“How has politics influenced Berlin’s architecture over the 20th century?”

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Abstract

This essay investigates the evolution of architecture in the cosmopolitan city of Berlin during the 20th century; and how this architecture has reflected the political action being a display of the successive German regimes. I chose this theme due to my interest of recent German history, boosted by a trip with my school to the battle fields of World War I and a fascinating visit to Berlin with my family last year.

In this investigation I make use of a range of primary and secondary sources. In first instance, my own personal experience of Berlin has provided me with a wide range of materials including visits to museums like the Deutsches Historisches Museum, and photographs of buildings of this ancient but ever-changing city. Furthermore, I complemented these primary sources with a thorough evaluation of some additional secondary sources like Giles MacDonogh’s book: Berlin, A portrait of its History, Politics, Architecture and Society.

I have structured my investigation in the following manner. Firstly, I will provide a brief overview of the history of Berlin; its development, growth and tragedy, along the different political regimes and ideologies that have impacted the city. I will then focus on each period analysing some key buildings relating to these different epochs and assessing how effectively each used architecture to stamp its mark upon the city. In particular, I will give special attention to the Second Reich of the Kaisers, the Weimar Republic, the Nazi ‘Third Reich’, the Cold War and the Reunification.

I will conclude by saying that the Architecture of Berlin has without doubt been influenced by the different political regimes that have ruled it. Each regime made a particular use of it and with different purposes although I am aware that the civil society also took its place in the architectonic development.

[Word count: 300]
Introduction

The 20th century in Europe and in the World in general has been crucial in shaping and defining the societies in which we now live. Europe experimented with a range of political ideologies, imperialistic aspirations, economical concepts and social disparities which contributed to trigger two World Wars. Notwithstanding, out of wars, people carried on building their lives on what they hoped would be peace and prosperity.

Nowhere is this truer than in the city of Berlin, which has always played an important role in the European History, as Karl Marx said: “he who possesses Berlin controls Europe”. Indeed, the small fishing village that was built in the sand banks of the river Spree before the Middle Ages rapidly evolved into the capital and trade centre of the Prussian Empire to later become the capital of the re-united German Reich after 1870. Consumed by the First World War, Germany emerged as a nascent democracy – the ‘Weimar Republic’ – which was briefly the hub of international avant-garde culture. The collapse of the Weimar Republic, due in large part to the devastating impact of the Great Depression upon her fragile post-War economy, threw Germany into the hell of Hitler’s Third Reich. The defeat of Germany after World War Two was followed by the division of Germany as a whole, and Berlin itself, into zones of allied occupation which rapidly solidified into a communist East and a capitalist West. After 40 long years of suffering and physical division, the collapse of the Berlin Wall enabled the city to start reclaiming its place as a symbol of liberty and progress: the capital of Europe. The incredible history of Berlin remains fascinatingly narrated on her walls unlike any other city for those who take the time to read the signs.

Although Berlin remains in many ways a unique city, we can draw more general historiographical lessons from the investigation of the German capital. Emerging regimes who want to indicate their strength, wealth and progress show this by erecting incredible architectural structures. The Beijing airport in China was constructed to impress the world (like the Berlin Olympic stadium) during the 2008 summer Olympics. Also, leading nations as the United States of America have showed their economic power and hegemony for many years through the twin tower World Trade Centre (who was savagely blown up in 2001). Furthermore, old regimes such as Franco’s dictatorship in Spain attempted to stay alive in History through iconic monuments such as the “Valle de los Caidos” who still remains controversial even nowadays and undercover old political debates.

An investigation of Berlin is therefore fascinating on its own terms and for the history of Germany in particular; it is also highly useful for historians in highlighting the value of architecture as a source of historical relevance.
Investigation

Part I – Early 20th Century – Imperial Germany and the new urbanism

After the unification of Germany and following the year of “the three Kaisers”\(^3\) the young Kaiser Wilhelm II decided to make Berlin a statement of personal intent. “The Kaiser could not wait to pull down his old-fashioned city and put up something which he thought was the reflection of himself and his dynasty”\(^4\) A new style was to be found to reflect Germany’s new position. It was either a proud Neo-baroque or a heavy imitation of German Romanesque or Gothic models. He inaugurated the century with great ambition, renovating the Berlin Schloss Palace and the Berlin Opera as he simultaneously erected the Kaiser’s Cathedral (now known as the ‘Berlin Dome’) in the Mitte\(^5\). The Kaiser’s pretentiousness was determined to upgrade Berlin City to a further level and overpass the hegemony of London and Paris. “The Kaiser wanted a most un-Prussian thing: luxury. Grand hotels should feature heavily the new Berlin”\(^6\). Berlin’s modernity and innovation had no boundaries; the city was to become “Athens on the Spree”\(^7\), symbolized by the monumental conglomerate of the Museum’s Island\(^8\). The Pergamon Museum of Ludwig Hoffmann was the last big project of the Empire. However, it could not be concluded until the end of Great War.

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\(^3\) The “Year of the three Kaisers” is the year 1888 and refers to memorable significance of the death of two German Kaisers leading to a rapid succession of three monarchs within one year.


\(^5\) Berlin’s historical and central district


\(^8\) Anonymous photographer (accessed February 2012). The Berlin Dome Cathedral (http://www.cs.ubc.ca/~ghosh/Pictures/germany.html)

* It is so called for the complex of five internationally significant museums, all part of the Berlin State Museums which in 1999, were all added to the UNESCO list of World Heritage Sites.
The early 20th century continued the strong industrialization push of the country initiated during the previous century. Germany was on the verge of displacing Britain as the ‘workshop of the world’. In addition to the aesthetic and symbolic renewal of Berlin, the German capital experimented a great metamorphose and rapidly became the epicentre of science and technology. Great companies such as AEG chose to settle, build, and grow in Berlin. The greatest scientists such as Albert Einstein where attracted by its success and Institute of Science. The Humboldt University9 was enlarged and developed, the greatest navy of all times was being designed inside the Institute of Hydraulic Constructions, and its citizens henceforth travelled in the newly inaugurated metro.

In 1912 Berlin counted already two million habitants. The urbanism of the city was renovated. New axes and residential areas were created demolishing the old quarters. Alfred Messel10 and Peter Behrens11 developed a functional and modern architecture that anticipated the Bauhaus school in the twenties. The building of AEG12 power station by Behrens is one of the most representative and impressive examples of this dynamic, forward-looking period in German history. In 1909 Rathenau ordered Peter Behrens to build the AEG-Turbinenhalle. The functional building was destined to welcome the turbines and inaugurated the modern industrial architecture. Indeed, Behrens refused to dissimulate the metallic structure that held the edifice, and in revenge preferred to let it show. The roof presented an also a metallic polygonal structure covered by a glass roof and massive glass walls which allow an optimum penetration of light. “Peter Behrens (...) breaks off radically with the historicism then present”13 (translation) This building illustrated the industrial advancements achieved at the time, the level of engineering, and the wealth of the city, since this was the second building owned by AEG in the capital14.

All the wealth and technological advancements generated by the rapid growth of Germany as a superpower in Europe was sadly terminated in the outbreak of the war that would tear the country to pieces. Wilhelm II pursued an imperialistic colonial foreign policy and an interior policy militarizing German society, leading Germany into the horrific First World War.

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9 The Humboldt University was founded by Wilhelm Von Humboldt in 1810. Through its history, this university has hosted the most famous researchers and is today home to no less than 26 Nobel Laureates.
10 Alfred Messel was a German architect who created a new style which bridged the transition from historicisms to modernisms (July 1853 – March 1909)
11 Peter Behrens was a German Architect and designer, and a key figure in the modernist movement (April 1868 – February 1940)
12 Founded in 1883 by Emil Rathenau, the little electrical equipment producer soon became AEG in 1887, a great energy producer; key for Berlin’s industrial growth. The growing company soon expanded needing important facilities to provide with electricity to the whole city.
14 The AEG-Apparatefabrik was another massive factory constructed by Franz Heinrich Schwechaten in 1895
Part II – The attempt to Democracy of the Weimar Republic - The new objectivity

In 1918 Karl Liebknecht\(^{15}\) proclaimed the republic from the Stadtschloss (town palace). The republic agreed on a constitution in Weimar, and as result, Berlin lost the capital status – the city was simply too unstable and violent in the aftermath of defeat – and instead was chosen the city of Weimar as the symbol of a new beginning. Nevertheless, despite the marginalisation of Berlin in political terms during the interwar period, it remained of crucial cultural significance. Next to London, Berlin was then the second-largest European city. The Berlin myth of the 1920’s began. The city grew and became a centre of leisure lifted up by the new technologies like the radio, cinema and phonogram. It doubled its population by 1929 rising to 4.3 million.

The state of cultural and political flux – a heady mix of hope, fear and excitement - characterised the vibrant and politically convulsive Weimar period. Secessionist or revolutionary tensions were recurrent in this period. This was reflected in architectural terms with a predisposition towards futurism with a Russian influence due to the increasing immigration as a result of the Russian revolution. New buildings now shifted towards more radical shapes reflecting the state of mind of the moment and the apogee of radical groups like National Socialism.

The Bauhaus school of design shaped Berlin with new buildings\(^{16}\). Founded by Walter Groupious, under its influence the Berliner architecture followed to an abstract model of aesthetics and functionality. Some of these shapes remained like in the case of the Shell building agreeable to the eye as it combined geometric horizontal undulations. The building by Emil Fahrenkamp\(^{17}\) was constructed with very innovating techniques like a steel structure, or its cellular concrete walls which have entailed with time numerous dilapidations. Indeed any reason was good to break with the classical style and produce radically different conceptions. “The provocations of the Dada movement, who denounced through derision the absurdity of the war, unbridled the activism of the November group that mixed in one single revolutionary gesture; futurism and realism, abstract and figurative (...)”.\(^{18}\) (Translation) This is also seen in the numerous works of art done during the Republic which were heavily loaded with cubism, sex and death. Examples are “A Berlin Street” (1931) – George Grosz or “Big City” (1928) – Otto Dix. As

\(^{15}\) Indeed, in 1914 Karl Liebknecht was the only deputy to vote against the augmentation of military expenditure

\(^{16}\) Bauhaus was a school of arts, crafts and architecture founded by Walter Groupious in 1919, operated until 1933 and was one of the most influential currents in architecture and designs with developments in interior, graphic, industrial designs, and typography and arts.

\(^{17}\) Emil Fahrenkamp was a German architect and professor, he was one of the most prominent architects of the interwar period (November 1885 – May 1966)


*Beek100 (accessed February 2012). The Shell House at Reichpietschufer No. 60 in Berlin-Tiergarten (http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Berlin,_Tiergarten,_Reichpietschufer,_Shell-Haus_05.jpg)
mentioned, during the Republic, the general feeling was to break with the old regime. This happened in the architecture just like in the politics or the arts. The Shell building clearly shows how the whole notion of angle is broken and scorned only to include angles.

The Wall Street Crash of 1929 affected severely Germany. The foreign banks claimed the immediate reimbursement of long term loans. The collapse of economy was attributed by the extremists to the social democrat policies. Communists and National-Socialists disputed the power appearing as the Redeemers of German people. An example of the architecture of this period is the Berolinahaus constructed in 1932 by the architect Peter Behrens. The building was destined to welcome numerous offices when Alexander Platz was entirely renovated in the early 1929. The building, loyal to Behrens’s style, is completely expressionless. As a major part of the Berlin population, Behrens’s building depicted the stagnation and depression in which the country was settled in. Despite including some modern touches like a glass gallery filled with shops, the edifice remained absolutely sober.

Part III – Germania - the architectural delirium of the 3rd Reich

Hitler came to power in 1933 determined to transform Berlin – which he planned to rename Germania – into a showpiece of National Socialism. To this end he employed the architect Albert Speer\(^1\) to draw up grand plans for the rebuilding of the city. Speer’s project of “Germania” was destined to be inaugurated in 1950 by Hitler in order to represent all the prosperity, power and force of the 3rd Reich. “Speer was to provide plans for a city of eight to ten million inhabitants with a north-south and an east-west axis, four concentric ring roads and four airports. Plans were laid to bury the Spree at the Muhlendamm (…)

was obsessed with the need for Berlin to reflect his greatness as the Kaiser had been before him."20
Despite the fact that Germania never was accomplished, this project nevertheless pulled down many
historical buildings with the excuse of the need to equip the capital of the Third Reich with fast-moving
avenues. The north-south axis was to be spread of monumental buildings all along. For the east-west
axis connecting the airport Speer designated candelabras that are still there nowadays.

Nevertheless, Hitler's grand objectives (for example, The Berliner Dome was supposed to accommodate
250,000 people) were doomed from the outset. Hitler’s obsession with European hegemony left little
time and money for the grandiose architectural ambition to create a ‘Thousand Year Reich’.
Nevertheless, despite the fact that what is therefore arresting about modern Berlin is the very lack of
Nazi architecture. The new Reichskanzlei (Chancellery) of Speer was finished in just two years and was
completely demolished in 1953 on orders of the Soviet administration. In this building “the architect
had been keen to exploit the power of his medium: a 300-meter gallery (twice as long as the Hall of
Mirrors at Versailles palace) that took the visitor through a cour d’honneur, an ante-hall, the mosaic
salon and the marble gallery, before the Fuhrer’s study21 was reached. The aim was to induce humility in
Hitler’s guests”.

There remain however a few tantalising but subtle witness of the city’s experience of Nazism. Examples
are the Goering Air Ministry (Reichsluftfrstsministerium) and the Tempelhof airport, both from the
architect Ernest Sagebiel23. He constructed Tempelhof airport in 1939, replacing the old existing terminal
who had served those purposes until then24. Tempelhof counted one long semi-circular terminal which
was 1, 3 kilometres long, the main hall, and its administrative buildings. The airport was loyal to the Nazi
style. “The airport's main public facade, with its range of tall windows surmounted by a cornice, is closer
to the heavy, simplified classicism which was widespread in Europe during the mid-thirties and which is
seen in Germany as characteristic of the Nazi Architecture”25. Tempelhof, despite being constructed in
1939, integrated and incredible modernity and organization tactics that still strike all the experts who
still base themselves in this airport to construct today’s modern airports. Indeed, Tempelhof has

0465022057). page 352
21 Which was no less than 300m²
0465022057). page 355
23 Ernest Sagebiel was a German architect (October 1892 – March 1970)
24 “Ernst Sagebiel built the Nazis a spanking-new airport there as part of their monumental plans for redeveloping
85822-328-9). page 57
longwise been the biggest airport in Europe, and a reference in the World. Tempelhof would later regain its fame due to its great utility during the Soviet ‘Berlin Blockade’26.

Furthermore, despite the fact that Germania has remained a dream in the mind of Nazi’s, we can find other vestige of erstwhile. Indeed, the Olympic stadium was nothing but one more piece in Hitler’s puzzle of Germania. The construction of the stadium was undertaken in order to accommodate the polemic Berlin Olympic Games of 1936. As such, Hitler made sure that the sports ground was the largest of the world (at that time) and that it incorporated very innovative technics in addition to an imposing design. He knew that the Games would be a fantastic showcase to demonstrate German racial superiority, and therefore assigned the task of constructing it to Werner March and Albert Speer dedicating a budget superior to 25 million US dollars. The “Reichssportfeld” had a capacity for 110,000 spectators and also possessed a special stand for Adolf Hitler and his political associates. Despite it being constructed on the foundations of the original Deutsches Stadion, the architects decided to lower part of the structure 12 meters underground, making it in this way, a master piece of engineering.

The “Thousand Year Reich” in actuality lasted barely a dozen years. Indeed, it was in Berlin that Hitler’s regime came to an ignominious end, with Soviet troops marching into the city, planting a Red Flag on the Reichstag, and declaring the end of the War. Hitler had committed suicide and the Nazi regime was at an end.

26 The ‘Berlin Blockade’ was the the Soviet Union blocked the Western Allies' railway and road access to the sectors of Berlin under Allied control. In response, the Western Allies organized the ‘Berlin Airlift’ to carry supplies to the people in West Berlin.
Part IV – The Cold War – Reconstruction in an era of division

After the end of World War II the Allies and the Soviet Union fail to find a field of agreement during the Yalta Conference “The objective being “to destroy Nazism and to make sure the Germany will never threaten World’s peace again.””\(^{27}\) As a result, Eastern Europe was divided in two, satellites Communist regimes on the East side and free Capitalist government on the West. The ‘Big Three’\(^{28}\) sat at the Yalta and Potsdam conferences finalising their plans to divide Germany into zones of occupation. “It turns out that the Soviet Union and the Allies have very different conceptions regarding Europe’s future and democracy.”\(^{29}\) Like Germany, Berlin was divided in four sectors: Soviet, American, French and British. The Soviets soon took control of East Germany and set a “puppet” government in East Berlin to restore the capital. However Berlin was a field of ruins, 43% of its buildings are destroyed.

Churchill and Stalin had agreed to commonly make an effort in the reconstruction of Berlin in order to re
give the city its past splendour. However, the common good soon vanished in Cold War disagreements.
At the same time, many East Germans decided to flee to the liberal West Berlin. As a result, the DDR\(^ {30}\) government decided to close the frontier, but the number of people escaping increased and reached to 30,000 per month by 1961. Most of the migrants were young skilled people which the Communist government could not afford to lose. Since the end of the War and the division of Germany almost 3 million Germans had left the Communist Regime. As a result the bleak DDR under Walter Ulbricht command convinced Khrushchev to build the “anti-fascist protective barrier”\(^ {31}\) of 17 kilometres long. The Berlin Wall undoubtedly solved the problem, but it was not good advertisement for communism (the West capitalist countries called it the Wall of Shame).

In response, the Soviet German government tried to reverse the situation by building the Fursehturm. This iconic building would become the “showcase” of the DDR wealth, showing to all the people in Berlin, East and West; power, wealth and superiority of the Soviets. During the Cold War, West and East Berlin were desperately trying to show their superiority and wealth to each other. Over time, the two governments initiated what we now call the “race to the sky”. The Fernsehturm is a television tower in the middle of Berlin, at Alexander’s Platz. The edifice was constructed by the architects Streitparth and Henselmann\(^ {32}\) between 1965 and 1969. The building is 365m high and was purposefully the tallest

\(^{28}\) Name given to Churchill, Stalin and Roosevelt during the post war conferences
\(^{30}\) German Democratic Republic – Deutch Democratik Republic
\(^{31}\) East German government reference to the Berlin Wall
\(^{32}\) Known for his towers in Karl Marx Allee

construction in the city of Berlin. The monument could be seen from nearly every place in the city; even from the West side of the Wall.

The futuristic aspect of the base and the edifice\textsuperscript{33} gave the impression of incredible technology advancements; which was in turn the effect that the Soviets were after. At that time, the Soviet Union was in the middle in the “race to space” against the Americans, and they were winning it\textsuperscript{34}. Therefore, the Fernsehturm played an important role in the communist propaganda including the broadcasting of television programmes for all East and West Berliners.

The reconstruction took an ideological character in the confrontation of the two antagonist blocks. The communist regime – even less sentimental about preserving Berlin’s heritage than its predecessors Nazis – applied a policy of “tabula rasa” with ancient buildings. Major example is the demolition in 1950 of the ideologically incorrect ruins of Berlin’s greatest historic monument, the Scholls Palace. East Berlin was transformed in a capital according to the socialist model. Sharing the Nazi love of urban motorways, the Stalinallee, renamed in 1961 Karl-Marx-Allee, also from Hermann Henselmann was designed as the regime prestige avenue. “The project was to create a vast avenue, representative of the new socialist Berlin (...) it was a showcase for foreign visors. The ‘Anti-Kurfurstendamm’ with its 150 state stores.”\textsuperscript{35}

\textsuperscript{33} the building was made of a large pavilion covered with white painted roofs enclosing the actual tower and a cylindrical concrete shaft topped by a steel-clad sphere with the large antenna at the top

\textsuperscript{34} In 1961, Yuri Gagarin was the first man in history to have made a journey in space. In addition, the Soviets had also sent a satellite in orbit, the Sputnik, and by 1964 had launched the R-7 Semyorka.

West Berlin, “the bastion of liberty’, became also a ‘showcase of capitalism.”³⁶ (Translation) The development of Kurfurstendamm was the most representative example of Western prosperity. Its commercial area around the Europa Center, with its neon’s and well filled department stores provided the animation of a typical Western capital. The landmark of Gedachtniskirche (Memorial Church) completed the perspective of the area, which ruins and its modern bell tower represented the symbol of the free Berlin. With the occasion of the universal exhibition architecture (Interbau) in 1957, several projects from the best renamed world architects (Le Corbusier, Alvar Aalto, Walter Gropius, Niemeyer) produced new housing concepts around the city. The federal subventions contributed to important realizations. Fritz Borenemann built over the site of the old opera the new Deutch Oper Berlin in 1961. The architect Schaurum concluded the Berliner Philhamoker in 1963 and the National Biblioteque in 1978. West Berlin was reliving from its ashes.

Part V – Reunification – The new federal capital

The opening policy “perestroika” and “glasnost” of the Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev produced the first effects opening the borders of Czechoslovakia and Hungary to a crow of Eastern Germans who escaped from GDR. “In 1989 the Soviet President Michail Gorbatschow proclaims the change of time. His dictum "He who comes too late will be punished by life" ends the power of the GDR government”39. On November 9, politburo member Guenther Schabowski announced the opening of the borders. In Berlin, over a million people celebrated the beginning of the end of Germany’s division. In July 1990 the treaty of unification established the conditions of adhesion of five eastern landers. The 3rd of October Germany was officially reunified. Finally in 1991 Berlin was designated as the new capital of the unified Germany and the Federal Parliament took seat in Berlin’s Reichstag building that had remained unused for a long time.

The Wall of Shame was pulled down and the city rushed to fill this fracture between the two sectors. The Postdamer Platz is the most representative realization, recovering its past prominence now as a crossroads linking the Kulturforum, the new neuralgic centre and the historic district. Several leading companies, like Daimler Benz, Sony and ABB, decided to settle their headquarters there in newly constructed futuristic and technological buildings.

The government area was projected in the Spreebogen close to the Reichstag. Simultaneously the World diplomacies undertook the transfer of their embassies from Bonn40 to Berlin, erecting new buildings of the most varied vanguards and styles. 800 architects from all around the world participated in this titanic project that involved the construction of the new chancellery, new ministries and the redevelopment of the Reichstag hemicycle. This latter was commissioned to the architect Sir Norman Foster, who crowned the building with a majestic glass dome.

The Bundeskanzleramt (chancellery building) by the architects Frank and Schultes was made in concrete and glass, in a post-modern style. It occupies 12,000 square meters and it is one of the largest government headquarter buildings in the world. The facades enclosed by glasses and the constructive and sculptural details provide a great symbolism: the transparency of the country and the free human thinking, as the values of the unified Germany.

Overall, the face of Berlin turns to the future, preserving at the same time the old heritage. The lively colours in many facades and the profuse use of glass transmit a message of liberty and hope.

38 “Perestroika” (restructuring) and "glasnost" (openness) were Mikhail Gorbachev's watchwords for the renovation of the Soviet body politic and society that he pursued as general secretary of the Communist Party from 1985 until 1991.
40 Bonn was the city in West Germany where all the western embassies were located during the Cold War period.
Conclusion

In this investigation, I have sought to answer the question “How has politics influenced Berlin’s architecture over the 20th century?” As showed in the study above, it is clear that the architecture in Berlin has undoubtedly been influenced by the numerous regimes that have proliferated in the city. However, it is noticeable that each regime has made a different use of architecture. In the first place, the Kaiser’s regime utilised architecture in Berlin as a manner to show its hegemony and increasing technological and military strength. The regime did not hesitate to pull down the vestige of the old regime in order to make a ‘tabula rasa’ to start all over again. During the Weimar republic however, the concept of architecture was much different. It was less a reflection of the political power, but an expression of its society, even though still influenced by the political flux. The free thinking movements that were born in the Bauhaus are the best testimony of this era. When Nazis arrived, architecture became again a subject of political action. Hitler’s Germania illustrates the view with which the Nazi’s regarded architecture; a tool of political persuasion, with a special emphasis in the international echoes. During the communist occupation, the architecture of East Berlin remained also a matter of political propaganda; nevertheless, it took a more ideological constituent, to reflect in depth, the socialistic model. As evidence to this, the Stalinalle can be held as a proof of the communist values. Nonetheless, on the other side of the Wall, architecture was a showcase of Capitalism and reflected somehow the joy of the people for living. After the re-unification, the architecture of Berlin although being undoubtedly influenced by politics, but this time, it aimed to reflect the values of the new society and showed a more respective attitude towards the legacy of the past. However, we can ask ourselves whether politics is the only influential factor on the architecture of a city such as Berlin. As we can imagine, other factors such as economics, socio-cultural movements or even religion could also have had a relevant impact on the architecture of the city. This is why, a further study would be required in order to analyse those aspects, and truly determine the essence of Berlin’s architecture. As Giles Macdonough would say: “Berlin is a “self-destructive place...There has rarely been any sentiment about the past. Successive regimes have believed themselves justified in wiping the slate clean and beginning all over again.”
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