influences the perceived image of the destination and creates a virtual experience for the consumer.” Here, various factors are playing together, which could all form an individual chapter themselves, starting from the type of fonts, the choice of colors, the use of advertisements, the included pictures, the division and the placement of links and topics within the page and much more.

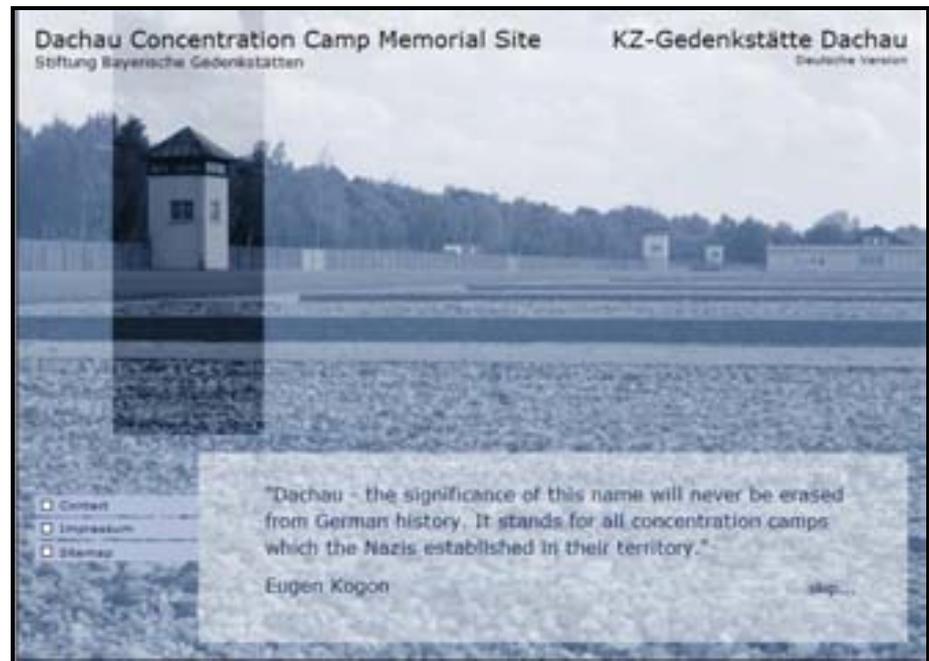
This essay does not intend to get too deep into the analysis of web design, but rather aims to look at the general image that is created. What is the intention of the site? What are priorities and what way is chosen in order to present themselves to the virtual visitor? Is it a balance between marketing and education? For this reason, the paper only focuses on direct homepages of heritage sites, keeping in mind that other forms of presentation, for instance through travel agencies, might already have a too strong focus on tourism industry and marketing, or, for example charity organization which might represent a certain political or social statement. Homepages of uncomfortable heritage sites, in contrast, are still part of the presentation and interpretation of the site, including the moral and ethical responsibilities, which were discussed in the previous chapter. In order to achieve a result, the following part will analyze various homepages. The focus is set not only on a few specific sites, but on a wider selection in order to have a broader basis for conclusions. As mentioned before, a basic division into different groups of dark tourism sites will be used, so that it might be easier to find out common similarities or differences.

When looking at the homepages, following aspects were taken into account: the language, the design and the content. For each aspect, certain points were looked at. Within the aspect of language, it was checked in which languages the homepage is presented and what kind of language style is used. This led to conclusions, which visitor group might be addressed by the site. In regard to the design, the focus was set at the inclusion of pictures, the use of colors and, if striking, the choice of fonts. Here, it was planned to find out in what way, especially with what undertone the topics are presented. Another point within this aspect was the integration of interactivities and “special effects”. This is important to include, since – according to Doolin et al (2002) - the tourism destination is presented in the most effective way in regard to tourism commerce when using interactivities like guest books, search engines, electronic postcards or webcams, meaning that the level of marketing and consequently the level of being a tourism product can be read off the level of interactivities. As a last point, it was looked at the content of the page in order to check what content is displayed (and what not) and in what order the different topics are presented. This can again lead to assumptions about the addressed visitor groups and the background of these groups, but also about the political statements of the site.

Concentration Camps

The first group which was analyzed was concentration camps of WWII. It falls, according to Stone (2006) and Miles (2002), under the category of darkest tourism since it is directly connected with death and disaster and has a high ideological and political influence in presentation. This can also be seen in the presentation of the homepages. In general, there are some main similarities concerning the presentation. All three of them, for instance, are held in the colors black, grey and grayish blue – other colors are only used to mark different sections. Also, they resemble each other in the way how pictures are used. When entering the page, black and white pictures of the former camp or the atrocities are presented. Dachau (Fig. 1) and Auschwitz-Birkenau even start with a minimalistic front page, showing only the name and one or two pictures (and, regarding Dachau, a quote) before one enters the main menu. Another similarity is the donation section which can be found in Auschwitz-Birkenau as well as in Buchenwald and which is necessary since none of them has any entrance fees on their homepage. However, this section is always placed at the bottom of the page. Anyhow, apart from these main similarities, there are some variations between the different camps.

Figure 1: Dachau Concentration Camp Memorial Site



Source: (<http://www.kz-gedenkstaette-dachau.de/>)

Compared to the others, Buchenwald appeared to be the most scientific homepage. The front page is showing detailed information about the foundation and different research projects and news that are going on. It also requires a certain level of background knowledge since the history section starts immediately with a chronological overview of the camp. In contrast, Dachau also gives a general introduction and Auschwitz has the most detailed section about different aspects of the history of the camp. Also the language is, although being serious and scientific, easier to read on the Auschwitz homepage than on the pages of Buchenwald and Dachau. In contrast to that, Buchenwald offers the most translations (the page can be accessed in German, English and French) whereas Dachau offers it in German and English and Auschwitz in Polish and English.

All in all, one could say that, although they all have a similar approach of presenting in a serious and very informative way what had happened in the camps, Auschwitz Birkenau addresses a bigger visitor group in being more diverse concerning information and different facets. It is also the only homepage in this group which has interactive features like a virtual museum tour or a webcam showing the main entrance road of Auschwitz, which clearly does not belong to pure informative and educative attempts anymore.

Genocide Memorials

The second group addresses homepages of genocide memorials: the Killing Fields Memorial in Cambodia, the Kigali Memorial Center in Rwanda and the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin. In contrast to concentration camps, these are not always direct sites of atrocities but sometimes associated with the events (p.e. Holocaust Memorial in Berlin). Anyhow, it can be said that they bear the same political and ideological influence than for instance concentration camps. Still, in this group, some main differences in the presentation of the genocides can be discovered.

The Killing Fields Memorial in Cambodia has, at first sight, a quite strange impression on visitors since it does not have the common seriousness but plays Asian music and has sparkling letters. It does not only present the genocide by the Khmer Rouge, but also tries to introduce the visitor into Cambodian culture. The homepage is only in English and is directly addressed to foreign visitors in order to “educate Americans, Cambodian Americans and other nationalities about the factual history of the Khmer Rouge atrocities...” (<http://www.killingfieldsmuseum.com/>, last accessed 23/03/2009). Although one section displays pictures of the torture rooms and the victims of S21, they also show the main perpetrators with a small biography and it is possible to listen to Khmer Rouge songs, which might be confusing for visitors especially since the background is not sufficiently explained. Nevertheless, one also needs to keep in mind that differences like the music and the special effects with letters and design might also be an expression of a different culture and a different approach of dealing with uncomfortable heritage.

The Kigali Memorial Centre (Fig. 2) already provides more detailed information about the genocide in Rwanda. The focus of the site is set on the stories of survivors, which create a very direct and emotional approach to the visitor and serves to create empathy. The language is rather emotional than neutral-scientific – one reason for this could be the closeness in time since the genocide only happened in 1994. The main intentions of the homepage seem to be the information about what happened during the genocide as well as the situation which led to the atrocities, but also information about educational programs, about the foundation and about donations. Moreover, similar to the homepage of the Killing Fields, the Kigali Memorial Centre also has a section about Rwanda itself in order to inform tourists. Interested tourists can even find links to tourism agencies and airlines on this page.
<http://www.kigalimemorialcentre.org>

Figure 2: Kigali Memorial Centre Homepage



Source: (<http://www.kigalimemorialcentre.org>)

In contrast, the Holocaust Memorial in Berlin shows a completely different approach. Here, one can find only a short note about the background of the Holocaust whereas the main part of the webpage deals with the memorial and its program itself. Sections like News, Projects, Events and Publications are offered and the visitor can, apart from the visitor information, inform himself about ongoing exhibition and the appearance and the related ideas of the Holocaust Memorial. While the main homepage is offered in German and English, there are various more language possibilities: pdf flyers can be downloaded in 13 different languages; there is a section with “easy language”, a special youth webpage and even small videos with German sign language. Obviously, the memorial tries to offer access to information for as many international visitors as possible. But in contrast to the other examples, it is also the only webpage which has a link to the museum shop of the visitor centre where the visitor can buy products like publications, DVDs with virtual tours and postcards. Similar to Auschwitz, it appears that addressing a bigger visitor group also means providing more variety in products and approaches and therefore a higher degree of marketing.

Sites related to war

For the group of war sites, Pearl Harbor (USA), Waterloo Memorial (Belgium) and Hiroshima Peace Sites (Japan) served as examples. Although the battle of Waterloo already happened in 1815 and is therefore controversial within the range of dark tourism sites due to the time distance (see Lennon and Foley, 2000), the homepage advertises a significant feature of dark tourism, which did not appear within other analyzed homepages: the promotion of an annual re-enactment event. This event, which replays the course of the battle on the historic grounds, is highly emphasized on the internet page, as well as other tour offers and entrance discounts for families and children and even the offer of receptions on site. The character of the site is underlined by the sound of military marches when opening the webpage. Also the texts about the history of the event and the development of the memorial clearly show the intention to attract visitors in highlighting special parts of the sentences, such as

“one of the greatest battles in European history”, “exceptional site where silence reigns and where meditation is a way of life”, “pedestrianised” and “huge restoration programme”.

Nevertheless, the homepage also offers high-quality information about the battle in form of essays of university lectures which can be downloaded as pdf files.

Compared to the other two homepages, Pearl Harbor's internet presentation is relatively unspectacular. Being under the management of the National Parks Service of the USA, the homepage of Pearl Harbor was part of the main homepage of this service. Anyhow, it still provided a wide range of different links, informing about the history of the event and about the different ships, but also about main visitor information and, for instance, about the climate in Hawaii. It is a mixture of descriptions, information and more emotional presentation of the course of the battle and results.

Highly emotional, in contrary, appears the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum (Fig. 3). Anyhow, the first impression of the homepage appears to be rather confusing in regard to the type of the letters and the arrangement of the topics. Also, a lot of different colors and signs are used. Apart from a Kids Peace Station and the links about different aspects of the bombing of Hiroshima, the visitor can enter a virtual museum tour. This link provides the visitor not only with pictures and small information about objects in the museum, but also with a large variety of small video animations. Already when entering the virtual museum, a short video is presented, showing a flying dove

and a father and a child walking down the street. The focus more and more zooms on the holding hands of the father and the child, but after a while only the watch on the wrist of the father is left on the screen, turning into a burned watch which is presented in the museum. Also the other video animations and stories are very emotional, which, for the visitor, underlines the importance of the section about the peace declaration and the “Steps towards Peace” which include for example a short overview about the steps towards the abolition of nuclear weapons.

Figure 3: Hiroshima Peace Site Homepage



Source: (<http://www.pcf.city.hiroshima.jp>)

Death sites or graves of celebrities

The travel to death sites or the graves of celebrities forms another section in the mentioned categorization of the different shades of darkness. The chosen examples in this paper present on the one side graves of celebrities (Père-Lachaise, Althorp) and on the other side the assassination site of John F. Kennedy. Although all three of them fall under the same aspect, they show big differences concerning the promotion and the marketing of the death of the celebrity.

The cemetery Père Lachaise in Paris represents itself on a webpage which offers almost no information (Fig. 4). Apart from a front page

which is only in French, the only feature of this homepage is a 360° Virtual Tour that the internet visitor can take. This tour follows the real streets of the cemetery, adding pictures at the graves of famous people. It offers the possibility to see and experience the site in a very real way. When looking for a famous grave directly, one can search the name in the cemetery search engine and a small cross will blink on the cemetery map which will show pictures when clicked. This homepage is clearly addressed to visitors who know about the cemetery and who are keen on taking a look at the graves. There are no directions or opening times, or any information about the history and the construction of the graveyard.

Figure 4: Cemetery of Père-Lachaise Virtual Tour



Source: <http://www.pere-lachaise.com>

In contrast to the cemetery, the Sixth Floor Museum in Dallas offers clear information about the museum, about the visitation and about different exhibitions. However, a strong focus is set on the promotion of the museum and the level of marketing is quite high. A special section of the homepage is the shop, where online visitors can buy a huge variety of John F. Kennedy products – starting with cups, T-Shirts with printed pictures of Kennedy and little statues and ending with copies of the newspaper front pages of the day after the assassination.

A complete opposite is shown on the homepage of the Althorp House in the United Kingdom, which is the family house and the resting

place of Diana, Princess of Wales. When entering the homepage, nothing points to the whole tumult which followed the death of Diana. Instead, it appears like a normal homepage of an English Country house, which offers information about the building, the gardens and the events. It clearly has the intention to attract visitors, since there are exhibitions and a visitor section. Nevertheless, it seems to only address visitors which are interested in country houses and gardens and it obviously avoids attracting fans of Princess Diana. Princess Diana is only mentioned in a small paragraph about the exhibitions, in a short sentence at the end of the history of the Spencer family and in combination with a small commemorative postcard set which can be bought besides products like country house tea porcelain. This is the complete contrary to the homepage presented so far, since they all emphasized on the event of death and suffering. Here, it is tried not to start dark tourism, although the topic is somehow presented. But if a visitor would not know about the location of Diana's grave, he would not think that this homepage presents the place.

Torture Museums and Entertaining Parks

The last group, which is presented in this essay, is located at the lightest part of Stones categorization (2006): the Dark Exhibitions and the Dark Fun Factories. Whereas the Dark Exhibition still include a certain grade of information, the Dark Fun Factories are based on a pure entertainment purpose. The Criminal Museum in Rothenburg (Germany) and the Torture Museum in Amsterdam (Netherlands) are part of the Dark Exhibitions, offering an insight into the justice system of the Middle Ages. In contrast, The Dungeons (UK, Netherlands and Germany) are part of Merlin's Entertainments Group with family attractions worldwide. In this group, one can again see clear differences in the grade of promoting the sites.

The Criminal Museum in Rothenburg has a quite minimalistic but striking entrance page on their homepage, with black background and just one picture of medieval handcuffs, offering the page in German, English and Chinese. The following homepage in English just offers some selected information about the museum and some specific objects, indicating the different section of the exhibition. Apart from that, information about the location and the entrance and about a town guide is presented. However, one needs to keep in mind that in this case the German part of the homepage is a bit more extensive, providing information about specific educational offers and the background of the buildings, whereas the Chinese part only consists of one short paragraph.

The Torture Museum in Amsterdam, in contrast, already shows a higher level of attraction: designed like an old medieval book, the homepage offers similar sections with short information about the content of the museum, some objects, and visitor information. However, the different sections are highlighted with old drawings of torture ceremonies and many information are given as quotes from old descriptions of tortures or in a language which seeks to address sensational feelings:

“Pestilent air around the gallows, screams of agony on the rack, whooping crowds gathered around the pillory...it seems to be sheer barbarious abuses from the dark middle ages. Fortunately we are living in modern civilization now – we think. However, historic reality is less comforting.”

(<http://www.torturemuseum.com/content.html>, 2009)

The biggest contrast to all presented homepages is probably the internet website of The Dungeons (Fig. 5). Here, the main focus is set on the attempt to attract visitors, mainly families, and to provide them with a scary experience. Already the language is used with expressions emphasizing on sensation seeking and marketing:

“Delve into the blood-curdling parts of history that your teachers never taught you - learn the torturous methods used by unscrupulous characters to the grisly details of our most prolific killers (...)”

(<http://www.thedungeons.com/>, 2009)

Figure 5: Homepage of the Dungeons



Source:

(www.thedungeons.com)

The homepage is design around the offer of “Priority Entrance Tickets”, and already has the image of dungeons and underworlds as a background. The main colors are dark, whereas letters are red, forming blood drops. There are different section for the cities in which this attraction is settled (London, York, Edinburgh, Hamburg and Amsterdam), and these sections offer the same range of links, including specials like birthday celebrations. The cities only vary in the attractions which are offered and which show the bloody and scary events which happened in the city history. Moral responsibility, as it can be found at other dark tourism sites, is on a very low level whereas the marketing product has priority.

Conclusion

After having analyzed various homepages, some major conclusions can be drawn concerning the design and the marketing of uncomfortable heritage sites online.

First of all, it was generally noticed that the degree of marketing and promotion of web pages as well as the way of presenting information increase or decrease in conformity with the categories introduced by Stone (2006) and Miles (2002). Sites *of* death and disaster, or darkest tourism sites, normally have a very sensitive way of presenting, focusing much on information and education and mainly avoiding too strong marketing tools. In contrast, sites *associated* with death and disaster are showing more obvious promotion strategies, including for example the more color- or fanciful design of the page, the promotion of products and the offer of different discounts.

Moreover, the time distance also takes an important role – the longer an event dates back in history, the easier it is to present information in combination with promotion of events or special offers at the site (see for example Waterloo Battlefield or the medieval museums).

Concerning “darker” heritage sites, an intensive use of visual material can be found, such as images of the event or pictures of objects, and of victim or contemporary witness stories which create strong emotions and empathy. This was especially the case with the Genocide Memorials in Rwanda and Cambodia and with the youth section of the Holocaust Memorial.

In the main, all homepages contain the basic visitor information about driving directions and opening hours and the main information about

the place (with an exception of the cemetery Père-Lachaise). Apart from this information, some homepages also had further touristic information about the country (Killing Fields, Kigali Memorial Centre) which implies that the page and its content is mainly addressed to foreign tourists instead of the local population.

All in all, the examples were showing a surprisingly large variety of different approaches. Although there are main similarities in regard to the categories, each homepage showed an individual approach towards the uncomfortable heritage. Some pages had strong educative and scientific attempts (Buchenwald Memorial) whereas other represented pure sightseeing presentations (Père-Lachaise) or a mixture between education, promotion and marketing of cultural products (Sixth Floor Museum). Extreme positions such as pure marketing strategies (The Dungeons) and, in contrary, the attempt of avoiding dark tourism (Althorp) were included as well. Furthermore, there was a wide range of different interactivities and special effects, such as including music and small animation videos, and even web cams and virtual 360° tours.

Generally, a parallel between the presentation at the heritage sites and the online presentation can be drawn. Similar to the presentation on site, the homepages are not objective but bear certain statements concerning their intentions and their ideology. Also the use of texts and the pictures of objects can be compared to the sites. Often, even more educational text might be found on the homepages instead of the local presentation. Anyhow, the online presentation also leaves out certain aspects, such as for example the relation of object and space which might create a specific atmosphere. And after all, one should not forget that homepages of heritage sites are never pure educational presentation, but they are always to a certain degree a promotion tool. At the end, it is the responsibility of the manager to decide how much this aspect will weight in comparison to the moral responsibilities of presentation and interpretation.

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16. Converting Uncomfortable Heritage Inner-city Bunkers: From a War Site to an Urban Scene Spot

Luise Rellensmann



Introduction

For decades bunkers have been a part of German cityscapes. The bomb attacks of World War II lead to the greatest bunker construction program in world history by the Nazi-Regime. Thus bunkers are the most numerous and striking architectural testimonies of the National Socialist era. (Marszolek & Buggeln, 2008, 17) This is one of the reasons why – for a long time – bunkers were *uncomfortable* for the German population, but over the decades the perception of bunkers has changed and they have been put to many different uses.

This paper investigates the development of bunkers by considering the history of German inner-city bunkers, their origin and their designated use during World War II. Based on these facts, the author determines the *uncomfortable* aspects of German bunkers. Furthermore she looks at the way society dealt with this *uncomfortable* heritage by describing the post-war usage of bunkers until today. In the last section of the paper she points out their architectural qualities and describes several bunker conversions exemplary for today's handling of German bunkers.

Inner-city Bunkers during World War II

Bunker Construction Programs

Bunkers are a consequence of military aircraft engineering and missile technology. The first British bombs came down on Berlin during the night of the 25th /26th of August 1940. Three days later there were the first victims: six Berliners were killed during the attacks. Regularly, nightly bomb attacks followed, causing an increasing number of victims in the civilian population and devastation in the cities. By this time the war was no longer only taking place at the fronts but it had made its way into peoples' everyday lives. Afraid of a possible rage against the government by the scared population, the Nazi-Regime ordered appropriate protection measures: the so-called "Führer-Sofortprogramm" also known as "Sonderaktion Luftschutzbau". This program was introduced by Hitler on the 10th of October 1940 and ordered the construction of bombproof air-raid shelters in the whole German territory. The majority of bunkers were built in the cities to allow as many civilians as possible protection. Sixty-one cities were declared in danger of possible attacks. The regime expected air attacks primarily from the North-West; this is why the highest bunker density can be found in northern German cities today. (Heinemann & Zieher, 2008, 15)

The giant building project caused difficulties as well. There was a lack of workforce, especially of skilled labourers. Accommodation, equipment and catering for them were not sufficient. In consequence, revolts took place and many foreign workers left Germany. They were replaced by prisoners of war and concentration camp prisoners. (Heinemann & Zieher, 2008, 22)

Until today it is unknown how many bombproof air-raid shelters were built in the German territory. According to estimations about 6.000 constructions once existed including different bunker types, such as, the self-protection bunkers, the civil defence bunkers, bunkers of the German State Railway, operation room bunkers for hospitals and the special constructions such as the turret bunkers in Hamburg, Berlin and Vienna.

Phase of Use – Between Fear of Death and Protection

“Also das, das hat mich dann auch beruhigt, man hörte ja immer die Bomben draufknallen, denn wackelte er und das, na ja, aber es, es, hat ja doch geschützt:”

Figure: 8 Inscription on a bunker wall



Source: <http://www.unter-hamburg.de/bilder.67.0.html>

(Mrs. G. describing her bunker experience in, Lamparter et al, 2008, 42)

In his monograph *Bunkerwelten* Michael Foedrowitz dedicates one chapter to the use of bunkers during the war including the stay in the bunkers during the bombings. In the year 1943 air attacks increased and more and more people were flocking to the concrete shelters. Even though at the same time houses and house ruins were marked "Bist im Bunker du, brennt dein Haus im Nu." (once you are inside the bunker, your house starts burning). People were afraid of losing their homes while they were seeking shelter inside the bunkers. Some were of the opinion that they should defend their houses against fire rather than stay in a bunker for their own protection. Others refused to go into any bunker, for them it was a horror to stand the jam inside as well as the bad air and the kids' screaming. (Fredowitz, 1998, 111)

Many of the bunkers were still building sites, thus in the rush of the alarms people were in danger of getting hurt by the construction tools and building material in the entrance area. There it was also determined who was allowed inside the bunker. When air attacks increased there was no time to control the bunker identification at the entrance. In the first place mothers with their children and seriously war-disabled people were allowed inside. Able bodied men were only let in if there was enough space. Sometimes, the attendant would make their personal selection and that way carry out private arguments. Forced labourers for example from Poland and concentration camp prisoners that were involved in the construction process were not allowed inside the bomb shelter. (Fredowitz, 1998, 115)

Partly there was a 50% overuse leading to catastrophic hygienic conditions. Many of the bunkers were only functioning on a limited level, either the heating was not yet working, or there was bad ventilation and humidity. (Fredowitz, 1998, 127) With the growing press of people and increasing length of stay the danger of infectious diseases grew as well. The situations in bunkers were the „best premise“ for the spread of diseases such as measles, scarlet fever and polio. (Fredowitz, 1998, 128) Not only the terrible circumstances, but also the fear of a bomb impact made the stay in the bunker torture.

Bunkers as Uncomfortable Heritage and Traumascape

Bunkers are remnants of war, more precisely remnants of the Nazi Regime in Germany. The Bunker Construction program by the Nazis mentioned above was the greatest in World History and therefore the

Figure 10: Forced labourers at Bunker Valentin



Source:

http://www2.bremen.de/info/presse/070509_Bunker_Valentin.jpg

bunkers present the megalomania of Hitler. Being related to Germany's darkest part of history definitely makes bunkers *uncomfortable heritage* as they are connected with unpleasant memories.

Another *uncomfortable* aspect about bunkers is to regard them as *traumascape*s; places where traumatic events were experienced, places that are "marked by traumatic legacies of violence, suffering or loss" (Turmakin, 2000, 12). As has been described although they were built to give shelter to the people in order to protect them from bombs and fire, the atmosphere inside the bunkers was characterized by fear and anxiety which makes bunkers a *traumascape*. Bunkers are places where people experienced war and bombing.

Besides the terribly frightened population seeking shelter inside the bunkers, there were other victims, for whom the bunkers constitute a *traumascape*: the forced labourers (Fig. 2) and concentration camp prisoners involved in the building process. Most of the bomb shelters were built by forced labourers. In Berlin alone two thirds of the workforce was forced labourers. (Thiessen, 2008, 58). One of the worst examples is the Bunker Valentin in Bremen, where about 4.000 concentration camp prisoners died as a consequence of the terrible working conditions during the construction process. Ill-treatment, exhaustion, malnutrition and a lack of medical treatment shaped their daily lives at the building site (Fredowitz, 1998, 53f). Of course these forced labourers were not allowed inside the bunkers in case of a bomb alarm so the bunkers were also a place of exclusion and inclusion and part of the Nazi's racist politics.

In his publication *Architectural Conservation: An Introduction* Leo Schmidt refers to *uncomfortable heritage* sites as unloved places that are especially vulnerable and endangered because people tend to blank out or to repress unpleasant memory. (2008, 111) This tendency is well reflected in the dealing with bunkers in Germany during post-war times as described in the following section.

After 1945 – Dealing with Bunkers in Post-war Years

Quite a number of bunkers were blown up by the allied forces right after the war. Especially the Soviet-zone bunkers were demolished. However, even today 70% of Germany's bunkers still exist (Heinemann & Zieher, 2008, 23) and many of them were and are used in different ways ranging from Champignon cultivation to night clubs. (Bergner, 2008, 6)

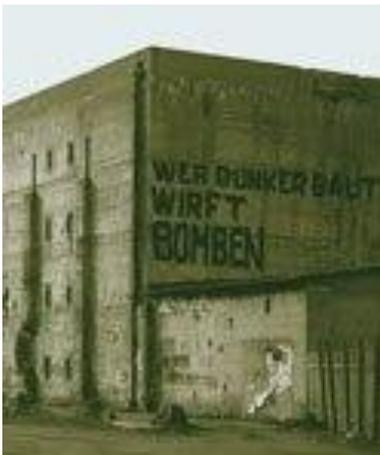
Figure: 3 Graffiti Bunker in Hamburg



Source:

http://farm4.static.flickr.com/3148/3088697221_19d3cdb96d.jpg

Figure: 4 Bunker in Emden



Source: Marszolek & Buggeln, 2008

In the 1940s demolishing bunkers was a contribution to the demilitarisation of Germany. Bunkers should only be retained if they could be used as storerooms or for the civilian population. The best means to avoid the demolition of a bunker was „defortification“ by blasting window cases into the outer walls to make the concrete construction lose its protective function. (Friedrichs, 2008, 246) A great number of them were used as emergency shelters for homeless people. The Housing shortage was a problem because of the destruction caused by war and streams of refugees and exiles. In the 1950s approximately 300.000 people in the Western zone of Germany lived in Bunkers. (Heinemann & Zieher, 2008, 23) The „bunker people“ became a projection surface for the post-war-misery at that time and bunkers were somehow already a memorial site, reminding people of the defeat (Thiessen, 2008, 49). Some of the bunkers developed into real hovels and were lived in until the 1970s (Fredowitz, 1998, 7).

There are examples of bunkers that were converted and used as Hotels such as the “Central-Hotel” in Braunschweig and the “Turmhotel der Deutschen Afrika-Linien” in Hamburg’s harbour. Some bunkers were used as movie theatres with bars or as warehouses for museum materials (Friedrichs, 2008, 246).

As a measure of civil defence during the Cold War many bunkers were converted into nuclear shelters. After the Korean War (1950-1953) an invasion of troops from the countries which signed the Warsaw Pact seemed possible and the Federal Republic of Germany had to improve their defence in order to protect their population (Friedrichs, 2008, 250).

In the late 70s so called “Kunst-am-Bau” (art on buildings) programs initiated the painting of bunkers. The concrete constructions were used as canvas and covered with murals and graffiti (Fig.3). Wall paintings on bunkers show two different tendencies: On the one hand a graffiti can deal with the history and uncover the bunker in particular such as the statement “Wer Bunker baut, wirft Bomben” painted on the Bunker Stadtgarten in the 1980s (Fig.4). On the other hand an integration of the bunker into the surrounding city landscape by greening or painting the surface makes the bunker invisible and hides its characteristic appearance as a concrete giant (Friedrichs, 2008, 254).

In the 1980s a new generation discovered the characteristics of these buildings: Bunkers are soundproof. At a cheap rate, bands and other creative people started to rent bunkers. With the takeover of bunkers

by a new generation using them as rehearsal rooms architects started to become interested in bunkers as well.

With the end of the cold war, bunkers definitely became redundant in their original function and the discussion about listing the bunkers and whether to keep them as a memorial or monument, or to knock them down due to their disturbing massive appearance began. A lot of bunkers were sold and then put into civilian use. Ever since the 1990s more and more bunkers have been converted into homes. Other tendencies are the museumization of bunkers and initiatives that strive for the preservation of bunkers as memorial sites.

Bunkers as Historic Monuments and Museums

Immediately after the war no one thought of ever preserving or listing bunkers. Technical problems and the fact that they could be re-used as Emergency Shelters avoided their destruction. For a long time it was too early – the distance to World War II too close – to accept bunkers as historical witnesses and to understand them as important features of the cityscape.

In the late 1970s and early 1980s the public started to think about listing bunkers as monuments. At first this issue caused resentment, however, at last in some of Germany's federal states bunkers were put under protection. People started to appreciate their cultural significance with their historical, technical and social historical meaning.

Figure. 5 Turret Bunker from above



Source: http://luftschutz-bunker.de/content/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=39&Itemid=52

One approach is to classify bunkers as a type of fortification and thus to put them into context with castles, bastions and other historical fortifications (Angerer, 2000, 108). Especially turret bunkers feature numerous motifs of traditional fortification architecture besides their functional architecture. For example an overhanging defence slab, the platform system and the four towers groups around the middle section (Fig. 5 & Fig. 12). These elements correspond to fortress construction schemes prevailing since the middle Ages.

Especially turret bunkers and high-bunkers (Flak- und Hochbunker) have monumental character. In their appearance they always allude to World War II. In 1990 the Hamburg Office for Heritage Conservation declared that especially their "brutality" was a feature that made the bunkers worthy of conserving them. After the Flakbunker at the Heiligengeistfeld in Hamburg had been put under monumental protection, the Kulturbehörde claimed that it was a striking memorial against war and fascism (Thiessen, n.d.).

The basic idea of historic preservation is to keep the original character of a building.

“Die brutale Architektur eines Kriegsbunkers verträgt aber nun keinesfalls ein Verfremden, d.h. Verharmlosen oder Verkitschen, durch einen „bunten Anstrich“. Und ganz im Gegenteil: Nur ein originaler Bunker im Stadtbild taugt als Erinnerung an die Schrecken des Bombenkrieges (...).”

As stated by the historic preservation authority in Cologne 1977. Basically the State Offices for the Preservation of Historical Monuments require the conservation and maintenance of a building's sight, its historic construction and the essential architecture historical context. This does not mean that constructional alteration and changes are not possible they are allowed to a certain extent. (Heinemann & Zieher, 2008, 85-88)

Simultaneously with putting them under monumental protection the public interest in these new architectural monuments also increased along with it the museumization of bunkers.

An Example for the museumization of bunkers is the Berliner Unterwelten e.V. an association that researches and documents the historical developments of Berlin's underground including bunkers. The Association Berliner Unterwelten e.V. promises the ultimate bunker experience on their website.

“(...) a subterranean labyrinth full of authentic history waiting to be experienced. How uncomfortable it must have been during WW II to be crammed inside theses small chambers – the depleted air supply, the incessant clanging of ventilation machines, the thundering of bomber aircrafts overhead.”
(berliner-unterwelten, 2009)

In Germany there are at least 26 different associations that are dedicated to the research of bunkers and that offer guided tours and information on their websites (Bergner, 2008, 193-195).

Marszolek and Buggel state in their recent publication on “Bunker. Kriegsort, Zuflucht, Erinnerungsraum”, that, “In der unmittelbaren Nachkriegszeit galt es nicht zurückzuschauen“. (Marszolek & Buggeln, 2008, 18). The way people dealt with bunkers reflects that it was difficult to handle these „uncomfortable“ remnants of German history. Sources on bunker history are rare. Just like in literature and film there are topics related to German history under the Nazi Regime that were not possible to talk about until today. The same

phenomenon can be applied to bunker history. Time needed to pass until people were able to reflect upon them. Including, seeing German people as victims of war instead of seeing them solely as perpetrators (Fredowitz, 1998, 8).

In his essay on bunker history after 1945, Malte Thiessen claims that bunker museums are usually not visited by contemporary witnesses because of the simple reason that they represent a minority these days. However, this is of importance for the public way of dealing with bunkers: the development of bunkers as historic monuments, memorial sites or places where history can be (re-)experienced is accompanied by the disappearance of the communicative memory. The post-war generation's personal interest in memorializing bunker history lead to the protection of bunkers. Today, more and more bunkers are declared historic monuments and more private initiatives such as the Berliner Unterwelten e.v. or the Unter Hamburg e.V. support the preservation of bunkers (Thiessen, n.d.).

Why Convert Bunkers?

For a long time the concrete giants were an eyesore, especially during the post-war years. 1953 Hamburg Senator Ernst Breidenbach named them "Erbe unseliger Zeiten, Schandfleckle unserer Stadt" (heritage of disastrous times, stains of our city) that he wanted to have demolished (quoted in Thiessen, n.d).

From today's perspective inner-city bunkers are an attractive subject due to their central location and their architecture. Bunkers are mostly situated in densely populated districts with a high building density where there are no more building plots available. In contrast to building plots available bunkers are not that rare. According to the Bundesamt für Bevölkerungsschutz und Katastrophenhilfe in Bonn there are still 1,947 bunkers in German cities (Epd, 2009). Therefore, they have become an attractive object for architects as well.

The major advantage of these buildings is that they are sold or rented at a low price by the Federal Government or communes. At the same time they are situated in a first-class location. However, depending on one's demand concerning the new use, conversion costs can be quite expensive. Which makes the bunkers *uncomfortable* in two ways: in their historic context and concerning their structural fabric. Over the years, approximately 30 years after construction the concrete reaches its highest level of resistance. In this condition the concrete is also called "Blauer Beton" (blue concrete). Its undefeatable strength has ruined one or the other demolition enterprise already. Today there are

Figure 6: Haus des Meeres



Source: <http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/6/6f/HausdesMeeres.jpg>

Figure 7. Bunker Lofts



Source: http://www.aknw.de/presse/downloads/tag-der-architektur2009/bilder-gross/Koeln_1303_Bunkerlofts.jpg

concrete demolition enterprises that have specialized in bunkers. (Heinemann & Zieher, 2008, 23/129) However, a demolition can be expensive such as the planned demolition of the turret bunker on the Heiligengeistfeld in Hamburg which was not executed. It would have cost about 30 million Deutsche Mark (Thiessen, n.d.).

The strong building structure can also be seen as an advantage. For example due to the thick concrete walls; bunkers have a sound proof effect. Furthermore the protective function of the bunker helps to retain a steady climate inside. The human species prefers a temperature between 18°C and 21°C combined with a humidity of 40 to 50 percent. Once these climatic conditions are created inside the bunker they can be retained for a long time due to the buildings thermal qualities (Heinemann & Zieher, 2008, 119-121).

There are a number of different bunker types with different qualities that can be found in inner-city locations. For example air raid protection towers and high-bunkers, turret bunkers and underground air raid shelters, like round bunkers and tube like bunkers. Especially high-bunkers and air raid protection towers are suitable for conversions because of their solid structure – they have all been built in bomb proof building technique – and the size of their floor space. An increasing floor space allows various uses and makes the conversion measures more economic (Heinemann & Zieher, 2008, 28). Turrets are a special building type and rather rare but with their enormous floor spaces they are eligible for public uses as they are ever present in the cityscape and they are suitable for uses with a great need of space. A good example is the “Haus des Meeres” in Vienna a former turret bunker that has been converted into an „Aqua Terra Zoo” that shows 3.500 animals on an area of 6.000 sqm (Fig.6) (<http://www.haus-des-meeres.at/>).

Smaller underground bunkers can be converted as well, however they often require a great physical alteration and thus a new use can easily become unprofitable. They can be used as exhibition space for experimental art or as bunker museums; uses for which the high, cold and raw walls are suitable and only need little alterations (Heinemann & Zieher, 2008, 28).

The different case studies in Andrea Heinemann’s and Heike Zieher’s monograph *Bunker update. Vorschläge zum heutigen Umgang mit Bunker in innerstädtischen Lagen* reveal that innercity bunkers are also attractive as homes. Their publication shows a great number of high-bunkers that have been converted into stylish loft like houses (Fig. 7). In principle there are many possibilities to structure the bunker in a creative way and individual demands can be

implemented. One example is the setup of an extra storey on the flat-roofed bunker. This can, on the one hand, result in a spectacular building that can become a landmark for a whole district. On the other hand it can clash with architectural conservation principles. However, physical alterations of this kind lead to a confrontation of the old and new fabric – an effect with a quality of its own (Heinemann & Zieher, 2008, 115-117).

But what does one have to consider if the object is under monumental protection? It is not always easy to know what is best for an historic object. However, it can not be in the sense of historic preservation to leave the building vacant just because it is difficult to find an appropriate use in order to keep its authenticity. Since the building stock of an empty, abandoned building usually decays faster than the one of a building that is in use. The most important factor is that the original character of a building is not alienated too much by constructional measures (Heinemann & Zieher, 2008, 87).

According to Schmidt the change of use of an uncomfortable object can secure its survival and thus prevents the unnecessary demolition of a useable building. According to him:

there is a long tradition of a distinctly different approach to dealing with the relicts of a vanished culture, religion or regime without which we would not longer have either the Parthenon in Athens or the Hagia Sophia in Istanbul. (Schmidt, 2008, 110)

The Parthenon was converted from a Greek temple to a Christian Church and the Hagia Sophia was converted into a Mosque.

To sum up: inner city bunkers can be found in top locations, their architecture does have qualities besides the fact that it is hard to demolish and to work with. Furthermore the aesthetic qualities of the architecture should not be underestimated. Converting these extraordinary buildings can secure their survival.

Climbing Bunker in Bremen

The climbing bunker in Bremen (Fig. 8 & 9) is owned by the Sportgemeinschaft SGO Oslebshausen e.V. It is situated in a socially disadvantaged neighbourhood. Responsible for the conversion was the educationist Thomas Grahl. The conversion uses the bunker facades surfaces only as climbing walls by the application of approximately 3.000 handles and steps. Furthermore a gravel bed

Figure 8: Climbing Bunker



Source: <http://www.kletterportal.ch/fotos/kletterm/L644516030.jpg>

Figure 9: Girl climbing the bunker



Source: http://www.kirche-bremen.de/bilder/Klettern_03.jpg

Figure 10: Boros Bunker Berlin



Source: http://www.art-magazin.de/szene/5381/christian_boros_berlin

was planted around the bunker. It shows that the building stock of a bunker can be reactivated at a small financial and structural expense.

The Deutsche Bahn AG provided the bunker, conversion costs – approximately 90.000 Euro were financed by the charity “Wohnliche Stadt” and the “Wohnen in Nachbarschaften” program (Heinemann & Zieher, 2008, 160).

The SGO Oslebshausen offers climbing classes and cooperates with the University of Bremen. Student climbing classes are offered as well. Sport events such as climbing competitions for example the “Quo vadis – Klettercup” take place regularly. The bunker attracts climbing interested parties from Bremen and its surrounding regions (www.der-bunker.net).

Christian Borros Art Collection

The Hochbunker Reinhardtstraße in Berlin-Mitte is not only an exhibition space for an art collection but it is also the private residence for the collection’s owner, Christian Boros (Fig.10). It is situated in Berlin’s midtown in a residential area where offices and cultural institutions are situated as well.

The building is under monumental protection and was redesigned in a simple and elegant way.

During the 1990s – before Boros bought it – the bunker at Reinhardtstraße had been famous for its nights on end techno parties a real symbol for the Party-Berlin of the 90s. As the centre of the techno scene the bunker was the place where the Love Parade Movement began and is still the point of departure for every Fuck-Parade (Oloew, 2005).

Today, the private art collection is housed inside the bunker on the five storeys with a floor space of 3.500 sqm while the apartment is housed in a buildup structure and has a floor space of 600 sqm. (Heinemann & Zieher, 2008, 170)

The art collection includes works by Joseph Beuys, Olafur Elisasson, Wolfgang Tillmanns and Damien Hirst and can be visited on weekends only. The visitations run in small groups of up to twelve people and are fully booked for a long time ahead.)

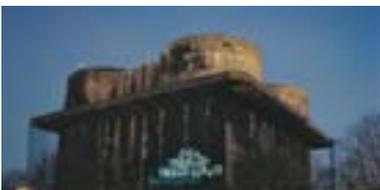
Energy Bunker Hamburg Wilhelmsburg

Figure 11: Inside the Boros Bunker



Source: <http://www.samm-lung-boros.de/index.php?id=2805>

Figure 12: Turret Bunker Wilhelmsburg



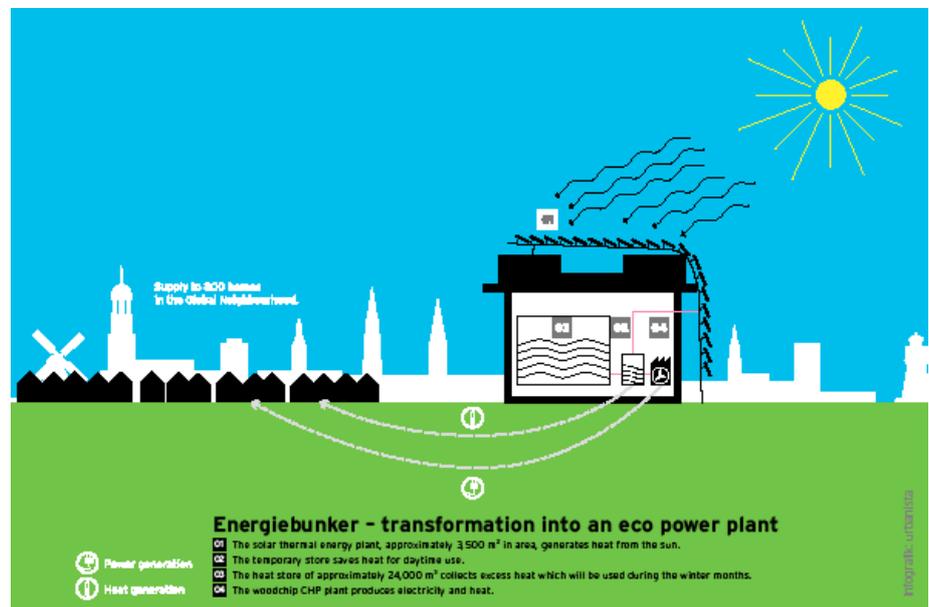
Source: <http://www.iba-hamburg.de/bilderarchiv/slideshows/energiebunker03.jpg>

The Energy Bunker Wilhelmsburg is a prestigious object of the International Architectural Exhibition (IBA Internationale Bauausstellung) that runs in Hamburg until 2013. The turret bunker VI is situated in Wilhelmsburg (Fig.12) a district whose town planning has been neglected for a long time. Now it is going to be gentrified by this exceptional project. The plan is to convert the bunker roof into a 4.000 sqm large solar array. The internal space of the bunker – the bunker interior had been blown up by British occupation armies in 1947 – is planned to be used as a combined heat and power station burning wood chips. In order to accumulate the surplus energy a 24.000 cubic meter large water reservoir is going to be installed.

However, the estimated costs for the restoration of the bunker shell and the removal of the construction waste from the inside the bunker only is estimated to amount to five million euros. An investor is still to be found (Pickshaus, 2009).

In case of a realization of this ambitious project the eco-powerhouse will provide the 800 housing units of the so-called “Weltquartier” neighbourhood (IBA Hamburg).

Figure 13: Bunker as Eco Power Plant



Source: http://www.iba-hamburg.de/bilder_dokumente/bilder/projektbilder/Energiebunker/Bunker_grafik.pdf

Figure 14: Turret Bunker



http://www.unter-hamburg.de/fileadmin/images/redaktion/unter_hamburg/bilder/geschichte/Bunker_Feldstr_Dom.jpg

Turret Bunker IV in Hamburg St. Pauli

The turret bunker IV (Fig. 14) is situated on the Heiligengeistfeld in Hamburg's lefty scene neighbourhood St. Pauli, a district that has been gentrified since the 1990s. It is famous for its art and music scene its wide range of gastronomy and its entertainment district, the „Kiez“ with the „Reeperbahn“.

In the post-war period the turret bunker was used by different civilian tenants in order to gain housing space. During the Cold War it was reactivated as air raid shelter. In 1990 it was sold for 1.6 million Deutsche Marks and converted into a media centre with a night club contributing to the districts gentrification process. The surrounding grounds are used three times a year by the funfair “Hamburger Dom” (Geschichte Bunker am Heiligengeistfeld, 2009).

The bunker's night club “Übel& Gefährlich” (Fig. 15) is situated on the fourth floor of the building; it consists of a smaller area that can host up to 300 visitors and the main „Ballroom” hosting up to 800 visitors. It is famous for its concerts and parties, theatre plays, exhibitions and film nights (<http://www.popfrontal.de/news/entries/2700.html>).

Figure 16: Staircase in the Turret Bunker St, Pauli

Figure 15: Übel & Gefährlich



Source: http://www.davidluther.com/wp-content/uploads/20070630_UEbelUndGefaehrlich.jpg



Source: (http://farm1.static.flickr.com/49/144521117_64deacde1b.jpg?v=0)

Conclusion

Bringing to ones mind the meaning of German bunkers for the Nazi-Regime and for the German population during World War II makes clear the *uncomfortable* properties of these concrete giants.

Right after the war they were inseparable from the feeling of fear of death and the horrors of war. People tried to banish these memories from their lives by not dealing with them unless they were needed as emergency shelters.

Time has revealed that with the change of generations, the emotional relation to the bomb shelters of World War II has changed; a prerequisite for the conversion of these relicts of the darkest German history. The change in the perception of bunkers is well reflected in their development from 1945 until today. Section Three pointed out the wide range of bunker uses that emerged throughout history.

Looking at bunker uses in the year 2009 shows that there are two tendencies in the way it is dealt with bunkers: On the one hand, there are the State Offices for Heritage Preservation, private initiatives and associations such as the Berliner Unterwelten e.V. that are dedicated to the preservation of bunkers and their meaning as historical witnesses. On the other hand, there are the conversions such as the ones described in Section Four that can be found in German cityscapes today. Bunkers are put into totally new uses that de-contextualize them from their former function. These former places of evil are nowadays integrated into recreational culture such as the Climbing Bunker Bremen or the Boros Bunker that has become a popular attraction in Berlin's art scene and once used to be *the* scene spot for the techno-movement of the 1990s. The turret bunker in St. Pauli has a comparable function. Its night club hosts internationally known djs and bands. It plays a leading role in Hamburg's party and music scene.

The Energy Bunker project shows that a creative conversion of a bunker can set an example and give new impulses to a whole district and to energy politics.

Looking at these developments confirms Leo Schmidt's theory concerning the change of use of uncomfortable heritage. In the case of bunkers "(...)a new culture could publicly triumph over the old." As explained in Section Four, bunkers are usable buildings with extraordinary qualities and appearance. By putting them to new use these *uncomfortable* places can be preserved. The given examples

show how former war sites have developed from *uncomfortable* to „cool“, into urban scene spots.

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17. Prora between Enlightenment & Commercialization: Dealing with Dictatorship Heritage in Germany

Heidi Pinkepank

Introduction

The 20th century in Europe was an era of dictatorships - National Socialist (NS), Fascist and Communist regimes dominated several nation states. Like in many other regimes, the German NS and Socialist dictatorships used architecture as a medium of propaganda. Some of these structural and spatial expressions can still be seen today. This paper will investigate the architectural legacy of 20th century German dictatorships by using the example of Prora, a seaside location in northern Germany which is representative of both regimes' structural and spatial expressions. Under the NS regime, Prora was designed to become a spa resort belonging to the association "Kraft durch Freude" (KdF; transl. Strength through Joy). After 1949, it was converted into a Cold War restricted military zone of the National People's Army of the German Democratic Republic (GDR). This enormous complex still exists, and although it is a protected monument, its future was uncertain until very recently, and it is a good example of the difficulties in the conservation and interpretation of uncomfortable heritage.

Because Prora is neither, at least superficially, a victim site, nor is it a clear perpetrator site, finding a widely approved concept for its future use has turned out to be a complex task. The potential concept should be appropriate considering the location's natural and architectural properties. However, at the same time the use should be politically adequate, and not used to excuse or sanctify the perpetrators. The criteria used today to evaluate dictatorship legacy need to be carefully defined, as well as how it is handled, and whether the way is (politically) appropriate.

The investigation is based on a literature survey on the socio-psychological background of dictatorships. The NS and GDR dictatorships and their architectural remains will be analyzed. The intention of historical sites will be discussed, as well as the consequences that repression and oblivion of the traumatic past might have for the collective cultural memory (here in particular the architectural heritage) and future developments. The example of Prora is then placed in this context based on a visit to the site

conducted in November 2008. In order to better understand the challenge of dealing with architectural dictatorship legacy within East Germany, its specific conditions are highlighted. The main contribution of this study is to obtain a better understanding of WHY it can be tremendously difficult to find an appropriate way of handling uncomfortable dictatorship heritage using the example of Prora.

Modern Dictatorships and Architectural Legacy

Shortly after Adolf Hitler became chancellor in 1933, the National Socialists built a dictatorship in Germany that ought to prepare society for the upcoming war. Political opponents were brutally persecuted. Jews, as well as others who did not match the NS racial ideals, were excluded from the "Volksgemeinschaft" (transl. People's Community). After Germany invaded Poland in 1939, World War II began. Until 1941 the Wehrmacht (the NS regime's army) occupied Denmark, Norway, Benelux, France, Greece, Yugoslavia, and parts of North Africa. With the offense against the Soviet Union in 1941, the SS (Schutzstaffel, transl. Military Protection Unit) and the Gestapo (Geheime Staatspolizei, transl. Secret State Police) followed the Wehrmacht's example murdering hundreds of thousands of people, mainly Jews, Sinti, Roma, and Soviet officials. From 1942 on, the NS regime started systematic genocide in concentration camps. A coalition led by the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States opposed the German attacks until the NS regime capitulated in 1945. After the end of the War, the Allied occupation divided the country and its capital into four zones. However, the joint politics of the Allies in Germany failed due to the beginning of the Cold War. While the Western Allies integrated their zones into western democracy, the Soviet Union rebuilt their zone after socialist ideals. After 1949, two German states were in existence. The GDR built a socialist totalitarianism; the Federal Republic developed under plural democratic influences. In 1961, the GDR began the construction of the infamous Berlin Wall. By the end of the 1980s, however, the excessive national debt, the inflexible state-directed economy and the power structure led to the end of the GDR regime. With the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, the way to a joint democratic future was opened. On October 3rd, 1990, reunification was signed. (Stiftung Deutsches Historisches Museum, not dated)

Are there any similarities between those very different motivated dictatorships, which viewed each other as the enemy? According to Steinbach (2006) both so-called modern dictatorships are, indeed, direct opponents to a constitutional state. Both German dictatorships

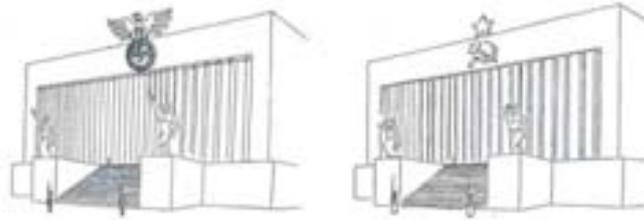
were characterized by centralization of political power and ruling, establishment of a one-party-state, removal of the division of powers, control and direction of public opinion, isolation of the individual by reorganization of social groups and relationships, mass organization and state religion, propaganda (instead of culture), systematical disregard of human rights, intrusion and loss of private spheres. Modern dictatorships criticize the past and aim to build a better society by the realization of equality and the overcoming of differences, generally by force. Legitimation is taken by future promise rather than democratic rules. Out of fear, and out of an affinity to submission and to accordance with the majority, the populations of totalitarian states bear repression, equalization and the chasing of dissidents. Nevertheless, a fundamental difference in the rise of German modern dictatorships has to be mentioned: the NS dictatorship developed from within the German population, whereas the GDR system was rather forced upon the people – it was developed from outside. This can also be seen in the architectural style of the time. To point this out an article on architecture from the handbook “SBZ (Sowjetische Besatzungszone) von A-Z” by the Ministry for all German Questions (Ministerium für Gesamtdeutsche Fragen), Bonn (1954) is cited:

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

(in: Aman, 1992: 252f.)

Thus, even the architecture of the GDR was dictated; its norm came from Moscow. What can be seen, too, is that it fits in with the aftermath of the NS regime; it has been created by both Nazi and Communist precedents. Both are architecture of dictatorship.

Figure 1: *The Third Reich and Communism* by Oscar Lancaster



Source: *Häuser machen Leute*, in: Nerdinger, 2004: 121

Whereas the NS regime mainly used buildings to express its ideology³³, the GDR dictatorship, on the other hand, used it for the glorification of its rulers and their self-aggrandizement; besides the Palace of the Republic (and the continuous use of NS buildings) mainly monuments and statues dedicated to revered leaders were constructed.

Figure 2: GDR monuments, from the left: Seelow, Torgau, Klein-Machnow



Source: *Äman*, 1992: 38

However, also restricted zones, walls, and the degree of militarization speak a language. In Prora, everything – the ideology of the NS regime expressed by built environment, the continuous use of it by the GDR regime, the degree of militarization regarding the Cold War period, a large restricted zone (and the arising myths about it), as well as statues and monuments showing self-aggrandizement of the GDR – were, and can still be, partly found.

³³ “The word in stone”; Buildings of overwhelming size which let the individual appear small, and the mass important, e.g. Prora seaside resort, Reichskanzleramt Berlin, House of Art Munich, as well as Albert Speer’s plans for a “new” Berlin including the worlds largest cupola on the House of the Community.

Figure 3: Seaside Facade of the Prora apartment blocks today.



Source:
<http://www.ruegenmagic.de/fotogalerie/Prora/images/kdfbau-prora.jpg>, last access: 31.03.2009.

In a building complex such as Prora, history is intensified to spaces of commemoration and places of remembrance to a particular degree. Built between 1936 and 1939 on behalf of the NS organization KdF as a seaside resort of overwhelming size for 20.000 vacationers, the building complex impressively illustrates NS ideology. However, due to the start of the War, the construction stayed unfinished; vacationers never reached Prora at that time. Instead refugees and forced laborers stayed there during the War. After World War II Prora was used by the military – first the Red Army, later the National People's Army of the GDR – in a way that did not reflect or even respect its historical significance. The complex and its surroundings became a restricted zone until 1992 when the military left the site. Thus, Prora acquired two layers of dictatorship ideology, and appears as NS- and Cold War remains nowadays. Last year the German Federal Government sold all five remaining building blocks to different investors, which have planned besides a wellness hotel, a youth hostel, vacation apartments and common-hold flats. According to the German government a documentation center is not planned to be included.

„Ist die Bundesregierung zur Förderung eines historischen Dokumentationszentrums bzw. Museums analog zum „Reichsparteitagsgelände“ in Nürnberg auch in Prora bereit? Wenn nein, warum nicht? Das Entwicklungskonzept „Prora für Rügen“ [S.T.E.R.N. Studie³⁴] sieht die Notwendigkeit eines historischen Dokumentationszentrums bzw. Museums für Prora nicht vor.“³⁵ (Deutscher Bundestag, 2000)

To (re-)use Prora as a vacation destination, even though it is sold to different investors, to re-establish its original look, and not include a documentation center, a menacing development could loom, although it does not necessarily have to. Of course it would be possible, too, to leave the buildings and monuments un-interpreted, however this will not work for the sake of oblivion, particularly in such a modern information-based society. But also the availability of information does not guarantee that the monument will be mediated. The visitors may simply ignore it, to which he or she would have every right to. Or

³⁴ This study was ordered by the regional finance office Rostock and given to the Berlin Town Planning enterprise S.T.E.R.N. It was published in 1997, and ignored the already developed structures in Prora, but instead planned a total modification into a hotel and vacation destination.

³⁵ Literal translation by the author: Request: Is the Federal Government poised to aid an historical documentation center, or a museum respectively, for the Prora building complex analogous to the NS party rally ground Nuremberg? If not, why so? Reply: The development concept "Prora for Rügen" [S.T.E.R.N study] does not see the need for an historical documentation center or museum for Prora.

Figure 4: Re-established Facade, Draft for the Hostel



Source: BauNetz, 1997

Figure 5 Place of Remembrance, Topf & Söhne, Erfurt



Source: Büro Fleischmann, Ulrichshusen, http://www.buerofleischmann.de/images/erfurt_topf.jpg,

“Es ist leicht, sich mit dem Opfer zu identifizieren, aber schwierig, sich mit den Tätern auseinander zu setzen”⁴

(Mitscherlich, 1977)

myths will arise where educational advertising is missing. Myths can be used (as done by the NS regime) or will simply fray with time. However, it is different when officials (here e.g. the German Federal Government) try to guide the visual gaze of others. This is particularly important in the case of Prora, in which democracy as the opponent to both modern dictatorships symbolized here is of great importance. (Wagner, 2003)

But what is the actual intention of a historical site? According to Dr. Bernhard M. Hoppe (1998) it is a place in which the visitor ought to become familiar with incidents, positive as well as negative, that have influenced and shaped his or her society in the way it appears nowadays. The embodiment of a historical site should make visible the cultural heritage that posterity inherits, and the responsibilities that arise out of it. The visitor has to be able to draw appropriate conclusions out of his or her own value system, mindset and activities by a democratic conception. Here the tightrope walk between openness and arbitrariness is challenging. Prora, for instance, is not a place of victims as many others are not either, for example the enterprise Topf & Söhne in Erfurt, that produced the stoves for Auschwitz; the Reichsheeresversuchsanstalt Peenemünde on the Island Usedom – the test institute for the Third Reich army; or the former House Atlantis in Bremen, which mirrors racial-national objects and the superiority of the Nordic race. For such unclear places that are at least indirectly connected to the perpetrators of the German dictatorships, an appropriate handling appears as fairly challenging. However, those sites were also places of victims in a wider sense; those sites are object and subject of the dealing with the “normal” complicity of dictatorship regimes as well.³⁶

Collective Memory and Architectural Heritage

Because the nature of dictatorships apparently show a certain affinity to architecture (acc. to Rostock and Zadnicek, 1992), a liberation from dictatorships is expressed by aversion to and commonly celebrated by the demolition of its icons if nothing else. This is valid notably for National Socialist ideology expressed by overwhelming monumental architecture. However the physical legacy in post-communist countries “is an unwelcome reminder of a period of history which [the country] is attempting to forget.” (Light, 2000, 147) Almost instantly after World War II, demolition parties cleaned the built environment; after reunification many places were cleaned of statues and

³⁶ Literal translation by the author: “It is easy to identify with the victims, however difficult to deal with the perpetrators”

monuments, as well, not to mention the Palace of the Republic in Berlin. Although the need to get rid of structures that remind of the difficult past is understandable, the preservation of several architectural structures would have been of great importance for raising awareness and to help with the process of coming to terms with the past. Instead, repression and oblivion of the traumatic past seem to prevail in Germany.

In nature the new develops out of metamorphoses, out of the development of the established so to say; not out of an act of demolition. A better future does not develop out of a radical break but of permanent advancement. According to Hoppe (in: Bornholdt et al, 2002) sites of historical significance are unique learning opportunities for the society because those sites make it possible to single out incidents and interrelations of the mass of the collective memory. As he puts it, it is not always the best to raise new monuments to overcome oblivion, as opposed to preserve built structures from the respective era. This is even more valid in a digital globalized world in which all information is available everywhere at every time. Another aspect supports the maintenance of historical sites of dark eras, that of contemporary witnesses. After they have passed away, the visit of a historical site will be the only possibility to demonstrate dictatorship history besides institutionalized history. The overwhelming feelings aroused by the monumentality of a site like Prora can hardly be felt by watching pictures in an archive. It is the originality that imposingly shows the NS ideology and the degree of militarization of the Cold War period. Because Prora is not, on the surface, a victim site, no admitted model for after-use has been accepted in Germany. To show the complexity of such sites without excusing or sanctifying the perpetrators is the biggest challenge for its future, appropriate uses. How then would an appropriate after-use look like in order to raise critical awareness about National Socialism as well as the Socialism of the GDR? As with other memorials, it is a challenge to maintain the authenticity of the site on one hand, and observe critical distance on the other. With this in mind, the commercialization, and particularly the use as vacation homes, has to be questioned, because only few examples are left to substantiate the remembrance of NS as well as Cold War- development through architecture. Thus, the one who knows about the background stories of a built dictatorship legacy will rather face it as material memory of Germany and its citizens. Every society, every ruling system inscribes itself into the buildings it plans, erects and uses. If it can be successfully managed to let the built environment speak about the related history, architecture as collective memory in stone could unfold a particular power of remembrance, because memory is local-dependent. However, it is questionable whether buildings and statues that were erected to

express dictatorship ideology continue sending those values. According to Krampen (1984) this depends on a societal agreement on the significance of architectural means of expression, rather than on the built structure itself. Although monuments and statues (as used by the GDR), send different signals than a building because they are often directly related to a person or an incident, those built under a dictatorship may seem to continue sending messages even after a political change and thus become demolished or removed easily. However, those monuments too are study material of the history of ideologies and should not disappear. Buildings in turn can apparently more easily stop sending its original message, particularly when its uses were changed and related signs removed. However, in bringing buildings to tell their history to better help understand historical contexts, in developing a dialogue between building and visitor, buildings as authentic testimonies may keep and/ or create historical remembrance. Architecture gives remembrance a real place, and thus fixes it more efficiently in people's memories than words. (Hoppe, 2002; Nerdinger, 2004; Schmidle, 2006)

According to Halbwachs (1991), groups of people or entire societies are strongly bound to their spatial surroundings. Built environment – as long as it is not demolished – changes fairly little during time; it appears inactive. It is this characteristic that gives the group inhabiting it order, peace and continuity. The place maintains the societal structure and vice versa. The collective memory unconsciously relates everything that appears visible and tangible to the known, the experienced, the history. Thus, architectural legacy can be seen as a medium of collective memory. How important the collective memory is in this relation, can be seen in the fact that the majority in a group would sense the modification of its built environment much stronger than serious national, political or religious incidents. Halbwachs (1991) strikingly explains how groups copy parts of the passivity of the inactive material to a wide extent.³⁷ That in turn means that the group does not have the impression of having changed as long as the material expression stays the same.

*„Was eine Gruppe gemacht
hat, kann eine andere
zerstören. Aber die Absicht
der Menschen von damals
hat in einer materiellen
Anordnung, d.h. in einer
Sache Gestalt
angenommen“ (Halbwachs,
1991).“⁵*

This on one hand demonstrates how important it is to keep architectural legacy against oblivion, and on the other hand how indispensable its documentation and communication towards society is; architecture may have expression by itself, but ideological meaning, on the other hand, is added to it. “Form, alone and unaided, cannot be the vehicle of ideas. [...] They are added from outside [...].

³⁷ Literal translation by the author: *“What a group developed can be destroyed by another. But the intension of the people at that time has taken shape in a material arrangement.”*

Without the support of language and function, there can be no ideological content.” (Åman, 1992, 257) For the NS as well for the legacy of Socialist Realism, the crucial point is not architecture as formal language nor ideological expositions of the meaning of architecture. The verdict rather hinges on the political context. Architecture per se carries fairly little weight compared with the fact of its being the architecture of the former totalitarian rulers. “It was the verdict pronounced on THEM that really mattered.” (Åman, 1992, 258) According to Rostock (1992) the exposure to such dark sites shows the degree of maturity of a society. By that measurement it is apparent that Germany has not reached an appropriate maturity. Instead, the collective memory regarding the German dictatorships seems to exist in a particularly “unhealthy” way. Presumably the “digestion” of dictatorships has not happened properly; renunciation of uncomfortable parts of German history continues to take place. Thus, the exposure to and the future of the architectural heritage of these periods, as an expression of dictatorship ideals, is still ambiguous. An explanation for these facts can be found in its socio-psychological background.

Socio-psychological Background

According to psychologists, oblivion is natural and self-healing for the human psyche. Remembrance and oblivion, though, are not opposites, rather two expressions of the same process. However, to repress the past from consciousness or fall into melancholy and indulge in sadness, may have fatal effects for the human psyche. According to Freud (in Mitscherlich, 1977) true mourning is positive and strengthening; melancholy, though, appears unhealthy because the self-consciousness of man will experience an immense decrease, and thus gets down to a depletion. According to Mitscherlich (1977), this process is important not only at a personal level, but also on a socio-political level, for example, with regards to attitudes towards democratic institutions and liberal ideals, which then appear passive and languid. Nevertheless, denying an uncomfortable past can be convenient, too. According to Wolle (1999) the convenience of the followers of a new system after a political change (both after National Socialism and GDR Socialism) follows the convenience of oblivion. Those who draw a final stroke under an uncomfortable period of time usually act out of common sense (also seen, for example, in Romania, according to Light, 2000). Intensive examination of the past, therefore, would only invent the past again, and work against the natural common sense of oblivion. This, however, is only provocative and can not be completely right, since the experience of war should not be completely unimportant. Therefore, parts of the

past ought to be kept; feelings of revulsion, in particular, appear valuable regarding dictatorships.³⁸ History, thus, ought to be “radically enlightening, emancipatory, liberal, and if necessary, too, subversive and rebellious” (Wolle, 1999: 25). Historians, as Paul Ricoeur (in: Maier, 2002) suggested, must therefore lead “from melancholy to mourning, from indulging in sweet sadness to a more energetic working through of loss”.

A debate on the double dictatorship experience in East Germany, however, shows specific features. In the case of Prora, for example, a categorization of remembrance as done by Charles S. Maier (2002) in a “hot” and a “cold” memory³⁹ is striking. By this Maier implicates the memory of the National Socialist period as unequally stronger and longer lasting in the collective memory of the German population (as well as of other East-Europeans) than the memory of the Communist crimes. For his argumentation he uses the field of psychology and moral enquiry instead of a comparative historical approach. In the Prora Documentation Center, the National Socialist period is described in great detail; its military period which lasted about 40 years, however, is only briefly mentioned. According to Light (2000) in most post-communist countries the period of communist rule is regarded as an aberration which they are eager to erase from collective memory. (This view, however, is seen by many authors as the western view prevailing today.) The remembrance of the NS period, too, was very “cold” in Germany for quite a long time.⁴⁰ Nevertheless, after the end of the Cold War different memories turn back. Maier (2002) believes, that “Nazi memory in Germany has [...] come to construct itself centrally around the consciousness of complicity. It has left children and grandchildren ashamed [...]”⁴¹

Alexander and Margarete Mitscherlich (1977) and Ralph Giordano (2008, who built upon their arguments) impressively prove the denial of the collective guilt (and the rise of collective shame as an effect); the repression

*“Die Deutschen sind das
einzigste Volk, das meint, in
den Augen der anderen
Völker weniger beliebt zu
sein, als es in Wahrheit ist.”⁴⁹*

(Susan Neiman, US-
Philosophin, in: Verein
Deutsche Sprache e.V.,
Was tun wir für die deutsche
Sprache?)

³⁸ Vladimir Nabokov (1899-1977), (1984: 7), Russian writer, who had to escape first the October Revolution, and later on the NS regime, wrote: “Ich habe es gelernt, meinen Ekel wie einen Schatz zu hüten [...]” (*“I have learned to keep my revulsion as a treasure [...]”*)

³⁹ Maier has borrowed the terms “hot” and “cold” from nuclear physics, in which a hot memory, e.g. Plutonium, has a long half-life, and a cold one in turn, e.g. Tritium, dissipates rather quickly.

⁴⁰ Only in the late 1980’s when historians in the west began arguing on the NS past (known as “Historikerstreit”), and research and remembrance work started, this view changed. In the former GDR the memory was state-administered.

⁴¹ Literally translation by the author: “*The Germans are the only people, who believe, they are less liked in the eyes of other nations than they really are.*”

of the past by the majority of German citizens after 1945, as well as the impacts on the posterity and the “moral catastrophe” through non-avowal of the collective guilt. According to Giordano (2008), almost all texts on the collective guilt thesis miss the period between 1933 and 1942 and the genocide of non-Jews, and instead concentrate on the genocide of Jews in Auschwitz. Collective guilt, though, appears as a strong (if not the strongest) emotional and provocative term in German history. In the west, the collective guilt was renounced, and the still-in-power former NS followers concentrated on anti-communism; in the east, in contrast, the anti-fascism was state administered. In this way both German states did not deal and come to terms with their NS past and NS heritage. And since coming to terms with one uncomfortable past presupposes an adequate dealing with the second layer – the actually existing Socialism -, the German exposure to its dictatorships remains ambiguous. This is what still can be felt and even seen, particular in such an ambiguous heritage as Prora, because it presents such a place of collective guilt, and in a second phase collective shame, of German citizens who as a “national collective of former Hitler-followers” (term formed by Mitscherlich) bear joint responsibility. However, a further aspect has to be added when speaking about dealing with Prora’s NS layer. The seaside resort was never finished, no vacationer ever stayed in Prora, no propaganda activity ever took place. Still, it was the prestige construction site of the Third Reich and THE KdF-site. Collective guilt can therefore not be applied to Prora in a very direct way; however, Prora is indeed directly connected to the most popular KdF sea voyages, to propaganda, and many followers of the regime. (Giordano, 2008)

*“Der Kampf des Menschen
gegen die Macht, ist Kampf
des Gedächtnisses gegen
das Vergessen”¹⁰*
(Kundera, 1980: 7)

The short sentence by Kundera (1980) standing aside expresses what makes it important, too, to find an appropriate way in handling uncomfortable heritage, as the building complex in Prora. ⁴²

Dealing with Dictatorship Heritage in Practice

The handling of the material legacy of dictatorships (as of other periods, as well) is closely related to the question of who is in power. Here the question is more direct because the material legacy, namely buildings, monuments, and statues are mostly in the possession of the state; as is the case in Prora.

This question regarding the Prora building complex, however, is further complicated because Germany was divided for 40 years. Against the

⁴² Literal translation by the author: “Man’s fight against power is the memory’s fight against oblivion”

“Architecture is at one and the same time both dependent on the social system and independent of it. [...] The question is not whether but how architecture depends on ideology. The answer is: not through firm, indissoluble links but through historically conditioned constellations of limited viability in both time and space.”

(Åman, 1992: 259)

background of the issues discussed above, the following division has to be made. Whereas the Federal Republic kept the “old” ruler’s economic and political power, the GDR dispossessed them of the material and human resources. (acc. to Giordano, 2008). However, this advance was forfeited by building another dictatorial system. After the total political and economical change in 1989, “western Germany by the use of its money and superior production power got the chance to get what was denied before” (Giordano, 2008: 217).

In the case of Prora, a direct relation can be drawn between the process of coming to terms with past dictatorships, the people in power and the handling of the site. The article “No Future for Germany’s Past?” by Wittlinger and Larose (2007) published in the magazine German Politics even shows how the German collective memory regarding the NS past significantly changed under the red-green government between 1998 and 2005; the period in which the decisions for Prora’s future uses were made. In this period the collective memory was narrowed and concentrated mainly on the genocide of Jews during the War. The process of coming to terms with these periods of history is multifaceted and highly contested, as the Prora building complex is itself. A simple solution would have been to tear it down as a highly visible reminder of two German dictatorships. However, monument conservationists were rather sympathetic towards the building complex, since it is not only a historical site of high importance but also shows modern construction solutions of the 1930s.

A study, ordered by the Rostock Regional Finance Office (responsible for the complex) and conducted by the Berlin town planning enterprise S.T.E.R.N., suggests the maintenance of Prora as a place with own identity, and a modification to a vacation destination with hostels, vacation homes, culture and sport facilities. The study also “proves” that its architecture is not necessarily National Socialist but to all intents and purposes shows similarities with drafts of Le Corbusier. (BauNetz, 1997) In addition, the whole issue of telling the story of, or interpreting, its dictatorship era to visitors remains unresolved. For unlike clear dictatorship sites as bunkers (e.g. in Hamburg) or prisons (e.g. the Penitentiary Cottbus) an after-use as hostel or vacation homes combined with a Documentation Center may appear appropriate, because the original concept and use was broken up and changed. It may even be of outstanding experience and could give “a sinister feeling” (Schmidt, 2008). However, Prora’s after-use as hostel and hotel continues and even accomplishes the originally contemplated use of NS regime.

„Prora is a unique experiment. Approaches to Prora must be experimental in character. An ordinary procedure might destroy the uniqueness of Prora. The experimental character of Prora must be considered in the future.” Bert von Meggelen (1996, in NEUE KULTUR, 2005: 65)

Figure 6: Concept by Strecker & Steidle



Source: NEUE KULTUR, 2005, 65

Another concept for Prora's future appearance designed by the architects Strecker and Steidle, commissioned by the German Foundation for the Protection of Historical Monuments and published in 2004 in Berlin, would have supported a liberal development in Prora. This approach would have respected its history, as well as the local enterprises which have developed in the past. This concept would have at the same time kept the historical feature, find an appropriate after-use of the building, and still give it a modern layer with the values of today's society. However, it was refused.

Even Prof. Dr. Gottfried Kiesow (2001), Head of the German Foundation for the Protection of Historical Monuments, and Member of the Curatorship of the German Foundation World Heritage, was deeply impressed by this concept:

" ... von Ihrem Projekt bin ich außerordentlich beeindruckt, ist es doch der beste Weg, [...] die Erinnerung an den Gigantismus des nationalsozialistischen KdF in seiner asketischen Strenge wach zuhalten und zugleich durch attraktives Wohnen und Kleingewerbe die Erhaltung der gesamten, gewaltig großen Anlage zu sichern. Auch die individuell veränderten Wohnblocks spiegeln noch die Größe der Gesamtanlage, zugleich den Wandel vom Massengeist des Nationalsozialismus, der Roten Armee und der Nationalen Volksarmee hin zum Individualismus unseres demokratischen Staates. Nicht nur die Planungsidee mit überschaubar großen Eigentümergemeinschaften und Hausverwaltungen, sondern gerade Ihr dahinter stehendes geistiges Konzept haben mich überzeugt. Denn in der Tat lässt sich Geschichte nicht ungeschehen machen, auch nicht verdrängen, sondern muss durch klare Gegenüberstellungen

verarbeitet werden.⁴³

Prora was predestined as a place for enlightenment, where different layers of German history would be overlaid, and where “dealing with its history could build a bridge to a reflected future of German society” (Hoppe, 1998). Meanwhile the decision for Prora is made. It will be returned into a vacation destination with its original look, though, managed by different owners. Whether the documentation center is included or even allowed to stay at the site is still questionable.

Conclusion

After the end of the GDR an era of remembrance appeared, often conflict-laden and almost obsessive, in which the memory of mainly the NS period (which had been state-administered) turned back. The collective memory of the actual existing Socialism, on the other hand, is apparently under developed. This can be strikingly observed in the case of Prora, an uncomfortable heritage with two layers of dictatorship ideology. Why it appears as fairly difficult to find an appropriate way of dealing with the site, and a widely accepted after-use concept is explained by the multifaceted political and socio-psychological issues related to it. With this knowledge in the background a very sensitive and professional handling is an imperative. However, the process of coming to terms with the related past, and therewith the dealing with dictatorship architectural legacy as an expression of it, still appears partly premature and ambiguous. There would be more issues to raise on such a complex topic as handling “unclear” dictatorship architectural remains in Germany. However, due to the limited space and time only an introductory overview was provided here. To go deeper into the topic, and, for example, carry out comparisons with the exposure to dictatorship legacy in other countries, further investigations, perhaps including interviews, are needed.

⁴³ Literal translation by the author: *„... I am deeply impressed by your project, because it is the best way to bear the megalomania of the National Socialist KdF in its ascetic strictness in remembrance, and to simultaneously maintain the enormous size of the entire complex by attractive common-hold apartments and small enterprises. Also the individually changes apartment blocks still mirror the size of the entire complex, and at the same time the change from the mass ideology of National Socialism, Red Army and National People’s Army to the point to the individualism of our democratic state. Not only the idea of manageable sized owner association and property managements, but precisely your ideological concept behind convinced me. Indeed, history can not be unmade, or repressed, but must be managed by clear juxtaposition.”*

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18. Commemorating the Past: The integration of Nazi perpetrator sites into the German memorial landscapes

Friederike Hansell

Rock concert, 1978 – Rally Party Grounds in Nuremberg



Source:(www.kubiss.de/kulturreferat/reichsparteitagsgelaende/stationen/zeppelinfeld.htm)

Introduction

The multifaceted legacy of the National Socialism has been discussed controversially during the last century. Still today – 60 years after the end of the Second World War, no general consensus could be reached how to preserve, use and interpret the sites. Also a lot of proceedings have been made, mainly in terms of places of victims; but there are still Nazi sites, especially perpetrator sites, which are neglected, tabooed or redefined. Accordingly sites of Nazi self-dramatization and other uncomfortable perpetrator buildings thus lack an informative reflection. The missing public willing to commemorate these places and their history is often the main reason for the lack of reflection. As a result many perpetrator sites of the National Socialists today are considered as “evil places”. The negative perception is a result of the difficult German

*Vergangenheitsbewältigung*⁴⁴, which considerably complicates an informative reflection of the past. But the perpetrator sites are an integral part of our history and therefore need an adequate reflection. The sites themselves furthermore enable two visual angles of the Nazi regime. On the one hand they illustrate the internal system of stabilization of the Nazi regime and on the other hand they reflect the fears and shiftlessness of today's society in dealing with its past. As a consequence the uncomfortable monuments and ensembles of the Nazi period have to be documented and interpreted - including the perpetrator sites.

The intention of the essay is to give an overview of the current situation in the German discussion of the preservation of the perpetrator sites. The analysis and the case studies will focus on the questions of preservation, selection, interpretation and integration. A brief outline of the Nazi building program as a main instrument of propaganda will help to clarify the subject.

Nazi building program – a brief introduction

When Hitler came to power, he wanted to bring Germany back to its former glory. He did this with the massive army building and propaganda campaign, but also by using sculpture and architecture (Weihsmann, 1998). Architecture was considered as the most important and powerful expression of the Nazi ideology and Hitler himself was the self-appointed "Supreme Master Builder" of Germany. Nazi Architecture thus was like an additional form of propaganda.

For expressing the absolute political power no new architecture was created, but the buildings followed the neo-classical style of the Wilhelminian era. For Hitler himself architecture was the "Word in Stone", a way of transferring a message (Weihsmann 1998). The intended message should be easily understood. Therefore simple, monumental symmetry, rectangular elements, few decoration and heavy horizontal stone cladding were used to mediate a feeling of impenetrability and eternal magnitude. The effect was often reinforced through the use of Nazi symbols like large eagles and swastikas. This way the National Socialists intended to impose their ideology upon the place, they ruled, physically and emotionally. The most tangible way of doing so was by constructing buildings. The

⁴⁴ The term *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* means coming into terms with the past and is especially related to the special handling of the Nazi past by the German and Austrian society.

building program was not limited to representative buildings and monuments. It also included the development of the urban and rural space by stretching a dense net of construction activities including all types of buildings (Weihsmann, 1998).

So to speak, the Nazi architecture was an integral part of the Nazi party's plan to create a cultural and spiritual rebirth in Germany. And, of course, a lot of representative buildings clearly follow this ideological program. But there is no uniform style of architecture. Different styles of architecture have been used in different places. Besides the representative buildings other structures such as churches or commercial buildings emerged, which do not have monumental tendencies. Local housing construction was mainly inspired by the traditional art in regional styles. Vernacular architecture thus was used to create a sense of home. Looking at the Nazi architecture today, traces can be found everywhere – the mapping of all construction works would leave a black sheet of paper.

Situation analysis

The ideological exploitation of architecture and space constitutes an uncomfortable legacy that is a heavy burden on the German society of today. Germany seems to be an open-air museum, staffed with samples of a period of terror. In 1998 the book "Bauen unterm Hakenkreuz" was published which is currently the most complex and best analysis of the German and Austrian Nazi architecture (Weihsmann, 1998). Besides the already well known buildings it also includes largely undocumented objects. Thus, for the first time the construction activities are documented in an encompassing manner. But the publication is rather an architectural guide and a guide how to handle the Nazi heritage.

The handling of the Nazi heritage remains the open question since the end of the Second World War. The allies' solution was quite simple. In 1945, according to a resolution of the Allied Control Council, it was decided to remove all buildings, emblems and signs related to the National Socialism (Hosch, 2005: 33). Due to lack of money and commercial space the resolution was never fully realized. Only very few buildings like the honorary temple in Munich and the Berliner Reich Chancellery have been demolished. Most other buildings have been reused without indicating their date of construction or historical context. For the inheritors of the Third Reich the handling of the burdensome heritage was more complicated. As a result of the inability to cope with the horrible past, the Nazi sites were mainly treated with ambivalence, embarrassment and amnesia, both

in East and West Germany (among others Nerdinger 2004: 108; Schmidle, 2006: 184ff). The sites were simply pulled down, forgotten or incorporated tacitly into the surrounding structure and reused as living and working space. Since 1960, after lots of discussions, a dense net of Holocaust memorials has been developed representing the victims (Jaskot et al., 2008). But that's only one part of the heritage. The other aspect of the heritage is the perpetrator site. In contrast to the memorial sites which remind us of Nazi terror and of the victims of the Nazi tyranny, the perpetrator sites were mainly places of propaganda and political decisions. Many of those often functionally reused buildings still show specific characteristics of the Nazi architecture and decorations like "blood-and-soil-frescos", swastika ornaments or large eagles (see fig. 2, 5, 9). Finally, in 1980, a rethinking process started and led to the discussion about how the perpetrator sites should be integrated into the already existing memorial landscape (Jaskot et al., 2008).

Looking at the interpretation and reuse of the buildings today often the feeling arises that Nazi architecture is a matter of the past. The presentation of the perpetrator sites shows a multilayered situation – everything from the usage as a documentation center or shopping mall, from unreflected banalization or sensible reuse. But is it really that easy to incorporate the Nazi architecture into everyday life? Aren't there still emotions noticeable in the everyday confrontation with these remains? Architecture is the built expression of an era and it is questionable whether a building simply becomes a pure building when it does not have its propagandistic context any longer. So, are we dealing with the seldom indicated Nazi buildings too carelessly or is the easy-going integration into the everyday life an appropriate solution to mitigate the power of those buildings?

Preservation and interpretation of Nazi perpetrator sites

Due to the fact that the places of victims are quite well examined today, the following research work will focus on the perpetrator sites. Of course, it is not always possible to clearly separate victim and perpetrator sites since most perpetrator places are linked inseparably with the fate of the victims. The concept of perpetrator has emerged as a way of accounting the innumerable individuals involved, directly or indirectly, in committing or assisting atrocity during the Second World War (Overy, 2009)

Case Studies

The following introduction of case studies is intended to give an overview of the different categories of perpetrator sites, their history, their importance, their handling and their presentation. The examples include representative buildings but also some “forgotten” places. But, understandably, the chosen sites can only give an overview. All presented sites are well documented and illustrate various aspects of the perpetrators. Following questions guide the investigations: What aspects of the perpetrators do they represent? How are the buildings interpreted? What are the challenges for the 21st century in presenting the sites?

Figure 1: Wewelsburg



Source:http://kriegsende.ard.de/pages_magnifier/0,3273,OID1192336_CON1192238_POS1,00.html

Wewelsburg

The history of the Wewelsburg Castle starts in the early 17th century when the castle was built on the site of a medieval castle near Büren in the northeast of North Rhine-Westphalia, Germany (<http://www.wewelsburg.de>; Brebeck et al., 2000: 12ff; see fig. 1). In 1934 the SS⁴⁵-leader Heinrich Himmler took over the castle with the initial intention to renovate and redesign the castle as a SS *Reich* leader school (Brebeck et al., 2000: 12ff). Besides the physical training, it was planned to realize a standardized ideological orientation of the leading cadre of the SS but actual instruction never took place. The castle was then supposed to be the central SS-cult-site and become the "Center of the World", a representative and ideological center of the SS Order. In the northern tower two mythological rooms were created: the SS Generals' hall and the vault, with the axis of the tower designed to be the "Center of the World" (see fig. 2). Both rooms were never used. In 1939/40 the working camp Niederhagen was erected nearby to provide labor force for the further construction of the castle.

At the end of the Second World War the entire castle complex was destroyed by fire. Already in 1948/1949 reconstruction works took place and one year later a youth hostel and a museum of local history moved into the building. In 1982 an exhibition opened up designed as a warning to the living and to honor the memory of the victims of the nearby Niederhagen concentration camp. Today the exhibition "*Wewelsburg 1933–1945 Cult and Terror Centre of the SS*" additionally intends to stimulate a feeling of responsibility towards

⁴⁵ The SS, the Schutzstaffel (Protective Echelon) of the NSDAP (National Socialist Workers Party of Germany) was founded as a personal guard for Adolf Hitler in 1925 and developed to a sort of private police force for the NSDAP (Brebeck et al., 2000: 13).

history in the visitors. After many years of suppression and silence, the exhibition today provides a venue offering the permanent opportunity to confront the public with the past of the Wewelsburg Castle. Additionally, to commemorate the deceased Niederhagen prisoners, a memorial was built in 2000.

The Wewelsburg Castle illustrates the conceptions of a SS *Reich* leader school, the life of the SS members as well as the SS symbolism and the attempts made by the SS to develop a science based on their own ideological assumptions (Brebeck et al., 2000: 9). The place itself, mainly the northern tower with its two preserved cultic rooms and still visible Nazi emblems, still has a mystical meaning for Nazis and Neo-Nazis (see fig. 2).

Figure 2: The Vault and SS General's Hall



Source: Brebeck et al, 2000, 46

Ordensburg Vogelsang

Ordensburgen were planned as a school to train the future Nazi elite and therefore a central place for the mediation of the Nazi ideology (Kenkmann, 2006: 149f). The special task was to produce the prototype of a National Socialist following the ideology of the National Socialism without criticism and self-will. The Ordensburg Vogelsang, near Gemünd/Eifel, is the most important of three existing Ordensburgen which were built in the Third Reich (Schröders, 2006: 111ff). From 1936 to 1939 the place was used as a training center for the leading heads concerning questions of Nazi ideology.

After the Second World War the buildings were reused by English and Belgian military. Originally the Control Commission for Germany/British Element had intended to destroy the camp since it was a focus of Nazi sentiment (Schröders, 2006: 114f). The plan was given up due to the British occupation and deployment policy. Neither the use of the space nor the handling of the Nazi buildings was ever related to the ensembles past (Schröders, 2006: 118). Only a superficial denazification had taken place by deleting all visible Nazi emblems. The destroyed buildings were later on reconstructed by Belgian forces and some of the Nazi reliefs have been preserved despite their historical function. The Belgian armed forces so contributed considerably to the preservation of the site. But due to the negative attitude of the locals towards the Belgian forces a historical reflection of the site was not possible. In 1989 the Ordensburg Vogelsang was put under monumental law protection because of the uniqueness of the ensemble and its historical importance as product of the construction work of the Third Reich and the entire first part of the 20th century (www.lernort-vogelsang.de/morgen/Rheinischer_verein.php, 2008).

Figure 3: “Fackelträger” – symbol of the Nazi ideology



Source: www.lernort-vogelsang.de/Gestern/PDF-Dateien/Der_Fackeltraeger.pdf

Finally, in 2005, the Belgian forces left the area and the place was opened up to the public in 2006. The main task now was to present the unique preserved architectural ensemble which illustrates the whole system of education, training and indoctrination in the Third Reich (<http://www.lernort-vogelsang.de/>, 2008). The Ordensburg Vogelsang is a very complex place where the stabilization and reproduction of the NS movement and system were put forward. The Nazi past of the site including the still visible evidence of Nazi ideology has to be presented very carefully in order to prevent the area from becoming a favorite place for Nazis and Neo-Nazis (see fig. 4). Today the site is used as a place of learning the aim to give detailed information of past, presence and future of the site.

Figure 4: The Ordensburg Vogelsang: Nazi era – today



Source: <http://www.bpb.de/themen/JNEE27,0,Vogelsang.html>

Figure 5: Banalized use – fast food



Source: www.bpb.de/themen/UXP90H,0,Schnellrestaurant.html

The rally party grounds Nuremberg

The city of Nuremberg is linked with Nazism and many remains of Nazi architecture are still visible today (<http://www.baukunst-nuernberg.de/>). The Rally Party Grounds is one of the biggest monuments planned by the National Socialists but it was never completed. The function was to demonstrate the National Socialist power to Germany and to world outside. With its gigantic dimensions, the ensemble aimed at leaving the impression on the individual visitor that he was participating in something major and significant. Moreover, all buildings glorified the two central myths of the Third Reich: the *Führer* myth, viewed to be sent by providence as a national savior, and the myth of a *Volksgemeinschaft*, a national community founded upon collective uplifting experiences and feelings.

After the Second World War only the swastika on the Zeppelin Grandstand was blown up, and the area was reused as a training camp by the US Army. Later on some parts of the area have been redefined and demolished but the centerpiece stayed as it was. Since 1973, the buildings have been under monument protection. After the departure of the US Army, the area was reused for public events like may rallies, flea market, religious events, rock concerts and car racing (Eichhorn, 1992: 141ff; Dietzfelbinger, 1990; see fig. 6). Due to the fact that the area served as the location for the National Socialist cult, for the demonstration of power and mobilization of the masses, the banal use of the site was questioned critically. The intention therefore was to use the site in a more adequate way and develop it in the context of its historical significance. Thus in 2001 a documentation centre was established in the unfinished congress hall (<http://www.museen.nuernberg.de/dokuzentrum/index.html>). So that now there is finally a modern and comprehensive source of information available to the public. Additionally, in 2006, information boards were erected allowing an individual visit of the area. Today the former Nazi Party Rally Grounds are a historical site used for many functions, where, on the one hand history is reflected in a modern documentation center and by the preservation of the monuments. On the other hand the area is used as public and commercial space (see Fig. 5).

Figure 6: Zeppelin Grandstand: at that time – today



Source: <http://www.bpb.de/themen/WDZ2DM>

"Führerschule der Deutschen Ärzteschaft Alt Rehse"

Figure 7:
Reichsärztführerschule
Alt - Rehse



Source: Strommer, 2008

Alt Rehse is an idyllic place in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern. Here, in 1935, the „Führerschule der deutschen Ärzteschaft“ was opened (Strommer, 2008). After nearly the entire old village was demolished the construction of a prototype of a Nazi village including a medical school started. Both elements have been part of the ideological context of the *Volksgemeinschaft*. The half-timbered buildings illustrate an assumed regional architectural style as part of the NS propaganda (see Fig. 7).

In the *Reichsärztführerschule* training courses for doctors and health personnel took place, related to race and population policy, hereditary biology and racial hygiene, Nazi health policy and the medical corps organisation. Up to 12.000 medical scientists have been trained and motivated to act in terms of the racial doctrine. Here the mental preconditions for the following Euthanasia, forced sterilization and mass murdering were formed.

In April 1945, Alte Rehse was occupied by the Red Army. But a reflection of the NS crimes related to the *Reichsärztführerschule* in general and the disabled and sick victims in particular were not implemented during the GDR time. The buildings were reused, mainly by GDR governmental institutions. In 1990, the Federal Armed Forces took over the area and left the place again in 1998. Since the 90ies a critical reflection of the historical importance has been discussed. Finally, in 2001 an association was founded, the "*Verein für die Erinnerungs-, Bildungs- und Begegnungsstätte Alt Rehse*" (<http://www.ebb-alt-rehse.de/>, 2009). Its main aim is to illustrate in public the function and the role the *Reichsärztführerschule* played in

Figure 8: Neulandhalle – Nazi era



Source: www.geschichte-s-h.de/vonabisz/adolf-hitler-koog.htm

Figure 9: “Blood and soil” fresco Dining hall - Neulandhalle



Source: Meyer, 2007

Figure 10: Community house – Mascherode, Nazi era



Source: Mittmann 2003

the Nazi health policy. In 2002 an exhibition “*Alt Rehse und der gebrochene Eid des Hippokrates*” was arranged presenting topics related to the medical policies of the Nazi regime and the mass murdering of patients. A central aspect is the educational function of the place including a documentation of its history, guided tours and the research work related to the history of the site.

Neulandhalle in the Adolf Hitler Koog

The Adolf-Hitler-Koog, today Dieksanderkoog, was the focus of the forced land proclamation projects and their public perception during the Nazi regime (Amenda 2005: 5ff). The 93 settlers of the Adolf-Hitler-Koog were personally selected by the *Kreisbauernführer* on behalf of the *Reichsnährstandes*⁴⁶. Only convinced National Socialists were allowed to settle in the model Koog and the Koog community supposed to symbolize the ideal Nazi society to the world. Until the beginning of the Second World War the place functioned as a pilgrimage site and a main center of propaganda. The central building was the *Neulandhalle*, a community house for the locals and a consecration place, with its architecture following the national socialistic ideology (see fig. 8).

After the War, in 1970, the evangelic church purchased the *Neulandhalle* and reused it as an evangelic youth-center. The name *Neulandhalle* was retained, but filled with a new content. Still visible is a blood-and-soil fresco in the dining hall (see fig. 9).

Community house Braunschweig Mascherode

During the period of the Third Reich, Braunschweig played a central role as the center of the defense industry (Mittmann, 2003). To provide living space for the workers and the military personnel settlements were erected. One, the *DAF-Mustersiedlung Braunschweig-Mascherode*, was the most important settlement illustrating the concept of a NS settlement project (Weihsmann 1998: 315ff; Mittmann 2003). The central building was the community house with an adjacent *HJ*⁴⁷-*Heim* and an office of the *NSDAP* (National Socialist Workers Party of Germany). The architecture of the building, which included an honorary hall and a huge party hall, followed the Nazi ideology (see fig. 10). Today the structure has changed and the building is reused as a supermarket and children and youth centre.

⁴⁶ The *Reichsnährstand* included the entire agriculture with the task to phase the agricultural organization

(<http://www.dhm.de/lemo/html/nazi/innenpolitik/reichsnaehrstand/>).

⁴⁷ Hitler-Jugend (HJ) was founded in 1926 as the National Socialists youth movement and was the only youth movement during the Third Reich (<http://www.dhm.de/lemo/html/nazi/organisationen/jugend/index.html>).

But the *NSDAP* emblem, which had been quarried out, is still visible at the gable front of the former community house (Weihsmann 1998: 317).

Figure 11: *Reichsjägerhof*, Nazi era



Source: www.riddagshausen.de/chronik.htm

Reichsjägerhof „Hermann Göring“, Riddagshausen

The *Reichsjägerhof* and the adjacent buildings constituted a present to Hermann Göring (Nickel, 1992). The architecture of the building in form of a Lower Saxon farm followed the Nazi ideology (see fig. 11). The integration of the surrounding trees and the half-timbered construction was intended to create an imagination of tradition and centuries old connection with the nature. It was an approach to combine a structural form with the typical architecture of the Lower Saxon national character.

After the Second World War the city of Braunschweig became the owner of the entire ensemble. The history of the place is mainly forgotten, even locals do not know it. Nowadays the *Reichsjägerhof* is used as a kindergarden.

Figure 12: *Villa Bogensee*, today



Source: Jürgens, 2008

Villa Bogensee

The Villa Bogensee is located about 40 km northeast of Berlin. It had belonged to the Nazi propaganda chief Joseph Goebbels (Rohowski, 2008). Given to Goebbels in 1936, the villa was radically expanded and nicknamed as "Goebbels' Love Nest" (see fig. 12). After the Second World War, the villa was handed over to the East German communist youth movement, the Free German Youth (FDJ). A succeeding youth organization used the villa after the German reunification and left the building in 1999. Since then the city of Berlin has been trying to find an adequate use for the property. Due to the fact that the villa might be bought by extremist groups it was removed from the market (Bischoff 2007). The government of Berlin will now restrict the sale to the 206 hectares of park landscape surrounding the building. According to Irina Daehne, a spokeswoman for *Liegenschaftsfonds Berlin GmbH*, the villa is attracting unwanted interest. A tiny door is still open for the right buyer to come along (Jürgens, 2008).

Summary

To summarize, all introduced places show a common pattern in handling during the course of time that can be interpreted as the result of the concealment and displacement of Nazi regime after the Second World War. First, all places have been reused in a banalized

way and then, after discussion, the documentation process started. Some sites like the *Wewelsburg Castle*, the *Ordensburg Vogelsang*, the Rally Party Grounds and the *Reichsärzteschule* are already included into the memorial landscape. Other places such as the *Neulandhalle*, the community house in Mascherode, the *Reichsjägerhof* and the *Villa Bogensee* are still waiting for a reflection. All places still show characteristic features of the Nazi architecture and illustrate different aspects of the Nazi regime – political or private. The main challenge for the places is the mainly the prevention of unwanted visitors. The example of the Wewelsburg Castle shows that Nazi visitors are not prevented only by concealing visible Nazi emblems and providing information. The responsables here have changed the rules of the house and now individuals with obvious right wing extremist attitude are not anymore allowed to enter the site (Schwab, 2007).

Commemorating places of perpetrators

The discussion of the adequate treatment of the Nazi heritage is still ongoing today (among others Dahm 2006; Jaskot et al. 2008; Kenkmann, 2006; Nerdinger, 2004). The analyses of the current situation and the case studies have shown that there are still a lot of places showing traces of the characteristic Nazi architecture or Nazi symbols. Each of those buildings had been constructed for an ideological purpose. Today they are used in different ways, where on the one hand we have sites which are already incorporated into the existing memorial landscape and on the other hand we have sites people live and work in without being aware of the historical background.

But why do we then have to preserve these buildings? Which sites do we select and why? How do we incorporate the selected sites into the existing memorial landscape? How do we mediate and present the sites?

Justification for preservation

The following key issues have been identified to justify the preservation of the perpetrator sites:

Perpetrator places are an integral part of the German history.

Today we already have a memorial landscape presenting the places of victims. The concentration camps, prisons and memorials illustrate the terror but they do not show the power of seduction of the Nazi ideology. Due to the historical importance of the perpetrator sites a precise and clear documentation is essential in order to be able to reflect about the entire history. The documentation of the sites serves as an educational tool to visualize the acting of the perpetrators. The above mentioned cases have shown a variety of operational fields. The *Ordensburg Vogelsang* served as Nazi ideology training center. Thus the site is a place with high symbolic value for the whole system of education, training and indoctrination in the Third Reich. The Wewelsburg Castle was planned to be the "Cult Center" of the SS Order. Whereas the Nazi Party Rally Grounds - as a total entity and as well as in individual buildings - were intended to demonstrate National Socialist power to the world without and to the one within. The *Reichsführerschule* in Alt Rehse was the mental centre of Euthanasia. But not only the representative and political places have to be considered as this is narrowing down the view to some centers and persons. The reflection and documentation has to include less obvious buildings like community houses, settlements and private buildings to reveal the whole context of the NS building program (Nerdinger, 2004: 112). To summarize, the preservation of the perpetrator sites is a crucial part of the *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* and it is therefore absolutely necessary to be conducted comprehensively.

The knowledge of contemporary witnesses has to be mediated.

The importance of preserving the perpetrators' sites becomes even more essential due to the vanishing of the contemporary witnesses. In a few years time no more contemporary witnesses will be available, who could answer questions and talk about their personal experiences. For the young generation today the recollection of the Second World War is already disappearing and most of them already only have fragmentary knowledge of the Nazi regime (Lipp, 2007: 116). And, of course, the gap between the past and future will increase. So the elder generation has to preserve and transmit the collective memory to the following generations. To make the Third Reich more understandable for younger generations not only the victims' side but also the view of the perpetrators has to be presented.

The ideological message of the architecture is still visible.

Each one of these buildings was constructed for an ideological purpose. Although the message might have no obvious effect

anymore, the architecture is the built expression of an era and so leads to conclusions of the belief in past and today (Nerdinger 2004: 134). But it is questionable whether a building that does not have its propagandistic context any longer simply becomes a building. At least, the confrontation of the public with the architecture of the era is one of the strongest and long-lasting forms of visual memory of a historical event. Thus the preservation is essential for an informative reflection of the history.

The development of pilgrimage places for Neo-Nazis and Nazi nostalgists has to be prevented.

Historians today predominantly agree in the necessity of preserving and presenting perpetrator sites. They do so not least because experiences have shown that Nazi buildings in a looped, closed or even in a ruinous condition do not reduce the attractiveness of National Socialism. In contrary, they attract even more people, because an aura of secrecy is created, the creation of myths is forced and an impulse to break “political” taboos is given. Nazi places thus are becoming objects of a mostly diffuse historical-political interest or, even worse, are turning into destinations for pilgrimage of Neo-Nazis and Nazi nostalgists (Dahm, 2006: 141).

But not only ruins as the destroyed *Berghof*⁴⁸ or *Carinhall*⁴⁹ and other “forgotten” places like the *Villa Bogensee* but also preserved sites as the Wewelsburg Castle attract a lot of visitors including unwanted visitors. As the remains of the Third Reich are still a magnet for many people and today are part of the tourism industry they have to be presented carefully. The places have to be included into the memorial landscape. The attraction of the sites has to be used for educational purposes, to mediate and stabilize democratic values.

Selection

The list of historical Nazi places worth protecting has already been expanded during the last years. The need to include the perpetrator sites into the memorial landscape is today undoubted. But which perpetrator places have to be preserved and how should the selection mechanism look like?

Responsible for the selection, of course, are the preservationists. In fact, since a few decades many architectural remains of the Nazi time

⁴⁸ Private house of Adolf Hitler in Obersalzberg, today destroyed.

⁴⁹ Private house of Hermann Göring in the *Schorfheide, Brandenburg*, today destroyed.

have been placed under a preservation order (Wirth 1994). Basically Nazi monuments and ensembles which fulfill the legal criteria have been marked as historic monuments. While the monument protection of Nazi heritage has often been discussed controversial in 1999 the *Kulturausschuß des Deutschen Städtetages* has adopted an instrument dealing with the difficult question of the architectural remains of the NS regime (NS-Zeit, 2000). But, of course, the question remains whether the monumental law protection is justified or not. Often there is no agreement between preservationists and owners, who very often aim at reusing the building. The communities' claim to reuse the Nazi buildings is quite comprehensible. Not everything has to be listed. So buildings worth protecting have to be selected very carefully. The monument protection must not degenerate into an instrument that protects uncomfortable monuments only to make them more comfortable. A further option might be worth considering – the marking of historical buildings. Marking would simplify the reuse of the buildings but at the same time preserve the historical background of a building.

Due to the vast amount of Nazi heritage the aim is a German-wide solution to guarantee a uniform and balanced handling. The preservationist and historians have to figure out, which monuments are worth listing but also which ones have to be marked. Precondition for a successful solution is the public and political will to support the presentation of the perpetrator sites.

Challenges of mediation and interpretation

The integration of the perpetrator sites is a new challenge. The following principles intend to guide a successful integration into the German memorial landscape:

The way of integrating the sites has to be specific.

The integration of the perpetrator places has to result from the documentation of their specific historical value and distinctiveness. The places illustrate the everyday life of the perpetrators and demonstrate the past, the present and the chance of a reflected handling. This accounts equally for the Rally Party Grounds in Nuremberg, the *Ordensburg Vogelsang*, the *Reichsärztführerschule* and other Nazi sites. The perpetrators' perspective has to be integrated into the historical documentation. They have to be integrated not to mitigate the Nazi crimes but to understand and assess the acting of different people in different situations. Basic precondition for the mediation of the perpetrators is the availability of

information and a clear and rigor handling of the history of the declining places of remembrance. This way the creation of myths can be prevented and a critical reflection of the Nazi past can be achieved (Dahm, 2006: 141). The historical context and the function of the sites have to be included into the presentation. Only the full historical context will provide a detailed and thus successful presentation of past.

The focus has to move away from the Vergangenheitsbewältigung

The tendency to reproduce the national focus of postwar Germany on *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* is still present. But for the younger generations the process of *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* is predominantly completed. For the youth the Holocaust is history like the French Revolution or the Weimarer Republic. But, despite the increasing gap between past and future, each subsequent generation has to preserve the heritage. So the presentation has to be matched. The focus is not obligation and burden but the awareness of the uncomfortable heritage and as a result the task to mediate this remembrance. Contrary to the demolition of the remembrance only information and critical reflection helps, but not moralization and instruction (Nerdinger, 2004: 140ff).

Additionally changes in our society make new ways of interpretation necessary. Today our society is becoming more and more inhomogeneous. The different backgrounds of the multinational visitors have to be taken into consideration.

Building that are not listed also have to be marked or at least documented

If it is already difficult to deal with the representative perpetrator sites, the handling of the apparently less important buildings is even more difficult. But, as mentioned above, when revealing the full significance of the construction activities during the Third Reich also buildings such as community houses and private houses have to be considered. One possibility is the installation of informational signs at least to indicate the historical importance of a building.

Another possible way of reflecting is the use of media like the internet. A brief introduction to the history on the webpage as on the website of the *Neulandhalle* provides information and thus mitigates the danger of displacement and negative confrontations with the history of a building. By providing this information everyone is enabled to reflect the history. Precondition here is, of course, the public and political will.

Conclusion

In Italy, the handling of the architectural heritage from the Mussolini era was quite untroubled compared with Germany. In Germany, a simple practice was not possible due to the German responsibility for the War and the Holocaust. But beside all difficulties in dealing with the uncomfortable Nazi heritage one very important aspect is to be aware that all Nazi places and buildings are to certain extend part of our presence.

Not only the increasing gap between the past and the future, the vanishing of the contemporary witnesses but also the shift away from the *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* of postwar Germany makes the expansion of the memorial landscape essential. The places of victims and the places of perpetrators have to be presented as an important aspect of our history. On the one hand the preservation of the related buildings is necessary because the mediation of the Nazi regime only by media would not be sufficient. On the other hand the careful mediation and presentation of the buildings is essential to prevent the places from getting pilgrimage sites for Nazis and Nazi nostalgists. The main challenge constitutes the selection of buildings that are worth preserving and representative for the Nazi system. Here the monument preservation has the task to preserve the architectural remains but also their context. Precondition for a satisfactory and representative selection is a German-wide solution.

Commemoration is a public form of remembrance, and public remembrance an integral part of political culture. Therefore we need memorials and monuments that accompany us in our everyday lives, urging us to learn from history. Sites like the Wewelsburg Castle, the *Ordensburg Vogelsang*, the *Reichsärztführerschule* and the Party Rally Grounds in Nuremberg illustrate different aspects of the NS regime and will besides help to make the Nazi era and ideology more understandable for the following generations. But to fully illustrate the complex system of Nazi ideology also less obvious buildings like community houses, private houses and settlements have to be preserved or at least documented in an adequate way. Only someone who is aware of the history of the buildings is able to handle them competent without displacing them. The careless or easy-going integration of the Nazi buildings into the everyday life is not an appropriate solution.

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19. Town planning and architecture of GDR cities

Hans Hack

Introduction

This essay is concerned with the heritage left to us as a result of town planning and architecture in GDR cities. The idea to address this aspect of urban heritage is motivated by the fact that these cities are changing drastically. Buildings from GDR times are being pulled down or changed and new town planning projects are dramatically altering the cityscape that was planned during the GDR. With this essay I therefore aim to investigate whether the severe changes that these towns are undergoing are provoked by people's perceptions that the town planning and architecture from the GDR is a difficult heritage that must be dealt with. Thus, the essay will look into the history of town planning and architecture in GDR cities, the changes that are occurring today and at various aspects that might make it a difficult heritage.

The GDR, Town Planning and Architecture

In 1949 the GDR was founded as a socialist state. Through the introduction of the new socialist state- and social system, GDR ideologists wanted to manifest the radical new political-ideological change through town planning and architecture (Kuhrmann, 2006, 160). Private property was abolished and all investments were centrally controlled by the state which made almost unrestrictedly large-scale town planning projects possible, built with the idea of enabling people to follow the socialist way of living.

At the time of the creation of the GDR in 1949, the state was looking for a new architectural identity. During the beginning of the 1950s a style developed whose "guiding principles for the architecture and urban design were influenced by anti-capitalist and/or anti-western attitudes" (Häussermann, 1996, 216). The new socialist state looked towards its socialist mother country, Russia for guidance. Under Stalin an architectural style called socialist classicism had developed. This style, unlike modern western architecture, borrowed many characteristics from traditional architecture and urban design. Socialist classicism aimed at being highly representative. The GDR

Figure 1: Painting by Gottfried Richter (1904-68)
„Agglomeration of power or the 20th century“



Source: Hack

adapted this representative architecture by referring to its own traditional roots. The so called architecture of „National Tradition“ differed aesthetically in the various areas of the GDR since each region referred to its own tradition. In northern Germany for example buildings referred to Brick Gothic architecture whereas in Dresden, buildings referred to Baroque architecture. However, the intentions of city planning were very similar and were specified in the 16 principles of city planning laid out in 1950 by the GDR government. These principles included such representative features such as large boulevards and central squares for big parades and demonstrations. In addition the new centers of the GDR cities were not to become commercial places like in capitalist society but places that should reflect the size and dimensions of socialist victory in Germany (Häussermann, 1996, 261). This was to be manifested by monumental governmental buildings and large scale cultural places and memorials for the socialist heroes. As for the historic cities, some buildings were supposed to be incorporated into the new plans as long as they could serve a propagandist function. Unlike the fragmented buildings of the private investors in the capitalist city, large scale ensembles with a closed master plan were laid out to reflect the collective spirit of socialism, which should stand in contrast to fragmented capitalist society (Häussermann, 1996, 217-18).

Figure 2: Karl Marx Allee



Source: www.wikipedia.org

One example from this kind of architecture can be found in Berlins former Stalin Allee (boulevard), today known as Karl-Marx Allee, which borrows many stylistic elements from Prussian Neoclassicism, a style which had been developed to show the power of the state. The big boulevard was laid out as one of the main axis of East Berlin. On each side, huge „palaces for the workers“ were built, whose purpose were more representative than to solve the lack of housing that existed at the time. Due to the high cost effectiveness of this style, the Stalin Allee is only one of the few examples from this kind of architecture since the GDR could not sustain it.

This pompous style of architecture reflects the selfish behavior of the new state for which representation was more important than caring for people’s needs. It is also striking that “in 1950, Walter Ulbrecht, the later leader of the governing party, proclaimed a return to national traditions, without any attempt to avoid resemblance to fascist urban development” (Häussermann, 1996, 217).

After Stalin’s death in 1953 Kruschev, the new leader of the Soviet Union ordered a change from monumental, to a modern industrialized architecture. The main concern of architecture was no longer to be visually representative but should fulfill the needs of the people. This

attitude was mainly due to the fact that there was a huge housing shortage that had to be quickly resolved. In addition, bad economic conditions could not support the elaborate socialist classicist style.

Figure 3: A Plattenbau in construction



Source:
www.einstages.spiegel.de

This was also the case in the GDR where many houses were destroyed during the Second World War. Living quarters were urgently needed. Therefore from the 1960s onwards, the Architecture was subordinated to the rules of economy. Architecture was standardized and industrialized which resulted in prefabricated buildings known as Plattenbau in the GDR. The most common types in the GDR were the P2 and later the WBS 70 which were built in their hundreds around the country. This way, large monotonous landscapes were created. Simple syntax and reduced vocabulary of the grid architecture became synonym for GDR architecture (Müller, 2001, 25). The new architectural change is reflected in the Karl Marx Allee whose second part towards the city centre was built in the typical Plattenbau way.

Through industrial building it was much more difficult to realize and stick by the identity of socialist architecture in form (Hart, 1970, 43). In fact the architecture was very similar to the modernist architecture in the west in the way that it used a similar architectural language, materials and mode of production. From on the 1960s the architecture no longer defined itself by being anti capitalist. Instead the similarity showed openness towards the world and made a direct comparison possible to show superiority. Architecture was now more reduced to its social function.

Figure 4: Monotonous landscape in Frankfurt an der Oder



Source: www.morgenpost.de

However the architecture was still socialistically semanticized through art on the buildings like murals and sculptures. Modern building materials such as glass facades were also used in the GDR to reflect the scientific-technological revolution, mostly on governmental buildings. The modernity also differed from the west due to the imposition of strict limitations by the state. Centrally controlled investments and standardization of architecture” conspired to restrict the freedom of the architects and limited the plurality of architectural styles (Czaplicka, 2005, 173)”. This created an exaggeration of monotony and uniformity in the architectural style that was rarely found to this extent in the west. The homogenous landscape that was thus created was an ever present inescapable reminder of the totalitarian regime that brought it about. The landscape was therefore „totalitarized“.

This effect was often reinforced due to the fact that many projects were planned on a very large scale, made possible by the absence of

any private landownership. The homogeneity was most noticeable in the new residential areas such as the area of Marzahn in the north east of Berlin. The residential area covers about 19 km² and housed, until 1990, about 165.000 residents in almost exclusively Plattenbau buildings ranging from 6 to 11 stories high. The homogenous landscapes reflected the socialist attitude that the human being was not seen as an individual but as a mass. "Urban living has a particular significance in Marxism, as a progressive force encouraging collective rather than individual identity and city planning was viewed as an important means of achieving political purposes" (Andrusz, 1987, 478-98). After the German reunification the architecture and city planning caused many difficulties due to the fact that individualism known in capitalism was not reconciled with the old structures. Many people moved away from the large monotone residential areas. The state tried to prevent this by taking drastic measures to break the homogeneity. In Marzahn for example, in 2003, 10.000 apartments stood empty. Renovation measures were undertaken such as adding balconies and colorfully painting the houses. Some houses, such as the Ahrensfelder Terrassen in Marzahn, have been lowered by varying amounts of height to create a less uniform profile. Similar programs can be found in many other large residential areas.

The standardization of the architecture also meant that it did not take into account the expression of local distinctions which had developed over centuries in response to its environment and tradition. Although this was done in the 1950s it drastically changed after that. Especially during the 1960 and 70s it did not fit into the concept of a progressive socialist state. The utopian perspective of the grand plan undermined local and regional distinctiveness by denying architecture to convey a sense of place and a sense of history" (Czaplicka, 2005, 174).

Figure 6: Nikolai quarter in Berlin



Source: <http://web02.city-map.de>

That this was not widely accepted by the people is reflected in the „reconstruction“ actions taken by the state in the 1980s in response to the ever growing discontent of the people toward the government. The state tried to give socialism a more „human face“ by trying to find a new- old identity, and the most popular were historicism and nationalism" (Czepczynski, 2008, 42). "In the best case, the new buildings were a superficial reconstruction of historic buildings such as Berlin's reconstructed Nikolai quarter, or prefabricated buildings in historic guise as can be seen in the streets of Cottbus's city centre" (Schmidt, 2008, 97). Other examples are the buildings from on the Wilhelmstraße in Berlin that were built in the late 1980s. They borrow stylistic elements from the Wilhelminian architecture that was formerly associated with the capitalist era. The trend of giving GDR towns a

more „human face“ by referring to new-old identity still carries on today. At the Neumarkt in Dresden for example, new buildings carry pre-war looking facades.

Figure 7: decaying buildings in Prenzlauerberg Berlin, 1981



Source: www.panoramio.com

During the last 20 years of the GDR'S existence, extensive housing programs were still carried out and the amount of identical buildings increased since the availability of the variety of different prefabricated building parts decreased. The housing in Marzahn, for example, almost doubled in the last 10 years. In the meantime the old city centers with pre-war buildings such as the quarter of Prenzlauerberg in Berlin were left to decay.

This attitude reflects the general attitude of the GDR towards heritage. During its 40 years of existence, the GDR paid little attention to the old architecture from pre-socialist times. „Conservation of any object had to be in the interest of socialist society“ (Schmidt, 2008, , 67). Only buildings that fitted into the socialist ideology were saved from destruction. Monuments were expected to „serve the development of socialist consciousness, aesthetic and technological education as well as ethnical upbringing“ (GDR conservation law, 1975, §1). This also meant that only architecture that fitted into the „one correct history“ of the GDR was preserved. „The past was re-ordered to fit the grand trajectory of revolutionary success, and any aspects of it that did not fit were eradicated from memory – or at least that is what the Party attempted to do“ (Long, 2005, 2). Thereby the state could justify that socialism was the only correct answer to life and therefore also justify their power position. In addition, „when landscape features were considered ‚non socialist‘, they became, in a similar manner to people, institutions and ideas, anti-socialist and were passively or actively eliminated from public view and memory“ (Czepczynski, 2008, 107). This was done by either getting rid of the architecture such as the Stadtschloss in Berlin, reused such as Goering's Luftwaffe building which served as an interim People's Chamber of the GDR, or ignored like the old city quarters.

Although the old city centers were associated with the capitalist past they were mostly saved from being destroyed because it was economically more viable to build new houses on empty land than pulling down old city areas. Therefore the old quarters were doomed to decay which resulted in discontent of the local population. „Some urban sociologists, who had uncovered these public feelings through empirical investigation, even go so far as to identify the dissatisfaction with the decline of old towns as a principal motivation for the revolt of 1989“ (Häussermann, 1996, 220).

The attitude of the GDR towards its old cities created many difficulties after German reunification. Heritage had to be reevaluated in respect to the new German identity which wanted to incorporate things that would not have fitted into the GDR concept of heritage. This obviously included some pre-socialist city structures of which many had been replaced by GDR architecture and city planning. Therefore it was sometimes seen as difficult heritage because it had replaced old city structures and buildings. In addition, nostalgic feelings towards a pre-socialist period arose which called for reconstructions. However sites were and are occupied by GDR architecture.

The famous example is the Palace of the Republic which had replaced the old Stadtschloss which was the residence of the Prussian Kaiser. Recently the Palace of the Republic has been pulled down to make place for a reconstruction of the Stadtschloss. As for GDR city planning the wide streets and places that were supposed to show the power of the state are often disappearing because the city is given back its human proportions that existed before the GDR. One example is the plan for the Molkenmark/Klosterviertel which had been the medieval area of Berlin. During the GDR the layout of the streets was completely changed by laying out big motorways. Recent plans are to rebuild the old streets structures to recreate the density of the quarter.

This close look at city planning and architecture from the GDR reveals how strongly it reflects the regime and the society's condition since it was dependent "on ideology, politics, economy, technology and culture" (Gottschall, 1987, 73). It shows how it tried to influence individuality and history by the totalitarization of the environment to a degree that has only been possible in socialist countries and dictatorships. Whether this was legitimate at the time is debatable but from a present point of view it is difficult to reconcile with our present understanding of the basic well-being of society. This might explain why following the end of the GDR drastic measures were undertaken by people to regain a new-old history and more individuality. But there are more aspects to consider why architecture from the GDR is disappearing.

One such aspect is the notion that these buildings still carry a political message or are undesirable historical reminders. "Many buildings carry the stigma of being wrongly inspired or carrying socialist texts (Czepczynski, 2008, 134)." If this assertion is true it would mean that a type of GDR architectural style exists which carries a political message that transcends over time and is not compatible with today's Ideological-political ideas.

Apart from obvious semantic symbols such as signs and art on the buildings there are common architectural semantics whose meanings do transcend over time. These are for example size and exposure or traditional materials. The Karl Marx Allee from the 1950s uses many of these semantics. Its sheer size, the symmetry and the rather expensive materials can be easily interpreted as representative architecture. As for political buildings after the 1950s, the GDR also used common semiotics, mostly for state buildings. A good example is the Palast der Republic which was colossal and exposed from the landscape and partly used traditional materials such as marble and „gold“. However the common semiotics used by the GDR cannot be specifically linked to GDR ideology and the semantically charged art has mostly disappeared anyway.

Additionally, architectural semiotics such as design and material tend to change in meaning over time. It is important to distinguish between what was intended by the architect and how the viewer perceives it. The architect's message can only be understood by the receiver if he disposes of the same codes which are formed by experience. This means that certain symbols only communicated the intended meaning of the architect within the GDR. For example in GDR architecture, golden glass facades were mostly used for important governmental buildings and were therefore symbols for important buildings. After the fall of the GDR this meaning was lost since these facades were more widely used for example by offices, shopping malls or hotel. When examining how a building intentionally conveys an ideology it is important not to interpret things from the architecture that have not been intended by the architect. The Connection between form and political statement for architecture can only be analyzed individually for every building in respect to political, cultural, sociological origin (Kuhrmann, 2006, 180).

This shows that distinct socialist messages from GDR architecture do not transcend to the present and can only be understood by people that are willing to remember.

This might explain why only the most obvious architecture, if at all, is being destroyed as a direct act against the GDR. These would be mostly former GDR government buildings. Here again we may refer to the famous example of the palace of the Republic which was symbolically destroyed as a statement against the GDR system.

However most meanings of GDR architecture are being re-interpreted and decontextualized. This for example is strongly reflected in the way that the architecture of „National Tradition“, which was built during

a time of repression and totalitarianism, is more valued today than that of the GDR's modernist era, a time which was less repressive. In addition, the architecture from the 1950s uses more common architectural semantics to represent the power of the state than modernist architecture does. This leads to the assumption that it is rarely the historical facts that decide whether or not buildings are preserved but aesthetics. This assumption is made on the fact that the architecture of National Tradition uses a more common architectural language and traditional craftsmanship which is seen as more valuable by the majority of people today. This kind of architecture is quite an attraction, in particular for tourism. For example, the Karl Marx Allee has been "fully incorporated into local marketing strategies in Berlin" (Czepczynski, 2008, 113).

Another example would be the Fernsehturm (TV tower) on the Alexanderplatz which can be seen from almost anywhere in Berlin. Built, at the end of the 70s, it was at the time seen by many as a monument to the head of state Walter Ulbricht and as a symbol of power to show the superiority over the west. Today this meaning has been completely lost. The tower is being used as an iconic symbol for the new Berlin.

It gives the impression that the transformation of post-socialist cities is facilitated not only by anti-communist reactions, but also by a set of contemporary cultural, social, and economic processes, which shape the urban landscape of Central European countries (Czepczynski, 2008, 149). The city changes because it has to accommodate the new needs of the new society.

Figure 8: New Shopping center on Alexanderplatz



Source: www.tagesspiegel.de

Cultural changes can be observed in the physical reshaping of many elements of the public landscape (public buildings, shop windows, cafés, etc.), the development of new sites of consumption and services, the role of tourism and leisure time activities in the post-socialist context. All these had a crucial role in the transformation of towns after 1989 (Vukov, N. and Toncheva). An example would be the Alexanderplatz in Berlin where two new huge shopping malls have just been built that have completely destroyed the GDR wide open cityscape that was laid out in the 70s. Along with cultural change, tastes change. Modernist architecture in particular it is often regarded as simply not aesthetically pleasing. This would especially be true for building built in the Plattenbau way. Many of them have been destroyed or renovated to an extent that makes it hard to recognize them. Although their removal is often due to their low quality construction and advanced deterioration.

Figure 9: Destruction of a Plattenbau



Source:
<http://eisen.huettenstadt.de>

The post-socialist towns also had to adapt to the new social conditions. With the emergence of social segregation actions had to be taken to avoid the development of „bad areas“ with for example, high crime rate. This was done by making them more attractive as is the case in Marzahn. The new social conditions also called for a change in the private sphere which had to be adapted to the new needs of the people. For example people claim more comfort than they used to. This would include such simple amenities as plumbing and electricity.

What has been drastically manifested in urban settings is the accumulation of need, capital and power (Czepczyński, 2008, 149). With the privatization of the land in the new capitalist society the city changed according to the market needs and not to the needs of the state as was the case in the GDR. Therefore, GDR city planning and architecture often get in the way of new developments. For example, the former social centre Ahornblatt on the Fischerinsel in Berlin had to give way to a new hotel. The planning authority for building in Berlin Mitte Thomas Flierl (PDS) stated: “The drama was that there was a high pressure for utilizing the area” (Aulich, 2000).

Conclusion

This analysis of the changing nature of post-socialist cities in Germany has aimed to highlight the varying fates of this heritage and identify patterns or motivating factors that lead to these outcomes. In conclusion it can be stated that some interferences in the urban fabric were a direct response to the discredited political system. In how far measures to regaining history and individuality were a direct political act against the GDR is questionable. Undoubtedly the removal of some governmental building and the eradication of signs on building were. In this respect the GDR architecture and city planning was seen as a difficult heritage because it was a reminder of a difficult past. However, overall in the context of the architectural legacy of the GDR it would seem that most actions taken were and are not consciously done to eradicate the heritage of the GDR but simply to adapt to people needs and the new cultural, social and economic changes. Therefore it is a difficult heritage in terms of having to undergo severe changes to adapt to the new Germany.

If we take the viewpoint that GDR heritage is being efface in a kind of passive-adaptation process it would suggest that historic townscape preservation is more about aesthetics, tourism and place marketing than about commemorating or understanding the past. This leads to

the question of conservation of socialist heritage, are we bypassing the chance to conserve key relicts of an important phase in modern history? Public buildings are the main features of the historic urban landscape. Whether they are deleted because of their difficult heritage or merely for aesthetic considerations, their absence constitutes a drastic alteration in the text of the historic cityscape.

The removal of an object can create debate and also nostalgia for the time it is seen to commemorate. The issues that arise from such conservation questions are not only related to this being difficult heritage but also related to the problem of applying the concept of heritage to the recent past and the difficulty of gaining its acceptance as such by the general public. As Czepczynski (2008) notes "The practice of landscape transformation mirrors social expectations and demands". It remains to be seen whether the will of future generations will be in any way motivated by mourning at the loss of their GDR heritage.

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20. Removing Uncomfortable Heritage, its Meaning and Consequence:

A Case Study on the fall of Political Public Monuments in the Former GDR

Anja Merbach

Introduction

The fall of the Berlin wall in 1989 was followed by the breakdown of the socialist system in East Germany and almost overnight, the ideologically laden, monumental features of this time, left behind in the public space, changed their character from used structures to become the material remains of a historical era. The urban landscapes of East Germany bore manifold testimony to the time of socialist realism, materialized in particular through the many political public monuments erected to present the political and social ideas of the former GDR (For further details on GDR monuments in Berlin, see article “Monuments of the GDR – Difficult remains of a German socialist past”). Confronted with the monumental heritage of the GDR, the reunited German state responded in different ways, however most responses resulted in the same consequence: the fall of the monuments.

This paper will give a closer insight into the background of the dismantling events, into factors and motivations that played a role and how the events can be interpreted and evaluated. The paper will then examine the meaning and consequences of the fall of the monuments for the people, the urban landscapes and for the remaining GDR monuments. In this connection, the role of monuments in the public space currently and historically will be examined as well as possible reasons for their conservation.

The removal of uncomfortable heritage: A common scenario

The destruction or removal of material remnants of an old system after its demise has a long tradition throughout the course of history. Times of crucial social or political upheavals have always been accompanied by the destruction of the material relics of the old and defeated system; the religious, political and/or historical remains being considered symbols of the old system which needed to be

erased from the face of history. These so called iconoclasm events (Iconoclasm = Greek for “image breaking”) can be traced back to ancient times, where as well as in the Middle Ages and later on iconoclasm was motivated by prevailing religious arguments (Trimborn, 1997, 300). In modern times however, iconoclasm events have been rooted mainly in political and/or ideological reasoning. The storming of the Bastille and the destruction of all symbols and monuments related to the aristocracy during the French Revolution, and the massive destruction of monuments not conform with the ideology of the Nazi period 1933-1945 are examples of such events in modern times (Lottes, 1997, 22 et seq.; Thamer, 1997, 109 et seq.). However, whether in ancient or modern times, iconoclasm events have always followed a common motive: the destruction of symbols of the past and a redefinition of the official culture and the official version of the past (Stachel, 2007, 20). Actions of iconoclasm have here included not only destructions or removals but also procedures of renaming, re-interpretation, change of material or use or simply deliberate neglect and defamation (Speitkamp, 1997, 9).

Due to their symbolic and representative meaning, monuments in particular were and are aims for iconoclastic actions. With the end of the system represented by them, monuments have often been felt to be dangerous in the new times. In most cases they are then reduced to their religious, political or ideological, and therefore symbolic content which is experienced as a threat and results in the removal of the monument (Trimborn, 1997, 296). However, even when monuments are not seen as a threat, their destruction has been a common practice in revolutionary times - serving as a demonstrative, political statement of the new regime or new social order (Schulz zur Wiesch, 2007, 234).

Thus, it can be said that iconoclasm always involves processes of destruction of historic symbols as well as processes of re-interpretation or rejection of history and therewith the removal of heritage which has become uncomfortable or difficult to handle. At the same time iconoclasm events also have the message of a new beginning, with new traditions and new symbols. However, the question should be asked: Does the demolition of monuments really result in the demolition of the past and what are the consequences of this intention to demolish the past?

The fall of the monuments in the former GDR: What happened and why?

The political and social upheavals of 1989 led in many countries of the Eastern Bloc to public and spontaneous actions of destruction aimed at the symbols of the old, defeated regime, in particular at monuments (Schulz zur Wiesch, 2007, 235). However, in the former GDR the peaceful revolution was not accompanied by public and rebellious demolitions of monuments. Rather, the spontaneous rage of the people was vented on the Berlin wall, THE symbol of the German separation (Trimborn, 1997, 308). The wall was destroyed and segmented into pieces (by the public, by public authorities and also by people who made a business of selling segments of the wall) within such a short period of time that considerations about its preservation as a monument never had a chance (Trimborn, 1997, 308; Schmidt/Klausmeier, 2007, 11).

The political public monuments however, the symbols of the criticized regime, remained untouched by the people. What happened after the revolutionary days of November 1989 was rather the reversal of traditional iconoclasm. Instead of the public, now the administrative authorities of the new German state initiated an iconoclastic-like process by removing and dismantling political monuments bit by bit from the places and streets of the East German towns and cities. The handling of the monuments was characterized there by a lack of planning and strategy, and thus, resulted in a wide spectrum of disjointed actions, mainly driven by the same intention: to remove or to make forgotten a heritage which was considered inappropriate for the new German society.

An independent expert commission, constituted through the city of Berlin only in 1992, was created to give advice in the handling of the political GDR-era monuments (Trimborn, 1997, 305 et. seq.). However, this commission, which was promoted by the politicians as the “continuation of the peaceful revolution of 1989” (Flierl, 1992, 47), did not bring new approaches and came too late. By 1992, many arbitrary and thoughtless decisions had already been made – statues and other political symbolic monuments throughout East Germany were demolished, dismantled, stored, changed, removed etc. (Kaiser/Kämper, 1999, 378). In fact, most of the removal decisions were confined to the first two years after the German reunification (Kaiser/Kämper, 1999, 378). This is not surprising as the demolition of symbols of the defeated system only seems to be accepted in the post-revolutionary phase, which usually comprises a historic time slot of a couple of years. (cp. Schulz zur Wiesch, 2007, 237/238).

Afterwards, emotions cool down with other, more rational perspectives increasingly influencing the debates about how to handle uncomfortable heritage.

However, the decisions of the public authorities resulted not only in the removal or dismantling of the monuments. In fact, a number of GDR-era monuments survived until the present day, sometimes due to conscious decisions but more often, due to two factors: time and money. As outlined earlier, time plays an important role during iconoclastic events. In the time immediately after reunification, many authorities were rather helpless regarding the handling of the often huge and massive public monuments and as time went on, the motivation to dismantle them declined (Kaiser/Kämper, 1999, 376 et. seq.). Furthermore, dismantling often did not proceed due to its very costly nature.

Worth noting are also the few attempts undertaken to arrange artistic actions with the monuments serving as focal objects or backdrops. A famous example for such artistic interpretations was the Lenin monument in Berlin. It was subject to several artistic actions, which were also used as a means of protest in the phase shortly before its demolition (Michalski, 1998, 149/150; Schulz zur Wiesch, 2007, 236 et. seq.; Pütz, 2003, 191). However, all artistic endeavors did not prevent the monuments' destruction, just as in the case of the „Kampfgruppen-Denkmal“ (brigade group monument) in Berlin. In the unclear times after the wall came down, this very political monument was consciously used by the public authorities as a medium for artistic and political expressions of opinion (Kaiser/Kämper, 1999, 379/380). Various artistic installations and political actions served as proposals or incentives for discussions about the fate of the GDR monuments and in particular of the very contentious brigade group monument. However, in the end, the interest of the people was limited and the political pressure very high, resulting in the dismantling of the monument in 1992. It appears that the time was not ripe to appreciate this possibly unique attempt of a plebiscitary interpretation of history (Kaiser/Kämper, 1999, 380).

In considering all of these outlined issues, one can state that in the first years after the German reunification the symbolic legacy of the GDR had been destroyed to a large extent due to arbitrary and helpless actions or conscious decisions of the public authorities. This „top-down“ approach was often and still is criticized as a staged statement against the GDR's past and an ideological evaluation of history, a clearly politically motivated iconoclasm (Dickel/Fleckner, 2003, 15; Adam, 1992, 10; Flierl, 1992, 47; Roettig, 1992, 75). The

subsequently organized removal of political monuments through the authorities of the new German state showed undoubtedly a subjective interpretation of history, based on a western standpoint (Trimborn, 1997, 306) and thus, followed once again the „the victors write the history rule“. In the history of the demolitions, artistic considerations played a minor, if not an altogether non-existent role (Michalski, 1998, 151); with the intention to remove the uncomfortable remnants of an overcome system being the dominating motivation.

However, intention and effect did not always match. Rather, the demolition of GDR-era monuments did in several cases re-activate a sense of GDR identity (Speitkamp, 1997, 13). Destructions were sometimes felt as paternalism by the West, violating the dignity of the Eastern population, as for example in the case of the Lenin monument in Berlin (Schulz zur Wiesch, 2007, 243). How could that be? Why did the East German people not destroy the symbols of the old system and why did they even protest against demolitions, eventually carried out by the order of public authorities?

Here, various reasons might have played a role. According to a famous postulate by Robert Musil, “[...] nothing in the world is as invisible as monuments as long as they stand.” and “[...] only if they were gone one day their absence would be recognized immediately.” (Musil, 1978, 506; Diers, 1992, 4). This statement was extended by the French philosopher Maurice Halbwachs who argued that revolutionary upheavals were not felt by the urban population as an existential threat as long as the built, symbolic environment continues to exist. However, the actual removal of a certain building or street would be experienced more strongly than the political or social events (Schulz zur Wiesch, 2007, 234). Taking these thoughts into account it can be argued that the East German people in the first revolutionary days wanted a change of the regime, a change of the conditions of the socialist system. However, apparently they had not wished for a considerable change of their immediate environment. This would explain why iconoclastic actions were not undertaken and also, it would correspond to the public opinions and intentions underlying the events of the peaceful revolution in 1989. During this time, many people wished for a change in the system, for a state respecting the human rights of its population. The total demise of the state of GDR itself had probably not been an initial intention, but it nevertheless occurred as a result of the increasing momentum of events during this time. Undoubtedly, many people had wished for the fall of the wall; one wanted to travel freely and simply have personal freedom. However, presumably people had not been aware of the fact that with the fall of the wall the GDR would cease to exist.

These considerations could serve as one explanation why the people had no intention to destroy the symbols of the GDR regime. Also, it would make comprehensible the protest of the public against the demolition of the GDR monuments through the public authorities later on. By then, the historical and political processes were advanced in a way which resulted in the total collapse of the state GDR, the destruction of all its relevant structures and a complete adoption of the economic and political system of the Federal Republic of Germany. Now, a situation had arisen which Halbwachs had described in his theory mentioned above. The immediate environment of the people in the GDR had changed completely – the built one as well as the economic and social one. According to Halbwachs it can be argued that this situation was experienced as threat. Consequently, any intentions contributing to a further change of the environment, such as the demolition of the monuments, were felt as threat as well and thus, protested against.

Apart from these considerations, certainly many other factors might have played a role. Clearly, simply the existence of the Western part of the country, which was now accessible, seemed to have been important (Schulz zur Wiesch, 2007, 234). Instead of destroying the environment of the East, people spent their time visiting the formerly inaccessible West. Other Eastern Bloc countries like Rumania, Poland or the Soviet Union did not have this special situation and they experienced iconoclastic events.

Also, as already mentioned, people vented their emotions at the wall, which was as a result destroyed very quickly. This destruction might have absorbed all destructive energies (Schulz zur Wiesch, 2007, 236).

Finally it can be argued that the political system of the GDR had begun to decline already before the actual peaceful revolution took place. Political and ideological messages and their impact on the people increasingly lost their significance (Adam, 1991, 61) and thus, presumably also the political public monuments were no longer considered as active transmitters for ideological messages. Presumably, people saw no need to destroy these „dead monuments“.

The fall of the monuments: Meaning and consequences

Together with other material components such as buildings, streets or places, monuments constitute the physical structure of a city. This material structure of an urban landscape has always been considered as relevant not only in regard to the aspect of its use but also as a

representative means of a society. Urban landscapes enable the appraisal of the history or culture of a society, with the physical structure of the city serving as readable text (Dickel/Fleckner, 2003, 12; Stachel, 2007, 17). Between the architectural substance of the city and the people there is a relationship full of memories and stories; the city being a space of semantic plurality. By this, the urban space becomes the carrier of individual and collective memories and thus, also the carrier for identities, linked to those memories (Stachel, 2007, 15 et. seq.) Consequently, the urban landscape can be understood as a communicative medium, transmitting information to the „reader“ of this urban structure.

With the removal of GDR-era monuments from the public space, urban landscapes and the stories they had to tell were altered deliberately. Given the communicative function of urban structures the question arises of how the removals can be evaluated and what the consequences of these intentional interventions into the urban spaces have been. To answer this question, the function and significance of monuments in the public space has to be clarified first.

In general one can state that monuments can be almost any object of the past, subjected to commemoration and/or preservation (statues, buildings, site, signs etc.), serving a variety of purposes and functions, such as transmitting political, ideological, national and cultural meanings, serving as places of mourning, commemoration or celebrations or representing values related to art, age, history, religion etc. (Vukov/Toncheva, 123). In the readable physical structure of the urban space, monuments are a specific means for political or other communication. They can be understood as material signs or symbols in the public space, set deliberately to visualize a certain narrative or event and to remember this narrative or event (Stachel, 2007, 18/19). Through this commemorative function certain collective memories are intended to be originated or manifested, leading to the creation of collective identity (Adam, 1991, 44; Stachel, 2007, 26). However, apart from its intended meaning and impact, a monument is still open for interpretation. It always underlies contemporary influences, ideas and opinions and is thus characterized by a semantic openness and dynamic in time (Schulz zur Wiesch, 2007, 233). Therefore, one and the same monument can have different meanings in different contexts of time or space for example.

Beside their „normal“ commemorative function, monuments can also become laden with symbolic meanings and thus, gain a further, symbolic function. In this case, the respective monument becomes an

icon, where certain associations and certain collective memories solidify and concentrate. (François/Schulze, 2002, 17/18). The scientific literature speaks here of the „spatial dimension of memory“ (Liebhardt, 2007, 259) and with Pierre Nora (Nora, 1986) one can say that there are so called „places of remembrance“, material or immaterial, but with a certain symbolic meaning, where we find a concentrated collective memory (Unfried, 1992, 83; François/Schulze, 2002, 17/18). In this sense, the authors of “German places of remembrance” (François/Schulze, 2002, 552) identified for example the Berlin wall, although not in existence anymore, as a place of remembrance, where various associations and memories reside.

Eventually, in cases when their existence becomes controversial, monuments can become symbols and manifestations of conflicts in a society. Then, the respective monuments gain a current and temporary importance as they serve as a medium which bundles and visualizes the conflict (Stachel, 2007, 27/28).

According to Stachel (2007, 27), in conflicts about monuments, different and often opposing cultural memories within a society are manifesting. This statement can be considered true also in the case of the controversies about the GDR monuments and their eventual fall. The discussions, handling and final decisions about the monumental heritage of the GDR, which was serving as a symbol of the GDR system, demonstrated the different opinions and memories about the history of the GDR and its different evaluation. Due to the forty years long separation of Germany and the then existing opposing political and social systems, completely different individual and collective memories evolved in East and West. As a consequence there exists no common and unitary perception of the history of the German separation in general and the history of the GDR in particular (Liebhart, 2007, 270). Due to the rapidity of the collapse of the GDR and the subsequent reunification, the socialist heritage became part of the common German heritage, virtually overnight. Neither the people in the West nor those in the East had been prepared for this. There was no time for a slow coalescence of the two opposing branches of cultural memories which could have constituted the basis for the newly united German society. Consequently, there currently exists no common cultural memory in East and West Germany about the history of the GDR (Leo, 2008).

In the light of these considerations, the actions and discussions regarding the GDR monuments can be understood as „battles of identity“ and „heritage battles“ (cp. Vukov/Toncheva, 124). Being a result of these battles, the fall of the monuments cannot be evaluated

as „good“ or “bad“ in a one-dimensional way. In several cases, a monument’s removal has certainly been a sensible and reasonable decision. Presumably, a considerable number of people in East Germany might also have welcomed the dismantling actions by the public authorities. However, taking a holistic view onto the state organized removals and considering historical and architectural conservation arguments, the fall of the monuments can be evaluated as unnecessary and having more negative than positive effects.

The monuments’ removal did neither erase GDR history from the people’s mind nor was it sufficient for re-inscribing communal identities according to the „post-socialist mode“ (cp. Vukov/Toncheva, 124). It also didn’t contribute to the development of a common German identity.

Rather, the fall of the monuments opposed a gradual process of ideational realization and through the destruction of the monuments an important means of a long-term analysis of the common German past got lost (Schönfeld, 1991, 41). Keeping the pluralistic landscapes full of different historic symbols would have given incentives and causes for thoughts and discussions. In contrary, the monuments’ removal has contributed to repressing a part of German history and has led to increasingly homogeneous urban landscapes.

The removal of the GDR-era monuments also bears testimony to the selective culture of commemoration in Germany. As Schmidt states, the ways in which material heritage is handled reveals collective identities (Schmidt, 2008, 13) and thus, tells a lot about dominating opinions and ideas of contemporary societies. Just as in the past, communist ideology and socialist realism found its expression in the selective handling of historic monuments on GDR ground, the fall of the GDR monuments today can be interpreted as refusal to recognize GDR history as part of German history. The handling of historic monuments in the past and today is characterized by selection and thus, by manipulation (Trimborn, 1997, 474), the removal of monuments being a means of this selective process.

In the case of the removal of the GDR monuments, this selective culture of commemoration appears even more questionable as the removal was and is accompanied by a re-creation of long destroyed symbols of Prussian times. Whereas still existing monuments of our recent past are dismantled or neglected, the desires for reconstructions of long gone Prussian palaces or statues are growing (Trimborn, 1997, 84 et. seq, 307; Adam, 1991, 61). This process is hardly in accordance with parameters of architectural conservation

and shows a disputable perspective of the German society towards its own history.

Reflections on consequent conclusions for the remaining GDR-era monuments and on possible future approaches

Despite the happened iconoclastic actions, there can still be found a number of various political GDR-era monuments today, particularly in the urban spaces of bigger cities such as the former East Berlin, Chemnitz or Leipzig. Like many other monuments of our recent past, these monuments stand somewhat unnoticed in the public space; the degree of attention as well as the degree of care received by them being rather low. Some have experienced slight alterations by newly added interpretation plaques; most of them are still standing uncommented. It can be argued that their existence is ignored by a large part of the society and thus, that their importance for the people is experienced as rather low.

However, despite this ignorance or also because of it, this paper wants to emphasize the cultural significance (including, according to the definition of the Burra Charter, also the historic and social significance) of the remaining GDR-era monuments for the German nation and, considering the global context of the „Cold War“, also beyond.

Admittedly, at a first glance these monuments might be aesthetically questionable remnants which seem to be dead, without purpose or function. They lost their immediate context of GDR reality and socialist realism and thus, their primary purpose as transmitters of communist ideology. Besides, it could be questioned whether monuments in our present-day society are still able to serve functions of communication, commemoration or information. Due to the overall existence and dominance of media like the internet or TV, the commemorative and informative function of monuments can be considered of decreasing relevance nowadays. The history channel on TV or the internet ensure a constant information supply, making events or persons of the past constantly present and available for us, taking over functions monuments used to serve.

However, the significance of the GDR-era monuments is to be found in other functions and values. Indisputably, these monuments have an important historic value, representing material evidence of the GDR-era and thus, of German history. Beyond their national historical meaning, the monuments' significance however has also to be considered in the global context of the „Cold War“ period. In particular

in the divided Berlin, where the opposing powers of East and West and their ideologies collided, the „Cold War“ period left its traces in the urban landscape. Leading through Berlin, an “East-West-axis” of „Cold War“ monuments and buildings can be identified, telling about the political conditions and ideas of those times (Flierl, 1992, 45 et. seq.). The GDR-era monuments in the Eastern part of the city form together with the political monuments in West Berlin part of a unique monumental landscape, bearing testimony for the different and opposing political systems and ideologies in the Cold War period. Unfortunately, due to demolitions and alterations, this monumental landscape is not intact anymore. However, the remaining material structures share a common semantic context; which can fully only be understood and experienced by getting the total picture. Thus, the GDR-era monuments and their preservation can be recognized as historically significant, in the case of Berlin also beyond a national German context.

Besides the historical value, the GDR-era monuments can also be considered of high cultural and social value. The cultural and social value is embodied in these monuments by serving as material focal points, as mediums for a public, historical reflection linked to the present (Flierl, 1992, 45).

In former times, monuments usually served as a means to represent commonalities of a society (cp. Eberl, 1989, 37). However, the GDR monuments do not present commonalities of the German society. In contrary, they are rather places of remembrance for the historically caused differences of German societies in East and West. They have a potential to provoke discussions amongst Germans and their perceptions of German history. They remind of Germany's separated history and should be used as invitation and incentive to tell each other the different stories and experiences. This ability of uncomfortable objects to provoke dispute, the Berlin conservator Gabi Dolff-Bonekämper calls contention value. This contention value she recognizes not as a defect but as a quality and positive aspect “as it might be said that it is the task of the monuments, even a reason for their existence, to foster knowledge and insight through examination and debate” (Schmidt, 2008, 72).

In the light of the considerations above it can therewith be argued that the remaining GDR-era monuments in East Germany and in particular in the spatial context of Berlin have considerable historic, cultural and social value, constituting a cultural significance on national level and beyond. As tangible traces of German history and

at the same time as evidence of the „Cold War“ period, these monuments need to be conserved.

Moreover, as part of the conservation process, the significant potential of these monuments should be used. Also twenty years after the German reunification the German society has not worked off the difficult heritage of its history. The story of German separation is still a story often told differently in East and West. There is no common cultural memory, no common understanding of German history. Mutual understanding and appreciation of the different experiences in East and West can't still be taken for granted.

Thus, it can be said not preliminary the East Germans need these monuments preserved for reflecting upon their history and identity. Rather, the monuments are important for the whole German population to become aware of the history of German separation and reunification (Flierl, 1998).

The monumental remains, especially those constituting an „East-West-axis“ throughout Berlin, could hereby serve as material focal points. To reinstall common ground amongst the Germans, one could search for common stories that help to connect the experiences of forty years of separation. As the experience of the „Cold War“- the battle of ideologies - was shared by all Germans in East and West, stories and experiences from the „Cold War“ period could represent such common ground, the monuments being used as material links to those stories. By adding to the monumental landscape of the „Cold War“ a „landscape“ of stories and experiences from both sides of the former wall, the monuments could become active components of the urban landscape again, serving new, contemporary purposes.

However the future fate of the GDR-era monuments will look like, awakening, using and maintaining the cultural potential of these monuments can be considered as crucial for their survival in our modern and constantly changing environment. By developing new, contemporary approaches, the monuments can become actively re-involved into the urban landscapes, gaining new functions and thus, oppose further tendencies to remove this uncomfortable heritage completely from the faces of East German cities. A removal, which, as this paper hopes to have shown, wouldn't only be a loss from the historical point of view but also an eminent loss for the German society.

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21. Temporality, the Spanish Civil War & Dictatorship:

Is it too late to claim for justice?

Romina Príncipe Martínez

Introduction

On 20 November 1975 Spain experienced the end of the fascist Dictatorship of Francisco Franco and with it; a new era began in which the King Juan Carlos I brought the country from a dictatorship, through a transition period⁵⁰, to a Democracy. It was an important change for the Spanish society and it should happen as smooth as possible. Therefore, the new government decided to sign the so called *Pacto del olvido*⁵¹ with the aim to protect Spaniards from the past. Forgetting what had happened in the last decades and a general amnesty for all those who were responsible of the atrocities occurred during that period of time (1936-1975) should help Spaniards to become a democratic society.

Today, thirty-four years since the end of the Dictatorship, most Spaniards do not still feel comfortable when talking neither about the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939) nor about the Dictatorship. Due to the *Pacto del olvido*, talking about these issues has been a taboo in Spain for more than three decades and for that reason, the new generations do know very little about what happened.

In the last ten years many things have started to change. Associations like the *Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica*⁵², have been created with the aim to claim for justice; issues related to recognition, restitution, collective memory and processing the past have been on the media and have been titles of new publications; the Law of Historical Memory has been approved; some communal graves have been opened and analysed; etc. Despite these developments, much work has to be done still, especially in education. In this field, Spain is far behind than in other countries which have gone through a similar experience. Whereas in Germany, children at the age of 14-15 years old do start talking about the Third

⁵⁰ According to many scholars and for a part of the Spanish society, this transition never took place. For more information about it, please continue reading this essay.

⁵¹ "Oblivion Treaty". Depending on the sources, this is translated differently. Another translation is the "Pact of Silence", but in my opinion the word „oblivion“ has a stronger shade of meaning than „silence“.

⁵² Association for the Recuperation of Historical Memory.

Reich, Holocaust or *Nationalsozialismus* at school, in Spain it is only possible to deal with the Spanish Civil War and the Dictatorship in the last year of High School, at the age of 17-18 years old. During the last year, teachers can choose if they want to talk about these topics or not since it is not mandatory.

In July 2006 the Cabinet Meeting approved the so called "Law of Historical Memory". Although the content of the law has been much discussed and hasn't fulfilled the expectations of those who have been claiming for justice for the last decades, not all the articles of the law have been applied yet. Nearly one year and a half after the final approval of the law by the Senate, it is still an issue of discussion in many cases and in many others, it is still being ignored.

Most of the Spanish society has lived for many decades without knowing "The Truth" and therefore, it is not easy for them to understand neither the Law nor the need to revise the Spanish history in order to get the collective memory back. Crane affirms that collective memory "is a conceptualization that expresses a sense of the continual presence of the past" (Crane 1997, p. 1373). Since there are still many survivors of the Civil War and of the Dictatorship it is still possible to keep the lived experience alive using it to write the historical memory.

The aim of this essay is to present the Spanish situation when dealing with its uncomfortable heritage related to the Spanish Civil War and the Dictatorship. Temporality does play a very important role in this case since it finished some decades ago but it hasn't been processed sufficiently. Even though many citizens and scholars do think that seventy years after the end of the Spanish Civil War and thirty-four years after the end of the Dictatorship is too late to deal with the past, the Spanish society does need to go through this phase of understanding its history and of realising the importance of its collective memory.

There is no future without knowing the past, and Spain has to use now the chance to recover from the past in order to have a real peace and forget the imposed secrecy and silence.

Historical background

The Spanish History of the twentieth century was very unstable due to the continuous change of governments. From 1902 until 1931 Spain had a Monarchy with King Alfonso XIII despite the *coup d'état* by Primo de Rivera which took place on 13 September 1923. On that

day, Primo started his Dictatorship which lasted until 1930. In the year 1931, new elections showed that a part of the population didn't wish Spain to return to a monarchy again under King Alfonso XIII, who had to abdicate after seeing the results of the elections and exiled. The new Republic should enhance liberty and human rights (Preston, 2007).

The Second Spanish Republic started in 1931 and lasted until 1939, when Franco's Dictatorship started. From 1931 until 1933 the Republic was guided by the left wing led by the PSOE (*Partido Socialista Obrero Español*). Some of the policies implemented by the new government were the publication of a constitution in which women could be equal to men, they proclaimed the separation between the State and the Church and they reorganised the army in order to reduce the number of soldiers and to professionalize it (Smith, 2007). In November 1933 the right wing, already organised, won the elections of the Cortes. The *Partido Radical*⁵³ and the CEDA (*Confederación Española de Derechas Autónomas*⁵⁴) which was a new rightist party formed by at least forty rightist other groups, were the two leading groups (Preston, 2006).

The following two years (1934-1936) were called the "*bienio negro*"⁵⁵ since both sides of the Cortes, the rightists and the leftists, were trying to fight for their ideology using violence, organising strikes and persecuting. In 1936 the left wing, organised under the so called *Frente Popular*⁵⁶, won the elections and the rightists parties recognised that the only way of imposing their ideology was through violence.

On 18 July 1936 there was the *coup d'état* against the Republic and with it, the beginning of the Spanish Civil War during which Republicans fought against the Nationalists, who were under the orders of Franco, until the year 1939.⁵⁷ According to Smith (2007 p. 101), Nationalists had the support from: fascists, Carlists, monarchists, Spanish nationalists, conservatives, the Catholic Church, businessmen, army and landowners. Whereas Republicans were supported by more urban workers, peasants, educated middle class, liberals, Basque and Catalan Nationalists, socialists, communists and anarchists. Therefore, the Nationalists were helped

⁵³ The Radical Party.

⁵⁴ Spanish Confederation of the Autonomous Right.

⁵⁵ Black two years.

⁵⁶ Popular Front.

⁵⁷ Franco communicated the end of the Civil War with a decree on 1 April 1939 and from then on, 1 April was known as the "Day of victory".

by Italians and Germans⁵⁸ and Republicans by Soviets and by the International Brigades.⁵⁹

The Spanish Civil War was seen by Franco and by his followers like a medieval *Reconquista* during which, they had to win Spain from the communists, anarchists and separatists back.⁶⁰ With Franco's victory, a new fascist regime was born in a Europe which was having already other similar regimes in Italy and in Germany, for example. Franco's military confrontation had had from the beginning the support from the Pope Pius XI, who in September 1936 had said:

“bendice a los defensores del honor de Dios y de la religión”.⁶¹

On 15 April 1939, fifteen days after the nationalist victory, the Pope Pius XII talks about Spain as the nation chosen by God (Sueiro, 1976 p. 15).

The Spanish Civil War lasted 33 months, from July 1936 until April 1939. It is unknown the precise number of deaths caused by the war but the sources affirm that they were more than half a million of people. Apart from the victims of the war, and all those who were executed, there were many people who had to exile from Spain. Franco's Dictatorship (1939-1975) was an authoritarian fascist regime during which there was a lack of freedom and of democratic values. In Spain, Republicans were arrested, brought to trial and executed and children were taken from their Republican families with the aim to be educated in the so called “*Asilos Sociales*”⁶² from the state in order to provide them the proper education. On 22 July 1969, Franco chose Prince Juan Carlos as his heir and made him swear that he would follow his ideology after his death. He believed he would leave a strong system in which apparently everything was *atado y bien atado*.⁶³ Nevertheless, when Juan Carlos I became the King of Spain

⁵⁸ Guernica was bombed by the German Legion Condor on 26 April 1937 (Smith, 2007 p. 101) and Lleida was also bombed on 2 November 1937 by the German Air Force (Marimon, 2006).

⁵⁹ More than 55,000 volunteers from more than 50 countries decided to join the Republicans during the Civil War. Since 1996 it is possible for them to for the Spanish citizenship. One of the most famous volunteers was George Orwell, who wrote *Homage to Catalonia*.

⁶⁰ Crusaders won in the medieval time the territories from Moslems back. Especially in Spain, the *Reconquista* was a very important issue. Holguín affirms that Franco would see himself like a modern-day Pelayo or El Cid, both heroes of the Spanish History (Holguín, 2005 p. 12).

⁶¹ Bless the defenders of God's honour and defenders of the religion (Sueiro, 1976 p. 14).

⁶² Social shelters. Please, see chapter 3.4

⁶³ Tied and well tied. This sentence is nowadays used to talk about things which seem to be ready but at the end, they do not work out or the way expected.

on 22 November 1975, he decided to bring Spain into a democracy since fascism had failed in Western Europe and he wanted Spain to belong to the European Community.

One of the first tasks of the new parliament was to draft a constitution for the new monarchy which was signed in 1978. The main figure in politics should be the prime minister, which in Spain is called “the president of the government” and the Catholic Church lost its dominant role as the only religion of the country. Many politicians who were former followers of Franco’s regime did not agree with the King’s new interest in making of Spain a democratic country. Nevertheless, Juan Carlos I gave to some of them new posts in his new government like Adolfo Suárez⁶⁴, who was chosen as first Spanish prime minister of the Democratic Spain, or Manuel Fraga⁶⁵, who was appointed as Interior Minister and later on became the President of Galicia from 1990 to 2005. Doing so, the King wanted Spaniards to feel comfortable with the new political system and wanted also them to understand that the future should develop in a kind of freedom among politicians and Spaniards in general.

The new changes and developments caused disagreement and discussion among politicians, some groups of the Spanish society and members of the military defence.⁶⁶ These acts contributed to make the transition period more difficult as it could have been. As a contribution for a better understanding and evolvement of the Spanish society into a democracy, the government signed the so called *El Pacto del Olvido*⁶⁷ in order to forget what had happened in Spain during the last decades. All those who had had high posts during the Dictatorship were amnestied⁶⁸ and a new period of the Spanish History should be born. According to the government of the moment, the quickest and most effective way to deal with the past and help the new democratic society to look into the future was making people

⁶⁴ Adolfo Suárez had been the Minister Secretary General of the National Movement, *Movimiento Nacional*, the Spanish fascist regime under Franco. Its main political party was the FE (*Falange Española*).

⁶⁵ Manuel Fraga was Minister of Tourism under Franco and he was a much closed friend of the dictator (Stuart, 2006).

⁶⁶ Even six years later, on 23 February 1981 the Colonel Tejero tried with a failed *coup d'état* to bring the old fascist regime back. According to some non-official sources, the King was aware about the organisation of this act and he used it to be seen like a hero of the Spanish society and to gain popularity (Sverlo, 2001).

⁶⁷ The Oblivion Treaty was not published officially but it is known among scholars. It is unknown among the population.

⁶⁸ The Law 46/1977 enacted on October 15, 1977 “gave an amnesty to all acts of intentional policy, whatever its outcome, defined as crimes or misdemeanours prior to December 15, 1976” (Mitchell, 2008).

forget the past, controlling what was being published about these topics and avoiding any comments related to the past.⁶⁹

Many historians signalise the end of the Transition Period and the beginning of the Democracy in the year 1982, when PSOE won the elections and the Constitution from 1978 was approved. Spain entered the European Community in 1986. Since the year 1982, the Spanish government has been either led by the PSOE (Felipe González: 1982-1996 and José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero: 2004- until today) or by the *Partido Popular* (José María Aznar: 1996-2004).

The Current Situation: Wounds of the Spanish Civil War and the Dictatorship

I called this section “Wounds of the Spanish Civil War and of the Dictatorship” because the word „wound” is one of the most used words when talking about these two periods of the Spanish History. For some people, these wounds are closed whereas for others they are still open. According to the sources there is a clear situation in Spain in which could be said that most of those who have the wounds closed belong to the winners of the War and their relatives, whereas for most of the Republican survivors and the relatives of the Republican victims, these wounds are still open.

In the year 2006, the government of José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero (PSOE), published the Law of Historical Memory -which is seen by a part of the Spanish population as a step forward to revise the past. Despite this Law it is still taboo to talk and to debate about some topics related to the Spanish Civil War and to the Dictatorship.⁷⁰ This is one of the weaknesses of the Spanish Democracy, even after twenty-seven years of its existence.

Control of information (media, education, politics, etc) is the main cause of this situation. For most Spaniards, the victims of the Spanish Civil War and from the Dictatorship are either buried or, if they are alive, they have forgotten what had happened. But this is not true. Only a part of the victims is properly buried, whereas thousands of

⁶⁹ This is the reason why for many scholars, Spain didn't go through a transition period in a proper way. Their collective memory was taken away. For further information, please see “*La memoria de los olvidados*” . A whole chapter deals with *La transición que no hicimos*, which means “The transition, which we didn't go through”. In this chapter four authors present four subchapters related to this title (Álvarez 2004, p. 115). Or please see Navarro in Álvarez, 2004.

⁷⁰ Throughout the text, some examples about this current censorship will be mentioned.

them are still in common graves unidentified. Concerning the victims alive, they haven't forgotten what happened and they have been looking or waiting for justice since then.

In this part, some groups of victims are presented.

Relatives (and friends) of those who died during the War and the Dictatorship

It is impossible to find out how many people died during the Spanish Civil War but the sources talk of at least half a million people. Whereas some countries do have an inventory or list with all (or nearly all) names of the victims who fell during a War or a Dictatorship, there is none concerning the victims of the Spanish Civil War.

In addition to the Republicans and Nationalists who died fighting in the *trincheras* or trenches or in the streets during the war, most Republicans died in prisons, executed or in concentration camps. The fascist regime ordered the construction of several concentration camps around Spain which were built similarly to the German's.⁷¹ Other prisoners were sent abroad. Smith (2007) argues that at least 10.000 of them died in Mauthausen, a concentration camp in Austria, whereas Sueiro (1976, 1983) mentions only 7.000 died in that camp.

It is also unknown how many people died during the Dictatorship.

People who had to exile and their relatives (and friends)

Another group of victims is the group of Republicans who, afraid of the fascist system and convinced of their ideologies without wanting to be submitted under a dictatorship, decided to leave their homes exiling to other countries.

Smith (2007) declares that around 400.000 people exiled from Spain during the Dictatorship (Fig. 1).

Only a little percentage of the exiled people has returned to their home towns due to the fact that the dictatorship lasted thirty-six years and during their absence they built new lives abroad.

Figure 1: Children and mothers on the way to the French boarder in 1939.



Source: <http://www.diba.cat>

⁷¹ Letters from Franco and Hitler have been found in which, Franco asks the *Führer* for advice in dealing with the Catalans imitating his way of exterminating Jewish people.

Adults who belong to the so called “lost children of Francoism” o Els Nens perduts del Franquisme and their relatives (and friends)

According to a documentary “*Els Nens perduts del Franquisme*” produced by the Catalan TV and a magazine of History, many children disappeared during the Spanish Civil War and the Dictatorship. The two different ways of taking children away from their families are described below.

Exiled children

Figure 2: Children exiling from Spain.



Source: <http://www.tv3.cat>

During the Civil War, many Republican families decided to send their children abroad (Fig.2), especially to countries where they had leftist governments like Russia, France, England, Mexico, etc. They preferred losing their children instead of letting them live in a fascist country where they could not have democratic rights. Once they reached the hosting countries, they were given for adoption to families. The documentary talks about 30.000 children. When the Nationalists won the war, Franco sent letters to the governments of those countries which were hosting Republican children, to have them back. In many occasions, the hosting countries didn't agree, that is why letters were falsified in which the natural parents would claim their children.

Trains full with children came to Spain from all over Europe. Some were given back to their families⁷², some died in the trains due to the bad travelling conditions, but most of them were sent to other cities where they would get other identities and would be given for adoption to Nationalist families or they would turn nuns or monks.

In the documentary some witnesses argue that they even had more than two and three identities and, that they had been adopted and returned many times during their childhood and youth. While waiting for being adopted, they lived in the *Asilos sociales*⁷³ where they were treated badly and with scarce food and lack of love.

⁷² Pictures were taken and published in order to make political propaganda.

⁷³ Very little is known about these *Asilos Sociales* (another example of the already mentioned lack of information in the year 2009). In the documentary, many witnesses who had lived in these centres for some years do present their experiences. These centres were run either by the state or by the Church. They were very strict and one of the main educational pillars of these institutions was to teach the children that Republicans were murders and uneducated people. They tried to “wash their brains” in order to exterminate the Republican ideology for the future. Children were given a different identity with other names and/other surnames making it more difficult for their relatives to look for them.

Taken children

According to the sources, 14.000 children were taken away from Republican families in order to be educated by the rightist regime and by the Church. The documentary presents different situations in which witnesses explain their own experiences. Girls and boys were taken away while playing from the streets in order to educate them to become nuns or monks, others were brought to the *Asilos Sociales* in order to educate them, babies taken away from their mothers while being arrested in prison, etc.

The Law of Historical Memory

The year 2006 was declared in June 2008 the Year of Historical Memory by the Government of PSOE⁷⁴. On 28 July, the “Law of Historical Memory”⁷⁵ was approved by the Council of Ministers. On 28 October 2007 was approved by the Congress of Deputies and on 10 December 2007 by the Senate. The law was registered as the Law 52/2007, 26 December, but it was published in the BOE (*Boletín Oficial del Estado*) on the 27 December (BOE 2007) (Ministerio de Justicia, 2007).

This Law should be a Declaration of reparation and personal recognition: “it recognises the right of those who suffered persecution and violence during the Civil War and the Dictatorship to moral restitution and recovery of their personal and family memory” (Ministerio de Justicia, 2007).

The Law has been a response of the demands of the civil society and of international bodies claiming for the recognition and compensation for the victims of the Spanish Civil War and the Dictatorship.

Precedents

The precedents of the Law of Historical Memory played a very important role while writing and approving it. Some of them are listed below (Ministerio de Justicia, 2009).

⁷⁴ *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* – Spain’s Socialist Workers Party.

⁷⁵ This law has been and it is still much discussed among politicians and the population. A part of Spain agrees with the need of such law dealing with the recognition and the reparation of wounds to the relatives of the victims. According to a survey published by *Instituto OPINA* in July 2006, 64.5% of the Spain’s population affirmed that the Civil War should be more investigated and the victims should be rehabilitated by locating and identifying the mass graves and compensating affected people. Only 25.6% of the populations disagreed (Opina, 2006).

- Decree 670/1976, from 5 March, in which the disability benefits were regulated for all those who were mutilated and couldn't take part in the military anymore.
- Law 46/1977, from 15 October, of Amnesty.
- Law 5/1979, from 18 September, about the recognition of pensions, medical assistance and social assistance to all widows, children and relatives of Spaniards who died during or as a consequence of the Spanish Civil War.
- Law 35/1980, from 29 March, of pensions to mutilated citizens due to the war.
- Law 37/1984, from 22 October, of recognition of rights and tasks undertaken during the Spanish Civil War by the Republican army, police and the so called *carabineros*.
- 18th disposition of the Law 4/1990, from 29 June, about the State General Budget of 1990, which determined a compensation for all those who were kept in prison due to the facts listed in the Law 46/1977 of Amnesty.

Unfortunately, all these decrees and laws have been changed and extended separately by some Spanish Autonomous Communities but not generally by all of them.⁷⁶

Despite all these decrees and laws, the Spanish situation was by the year 2004 still far away from making justice to all victims, especially to the victims of the Dictatorship. In the year 2004, José Luis Rodríguez Zapatero informed during his elections' campaign that he would take care of the irregularities concerning the recognition of the victims of the Dictatorship as soon as he would become elected as prime minister. In addition, in 4 November 2005, Mr. Brincat presented to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe a report to debate in the Standing Committee with the title: "Need for international condemnation of the Franco regime" (Brincat, 2005) which was debated in 17 March 2006 when the Parliamentary Assembly officially condemned "the human rights abuses committed by the Franco regime in Spain from 1939-1975." (PACE, 2006). Although Rodríguez Zapatero won the elections in 2004, nothing had happened yet in the year 2006. International Amnesty and PACE had already condemned officially the Dictatorship and finally in July 2006, the first draft of the Law of Historical Memory was presented.

Meaning of the Law

⁷⁶ Spain is a State of 17 Autonomous Communities since 1978. The situation and rights of the victims differed from community to community.

Lack of information about what happened during the Spanish Civil War and during the Dictatorship is one of the main reasons why, a great amount of Spaniards do not understand the role of this law.⁷⁷ As explained before, for most Spaniards until 2006, all victims of the Spanish Civil War had been buried in cemeteries or in the Valley of the Fallen and there was no reason to retake the topic and question about the certainty of this presumption. Moreover, it was still important to forget the past in order to think of the future. Since July 2006 Spanish media do talk constantly about this law, politicians present their own changes and recommendations about its articles, personal opinions and interviews of the survivors appear on the internet, in newspapers, in some documentaries, etc. Many issues have come to the surface but there is still much work to be done in order to show and to teach the Spanish society about the atrocities of the past. When talking about the victims, not only those who died during the civil war are meant. Also those who died during the dictatorship, those who survived the war and the dictatorship and their relatives are victims and need recognition.

Why was it needed?

Many countries have experienced a similar historical situation like Spain but the decisions taken by the governments have been different. Sriram (2004) makes a comparison of some of these countries which have experienced a similar regime during the 20th century indicating the different solutions which have been applied. Whereas in Spain the outcomes were amnesty and the establishment of a reform of security forces (structure, doctrine and education), in the case of East Germany, the outcomes were prosecution, a commission of inquiry, an opening of files, lustration and purges. Moreover, they recognised their accountability. In Greece, they also had prosecution, lustration and purges. And like in Germany, they also recognised their responsibility. In Argentina the situation was similar. The outcomes were: prosecution, a commission of inquiry, opening of files, lustration and purges. Even though they also announced an amnesty, they ordered a reform of the security forces and they recognised their responsibility. This comparative study of Sriram (p. 38) has been a useful representation of the reality and shows the need of such a law in Spain in order to cover some aspects avoided during the Transition Period.

⁷⁷ According to Moradiellos (2002, p. 17), Franco's private archive was in the year 2002 still not accessible for researchers and historians.

Figure 3: Communal graves being identified.



Source: <http://www.osona.com>

Nevertheless, many politicians and citizens feel that this Law is far behind from what other countries have done to recognise the victims of their countries. The Law of Historical Memory doesn't accept any responsibility of the atrocities happened and there is no mention about prosecution or trials against those who committed them. Sixteen months after its final approval, there are still problems in following the Law.⁷⁸

Whereas most of the countries with similar experiences have a register with the names of the victims, Spain doesn't have any. This is the reason why, the Judge Baltasar Garzón has suggested writing a register of the victims by opening the communal graves. The conservative *Partido Popular*, argues against Garzón affirming that this act would "reopen the wounds of the past". Also the Episcopal Conference seems to be against this suggestion. On the other side, the ARMH (*Asociación para la Recuperación de la Memoria Histórica*⁷⁹) understands and gives support to the Judge Garzón (Agencias, 2008).

One of the most discussed issues of this law is the one related to the communal graves (fig. 3). In the last decades many graves have been discovered and it is unknown how many thousands of victims are still unidentified in those graves and how many graves are still undiscovered. The autonomous communities have been in charge of deciding the future of these graves and they have had to finance if not the whole a part of the excavations and identification works.

Once again, the new Law hasn't determined the state of Spain as responsible to undertake these studies.

Sallés in her book on the communal graves (2007)⁸⁰, she assimilates digging up them with digging up in history and in memory and she affirms that it is not possible to survive without memory (Sallés, 2007).

⁷⁸ According to an article from 18 July 2008, Madrid has 165 streets with Francoist names and they are not willing to change those (Campos, 2008). In Zaragoza, a newspaper article from 17 February 2009 argues that the names of the Francoist streets will remain for two years next to the new names given recently in order to avoid confusions (Pemán, 2009).

⁷⁹ Association for the Recuperation of the Historical Memory.

⁸⁰ For further information related to the need of digging up the communal graves in Spain in order to identify the victims, please do read Sallés (2007).

Collective Memory in Spain

“Collective memory and historical consciousness are two forms of „public“ knowledge with related but different, and changing, constituencies.” (Crane, 2000 p. 146).

According to Halbwachs, historical memory is the representation of the lost past and it only recollects facts which have occurred. “The past no longer exists as collective memory” (Crane, 2002 p. 150). Whereas collective memory exists if there is still a contact to the survivors of the historical period. Navarro⁸¹ (Álvarez, 2004 p. 115), a political scientist, affirms that it is necessary to know our history in order to understand our present. In his chapter related to the transition and to disappeared Republicans, he suggests that the silent function of the politics has also caused a tergiversation of history and therefore, the social delay of Spain (Álvarez, 2004 p. 119).

According to Moradiellos (2002, p. 13-14), one of the most impressive things caused by the transition period is the disappearance of the figure of Francisco Franco from the public life and also from the Spanish historical memory. To him, the dictator has been forgotten and kept quiet in most of the Spanish society, especially among the young generations which were born after 1975 and after the instauration of the Democracy. During a survey from 1981, adults were asked about their feelings related to their collective historical past. 32% of them answered that they didn't have any attitude to it (they could have answered that they were Francoist, anti-Francoist, both, none or no answer). During another survey from the year 2000, pupils of high school were asked about Franco and most of them didn't know in which period of the Spanish history did he live and they confused him with a former king of Spain. Moradiellos (2002, p. 15) argues that this ignorance and/or public amnesia is a result of the *Pacto del olvido*, which was signed in order not to declare responsibilities and not to revise the past. In addition to this treaty, Moradiellos affirms that another important source of this ignorance and wrong acknowledge about the past, is the bibliography related to Franco, which was published until 1985. It was not until then, that a revisionist historiography appeared and authors started publishing more controversial opinions about the Spanish Civil War and the Dictatorship. He mentions especially Paul Preston's work published in 1993 with the title “Franco. a biography”.

⁸¹ He was also one of the exiled people who had to leave Spain due to political reason in 1962 and he grew up in Sweden, Great Britain and in the United States of America (Álvarez, 2004 p. 117).

Thanks to the contribution of these scholars until nowadays, some of the most famous mites of Franco could be denied. One of them is related to the participation in WW2. According to the Francoist Hagiography, for instance Moya (2005, p. 180), Franco decided not to participate in the WW2 because it didn't suit with the Spanish interests and needs of the moment.⁸² Nevertheless, new sources declare that the main reason of Spain's neutrality was the betrayal of most Franco's generals. Churchill paid 13 million dollars to Joan March, a businessman from Mallorca, in order to bribe Franco's generals. They shouldn't give support to Franco's wish of helping Hitler (Janer, 2008 p. 41).

Back to the Oblivion treaty, whereas scholars like Aguilar (2002) defend this treaty affirming that in the case of Spain, forgetting what had happened was the best solution the government could have imposed in order not to put the young democracy in trouble, could have also meant forgiving. Aguilar presents amnesia as a solution to recover from a difficult period of the history of a country is seen differently among scholars. According to Aguilar (2002, p. 17) "the ideal example of reconciliation is that which is based on mutual and explicit forgiveness, as well as an acknowledgement of responsibility for the error committed." Nevertheless, she also affirms that in some occasions, reconciliation is nearly impossible without resorting to amnesia, which could also be understood as a kind of forgiveness.⁸³ Aguilar defends that in the case of Spain, reconciliation was only possible at that moment through amnesia and with it she is accepting the *Pacto del olvido* as the best solution the government could have taken to solve the Spanish situation.

Authors like Navarro disagree with the official vision of the transition period defining it as a reconciliation of the two parts of Spain. Furthermore, he affirms that during the transition the rightist parties had a lot of influence still not only in politics but also in the media. Both factors contributed to the divulgation of wrong statements related to the collective past (Navarro, 2004 p. 123). Despite the Decree 17 October 1977 of Amnesty which apparently deals with all crimes committed, the article six says:

⁸² Franco sent the so called División azul with 50,000 nearly all volunteers who stayed there until 1943 (Moya 2005, p. 109).

⁸³ In this case Aguilar makes a comparison of amnesty (forgiveness) and of amnesia (oblivion) saying that both words have the same origin (Aguilar 2002, p. 17).

La amnistía determinará en general la extinción de la responsabilidad criminal derivada de las penas impuestas o que se pudieran imponer con carácter principal o accesorio.⁸⁴

Interpretation

According to Crane, history is the preservation of intended knowledge (2000, p. 145). She affirms that interpretative frameworks do vary through the time, but the society has to have the chance to experience visiting a place of memory.

Interpretation does play a very important role when disseminating the historical memory and especially, when communicating the collective memory. Unfortunately, interpretation on the Spanish Civil War and on the Dictatorship is still very rare in Spain. There are no museums especially related to any of these two topics and very often, in the battlefield sites or dark tourism sites like the Valley of the Fallen, the institutions in charge of their interpretation prefer avoiding any historical facts and they just present artistic descriptions about the decoration of the buildings.

There have been some disputed exhibitions like “*Les presons de Franco*” from the year 2004 in the *Museu d’Història de Catalunya*⁸⁵, or some documentaries like the one mentioned in chapter 3, but in general it is still a taboo topic especially in many areas and communities of Spain. In December 2007 a new museum opened its doors, *El Museu de l’Exili*⁸⁶ which is dedicated to the Republicans who emigrated or exiled due to political reasons. It is in La Jonquera, a little town in Catalonia very close to the French border and it belongs to the new network called *Espais de Memòria de Catalunya*⁸⁷ which has been created with the aim to protect and to disseminate the culture and significance of these places.

In Germany there are emigration museums like the German Emigration Centre of Bremerhaven (since 2005) and the Port of Dreams- Emigrant World Hamburg (since 2007). Although they do present the emigration process from the 19th century, both museums have a part dedicated to the escape and expulsion from 1933-1945 and to emigration after 1945. Also in Germany is possible to visit more

⁸⁴ The amnesty will determine the general extinction of the criminal responsibility caused by the sentences (BOE, 1977).

⁸⁵ The prisons of Franco. An exhibition of the Museum of the History of Catalonia.

⁸⁶ Emigration Museum.

⁸⁷ Spaces of Memory in Catalonia.

than 100 memorial centres related to *Nationalsozialismus* which can all be found on the website of “*NS-Gedenkstätten und Dokumentationszentren in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*“.
(<http://www.ns-gedenkstaetten.de/portal/index.php>)

Furthermore, else where in the world it is common to find plates or walls with names of victims who fell during wars. In Spain this is uncommon. Even in the so called Valley of the Fallen, they decided not to engrave the names of the victims in order not to put together names of both sides confronted during the Spanish Civil War.

As mentioned in the introduction, there is still much to be done regarding education and interpretation on these topics. The question is, why is the situation still so precarious in Spain whereas in other countries it seems like it is easier to deal with the past? Politics play in Spain the main role, since some fascist thoughts are still hidden (some people do not recognise them) behind some important political figures and parties. The power of democracy hasn't been strong enough during many decades but apparently, the situation is changing little by little for the last years.

Conclusion

Thirty-four years after the end of the Dictatorship it is still fair to claim for justice. Especially while survivors, either from the Spanish Civil War or from the Dictatorship, are still alive.

Remembering the comparative study of countries with similar historical experiences of Sriram, the case of Spain appears as a different example, a bad example. Whereas many other countries serve as model examples of transition systems and of dealing with the past, Spain's government has always followed an own process which has brought, even thirty-four years after the end of the dictatorship, to a Law of Historical Memory. The government has tried to keep the validity of the *Pacto del olvido* for decades but lately, a part of the population together with international institutions have reached a first step to revise the Spanish past.

Even though after Franco's death, many scholars decided to write about the Spanish Civil War and about the Dictatorship and according to Smith, more than 15,000 books have been written about this period of the Spanish history (Smith, 2007)⁸⁸, the Spanish society does still

⁸⁸ Graham affirms that it equals the number of publications on World War II (Graham, 2005).

lack of information due to the censorship and to the regulations still presents in the current democracy.

Furthermore, still too many Spaniards “feel guilty” for their grandparents and parents’ choice during that period of time and they might not feel comfortable when dealing with the past as long as the government doesn’t apply revision systems which should communicate the “truth” to the population.

There are still secrets and issues hidden which should be published and disseminated through media, schools, museums, etc, in order to raise awareness on the real situation. Education and interpretation would be the clue to change the current situation.

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22. Walls, Some Levels to Read Them

Paloma Posada

Introduction

In terms of frontiers, it looks like nowadays there are two main tendencies. The first one aspires to the disappearance of frontiers, to open them, to trust in freedom and in civilised individuals. The other one, fights for closing frontiers, safeguarding them for the frightening *other* that lives beyond the own territory. There are valid actions when what is in risk has anything to do with your safety and the security of your land and all around the world there are conflictive frontiers setting a separation between nations with different economical realities, different creeds, different societies, different differences...

The populations that live in contact or in proximity with frontiers suffer their effects. Renard (1992) considers that frontiers have an influence over the cultural, demographic and structural behaviour of those people live alongside this situation. He also presents interesting questions as: Are there particularities in population living at frontier zones? Or Are two populations divided by a frontier really different because of the side they live in? The frontier topic is wide, it relates to many other aspects like migration and globalization. It is an “always changing” topic with an extensive diversity and a huge field of study.

The decision of which tendency follows each country – disappearing or closing frontiers – depends of many variables that are not going to be object of this study, what is going to be questioned here is if there is any ethical manner of mark those frontiers with the objective of regulating them. Specifically, the topic of this paper is about the validity of establishing walls at the border lines and think about how human is to settle a barrier between human beings.

Throughout this work are three topics and three case studies. The topics analyse the walls as geo- political frontiers, as psychological divisions and as landscapes of trauma. The first case study considers the fences built in the south of Spain, at Melilla and Ceuta, to separate those provinces from Morocco. The second is the wall that divides US and Mexico at border line and the third one is the Gaza Strip. Even when the case studies are spread within the text (between the topics), each example is valid in a different measure for each of the three topics. It is not pretended to contra-arrest this point, despite the fact that they are set like this in order to highlight the

characteristics of each wall with the topic presented in the chapter just above.

Walls as Geo-Political Frontiers

As with human beings; one of the rights of every nation is to have the possibility to settle its frontiers. The question here is to look for a rule which explains how to define those frontiers. There are different ways to do it, some frontiers are only indicated every now and then with stone markers or with flags or with signs. There are others that don't have the necessity of mark the limits, they have documents where is said what belongs to whom and what belongs to the neighbour, they joint in any one or the other territory, they make agreements about the topic and both parts sign them, they don't have to argue, the law is written down and must be obeyed. Others don't need to trace their frontiers; the nature has already designate rivers, mountain ranges or lakes to do it for them. Others don't have enough with any of the above mentioned options, because of any risky circumstance they decide to signed their borders with fences; even more, they decide to defend their territory building walls.

Therefore, walls are built in dangerous or vulnerable borders in the five continents. But, once again, we should make a break and ask for whom are those borders dangerous or vulnerable. Or, what is more, why are those borders dangerous or vulnerable, which reasons lay on the territories (or on the people) to relate them with danger or vulnerability... Anyway, is it correct to do it or isn't it?

There is no easy answer to those questions, if the wall is protecting you and your environment from a war we should change a little bit, if it is just to custody your possessions it is possible to be somehow flexible with the idea of the fence – no meaning by that that it is acceptable, just that for any case we should analyse before making any value judgement –. But what about those horrible walls which are being built just because hate justifies them? Is there any possibility of accepting that we cannot understand one with the other under any condition? Difficult thing.

Before going on, it is convenient to remark that for any case there are different characteristics, but, anyway we should start asking ourselves if anyone of those political and geographical walls that divide neighbouring populations really differentiates between them. It is clear what the construction of a wall physically represents: With the wall the population have to be redistributed: A-group belongs to A-territory, B-group belongs to B-territory. With this, it is clear that the

mobility is also affected: the decision of A-person to go to B-territory and vice versa now has to obey certain rules –in accordance with the wall–. This wall is also related with changes in social behaviour of those populations that were settled as A or B and whose mobility is now more controlled: B-person should belong to B-territory and vice versa. Finally, walls also re-structure the population: redefining what is A and what is B.

A wall is, in this case, the way of making physical a political frontier which divides two different (often differentiated) territories. But the existence of a frontier doesn't depend on the existence of a wall, the wall doesn't create the division just makes this division evident. So, walls are symbols of power.

Ceuta and Melilla Fences

Spain has two enclaves down the peninsular territories. Those two cities are in the north of the African continent. Those cities are legally European, even when looking at the map more than one can get confused because of their location.

Ceuta and Melilla are not big cities, the first is only about 20 km², the second is around 12. The total amount of population in those cities would be near 150 thousand inhabitants (78 in Ceuta, 72 in Melilla). They appear as normal coastal cities, but, in fact, what makes them important and known to the rest of the world is what they represent. Ceuta and Melilla are maybe the two most debated entries of African illegal immigrants to the European territories. Both cities are protected with high fences to prevent illegal immigration. Those fences are being jumped by hundreds every week.

Figure 1: Ceuta, Melilla and the location map



Source: *El Mundo*, 2005

Figure 2: Comparative chart

EUROZONE

Life expectancy: 80 years
 Population growth: 0.6%
 School enrolment, primary: 98.9%
 HIV prevalence (aged 15-49): 0.3%
 Internet users (per 1,000 people): 439.4
 Time to start a business: 26.9 days

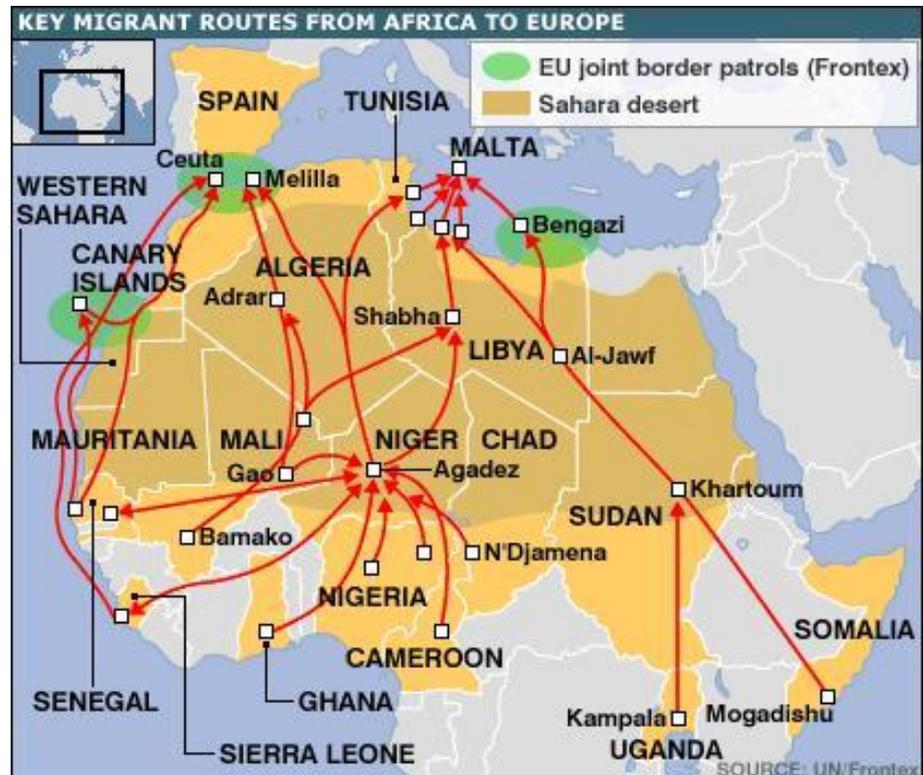
SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA

Life expectancy: 47 years
 Population growth: 2.3%
 School enrolment, primary: 65.7%
 HIV prevalence (aged 15-49): 5.8%
 Internet users (per 1,000 people): 29
 Time to start a business: 61.5 days

Source: World Bank, 2005 in BBC, 2007

The differences of opportunities in Africa and Europe are clear. So, those two entries that are in African lands but that belong to Europe are much more than a fence.

Figure 3: Migration from Africa to Europe



Source: World Bank, 2005 in BBC, 2007

The situation is bigger than Moroccans trying to arrive to Spain. That is the critical point of the journey. Statistics say that a huge percentage that jumps over has already travelled a lot within Africa to arrive there. They also that the final point is not always Spain, that is just the crossing point and even when most decide to stop in Spain once they have arrived there and obtained the social securities that offer the European Union countries, other decide to go farther.

The fences in Ceuta and Melilla are between three and six meters high. They are made of interlaced wire and they are protected by policemen and (in punctual periods) by the army. Violence and deaths happen often at the frontier, not only due to Spanish surveillance, but to Moroccan one. Talking about Ceuta and Melilla situation, Franco Frattini, the European Commissioner for Freedom, Security and Justice said: "This awful tragedy is another demonstration of the urgent need to step up our joint efforts to manage migration more effectively" (European Commission Press

Release, 2005). Other NGOs have also asked for humanitarian solutions at the *door to Europe*.

Walls as Psychological Divisions

The walls are built to *regulate* the political territories or the geographical problems, as presented above. But the fact is that those walls generate also psychological changes in those who experience the wall in their common lives. The distribution, the mobility, the behaviour and the structure of different populations suffer alterations when building a wall in between. Those walls can be even more ideological than physical. Sometimes, set walls in earth between populations can set walls the understanding of some individuals.

Considering that it is possible that the psychological effects of living in contact with a physical wall can be larger than the existence of that physical wall. Even more, eliminate the material wall is not the same than eliminate the mental one. It can happen just the opposite way, many material walls are created because there were previous mental walls in the minds of some people. This one of the saddest parts of building walls, for those that had a previous mental wall in their minds, the physical wall is just a reaffirmation to whatever they were thinking about themselves in relation with the others or about the others in relation with themselves, that is why this phenomenon of closing frontiers usually brings to debate the radicalism and the xenophobia of some.

And, as it has already been said, there is not so clear that just because of building a wall that means that what is in one side has to be different that what is in the other side. The reality is that walls set divisions between people, land or even heritage. Landscapes suffer the aesthetical catastrophe of presenting a memorial of misunderstanding or “archaeological testimonies of disgrace” (Muñoz Ledo, 2008).

The US Mexico Wall

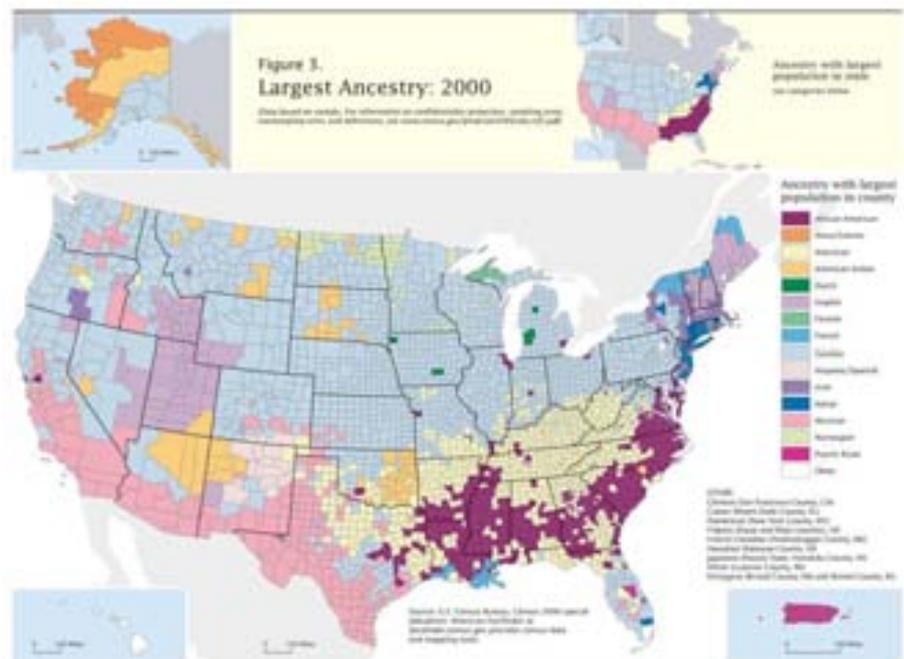
Nowadays it is common to listen about the migration situation that is happening between Mexico and the US. The things have been out of control for some years now and the war against drugs that the Mexican government has declared has all its scenery at the border zone.

But the migration of human beings at that frontier has a larger history. The Spanish geographer Escamilla Vera explains the idea of *populating* in an article about the misunderstandings of the term *frontier*. He says:

“We define *populating* as the process of occupation or human settlement of a determined region or area, where the current population is scarce or inexistent, on the part of individuals who come from other regions. This process is preceded by a migration process and has mainly economic motivations” (Escamilla Vera, 1999).

In the case of Mexico and the United States, the populating process has different stages. Two of them are relevant to the topic of our interest. The first moment: At the middle of the XIX Century Mexico sold the north part of the territory to the United States because they had already established colonies in that scantily populated area. So, the first populating process was made by the US. The second moment: More than a century later that sale, the super populated Mexico is crossing the line walking along ranches, farms and land until they arrive at any city. The process is, somehow, the opposite one.

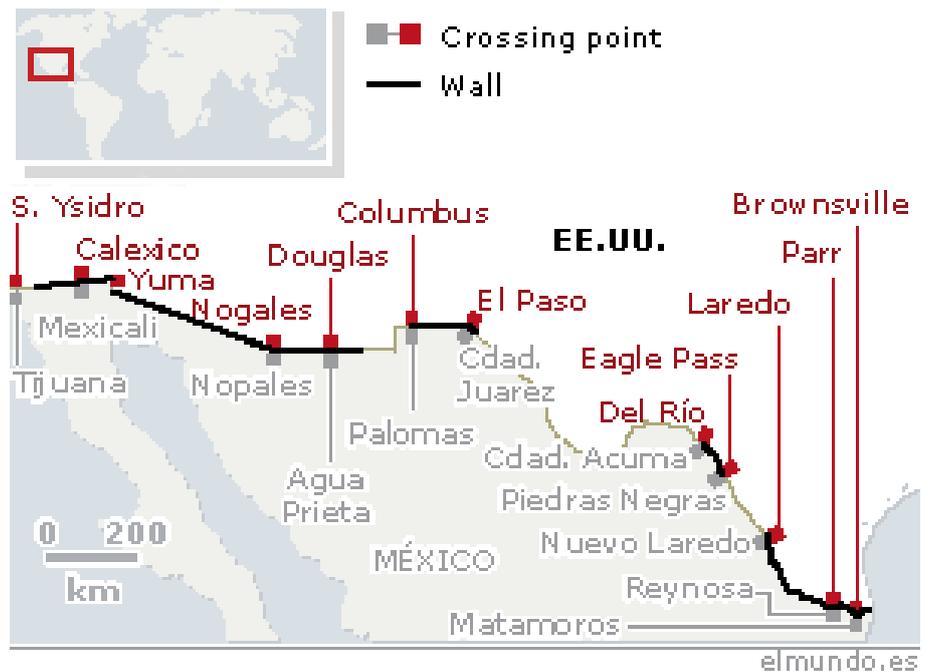
Figure 4. Largest Ancestry in the US. (The pink area in the south is Mexican)



Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2000

The frontier between US and Mexico divides different worlds in terms of economy but similar roots in terms of people and this division is accentuated by a wall. The material of the wall has no ideology, but those who live in the nearby have it and in some of them the human rights have been heightened in others the hate and xenophobia have been also remarked.

Figure 5: U.S. – Mexico Frontier



Source: El Mundo, 2006

Figure 6: An invitation



Source: Minuteman Project

“The Minutemen Project arises like a concept after 2004 and it inscribes itself in the context of a radical segment of the United States society around the topic of illegal immigration. Minutemen was – and is – one of the manifestations of a tendency to nativism and xenophobia (...)” (Escobar Valdes, 2006).

This group that is characterised by the intolerance for those illegal immigrants was established just after the US government accepted the Sensenbrenner Law and, with this, the wall. The Minuteman project has the aim to watch the south frontier of the US but with volunteers instead of cops. The problem is that who can be sure about what those volunteers are looking for. It is sad to know that most of the violent actions that immigrants have suffered have been produced by those civil groups that are invited to *feel like policemen* for a week, or a weekend, or a day. The policemen are trained to be so, those people are not and they act over the belief that the police is not doing its job, that is why they go to help. “Jim Gilchrist founded

Figure 7: Volunteers at the border line



Source: Minuteman Project

the multi-ethnic Minuteman Project on Oct. 1, 2004, after years of frustrated efforts trying to get a neglectful U.S. government to simply enforce existing immigration laws” (Minuteman Project).

Besides Minuteman Civil Defence Corps there are other anti-immigrants groups, just some of them: Ranch Rescue, Voice of Citizens Together, Civil Homeland Defence, Arizonans for Border Control, English Only, Yuma Patriots...

In response to these dangerous horizon, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) trained in turn some volunteers as “legal observers” to supervise the supervisors and report any violation to human rights – not everything is lost – and other NGOs and activists are trying to palliate and minimize this risks (as Humane Borders, California Rural Legal Assistance Foundation, Border Action Network, Arizona Border Rights Coalition, Coalition for Latino Political Action, Border Links).

Looking at the groups that decided to take control over the border line is incredible to realise how a wall can reaffirm some of the most radical interests of some groups.

Walls as Landscapes of Trauma

“The term [trauma] generally indicates the response to a shock encounter with brutality or death, an encounter that betrays our faith in previously established personal and social worlds.” (Edkins, 2004)

This *response to a shock encounter with brutality and death* can be perfectly related to the topic of walls that corrupt the harmony between nations (in lots of cases there were not any harmony before, but, How is it going to be conceived after building a wall?).

Maria Tumarkin considers those landscapes that generate trauma as *traumascapes*. She explains that a *traumascape* is a place characterized by pain, violence and loss. Walls tend to these three terrible substantives. She also says that those *traumascapes* help us enduring and finding meaning in modern day tragedies. The erection of walls in the recent years – when the world presume modernity and contemporarity in other matters – become a tragedy for nations. Tragedies for the entire world but, needless to say tragedies that gets their biggest dimension for those who live in the nations involved. In order to finish this idea here is a quotation that can be though when facing one of these anachronic walls of the XXI Century. Tumarkin says: "Being face to face with a *traumascape*, being a survivor, could it be, in part, about surrendering to fate? Or is it, on the contrary,

about having the strength to disregard what is being dealt to you?" (Tumarkin, 2006).

The Gaza Strip

Figure 8: West Bank frontier



The construction of the wall in Israel is maybe the worst example of how today walls can be monuments for to lack of brotherhood between nations. This wall is even sadder because what causes it is the difference in creeds that the Israelis have with the minority of Palestinians living within their territory.

There are two territories occupied by Palestinians that are in conflict with the Israeli nation. One is the Gaza Strip at the west with 360 sq km and a million and a half inhabitants. The other one is the West Bank in the east part of Israel with 5,860 sq km and two and a half million inhabitants and, in addition, about 187 thousand Israeli settlers live in the region.

Figure 9. Maps of Israel, the Gaza Strip and the West Bank

Source:
www.palestinehistory.com



Source: CIA, 2009

The Israelis have built an unprecedented concrete wall, some parts of it reach 8 m. The wall has also parts of electrified fences, guard towers, routes for patrols, closed circuit television and tele-directed machine guns.

Figure 10: West Bank wall



Source:
www.friendsofpalestine.org.au

Israel built the first part of the West Bank wall in 2002. The second phase started in November 9 2003. The wall is planned to be 650 km long. Some of the parts that has already been constructed are really controversial because their delineation tends to give the advantage to Israel. By the other side, Israel says that they are not annexing Palestinian territories, but other say that most than security, the wall is redefining the frontiers between the countries.

For Israel this is a *security fence* to stop Palestinian terrorist attacks, for most of the world this wall is an atrocity. The Court in The Hague made its opposition public in 2004. The UN - as many others - has expressed its disapproval to this measure, but that didn't stop its construction. This wall set the division between Israelis and Palestinians. Peace is not based in divisions. This is a terrible way of expressing exclusion, what walls really do is to separate people.

Conclusion

The construction of walls in order to divide territories has consequences in very different aspects. There are different levels to read the sadness generated by building walls which mark materially and psychologically the divisions between populations.

It is understandable to consider walls like simple ways to sign what belongs to whom and what doesn't, but even in that level it would be really naive not to take for granted that political matters are always beside this kind of decisions.

It is possible to see that building walls tend to generate psychological consequences in those involved, in those who have to integrate those walls in their everyday life as a new condition. It is a reality too physical to not be noticed psychologically.

It is different to leave your house every morning and see either the field, or houses, or any other constructions, that the idea of come face to face with the wall. That can have trauma meanings in those societies who live a wall, next to the wall, in front of the wall and against the wall.

The three case studies presented in this paper express different cases of walls. While in the first one – Spain, Morocco – the property of the term *wall* can be debated (it has only interlaced fences), I decided to include it because of the figurative speech that a wall represents and that, in this case, these fences also represent. In the second case – US, Mexico – the constructive materials are more

diverse but the function is the same (some parts are fences, others metal sheets and others steel panels). Finally, in the third case study – Israel, West Bank – it is completely clear that the concrete slabs create a traumatic example of a frontier wall.

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23. Display of Human Remains: Cultural Perspectives & Uncomfortable Heritage

Stephen Dicks

Introduction

In the last twenty years the study and discussion of Dark Tourism has underscored a broader dialogue regarding what has been termed „difficult heritage“, of which dark tourism is a phenomenological example. In their book *Places Of Pain And Shame: Dealing With „Difficult Heritage“*, William Logan and Kier Reeves (2008) focus on war related heritage including massacre and genocide sites, internment camps and sites associated with civil/political unrest or subjugation. This paper refers to „uncomfortable“ heritage, a term which while in many ways is synonymous with difficult heritage, is used in an effort to invoke a more emotive perspective associated with how people feel regarding a particular event, place, object, or concept.

Whereas Logan and Reeves (2008) and most other work focuses mainly on „sites“, places where managers must consider the complex relationships between a location, visitors to that place and all communities that have claim or have a stake in objects displayed or information presented, the emphasis here is that some heritage is difficult because idea of it raises unwanted or upsetting feelings, not necessarily predicated on place, direct personal experience or collective memory.

The display of human remains in museums and exhibitions has been the subject of controversy and ethical debate, particularly when those remains represent minority groups within the local community or are from other cultures altogether. This uncomfortable heritage is not in relation to direct pain or suffering but to the less tangible, emotive side of what makes some heritage difficult to deal with and manage. How can coming face to face with the dead invoke these feeling and cause difficulties for managers of heritage? The display of human remains has been the focus of great interest from the public, and groups in religious and scientific communities. The practice is opposed in principle by many groups and individuals but persists as a standard method of presentation in museums and exhibitions around the world, generating many challenges for stakeholders of heritage places.

The purpose of this essay is to expand upon the existing body of work regarding the display of human remains by framing it within the context of difficult or uncomfortable heritage. This is achieved by providing clear and detailed definitions and looking at case studies including current exhibits at the National Museum of Ireland, a past exhibit at Port Au Choix National Historic Site of Canada, and the recent and very popular phenomena of travelling plastinate exhibitions.

The information presented in this work has been informed by reviewing the existing literature on the subject of dark tourism, considering international guidelines on human remains and by looking at how agreements relating to rights of indigenous peoples have affected policy. Personal visits to the sites in question and interviews with managers and curators and representatives of native groups have been conducted where possible, and reflection on the cultural differences and ethical issues play a defining role in the debates regarding the display of human remains.

The conclusion presents an outline for best practices highlighted through this discussion and endeavours to expand upon the existing conceptual framework and hopefully make dealing with uncomfortable heritage less difficult for all those involved.

Definitions

The definition of uncomfortable heritage considered for the purpose of this work is:

„Heritage associated either directly or indirectly with human death, pain and/or suffering, whether explicitly embodied in tangible sites or implicitly contained within periods of history. Uncomfortable heritage can be represented in places, processes, events or practices which explicitly relate to historic or ongoing periods of suffering (real or perceived) or represent particular components of a history where death and/or suffering was experienced as a layer of the overall cultural significance. Uncomfortable heritage can be difficult or problematic for either the producers or consumers of that heritage and is primarily characterized by a distinct unwanted or upsetting emotive quality suggesting shame, guilt, anger, fear or other feelings of unease or distress.“

This is based on Merrill's original unpublished definition (Merrill, 2008).

The definition of „human remains“ used for this essay is:

„Any physical organic trace of the human body and associated material“

This definition has been modified from that given in the Tamaki Makau-rau Accord on the Display of Human Remains and Sacred Objects. The accord is a document developed in 2005 and adopted by the World Archaeological Congress (WAC) in 2006 that outlines the proper procedure for “any person(s) or organisation considering displaying human remains or sacred objects” (World Archaeological Congress, 2006).

Human remains are considered „heritage“ under most national and international agreements, for example the UNESCO Convention on the Protection of Underwater Cultural Heritage defines any human remains that have been “partially or totally under water, periodically or continuously, for at least 100 years” as Underwater Cultural Heritage (UNESCO, 2001).

The WAC definition for „display“ of human remains has been accepted, omitting only the reference to sacred objects.

“The presentation in any media or form of human remains ... whether on a single occasion or on an ongoing basis, including conference presentations or publications”

(World Archaeological Congress, 2006)

These definitions are rather broad and apply to a wide range of activities, even the photographs shown in this document are a form of displaying human remains, and the inclusion of „associated material“ or „sacred objects“ included in several guidelines regarding human remains opens up a complicated discussion which is not considered here. The issues are not just black and white but a whole range of grey; just as there are different „shades“ of dark tourist activities linked back to presentation style and visitor motivation (Stone & Sharpley, 2008; Strange & Kempa, 2003), there are a range of display methods and physical remain types which to some degree determine the likelihood of producing uncomfortable feelings.

Why is this Uncomfortable?

The tendency for people to live as though death did not exist, the success of modern medicine in postponing death, and attempts at slowing even the appearance of aging are cited as indications that western can be characterized as a „death denying culture“ (Castells, 2000, p. 451). While there are certainly arguments to be made in favour of this view, there is also significant evidence to the contrary suggesting that we are increasingly becoming a culture who seeks out encounters with death, in some cases glorifying and exaggerating it. Regardless whether individual sentiment is to seek out or avoid such encounters, there is certainly some aspect of confronting the realities of death that is difficult for a relatively large portion of the population.

The root of this fascination can be attributed the basic human curiosity to understand the nature of our existence by exploring the unknown. Death is the ultimate unknown, an inevitability shrouded in uncertainty. Some seek out what they don't understand and delve into it to various degrees with the intention of gaining some insight or overcoming their fear as Seaton (1996) has suggested. Coupled with cultural and religious beliefs in a soul and possible afterlife, the uncertainty and risks associated with death can also manifest fear and there are those who live in constant fear of death or they choose to think about death as little as possible, treating anything to do with the topic as taboo. There are also those who have accepted its inevitability. Though they are not particularly disturbed by the thought, they would not seek to actively confront death if it was logistically difficult or overly expensive to do so.

Given the popularity of violent television and film it seems the majority of people in western society confront death and even seek it out on a daily basis but in a very passive, often fictional context. Rarely are we confronted with actual death when compared with other places, societies or certain times in the past.

Cultural differences must be considered (Yuill, 2003), and as with the degrees or shades of darkness, it is the extent to which heritage and its presentation deviates from cultural and social norms that determines the likelihood of uncomfortable reaction. Conversely, for members of a counter-cultural movement it could be a strict adherence to cultural norms that they are uncomfortable with. Different cultures deal with death in their own ways. The rituals and traditions surrounding death are often a reflection of the values and

moral codes that govern a group. In many cultures the display of human remains is taboo not out of fear but out of a tradition and their understanding of respect either for the families or for the spirit of the deceased individual. To some even posting photographs or other graphic depictions of dead people is considered distasteful. For this reason none of the photographs of bodies or gravesites at Port Au Choix have been included here.

Dealing with Uncomfortable Heritage

How uncomfortable a person feels when confronted with a difficult situation will be determined by many complex factors including whether or not they are directly influenced or affected by the event, place, process or object, the extent to which they believe in cultural universalism (the idea that there are universal truths that should apply to all people regardless of culture), or cultural relativism (the belief that rules of conduct and moral codes should be determined based on cultural identification), and the extent to which they identify or empathize with other cultural groups and their issues.

For managers of heritage being equipped to deal with a difficult issue is important to mitigating uncomfortable feelings and reactions. How to prepare an individual who will confront death in the form of human remains varies from situation to situation and is sometimes dependant on the nature of the presentation and the condition of the remains being exhibited.

The National Museum of Ireland

A visit to the National Museum of Ireland (NMI) in Dublin reveals two exhibits that present human remains in very different ways. The Viking exhibition has been in place since June 1995, and the exhibit „Kingship and Sacrifice: Iron Age bog bodies and boundaries“ opened to the public in June 2006. Both were prepared by the curatorial staff from the Irish Antiquities Division of the NMI and architects from the Office of Public Works (Kelly, 2009).

Figure 3: Viking Skull



Source: Dicks

Upon entering the Viking section of the museum one is immediately confronted with human remains. Directly inside the entrance is a glass case containing a human skeleton. As one proceeds through the room there are informative displays about the life and culture of Viking people, including hundreds of objects ranging from knitting needles and jewellery to tools and weapons. Throughout the exhibition bones and skulls are placed for information or impact. In

one corner a war axe is displayed next to the skull of a person who has presumably been killed by such a weapon, the top part of its right side shorn off by what looks to be a clean cut (Fig. 1).

These remains have been displayed in a way that does not prepare the visitor in any way for what they will see when they enter the room. There is no acknowledgement that these remains may be disturbing or cause distress or uneasy feelings and admittedly for most people they do not.

Figure 4: Bog body face



Source: Dicks

The exhibit of bog bodies from the Iron Age is treated very differently. There seems to be a progression that prepares the visitor for their eventual encounter with the actual bodies (Fig. 2). First of all the name of the exhibit indicates that there are human remains on display, allowing people to choose whether or not they want to visit that section of the museum. In the gift store at the entrance to the museum there are post cards and publications which present images of the bodies to anyone who happens to be browsing the museum wares, indicating that the museum managers do not believe that photographs will make people visiting the museum uncomfortable, whether they have chosen to visit the bog body room or not.

The next step in the progression occurs as one enters the exhibit room where videos depicting the conservationists at work with the bog bodies are shown. There is little choice but to see these images as they are played automatically and continuously without button pushing or other action from a visitor. There is ample information about the bog bodies and the exhibit is education and informative, but looking around the room one cannot help but note that the bodies themselves are hidden from view. Rather than placing them out in the open, the glass cases that contain the remains are at the centre of a spiralled wall requiring an active decision by the visitor to view them.

Figure 3: Oldcroghan Man



Source: Dicks

Most of the remains displayed are those of dismembered corpses though there is one that is more or less complete. The skin, hair and organs have been preserved by the natural tannic acids in bogs which turns the skin dark and leathery and gives the hair an orange tinge and the appearance of a coarse texture. One body called Oldcroghan Man (Fig. 3) had been dismembered before burial, cut through around the navel with the head removed, leaving only a torso with arms and hands intact enabling a view of the organs inside (Kelly, 2006).

The isolation of the bodies from the surrounding exhibit is an indication that museum curators know that some people do not want to be confronted with this type of human remains. The design allows

visitors to enter and learn about the topic through written information, photographs and videos, then make the decision to see the actual bodies or not, an acknowledgement that videos and photos are less likely to make people feel uncomfortable than the actual bodies.

During one visit there was a group of school children around the age of fourteen. As they looked at the bodies in the glass cases they expressed their feelings with schoolmates using words like “gross” and “disgusting”, their expressions showing a mixture of fascination and revulsion as they pointed out the hair, the fingernails and the expression on one of the faces.

The Viking and bog body exhibits are presented differently but both showcase human remains. In the case of the bog body display the bodies are the central focus and reason for the installation. In the Viking exhibit the remains are not the central focus but are there to illustrate the Viking culture. Both exhibits are educational in nature so the motivations of the visitor are meant to be educational and not based on morbid fascination.

The condition of the human remains does affect the decision on how to present the material. Skeletons are less distressing to consumers of heritage than bodies with the skin on or organs intact, so less attention need be paid to mitigating possible uncomfortable emotional responses to skeletons. Eamonn P. Kelly, Keeper of Irish Antiquities for the NMI says:

“Skeletal material is more impersonal in nature than are fleshed human remains and people seem to have a different emotional threshold when confronted by them. Studies show that museum visitors expect to find human remains on display in museums. In my experience the NMI has always been aware that the displaying of human remains should serve important educational and contextual purposes and must never seek to encourage or promote morbid or prurient interest. These views would have informed the approach taken in displaying human remains in the Viking exhibition ... The different nature of the bog bodies led to a different approach being taken.”

(Kelly, 2009)

To date the museum has received only one official complaint regarding the display of human remains at the museum. It was regarding the bog body exhibit and was made by someone who has not seen the exhibit and refuses to visit the museum while the bodies are displayed there (Kelly, 2009).

Worth noting is the fact that these are displays in Ireland of human remains from Ireland. In a sense the Irish have the „right“ to display the bodies of people from their own homeland. This brings to light some very important considerations and ethical issues which must be accounted for by all involved in the study, presentation and consumption of human heritage and history, from archaeologists and anthropologists, to museum directors and visitors. While it may be ethically and culturally acceptable for the Irish Museum to display Irish remains, would the same hold true if they were displaying the remains of someone from another culture? Given that there has only been one complaint about the exhibit at the NMI, displaying Irish bodies in Ireland seems permissible, but other cultures consider the disturbance of their dead a great insult and the display of their remains is forbidden under any circumstance.

These problems do not just occur between cultures separated by national boundaries in fact, some of the most sensitive issues can occur within countries that contain many different cultures. Canada is one such country where national identity is strongly linked with cultural diversity of which they are proud, but which also results in conflict.

Port Au Choix National Historic Site of Canada

Port Au Choix has been a place of archaeological interest since the early 1900's and was declared a Canadian National Historic Site in 1970. Located on the Great Northern Peninsula in the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador, the site has been home to at least five different groups of people and has been inhabited intermittently for about 4400 years (Tuck, 1988). Between 4400 and 3300 years B.P (before present) a group called the Maritime Archaic Indians used the site near Port Au Choix for burials. The place seems to have had some spiritual significance to these ancient people as bodies were sometimes transported great distances to be buried there (Spence, 2009).

One hundred and seventeen skeletal remains were removed from the grave sites for study and some are currently being stored in a secure location at Memorial University of Newfoundland and Labrador. The original display at the museum on the site featured two sets of remains; a male and female, both adults displayed together with the grave goods they were buried with including hunting tools, spiritual items like red ochre and carved amulets and figures.

The exhibit was installed in 1973-74 where it remained for almost twenty years. The colonial history of the province and the country has created an environment in which aboriginal groups were not able to organize, become involved and have their voices heard on this issue until recent years. In the early 1990's the Mi'kmaq people who are believed to have arrived in the province shortly before European colonialists, came together and requested that the bodies exhumed at Port Au Choix be repatriation, that the cemetery be restored and the bodies be put back where they were found. These requests were not granted because there is no proof of any cultural or genetic link between the Mi'kmaq and the Maritime Archaic Indians (John, 2009).

This underlines several basic differences in the cultural beliefs of Europeans and the Mi'kmaq. The first distinction is temporal, for the Mi'kmaq a grave site does not lose its original significance because time has passed and it's people no longer present. The second is one of inheritance. The Mi'kmaq approached their request from the standpoint that even if they are not directly related to the deceased they are of a common spirit. The long dead Maritime Archaic people lived a traditional hunter-gatherer lifestyle like most North American Indians did before the arrival of Europeans. In modern times the common experiences of many native people have strengthened the connection between different groups creating a common cultural heritage, a sense of responsibility and stewardship in addressing all aboriginal issues.

The Government of Newfoundland and Labrador does not see the issues in the same way. According to the provincial Historic Resources Act, all evidence of human activity including human remains that are "of value for the information that it may give on prehistoric or historic human activity in the province" are considered "archaeological objects" and are the property of the provincial government (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1990). Repatriation is only considered in cases where the claimant is a proven descendant of those whose remains are being requested. While some scholars believe the Maritime Archaic Indians may be related to the Labrador Innu group known as the Montagnais-Naskapi, though there is no scientific proof of this link, and the Innu nation is not currently organized in a way that would allow for a unified to request for repatriation (John, 2009).

Regardless of a direct connection, the Mi'kmaq must have made a convincing argument for respecting aboriginal beliefs. In 1992 the bodies were removed from the museum and images of the remains were taken down with the support of local community leaders, most of whom have no native history in their own lineage.

Unfortunately these types cultural clashes have led to suspicion of archaeologists and curators by many Native American groups. Negative perceptions of museum practices by indigenous people often stem from the collection and display of their ancestral grave sites. Many Native peoples take exception to the collection of Native American remains, and the display of those remains to the public is considered very inappropriate. What museums and archaeologists call collection or acquisition, Native peoples consider theft, and there have been protests of museums that display or even house remains of Native peoples (Clavir, 2002, p. 87).

Changing attitudes

Figure 4: Bone at Speyer Cathedral



Source: Dicks

In the past, remains of executed criminals and enemies of the state were placed on pikes or hung on London Bridge to warn others not to commit crimes; human anatomical dissections were open not just for medical professionals and students, but to anyone who could afford admission. In some South American tribes the heads of enemies were treated in very specific ways to preserve them for the purpose of retaining cosmic balance. These „shrunk heads” became very collectable for museums that desired to draw in the general public. According to White (2005) “There was such demand for shrunken heads by museums and private collectors that some were made for sale from the heads of people who had died of natural causes.” It is clear that these heads were not sought for their scientific or research value but for their novelty factor. The motivation for the acquisition of many such pieces was not educational in nature but based on the desires of popular culture and was most likely profit driven, which is considered unethical by today’s moral standards.

Figure 5: Bone Church in Czech Republic



Source: Nagster

Despite the western propensity for displaying human remains, many traditionally western religious groups do not allow the display of their dead. According to Rabbi She'ar-Yashuv Cohen, Jewish bodies for example should not be put on show. He says that Jewish tradition prevents the showing of any bodies “Even if the bodies aren't Jewish, there's *kavod adam* [human dignity] which we're obliged to follow. We can't discriminate because they're not Jewish - it's against the spirit of Judaism” (Brinn, 2009). Christians, while having a set of customs and rituals for caring for and disposing of their dead do allow display under certain circumstances. The Speyer Cathedral, a World Heritage site in Germany, contains the decorated bone of a saint (Fig. 4), and the museum just across the street houses lavishly decorated skull fragments from other holy people. A church in the Czech Republic

has an entire room „built“ from human bones, including an altar and an impressive chandelier (Fig. 5).

Some of the most popular and profitable exhibitions today are the Body Worlds series and other displays of plastinated human bodies. It is these exhibits that Rabbi Cohen was referring too. Such shows have been contested by many groups including representatives of churches, human rights organisations and grassroots community based organisations (Dicks, 2010, p. 5).

Plastinate exhibits

The discussion of the Guben Plastinarium and other plastinate exhibits in relation to dark tourism (Dicks, 2010) begins to look at these types of shows and the arguments for and against them. Dark tourism as indicated earlier, can be considered a subset of the overall realm of uncomfortable heritage, which is not exclusive to tourism activities.

Despite the claims for uniqueness, at its core the Guben Plastinarium and Body Worlds differ very little from any other museum or display of medicine or technology. It is undeniable that plastination does represent a new step in preservation technology. It has been accepted by the medical establishment as plastinated „specimens“ are being used to educate and instruct people about the human body in a way that was not previously possible. Specimens can be reused again and again reducing the number of actual cadavers that are needed for medical instruction.

Though plastinate exhibits including the Plastinarium do not technically fulfill the strictest definition of a dark tourism site, there is certainly some aspect that makes many people uncomfortable. Warnings are posted at the sites stating that visitors should be prepared for what they will see at the museum and that they could feel disturbed by it. When people are asked if they have or would like to visit such displays the responses range from enthusiasm to repulsion.

A major aspect that seems to make detractors uncomfortable about plastinate exhibits is the use of bodies for something that is not purely scientific or educational in nature. There is a blending of art and science, a creative licence taken in the presentation that clearly disturbs some. There are those who believe that the body should never be used for such purposes and that remains should only be cared for in strict adherence with tradition. Given what we can learn

Figure 6: Plastinate



Source: BodyWorlds

from examining bodies in a medical setting this seems extreme, yet even people without such strong convictions find they are not satisfied with the profits associated with these types of corpse displays. Another factor that makes people uncomfortable with these exhibits is the view that plastinate shows are voyeuristic; feeding a dark desire to see things we should not see (Church of England, 2008). The extent to which voyeurism is a motivation depends on the intention of the individual visitors and is difficult to quantify.

Perhaps what bothers people most about plastinate shows is a perceived lack of dignity and respect for the dead. While “files of representation (memoires, films, novels etc.) lend moral meaning to sites of violence and death” (Strange & Kempa, 2003, p. 387), there is no trace or acknowledgement of the identities of corpse donors. Critics argue their humanity has been removed along with their skin and eyes. This removal of identity is justified as part of the process and the specimens are not named out of compassion for the families and friends of the deceased, who may find it difficult to approach the face of a person known to them in life displayed in death.

It could be argued that to separate the individual from their physical identity allows the focus of the exhibit to center on the scientific interpretation of the display. It is also a reflection of what many see as a fundamental problem with the modern western approach to science and medicine. By stripping who the people were in life from what the people are in death, we objectify and commoditize human beings to an extent like never before. Visitors are meant to marvel at the impressive complexity of the body, not to ask “who was this person?”

Admittedly the search for „political correctness“ can be taken to extremes and there is no situation that would please everyone. It could be said that to argue against the very existence of displays of human remains is a denial of what defines us as living human beings; the curiosity to explore the unknown, the desire to push the limits of social normality in an effort to broaden horizons and learn not only about the world that surrounds us but the intricacies of what we are as physical beings.

Ethical Considerations and Opinions

Managers must decide whether it is in their best interests to develop a site, or host an exhibition which some people will be uncomfortable with. A show or event that does not incite some discussion or controversy will not get the attention that a more risqué endeavour

might entice. Ideally a manager will strike a balance appropriate to attract the most people to their location without offending any great number of people. Ethical considerations are so diverse and opinions vary so greatly that international organisations and individual institutions have endeavoured to create their own sets of principles governing the acquisition, handling and display of human remains.

Connell (2007, pp. 1-2) states that

“when viewed in conjunction with the Eurocentric ideology motivating collection during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and the widespread practices of cultural misappropriation, plunder and theft, one can infer that many examples of human remains within museum collections were unethically acquired”.

The Vermillion Accord on Human Remains was the precursor to the Tamaki-rau Accord and was the first successful attempt by the WAC to acknowledge that human remains must be treated differently from other archaeological finds and research. The accord was adopted in 1989 by the WAC and outlines what must be considered by archaeologists in the course of their work but should apply to all who work with the dead, whether ancient artefacts or the recently deceased.

- “1. Respect for the mortal remains of the dead shall be accorded to all, irrespective of origin, race, religion, nationality, custom and tradition.
2. Respect for the wishes of the dead concerning disposition shall be accorded whenever possible, reasonable and lawful, when they are known or can be reasonably inferred.
3. Respect for the wishes of the local community and of relatives or guardians of the dead shall be accorded whenever possible, reasonable and lawful.
4. Respect for the scientific research value of skeletal, mummified and other human remains (including fossil hominids) shall be accorded when such value is demonstrated to exist.
5. Agreement on the disposition of fossil, skeletal, mummified and other remains shall be reached by negotiation on the basis of mutual respect for the legitimate concerns of communities for the proper disposition of their ancestors, as well as the legitimate concerns of science and education.

6. The express recognition that the concerns of various ethnic groups, as well as those of science are legitimate and to be respected, will permit acceptable agreements to be reached and honoured.”

(World Archaeological Congress, 2006)

While following the guidelines set out in the Vermillion accord may help to mitigate the negative feelings aboriginal communities have towards the work of archaeologists and curators, the best practices in the display of human remains is set out by the aforementioned Tamaki-rau Accord which states that “Any person(s) or organisation considering displaying such material or already doing so should take account of the following principles:

“1. Permission should be obtained from the affected community or communities.

2. Should permission be refused that decision is final and should be respected.

3. Should permission be granted, any conditions to which that permission is subject should be complied with in full.

4. All display should be culturally appropriate.

5. Permission can be withdrawn or amended at any stage and such decisions should be respected.

6. Regular consultation with the affected community should ensure that the display remains culturally appropriate”

(World Archaeological Congress, 2006)

Unfortunately there are many specimens and displays in museums today which were acquired and set up long before these accords were conceived of, and opinions of the „ownership“ of very old remains is questioned.

Wiltchke-Schrotta looks at many different examples of conflict and repatriation but says

“It is not possible to write one guideline for every museum: cultural situations throughout the world are too different. Further, the specific ethical aspects of the question continue to evolve over time.”
(Wiltchke-Schrotta, 2000)

Indeed, there are rules and guidelines set out by many international associations, national governments and individual museums which display human remains, most have developed their own policies and definitions. Connell and Wiltchke-Schrotta combined list at least ten other sets of guidelines from various sources, but Connell points out most of these repeat each other and contain many provisions for exemptions. He asks “why provide recommendations, and then provide a way to get around them” (Connell, 2007, p. 5).

The government of the United Kingdom for example clearly states that human remains are not to be considered property (Palmer, 2003, p. 236), but exempts human material that “has, after death or separation, been subjected to treatment that has rendered its condition different from that of a mere corpse awaiting burial” including “those items (such as bone, skulls or hair) which have been made into artefacts” (Palmer, 2003, p. 240).

Pyburn (2007) asserts that

“Remnants of the human past with scientific merit and often great beauty are commonly regarded neither as the property of a single culture nor of the descendants of their creators, but as the property of all human beings”.

Opinions by the general public posted on a web forum show a variety of differing viewpoints:

“I see no problem with human remains on display. I believe the educational factor, as well as the simple awe of viewing past lives, far outweighs any morality issue.

(Rusty Williams – 7 December 1997, Smith, 2001)

“... my opinion is that if they [human remains] were not at the Museum they would probably be lost forever. I feel that these people are being honoured by being there.”

(Pfefferneusse - 19 January 1998, Smith, 2001)

“... I do not feel the use of human remains in museums is ethical when perfectly respectable copies can be made.”

(Claire Allan – 21 June 2001, Smith, 2001)

Others posts to the web forum point out that temporal factors and the existence of a living culture associated with the dead being displayed also plays a role:

“I believe digging up American Indian graves is heinous, because of the close proximity (time wise) and the fact that they, as a culture, still strongly exist. However, digging up the grave of a 3000 year old mummy is different... not too many cat worshipping egyptians around. I believe that digging up those old ones, especially where no current version of their culture exists, is justified for historical purposes. The only people that take issue with digging up folks are those with remaining social or religious ties to that person or society.”

(Jim - 2 April 1998, Smith, 2001)

Conclusion

In summary, some major factors affecting the degree to which displaying human remains can be an uncomfortable practice are:

- The acquisition of remains:
 - With community/stakeholder support
 - Opposition by communities/stakeholders

- The type of display:
 - drawings
 - photographs
 - video
 - actual remains

- The type/condition of the remains:
 - associated materials including sacred objects
 - fossils
 - body fragments
 - whole bodies
 - skeletal or fleshed remains

- The purpose of the display:
 - religious
 - scientific
 - educational
 - for profit

- Cultural considerations including:
 - respect for the dead
 - temporal perceptions
 - religious beliefs
 - social norms associated with the dead

- claim to remains (living relatives or associated communities)

Those people who feel uncomfortable about going to see preserved human remains will for the most part, choose not to go to such an exhibit for their own reason be they cultural, religious or more personal. For those who seek to end all displays of human remains they are in for a long battle which they will likely lose. Though displays of certain types of human remains namely those of indigenous people are in decline, plastinate exhibitions are on the rise and are very popular. The first step to mitigating the uncomfortable aspect displaying human remains as heritage is to acknowledge that it can invoke unwanted emotions in people. If a display is deemed appropriate, is done in a way that stresses the educational value, is respectful of all stakeholders and maintains the dignity of those on display, and exhibit will be less likely to be considered uncomfortable heritage.

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24. Uncomfortable Heritage & Forgiveness

Jose Ramon Perez

Uncomfortable Heritage and Forgiveness

Much has been discussed and written on the differences of the concepts „history“ and „heritage“. While the definition of the former has changed little throughout the ages, the definition of the latter has evolved in an astounding way, even in the present century.

From a Renaissance Papal Bull, in which Pius II wrote about “conserving the splendour that resides in relics and sanctuaries”, to instructions from the *Commission Temporaire des Arts* after the French Revolution on how to “inventory the objects that could serve the arts and the sciences” (Jokilehto, 2005), we have come today to a very ample understanding of the concept „heritage“, and to an all-encompassing definition, for which hundreds of pages of articles and conventions appear not to be enough.

As a starting point, I will propose that „history“ means: a formal narrative of significant events, in the order in which they happened, particularly of those affecting a nation, institution, science, or art, usually including the explanation of their causes and effects.

Likewise, I will propose that „heritage“ means: something that is passed down from preceding generations, a property that can be inherited, the rights, burdens, or status acquired by a person through being born in a certain time or place.

To define „heritage“, Unesco has chosen the terms monuments, groups of buildings, sites, the combined works of nature and of man, practices, expressions, knowledge, skills... and a consideration of these being of „outstanding universal value“. With much debate, a distinction has also been made between tangible and intangible heritage.

Furthermore, a difference within intangible heritage was proposed: intangible heritage is a term used to describe aesthetic, spiritual, symbolic or other social values that people may associate with a site, as well as rituals, music, language, know-how, oral traditions and the cultural spaces in which these „living heritage“ traditions are played

out; the former can be described as „intangible values“, and the latter can be described as “living heritage” (Deacon, 2004).

Lord Charteris, chairman of Britain’s National Heritage Memorial Fund, believed that “the term „history” does not carry strong values, that it is analytical and factual. Conversely, „heritage” invokes emotional and psychological resonance, connected to values and a sense of obligation to one’s ancestors and descendants” (Yuill, 2003).

According to Wight and Lennon (2007), history is such that its issues do not vanish nor disappear with time, and the need to record past events becomes even more urgent as the number of participants and witnesses decreases. It becomes easier to lose history than to change history. In a subsequent paragraph, however, Wight and Lennon explain, quoting Crang, that the past is not an immutable or independent object. Rather it is endlessly revised from our present positions. History cannot be known save from the always transitional present. There are always multiple constructions of the past. Thus, we can equate the interpretation of our past with the characterization of our heritage.

In opposition, Lowenthal argues that “heritage is not an inquiry into the past but a celebration of it, not an effort to know what actually happened but a profession of faith in a past tailored to present-day purposes”. Just as well, Tunbridge and Ashworth have suggested that “all heritage is thus one sided, exclusionary or „dissonant” to some degree” (cited in Deacon, 2004).

Along these definitions of flexible heritage and rigid history, it’s easy to perceive how our understanding of heritage can change depending on our emotion and our psyche, affecting our involvement and our appropriation. It’s easy to imagine heritage being deeply troubling, or full of power and hope, acting as a persistent controversy or as a profound meaningful experience, originating feelings of belonging, or feelings of anxiety, or solidarity, or grief. It’s also easy to understand anyone’s heritage leading them to forgiveness and reconciliation, or to hate and revenge. Hence, it’s easy to differentiate „dissonant” or „uncomfortable” heritage from that which carries little or no negative implications.

Reconciliation and Forgiveness

So what is forgiveness and what reconciliation? And how do they take place in uncomfortable heritage? Forgiveness, in general, can come in many ways, through confessing a fault, with the recognition of guilt,

by carrying out compensation, from a change of heart, out of obedience, even by faith. To forgive means to cease to feel resentment against an offender, to pardon, to excuse. Forgiveness can happen unilaterally, based on desire or decision, involving analysis, maturity, will.

Reconciliation is the restoration of a previous relationship, the return to harmony. It implies resolving an unsettled issue; it requires a two-way compromise. Reconciliation is only possible when trust can be re-established, when both parties in a conflict have the honesty needed to make amends. Forgiveness means letting go of the past, but reconciliation is about committing to a future (Moon, 2007).

There are an infinite number of factors that can promote or obstruct forgiveness and reconciliation. As with any group of variables, some are competing, some are complementary. It is also likely that any single one of these agents works for and against forgiveness, depending on the case. A list of these conditions would obviously be endless. Among some of the most relevant factors, we can identify social conventions, education systems, popular memory; anthropological issues, (identity, pride, sensitivity, ownership); political agendas, the involvement of authorities and parties, government initiatives; economic circumstances, tourism, marketing, literature, media, museums...

We can assume that the broader and the more complex an offence is, the harder and less likely it can be to attain its forgiveness. Where a transgression has been committed to a whole community or nation, logically, many degrees of forgiveness will occur, some individuals or groups never achieving, or even wanting, to forgive. When the crime in question is massive, brutal, it inevitably becomes part of the culture and the heritage of those societies, and it will be haunted by the ghosts of both reconciliation and retribution, with only the slightest possibility of forgiveness.

Nevertheless, in recent history, we can find several cases of violence, suffering and pain, accompanied by considerable reactions of tolerance, acceptance, forgiveness, reconciliation, healing. Without concluding in a thesis on how to accomplish these positive stages or attitudes, as this would clearly be an impossible task, the present paper will review a couple of these cases of atrocity and death, identifying common characteristics, as well as some singular traits, and maybe even a few clues to answer questions.

Understanding, Memory and Forgiveness

Does forgiveness help to understand uncomfortable heritage? Does it help its conservation? Does it help its forgetting? When it comes to heritage, dissonance, reconciliation, when it comes to making some sense of it all, a historical perception, accurate recording, an academic understanding are not enough. There is a need to touch on the emotions that the dissonance has provoked, in order to tackle the discomfort and the pain, as well as its treatment. As was mentioned earlier, beyond the desire for harmony and peace, there should be a commitment from all parts involved in a conflict. Whether or not this conflict is solved and reconciliation is reached, minimizing resentment no doubt helps to see the uncomfortable past from a different, and probably clearer, viewpoint. But forgiveness differs from culture to culture; all catastrophes cause the yearning for some sort of answer to the questions that a traumatic event reveals (Edkins, 2004) but not always will forgiveness help in finding answers to this suffering.

Neither will forgiveness help either to conserve memory or to forget history. Following Halbwach's formulation of collective memory, that all individual memory is a social construct that changes when social bonds are diluted or replaced by new bonds, it can be deduced that the alteration of memory happens from the group to the individual (Iles), while healing generally happens in the opposite direction, from the individual to the group. For the conservation of memory there are several professional practices, and it seems unlikely that their work could be hindered by reconciliation. Even though heritage preservation is not about preserving all of the past, but about remembering aspects of the past which we believe worthy of remembrance (Long & Reeves, 2009) we can infer that forgiveness is helpful to conserve memory, positive and negative, as well as to improve the understanding of uncomfortable heritage and to raise the awareness of the pain and the suffering.

Dark Tourism and Forgiveness

Naturally, there can be several effects and influences of tourism in forgiveness. Institutions and organizations of diverse origins have advocated tourism as a means of reconciliation. Some such cases have already proven to be successful, while in many others it remains to be seen if they will be. A few cases, sadly, have arrived at the conclusion of tourism having negative consequences on forgiveness.

But there can also be cases in which reconciliation has a positive consequence on the tourism industry, as in the analysis made by

Figure. 1: New York's World Trade Centre



Source: www.wikipedia.com

Henderson, where honesty, sensitivity and understanding can help tourism to pursue its often quoted, but frequently derived, vision of being a force for world peace.

In a paper on New York's World Trade Centre (Fig. 1), Lisle declares that gazing at catastrophe is a bad thing, disrespectful for the victims and unhealthy for the spectators. But in a more recent paper, Stone and Sharpley recognize the potential of what has been called „dark tourism“ as a mechanism for confronting, understanding and accepting death and disaster. Also popular are „heritage tourism“, „ecotourism“, and the tendency to intellectualise holidays. All these can influence the process of conflict solution or conflict transformation that communities or nations can be going through.

Awareness of violence and pain, as well as forgiveness, differs from society to society, from individual to individual. So it does from victims to perpetrators, from tourists to managers, across genders and age groups. Given the vast diversity of conflict sites and events, the possibilities for reconciliation and forgiveness are manifold.

From a neutral point of view, outsiders can empathise strongly with the issues of a conflict. The draw for visitors, as described by Iles, regarding the Battlefields of the Western Front, is not so much a simple desire to sight-see but rather a wish to identify and empathize with its symbolic, commemorative spaces, not simply a way of seeing, but also a way of feeling and a way of doing.

Figure. 2: Island of Ireland Peace Park



Source: www.wikipedia.com

Another case of far-reaching empathy is the „Island of Ireland Peace Park“ in Messines, Belgium (Fig. 2), dedicated to the memory of the 50,000 men from Ireland who died on the Western Front. Its founders, Paddy Harte, a member of the Irish Parliament, and Glen Barr, a Protestant from Northern Ireland, established the Park in order “to promote peace and reconciliation between all the people of the Island” by encouraging tourism from both sides of the border to those areas in Belgium and France where Catholics and Protestants fought and died together (Iles, 2006).

But these cases might be the fewer. About two museums on German and Soviet occupation in Eastern Europe, Lennon & Foley wrote: to develop a museum like this without controversy would have been self-defeating. Non-controversial memorials themselves become invisible very quickly. Controversy and contested meanings might be the norm when it comes to reconciling uncomfortable heritage.

This could lead some to conclude that forgiveness is not always something that should be pursued. Different levels of trauma, in the mind or body, in a community, for a whole culture or nation, would call for diverse responses of forgiving. The difference between violence to the natural environment and to the built environment (Edkins, 2004) will have dissimilar consequences in terms of reconciliation. Nevertheless, as McDowell specified, uncomfortable heritage is one of the most powerful instruments for the transference of political or social messages, and as such, heritage will always allow for new messages and for greater or lesser pursuits of reconciliation.

South Africa

The „new South Africa“ can be considered one of the role models of reconciliation. After three decades of the oppressive Apartheid policy, a fledgling yet promising democracy was established in 1994. The new government quickly tried to define initiatives for peace, reconciliation and nation-building. One such action was the creation of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which immediately began working on the defence of human rights and the judgement and trial of their violations.

A more basic, but no less effective strategy was the opening to the public of Robben Island, the former high-security prison for political dissidents off the coast of Cape Town (Fig. 3). The site was opened in January 1997, with a lot of political pressure and after only a few weeks of preparation, following the government’s decision.

Figure 3: Robben Island Prison



Source: www.wikipedia.com

This island, where Peace Nobel laureate Nelson Mandela spent almost twenty years of incarceration, was transformed into a museum, commemorating the defeat of Apartheid and the resilience and power of the human spirit. It has become South Africa's most famous cultural tourism attraction, with Mandela's cell in B Section being the highlight of the visit. In a country whose tourism product was, until recently, dominated by wine, landscape and wildlife, the promotion of cultural tourism is related to the desire to build a nation by promoting an integrated heritage (Shackley, 2001). As one of the official strategies towards national reconciliation, this careful management of heritage and tourism has been a great success.

Like the Reconciliation Commission, the commemoration of Robben Island, in the words of Desmond Tutu, deployed the healing logic of restorative justice, acknowledging the past but oriented to future possibilities. The Museum was designed to communicate and promote the master narrative of reconciliation and the capacity of the oppressed to survive and overcome qualities necessary to contribute to South Africa's nation-building enterprise (Strange & Kempa, 2003).

Ahmed Kathrada, a former political prisoner and a long-time friend and adviser to President Mandela, became the chair of the Future of Robben Island Committee. The following are words from his opening address in 1997: we will not want Robben Island to be a monument to our hardship and suffering. We would want it to be a monument reflecting the triumph of the human spirit against the forces of evil, a triumph of freedom and human dignity over repression and humiliation; a triumph of wisdom and largeness of spirit against small minds and pettiness; a triumph of courage and determination over human frailty and weakness; a triumph of non-racialism over bigotry and intolerance; a triumph of the new South Africa over the old. Kathrada suggested as well, that Robben Island could symbolise a broader human rights culture, all those triumphs over evil and adversity, large and small, anywhere in the world (Deacon, 2004).

Strange & Kempa (2003) also explained how ascendance of Robben Island to World Heritage status in 1999, along with the international exposure that this brings, reinforced the strategy of the image of the museum as a space which officially signals "the triumph of the human spirit over adversity".

Jean-Louis Luxen, Secretary General of Icomos, argues that "the distinction between physical heritage and intangible heritage is artificial. Physical heritage only attains its true significance when it sheds light on its underlying values. Conversely, intangible heritage

*Figure 4: Apartheid Museum
Johannesburg*



Source: Perez

must be made incarnate in tangible manifestations, in visible signs, if it is to be conserved". Tangible and intangible are in any case often inseparable. In South Africa, the colonial and Apartheid governments prioritised buildings and monuments defined as „white“ heritage. They also emphasised ethnic differences between indigenous groups. To turn this situation around, the 1999 Heritage Legislation explicitly recognised intangible heritage values and living heritage forms. Recognising the oral history of the anti-Apartheid struggle in particular, has helped the government to underline the commonality of all South Africans“ experiences, while recognising the suffering of the majority of black South Africans. It thus supports the government policy of reconciliation, redress and reconstruction (Deacon, 2004).

In 2001, four years after the opening of the Robben Island Museum and only two years after the World Heritage status and the Heritage Legislation, another institution just as powerful was inaugurated in an impressive purpose-built structure, the Apartheid Museum of Johannesburg (Figs. 4-7). The ideas of a strong educative potential and the power to inspire political and social reinvention, locally and across the globe, continued to be the foundation of the project, as well as the commemoration of the triumph of the human spirit over adversity. On its web page the museums presents itself as “a beacon of hope showing the world how South Africa is coming to terms with its oppressive past and working towards a future that all South Africans can call their own”.

Figure 5: Apartheid Museum, Johannesburg



Source: Perez

In the second museum, the effective technique of the museum guides being former prisoners was not implemented. In fact in the Apartheid Museum there are no guides, the content and exhibitions relying solely on the displayed interpretation, which is of high quality and perfectly does the job. But there is an interesting mechanism that counters for the alternative and very personal performance of the Robben Island guides; upon entering the Apartheid museum, visitors are randomly separated into „white“ and „non-white“, and throughout the first part of the visit, museography accentuates this separation, communicating a tough yet clear positive message.

Figure 6: Apartheid Museum, Johannesburg



*Figure 7: Photo collage
Apartheid Museum*



Source: Perez

Source: Perez

A worthy aspect of the Apartheid Museum, in comparison to Robben Island, is that a stigma was removed, the notion of the island being „devoted“ to a single man, even more, a living person. Although the site became a world-wide icon of the universality of human rights, of hope, peace and reconciliation, in the public mind it was inextricably linked with Nelson Mandela (Shackley, 2001). All the same, Mandela has been the first to emphasise that Robben Island was a prison to thousands, and that many of them sacrificed their freedom in the process of building the new democratic nation. Thus, the Apartheid Museum can be read collectively, even globally, and also very personally, in the thorough accounts of many individuals.

It both of these South African museums, but even more in Robben Island, government policymakers and museum managements

contribute to, rather than dictate the representation of uncomfortable heritage (Strange & Kempa, 2003); strategies working for a more varied interpretation effect a strong, and in most cases positive, emotive response among tourists, particularly respect and admiration for the courage, survival and forgiveness of South Africans. The institutional message of reconciliation, with added tones from matching messages, comes across to almost anyone, and the national project of forgiveness is continued.

Cambodia

In a nation that has few official memorials, Prison S-21 (Tuol Sleng Museum of Genocide) and the Killing Fields (Choeung Ek Genocidal Centre) have stood for the last two decades as the primary evidence of Cambodian genocide. They also have become two of the city's foremost tourist attractions (Williams, 2004).

The regime of forced agrarian collectivization led by the dictator Pol Pot lasted from 1975 to 1979. The radical arm of the communist party, the Khmer Rouge, took power over another military government after years of guerrilla and civil war. Their bloody four-year rule commanded some of the worst excesses of any Marxist government, together with the death of 1.5 million people and the virtual extermination of the „educated class“, the Cambodians with professional and technical capabilities.

Vietnamese forces, whose government had initially supported Pol Pot, invaded Phnom Penh and overthrew the Khmer Rouge. After a short period of Vietnamese administration, the leadership of King Sihanouk was reinstated in 1982, but for the next decade the Khmer Rouge continued their guerrilla war, from their retreat in remote areas. This resistance eventually died out, with increasing leader and troop desertions, and with benign peace negotiations. Yet former leaders of the Khmer Rouge retained positions of power in different regions, and the peace and reconciliation policies of the King and Prime Minister Hun Sen during all these years have not been strong enough, not even consistent. Hun Sen himself was once aligned with the Khmer Rouge, explaining his reticence to bring any of the perpetrators to trial in international courts, his unconcern towards the victims and his indecisiveness about reconciliation.

There was another procedure which certainly caused more harm than good; from 1979 to 1991, the well-organized public holiday known as National Hate Day, hypothetically served to heal the wounds and work against the memory of tragedy, focusing people's anger on the

Khmer Rouge. In practice, the establishment of Hate Day was used to secure allegiance to the government's war with the still-formidable Khmer Rouge forces. After 1991 an official reversal occurred; Cambodians were now asked to forgive Pol Pot and other leaders, and forget genocide. Hate Day lost its status as a public holiday (Williams, 2004). Now the government wanted people to forsake reconciliation with these men, as the price to pay for peace. Their crimes were dismissed, in the name of a dubious national integration.

The search for reconciliation continued to be a political tool, but most gravely, it was still not a culturally appropriate mechanism. A peace agreement was indeed signed at this time, and afterwards the King granted several royal pardons, but truth and forgiveness didn't seem to be any closer than they were before.

Evidently these factors have obstructed forgiveness in Cambodian society, and tourism, which has been one of the main development tools of the government, has not facilitated much more.

Figure 8: Choeung Ek, Phnom Penh



Source: Perez

Tuol Sleng, a desolate and barricaded site formerly a high school, displays in its class rooms wire beds and torture objects, impersonal inventory photographs of the victims, abundant and detailed documents from the prison archives. Detailing the torture techniques,

Tuol Sleng focuses mainly on the perpetrators, and does not endorse visitor sympathy towards the victims. It portrays itself as a centre for systematic torture and murder, far from a comprehensive heritage site or a documentation centre. Upon its opening, nevertheless, it was visited immediately by thousands of locals, but this was mainly to seek information about disappeared relatives, and not in connection with reconciliation.

Choeung Ek is the most famous of the many killing fields that have been located to date (Fig. 8). Collectively they add up to thousands of mass graves. Close to the entrance of the site there is a 30 metre high memorial, shaped like a Buddhist Stupa, clad in glass and showing nothing but shelves with several thousands of skulls, arranged tightly by sex and age (Figs. 9-11). Visitors enter Choeung Ek without much notion of the site's boundaries, elements and exhibits, and wander at will through diverse vegetation and partially dug mass graves, where no guards and very few people are seen; here and there pieces of cloth or bone can be found on the ground, and groups of kids are playing, and trying to sell a story or a souvenir; sensitivity here is heightened, but understanding of this heritage is not, let alone its reconciliation.

Figure 9: Memorial Stupa, Choeung Ek, Phnom Penh



Source: Perez

On his essay about vigilance and remembrance, Williams notes that the relatively unchanged appearance of these two memorials provokes a different kind of anxiety, stemming from their unconventional forms of commemoration. Both memorials have an uneasy place within Cambodian society; tourists can have a passive although intimate encounter with deadly history but for Cambodians the atrocity has not receded into the past, and the present allows for little liberation from the pain, given that no Khmer Rouge leaders have yet met justice. A lack of resolution and reconciliation haunts Cambodia to this day. In the current context of unattained justice the memorials remain disconnected from any historical narrative, “guardians of an absent meaning”.

In 2001 Prime Minister Hun Sen called for the construction of a National Museum of Reconciliation in the north-western Anlong Veng region, which until recently had remained the Khmer Rouge stronghold (Williams, 2004). Being one of the most under-developed regions in Cambodia, this initiative has evolved, so far, into the promotion and opening to the public of Pol Pot’s grave, a couple of residences of former Khmer Rouge leaders and a military post, again, with little thought or care and almost no analysis, design and interpretation.

Figures: 10 & 11: Memorial Stupa, Choeung Ek, Phnom Penh



Source: Perez

Apart from doing nothing towards reconciliation, this „museum“ in Anlong Veng is actually working against justice, since the few young people who manage it and the residents of the area are relatives or sympathizers of former Khmer Rouge leaders. In addition to the problems of the sites at Phnom Penh, the last bastion of the Khmer Rouge, and indeed the whole Anlong Veng region, has the most inadequate infrastructure for tourism and even less temporal isolation from the crimes and criminals, who still controlled the area in 1999.

Hun Sen has argued that achieving peace and national reconciliation is more important than a strict judicial accounting and punishment for perpetrators. Just what Hun Sen means by „reconciliation“, however, is rather problematic. His definition appears to consist of „integration“ of the former Khmer Rouge back into the nation and the absence of armed conflict, rather than official judicial accountability (Long & Reeves, 2009). The Prime Minister himself has been the decision maker on who should and who should not be punished.

The Documentation Centre of Cambodia is a non-government organisation dedicated to preserve the history of the Khmer Rouge, to compile information for the trials of the perpetrators and to achieve justice for its victims. A recent survey that this institution carried out showed that three quarters of Cambodians want to learn more about the regime, while more than half want to know why the Khmer Rouge tortured and killed their families (Williams, 2004). These surveys also found out that people are not interested in a truth commission, or in the introduction of these topics in schools, but rather in trial processes of some sort, that would mark the end of the era, and lead to conviction and punishment.

Whether or not this state of their heritage can help Cambodians to answer their questions, will ultimately depend on wider political circumstances. At this juncture, as Williams observed, the memorials remain tenuously connected to Cambodia's hesitant process of reconciliation... while there „seems to be“ peace in the country... and we ask ourselves, what is most important, justice or reconciliation?

Other Sites of Uncomfortable Heritage

In an article on genocide in Darfur the former Secretary General of *Medicins Sans Frontieres* commented that “the term genocide has progressively lost its initial meaning and is becoming dangerously commonplace. Those who should use the word never let it slip their mouths. Those who unfortunately do use it banalise it into a validation of every kind of victimhood” (Wight & Lennon, 2007).

Surely the term genocide, as many others in this text, has had its connotation eroded. And certainly not all the sites of uncomfortable heritage are genocide sites. The categorisation of heritage sites still presents a lot of work ahead of us... war sites, slavery sites, sites of accidents, of poverty, of assassinations, compensation sites, revenge sites... What is common to most of these heritage places is the difficulty towards reconciliation, as one of the biggest of the obstacles within them, which are many already.

About Hiroshima and Nagasaki, Siegenthaler wrote: from shortly after the defeat, Japanese society has been widely criticized, both from within and from outside, for an inability or unwillingness to reflect on its wartime experiences and responsibility. Critics cite an easy reliance on a „victim consciousness“ that has allowed Japanese to put their emphasis on the horror of the atom bombs“ effects, rather than on their nation“s share of the burden of responsibility for the initiation of hostilities.

This „victim consciousness“ and selective type of remembering add to the problem of reconciliation, challenges all three of which concern heritage specialists. One or more parties in any conflict can be expected to try sweeping history under the rug, and with it many chances for forgiveness.

Another case of an obvious obstacle for forgiveness and uncomfortable heritage is the claim from the Irish Republican Party about the prison of Long Kesh, near Belfast (Fig. 12). In defending their cause they have made an eloquent analogy between Northern Ireland and South Africa, comparing Long Kesh with Robben Island. This argument found a lot of ground on which to be supported; both sites are former prisons, both cases involve personal stories and memories, both countries have a history of intense urban conflict.

Figure 12: Long Kesh Prison, near Belfast



Source: www.wikipedia.com

But the Republican Party has extended their narrative to another analogy that has caused new discomforts, equating Long Kesh with Auschwitz-Birkenau, in what Graham and McDowell have called “a myopic self-delusion, extraordinarily distasteful and exaggeratedly overstated”. Parallel to this cynical amplification of their conflict, the Republicans have entertained, with little fundament, the idea of Long Kesh being inscribed in Unesco’s list of World Heritage. Even if the present peace situation on the island is favourable to the negotiations between the protestant Loyalist and the catholic Republicans, these insensible claims and absence of diplomacy are taking the Irish problems to Germany, Poland, Israel...

In an essay on Vietnam, Henderson talks about the Cu Chi Tunnels, a Viet Cong site near Saigon, and on the same pretentious lines as the Irish Republican ideas, he comments on the Master Plan of the Vietnam National Administration of Tourism, which promotes “the heritage of standing up to USA and national salvation”. This war related site is actually a huge underground base, from which the Viet Cong exerted bad losses on the American Forces. Despite a poor infrastructure and a very biased interpretation, the Cu Chi Tunnels have acquired symbolic status.

Figure 13: Souvenirs at the firing range, Cu Chi Tunnels, near Saigon



Source: Perez

Apart from the small visitors centre, a brief lecture on the tunnels, and a display of booby traps, tourists get to traverse a section of reconstructed tunnel, and at the end enjoy a small lunch of local specialties. The guides take the opportunity to talk about the charm of the area and the stories of the proud locals and the noble fighters, in a performance in which most of the material is found unconvincing by westerners. To top the hyperbolic experience, and of course with an extra cost, before leaving the site visitors can line up at the firing range, to give a try to several Viet Cong machine guns and rifles, or to buy ammunition paraphernalia and souvenirs (Fig. 13). But these are “the stories that nations tell themselves and teach their children” (Siegenthaler, 2002), stories in which each party has its own sets of values, attitudes and experiences, and its own versions of forgiveness and healing.

One more case of a narrow-minded conception that challenges the potential of understanding and forgiveness is what Lisle refers to in her essay on New York’s Ground Zero, stating that western casualties are more valuable than others, in a vision of “the West versus the Rest”. This appreciation is made regarding the numbers of deaths and the distribution of monetary compensations in the war in Afghanistan and the attack on the World Trade Centre. The war took many more lives than the attack; the families of British citizens killed

in the attack received millions of dollars; the families of Afghans „accidentally“ killed when US soldiers bombed a wedding celebration received 100 dollars per person killed. Even when this amount is adjusted for purchasing power in Afghanistan, it is only equivalent to 1,000 dollars per person killed. In all this discomfort and counter-discomfort, how can we make any meaning of forgiveness?

Conclusion

We have made many points clear around acceptance, forgiveness, reconciliation. We have covered several aspects of uncomfortable heritage. We have mentioned the tolerance, the openness, the honesty from which any understanding of atrocity should make a starting point. But the kind of forgiveness that could be strived for might be something smaller in size, much larger in scope; something that happens at a more personal level, something that comes from a deep part of identity. This forgiveness that I propose is one that I also see as a heritage, that is learned at home, that is taught to children by parents, that is handed down from generation to generation. It's a reconciliation that comes from within the heart, from the individual and his own personal heritage, more than from a group where it was shared by victims who became colleagues, more than from the collective heritage of partners in suffering. Does forgiveness exacerbate or absolve the past? There is not only one answer to this question. As Henderson said, there is rarely one single truth and often many different ways of perceiving it.

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Cover image: The barbed wire wall of the Sachsenhausen concentration camp. Sam Merrill © (November 2009)