OBSOLESCENCE AND THE CITYSCAPE OF THE FORMER GDR

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ABSTRACT

Paul Ricoeur claims that that is on the scale of urbanism that we best catch sight of the work of time in space. This article establishes two paradigmatic ways of seeing time in the city, the synchronic urban gaze and the urban memorial gaze, in order to explore how visualisations of the cityscape of the former GDR negotiate the significance of obsolescence, both ideological and physical. These paradigmatic forms can be associated with the 'official vision' of the cityscape, and 'alternative' visions respectively. While the state vision is evident in its urban planning, and the visual discourses at its disposal, the alternative visions are expressed in forms of visual culture (film and photography) that also explicitly engage with the visual discourses of urbanism. The article thus begins with an analysis of the official vision, through a consideration of the demolition of the Stadtschloss in 1950 as an act that may have been underpinned by both the ideological and physical obsolescence of the Schloss, but was ultimately justified by the need to create urban space for ideologically-motivated circulation. It then charts the changing relationship to obsolescence on the part of the regime's urban planners in the late 1960s, showing how this ostensibly dovetails with alternative 'subjective' visions of the cityscape in the 1970s in films such as *Die Legende von Paul und Paula* and *Solo Sunny*, and in the photography of Ulrich Wüst. Such visions are widespread and largely permissible by the 1980s (with the notable exception of Helga Paris's study of Halle); and Peter Kahane's 1990s film, *Die Architekten*, is read as offering a summary of these positions, as well as of the tensions between official and alternative ways of framing the manifestation of time in the cityscape. The article concludes by considering the afterlife of the obsolescent cityscapes of the former capital of the GDR within the new 'official' regime of representation that dominates in the 'new' Berlin.

Paul Ricoeur behauptet dass wir im Kontext des urbanen Raumes am besten betrachten können, wie sich die Zeit im Raum manifestiert. Diesem Aufsatz liegen zwei paradigmatische Sichtweisen auf die Stadt zugrunde, und zwar der synchronische Stadtblick' ('synchronic urban gaze') einerseits und der zeitbezogene Stadtblick ('urban memorial gaze') andererseits, durch die er Bedeutung und Rolle des physischen und moralischen Verschleisses in Darstellungen der Stadtlandschaft von Ostberlin, der Hauptstadt der DDR, untersucht. Diese Sichtweisen lassen sich mit der ‚offiziellen' Sichtweise, beziehungsweise mit ‚alternativen' Sichtweisen in Verbindung bringen. Die staatliche Sichtweise drückt sich in der Stadtplanung, aber auch in den visuellen Medien, die dem Staat zur Verfügung stehen, aus. Die alternativen Sichtweisen drücken sich auch in Formen der visuellen Vermittlung (Film, Fotografie), die sich auch mit dem Urbanismus auseinandersetzen. Der Aufsatz beginnt daher mit der Analyse der offiziellen Sichtweise, und betrachtet den Abriss des Stadtschlosses in Berlin im Jahre 1950 als einen Vorgang, der sowohl vom physischen wie auch ideologisch verschlissenen Zustand des Gebäudes ausging, aber letztendlich seine Legitimation aus dem Bedürfnis, urbanen Raum als Verfügungsmasse für ideologisch fundierte Tätigkeiten zu schaffen bezog. Diese Position des Regimes zum Verschleiss veränderte sich in den späten 1960er-Jahren, und diese neue Position hat scheinbare Ähnlichkeiten mit alternativen ‚subjektiven' Vorstellungen der Stadtlandschaft in Filmen wie *Die Legende von Paul und Paula* und *Solo Sunny*, und in der Fotografie von Ulrich Wüst. Solch alternative Visionen der Stadtlandschaft setzten sich in den 1980er-Jahren weiter fort (mit der berühmten Ausnahme der Halle-Arbeiten von Helga Paris); Peter Kahanes 1990 Film, *Die Architekten,* bietet eine Zusammenfassung dieser Perspektiven und der Spannung zwischen der ‚offiziellen' Sichtweise und dem alternativen Blick auf die verschlissenen Stadt. Im Schlussteil untersucht der Aufsatz das Nach- oder Weiterleben der scheinbar obsoleten Stadtlandschaften der Hauptstadt der DDR in den Repräsentationsverhältnissen zur Stadtlandschaft im 'neuen Berlin'.

The term 'cityscape' is frequently invoked, but seldom is the term unpacked. 'Cityscape' implies a derivation from 'landscape', as an importantly visual phenomenon. Georg Simmel, writing at the beginning of the nineteenth century, drew attention to the way in which a landscape was framed through 'Abgrenzung, das Befasstsein in einem momentanen oder dauernden Gesichtskreis […] Ein Stück Boden mit dem, was darauf ist, als Landschaft ansehen, heißt einen Ausschnitt aus der Natur nun seinerseits als Einheit betrachten - was sich dem Begriff der Natur ganz entfremdet'.[1] As David Frisby argues in *Cityscapes of Modernity*, for Simmel, the notion of a landscape only emerges with modernity, with 'the individualization of internal and external forms of existence, the transcendence of originally subjugated and united entities into differentiated autonomous entities'.[2] In the work of the German Expressionists, the turn to the immediacy of the 'streetscape' of the city was an explicit challenge to orthodox notions of landscape, reflecting the bombardment of the senses in the urban environment that Simmel saw as paradigmatic for the experience of urban modernity. Yet the chaos of urban experience was progressively countered in two directions: firstly, by the gaze of the flâneur, who 'seeks to make sense of the fragmentary experiences and images of the metropolis'[3] and secondly by that of the urban planner. As Frisby observes, [the city's] actual reality is not necessarily that which the flâneur confronts; rather, in the terms of Walter Benjamin, 'eine neue romantische Ansicht der Landschaft [entsteht], die vielmehr eine Stadtlandschaft zu sein scheint […].'[4] Neither is the city's actual reality what the

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[1] Georg Simmel, 'Philosophie der Landschaft', in *Brücke und Tür,* Stuttgart 1995, pp. 141-152, p. 142.

[2] David Frisby, *Cityscapes of Modernity*, London 2001, p. 117.

[3] Frisby, p. 312.

[4] Walter Benjamin, *Gesammelte Schriften*, ed. Rolf Tiedemann, 7 vols, Frankfurt a.M. 1972-1991, V/1, p. 530.

planner envisions, rather it is an ordered cityscape of the future as seen, in the terms of Michel de Certeau, from an elevated position above the city.[5]

Of this latter perspective, Frisby observes:

> A design of the modern city that ostensibly renders it intelligible for modern dwellers without reference to historical memory creates a mode of ostensibly intelligible city that is without memory. Indeed, the more the metropolis is viewed as a technical problem, the more this mode of problematization is distanced from everyday life.[6]

Frisby's interest is in the 'cityscapes of modernity', those utopian urban visions conceived in Berlin and Vienna from the late 19th century through to the early 1930s. The cityscapes of the former GDR, as developed over the course of the state's existence, have a complicated relationship with the visions of those earlier urban planners. The future cityscape of East Berlin was too heavily invested with ideological significance to ever be a merely 'technical problem' for the planners of the GDR. As argued elsewhere in this volume (Adam Sharr's essay), the urban environment is the physical embodiment of a series of ideological choices, and one of the intended functions of the new urban environments built in the GDR was the expression of a clear ideological position, given voice in words of the FDJ-'Aufbaulied', 'Weg der alte, her der neue Staat. Fort mit den Trümmern Und was Neues hingebaut!'. The historical substance was understood from an ideological point of view, which framed past structures as ideologically 'obsolescent' – the standard term for this was 'moralischer Verschleiss'. This ideological obsolescence was often conflated with the visible presence of physical obsolescence, as we shall see in the course of this article. In light of Paul Ricoeur's claim that 'it is on the scale of

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[5] Michel de Certeau, 'Walking in the City', in *The Practice of Everyday Life*, trans. by Steven Rendall, Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London 1984, pp. 91–110.
[6] Frisby, p. 313.

urbanism that we best catch sight of the work of time in space', this article will argue that it is around the presentation and interpretation of physical obsolescence as a manifestation of past time that the conflicts over the differing value of the former cityscape are shaped.[7]

It is always tempting to read the GDR cityscape in terms of the intentional ideological codings embedded within them, but this would lead us to disregard not only the role played by former structures, and their ambivalent codes, within the vision of the cityscape, but also the way in which the vision of the cityscape corresponded with other international tendencies in urban planning.[8] In what follows, the analysis will focus on how the production of the East Berlin cityscape was visualised as a technical problem, as the 'creation of an intelligible city without a memory of everyday life', and how the responses to this technocratic vision constructed alternative visualisations of the East Berlin cityscape.

The perspective which views the city as a technical problem I term the 'synchronic urban gaze', derived from Henri Lefebvre' analysis of the production of 'abstract space' and Michel de Certeau's critique of the planner's gaze in his influential essay, 'Walking in the City'. The synchronic urban gaze visualises urban space as possessing 'exchange value', an interchangeable continuum without a past.[9] It thus makes a claim for the objective quantifiability of the cityscape, and while it may conceptually visualize the cityscape, it fundamentally disregards its materiality. The counter-perspective, which makes a claim for the subjective experience of the cityscape in seeking to return time and materiality to the cityscape, I term the 'urban

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[7] Paul Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, trans. Kathleen Blamey and David Pellauer, Chicago, 2004, pp. 150-1.

[8] For such a reading of urban planning in Berlin in the twentieth century, see Wolfgang Sonne, "Specific Intentions - General Realities. On the Relation between Urban Forms and Political Aspirations in Berlin during the 20th Century", in *Planning Perspectives*, 19/3 (2004), 283-310.

[9] Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson Smith, Oxford 1991 [first pub. 1974], p.307.

memorial gaze'. This gaze, derived from Maurice Halbwachs's discussion of the resistance of collective memory to urban change, and de Certeau's later essay, 'Ghosts in the City' relies on the visual power of the materiality of 'Alterswert' as described by Alois Riegl in his 1903 essay 'Der moderne Denkmalkultus'.[10]

As this article demonstrates, these two perspectives can be aligned with, respectively, the 'official' state visions of the cityscape that predominated in the first decades of the GDR, and the 'alternative visions' of the cityscape that manifested themselves from the late 1960s in forms of visual culture onwards as a subtle form of resistance to the state's synchronic gaze. While the state vision is evident in its urban planning, and the visual discourses at its disposal, the alternative visions are expressed in forms of visual culture (film and photography) that also explicitly engage with the visual discourse of urbanism.

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[10] Maurice Halbwachs, *The Collective Memory*, New York 1980; Michel de Certeau., 'Ghosts in the City', in *The Practice of Everyday Life, Volume 2: Living and Cooking*, ed. Luce Giard, tr. Timothy J. Tomasik, Minnesota 1998, pp. 133-143; Alois Riegl, 'Der moderne Denkmalkultus. Sein Wesen und seine Entstehung', in *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, Vienna 1996. [first pub. 1903], pp.139-84. For discussion of Riegl's conception of 'Alterswert' and its heuristic value of the analysis of contemporary cityscapes, see, for example, Svetlana Boym, *The Future of Nostalgia*, New York 2001, pp.78-82, as well as Simon Ward, 'Material, Image, Sign: On the Value of Memory Traces in Public Space', in *Memory Traces: 1989 and the question of German cultural identity*, ed. David Midgley and Christian Emden, Oxford 2005, pp. 281-308.

'Das Gebiet der jetztigen Schlossruine': The nascent GDR and the Obsolescent Former Cityscape

The conception of the cityscape as a 'technical problem' is evident in revisiting the decision to demolish the Stadtschloss in 1950. Bernd Maether, in his study of the 'destruction' of the Berlin Palace follows the conventional line of argument that it was the leadership of the SED, and in particular Walter Ulbricht, who was responsible for the decision to demolish the Stadtschloss, because the destruction of the historical heritage of the Prussian monarchy was a fundamental component of their ideology: 'man wollte die deutsche Geschichte neu schreiben, indem man die alte ignorierte, ja vernichtete'.[11] Elsewhere he asserts that the Communist Party (KPD) was in favour of demolition from the very start.[12] This is the archetypal 'ideological' reading of the cityscape, but this explanation is only rarely evident in the documents relating to the Palace. These documents can be productively be read in terms of how they regard or disregard the site, highlighting the important distinction which Maether elides in his use of 'ignorierte' and 'vernichtete'.

On 26th June 1950, at a session of the ZK of the SED, point 5 of the agenda considered the order for the removal of ruins and the reconstruction of those cities in the GDR destroyed by the war. The financial cost of reconstruction was central to these proposals: the reconfiguration of useable ruins was to be allowed as long as the cost of reconstruction was below that of demolition and new build; in other words, this was an economic calculation.[13]

A report prepared by the 'Institut für Städtebau und Hochbau im Ministerium für Aufbau' addresses not the fate of the Palace, but rather the

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[11] Bernd Maether, *Die Vernichtung des Berliner Stadtschlosses*, Berlin 2000, p. 72.
[12] Maether, p. 36.
[13] Maether, p. 62

construction of a large-scale space for political demonstrations in the centre of Berlin, and in its calculations it considers the demolition of both the Dom and the Schloss.[14] Although the space was to serve an ideological purpose, the conclusion drawn is formulated in terms of a calculation framed within historical coordinates: the Lustgarten was the 'historischer Platz für Demonstrationen', and has space for 140,000 demonstrators taking part in a static demonstration; with the demolition of both the Palace and the Cathedral, that number would increase to 300,000.[15] The report then suggested that if a decision were made in favour of a mobile demonstration space, the 'historisch gewordene' square could be retained. The wall of the Schloss would form the background to the demonstrations. This certainly does not imply, as Maether infers, that the demolition of the Palace was a foregone conclusion, but rather that the value of the space was primarily being calculated according to the principles of urban circulation.[16]

Maether asserts that Walter Ulbricht expressed himself very strongly against the maintenance of the Palace in his speech to the 3rd Party Conference of the SED on 22nd July 1950. Yet, again, the focus in Ulbricht's speech in the section 'Die Großbauten im Fünfjahrplan' betrays a fundamental disregard for the Stadtschloss, which appears almost marginally in the section:

> Das Zentrum der Stadt soll sein charakteristisches Bild durch monumentale Gebäude und eine architektonische Komposition erhalten, die der Bedeutung der Hauptstadt Deutschlands gerecht wird. […] Das Zentrum unserer Hauptstadt, der Lustgarten und das Gebiet der jetztigen Schlossruine, muß zu dem Demonstrationsplatz werden, auf dem Kampfwillen und Aufbauwille unseres Volkes Ausdruck finden können.[17]

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[14] Maether, p. 62
[15] Maether, p. 62.
[16] cf. Maether, p. 62.
[17] Walter Ulbricht, Rede auf dem III. Parteitag der SED, in *Zur Geschichte der deutschen Arbeiterbewegung,* III, Berlin 1983, pp. 750-52.

While it is clear that the future cityscape is to serve ideological ends, the phrase 'Gebiet der jetztigen Schlossruine' indicates, from Ulbricht's perspective, both the neutral emptiness of the space and the soon-to-be-removed obsolescence of the Palace

The debate documented in Maether's collection in fact highlights the question of the Schloss's supposed obsolescence, revolving around, on the one hand, the cultural-historical and antiquarian-historical value of the architecture as asserted from the Western perspective, and on the other, the question of the extent of the Palace's ruination (estimated at 80%) and the cost of renovation, as opposed to demolition and new construction.[18] Gerhard Strauss, who was leading the preservationist activities at the demolition site, posted his 'Thesen' about the Schloss both in the Palace and in the Humboldt University. This was the one point at which the ideological obsolescence of the building was cited as an obstacle to the construction of a new socialist city.[19]

The urban planning questions addressed so far contain an implicit visualization of urban space, but on 10th October 1950, Strauss wrote to Kurt Liebknecht, director of the 'Institut für Städtebau und Hochbau im Ministerium für Aufbau', reminding him that he had previously suggested making a 'Kulturfilm' about the work being carried out at the Palace, with the intention of demonstrating two things: the necessity of demolition as well as the painstaking work being undertaken by the government in salvaging valuable material. He appended to this letter an outline for the proposed film.[20]

The film would begin by juxtaposing images of the undestroyed and the destroyed Palace, illustrating the culturally-hostile barbarism of the Fascist war

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[18] cf. Maether, p. 152, 276, 280, 281.
[19] cf. Maether, p. 257.
[20] cf. Maether, p. 326.

and the Allied terror attacks. It would also demonstrate that the government's decision to demolish the Palace was the right one, through the great extent of the destruction, i.e. the building's physical obsolescence, while simultaneously pointing to the maintenance of all extant valuable elements. In order to provide a context for the Schloss's situation and the need to deal with the obsolescence brought about by the war, this would be followed by images of destroyed parts of Berlin and other cities in Germany. Again emphasising the technical problem of the city, it would be made clear that the demolition of the Palace ruin would be shown to open up the centre of the German capital for a comprehensive restructuring, which would allow for the large-scale solution of most of the long-term urban infrastructure problems. The film would then conclude with images of models for the new city centre.[21]

While there was doubtless an ideological dimension to the demolition of the Stadtschloss, the building was not demolished because of what it represented. Rather, what it represented meant that it was not accorded any value as an element of the past. Instead there was an interplay of technocratic and ideological concerns in which the calculable and visually-demonstrable obsolescence of the building grounded an argument that was aligned with the perception of its ideological obsolescence.

The 'empty space' created by the demolition of the Palace was to be filled by ideological content, but the principle which underpins the clearing of the site is a calculation about space that pays no attention to the historical time present in the Palace buildings. Laurenz Demps comes to this conclusion on the basis that, for the GDR regime, 'der gesamte vorhandene Stadtkörper […] Verfügungsmasse

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[21] Strauss's film was not made. From a Western perspective, Leo de Laforgue did make a film, *Berlin wie es war* (1951), which utilised still images of the Schloss demolition to make a propaganda point about the 'cultural philistinism' of the GDR regime.

[war], über deren historische Konturen man sich hinwegsetzen zu dürfen glaubte'.[22] Although the 16 principles of urban planning, published during considerations of the Palace, on the 27th July 1950, may have sharply distinguished between '[dem] in einem modernen Kraftwagen die Stadt durcheilende[n] Reisende[n] and '[dem] politische[n] Demonstrant[en] und seine Marschgeschwindigkeit', the organization of urban space was ultimately subordinate to the needs of circulation.[23]

The initial phase of (re)construction, under the guidelines of the 16 principles, was underpinned by a search for a 'nationalen deutschen Baustil', as in the first phase of the Stalinallee, and by plans that proposed the 'behutsame Erneuerung' of old districts such as the Fischerkiez.[24] Urban planning in East Berlin and beyond was however increasingly dominated by what Simone Hain terms the 'Durchsetzung modernster Bebauungsstrukturen nach international üblichen Parametern'.[25] This meant a growing disregard for existing urban structures and habitual spatial practices, as seen in Henselmann's 1956 vision for Friedrichshain, and the plans submitted for the 'Sozialistische Umgestaltung des Stadtzentrums' in 1958. Allied to this was an emphasis on a more efficient industrialisation of building production.[26] At the heart of this was a synchronic urban gaze which had no conception of former time and space, and envisioned the future as a site of circulatory automobile activity. This vision was disseminated to the GDR public in a series of photobooks produced throughout the 1950s, such as

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[22] Laurenz Demps, 'Schloß versus sozialistische Stadtmitte,', in *Schloss und Schlossbezirk in der Mitte Berlins: Das Zentrum der Stadt als politischer und gesellschaftlicher Ort*, ed. Wolfgang Ribbe, Berlin 2005, pp. 159-167 (p. 164). For a similar conclusion, see Brian Ladd, *The Ghosts of Berlin,* Chicago 1998, p. 57.
[23] These principles are reproduced in Klaus von Beyne, Werner Durth (eds), *Neue Städte aus Ruinen: Deutscher Städtebau in der Nachkriegszeit,* Munich 1992, pp. 30-31.
[24] Simone Hain, 'Berlin Ost: "In Westen wird man sich wundern"', in Beyne/Durth, pp. 32-57, (pp. 44-48).
[25] Hain, p. 49.
[26] Josef Kaiser, 'Die Fortsetzung der Stalinallee vom Starnberger Platz bis zum Alexanderplatz', in *Grossbaustelle Zentrum Berlin*, Berlin 1960, p. 17.

Berlin: Gestern, Heute, Morgen or *10 Jahre Nationales Aufbauwerk Hauptstadt Berlin*,[27] which juxtaposed images of the 'obsolescent' city of 1945 with images of the emerging 'new' city, or *Berlin Heute und Morgen* or *Unser Berlin: Die Hauptstadt Berlin*, which celebrated the new architectural and industrial achievements of the nascent socialist state.[28] These volumes demonstrate how, in a manner similar to that intended by Strauss, the conceptual vision was translated into the media of visual culture

The Revaluation of the Obsolescent Cityscape

It is well established that the crisis of legitimacy for the GDR regime led to a reformulation of its relationship to the German past in the 1970s, something which would express itself in terms of the state's relationship to the built environment in terms of preservation policy.[29] But the rediscovery of the nation's monuments was accompanied by a growing interest in the vernacular substance of the cityscape that was expressed both in state visualizations of that environment and in the emergence of forms of visual culture that privileged the ostensibly obsolescent as a critique of the empty, homogeneous space and time of the modern GDR cityscape.

Amongst urban planners, there was a growing awareness that the 'Grundfond' of 'old' buildings might have some value. As it became clear that the economic means to establish the vision of the modern socialist city were not available, parts of the former city that might otherwise have been deemed

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[27] Otto Hagemann, *Berlin: gestern, heute, morgen*, Berlin 1956; Fritz Trott, *10 Jahre Nationales Aufbauwerk Hauptstadt Berlin*, Berlin 1960.
[28] Hermann Exner, *Berlin Heute und Morgen*, Berlin 1953; Max Ittemann, *Unser Berlin: Ein Bildband*, Berlin, 1960.
[29]As institutionally sanctioned in the volumes of *Die Bau- und Kunstdenkmale der DDR*, produced by the Institut für Denkmalpflege der DDR, from 1978 onwards (the first Berlin edition being published in 1983). A barometric indicator of this change of attitude is visible in Peter Schweizer, 'Architektonische Sehenswürdigkeiten in Berlin, der Hauptstadt der DDR', *Deutsche Architektur* 23/6 (1971), 370-76.

obsolescent and marked for demolition came once more within the planners'
purview. Silvio Macetti considered the economics of the city and the complex
economics of urban construction in an article in the official architectural journal,
Deutsche Architektur where he termed this revision of attitudes the 'Ökonomie
der Erhaltung'.[30] It was not 'memory value' that was to be found in these older
buildings, but 'economic value' derived from a cost/benefit analysis which took
into account the complex factors determining urban construction.[31] Macetti's
article argues against 'unrationelle Teillösungen, so gut sie auch auf dem ersten
Blick aussehen' because these could produce considerable social and economic
problems.[32]

     This new perspective manifested itself in two renovation projects in
previously disregarded central districts of East Berlin in the late 1960s/early
1970s: Arkonaplatz and Arnimplatz. In the same edition of *Deutsche Architektur*,
Klaus Pöschk outlined the principles concerning the renovation of Arkonaplatz.[33]
Pöschk had concluded in 1967 that earlier renovations nearby had not been
effective enough from economic or socio-political perspectives.

     The value of these buildings was expressed clearly by the district mayor,
in a speech cited by Pöschk:

> Der Arkonaplatz ist ein Gebiet, wo nach der Planung eine
> Standdauer von 30 bis 40 Jahren zu erwarten ist. Die Standdauer
> ist sehr wichtig bei der Entscheidung, ob der Aufwand zu vertreten
> ist. Wir wenden je Wohnungseinheit beachtliche Kosten auf [...].
> Auf jeden Fall muß aber auch gesichert sein, daß die Häuser nicht
> in zehn Jahren abgerissen werden.[34]

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[30] Silvio Macetti, 'Ökonomie der Stadt und komplexe Ökonomie des Städtebaus', *Deutsche
Architektur* 20/10 (1971), 586-592 (588).
[31] Macetti, 588.
[32] Macetti, 588.
[33] Klaus Pöschk, 'Städtebauliche Umgestaltung und Rekonstruktion des Wohngebietes
"Arkonaplatz" in Berlin-Mitte', *Deutsche Architektur* 20/10 (1971), 602-609.
[34] Pöschk, 604.

Although the exchange value of the site remained predominant, Pöschk proposed the renovation of the Arkonaplatz as a model by which the 'überalterte und überlebte Struktur und Gestalt des Wohngebiets' could be overcome.[35] Within this model, it, a different visualisation of the value of the cityscape, its 'memory value', began to make itself evident:

> Die Straßeneinheiten bilden einen besonderen Schwerpunkt der architektonischen Gestaltung der rekonstruierten Altbausubstanz. [Darin] wird darauf orientiert, daß die Charakteristik der stadttypischen Berliner Straßenzüge gewahrt bleibt und eine sinnvoll abgestimmte Farbgebung, die [...] in einer weiterentwickelten neuen Farbigkeit eine Adaption an das Original berücksichtigt, den neuen gesellschaftlichen Inhalt widerspiegelt. Hierzu ist zu bemerken, daß das Wohngebiet nicht zu den ausgewiesenen Reservatzonen, wie zum Beispiel die Marienstraße, gehört, die den besonderen Bedingungen der Berliner Denkmalpflege unterliegen.[36]

Pöschk's final point is a crucial one: what is being preserved is the memory of an image. Attention was to be paid to the relationship of the new colours to the original, as well as the maintenance of certain 'Mauerwerksteile'. While the renovation thus pays attention to the way the buildings looked in the past, Pöschk stressed that any expense incurred was justifiable, and that the underlying criterion, as ever, was the 'physical and moral obsolescence' of the building.

This was underlined by the use of photographs, in particular an image of the 'städtebauliche Struktur und Gestalt des Wohngebiets', a dilapidated back courtyard that, according to the caption, was the inheritance of 'der kapitalistischen Vergangenheit' and bore the 'charakteristischen Merkmale der Miethausviertel der Gründerzeit'. While the caption identified the structure's 'moral' obsolescence, this was elided with the photograph's visible evidence of

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[35] Pöschk, 605.
[36] Pöschk, 608.

physical obsolescence, and contrasted a page later with a photograph of a renovated façade.

Two years later, again in *Deutsche Architektur*, Manfred Zache published an article which addressed the renovations at Arnimplatz, but significantly framed his comments within the context of the 8th Party Conference in 1971 and the associated Five Year Plan, asserting that this demanded not only 'den Ersatz verschlissener Wohnbausubstanz durch Neubau', but 'vor allem eine planmäßige Erhaltung und Verbesserung der Wohnbausubstanz durch Instandsetzung und Modernisierung'.[37] Zache too was keen to justify such corrective maintenance through the evidence of calculations. He argued that the comparison of the cost between the proposed modernisation and a possible renewal (i.e. total demolition and reconstruction) showed that modernisation would amount to 51 percent of the cost of renewal, hence it would be below the normal upper limit of 70 percent. This obsession with calculability makes it clear that economic justification remained paramount. Since the requirement was to keep using the building for at least another 30 years, modernisation of the existing substance was in any circumstance 'erforderlich'.[38]

Despite this emphasis on the calculability of renovation, one of the guiding principles was, as with the Arkonaplatz, an emphasis on the effect of the visual impact of the buildings through the integration of material elements (façades) that are 'kulturhistorisch wertvoll' or 'partiell noch erhalten'.[39]

Zache introduced an element ('cultural history') into the equation that is subjected neither to the calculability of economics nor a clear ideologically-approved historical narrative. Yet this did not involve a fundamental change of

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[37] Manfred Zache, Modernisierung im Stadtgebiet Prenzlauer Berg', *Deutsche Architektur* 23/6 (1973), 354-357 (354).
[38] Zache, 355.
[39] Zache, 356.

revaluation of the way in which former structures were viewed.[40] The claim to the objective quantifiability of the cityscape was still the dominant paradigm for visualizing the city.

Alternative Visions of the Obsolescent Cityscape

It is significant that at the time when economic considerations were reconfiguring the regime's policies of demolition and new construction, and also allowing a modification of the logic which underpinned its vision of the cityscape, the visual trope of obsolescence was being reconfigured within the sphere of visual culture as a figure of subjective 'resistance' to the dominant regime of understanding and representing the built environment as a series of interchangeable elements. Both film and photography stage the city as an actor in the

It is the critique of interchangeability that now begins to manifest itself, not just in the visual presentation of the 'obsolescent' cityscape, but also in the foregrounding of a subjective perception of that cityscape that critiques the ostensible objectivity of the planner's vision. This can be seen in *Die Legende von Paul und Paula* (1973; dir. Heiner Carow), which celebrates the ostensibly obsolete 'Mietskaserne', and is also evident in *Solo Sunny* (1980; dir. Konrad Wolf).[41] In *Paul und Paula*, the distinction between 'obsolete' and 'modern' is blatantly conveyed in the juxtaposition of the two forms of apartment within the same street. Given the official embracing of automobile pre-eminence in urban planning from the 1950s onwards, *Paul and Paula* not only sets up a binary opposition between the sterile modern cityscape and the vibrancy of former urban

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[40] Zache's article also used a photograph of a 'typische[n] Fassade' as illustration, but this did not so overtly serve the same function of displaying 'physical obsolescence', although it was juxtaposed with a scaffold-filled streetscape on the same page.
[41] For a recent comparative analysis of the representation of urban space in these two films, see, Hartmut Fröhlich, *Das neue Bild der Stadt. Filmische Stadtbilder und alltägliche Raumvorstellungen im Dialog*, Stuttgart 2007, pp. 166-178.

structures, but also critiques the celebration of automobility.[42] *Solo Sunny* is very aware of the codes which shape its forebear's semiotic structure: the name of a former inhabitant's girlfriend, 'Rita', inscribed within a heart on a door in Ralph's room is a direct citation of the Paul/a inscribed within a heart on Paula's door in the earlier film; the film also uses an apparently serendipitous shot of demolition, which nevertheless knowingly refers back to the staged demolitions of the earlier film. Nevertheless, *Solo Sunny* refuses to sentimentalise the old apartment block, which is shown to be a place of petty jealousies, suspicions and an upwardly mobile bohemian set. The film is also more ambiguous in its presentation of the relationship between the obsolete and the modern. Although the camera frequently lingers on decaying façades in front of which Sunny walks, it seldom directly juxtaposes this with a vision of the new. This ambiguity is derived from its more subtle exploration of the cinematic gaze as a way of framing the built environment.

Fig 1. Opening courtyard façade in *Solo Sunny*

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[42] Consider the accident that causes Paula's child's death, and her dependence on Reifen-Saft. Cf. Fröhlich, p. 174.

The film's opening titles seem to offer us a static image of an 'obsolescent', decaying façade, but as we watch, Sunny comes into view, introducing movement into an apparently still image. The later shot of demolition may have come about by accident, but it is followed by a shot of Sunny's shopping on the kitchen table, as if to imply that such demolition is now simply part of the everyday, rather than the visceral interruption that it is in *Paul und Paula*. Sequences such as these remind us that film as a time-based medium is a more complex form of recording the built environment: it does not simply provide a static vision, but can juxtapose the act of seeing the built environment with an insight into the way in which it is inhabited.

Solo Sunny reflects on the gaze upon and from the built environment in the sequences set in the new apartment block where Sunny's friend has moved. In the first scene set there, we see Sunny putting up wallpaper that is a life-size scale version of a sunlit and fertile classical arcade. The *trompe l'oeil* effect is perfect as we see the back of Sunny framed by this illusion of harmonious living. During the next scene set in the apartment block, we see a black silhouette of Sunny from behind as she gazes out of the window; the next shot shows us what she sees: a grey, desolate, empty streetscape with a single car. This is less the critical gaze *upon* the product of the synchronic urban gaze, as is the case in *Paul and Paula*, but rather a critical examination of how the subjective gaze *from* that product has been shaped by the synchronic urban gaze.

Fig 2. Sunny's gaze upon the empty cityscape in *Solo Sunny*

Like Paula, Sunny is also offered a way out of her situation by a man with a car, in this case it is Harry, a taxi driver. Her alternative (in more than one sense) is Ralph, who describes himself at one point as 'not living in a new apartment block, not having a registered car nor a television', and whom the *mise-en-scène* associates with the decaying back courtyards of the former 'Mietskasernen'; a key scene locates Sunny and Ralph in a graveyard framed within a courtyard covered in ivy. Ralph is writing about 'death and society', addressing the question of decay which the GDR society with its synchronic gaze was refusing to address.

Figure 3: The court-graveyard in *Solo Sunny*

Such visualisations of obsolescence and decay are examples of a subjective urban memorial gaze that identifies the (passage of) time within the built environment. When juxtaposed with the new, that obsolescence haunts the products of the synchronic urban gaze, offering by extension a critique of the ostensible quantifiability of the cityscape and the ideological denunciation of obsolescence.

This framing of the visual power of obsolescence through an urban memorial gaze in the GDR accords with Frisby's observation on the limitations of the synchronic urban gaze:

> If our experience of modernity is to be any more than the endless affirmation of the ever-new that is presented to us on the surface of everyday modern life, then it must access the contradictions and differentiations of modernity that exist within it.[43]

For Frisby, it is the subjective activity of flânerie that 'seeks to make sense of the fragmentary experiences and images of the metropolis, to search for the traces of

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[43] Frisby, p. 312.

origin, […] following traces, including memory traces, in order to reconstruct the past'.[44] The 'past' visualised in the films discussed above is not situated within a clear historical narrative, due to the absence of historical commentary, but is closer to the indeterminate 'Alterswert' of obsolescence characterized by Riegl in his essay on 'Der moderne Denkmalkultus', which identified the democratic desire for age value as a response to a rapidly modernising urban environment.[45] The two films' rejection of automobile motion also indicates an affinity with the activity of flânerie, of experiencing the city on foot, that is central to providing an visualisation of the city that offers an alternative to the visions of urban planning, and is also central to the 'alternative' photographic documentation of the GDR cityscape and its inhabitants from the 1970s onwards, as in the work of Evelyn Richter, Christian Borchert, Manfred Paul and Uwe Steinberg.[46]

If these films present fictionalized revisionings of the cityscape, their *mise-en-scènes* are indebted to the indexical quality of the cinematic image, something which cinema shares with photography. One of the most significant alternative visualisations of the city within the East Berlin context is the work of the architect-turned-photographer Ulrich Wüst. Wüst's photographs are distinctive, not merely for their interest in documenting urban obsolescence, but in their analytical gaze upon the new living structures of the SED regime, as a visual form of 'Zivilisationskritik'. Although his first collection of photographs, *Fotografien*, was not published until 1985, the photographs collected there date

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[44] Frisby, p. 312.

[45] While it would be straightforward to criticize this interest in the 'obsolescent' as nostalgic, it is perhaps more helpful to think of it in terms of the critical potential of 'reflective nostalgia', as opposed to 'restorative nostalgia', identified by Boym in *The Future of Nostalgia*, pp. 49-56.

[46] One of the forerunners of such photography, and its redolent ambiguity, would be the largely-neglected work of Arno Fischer. Fischer's now famous 1953 photograph of a crack running through a gable wall with a man looking out is a singular, but important example, which illustrates the potential equivocability of the cityscape photograph. It is reproduced in Karl Gernot Kuehn, *Caught. The Art of Photography in the German Democratic Republic*, Berkeley 1997, p.89, where Kuehn, identifying it as 'East Berlin' interprets it as a comment on Ulbricht's new urban vision. It is also, however, reproduced in *Arno Fischer: Fotografien*, Stuttgart 2009, p. 53, but now titled 'West Berlin, Wedding 1953', and interpreted as a comment on the divided city (p. 12).

from 1978 onwards. The introduction to the volume was written by the GDR architectural critic, Wolfgang Kil, who cited from an article written in 1980 by Hein Köster in the critically-oriented GDR journal *form + zweck*.[47] Köster's commentary on a selection of Wüst's photographs contains a formulation of an important dimension of the urban memorial gaze:

> Die Bilder reden nur mit dem, der zuallererst seinen Augen traut. Wer hingegen mit den Dingen fertig ist, wenn er ihre Namen sagen kann oder sein Vorurteil bestätigt findet, übersieht die hier gebotene Freiheit, die Szene mit Aktionen zu erfüllen, sich Geschichte erzählen zu lassen.[48]

Köster here formulates two forms of gaze that map onto our distinctions between the synchronic urban gaze and the urban memorial gaze: the instrumentalizing gaze that reduces the object to what it signifies, and another gaze that opens out the image as a process. Kil's introduction to Wüst's 1985 book expands upon Köster's observation, proposing that Wüst's 'Architektenaugen' closely observed the built environment and 'stießen auf die Zeit':

> Gelebtes Leben, das seine Spuren eingrub in ehemals makellose Oberflächen; Hinterlassenschaften zahlloser, anonymer Existenzen, in deren Verlauf Häuser nicht bestaunt wurden wie Kunstwerke, sondern genutzt, gebraucht, verbraucht.[49]

Central here is the reworking of the Rieglian definition of 'age value' that, as with the official GDR line expressed in *Deutsche Architektur* in the early 1970s, clearly distinguishes between the official 'artistic' monument and vernacular 'unintended monuments' which document the passage of socially-experienced

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[47] For an analysis of *form + zweck*'s function within the GDR public sphere, see Lois Weinthal, 'Postcard From the German Democratic Republic: A View of the Domestic Realm' *Space and Culture* 2005; 8; 325-331.
[48] Hein Köster, 'Strukturen', *form + zweck*, 4 (1980), 46-49 (46), cited in Wolfgang Kil, untitled foreword, in Ulrich Wüst, *Friedrichshain*, Berlin 1985, p. 1.
[49] Kil, p. 1.

time. Wüst's gaze is analytical, with a particular eye for 'jene schwer zu begreifenden Zonen, in denen Überkommenes und jüngst erst Hinzugefügtes aufeinanderstoßen.' (Kil, p. 2). In Wüst's photographs, the city appears not simply as a 'Nebeneinander' of different building attitudes, but of different cultures. Kil also contrasts the abstract calculations of the synchronic urban gaze with the effects which Wüst's photography achieves, 'als sei der Berg aus Stein und Beton, aus Zahlen und Fakten und Geometrien allmählich abgetragen und habe nun Blicke freigegeben auf weiteres Terrain, Schritt für Schritt: veränderte Szenarien'.[50] Kil then makes a crucial distinction that expands upon Köster's original observation: Wüst's photographic gaze is not longer simply 'Betrachten', but a form of 'Schauen', which implies the perception of time as a process: reality is no longer being documented 'im festgefügten Detail, sondern als flüchtiges Fragment' with everything that this evokes – 'Atmosphäre, Stimmung, Subjektivität'. (Kil, p. 2). This interest in the fragment aligns Wüst with Frisby's (and Benjamin's) flâneur. There is indeed something fundamentally subjective about Wüst's urban gaze, in that it is contrasted with the pseudo-objectivity of the synchronic urban gaze that renders the object intact and impermeable, also to time.[51] As Kil observes, Wüst's architectural photography is not intended to allow its viewer 'ein Dargestelltes [zu] wiedererkennen, sondern damit wir das erkennen.' (Kil, p. 1) In other words, as in the films discussed above, the recording of the built environment goes beyond the mere intention to objectively document the cityscape. Rather, we are asked to pay attention to the ways in

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[50] Kil, p. 2. This is an interesting inversion of the archetypal and ideologically-loaded 'rubble-clearing' motif, as if Wüst provided the pre-conditions of seeing for a new reconstruction of the cityscape.

[51] Kil's text operates within the realm of what is permissible, stressing at the end of his introduction that the images 'gelten auch uns', thus recuperating Wüst's photography within a collective audience.

which we recognise and are invited to recognise the urban environment and its inhabitants.

The 1980s: Omnipresent Obsolescence

Through the 1980s, photography would become a significant medium for the critique of the state's synchronic urban vision, albeit one that was tacitly accepted by the censor.[52] As Kuehn observes: 'It had become common knowledge that almost anything was acceptable in photography, as long as it could be placed within a constructive socialist context'.[53]

Helga Paris's study of the 'obsolescent' Halle cityscape and its inhabitants, *Häuser und Gesichter*, completed between 1983 and 1985, created a scandal, although its visual imagery, according to Kuehn, was not the presentation of 'ubiquitous decay, but a benign and rather picturesque oasis of enviable peace that has resisted the rush of the late twentieth century'.[54] Kuehn lays the responsibility for the project's scandalous impact at the feet of Helmut Brade, whose foreword explained to the censors 'unequivocally what they should see'.[55] The photographic image of obsolescence would otherwise remain equivocal: what appears to be self-evident is in fact highly dependent on the codes that are being employed and the audience that is interpreting those codes. As Barton Byg has observed of documentary film in the GDR:

> The filmmakers and the audiences […] were always acutely aware that state ideology was present in the production of any image by the state-supported camera. Thus, a commentary by the filmmaker was either redundant (if it were to support the state) or impossible (if it were to tend toward overt critique or opposition). Instead, any

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[52] For examples which go beyond the scope of this essay, see the work of Konstanze Göbel, Eva Mahn and Manfred Butzmann.
[53] Kuehn, , p. 169.
[54] Kuehn, p. 169.
[55] Kuehn, p. 169.

critique or opposition had to come from the seemingly 'objective' depiction of life in the GDR as it really was. The results were […] aesthetically sophisticated films that investigate the irreducible gap between personal experience and public history, and the contradictions of the film medium itself in speaking for and to the 'subjects' of history in a socialist state.[56]

Such an absence of commentary meant that even images that blatantly juxtaposed the new with the 'obsolescent' *could* be read in terms of the need for renewal.

The role of photography in the 1980s as a medium for registering and reflecting upon obsolescence in the GDR is addressed in Peter Kahane's film, *Die Architekten,* made in the final months of the GDR's existence. This is a film about building and restoration, but also a film about the history of the value of obsolescence in the GDR. When the central protagonist, Daniel, is founding his architect collective, he approaches his former colleague, the photographer Jürgen. We first encounter Jürgen in a key sequence in which our gaze is statically placed in front of a series of visibly obsolescent façades (the trace of a gable, a shopfront with mock putti on the window, the remains of an old tenement block alongside a new housing block, and finally a hole in a newly-plastered, but unfinished wall through which an old wooden door is visible). On each occasion, the film mimics the opening and closing of a camera shutter; only after the fourth image do we see the camera and the photographer. In other words, the spectator has been trained (briefly) in Jürgen's urban memorial gaze. Jürgen represents the 'destructive' spirit, as is clear in his embracing and celebrating of decay through his photographic activities, and proves to be the most cynical in Daniel's team, accused of bringing chaos into attempts to establish some kind of order in their plans, and he is the first to leave the project.

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[56] Barton Byg, 'Parameters for Institutional and Thematic Integration of Filmmakers from the Former GDR', in *What Remains East German Culture and the Postwar Republic*, ed. Marc Silberman, Wisconsin 1997, pp. 64-75 (p. 69).

We, and Daniel, encounter Jürgen later at an exhibition. The visual framing of the exhibition location is akin to one of Jürgen's photographs, within an old housing block with a new 'Plattenbau' construction on one side and a building site on the other. Indeed, the gallery is located in the Spandauer Vorstadt that had been one of the inner city areas renewed along the nostalgic lines of the Nikolaiviertel reconstruction in the 1980s. In the exhibition, we see a series of individual portraits which are very different from the idealized 'propaganda' images of model citizens. These portraits are followed by the new/old architectural juxtaposition which we saw Jürgen photographing earlier.

The elision here of façade and face is significant. Jürgen's photographs follow Helga Paris's Halle model in making the connection between the damaged state of the cityscape and the people who live in that built environment. It visually restates the argument for the communicative potential of the built environment, but also for the potential of that built environment to reveal uncomfortable truths about the society in which it is to be found.
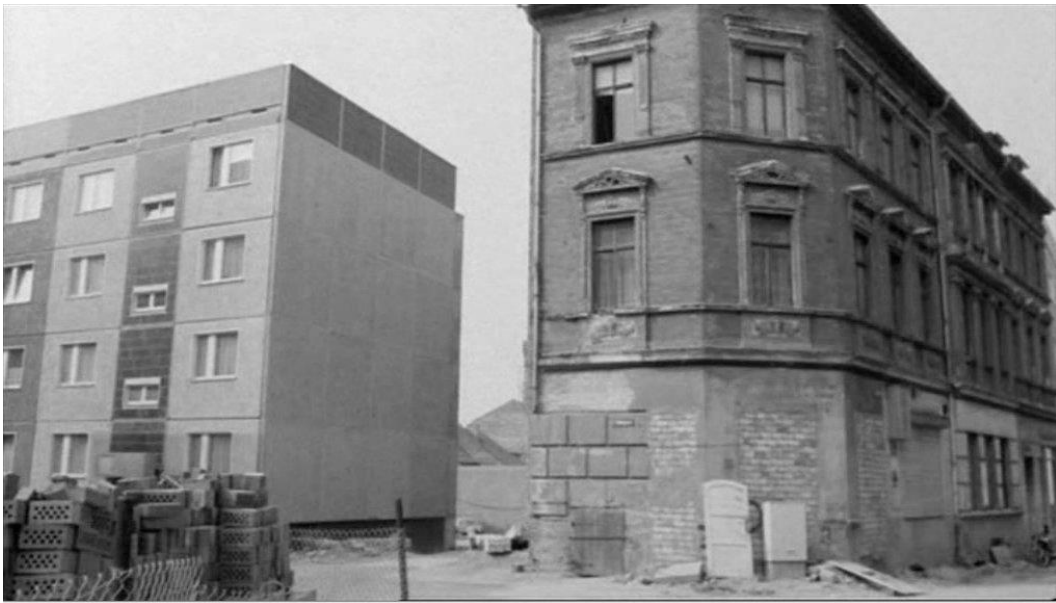
Figure 4: The photographic juxtaposition of 'obsolete' and 'modern' in *Die Architekten*

The Afterlife of Obsolescence

The GDR cityscape became 'former' with the collapse of the state, marked by the fall of the Wall which still imprisons Daniel at the end of *Die Architekten*. Jürgen Böttcher's 1990 documentary, *Die Mauer*, utilises the visual strategies of critical GDR representations of obsolescence (including the eschewal of verbal commentary) to interrogate the immediate 'formerness' of the Wall. Böttcher's film belongs to the interstitial period between the end of the GDR regime and the establishment of the new order repeatedly declared by the CNN reporter in front of the Brandenburg Gate in Böttcher's film.

The strategies for the presentation of the obsolescence of the former GDR's cityscape since 1990 would be the subject for a separate article. Representations of the demolished Palast der Republik, the Foreign Ministry and the Ahornblatt would form a central part of this analysis, as would the internationalisation of artistic engagement with the former GDR cityscape, exemplified in the work of Sophie Calle (*Die Entfernung*, 1996*)*, Christian Boltanski ('Missing House', 1990), Shimon Attie ('Writing on the Wall', 1993),

Tacita Dean ('Fernsehturm', 2001, and 'Palast', 2005) and Lars Ramberg ('Zweifel', 2005).

An exhibition held in the Rotes Rathaus in Berlin-Mitte in July 2009 illustrated that the visible obsolescence of the GDR cityscape has had an afterlife in the new regime of representation that has developed in the reconstruction of the new German capital. The poster outside the Rathaus announcing the exhibition: juxtaposed two photographs, showing (presumably) the same courtyard in its condition in 1993 and in 2008.
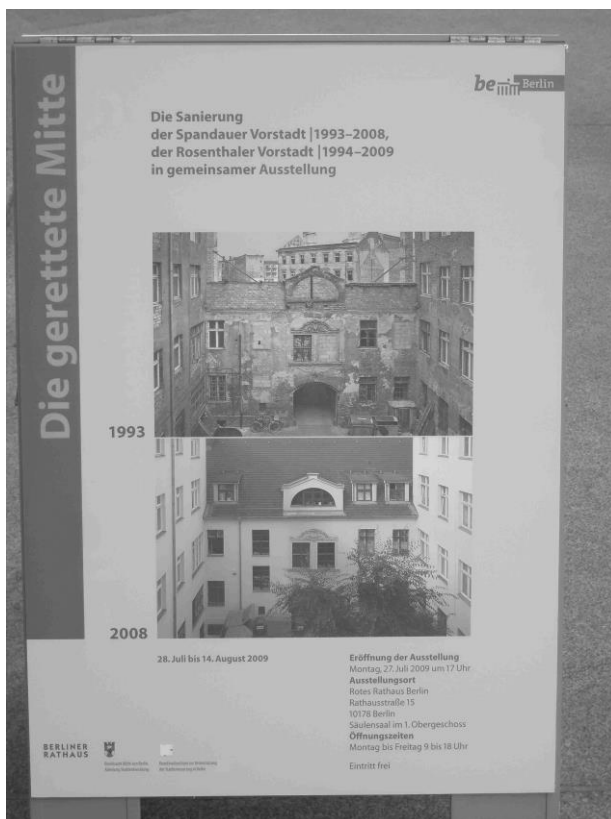

Figure 5: Poster for 'Die gerettete Mitte' exhibition: Photograph: Simon Ward

The textual captions 'Die Gerette Mitte' and 'Die Sanierung der Spandauer Vorstadt 1993-2008 und der Rosenthaler Vorstadt 1994-2009' frame how one is to meant to 'read' the images, in case one were tempted to value the dilapidated façades of the past over the whitewashed present.

Inside the exhibition, which took place in an upper room in the Rathaus, the exhibition began with the photographer, Klaus Bädicker's, biography alongside four boards, titled 'Impressionen der Rosenthaler Vorstadt aus den 1980ern' which displayed the condition of certain 'Hinterhöfe' in the 1980s through a series of large-format monochrome photographs. It was striking that the 'captioning' was set to one side of the photographs, heightening the impression that the pictures communicate self-evidently their 'message'. For those who had lived there at the time, there might be a moment of visual anamnesis, relating to their spatial practices of the time. For tourists, like myself, the generic qualities of decay in the images would be the prime element communicated. So, as with the first set of images on the exhibition poster, these are potentially ambiguous images, whose meaning is primarily generated by their juxtaposition with the images of the renewed district in the rest of the exhibition. Interestingly, these photographs were not directly juxtaposed with the images of the renovated buildings, and in their large format, approach the status of independent aesthetic objects, rather than a 'mere' documentation of the built environment.

The absence of further information relating to these photographs can be contrasted with the abundance of textual and visual information contained on the other boards in the exhibition. The initial board, 'Die Gerettete Mitte', followed the exhibition poster in juxtaposing the before and now condition of six spaces in the district.

Figure 6: 'Die gerettete Mitte' board at the exhibition (with visitors): Photograph: Simon Ward

The rest of the boards were titled thematically, and comprised a compendium of the important aspects of contemporary urban renewal, from a reflective and meticulous planning culture to a documentation of the history of the district.

It is interesting to observe the ambiguity of the display of 'age value' in Bädicker's photographs, removed from their original East Berlin context.[57] They no longer function as an evocation of an otherwise disregarded life-world, but are subsumed within the logic that previously informed the GDR state's triumphalist instrumentalization of the visual signs of physical but also moral obsolescence. That logic has now been appropriated by the champions of urban renewal in the 'new' Berlin, rendering the 'old' GDR cityscape redundant and the 'new'/renewed Berlin as functional, not in terms of a utopian vision of the future (the logic in both post-war West and East Berlin), but as the mastering and incorporation of the former cityscape.

The exhibition presents the contemporary hegemonic visualization of the city with the visual media at its disposal. The logic of that visualization is subtly undermined in a collection of photographs by the artist Arwed Messmer, entitled

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[57] Bädicker's photography is on display at www.baedicker.net (accessed 31st March 2010). It is a remarkable archive that, probably unintentionally, plays with the referentiality of the photographs Bädicker took between 1984 and 1994. For a more intentional play with the referentiality of the photographic image of the cityscape, visit Lars Ramberg's virtual continuation of his 2005 installation 'Zweifel', at www.palastdeszweifels.de (accessed 31st March 2001).

Anonyme Mitte (2009). Messmer's photographs of Berlin-Mitte in its post-unification state of demolition / transition are juxtaposed with those taken by Fritz Tiedemann under contract by the GDR state in 1951. Rather than working with a conventional old/new juxtaposition, Messmer's volume, with its unfolding format, quite literally opens out our awareness of the desire for new states to establish their own legitimacy through the moulding of the cityscape, seemingly unaware that their cityscape will itself be 'the past' one day. Tacita Dean, an artist deeply concerned with questions of obsolescence, describes the building of the Palace of the Republic and its intended post-unification replacement from this perspective of the denial of inevitable obsolescence:

> When the Palast der Republik was first opened in 1976, it was clad in white marble with 180 metres of windowed façade, triumphant in its transparent splendour and so-named 'the house of a thousand windows'. There is now no trace of the white marble; the structure is raw wood and the windows are tarnished like dirty metal. It is as if the state is letting time make up its mind – letting entropy do the job and make the decision it is loathe to make. But the sore in the centre of the city is too public, and so a month ago, the wedding cake won and the Palast der Republik was condemned. The revivalists were triumphant. Soon Museum Island will be homogenized into stone white fakery and will no longer twinkle with a thousand setting suns.[58]

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[58] Tacita Dean, 'Palast', in *Tacita Dean: Film Works*, New York, 2007, p. 95.