



OCCUPATION: Structures of the Berlin Brigade
Mike Terry | Visual & Media Anthropology
MA Thesis

OCCUPATION: Structures of the Berlin Brigade

Mike Terry | 6 October 2013

M.A. Thesis in Visual & Media Anthropology | Freie Universität Berlin

Supervisor | Samuli Schielke

Matriculation Number | 4559633



This project was partially funded through the
Fine Arts, Architecture, Music & Dance Graduate Grant
from the German Academic Exchange Service. 2011-2013



Cover image: Museum and members club for the 6941st Guard Battalion
at the former Clay Headquarters complex in Berlin-Zehlendorf.
Photo by Mike Terry, 2013.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION	2
I. METHODOLOGY	10
II. SITES & ANALYSIS	20
TEUFELSBERG	21
CLAY HEADQUARTERS	42
TURNER BARRACKS / MUNITIONS DEPOT	59
TEMPELHOF	66
HÜTTENWEG CHAPEL	85
III. MONTAGE	104
CONCLUSION	118
EPILOGUE	121
WORKS CITED	123
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	129
DECLARATION IN LIEU OF OATH	



Dedicated to Charles and Edna Terry
Thanks for bringing us on your adventures.

Berlin | 2013



[Remaining perimeter wall at Truman Plaza; former nucleus of the US military community in Berlin-Zehlendorf. 2012]

INTRODUCTION

“There are no lived bodies without the places they inhabit and traverse...Bodies and places are co-natural terms. They inter-animate each other.” (Casey 1997:24)

A majority of life's deepest moments; emotional and meaningful, occur in places transcending the role of mere setting. Within the unavoidable human task of dwelling, exists a relationship between the individual and the structure. As place is created from space, its influence on the creator and those who follow as users and creators themselves, is symbiotic and endless. How do individuals use and relate to the built environment and how can visually representing these relationships create unique knowledge?

2014 marks the 20th anniversary of occupational military withdrawing from Berlin. Simultaneously dozens of installations¹ built and or used by the US military in former West Berlin; were emptied, lights returned to the German government. Regarding use, this moment returned these structures to a state of tabula rasa. These multiple sites share this unique timeline, geographic proximity and a historical context; collectively lending themselves to place making research.

Methodologically based in visual anthropology I have constructed a latent and otherwise inaccessible network of historical and current users of these sites to better understand how individuals relate to the built environment. This research is vital and relevant for Berlin. Since reunification² and military withdrawal issues of re-use and development are central and divisive.

1 No US military facility in Germany was officially called a fort. Any piece of military property under United States control could be called an installation. (Hawkins 2001:33)

2 Although reunification occurred in 1990, US, French, British and Soviet military did not officially leave Berlin until 1994 as part of the 'Two-plus-Four Treaty'. (USA 1990)

*"The American's belonged to the cityscape. Today it's done (development) as if they were never there. I don't get it."*³ (Bronewski 2012) If this is the case on the edge of Berlin, similar situations with different actors are occurring in the center (Low 2001:56).

Just as culture exists in constant flux, development and memorialization of the built environment must evolve with the living bodies that dwell within. *"A politically conscious approach to urban preservation, must go beyond the techniques of traditional architectural preservation and it must emphasize public process and memory"* (Hayden 1995:11).

The importance of Berlin to both East and West following WWII and subsequent Cold War cannot be understated. A historical context for the militarization of the area is important when discussing structural remnants of the era. *"Buildings can be understood in terms of power and authority as efforts to assume, extend resist or accommodate it"* (Wells 1995:30). The early years following the Wende⁴ that transformed systems of power and authority in Berlin deserve a brief background.

Historical Background

"They [the Western powers] hauled Germany into the Western bloc, and Germany split into two parts. The peace treaty will give legitimacy to this split...it will weaken the West and, of course, the West will not agree with it. Their eviction from West Berlin will mean closing of the channels for their subversive activities against us." General Secretary Nikita Krushchev, 1961. (Cold War Project 1993:60)

"The world must know that we will fight for Berlin. We will never permit that city to fall under Communist influence. We are defending the freedom of Paris and New York when we stand up for freedom in Berlin." President John F. Kennedy, 1961.
(Berliner Illustrierte 1963).

3 Berlin's Mayor Klaus Wowereit was often criticized for 'selling Berlin' to the highest bidder at expense of its citizens. (Guard Battalion 2012)(Bronewski 2012). Speculation, development and gentrification are standard topics in today's Berlin.

4 *Wende* (*The Change* or *The Turn*) refers to the process between 1989 and 1990 when the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED) changed to a parliamentary democracy in the German Democratic Republic leading up to German unification. Colloquially it is often used as a demarcation between a separated and unified Germany. *'Nach der Wende'* i.e. *'After the Turn'*.



[Red Army Soldier on Unter den Linden Street following the Battle of Berlin. 1945. -Federal German Archives /183-R77767 / CC-BY-SA].



[2nd Lt. William Robertson and Lt. Alexander Sylvashko, Red Army, shown in front of sign [East Meets West] symbolizing the historic meeting of the Russian and American Armies, near Torgau, Germany. -US National Archive / #121 (111-SC-205228)]

Post WWII

In May of 1945 the U.S. Army seized Munich as Soviet forces raised their flag over Berlin's smoldering Reichstag. Germany and Berlin were split into four occupational zones among the Allied forces of the United States, Great Britain, France and the USSR. During early post war years, from the U.S., British and French perspective, the role of West Berlin ran parallel to a transition of viewing the USSR as a cooperative member of the victorious parties to that of an impending 'Soviet' threat. In 1946 U.S. President Harry S. Truman pragmatically predicted the armament and pressures that would divide Berlin when he said, "*the Russians will try to socialize their sphere of influence, just as we are trying to democratize our spheres of influence*" (S&S 1946:1). Pulled in different directions, these spheres eventually solidified into the East Bloc (Soviet) and the NATO countries. The federalization of the Federal German Republic a.k.a. West Germany it made clear that the motivation for continued military presence in Germany and Berlin was no longer solely an occupation of former Nazi Germany, but rather a strategic position for growing hostility between East and West.

Tensions culminated with the departure of the USSR from the Allied Komandatura⁵ of Berlin, severing the last line of cooperation between the original four powers. Thereafter a Soviet blockade of goods and resources into West Berlin prompted the United States to explicitly refuse to leave Germany until all other foreign forces had evacuated Berlin (S&S 1946:1). This resolve was tested during the Berlin Airlift that maintained West Berlin as 'free'⁶ and strategic thorn in the side of the USSR and German Democratic Republic⁷. Berlin was the vital front line enclosed within the East Bloc for a standoff that would last throughout the Cold War until the nearly end of the century (Hawkins 2001: 7-16).

⁵ The military government of Berlin shared by the US, USSR, Great Britain and France. Subject to the Allied Control Council responsible for all of Germany.

⁶ 'Free' appears often in historical and political rhetoric of the Cold War. In this case it refers to maintaining West Berlin as part of the Allied zone enclaved within the then Soviet occupied zone. Interestingly enough the Freie (*Free*) University of Berlin was established in the same year inside the American zone as the airlift and made use of the word as well.

⁷ a.k.a. East Germany or GDR. 1949-1990

Post Wende

Libeskind insists that 'the identity of Berlin cannot be reformed in the ruins of history or in the illusory reconstruction of an arbitrary selected past.' The new city for him has to come to life as a collage, a mosaic, a palimpsest, a puzzle. The Berlin of the 21st century will be traversed 'by ten thousand thunderbolts of absolute absence.' (Boym 2008:191)

Following reunification, politicians and developers in Berlin presented the maxim '*Berlin Wird*'⁸ to represent the multitude of building projects in the city. Much has been written on evolving relationships between individuals and specific elements of the landscape, border areas and memorials in Berlin (Boym 2001), (Huyssen 2003), (Sebald 2003). In preparing for my research with these texts, the primary area of observation is confined to the central boroughs of Berlin. Sites like the Reichstag, Berliner Schloss / Palast der Republik⁹, Tacheles, Pariser and Potsdamer Platz, Hauptbahnhof and the DMZ-esque scar that divided the city with a wall; surface as usual subjects of commentary on post-Wende development in Berlin.

As the anniversary of withdrawal nears, development in these areas deserve attention more than ever. A large majority of the structures used by the U.S. military are currently involved in a large scale development with considerable social, economic and cultural ramifications. Concentrating on an area of Berlin that has received less attention is a handful of stones for the mosaic Boym invokes.

Chapter I provides the theoretical framework and methodology for this research. Chapter II offers a synthesis of thematically analyzed data and recurring concepts that emerged during field work. Chapter III proposes a representational design for visualizing anthropologic data.

⁸ This purposely ambiguous marketing word is translated as 'Berlin Becomes' (Huyssen 2003:54, 64).

⁹ See page 5.



[Former McNair Barracks. Berlin-Steglitz. June 2012.]



[Former Cole Sports Center. Berlin-Zehlendorf. November 2]012.]



[Gate on west side of Truman Plaza. Berlin-Zehlendorf. Currently *FünfMorgen - Dablem Urban Village* development site. November 2012.]



[Former Berlin Brigade Housing. Berlin-Zehlendorf. November 2012.]

CHAPTER I METHODOLOGY

Growing up in a military community in Germany¹⁰ influenced my interest in these structures. Wanderings with my camera through the field sites here in Berlin produced a peculiar nostalgia for the environment in which I was raised. Although I had never been to Berlin until my late 20s, much less explored the districts of Zehlendorf or Steglitz, similar building styles and other imprints still visible in the former American sector reconnected me to places and memory from decades ago on the opposite side of Germany.

I remembered walking to Campbell Barracks where my father worked to wait for a ride home after school. I had forgotten my ID card identifying me as a military dependent and was stopped at the gate by a helmeted MP¹¹ with an M-16 in his hands. I wanted to wait for my dad outside his office and mentioned his specific unit and building. He teasingly asked, "*How do I know you're American?*" While stumbling over a proper answer he added, "*Prove it, sing the national anthem.*" 2/3rds through the song I was granted access through a steel turnstile topped with razor wire. I smiled at the exchange and waited on the curb of my father's building, the only one with no windows or waiting room.

The daily interaction with the military system, its rules and hierarchy was at the time completely implicit to me. My identity as an American was inextricable from the military and its role in West Germany. It wasn't until these early explorations at field sites in Berlin; a different place only contextually connected to my hometown, that I realized how unique and poignant this experience was for me. The walks were a reunion with something I knew very well. Familiar elements of the landscape resembled parts of my own body that had detached and lived independent lives. The landscape's faculty to elicit this was because these places, this type of life, was no longer implicit. Besides memories left to circulate through the structures' pipes and veins, this time had past. Physically and culturally, I was now on the outside.

Nostalgia often exists between individual biography and the biography of nations (Boym 2008:5). Wedged amidst them both, these traces found in various degrees of translucence offer a question. What happens when perceptions of home and personal history are tied to a landscape predicated on circumstances now obsolete? Circumstances change yet our relation to the landscape is a continuous construction site of itself. This research seeks to unpack how this construction happens in the first place.

¹⁰ I grew up in Heidelberg, Germany until 1995 while my father worked for the Department of Defense at the US Army Europe Headquarters.

¹¹ Military Police

Theoretical Framework

“City design is therefore a temporal art, but it can rarely use the controlled and limited sequences of other temporal arts like music. On different occasions and for different people, the sequences are reversed, interrupted, abandoned, cut across. It is seen in all lights and weathers” (Lynch 1960:1).

Perceptions of place and the meanings we charge them with are fingerprints. Pressed with common lines of flesh yet complex and distinct. Gathering actions in and perceptions of space is gathering meaning. What processes continue to charge these sites and under what circumstances? The ethnographic answer is a textured one¹² that photography is well suited to approach.

The framework and placement of these structures and their users for this research is subjective and initially an 'etic' approach. Weber writes that man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun (Geertz 1973:5). Layered connections between users and uses attempts to represent a multi-sited landscape for “...suturing locations of cultural production that had not been obviously connected and consequently, for creating empirically argued new envisionings of social landscapes” (Marcus 1984:108-9).

A heralding aspect of the post-modern world is the consequence of connected-ness, both in a physical and perceptual sense. Creating such a network is an attempt to reduce the puzzlement that Geertz describes, in clarifying not only what manner of *structures* are these?...but more importantly, what manner of people have made them what they are? (Geertz 1973:16) Filling in the junctions of this web by conducting interviews and observations without imposing my conceptual construction is the balancing 'emic' approach that I hope will cast my own constructions as beneficial in answering the research question.

Research elements are organized by sites, (the physical building or area), users, and uses. 'Users' are those active in or with the structures while 'uses' are the respective activities or behavior related to the specific site connection. Users and uses are further analyzed across a temporal axis where the zero coordinate is the moment in 1994 of 'tabula rasa' mentioned earlier. Establishing where previous use influences continuity or disconnect is an insightful domain that requires a bounded temporality to elbow between history and sociology to ask what is happening at these places, and how did it get to this point? Huyssen writes on the necessity of memory discourse in future development,

12 As explained during advisory meeting with Samuli Schielke. 11 July 2013.

It just will not do to replace the 20th centuries obsessions with the future with our newly found obsessions with the past. We need both past and future to articulate our political, social, and culture dissatisfactions with the present state of the world. Memory discourses are absolutely essential to imagine the future and to regain a strong temporal and spatial ground of life and the imagination in a media and consumer society that increasingly voids temporality and collapses space (Huyssen 2003:6).

During field work I positioned myself as an anthropologist and professional photographer researching at the local university. Initial contacts with informants were made through either formal emails or telephone calls, or informal encounters at the sites without an appointment. On the continuum between researcher and participant, my position varied at each site. Although this has an affect on data, early on I decided that despite the irregularity of its parts, constructing this web of users and uses for analysis was the research aim.

Space & Place

Breaking space down is the first step in understanding that relation to place occurs on more than the surface level. Sites are shared regardless of permission. It is not the hole in a fence or an open door that allows individuals to project perceptions and meanings onto place. This is due to the difference between physical and perceived place.

"A park is conceived, designed and produced through labor, technology and institutions, but the meaning of the space, and the space itself is adapted and transformed as it is perceived and lived by social actors and groups." (Elden 2004:191)

Low's co-production' model for the creation social space, distinguishes between physical *production* and it's phenomenological cousin, *construction* (Low 2009: 24). The model informs the very core of this research and others regarding development in Berlin, where activities of use are at odds with forces of development.



Social Construction

Phenomenological and symbolic experience of place.
Social exchanges, memories, images, daily use of material setting..
Creates meaning and perception.

Absolute Space
(Natural Space)

Social Space

Social Production

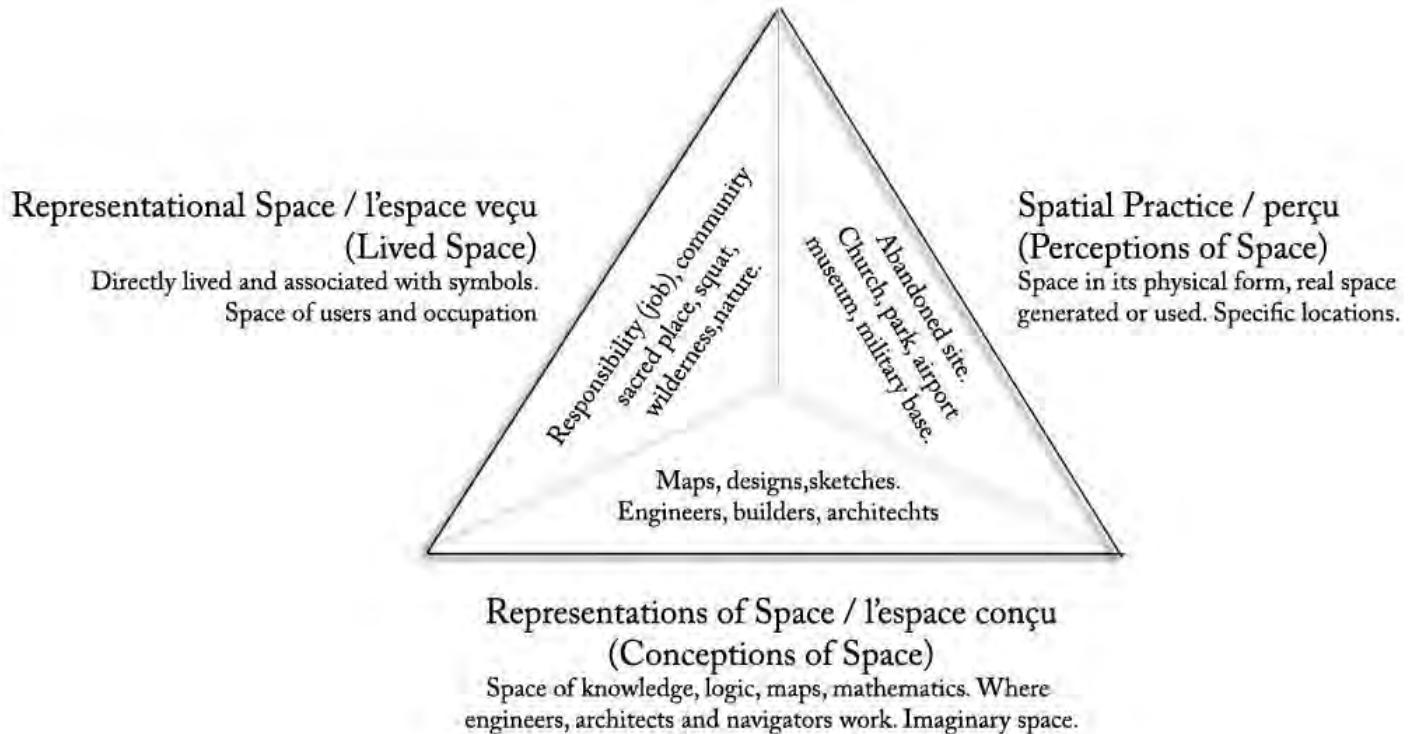
Social, economic, ideological, technological experience of place.
Physical creation, design, and adjustment of material setting,
Creates physicality.



13

13 [TOP] Richtfest and party in the Kennedy Hall of the former Clay Headquarter in Berlin Zehlendorf. August 2013. Photo by Djamila Grossman.
[BOTTOM] Construction manager, Michael Uhlig on scaffolding at the Highline Terraces building at the former Clay Headquarters in Berlin-Zehlendorf. September 2013.

Lefebvre's 'trialectics of space' (below) extends lived and perceptual place to include conceptual space. This offers up maps, designs and proposals as incredibly rich sources for analysis as schematic plans reveal intended meaning, use and instructions for the material¹⁴ *and* perceptual production of place. (Lefebvre 1991:33).



[Diagram of Lefebvre's trialectics of space.] Examples within the triangle and design by author. 2013.]

These models offer my research a vocabulary even as processes contradict or overlap. One of many informants who are officially involved in the production of physical space, desired to be photographed next to the custom fitted shingles of a rooftop balcony, because they are “a *sign of traditional craftsmanship, a very important element of the building.*” Forces of development and space production are not the emotionless machines singly bent on destruction they are often portrayed as.

14 Within the place-centric literature I found few perspectives from architects, real estate agents, contractors, e.g. those Gieryn calls 'place-making professionals' (2000). Especially when considering economics; I agree that "*Aesthetic qualities of the built environment, positive or negative need to be understood as inseparable from those of the natural environment.*"(1995).



["I have that affinity for buildings, I think you have to. It's important to me to leave something behind. Something that isn't just in a filing cabinet, rather something visual and large, for future generations" -Katrin Görnitz at the Metropolitan Gardens. 2013]

"...there is a tactile and sensuous opening-up of the narrative threads that connect the individual to the urban; an openness that touches the self, and teaches it about the outside world as well as itself. It is this engagement that makes people care about the place they are in" (Latham 1999:165).

Low and Lefebvre's models are guides for connecting the creation of space with the phenomenon of 'caring'; or any relationship to place. Cross' model (below) for relationship to place, provides insight into what we do with what has been created (2001:3).

Relationships to Place

Relationship	Type of Bond	Process	Field Work Examples*
Biographical	Historical and Familial	Being born in and living in a place, develops over time.	Veterans, West Berliners
Spiritual	Emotional, Intangible	Feeling a sense of belonging, simply felt rather than created.	Religious congregants
Ideological	Moral and Ethical	Living according to moral guidelines for human responsibility to place, guidelines may be religious or secular.	Personal standards of employee or volunteer. Religious congregants
Narrative	Mythical	Learning about a place through stories, including creation myths, family histories, political accounts, and fictional accounts.	Historian, preservationist, researcher curator.
Conscious*	Cognitive (based on choice and desirability)	Choosing a place based on a list of desirable traits and lifestyle preferences. Location for satisfaction*	Tourists, artists, hobbyists, creators, event organizers.
Dependent	Material	Constrained by lack of choice, dependency on another person or economic opportunity.	Employee, refugee.

*This model is nearly identical to Cross' model except for substituting *conscious* for *commodified*, and adding *location for satisfaction*. The earlier version limits choice and desirability in a fiscal perspective. Also added is *Field Work Examples* corresponding to the written ethnography.

[Diagram of Cross' Relationships to Space model with additions as noted. Designed by author. 2013.]

Algebraic Photography

"This mode of constructing the multi-sited space of research involves tracing the circulation through different contexts of a manifestly material object of study (at least as initially conceived), such as commodities, gifts, money, works of art and intellectual property. (Marcus 1995: 106-07).

This theory of the multi-sited project as a 'tracking strategy' across knowledge bases of different 'qualities and intensities' (1995:100) has greatly influenced what I consider data sources, as well as how I photograph and write about experiences in the field. It also mitigates pressure for perfectly matched sources thus allowing connections to be analyzed as they exist. This 'thing', i.e. relation between individuals and the built environment and the effect of materiality left behind by the US military in West Berlin; is revealed through interviews, portraits, observational and found photographs from archives and former users. Newspaper clippings, real estate prospects, television specials, drawings, maps, home videos and material objects also proved as rich data sources.



[LEFT In 2007 David Lynch was rumored to have purchased the former listening station Teufelsberg from the government of Berlin. After what was widely reported as a miscommunication and a botched press conference making things worse, the plans for a Transcendental Meditation Center / University never came to fruition (Tagesspiegel 2007) -Press material. RIGHT US Army Warrant Officer James Hall III was charged with espionage in July of 1989 after selling classified material to Soviet and East German operatives while stationed at the Teufelsberg listening station (Times 1981) -Kouns. Such elements from the history of Teufelsberg and the other sites in my research are examples of fragments that have visual referents enabling otherwise latent relationships between users and uses to be examined.]

Photography's algebraic potential to semantically decode and reduce the dissimilar into like terms, is a strategically selected filter to represent the diversity of indexes, icons and/or symbols (Peirce 1984:56) that signify relation between individuals and the built environment.

Photography as a product is not divorced from it's methodological creation. My writing and photography are closely wound as a symbiotic practice; bringing historical photographs, maps and material objects into the visual milieu, required a more comprehensive framework. Elements reduced to like terms¹⁵ by the camera are reclassified in a social science context through Pauwels gauntlet 'Integrated Framework for Visual Social Research' (Pauwels 2010:549). This mechanism imparts accountability in using such a mixture of sources.

¹⁵ What I am getting at is an unsophisticated consideration of reducing items, experiences or concepts to two dimensional representations for further examination. Suchar writes that "A photograph is documentary to the extent to which information within can be argued as putative facts that are answers to particular questions." The questions of who is connected to these sites and how? are then approached in a common visual language.

Ethical Issues

Ownership and use of contested spaces require vigilant awareness of consequences from aligning oneself with specific groups. I remained mindful to avoid being drawn into territorial squabbles. As I've placed users and uses in a chassis both literal and conceptual based on their fringe connection to a building, I'm aware that from the users perspectives their connections to these sites are perceptually found in different places. Any construction is authored, yet the dilemma of representing individuals within a larger mosaic deserves attention. I have remained aware of Ruby's charge to personal responsibility for dealing with issues of awareness.. *"...consent and cooperation are necessary but not sufficient when dealing with the potential for exploitation....the moral burden of authorship still resides with the filmmaker"* (Ruby 1992:50).

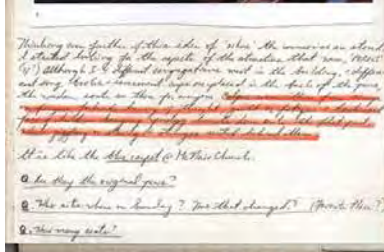
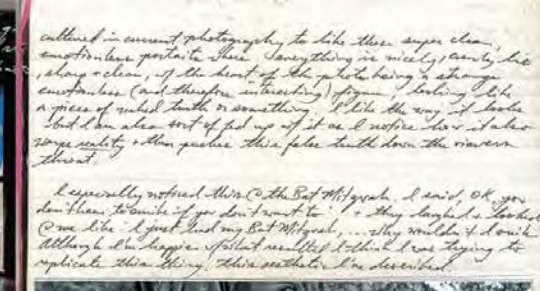
Field Notebooks¹⁶

During repeated site visits, formality decreased as participation and or independent observation increased. Each visit, planned in advance or while exploring the area, were mixtures along a continuum stretching from structured interviews and scheduled portraits to unstructured conversations and opportunistic photographs (Pauwels 2010:562) while participating with the group or independently exploring¹⁷. Maintaining photographic journals enrich my field work as active repositories for notes, observations, sketches and found visuals and/or texts. Returning from daily field excursions, I would edit and paste prints in the books adding notes and thoughts. Revisiting thoughts and impressions extended the photos past mere documentation and into anthropologic process (Crawford 2013). The journals grew alongside their role in fieldwork encounters. Informants were independently situated in and possibly unaware of, a larger mosaic. The journals helped to communicate the conceptual research field to those within its latticework. On several occasions informants would see other buildings or people on the pages of my journals eliciting insights otherwise unaddressed.¹⁸

¹⁶ [Scans from 4 field work journals from 2012-2013.]

¹⁷ Starting in November of 2011 until October of 2013, I have counted 84 visits and interviews in or relating to the field area.

¹⁸ The photo-elicitation experiences of Prosser (1992), Harper (2002), and Collier (1957) gave an already existing part of being a photographer (showing and talking about one's work with those photographed) an academic grounding and purpose. I used an informal buffet approach to their methods for this research but hope to take a more systemic approach for photo-elicitation in future projects.



CHAPTER II SITES & ANALYSIS

Themes

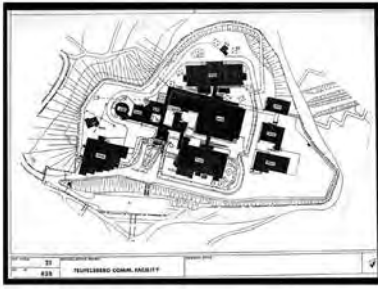
Of the dozens of former military installations in former West Berlin, the selection of the following five sites was determined by access and current use.

Analyzing the sites, users and uses was constant endeavor throughout my research and field work. The space creation and relationship models (Low 2009) (Lefebvre 1991) (Cross 2001) organized my approach to the field, and although beneficial, coding the visual, textual and material data was not to prove their validity. Rather the purpose of analysis was to investigate how the relationships to these structures are maintained and motivated by gathering concepts through open coding.

The following themes emerged from this process and are contextualized further in the following ethnography. Built on the theoretical foundation of space creation and place relation,(Low, Lefebvre, Cross) it is an argument for and description of the themes that also serve a schematic function explained in the third chapter.

Theme	Field Work Definition	Concepts for Coding
Creation & Stewardship	Production and construction of real and perceptual space. Aesthetic endeavor for personal satisfaction. Responsibility for an area or structure.	Build, make, look over, clean responsibility, job, material, fix, organize, manage.
Security & Authorization	Controlling physical access to and movement within an area. Controlling outside perception of a thing or concept. System of hierarchy administers access.	Lock, gate, permission, forbidden access, protect, fortify, guard, market.
Tolerance & Liberty	Willingness to co-exist with contrasting or contradicting values. Freedom from physical restriction. Freedom from authority.	Freedom, open, liberal, authority, free egalitarian, non-judgemental, loving.
Memorialization & Ritual	Focus on a past person, group or event. Formal and/or religious performative sequence of action.	Recognition, monument, plaque, preserve, historic register, acknowledge, exhibition, museum, signify, religion, belief, commem- orate, tradition, ceremony, symbolism, history.

[Diagram of emergent themes from data coding exercises and analysis. Designed by author. 2013.]



[LEFT Schematic rendering of Teufelsberg -Berlin-Brigade.com . CENTER Aerial photograph while in operation. -US Army INSCOM. RIGHT. Teufelsberg November, 2011.]

TEUFELSBERG

Remnants from a US and British military listening station built in the 1960s is Berlin's highest point; a man-made mountain built atop Hitler's war college with rubble from Berlin following WWII. Tours and security are administered by artists using the area for various projects while the site's fate; memorialization¹⁹ or demolition, remain undecided. Those active at Teufelsberg exist in a precarious balance between official and unofficially tolerated squatters, the majority of which, are connected to graffiti or other art scenes in Berlin. Only a select few worked on the mountain strictly in the sense of employment void of creative motivations to be realized on site.

Memorialization

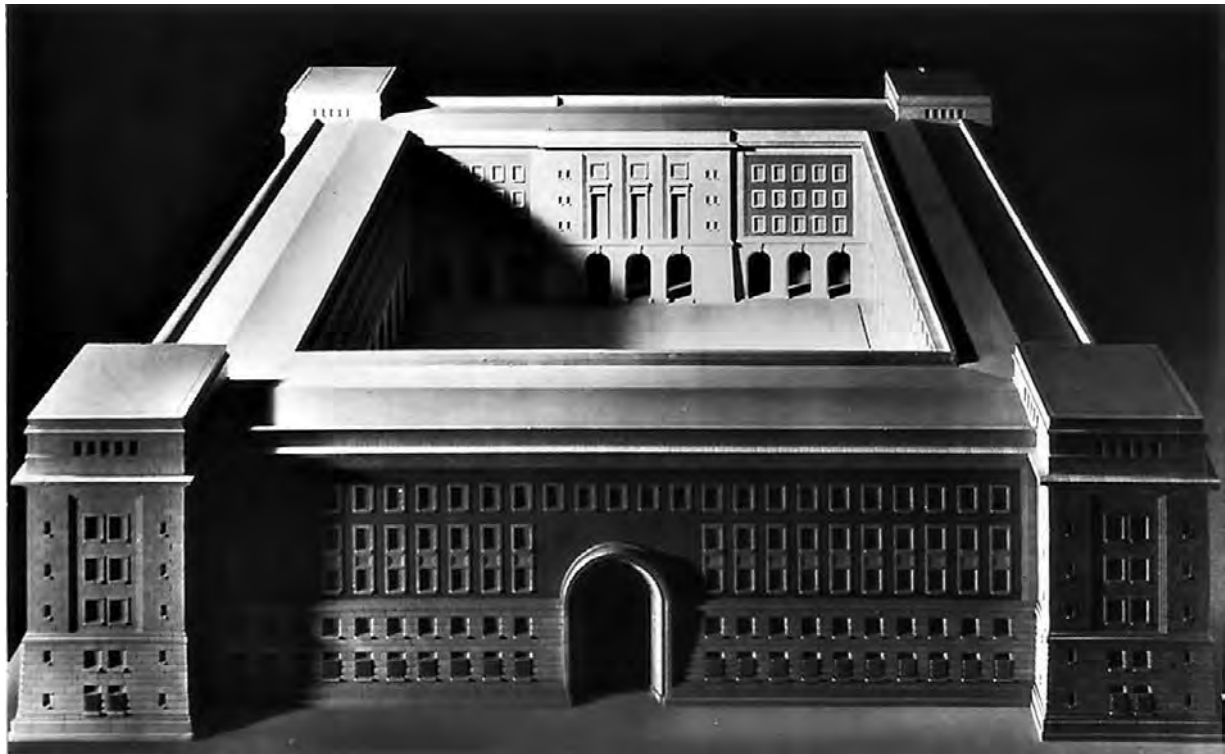
Few surfaces; vertical or horizontal are void of a tag or elaborate mural. In and outdoors; illustrations, graffiti, colors and forms enjoy years of existence while others less prolific are replaced in an implicit process involving skill and courage among sprayers²⁰. *I guess the rule is, if you can't paint something better, then don't paint over it...* (K 2013).

The military withdrew from Teufelsberg leaving only what was nailed or glued down in raw and empty space. Water, power and heating were disconnected and due to Teufelsberg's role in espionage, any remnants of the former mission destroyed.

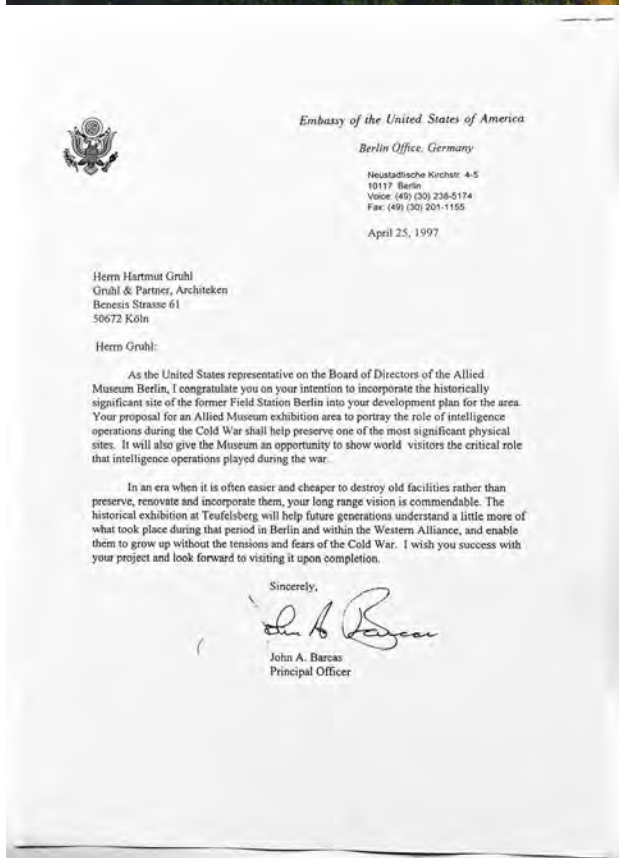
Forces of creation and destruction endure in the forsaken spaces, walls and towers. Both vandalism and reconstruction are to be found alongside new creations and pilfered tubes of copper wire that lay like black spaghetti.

¹⁹ Listed as a protected site on the historical register (Denkmalschutz) with municipal or federal financial support.

²⁰ Graffiti and mural painters.



[TOP 1938 Model of the Wehrtechnische Fakultät (War College) designed by NS architect Albert Speer. -Landesarchiv Berlin.
LEFT Trümmerfrauen gathering rubble in Berlin, July 1946. -Landesarchiv Berlin. Right Beginnings of the listening station atop the rubble. 1961. -US Army INSCOM]



[TOP - US Army INSCOM. LEFT Scan of correspondence between US Embassy in Berlin and Harmut Gruhl expressing interest in the preservation of Teufelsberg - Kouns, 1997. RIGHT Harmut Gruhl, one of the current owners of Teufelsberg on site August 2013.]



[TOP Guard shack at Teufelsberg -US Army INSCOM. BOTTOM Guard shack, July 2013.]



[Ingo and David pose for a photograph during work hours. January 2013]



[Vandalism inside structures at Teufelsberg 2013.]

Beyond political²¹ and bureaucratic reasons, complications for memorialization germinate as brick and stone disappear behind spray paint. Bushes and shrubs are wrestled into gardens and wall paneling is hewn into new furniture. The surface of the abandoned area is filled to the point that problematizes its future exemplifying how changes to the material surface influence perception. Which era deserves memorialization and protection? (Haesecke-Diesing 2013) Teufelsberg, the bastion of the Cold War; integral to keeping the Cold War 'cold'²², or a living museum of art and expression in post-Wende Berlin?

Over the last three years, Shalmon Abraham and a crew of artists pull Teufelsberg into a fighting chance for purposeful development. Around Shalmon, David, K, Stefan, Detlev and Benny is an ever shuffling swarm of artists, security personnel and builders. My standard question for the unfamiliar face on the mountain was how they started working here. The answer is usually a variation of that from a former civilian German guard who worked at Teufelsberg during its military mission who answered. *“I was up here trying to get in through the fence and check it out, and then got caught by Shalmon. We started talking and he asked if I wanted to help out.”*

21 The issue appears to be that either political factions want Teufelsberg to be torn down (CDU) and the area returned to nature (Grünen) or avoid the topic all together (SPD). Investor/owners and other groups interested in the structure are left fighting an uphill battle. (Tagesspiegel 2010)

22 'Keeping the Cold War cold.' also familiar in Cold War historical rhetoric. Several historic users have used the phrase describing their perception of their jobs at sites like Teufelsberg (Kouns 2013) (McDaniel 2013) and Turner Barracks (Moneyhan 2013). It is perhaps a mistake however to chalk it up to pure rhetoric as some scholars contend that the mutual surveillance and diplomatic access between East and West kept things balanced. (Hoyt 2008)



[“..one night though (pointing through the gate) this soldier came up the road, driving pretty damned fast in a jeep, really drunk and slams into the gate! I watched his jeep roll backwards and crash right into that tree. Other than that it was like vacation up here.” -Berndt while on duty at the gate, 2013.]

Shalmon sits at the table inside the Unit; with a GoPro camera slung low over his eyebrows. He maintains a gaze to his smart phone and say's, *“You should just come up here every day...take pictures of everything.”* His words are indicative of inclusivity to anyone with an idea for creating something. From rooftop gardens to the TU's²³ Radio Club broadcasting from the tower, he enlists anyone who can increase Teufelsberg's value as a place worthy of preservation. He organizes the three central activities on the mountain: security, inviting and handling requests for artists and tours, and site construction for twenty years of decay and neglect.

While watching aerial footage of Teufelsberg from a radio-controlled helicopter, I ask if he ever wishes he had a job more stable and regular, clearer future. He laughs saying, *“No WAY! Are you crazy? Got ADHD of the finest, I'd go nuts..this is much better.”*

²³ Technische Universität Berlin - Technical University of Berlin.



["I'm always thinking we're not doing enough. Sometimes I have to send people away, they go crazy. No power, no heat, all day up there. It's good for them to get away, I don't know why they go crazy though,.. I don't. Maybe I'm too busy." Shalmon filming at Teufelsberg, March 2013.]

His most recent endeavor was to have Teufelsberg included as a participating location for Berlin's 'Day of the Open Monument.' Ironically, in 20 years it has yet to be officially recognized as such.

We're interrupted with the arrival of another new face. Nicki, a video guru who is working with the footage to create marketing materials for Shalmon's upcoming meeting with owners and local government. I finish loading photographs onto his hard drive and they start discussing the film; Shalmon moving from one project directly into the next in complete stride. On my way out he interrupts himself to yell down the hall at my back, "*Thanks Mike...welcome to the company.*" Shalmon's relation to Teufelsberg is one dependent (Cross) on his ability to harness creative forces for memorialization. This embodies the shaky balance between the 'official' forces (owners, municipality) represented at the upcoming meeting and the independent passions of the 'company'.



{ ABOVE Aerial photo of Teufelsberg with listening station edited out. -Kouns Archive. BELOW Field Station Berlin Veteran William H. Kouns, US Army is promoted to Sergeant on 1 December 1984 in the cafeteria on Teufelsberg after working a midnight shift. Lt. Scott to the left and FSB Commander Col. Roney on the right. -Kouns,1994]

“We were there to preserve the ideals of anti-authoritarianism...Us monitoring and seeing how they are doing economically and us knowing this information influenced longterm and political policy which perhaps hastened the developments within the East German bloc, a peaceful revolution and peaceful change. Some people will probably disagree with us, but if you look at the big picture -the whole deterrence-, West Berlin was a thorn in the side of the Warsaw Pact and East Germany” (Kouns 2013).

Now, 42 years later, many of us from the beginning in 1961 until decommissioning after the wall fell, feel a fierce connection to the place. Teufelsberg is a symbol of a very closely shared experience among us, representing a mission we carried out well and times of personal growth and friendships that have last the rest of our lives.

Some of us have reached life's stage where we can't recall what we did yesterday, yet we remember clearly our experiences from Berlin. Work events, life events, social events. I think our feelings about Tberg are reflected in our efforts to save the place in one form or another and to place a plaque there commemorating the vigilant service of those who were stationed there and their key role in ending the Cold War....

Unfortunately, given the wrangling now occurring among the groups that want differing things, I fear the site will just fade away” (McDaniel 2013)



[The tower at the far west side of Teufelsberg campus, nicknamed 'Jambalaya'. November 2011..]



[Graffiti session. July 2013.]

Creation

Light drips into the windowless series of rooms from a wet hole in the corner. While carrying forgotten pieces of heavy government furniture upstairs into another labyrinthine series of lightless rooms, David shows me center carpet patches ripped from the raised computer floor so a checkerboard remains. Removed tiles at the edge leave a moat demarcating and holding the checkers; white and black spray painted fluorescent light fixtures standing like jagged teeth at each end. Must be lot of work? David answered, *"You have to do stuff, it's fun, but you have to do things while you can, never know when this will all be taken away. You can't plan for the future, right now is all there is."*

Lev's carpentry is scattered throughout the site. Inside the 'Unit', he's built a kitchen counter with cabinets, tables and chairs and installed faux-wood paneling from other buildings to the stone walls. At Teufelsberg, creation on the surface is split across two motivations. Creation in the service of security or safety versus creation as a personal aesthetic endeavor resembling the center of a venn diagram more than the edges. David; while glueing a collage says, he can turn the Unit into a gallery only to be rebuked by Lev saying, *"Not on my wall."* He softens his tone by saying, *"Like the Wailing Wall in Jerusalem, you can only pray and put notes in it."*

One afternoon Lev brings me above the Unit where matching chairs and tables sit covered in a layer of sawdust. Stained two-by-fours are sanded down and distressed resembling pieces of natural wood to match the wall panels for the seats and backs. *"I'm starting a church!"* he jokes.

"I think I am going crazy up here. All day working on all these chairs that Shalmon wants. It's nice, getting so many ideas for other furniture I can make. I'm slow and he just wants chairs, so he had the Polish²⁴ come help me. It's cause I wanna make them look nice."

While sweeping with him he describes ideas for making furniture and admitted He poses next to his chairs for a portrait, his creation in the service of the mountain, is fueled by craftsman's pride.

K calls to say there was paint for spraying. We gather paint cans and nozzles from caches across the site. Gradually more paint, painters, a radio, and bottles of beer arrive. Paint is semi-shared in the discussion and joint rolling pit that's developed between the work areas. K works at the mountain staying in paint and working on his art. Like mixing pleasure with business, K, David and Lev's relationships are both dependent and conscious.

24 Over the summer several Polish carpenters and welders worked at Teufelsberg



[Lev making chairs from two-by-fours and salvaged faux-wall paneling. March 2013.]



[Examples of creative forces at Teufelsberg Sculpture by David, salvaged ceiling tiles, Detlev welding a railing in the towers building. 2013.]



[Light installation by Fernando Pérez Molinari on roof of towers building. August 2013.]



[Concert inside the cupola on Day of the Open Monument (Tag des Offenen Denkmals) September 2013.]



{K Playing for tips in the cupola. June 2013.}

We climb to the cupola²⁵ to play guitar hoping to gather tips from tourists. K came to Berlin to 'make' it in graffiti, comparing his time to a sort of artist residency. A place to leave and return to. I notice two Australians hiding behind the concrete pad in the the radar dome listening while the tour carries on. Shyly she mentions that she plays and K passes his guitar over so she can test the acoustics herself. Their conversation is interrupted by security returning to the cupola, requiring them to either re-join the group or leave. K vouches for them promising to walk them out. Freedom for creative output is simultaneously fleeting and importantly maintained through authorization.

²⁵ At the top of the central tower is a three-story dome made of interlocked fiberglass hexagons producing a powerful and unique acoustic effect.



[LEFT David during a meeting in the Unit. May 2013. RIGHT The Unit. Nov. 2012.]

Security

There is a heart, in the gape of a square room in the center building that the rotating group uses as a base camp for their stewardship over the area. It's 9 a.m. and I wait at the fence. To pass the time I try to imagine having no connection to the mountain other than a determination to get through the fence somewhere. I feel the calm and the rush of the wind through the dense but naked trees and could easily tell myself, without stepping a foot inside, that no one is here. It is a waste land, something once but then a rave tore through like a juvenile and emotionless hurricane leaving complex graffiti, broken glass, cigarette boxes and champagne bottles before leaving for another place even more unknown. That is what I would think, but there are people sleeping in the heart, in the 'Unit'.

Shalmon finally gets Lev to fetch me at the gate at 45 minutes after 9. Lev brings me to the 'Unit' where complete darkness reigns like cold blanket. The only exception is the adjoining kitchen light where Detlev and another sip coffee in somber and tired silence. K says to watch out, some are still sleeping. The candles he lit before kneeling in front of the cold oven, grow brighter and reveal the soft orange edges of sleeping bodies on mattresses. David rises, says hello. The soft rumblings of waking up (probably due to my intrusion) mold into a fight between K, David and Lev. Something about his phone alarm going off for too long. Lev's defensiveness brings emotions up high enough for a previously silent Frantzi to sleepily calm things down by exclaiming in her first words of the day, "*It was my alarm!...Sorry!*". A half apology, half rebuke for being waked. David apologizes with a hug to Levi, and things settle. Soon eggs are cracked in the kitchen and the smell of hot grease mixes with woodsmoke in the small room. Soon they will disperse to various jobs and following the sounds of unfamiliar voices belonging to trespassers.



{Facsimile of David's adaptation of Teufelsberg map. Nicknamed 'The Monkey Skull'. November 2012.}

Security unites historic and current use. Specific activities of the listening station remain classified, adding to the mystery and intrigue of the site (Haesecke-Diesing 2013). The graffiti murals, isolation within the Grunewald, and unparalleled view, make security a central concern. Teufelsberg Veteran and Berlin resident, William H. Kouns mentioned how easily development initiatives could be compromised, *"It's really sad to see the vandalism up there. All it takes is for one drunk person to fall from the tower or through a hole in the floor and the whole thing is over."*

In some capacity everyone at Teufelsberg is involved with security. Although among the Berlin public the recent developments are not common knowledge²⁶ *"We spend most of the day chasing people out of here and patching holes in the fence,"* K laments. *"I get it, it is a cool place, but no-one knows how much we do up here, and what a pain in the ass it is to keep it."* The gate is staffed during daylight hours where one can sign a release and tour the mountain for 7 euros and often the site of disagreements between distrustful visitors who perceive the site as unowned, uninhabited and abandoned.

Partially due to rotating staff, my entrance consistently necessitated calling Shalmon. During

²⁶ I often spoke with people in the city about Teufelsberg and was usually met with severe skepticism that the 'Russians' (there are two Polish and 1 Israeli working there) are 'scamming' everyone. I remained careful of my desire to inform and defend those working up top but early on I was unsure of how much I was allowed to impart from some of the positive, yet unofficial activities on the mountain.

winter months in early morning hours, I would send him an SMS out into what felt like the ether, eventually answered by Lev's solitary figure walking down the road to let me in. What might seem an extreme hierarchy with Shalmon as key-master, is explained by Stefan, who has worked with him from the start. While awkwardly phoning Shalmon to confirm my vetted status, Stefan softens up, *"Sorry... it's just like this, everybody knows Shalmon's name now, so they'll say, I'm with Shalmon or 'Shalmon knows I'm coming' to get in..."*

A form of a somewhat similar chain of command existed years earlier. US Army veteran Lew McDaniel, explains, *"Even inside the compound there were places my top level clearance would not gain me entry. Compartmentalization was the rule. If anyone from the restricted areas needed language help, he came to us linguists – we did not enter his area"* (2013)



[L to R Franzi waiting to be let through the gate. Information center tower with ovens for document destruction, Berndt inside the 'Disco' 2012-2013. Scans from documents issued to new employees of the US Army's Field Station Berlin at Teufelsberg -Kouns. 2013.]



[Lev patching holes in the fencing. January 2012.]

Carrying wire cutters, Lev trudges through snow between the double perimeter fences looking for holes in the outer fence, to be patched with wire from the inner. Another veteran said working at Teufelsberg was his favorite because he was outside in the fresh air and when cold, he could stay warm by patrolling between the fences. I asked Lev if he ever wondered who else had been cold, looking for holes between the fences. Shy to disappoint, Lev replied, “*Not so much*” quickly telling me how many holes they patched on New Years, then changing the subject by mentioning some strange animal tracks in the snow.

Asked the same question, Teufelsberg guide and historian Martin shared that, “*For me it's a ruin. Like a castle, with knights and such. It is the rest,...not a whole.*” Robert Haesecke-Diesing, historical preservationist and Teufelsberg expert considers it just as important as a castle, “*We've restored castles all over the place, but how many of these (listening stations) do we have?*” (2013). 'Prior to Haesecke-Diesings' research project that mapped out the building phases and floor plans of the listening station and surrounding terrain he and his colleagues knew very little regarding Teufelsberg. The US and British did not apply for a building permit hence no plans or blueprints in any municipal or federal archives.

"I wanted to study something younger, from the younger history. Not knowing anything about it was a motivation for us, there was no official information...back then there were no tours even, it was just a forbidden place. We couldn't find any official blueprints anywhere. First we had to understand the compound and then try to 'unlock' the real physical structures and their uses.

"It was incredibly dark, and we waited for big surprises...The time on the mountain was an adventure and there was this case where we thought, 'We are somehow the masters, we really have the overview.' Although this excitement was gone after I'd spent so much time up there, I knew the place better than anyone... Then the nostalgia starts when you see the change, and how quickly it's happening. You care, you vindicate an existence to the place.'
(Haesecke-Diesing 2013)

The experiences of Lev, Martin and Robert exemplify a crucial and interesting division I noticed among informants at nearly every site. It can be approached with Nora's concept of *Lieux de Memoire* and *Milieu de Memoire*.(1989). The former a symbolic memorial, place or time that suggests a gulf between past and present, e.g. fixed and assigned an official history, often motivated by ideological or state establishment and created to stop time with an adhesive meaning. The latter, is a communal memorial or 'environment of memory' that is in flux, existing in present memory, perception and activity.

Martin's academic research on the site and Robert's effort to 'unlock' the structure are attempts at definition and memorialization in both historical and architectural contexts. Both are especially warranted as official documents on the exact function of the listening station and architectural blueprints remain classified until 2022. Lev's re-appropriation of physical material from the site, in the form of tables, chairs and other projects, indicate an experience independent of the established history of Teufelsberg that concerns Martin and Robert. His experience is one less related to any official memory. Unpacking their perception is less an endeavor to determine a value of one experience over the other, but rather to understand the difference between.

In the case of the structure on the hill that stands covered in layers of colored paint, tucked into the Grunewald; hollowed but towering over a now unified country, Teufelsberg functions as a setting located in personal narratives while others simultaneously place themselves within its historical narrative. Cross would describe these as conscious and narrative relationships to place.



{Tattered canvas hanging from central tower landing on main building at Teufelsberg, May 2013. Artists rendering of an unrealized mixed-use convention center development project from the late 90s. -Kouns Archive.}

As Shalmon answers one of several cell phones in his pocket, coordinating the daily operation on the mountain, Stefan and Berndt push the green steel gate shut. Plans for a development project on the mountain hide unrealized in a file cabinet in Cologne. Wild pigs trudge carelessly deeper into the forest upon hearing K's footsteps on his way to the train and David retires to his room to read. I ride my bicycle home through the forest and the evening claims the sky with dark purple as the trees are replaced with shadows. Somewhere in those shadows, two teenagers slip through a new hole in the fence and a former soldier hundreds of miles away organizes a reunion for veterans. Those vying for the ability to use and define Teufelsberg are as diverse as its physical materiality.

Later that night I sit with Martin the historian in a basement brewery in West Berlin and ask about his interest in Teufelsberg. Pitching a handful of peanuts into his mouth he smiles in amazement and says, *"It's a sandbank in the current of history, you know?....in that mountain you have traces of the past century of Berlin's history."* He mentions the turn of the 20th century, a world metropolis of culture, commerce and science reduced to rubble by Allied bombs and piled again to make a mountain. We add the graffiti, the art scene of Berlin and the squatters since the Wende to this metaphorical layer cake we are creating. Martin mentions the shrubs, trees and wild pigs on assignment from nature that gradually reclaim the area saying, *"It's crazy, that mountain has everything."*



[LEFT Schematic rendering of Clay Headquarters. -Berlin-Brigade.com . CENTER Front gates of Clay HQ -Landesarchiv Berlin. Clay HQ August, 2011.]

CLAY HQ

Completed in 1938, the kaserne²⁷ was headquarters to the Wehrmacht's Luftgaukommando III. In 1945, the US military government appropriated the sprawling compound as headquarters of the Berlin Brigade Command, renaming the site after Gen. Lucius D. Clay; military governor of occupied Germany. A third of the area remains a US Consulate with the rest converted into living and business suites.²⁸

The 6941st Guard Battalion Museum and members-club was until recently located on the site

Memorial & Ritual

Walking the lane to the main building I notice the flag draped over the balcony is caught on something. I tell Schwab and we go upstairs to fix it. I say the decorations are great, he lets out a heavy breath and mentions starting the day at 7 am. Mostly attended by Germans, the Guard Battalion's annual 4th of July Party commemorates the partnership between US forces and a German workforce largely forgotten²⁹.

The 6941st was one of several units of German civilians employed as guards by the US military. Each year between 2000 and 4000 applied for positions in the battalion that maintained a working force of just under 1000 men (Guard 1994) augmenting security for the Americans.

27 Kaserne is German for barracks and was adopted by US military following WWII as a term used for garrison locations for forces stationed in Germany.

28 Metropolitan Gardens is the mixed living and business development at the former Clay Headquarters. It is a joint venture of German firms, Prinz von Preussen A.G. And TerraPlan GmbH.

29 Especially during un-structured group interviews, it was expressed by Gd. Btlm members that their role as well as the history of the Berlin Brigade in former West Berlin was not recognized on a municipal or state level in the form of support for museums, memorials, events, etc.



[TOP and RIGHT 6941st Guard Battalion's 4th of July celebration at Clay HQ July 2013. LEFT Guard at Clay HQ 1950s. -Allied Museum Berlin.]



[LEFT Clay HQ in operation. -Allied Museum Berlin. RIGHT Gen. Lucius D. Clay US Army. -US National Archives. BOTTOM German Guard Battalion. -6941st Guard Battalion.]

The battalion was officially tasked with security, yet according to interviews, unofficially also with protecting the Berlin Brigade. Listing those involved by height and bicep size, Krueger tells of stopping 5 drunk soldiers at the gate trying to get in with one ID. “If we had done everything according to the 'Special Order' no one would have been left at McNair.”³⁰ Padding reports for MP’s on night duty or covering for them when Army standards were violated were also cited as unofficial duties. Career battalion member, Kosi mentions, *'When the American's had a stupid job like sitting at a gate, they would become very lax,'* sharing his version of the urban legend regarding an American GI gatekeeper accidentally letting in sixteen Soviet MP's onto McNair Barracks in the 60s. Eberhard Koslowski understood his role in the Guard Battalion in the context of a real threat. *“Initially it was just a job. After La Belle³¹ It was clear to me that we were a subsidiary of the MP's, we were the last layer between Libyan terrorists and shoppers at Truman Plaza.”* (Koslowski-Jr. 2013)



[Fleischer in the back office of the 6941st Guard Battalions Exhibit and museum at the former Clay HQ, February 2013]

30 McNair Barracks was home to the Berlin Brigades Infantry and Artillery units from 1945 until 1994. Originally the Telefunken factory built in the 1930s.

31 La Belle was a discotheque frequented by US military in West Berlin that was bombed in April of 1986, killing two U.S. Servicemen and one Turkish civilian and wounding 79 others. The Libyan Secret Service and Embassy in East Berlin were blamed for the attack that resulted in U.S. President Ronald Reagan ordering retaliatory airstrikes on Benghazi and Tripoli.



{Former Guard Battalion member Eberhard Koslowski. July 2013.}

Some members the 6941st remember the withdrawal as a uniquely difficult transition. Recounting their job training, they shared their pride and satisfaction from the recognition and respect of their US counterparts. Interestingly their role in the eyes of other West Berliners was emphasized as less respectful. *"They just saw us as the 'black guards'....basically just night watchmen."* *They didn't know that we were military trained and operating as soldiers*" (Koslowski-Sr. 2013). Erased cultural landscape include systems, industries and local knowledge. In 1993 the battalion dissolved, reducing their skills, expertise of military protocol, and collective identity to the very thing they differentiated themselves from; the night watchman.

Inside the club, framed portraits hang in a rectangle shape, evenly spaced, commemorating *'fallen comrades'*.³² When I was first shown the wall, it was simply put that some *'Didn't live through the transition'*. 'The group transformed the dozen rooms into a museum, concert hall, members-club and bar, fully aware of the limited 18 month lease. Two office chairs sit on a raised wooden podium adjacent to the bar; actually the witness stand from the former military court. Mismatched ceiling tiles contribute to the piecemeal motif, yet everything is kept clean and tidy.

Electricity, but no heating clusters the daily crew, dressed in partial military uniforms, near small space heaters. The occasional visitor arrives and is awarded a guided tour. Sporadically coins clatter into a small mug at the center of the coffee table and Fleischer returns with coffee and the question, *"White or Black?"* The museum consists of their own private collections. Just like the uniforms they wear; photographs, signs, medals, and weapons from their respective eras and expertise are on display. Most importantly the first room is strictly dedicated to the history of the Guard Battalion.

"People can come talk, have a coffee, that is really the priority over making money off the exhibition." (Fleischer 2013). Amid shuffling signifying someone was leaving for the day, it is briefly discussed when they will return. *'A doctors appointment or a visitor?...Ok, Sunday then.'* The museum was a haven for their own memorialization and narrative relationship to the time, sites and experience of the Berlin Brigade.

Since summer 2013 the exhibition house is empty. The vinyl banner with the Berlin Brigade crest is gone, and through gaping holes construction equipment and ripped flooring is visible. Construction on the site has expanded and the items in the museum await their next display. They hope the owner's promise to provide a permanent exhibit space are honored.

32 Not to be confused with the Soviet connotation for the word *Comrade*, it is often used in German as an equivalent to the english word, 'Buddy or Fellow'.



{Exhibit Entrance, former Clay HQ, March 2013.}



[Werner sneaks a short nap in the lounge area of the Guard Battalion's exhibit and museum. March 2013]



[Bar at the 6941st Guard Battalion Members-Club and Museum]



[Jörg Sprotte on a smoke break outside the museum. 2013]



["It is important that we show 'our' history, the Guard Battalion's and the Berlin Brigades. It's important to know and remember what the American's did during the Cold War here, because if they hadn't been here, we'd still have red stars on our asses. -Lothar Kurzius. 2013]



[Clay HQ's transformation to Metropolitan Gardens. August 2013.]



[Staircase inside Clay HQ. September 2012.]



[Women in traditional dress for the Richtfest (note wreath and ribbons above roof) at Metropolitan Gardens (formerly Clay HQ)
-Photo by Djamilia Grossman. August 2013]



[Decorations for the Richtfest inside the entrance hall of Metropolitan Gardens (formerly Clay HQ) -Photo by Djamilia Grossman. August 2013]

In the marbled entrance, a crowd gathers to watch invited guests participate in the ritual of nailing into a beam during the topping out ceremony. Under five feet with a soft voice and inviting smile, Bauleiterin³³ Katrin Görlitz sizes up and swings at the *Richtfest*³⁴ where carpenters in black corduroys and checkered shirts distribute nails and hammers to celebrate the final roof beam moved into place.



[TOP LEFT] builders gut the stairwells and rooms of the former Clay HQ. TOP RIGHT Trees, grass and bushes overtake the entrance of the west building at the former Clay HQ. Artist renderings of the two most exclusive and expensive elements of Clay HQ's development are the 'Highline Terraces' LEFT which formerly housed the military courtroom, and the Kennedy Hall RIGHT anecdotally famous for being the location where former U.S. President John F. Kennedy wrote his *'Ich bin ein Berliner'* speech which is heavily emphasized in marketing materials. -Metropolitan Gardens, 2013]

33 Project Manager; responsible for working between contractors, investors, realtors and customers at a construction site.

34 Similar to a 'topping-out' ceremony for the setting of the roof truss. The Richtfest is the beam and the name of the event itself that is organized by owners or foremen involving rituals and symbols in appreciation for carpenters and builders.

Creation & Stewardship

'Ach, Hallo Terry' is the familiar greeting voiced at various levels of stress on each visit.

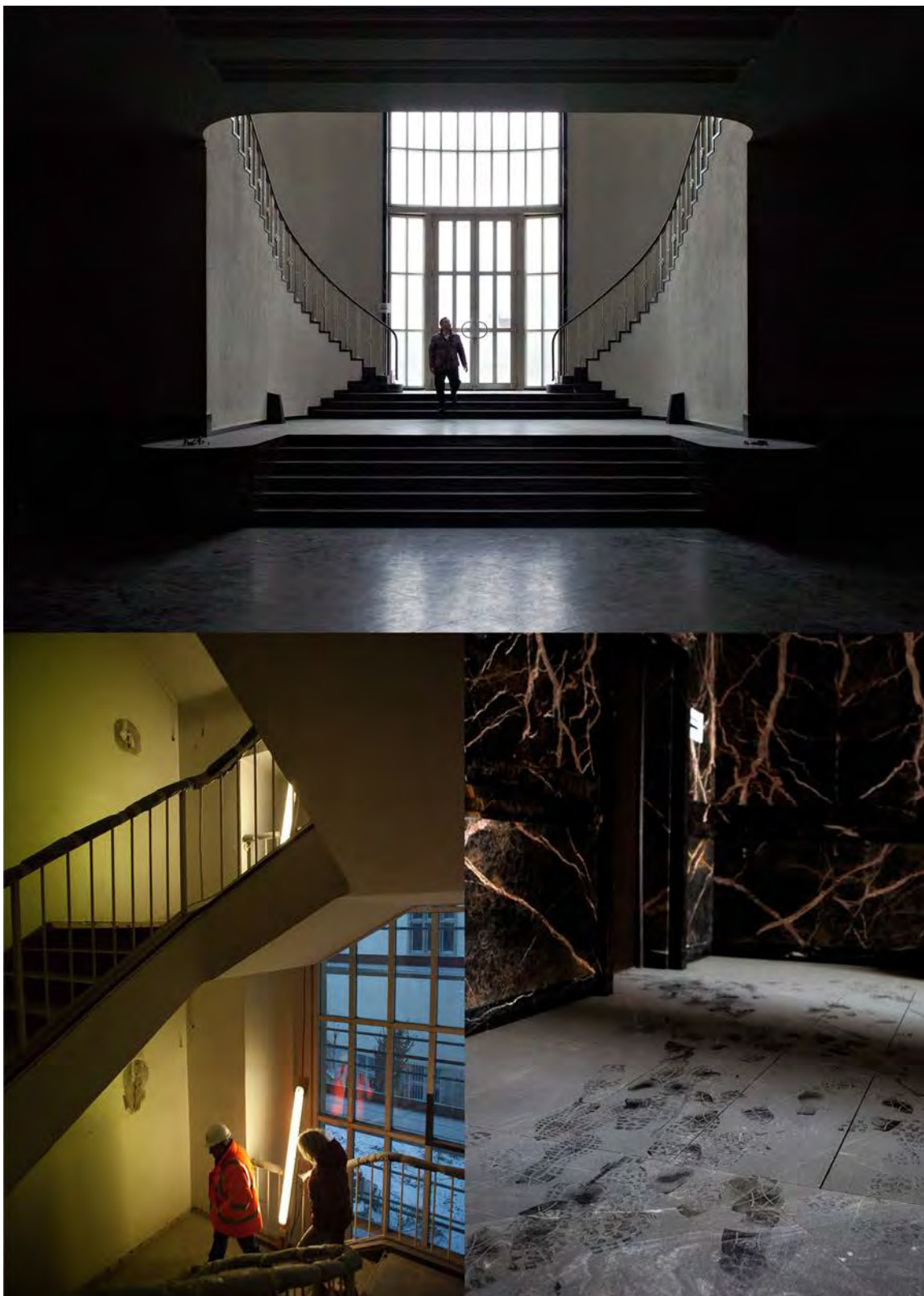
Oscillating between two development companies, contractors, engineers, city officials, preservationists and bankers, she eats a sandwich at her desk to the tempo of her telephone ringing and pings from her stuffed email inbox. I sit at a small conference table across from her desk with blueprints hanging taped to the walls above me.

"Since the kids are gone, I notice how much more I work and how much more 'life time' I give..I do have the affinity to buildings....Each building I work on is like my baby, my kid. You have to love this kind of work, Or else you'd have given up due to the stress. There's not that many female site managers out there..." (Görlitz 2013).

Trained in mechanical engineering, Katrin arrived in construction 'Through experience rather than education', attributing building a home outside of Berlin with her husband as the source of her confidence managing exponentially larger projects. A contractor steps into her office in an orange reflective vest and hard hat for a walk around the site. Katrin pulls on a pair of dusty moccasin-boots and purple puffy coat for a walk through the frigid buildings. Clutching a ruler she mostly uses for pointing and a small digital camera, she steps over arteries of hoses and cords to be covered in parquetry. Joints, gaps and edges of materials are suspects for investigation. Touching, knocking, leaning and pushing the materials, she resuscitates them to attention and unabashedly pulls wood from an unsealed window frame. Taking a photo with her digital camera her smile and patience transform into an unwavering edge and with a slight Berlin accent she says "*This isn't right*", to the nodding contractor.

Her stewardship over 55,000 square meters of space, means that satisfaction not only relies on the companies she represents, but buyers as well. In her office with one eye on her email, the other shared between me and the sandwich, she discloses where an ideological relationship to the structure transcends the 'job'.

"I take things too personal sometimes, I am often thinking, 'Oh God, the poor renters if something goes wrong'...I don't think I do it for the money. It's because it's so impressive when it's all done, I am proud of it, ...proud of the result...Although at times I'm too much of a perfectionist, and I am constantly thinking of the future owners or renters. When things go wrong or if they have to be redone, you have to calm them down a bit" (Görlitz 2013).



{ABOVE Franz Sprenger in the central staircase of the main building at the former Clay Allee. LEFT Stairwell under construction in the main building. RIGHT Footprints in the dust of the marble entranceway. 2012-13}



{Katrín Görnitz inspecting plans and progress of apartment units. October 2012.}



[Real-estate agent Franz Sprenger at Metropolitan Gardens. 2013]

There is a knock at the door and real-estate agent Franz Sprenger peeks his head into her office. He needs the keys to a few rooms and shuffles in with several potential investors. In winter jackets, smiles and handshakes he gets the keys and exchanges news and questions with Katrin and the group. The group continue to the main staircase in the entrance hall of black and intimidating marble leaving footprints in the dust. From his office, also located in a former Prussian military garrison building he frames his philosophy regarding Clay Headquarters, soon to be Metropolitan Gardens. Blending financial pragmatism³⁵ and a confidence in the development companies he represents, his enthusiasm nearly leads me to sign on the dotted line myself.

“Here (Clay HQ) was given another chance, a chance that Berlin wouldn't fall completely to the East side. These buildings were there and have deserved it to be sold with his history and emotion” (Sprenger 2013). This approach appears to be working. To date he has sold nearly all available units at the former Clay HQ. The only exception being the site's crown jewel, the Kennedy Hall where the former president allegedly wrote his famous speech to West Berlin in 1963. Frank and Katrin are similar in their relationship to the site being *dependent*.

Their identity as place-making professionals whose interaction with the site is a source of income does not diminish the intensity or value of their *dependent* relationship. However on a personal level, the instances where their own ethical judgements extend past professional expectations,, the relationships move into a more *ideological* territory of relationship.

The Guard Battalion's activity and presence at Clay and those involved in it's further development are affected by the societal narrative relationship to the place. Including Franz, I asked multiple individuals at Clay HQ, if the building had not been re-used by Americans to remain a Nazi relic until today, would such a commercial development be plausible? Not one of them could imagine it possible. The second users of the site, who were diametrically opposite of the original users and creators, have rewritten the historical meaning of the building enough to enable future uses otherwise impossible. Bouncing in the front of a white moving truck stuffed with the glass vitrines and furniture of their museum. “Schwab' and I are driving the contents from a storage room in the main building to another room in the recently completed underground parking lot between two of the main buildings.

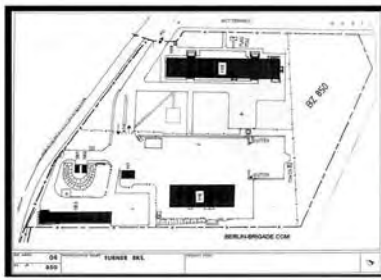
He grumbles *‘We have 40 battalion members and somehow when we need to move something we get about 6 or 7...I guess it cause of their work schedules...just a bit strange that when we throw a party they all seem to be able to make it.’*

35 Tax incentives of purchasing units in a building that is listed on the historic register and requires renovation.



{LEFT Torsten, carpenter at Metropolitan Gardens. RIGHT Clearing out Guard Battalion storage from main building. September 2013.}

I learn his tone has more to do with their nomadic existence since the museum was closed. The owners allowing them to keep the disassembled museum on site free of charge is a sign that they will keep their promise, yet the third round of packing and moving has its toll. The rumor is that they will be able to set up a permanent exhibition in the main building once construction is completed. I watch a Guard Battalion member carry out a table top in US Navy fatigues and realize that as pleased and grateful the Guard Battalion's members will be with a venue, it isn't just a museum that they created, used and memorialized. It was a place where they could still guard their own history from forgetting's erosive powers. Katrin Görlitz and Franz Sprenger meanwhile create the new place, Metropolitan Gardens, through which the site will be filled with those ready to live and change the meaning of the place once again.



[LEFT Schematic rendering of Turner Barracks. -Berlin-Brigade.com CENTER Bob Decker at the GDR border -Decker. Dog park. November, 2012.]

TURNER BARRACKS

West of former barracks belonging to the only US armored company³⁶ inside the Iron Curtain, stand rows of former munitions bunkers left to the Berlin Forest Service in 1994.



[LEFT Dachsheide & Langes Luch. -Revier Försterei. Forester Andreas Constien in his office in Berlin-Zehlendorf 2013.]

Creation & Stewardship

Forester Andreas Constien's office isn't surprising. Rows of antlers and wild boar tusks neatly fill the wall. A shelf runs two-thirds of the ceiling holding other antlers and a stuffed ferret peering down to the desk. Bounded locks of deer hair lay inside an open address book. Behind the house snow collects on wooden stalls housing his moorland sheep waiting out the winter. In warmer months, they live between the bunkers, munching budding trees, slowly reclaiming the area for nature.

In 1989, Andreas took over the Dachsberg forest district shared with Turner Barracks. When asked if he ever imagined sheep converting the depot into a moorland he answered, "*Never...never...who would have ever guessed that the status of Germany was going to change?*" The historic aspects of his relationship with the area are told in stories of an hunting excursion with the former Brigade

³⁶ Tanks and other armored vehicles.

Commander, or being spotlighted at night while coaxing his dog back through through the fence. “*I miss the Amis*”³⁷, “*There was more respect, order and discipline than now.*’ Conceding that at times they were difficult roommates, “*Leaving live smoke grenades to burn in the forest....yeah...logical..*”.



[Screenshots from video documenting the demolition of concrete bunkers, barbed wire fencing and steel guard towers at the munitions depot behind Turner Barracks. -Constien. 1994.]

37 Colloquial expression for 'Americans.'



{Beekeeper at Dachsheide – Langes Luch Forest District. August 2013.}

I ride my bike up the forestry's driveway that curls into the back and disappears into a grass lane demarcated by two dirt lines leading deeper into the forest. Andreas is chatting with a beekeeper about meat and furs; it sounds like business, plotting, making plans. The beekeeper's net mask sits on his head and he pushes Andreas in the soft sales method of those from outside the city, from the country; *"Give it a think and let me know..."* he says before returning to bees.

The sheep look nervously up at me, their apprehension slowly dissolves as the view of even more delicious stinging nettle, now visible after raising their heads, sharpens into focus. The sky growls half-heartedly and Andreas greets me and says, *"Wouldn't that be dumb if it started raining right now?" Especially with this heat, I immediately think of the wool that is cascading down the sheep like Rastafarians that would shrink into ill fitting sweaters, and quickly agree with him.* The shearer pulls up in his sport-ute with three letter plates³⁸. It isn't only business, it's a release to familiar days as they chat about the sheep, the last time they met, and what needs to be done.

³⁸ German license plates are organized according to the size of the city to which the vehicle is registered. The biggest cities are marked with 1 letter. i.e. Berlin or Munich = B or M. The smaller the town gets, the more letters.



[LEFT Shearer Ottmar Just shears wool from Andreas' Moorland Sheep meters away from where Koslowski began his career with the Guard Battalion in the early 1950s. Tuner Barracks – Koslowski Family.]

It's mid-summer and the sheep scurry after Andreas and his bucket of kernels. Their wool makes them resemble pieces of furniture, scraggly ottomans with black heads. The shearer hangs the clippers motor from a tree, sets a well-worn wooden bench at his feet and waits for Andreas to wrestle sheep his way. Over the low buzz of clippers, politics, the economy, and shearing wages in the former GDR are discussed. Andreas mentions a woman recently calling him in panic. She'd heard that the sheep were slaughtered. He only temporarily reassured her, explaining that they were just getting haircuts this week and he only slaughters lambs in winter. *"She was pretty against that too, but in the end I just had to say we have different understandings of nature....It's not like the sheep belong to the Senate".*³⁹ Andreas' work in the forest remains heavily influenced by his former neighbors., Claiming '*The forest history of West Berlin is knotted with the Allied presence.*' the most visible example can be seen neatly stacked at the edges of forest roads.

³⁹ Although the forest district he works for and in, including the forester house is under the jurisdiction of the Senate Administration for City Development and Environment. (Berliner Senatverwaltung für Stadtentwicklung und Umwelt) the sheep privately belong to Andreas.



{American Red Oak stacked for purchase in the Grunewald. 2013.}

During post-war occupation, the US military government permitted logging for fuel in the American zone which quickly depleted forested areas. The rapid growing American Red Oak was introduced to regenerate. Today they are considered the bully of the forest, shading out lower flora and making the forest sterile.⁴⁰ Removal is a long term responsibility for Andreas and the district. The sheep return to the paddock as gangly versions of themselves insecurely bleating to recognize one another. *“They’ll do that for about 30 minutes or so, till they sniff enough to remember who they are.”* Past the paddock is a large ring and several hills pocked with the sandy scars left by dogs. Angelika has three young and wobbling dachshunds with orange ribbons on their necks. *“That’s so I don’t lose them in the tall grass.”* Only accessible from an inconspicuous forest path, the dog park is the very opposite of city life in Berlin. Brigitte Fischer saunters through early evening fog and tells me that, *“Most don’t recognize how lucky we are here. I can be at KuDamm, in twenty minutes from here.”* The self-identified ‘Old Zehlendorfer’, comes at least twice a week with her labrador and poodle to *‘walk slow and smell the forest.’* This spiritual relationship and pleasure of being in the forest corresponds with the veterans who drove tanks in and out of the Grunewald as soldiers.

40 Tagesspiegel 2005



[Photos courtesy of Dar Moneyhon, 2013]

Reflecting on his service, Dar Moneyhon arrived to Turner Barracks in Berlin in July of 1969 as an Armor Second Lieutenant.

"We did our training bounded by the wall with an East German guard tower looking over all our training. Exercises in the Grunewald were fun if not overly demanding, maneuver wise. Lots of dog and pony shows and mounted parades. Our tanks were uploaded with ammo at all times in case the balloon went up⁴¹... We had a big sign at Turner that said 'Have Guns, Will Travel' We waved at the Russians driving by on their tours of West Berlin. Five and a half day work week with a lot of hangovers Saturday morning.

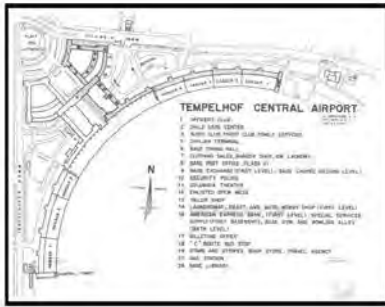
Life was great, we were holding off the Russians and it wasn't Nam. Heidi and Georgi danced go-go at the Harnack House...with our yellow table cloths and beer mugs fashioned from 105mm brass blank rounds and harassed the infantry battalions."

⁴¹ 'The balloon going up' was an expression I often heard amongst veterans I interviewed from the Cold War era. It's exact origins are somewhat debated yet in my experience its meaning was not. The saying meant that battle, war, and/or confrontation was imminent.



[ABOVE Andreas Constien moves his sheep from a small pen to another field in a paddock behind the forester's home. August 2013. BELOW Brigitte Fischer with her two dogs at Dachsberg in Berlin-Zehlendorf. November 2012]

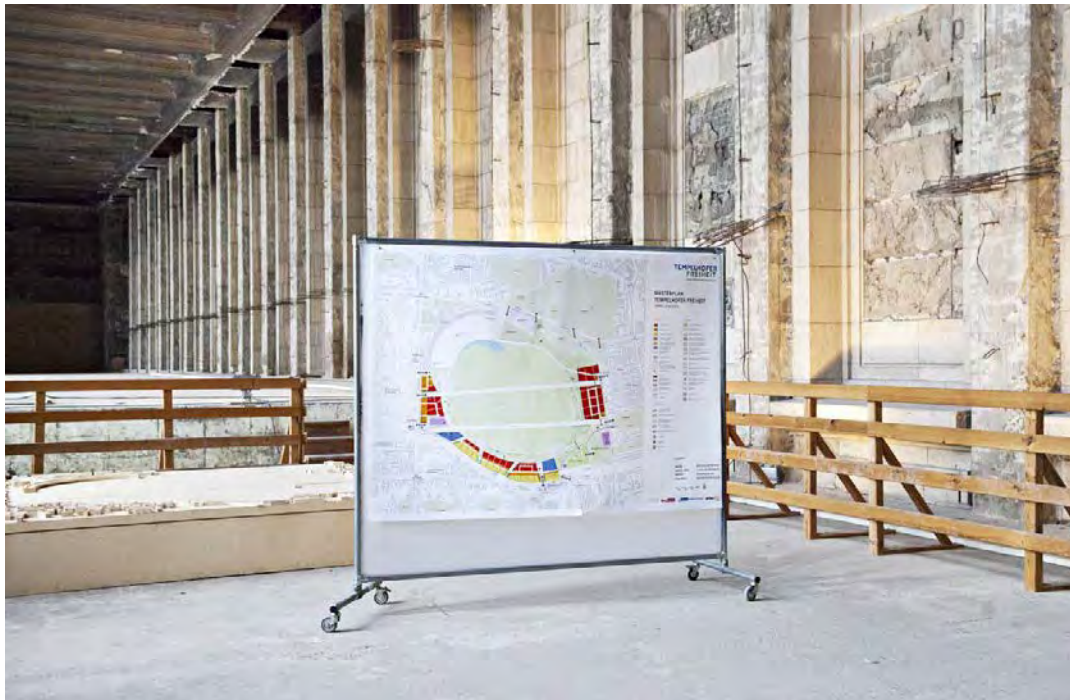
In the end it is Andreas' stewardship over the forest and his sheep that have transformed the munitions bunkers into moorland, and barracks into a dog park. As the sheep play such a central role and are the personal property of Andreas, similar to others who imbricate career and personal life, the relationship to the site oscillates between one *dependent* and *ideological*. Andreas and I talk after the shearer has left he interrupts putting his finger in the air. He turns to the sheep, still looking a bit shaken, but having recognized one another, stand somewhat silent now, "*Hear that?...all is back in order.*"



[LEFT Tempelhof Central Airport -Berlin-Brigade.com . CENTER Tempelhof after WWII bombing campaigns. -Landesarchiv. April, 2013.]

TEMPELHOF AIRPORT

The “Mother of all Airports”⁴² construction began in the 1930s as part of the Nazi regime's massive city development project for Berlin; known as Germania⁴³. Following WWII the US military assumed the Soviet control of Tempelhof that ironically later proved integral to the Western allies during the Berlin Airlift and Soviet Blockade of West Berlin. From 1945 to 2008 the airport was used for military and civilian air travel and is currently under municipal ownership.



[The Berlin government's plans for housing and commercial developments at Tempelhof on display in the burned and cannibalized out upper floor of the entry hallway. -August, 2013.]

⁴² As described by British architect Lord Norman Foster (Paeschke 1998).

⁴³ Specifically the Nord – Süd Achse (North South Axis) portion which included a boulevard from the central district of Mitte south to the Südbahnhof (South Train station) in the district of Tempelhof (Dittrich 2012:5).

Memorialization

Across the street is a one-room shop for everything aviation; models, posters, and the two books about Tempelhof airport are in my hands. One is an introductory pamphlet on the conception and construction, the other belongs to a series on German engineering landmarks.

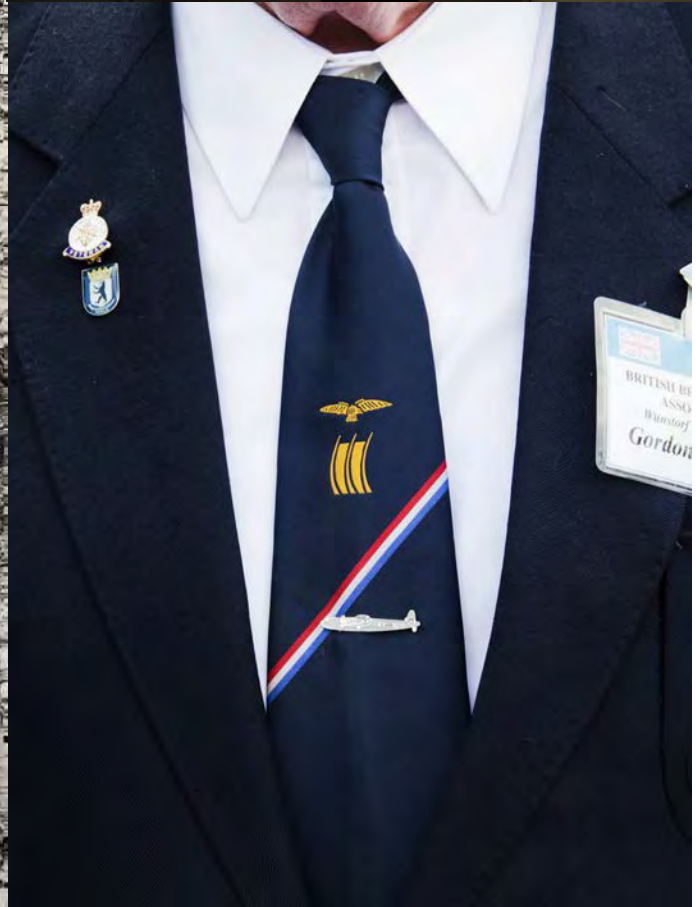
The shopkeeper recommends the latter. *“Just my opinion, but the little one is....how should I say...a bit political.”* I bought both and week later sat with the author of the warned book, Elke Dittrich, who was unsurprised at my experience. The shop owner's warnings stemmed from her approach to the ideological and for many Germans unpleasant construction of Tempelhof. She mentions Tempelhof is often perceived in favor of it's role during the Berlin Airlift and allied control.⁴⁴ Much of Elke's research focuses on Tempelhof's architect Ernst Sagebiel, the first tasked with a building belonging to Hitler and Speer's plans for Germania. His involvement in Tempelhof's construction offers valuable insight into the ideology, politics and power of the Nazi regime, as the aesthetic needs of Hitler's fantasies for world power antagonized Sagebiel's modernistic tendencies. (Dittrich 2012:31).

Tempelhof is residuum of large scale Nazi building initiatives, built not only for Hitler's ideological prestige but also state militarization (Dittrich 2012:6). It is one of few realized structures of Berlin Nazi-era architecture. Claiming that the full potential of the building is unable to be realized without confronting these origins Elke says, *“Once this knowledge is known, then be accepted, and then we can move on.”* (Dittrich 2013).



[LEFT Tempelhof Airport in design drawings and models. 1935-1944. RIGHT The Airport Berlin-Tempelhof. Landmarks of German Engineering that is printed by the Federal German Architects Chamber Although both books are written on the construction of Tempelhof, the historical context of which are framed significantly different from each other. Both very thorough, their comparison offers an insight into academic and political perception of Tempelhof. -Scans 2013]

⁴⁴ Such a perception of Tempelhof as an 'American' relic is however understandable as among 'users' of Tempelhof, the US military is still the longest occupation at nearly 50 years (1945-1994).



[LEFT City planning map from 1933 that include the later 1935 addition of Tempelhof. -Wolters 1978. TOP Elke Dittich in the basement of Tempelhof Airport. August 2013. BOTTOM Tie with an embroidered Berlin Airlift Memorial belonging to RAF Veteran Gordon Westwell photographed at the Berlin Airlift Memorial. -May 2013.]



*["You know the german word, Ruhestand?" (retirement) he asks, "Well I have 'Unruhestand'. Where do you find such a place today? At one place you start to work and then you retire...I've spent my entire life at this airport. I welcome tours saying, 'Welcome to my airport', they laugh and I ask what's so funny"
-Dieter Nickel at Tempelhof, 2012]*

The relationships to the structures are as varied as the options for memorialization. Expecting to observe a tour of Tempelhof led by a former employee, we realize I'm the only visitor. Dieter Nickel and I sit on the marble reception desk countertop of the former Officer's Hotel. Dieter started working at the airport in June of 1967 as a young engineer and has yet to disconnect himself from the structure. As a German contractor for the US Air Force, he was eventually promoted to Chief Engineer and transitioned along with the powers that were towards a fully civil airport in 1994. Since retiring a decade ago he has been giving tours and recounting a blend of his and Tempelhof's history.

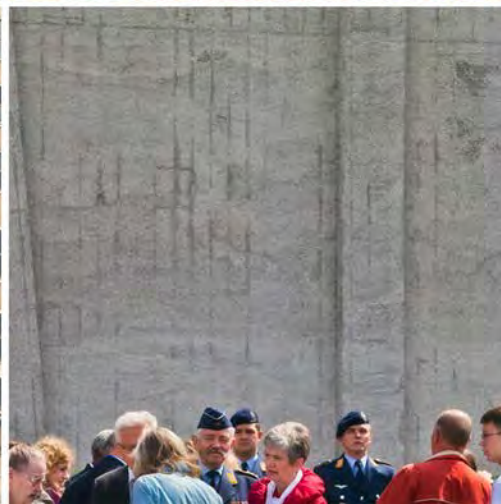
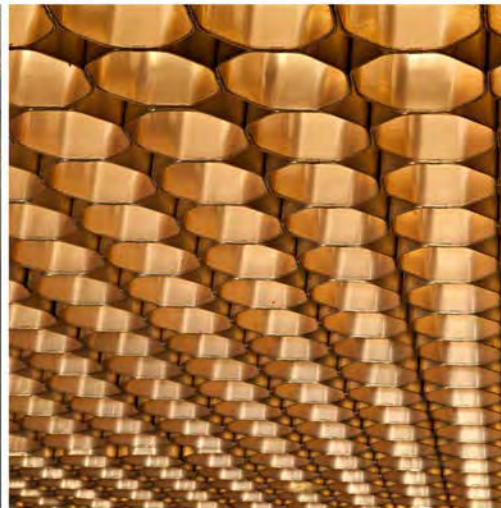
We walk through rooms and he points to carpet, hallways and pillars that were changed or rebuilt after WWII. "*We (Germans) had many problems with our past...how to forget, how not to forget, etc. An example is this bombastic Nazi entrance hall, we didn't want it...*"

At the top, the ceiling is black from fire⁴⁵ and the view resembles a finely painted stage backdrop leading to infinite darkness. There are no overhead lights and the walls are cannibalized brick where facade was removed for repairs elsewhere. A floor was installed cutting the top two floors of windows off from the lower 3 of the entrance hall. A large aerial photograph of the last 'Day of the Open Door'⁴⁶ at Tempelhof hangs in light on the opposite wall. Dieter continues the private tour mixing personal and historical narratives. "*Many of the Airlift pilots had bombed the city years earlier, you know.*" His own story followed. Originally born in what became East Berlin his family moved to the Western district Lichterfelde for his father's job as a radio engineer. Due to mis-identification his father was drafted to the Eastern front where before being able to correct the mistake, was killed in 1944. Among other tours led by former employees, Dieter's were differentiated by this biographical and narrative relationship to Tempelhof. It was his. The setting for his life between powers, war and its constant threat. I learn about Tempelhof by learning about Dieter. Experiencing the Soviet blockade as a child and working for US military nearly his entire career inextricably winds his personal narrative with one national. He asks where I'm from. 'Utah'. His position in the collective history of Tempelhof surfaces again as he affectionately refers to Col. Gail S. Halvorsen, as 'Our Bishop'.⁴⁷

45 Tempelhof was involved in the final days of aerial bombing campaigns and fighting during the Battle of Berlin (Thompson 2006).

46 The weekend of May 12th corresponding with the end of the Soviet Blockade in 1949 was commemorated with a 'Day of the Open Door' at Tempelhof where civilians were invited onto the tarmac to see aircraft, interact with military personnel and celebrate with food and music. Like the German-American Volksfest at Truman Plaza, these annual events were frequently mentioned in interviews with both Germans and American veterans.

47 Candy Bomber (Rosinen Bomber), Der Bischoff (The Bishop) or Unser Bischoff aus Utah (Our Bishop from Utah) and Uncle Wiggly-Wings belong to nicknames I encountered among West Berlin natives for Mormon airlift pilot Col. Gail S. Halvorsen.



{CLOCKWISE Abandoned bar in the former Officer's Hotel. Brass light fixtures are among several noticeable modifications the US Air Force made at the airport. German Luftwaffe guard at the Berlin Airlift memorial on the 65th anniversary. Inner courtyard and loading dock with visible lower two floors. Furniture left by the US Air Force. View of tour group on the tarmac west of the terminals from the former airport restaurant window.}



{TOP Reflection from upper floor of entrance hall building with a view into the *ebrenhof* (front courtyard) of the airport. MIDDLE Tour guide and architectural historian Elke Dittrich leads a tour through the former Officer's Hotel. BOTTOM A group of American students have their picture taken in the burned out film bunkers that were either destroyed before the SS lost control of the airport or by the subsequent Soviet occupation of the structure.}



[Col. Gail Halvorsen, USAF Ret. in Zehlendorf. June 2013.]

Security

“We came over the top and could look through the buildings—they were like fingers pointing to the sky. It looked like a moonscape. I wondered how 2 million people could live in a place so totally devastated. Templehof Airport was right in the middle. We had to come over those bombed-out buildings and get down real quick.

Not having seen many Germans, I wondered what these supermen were going to look like. When I landed that first 20,000 pounds of flour and opened the back doors, they came right up and put out their hand. Couldn't understand a word they said, but boy, the look in their eye and tone of their voice when they looked down at that flour. From that point on, we were on the same page” (Lauterborn 2009).

An already wide grin stretches further as retired US Air Force Col. Gail Halvorsen points and waves to individual sets of eyes among several hundred gathered for the naming ceremony of an elementary school in Zehlendorf. Students of the school wear blue and white stewardess outfits with felt hats spiked with an orange representation of the airlift memorial.



[1st Lt. Gail Halvorsen and the 17th Military Air Transport Squadron rig candy bars to miniature parachutes for German children in Berlin as part of Operation Little Vittles. -USAF 1948. RIGHT West Berliners watching a C-54 land at Berlin Tempelhof Airport. -USAF 1948.]

They are selling fundraiser tickets for the party following the ceremony to name the newly organized school the *Gail S. Halvorsen Schule*. Speaking in a mixed concoction of German and English he gratefully addresses the crowd and tells the familiar anecdotal account of how Operation Little Vittles⁴⁸ started. Pushing Wrigley's chewing gum through the security fence at the end of Tempelhof's runway during the airlift.

"I went back to the fence and pulled out my two sticks of Wrigley's Doublemint, broke them in half and passed the four pieces through the barbed wire. There was no fight. The kids who got gum carefully tore the tin foil and passed it to the others, who put it up to their noses to smell—just smelled it—and I stood there dumbfounded. I told them, "Come back here tomorrow, and when I come in to land, I'll drop enough gum for all of you."

One asked, "How do we know what airplane you're in?" 'I'll wiggle the wings.' 'Vas ist viggel?' he asked" (Lauterborn 2009)⁴⁹

48 Operation Little Vittles was the official name for dropping candy attached to tiny white parachutes for West Berlin children out of approaching Berlin Airlift aircraft upon approach to Tempelhof. Although it began between Halvorsen and his fellow pilots as a way to boost morale among the youth of destroyed West Berlin, it was later adopted by commanding officers as an official operation. At the end of the airlift, approx. 25 plane crews dropped 23 tons of chocolate, chewing gum, and other candies in Berlin.

49 This is the text from a 2009 interview with Military History magazine where Col. Halvorsen relates meeting the children at the fence and was retold almost verbatim at the school naming ceremony.



[Gail S. Halvorsen Schule in Berlin Zehlendorf. June 2013.]

Teenagers stand in front of stenciled portraits of Halvorsen's face as a young pilot that hang collaged in the halls of the school. I had heard examples of the rock star status Col Halvorsen had in the area but was yet to witness it myself. It was clear that even still among many in the former western part of Berlin, the Airlift was what secured West Berlin as the 'free' West-German enclave it would remain until reunification. Col. Halvorsen endures as a familiar symbol of this event that remains in the narrative of the area that passes through generations with respect and admiration.

I crowded into a small room, a lightly guarded classroom transformed into a VIP room where Col. Halvorsen and his family spoke with school administrators and other *'promis'*. I introduced myself as a fellow Utahn to his daughter Denise and we briefly played the *'do you know so-and-so'* game. Her father was also very well known in Utah and was often featured in the newspaper I recently worked for. Mentioning the years during which her father returned to Berlin with his family to serve as base commander at Tempelhof in the early 70s she revealed that the aspect of security at that particular structure was inevitable. During that time the airport was shared between the US Air Force and commercial airlines, and Denise worked for Pan-Am Airlines.

"I could go almost anywhere, I had access to both sides, as a Pan-Am employee and as a family member of the base commander. I don't know how many people could do that."



[Unfinished staircase that separated military and commercial operations and was sealed until 1994 in the C building at Tempelhof. January 2013.]

The only way both operations could exist at Tempelhof was through strict and established channels of access and security. A remnant of the secured seam between the former military and commercial users is found in a dark stairwell near the center of the structure. In contrast to marble floors, smooth stone walls and polished aluminum railings, the unfinished stairwell that directly connected the military and commercial sides was sealed off and unused until 1994. Rectangular insets in the wall at each landing gape open and naked where gas heaters would stand as the stairway remains rough, dark and cold. Upstairs in the center of the main building is a small room with an aerial photograph of Tempelhof after WWII. Andreas Fritschke points to an empty lot at the bottom right corner, *I was born and raised on that block.* His current access to Tempelhof through operating daily tours is in sharp contrast to his childhood spent yards from the structures that he now has unlimited access to.



[Andreas Fritschke at Tempelhof. August 2013.]

Andreas runs the tour company *Berlin Kompakt* with high standards for tours and guides at Tempelhof. “*We could make more money if we didn't care as much about the quality*” Motivated to retain the contract from the Senat⁵⁰ he explains “*We want to become a part of the premises, irreplaceable and sustainable, Running tours is the easy part, creating and developing a quality service is more difficult.*”

From his office his childhood home is nearly visible. I ask about whether his relationship to Tempelhof, is historical or more dependent on his job and the present.

“Back then, it was the time of the Ami. Closed off and huge. Apart from being chased away from the fence from some 2 meter black American MP, we weren't allowed inside. We parked our cars as close as we could at the fence to watch the planes come in...was really good for dates...just like on Wayne's World.”

“As a kid you see it only from the outside. First time I had my keys, I went everywhere, I wanted to see everything that was going on. Now it's really a job, but because we do tours it's still a historical place to me. When I was working in security here, it was more about what we can do with the place, more about the future, and now it's about the past, although I attribute that to work and not growing up here necessarily. If I was working at a tech start-up here it'd be different.” (2013).

⁵⁰ The government of Berlin administers the contracts for private business at Tempelhof.



[Day of the Open Door at Tempelhof Central Airport. -Allied Museum Archives, 1972 / 1969]

Outside his third story office door is a long hallway with large windows peering down to the main hangar floor. Bread & Butter Berlin are starting to build structures for their upcoming trade-show. I'm warned that as someone 'outside the industry', access to the company, how they use Tempelhof and their trade-show would prove difficult. Luck and compassion worked in the form of an answered email from Katharina Hegemann in the PR department admitting she recently finished her own masters was happy to help.



[CLOCKWISE Changes to the material surface of Tempelhof are visible with the lighting inside of the former restaurant. Public Relations Manager Katharina Hegemann on the final day of Bread & Butter -Summer 2013. Entrance to BBB 2013 in the main hall. Jen on the first day of building, July 2013.]



[Setup and building for Bread and Butter Berlin, July 2013.]



[Cafe around a concrete hangar signal bunker during Bread and Butter Berlin, July 2013.]



[Opening party for Bread and Butter Berlin July 2013]

Jen, a member of the PR team for the twice-annual fashion and lifestyle trade-show, sits on the curb of the main entrance to Tempelhof. Above her the BBB⁵¹ logo; an upright Berlin bear on a map of the world sits above the antiquated letters 'ZENTRAL FLUGHAFEN'⁵² as I arrive.

Jen escorts my sneak peak of construction for the upcoming show. Floorspace is heartily filled with skeletons decaying in reverse as workers build, lift and join the diverse structures. Holding her silver badge (mine was white) she mentions how 'cool' it is to have access to the entire area during the trade-show. Having been in the terminal halls so many empty times before, I'm excited to see it filled with activity. Rolls of sodded grass are stacked on the tarmac and a dining area atop an extended wooden patio is being constructed under two linked pulley hooks, symbolic of this year's theme; 'Connect'. A bright orange cherry-picker reaches to the trestle ceiling installing lights. The normally open hanger is closed by a temporary white vinyl and steel wall with space in the middle like the proverbial gap in the teeth of an upper teens model who is adored for her unorthodox face.

51 Bread and Butter Berlin.

52 Central Airport

Asked at several junctions for our badges, security is tight. Jen warns that if I see any clothes on racks, not to photograph them. “*Copycats are around and it'll make the vendors nervous.*” The trade-show is home to over 600+ brands and among the largest clients of Tempelhof.



[Bread and Butter Berlin lights in the former ticketing hall of Tempelhof July 2013.]

Managing Director Karl Heinz Mueller's conscious relationship to historic buildings is apparent since the trade-show's beginnings in Cologne in 2001. Former communications director Danielle De Bie said, “

“We represent urban wear, this is why we've chosen urban sites. We integrate the city not just by working with people but also the buildings that play a role in the city. If you want to 'pick up the city' you have to pick the history of the city” (De Bie 2012).

The event is spread across eight terminals filled with vendors, buyers, distributors, and photographers dressed to match the visual fabric of a fashion event. Cappuccinos in tall clear glasses, croissants and salads dot tables in the dining area nestled around a bomb-proof bunker, while live models pose with mannequin counterparts on small stages. Some booths resemble temples obscuring sacred garments, free champagne and hors d'oeuvres inside.

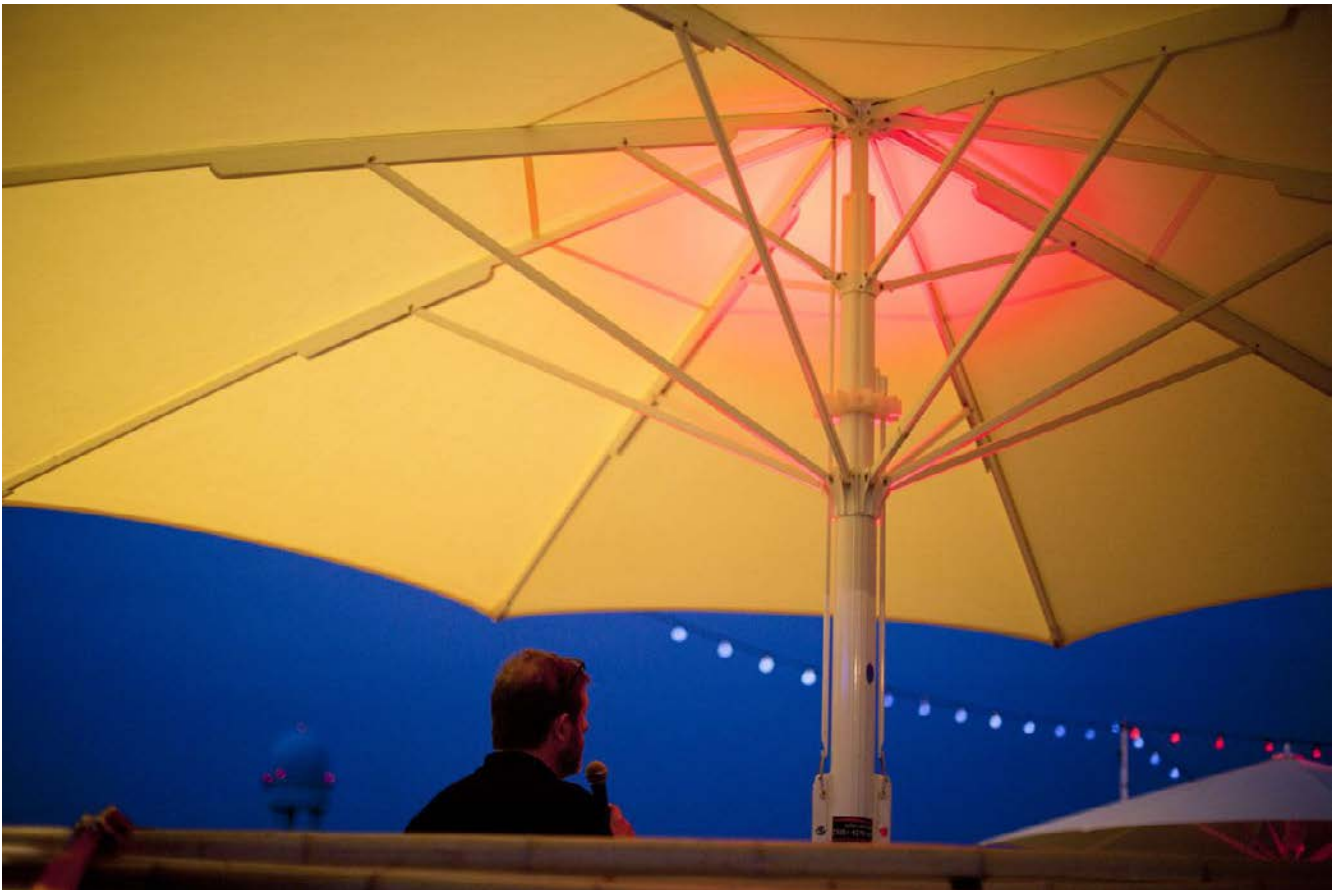
A small group crowds the reception desk like travelers hoping to extend their stay inside the massive orangery-like structure of fogged glass and steel.⁵³



[Booth wall at Bread and Butter Berlin July 2013.]

From communication with the company down to the racks of clothing, access is authorized. Even less elaborate booths opt for controlled approaches. With walls just above eye level, Sascha from inside the Ben Sherman booth invites me in scanning the bar code on my badge with the handheld reader issued to every vendor, transmitting my contact information to his mailing list and database. Involved with BBB as a vendor since '*the very beginning*'. The measures aren't only about protecting clothes. "*...that does happen, one guy wanted to photograph me in this jacket and I had to ask who he worked for. I don't want to see our new jacket in H&M in a month.*" He adds that more importantly it secures a point of entry getting customers 'inside' rather than hanging from the periphery. "*If they can see everything from the outside, they won't come in. By closing things off a bit, people come in.*"

⁵³The booth belonged to Dutch clothing company Scotch and Soda and was built by Aplus – Richard van der A B.V.



[Managing Director of Bread and Butter Berlin Karl Heinz Müller speaks on the tarmac to invited guests following the final day of the trade-show July 2013.]

The show is over and I'm sitting outside with Katharina, Jen and Karl Heinz's PA, Jenny. The reality eases in for them in the form of breathing room between now and the planning for the winter show begins. I introduce myself to Jenny and she mentions that through Katharina she's heard of me and before talking about the building, she kindly reminds me how few requests like mine are granted. The event is for vendors and employees and as it gets late Karl Heinz turns the music down and speaks standing below a giant yellow umbrella. It is dark and the lights installed behind the TEMPELHOF AIRPORT sign alternately glow blue and red. He expresses his appreciation in realistic words as we sit on wooden benches, atop grass sod, on the airport tarmac, bathed and glowing in hanging red and yellow lights within the world they press onto the material surface of Tempelhof. It's business,... unavoidable; yet passion and care for using a place like Tempelhof is figured into the budget of Bread & Butter Berlin. The material and conceptual changes they build into the physical structure of Tempelhof are shining, respecting and inspiring. Weeks later they disappear to retreat and plan the next opportunity.



[LEFT Map of US Installations in WestBerlin. -Berlin-Brigade.com. CENTER American Community Chapel on Hüttenweg. -Berlin-Brigade.com. Sunday Services. July 2013.]

HÜTTENWEG CHAPEL

In 1956 the US Army built the chapel on Hüttenweg⁵⁴ for the military community. Today, a Baptist, Catholic, Jewish, Protestant, Montessori Kindergarten and a Boy Scout Troop use and share the facility throughout the year.

Tolerance & Liberty

Father Gillesen, who is responsible for the English Speaking Mission of the Berlin Archdiocese, speaks ending each sentence with an inflection of, '*How do you feel about that?*' The youth from All Saints and nearby St. Bernard are as still as the proverbial church mice. Only moving their heads to look at the Stations of the Cross on the wall to their right as he progresses through the 14 stages. Full volume and participation arrive three-fourths of the way through, "*We adore you O Christ, and we bless you...because by your Holy Cross, you have redeemed the world.*" as they kneel in staccato unison.

Normally the relief figures from the Stations hang in the chapel, but as it is shared between faiths, they hang in the tabernacle where the Eucharist is kept. Father Gillesen weaves the narrative of crucifixion while explaining specific Catholic doctrine. All Saints' regular priest, Father Felber sits among the youth in a tan corduroy blazer and tells me this is the first time this has ever happened here. The youth from both parishes together for the Stations of the Cross is a sign of the thawing relationship between All Saints and the archdiocese.

⁵⁴ Meaning the 'Way of the huts' is the street in Zehlendorf where the church was built adjacent the military housing complexes of Flanaganstraße and Taylorstraße.



[Father Herbert Gilleszen with the youth of St. Bernard's Parish and All Saints Catholic Community for the Stations of the Cross. April, 2013.]

The non-profit organization Friends of All Saints rents the building and is governed by a board of sub-renters including the other congregations. Each congregation is connected to its historical predecessor through a mixture of consistent members, a constant more liberal liturgy, and partitioned use of the building. An example of how historic uses influence today is apparent in the recent relationship between All Saints⁵⁵ and the Roman Catholic Archdiocese of Berlin. During occupation, the parish was under the jurisdiction of the US Chaplain Service, enjoying a more open liturgy and relative autonomy. After withdrawal the congregation was officially absorbed into the local German archdiocese. After a few years, the costs to stay in the chapel, and the All Saints tradition of being served by a more liberal Jesuit-order priest, were seen as a threat to the more rigid domestic Catholic community. All Saints was ordered to split, assimilating into two nearby parishes. “*Many felt it was their spiritual home, ...and they didn't want to leave*”(Dolbhofer 2012). Led by Former Army Chaplain and Jesuit priest Leo Penta, the community refused to stop services in the chapel in spite of serious pressure from the archdiocese. An agreement was forged foregoing plans to rupture the congregation

⁵⁵ It is important to note the difference between the organization that rents the facility, 'Friends of All Saints e.V.' from the actual Catholic congregation, All Saints Catholic Community.



[TOP Vanessa Hansen prepares for All Saints annual St.Patrick's Day feast. BOTTOM and RIGHT Decorations for St.Patrick's day.]

on the condition of relinquishing financial support from the archdiocese and suspending Sunday School instruction. Since 2003, they have financially sustained themselves and as of summer of 2013, are once again holding Sunday School for the youth of the community.

Finishing the 14th station, the clicks of my shutter nor a cell phone ringing until voicemail have shuffled heads or broken their concentration. They file out only to come back in one by one for their first confession. I am amazed at their apparent lack of anxiety. Perhaps the rumblings of tables and chairs being set up for the St.Patrick's Day party in the multi-purpose room offer a distraction. I leave them in peace and head into the room where Heide Dolbhofer glances at kids starting to nibble at the food. She walks up to me and says, "*This is Irish time...not German time...*" Shiny green paper shamrocks on the wall match the tablecloths while The Chieftains – Greatest Hits' motivates the tardy party preparations.



{Heide Dolbhofer at All Saints. Chapel pews. February 2013.}

Heide has been part of the community since 1972 and shoulders responsibilities within the Catholic community and the board responsible for the lease as well. Her service for the building and her faith is a labor of love seen in stacks of invoices for building maintenance and the white and gold drapes hanging behind the pulpit sewn herself. *"I see myself responsible that it runs smoothly...in the building and between the groups...I think I do a pretty good job, although it's not a construction that can go on forever, someday I'll have to retire"*. She walks through the building with an eye for that which is out of place, broken or otherwise needing attention. Sharing a part conversation part frustrated vent with Con from the the Jewish congregation while he holds a jacket, *'Grown adults being careless enough to leave their jackets at the church. Kids I understand...but who goes outside and doesn't remember?...'* Heide nods in agreement, supporting with *"...coats, gloves, toys....they forget everything."* She continues towards the kitchen after this solidarity of mutual annoyance between stewards. Showing me the new windows in the kitchen, I admit not remembering the style in which the old one's looked like. Jackie from the kindergarten appears with a cluster of children. *"American,"* she laughingly interjects.

Heide moves through the kitchen, listing other problem areas, conceding that everything has it's priorities. She says the kitchen is so old a complete clean perhaps isn't possible. Years of use are trapped in the patina of corners and crevices. Looking behind the fridge and microwave, inspecting the recent cleaning job, she isn't completely satisfied. I follow her outside where she repacks the bases of some Fette Henne⁵⁶ she'd planted in the courtyard. Returning inside the Montessori kids, with tiny feet in German house-shoes spin, dance and sing a British nursery rhyme, completely oblivious to us. It is the same multi-purpose room where on Palm Sunday, following the distribution of green palm leaves, I see her dutifully turn the heaters down before the procession leaves the room. The same room where under the pre-fab ceiling, congregants drink coffee after Sunday service, and rowdy Boy Scouts meet each week before Shabbat on Friday night. There is an inconspicuous blonde-colored wood closet standing on the back wall, present at every activity.

⁵⁶ *Hylotelephium spectabile*, eng. Stonecrop is flowering plant found in Germany.



[LEFT Palm Sunday March 2013. Boy Scouts of America troop meeting and activity. April, 2013.]



['ופרש עלינו סכת שלומך' *'Praise to thee Eternal One, who spreads a tent of peace over us. Over the People of Israel and over Jerusalem'* Reads the stitching on the curtain for the Torah Ark and refers to the name of the congregational Sukkat Schalom, 'Tent of Peace.' Tent can also refer to a hut or small shack, adding another relation to the name Synagogue Hüttenweg, 'Synagogue on the street of huts.' Preparations for Shabbat. June 2013.]

An hour-and-a-half before sunset Con opens the doors to the closet revealing scarlet velvet curtains with deep golden stitching. Immovable and constant in the room, the Torah Ark blooms twice a week. No chairs yet, only gold flapped open doors, and a tall electric menorah standing left of the ark. From the Rabbi's office, he drags rolls of carpet in green tarp bags and builds from the ark outwards. The 'eternal' and electric flame is lit via a remote control.

Brass frames and wooden podium tops are pulled from the closet resembling a picnic basket with silverware, a blanket, dishes and wine glasses are organized and held in elastic bands on the inside of the wicker basket. Thick matching scarlet covers hang over the podiums, one at right for the Rabbi and reading the Torah, the smaller at left for the cantor, both stitched with Hebrew letters and German translations. Microphone stands are added and carts with neatly stacked prayer books are rolled to the entrance.

There's a mezuzah⁵⁷ on the door frame going into the room I've never seen before. Con jokes

⁵⁷ A piece of parchment usually rolled up inside an ornamental case with the written Torah verses of

that normally there are strict rules regarding the angle at which it is affixed to the door. “*As exact as us Germans are, you know how we do it?*” He pulls it clean off the frame showing me magnets, then looks to my face for a reaction, before quickly replacing it.

Pine boards with paper announcements taped to them are leaned onto the Catholic and Protestant Literature bookcases at the building entrance. A plainclothes policeman arrives, taking a holstered pistol from a small bag slides it between his belt and pants, then walks into the room to help set up chairs. Two more uniformed police arrive peeking inside and greet everyone before returning to the front of the building. Two candles are lit signifying the beginning of Shabbat and the handshakes, hugs, and '*Shabbat Schaloms*' fade. Rabbi Nachama sweeps gradually into the room, his head pensively looking at the ground in front of him. The doors are closed and he flows directly into the Hebrew and German service.



[Rabbi Andreas Nachama carries the Torah during Shabbat Service. August 2013.]

Deuteronomy 6:4-9 and 11: 13-2 attached to the doorframe of a Jewish home or special room.



[TOP Cantor Estrongo Nachama with US Chaplain Rabbi Louis Fischer and RIGHT singing from the pulpit at the American Community Chapel in the 1960s. BELOW In the same room Shabbat is celebrated with music and reading from the Torah. August, 2013.]



[Shabbat service, Sukkat Schalom. August 2013]

On 17 September 1999, he led the first service at the Synagogue on Hüttenweg between two generations; his son Alexander who was ordained this year and father Cantor Estrongo Nachama. Fiver years earlier, Estrongo sang in the very same room for the final service at the military chapel in 1994 after serving the Jewish community since its opening in 1957. Once again the Torah would be read in the Synagogue on Hüttenweg, this time in a German congregation steeped in the history and restoration of Judaism in Berlin since the late 40s. Chairman, Benno Simoni's explains that the formation of Sukkat Schalom was motivated by the need for a liberal and egalitarian liturgy. This same desire for a tolerant less-conservative community was emphasized in conversations with several members. Synagogue Hüttenweg is Berlin's only member in the World Union for Progressive Judaism.⁵⁸

⁵⁸ International umbrella organization of Reform, Liberal, Progressive and Re-constructionist Jewish movements.

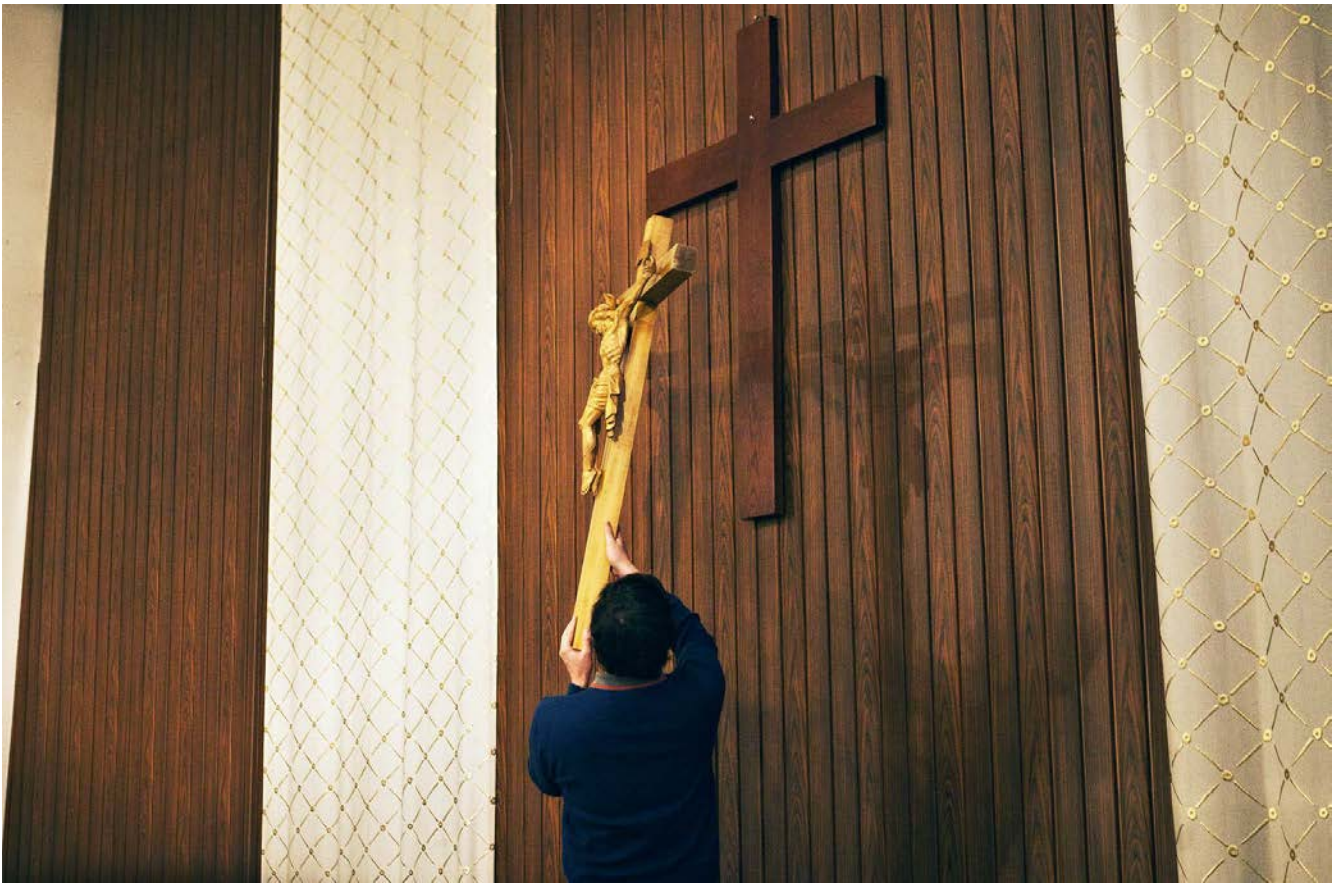


[Soshana Rosenthal is instructed by her Hebrew instructor Cantor Esther Hirsch following her Bat Mitzvah. August 2013.]

It is a late Sabbath morning and Shoshana finishes reciting memorized Hebrew passages in a voice clear and pitched like angled glass. Relieved and smiling, her Bat Mitzvah⁵⁹, nears it's end and Benno presents her with her personal prayer book. Her Hebrew teacher, Cantor Esther Hirsch passes her a small handful of candy to throw at her brother sitting in the front row. The mornings service conclude as Rabbi Nachama carries the Torah through the room while congregants sing, pausing to touch prayer shawls to the velvet bag holding the Torah. Soshana thanks her family and the congregation for their presence, inviting them to the Kiddush⁶⁰; a sip of wine, a slice of Challah and mini-quiches from a small buffet. One ritual ends and chairs and podiums are packed away to their respective homes like tools on a workshop wall making space for the next.

⁵⁹ Jewish coming of age ceremony for girls.

⁶⁰ Kiddush is a Sabbath prayer and refers to the refreshments served after a service that are first blessed by it's recitation.



[Anthony hangs the Catholic crucifix inside the chapel before Mass. Immediately afterward it will be removed for the following Protestant, then Baptist Sunday services. May 2013.]

Anthony arrives to mass early, striding between the tabernacle, the altar and ambulatory⁶¹, moving tables, lighting candles and spreading cloths. *“It’s a bit busy this time of year because there are so many feast days, every feast day has a different color.”* Today it is off white with gold trim; Trinity Sunday. The choir practices in winter jackets for empty pews as Anthony raises a crucifix to hang on top of the cross at the back of the altar. By the end of mass, the number of people have raised the temperature in the room considerably, but as quickly as it was built, the crucifix, podium and altar are removed and passed in the hallway by the podium and sound equipment belonging to the Protestant Faith Fellowship congregation.

61 A covered passageway behind the altar connecting both sides of the East end of a cathedral.



[LEFT Preparations for Mass at All Saints Catholic Community. RIGHT Congregants of Protestant Faith Fellowship. 2013.]



[Gospel Choir Concert presented by the Protestant Faith Fellowship. November 2012.]



[Boy Scouts of America Troop 46 Eagle Court of Honor inside the chapel at Hüttenweg. March 2013.]

This constant sharing of the space works, but not without some difficulty. *“Once you start to expand, the building gets smaller... We sit down every year and fight it out a bit to see who gets what space..., we always come out halfway happy.”* says Pastor Frank Williams.



[Protestant Faith Fellowship Pastor Frank Williams during a Sunday Sermon. August 2013.]

Originally from Texas Pastor Frank came to Berlin with the army in 1980, then again in 1990 as a civilian with the US Government during which he became a deacon in the international but military led PFF.⁶² The difference between rituals of PFF and All Saints are noticeable in how space is used within the chapel. A drum kit and guitars on stands are wedged next to the stage piano and Pastor Frank's podium sits just inside the mouth of the center aisle. *“I'm not up here, I don't want to be up here. Some churches do this..pastors and ministers like people to know who they are. Even German churches, their pulpits are up here. I want to be down with you...if I'm down here with you, I can work with you.”*

62 Protestant Faith Fellowship.



[Protestant Faith Fellowship's Sunday service. August 2013.]

The first pew is stacked with sound boards and amps, while more lights and a video projector displaying hymn verses are added. The service begins with music. Announcements and 3-4 minutes when everyone present gets up to walk around greeting one another are bookended by more music that *'warms everyone up and lets them know they belong'*. PFF is known locally, and fills the church to capacity for gospel concerts held several times a year. Music is considered an integral part of the ministry.

Pastor Frank's sermon begins and he leaves the podium to wander his T-shaped space of the front and center aisle. Speaking aloud to himself, *"I don't mean it....I know you don't mean it...."* He's returned to brace his arms on the podium, *"...but we we're raised to judge and fight because of people."* Making a comparison between Mary, mother of Jesus and Turkish muslim women with head scarves, he says, *"We fight because people look different, but we don't look like her."* This call to tolerance and good will transcends his sermon and when combined with open communication can be applied to the allocation of the buildings space among the invested groups.



[Gospel choir concert in the chapel on Hüttenweg. November 2013.]

Pastor Frank continues,

“If you talk with each other, it works out...It can get more complicated if we continue to grow as we have been...right now we’re at the busting point, but we’ve been able to make it...we’re a model for Germany and Berlin. That is what this building stood for. This is the gift of this place. It works, lot of people don’t understand how it works, it’s because of the place.”



[Protestant Faith Fellowship. August 2013.]

This constant theme of inclusion in his sermons invokes the situation of the structure's inter-faith occupation. Imagine the roof removed for a bird's-eye view of the orchestrated movements throughout the week. Visible are rituals of each congregation steeped in a more deliberately liberal and tolerant liturgy partially rooted in historical use. Tolerance is as much a virtue as a mode of survival in the dependent relationship routinely stacking liturgical concerns and cultural values against one another. In 2014 the lease between the city and 5 groups expires. The Jewish congregation who flex the space of the multi-purpose room have proposed building onto the site which has been met with opposition due to what they fear would be a increased security measures, according to German law for Jewish buildings. Pastor Williams also mentioned a desire for a new board to be created where each congregation have equal standing as renters. Regardless to say the future is uncertain. PFF's service ends with the congregation filing into the aisles, holding hands for a final song and prayer. The music ends, the congregation swiftly dissolving, making way for the next whose members are already waiting in the hall.



[Electrical controls in German and English markings for the chapel and corresponding lights sets for Catholic, Baptist, and Protestant services. February 2013.]

CHAPTER III MONTAGE

“Nothing is experienced by itself, but always in relation to its surroundings, the sequences of events leading up to it, the memory of past experiences” (Lynch 1960:1).

On any certain corner, buildings offer guesses at their purpose. Perhaps we threw rocks through windows, know someone who worked there, or stared at it during a long conversation in a parked car. Connections of various depths, durations and meanings are indicative of the complex role of objects in our existence (Whincup 2004:79).

“Photography is like a mosaic that becomes a synthesis only when it is presented en masse.” (Sander 1951). A persistent task during my research, was how to extend the photograph past a mere referent to parceled bits of textual data, favoring the endeavor of visual anthropology over it's description. Visual montage can represent the un-fixed nature of the sites while avoiding a linear end. It obstructs the single photograph's rigid claim to evidence, simply by forbidding it's independence. Taussig explains, mimesis is an attempt *“to get ahold of something by means of it's likeness”* (Taussig 1993:21).⁶³ Visually arranging the soldiers, builders, squatters, real-estate agents and moorland sheep connected to these sites is emblematic⁶⁴ of their actual existence in my conceptual framing and as sites themselves.

Montage sidesteps the realist paradigm (Knowles & Sweetman 2004:5) for visual images, allowing for multiple interpretations (Pink 2001:134) and visual space for the type of connection and contradiction of Lev and Koslowski; searching for intruders in the snow between the same exact fences, yet with opposing perceptions of the mountain.

Deconstructing time and space, by place, clears the way for their conjoint reconstruction (Casey 1996:38) revealing an influential and latent network of users and use over time. Revelation, by it's nature does not easily lend itself to verbalization” (Berger & Mohr 1982:118). The montages swing photographs from their placement at the 'record' end of the data continuum, towards the opposing end of 'language.' (Vaughn 1999:79). Susan Sontag writes that photography is *“a grammar and, even more importantly, an ethics of seeing”* (1973:3). These clusters are written in language between order and disorder, where connections appear and are simultaneously challenged. They are organized by the four

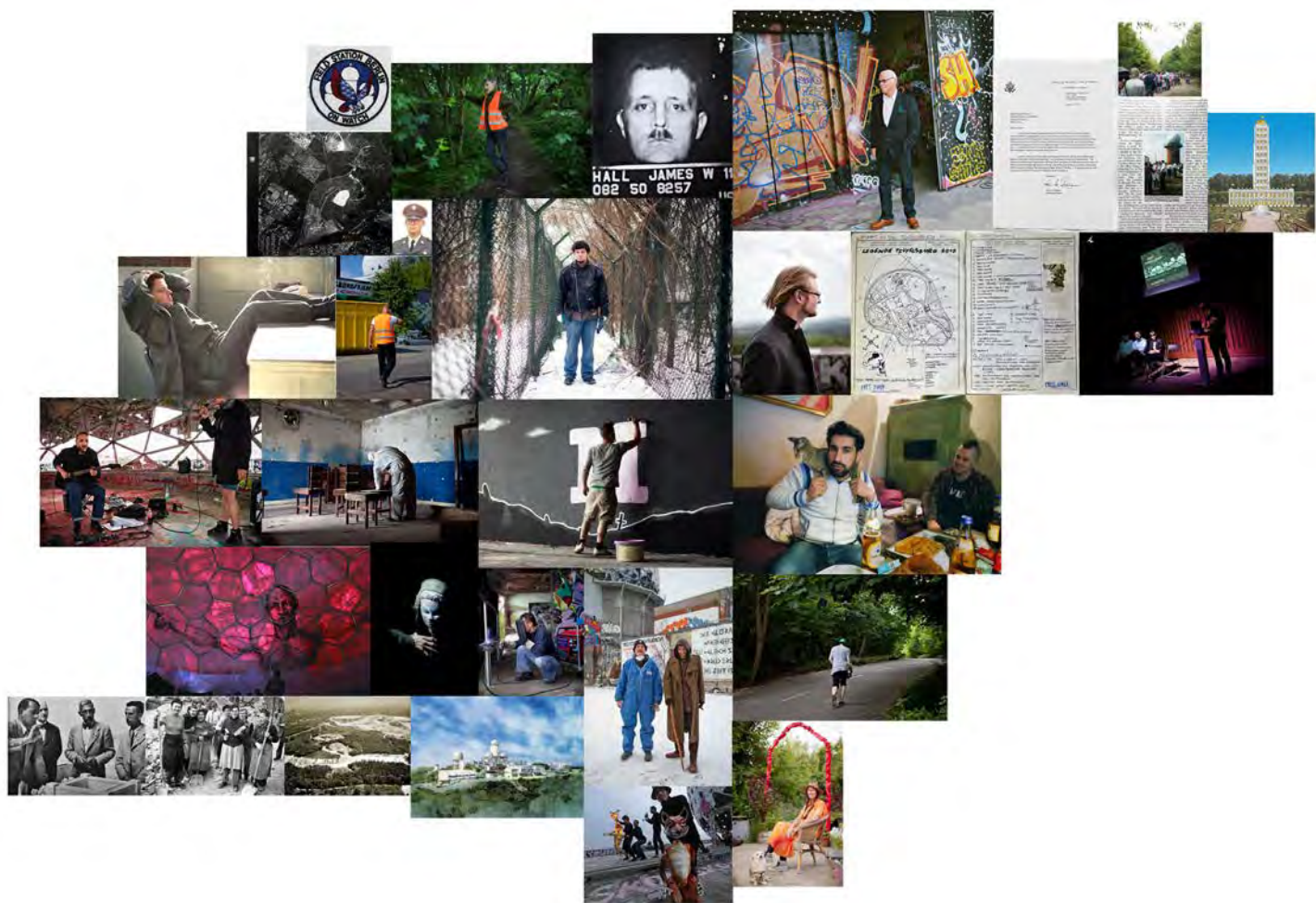
63 Other examples of representational strategies that corresponding to the material or subject, conceptually or physically that have influenced my approach can be found in the work of Weidenhofer (2013), Simon (2011), Milach (2011) and Kuhn (2012).

64 *Emblem*: an object or picture used to suggest a thing that cannot be shown: a person or thing that represents an idea (Websters 2013).

emergent themes discussed earlier and are collections of fragments meant to simultaneously push temporality to a spatial plane showing connected elements otherwise latent from one another. In this form they are reproduced full scale for my MA thesis installation in fall of 2013.

Despite their placement in this thesis the clusters are my attempt to visually and thickly describe (Geertz 1973) these sites and my field work process in greater depth. They represent the archival impulse “*to connect what cannot be connected...not a will to totalize so much as a will to relate, to probe a misplaced past, to collate its different signs...to ascertain what might remain for the present*” (Foster 2004:21).

CLUSTERS



TEUFELSBERG

MEMORIALIZATION & RITUAL

- 1 90 minute wait for entrance on Day of the Open Monument
- 2 Article from TIME magazine. September 27, 1999. "*Lies Spies and Memories.*"
- 3 Plans for David Lynch's 'Transcendental Meditation Center' to be built on Teufelsberg.
- 4 Book launch party for "*Field Station Berlin —Geheime Abhörstation auf dem Teufelsberg.*"
- 5 Letter from US Embassy Berlin to Harmut Gruhl, part owner, expressing preservation interests.
- 6 Drawings and speculations on the floor plan and campus by artist and resident David.
- 7 Owner Harmut Gruhl at Day of the Open Monument 2013.
- 8 Martin, Teufelsberg guide.

TOLERANCE & LIBERTY

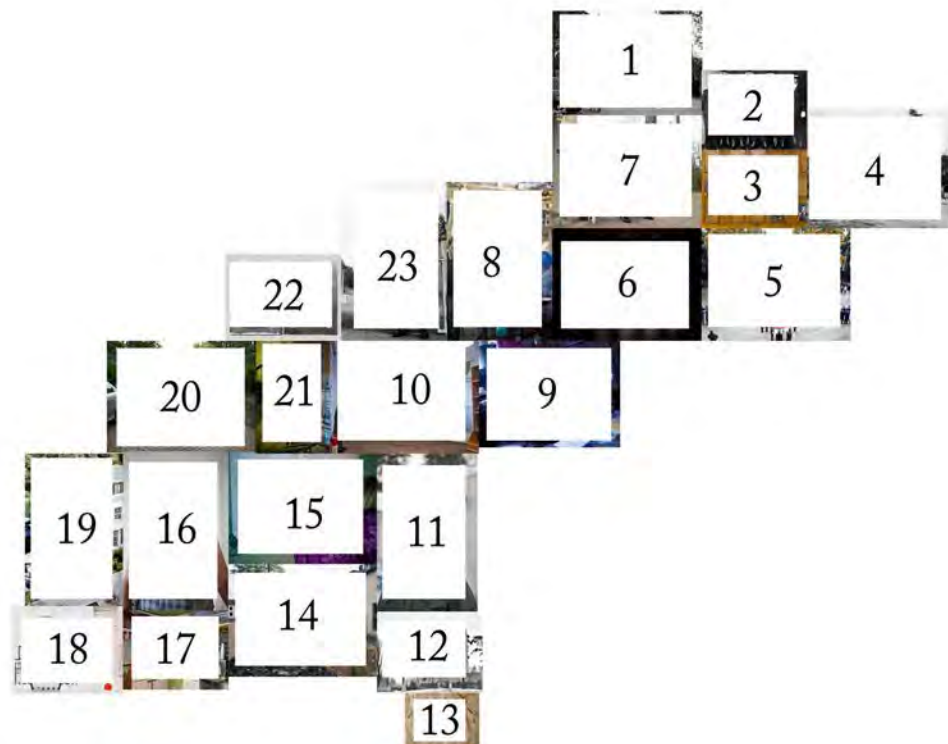
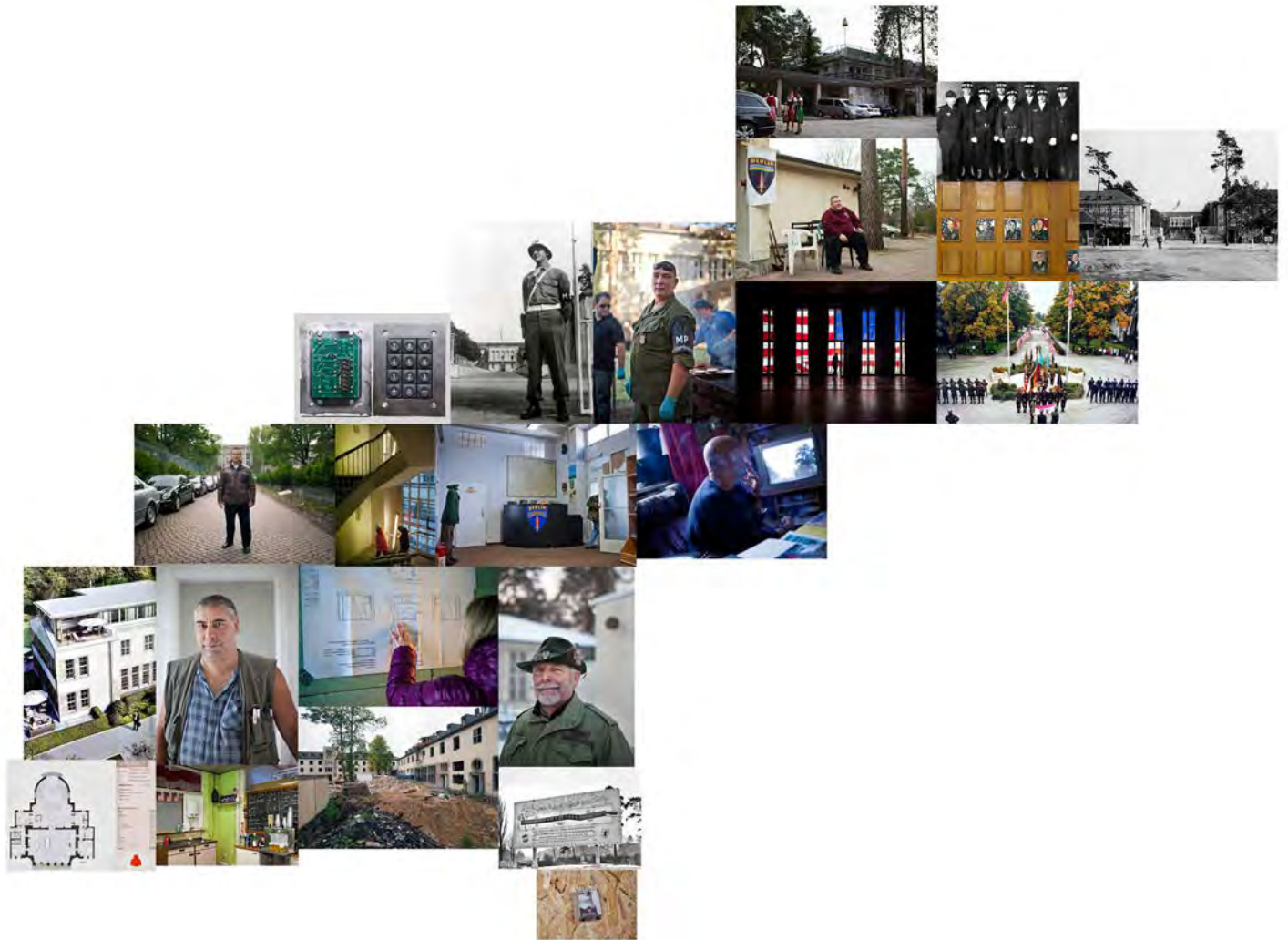
- 9 Shalmon Abraham, chief of activities at Teufelsberg.
- 10 Longboarders on the road leading to the front gate.
- 11 Teufelsberg's Peace Garden

CREATION & STEWARDSHIP

- 12 Puppeteers on the roof of tower building.
- 13 Squatters and workers, Ingo and David
- 14 Graffiti artist 'K'.
- 15 Lev in the chair factory.
- 16 Concert by Marco and Frederike
- 17 Concert in the cupola.
- 18 Sculpture work.
- 19 Detlev welding railings in tower building.
- 20 Plans for failed mixed business and living development.
- 21 Teufelsberg listening station 1961.
- 22 Trümmerfrauen Berlin
- 23 Albrecht Speer planning the Wehrtechnische Fakultät

SECURITY & AUTHORIZATION

- 24 James W. Hall, convicted of espionage for activities while stationed at FSB.
- 25 Berndt, former German guard during occupation and again working security at Teufelsberg.
- 26 Field Station Berlin patch.
- 27 Aerial photo from mid 1970s with Teufelsberg whited out.
- 28 Lev patching holes in the fence.
- 29 Stefan, security guard.
- 30 Veteran 'Buffalo'
- 31 Veteran Lew McDaniel



CLAY HEADQUARTERS

MEMORIALIZATION & RITUAL

- 1 Richtfest ceremony and party for Metropolitan Gardens construction site workers.
- 2 Guard Battalion, 1950s.
- 3 Incomplete wall of former Berlin Brigade commanders in Former Guard Battalion museum.
- 4 Clay Headquarters on Clay Allee late 1940s.
- 5 Retiring of the colors ceremony, 1994.
- 6 4th of July celebration at Clay HQ, 2013.
- 7 Jörg outside the Guard Battalion museum on a smoke break.
- 8 Former Guard Battalion MP, 4th of July BBQ at Clay Headquarters 2013.

TOLERANCE & LIBERTY

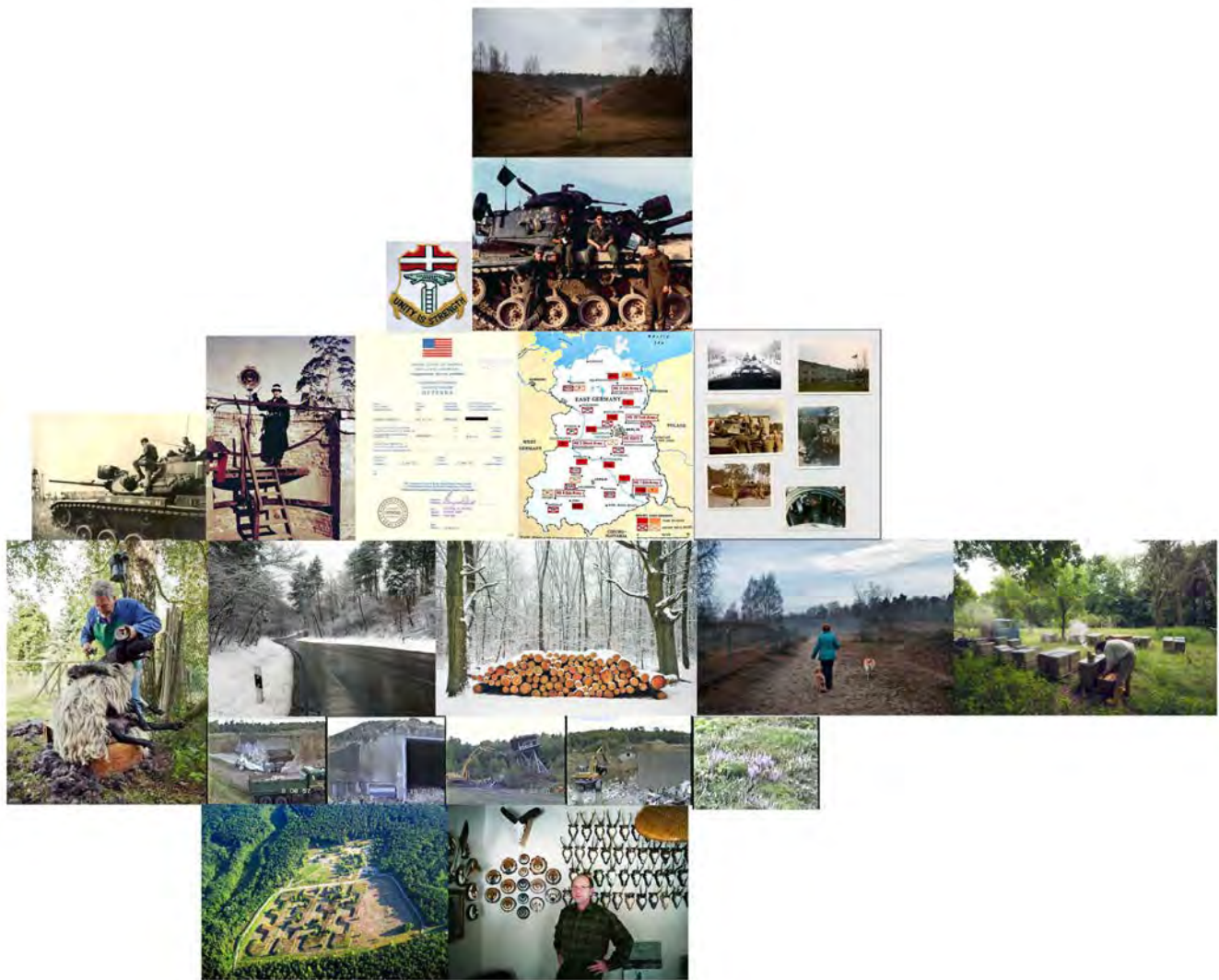
- 8 Chillie Davis, of Puerto Rico at his home in Berlin after remaining in Germany following his military service.

CREATION & STEWARDSHIP

- 10 Former Guard Battalion museum located on the Clay HQ campus.
- 11 Lothar Kurzius, museum curator.
- 12 Construction sign for re-building initiative on Clay Allee, late 1940s.
- 13 Empty cigarettes nailed to a temporary door on Metropolitan Gardens construction site.
- 14 North view of 'Times Tower', Metropolitan Gardens construction site.
- 15 Project Manager Katrin Görlitz
- 16 Torsten, carpenter Metropolitan Gardens construction site.
- 17 Guard Battalion bar and members club.
- 18 Schematic drawing of apartment in Kennedy Hall of campus' main building.
- 19 Artist rendering of living spaces in the former courthouse, renamed 'Highline Terraces.'
- 20 Franz Sprenger, real-estate agent responsible for selling 98% of the units still being renovated on site.
- 21 Project Manager and Bauherr inspect progress in main building.

SECURITY & AUTHORIZATION

- 22 Keypad to former photographic darkroom in main building.
- 23 US guard at Clay Headquarters 1955.



TURNER BARRACKS

MEMORIALIZATION & RITUAL

1 Turner Tanker's veteran Dar Moneyhon's personal photos.

TOLERANCE & LIBERTY

2 Brigitte Fischer, self-identified 'Old-Zehlendorfer' takes her dogs walking on former munitions depot.

3 Beekeeper on at Förster house.

CREATION & STEWARDSHIP

4 Screenshots from Forester Andreas Constien's video of the munitions depot, fence and tower demolition.

5 Forester Andreas Constien.

6 Dachsberg and Langes Luch Revier Forest District from above.

7 Ottmar Just shearing the Moorland Sheep that reclaim the depot to nature.

8 Hüttenweg continuing towards the AVUS, extended by US military in the late 1940s.

9 Stacks of invasive American Red Oak, planted by the military to regenerate the forest. The oaks are now being felled forest-wide as they are a non-native species that makes the forest sterile.

SECURITY & AUTHORIZATION

10 Turner Tanker's veteran Bob Decker outside his tank on maneuvers at the border between the Grunewald and former East Germany.

11 Gerhard Koslowski as a Guard Battalion member, 1952.

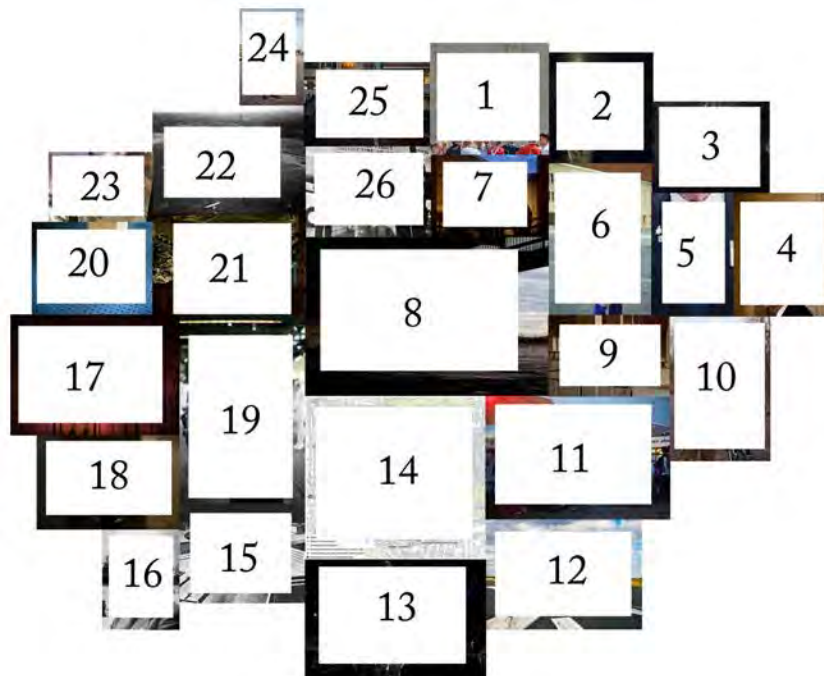
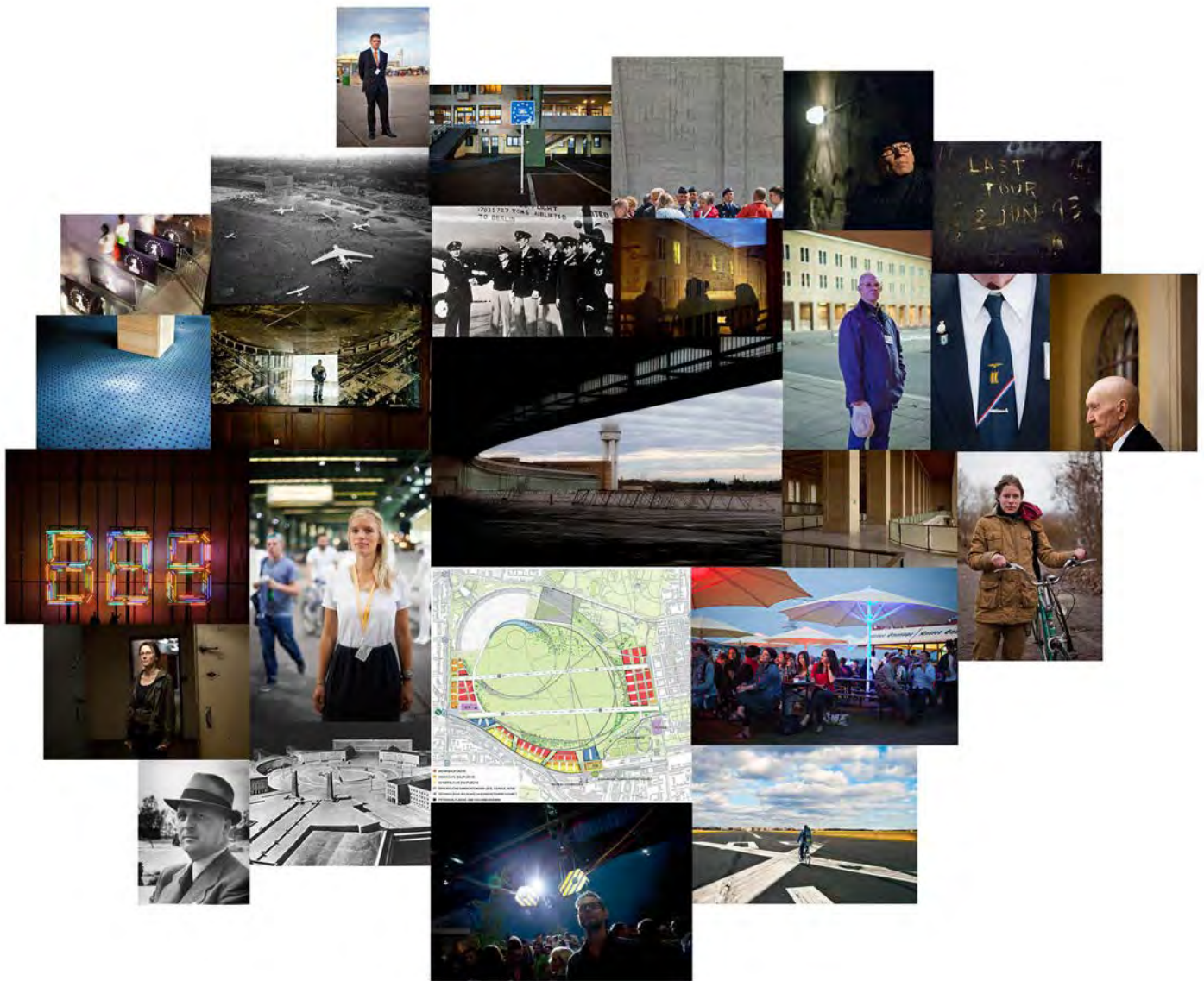
12 Transportation orders for movement in Soviet territory from veteran Bob Decker, US Army.

13 Soviet Order of Battle, and armored division locations on US military document.

14 Turner Tanker's patch.

15 F23 Tankers

16 Munitions depot fence.



TEMPELHOF

MEMORIALIZATION & RITUAL

- 1 65th Anniversary at Berlin Airlift memorial, 2013.
- 2 Herr Eisenmann, tour guide and former Tempelhof Airport employee.
- 3 'Last Tour '93' etching on burned basement film bunker wall.
- 4 Col. Gail Halvorsen at school naming ceremony in Zehlendorf-Berlin
- 5 RAF Veteran Gordon Grantwell with Airlift Memorial tie.
- 6 Dieter Nickel, tour guide and former Tempelhof Airport Employee
- 7 Tour group in top floor of entrance hall.
- 8 Terminal hall overhang.

TOLERANCE & LIBERTY

- 9 Ticketing hall.
- 10 Franzi, former activist for Occupy Tempelhof, 2004.
- 11 Employee party on tarmac for BBB.
- 12 Runway

CREATION & STEWARDSHIP

- 13 'Connect' theme for BBB
- 14 Berlin government plans for development of Tempelhof.
- 15 Early models of Tempelhof with unobstructed access to the Schiller Monument in Kreuzberg
- 16 Architect Ernst Sagebiel, the first architect tasked with a structure on the North-South axis of Hitler & Speer's Germania.
- 17 Florescent lights in ticketing hall for BBB.
- 18 Historian and author Elke Dittrich.
- 19 Katharina Hegemann, BBB
- 20 Worn carpet in former USAF Officer's Hotel dining area.

SECURITY & AUTHORIZATION

- 21 Andreas Fritschke, who grew up several streets from the airport and currently operates all tours at Tempelhof.
- 22 USAF Day of the Open Door. (pre-1994)
- 23 Security gate at BBB.
- 24 Security guard on tarmac during BBB.
- 25 'Welcome to Germany' sign in front of former terminal stairs.
- 26 Pilots of the last Operation Vittles flight, after the end of the Soviet Blockade, 1949.



HÜTTENWEG

MEMORIALIZATION & RITUAL

- 1 Palm Sunday, 2013
- 2 Altar server, Trinity Sunday 2013.
- 3 Shabbat, Sukkat Schalom
- 4 Court of Honor, Boy Scouts of America
- 5 Stations of the Cross, taught by Fr. Gillessen to youth of St. Bernards and All Saints.
- 6 Soshana Rosenthal is instructed to lead the Kiddush following her Bat Mitzvah.
- 7 Cantor Estrongo Nachama serving the US military Jewish community in Berlin.
- 8 Flag ceremony by Marines stationed at the US Consulate in Berlin-Zehlendorf, BSA Court of Honor.

TOLERANCE & LIBERTY

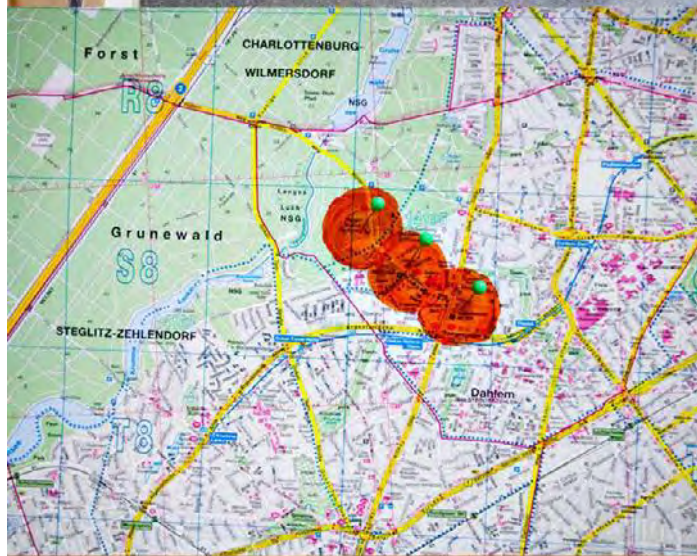
- 9 Traces where the railing was replaced followed Vatican II.
- 10 Jesuit-order priest, Fr. Wolfgang Felber continues the All Saints tradition of Jesuit and White Father order priests.
- 11 Electrical circuit box with instructions for each congregation using the chapel.
- 12 Catholic crucifix being put on Protestant cross prior to mass.
- 13 Protestant Faith Fellowship closing prayer and song.

CREATION & STEWARDSHIP

- 14 Pastor Frank Williams took over PFF with 10 members in 1994
- 15 Heide Dolbhofer inside her office.
- 16 Gospel choir concert, 2012.
- 17 Sunday service in the chapel.
- 18 Con unpacks the Torah Ark prior to Shabbat services.
- 19 St. Patricks Day feast, 2013.
- 20 Torah scrolls stored in the Torah Ark.

SECURITY & AUTHORIZATION

- 21 Police presence outside of Jewish Shabbat service.



These photographic clusters represent the users and uses of these sites on both sides of the 1994-axis of occupational military leaving Berlin. They are arranged according to the four themes that emerged from coding and analysis of fieldwork data and correspond by pin color. The center coordinate between the four themes is the brass tack.

Security & Authorization – **Red**
Creation & Stewardship – **Blue**

Memorialization & Ritual – **Yellow**
Tolerance & Liberty – **Green**



[MA Exhibit. Institut für Ethnologie - Freie Universität Berlin, November 2013]

CONCLUSION

“Ray..., people will come Ray. They'll come to Iowa for reasons they can't even fathom. They'll turn up your driveway not knowing for sure why they're doing it. They'll arrive at your door as innocent as children, longing for the past.

Of course, we won't mind if you look around, you'll say. It's only \$20 per person. They'll pass over the money without even thinking about it: for it is money they have and peace they lack.

And they'll walk out to the bleachers; sit in shirtsleeves on a perfect afternoon. They'll find they have reserved seats somewhere along one of the baselines, where they sat when they were children and cheered their heroes. And they'll watch the game and it'll be as if they dipped themselves in magic waters.

The memories will be so thick they'll have to brush them away from their faces. People will come Ray. The one constant through all the years, Ray, has been baseball. America has rolled by like an army of steamrollers. It has been erased like a blackboard, rebuilt and erased again. But baseball has marked the time.

This field, this game: it's a part of our past, Ray. It reminds of us of all that once was good and it could be again. Oh... people will come Ray. People will most definitely come.” (Field of Dreams).

Space and place hold consequence that more often than not translates to public and private value which can generate profit. This research avoids proposing a frontal attack on all development and real-estate in capitalist systems for the sake of pushing for the inclusion of a human element in the development process. The commitment to people and meaning, alongside profit if needs be, is a version of Gieryn's claim that in order for data to be effectively informed by place, it's three defining features, 'location, material form and meaningfulness' – should remain bundled. (2000: 466). Anthropological insight, like the data presented in this research provide the acumen regarding meaningfulness that policy makers and place-making professionals require for responsible development. Latham writes, “*To think about what is going on in such places is not to surrender to an urban romanticism. It is to explore the very possibilities and limits of living ethically within the city*” (1999:166).

Understanding place as a construct is critical for preservation, development, re-use, etc. as our understanding of and attachment to specific places are located in a symbiotic relationship. Namely the type of relationship where similar to the five sites I have provided, users experience their surroundings by rejecting and/or reinforcing the meanings they themselves have over time ascribed to them.

“Today, firms no longer build just because they need new space; frequently, they see large-scale building projects as real estate investments and tax deductions. Calculated as gross floor area, space is reduced to economic criteria. Engineering and economics are the decisive parameters of reconverted space”(Bürkle 2010:185).

This is incredibly problematic for the human 'cost' of dwelling as Low explains,

“...while professional designers and political elites may negotiate and enact competing future images of the city, these are rarely consistent with the daily spatial experiences and understanding of urban residents and workers”(2009:25).

If the human faculty to create meaning through the use of place is minimized for the sake of financial gain or state control, an opportunity to solve pressing issues of environmental sustainability, heritage management, urban decay and crowding is forfeited. The best laid plans for development or re-use will fall short of their intention and more importantly their potential if meaning and its construction are not factored into the equation. The voice above the corn urging Ray Kinsella, the protagonist in the film *Field of Dreams*, that 'if you build it, he will come.' portrays a site, in this case a baseball diamond built in Ray's cornfield that reconnects him with his late father, as the catalyst all places imbued with meaning are.

“Buildings are not neutral containers; they shape the way we stand and move, the way we feel, the way time and space come to us. The dense reality of a building can affect us on more levels than our analyses provide.

Often, the building only repeats, or narrows, the forms and possibilities we already live. But architecture can offer us new ways to hold ourselves, to move and to be, and so to criticize our current life by helping us to feel how we might be different” (Kolb 1990, 146)

The 5 sites detailed in this research resting far on the edge of former West Berlin, attest to Kolb's conclusion on the power of place in our lives. Imagine a cake slice from the man-made mountain containing the physical and political history of Berlin's previous century. Consider the site manager who regards her stressful work demands of converting a former kaserne into living space as her legacy for future generations, or the small museum visible from her office window that functions as a vital link between veterans whose service has been largely forgotten and erased by the community they

once served. Remember the bombastic architecture at the 'mother of all airports' that secured West Berlin's survival, provided a lifetime of employment and whose steel and concrete hangars are filled twice a year by the fashion industry. Envision the wooly sheep reclaiming bunkers to moorland where young soldiers waited nervously in their tanks for the next world war. Finally, think of the small church, filled with a handful of contradicting doctrines on the edge of the Grunewald whose inter-faith cooperation reaches to a level of mutual dependance and survival.

Jane Jacobs writes, "*there is no logic that can be superimposed on the city; people make it, and it is to them, not buildings, that we must fit our plans*" (Jacobs 1958:160). Concern for the relationship between the individual and surrounding physical space is the first step in adequately furnishing the built environment for society.

It is only space until the cracks and edges are stained, until shines are smudged with the patina of living occupation that place is made. Speculation to construction, inhabitation, decay, and demolition (Hayden 2005:2) are not independent forces of nature. Absorbing the human breath, ideals and power within this sequence by visually and conceptually organizing users and uses spun of different eras, circumstance and purpose expand our perception of what these buildings have been, what they can be and who can make them so.

EPILOGUE



[Airlift themed grocery store at the FünfMorgen Dahlem Urban Village built on the site of the former Truman Plaza. October 2013.]

October 1, 2013

Katrin Görlitz takes me to a few finished rooms showing me braided shingle work on a roof balcony. We walk to the west side of the main building and she asks when everything is due. 'Monday' I answer...she laughs, whispers "*Toi, toi, toi*" (good luck) once into each ear and hustles to the next set of apartments for inspection. I walk across the street to Oskar-Helene-Heim to catch the train for the last time and notice the fencing around the former Truman Plaza is removed in one section at the corner of Clay Allee and Saargemunder Straße.

Truman Plaza as a shopping center, site of the German-American Volksfest, and center of the

American community in Berlin was mentioned so often that after being refused access time and time again by the fancy development company installing luxury apartments, it mocked me as an uncomfortable reminder of what my research was missing on every visit to the area.

Today, of all days, the commercial section is open. Consisting of a bio-market gym named '*Hard Candy*' endorsed by Madonna and a Berlin Airlift themed grocery store, I walk in to buy a sandwich and celebrate finally getting 'inside'. Within the front doors, large army-stencil letters read, 'HARRY S TRUMAN 1945-1953' independent of any other text. The airlift theme is repeated with stenciled silhouettes of aircraft and white letters on faux-wood panels above the wares. 'GEMUESE' (without umlauts) –as if the wall of fluorescent lit vegetables were cascading from wooden crates delivered by the airlift itself. I wonder if this the attention to the public history landscape that Hayden describes? What about Truman Plaza and the Volksfest?

The word '*danebenschießen*' (swing and a miss) exchanges back and forth with '*it's better than nothing*' in my mind while people buy their groceries, roll their eyes at the speed of a cashier in training, and bring empty bottles back to the recycling machine. Bathed in yellow light from a backlit photograph of West Berlin youth atop of rubble, arms outstretched below a C-47 Skytrain aircraft.

WORKS CITED | Text, Film, and Artistic Exhibition

Berger, John and Jean Mohr
1982. *Another Way of Telling*.
Pantheon.

Berliner Illustrierte Zeitung.
1963. *President Kennedy in Deutschland*.
Special Edition.

Blau, Thomas.
2011. *Der Flughafen Berlin-Tempelhof*. Band 10,
Historische Wahrzeichen der Ingenieurbaukunst in
Deutschland. Bundeskammer Berlin.

Boym, Svetlana 2001.
The Future of Nostalgia
Basic Books, NY.

Bürkle, Stefanie
2010. "Architecture as Scenography, the Building as
Stage." In *Memory Culture and the Contemporary*
City Eds. Uta Staiger, Henriette Steiner and Andrew
Webber.

Casey, Edward.
"How to Get from Space to Place in a Fairly Short
Stretch of Time." In *Senses of Place*. Santa Fe: School
of American Research Press, 1997.
http://www.wilsoncenter.org/sites/default/files/CWIIH_PBulletin3.pdf

Cold War International History Project
1993. "Soviet Foreign Policy During the Cold War." In
Bulletin Issue 3. Woodrow Wilson International
Center for Scholars, Washington DC. . Accessed
September 2013.

Collier, John Jr.
2009. "Photography in Anthropology: A Report on
Two Experiments." In *American Anthropologist*. Vol.
59, issue 5. Article first published online 28 Oct. 2009.

Constien, Andreas
1994. *Von Munitions Depot zur Dachsheide*
Film. 8 min.

Crawford, Peter
2013. In-House Lecture *People, Structure, Agency and*
Abstractions. 18 March 2013. Berlin, Germany

Cross, Jennifer.
2001. "What is Sense of Place".
Presented at Headwaters Conference on November 2-
4. Western State College of Colorado.

Dittrich, Elke
2005. *Der Flughafen Tempelhof in*
Entwurfzeichnungen und Modellen. 1935-1944.
Lukas Verlag.

Elden, Stuart.
2004. *Understanding Henri Lefebvre*. Continuum

Field of Dreams.
1989. Dir. Phil Alden Robinson. Perf. Kevin
Kostner, James Earl Jones, Amy Madigan, Ray
Liotta, and Burt Lancaster. Universal, Film.

Foster, Hal
2004. "An Archival Impulse". In *October* 110.
Fall 2004, pp. 3-22.
MIT Press

Geertz, Clifford.
1973. "Thick Description: Towards an Interpretive
Theory of Culture." In *The Interpretations of Cultures:*
Selected Essays. New York: Basic Books.

Gieryn, Thomas.
2000. "A Space for Place in Anthropology." In
Annual Review of Sociology. Vol. 26, pp.463-496.
Annual Reviews.

Harper, Douglas.
2002. "Talking about pictures: a case for photo
elicitation." In *Visual Studies*. Vol. 17, No. 1, pp.13-
23. Routledge.

Hayden, Dolores.
2005. "Contested Landscapes."
Presented at the Going Public with the Built
Environment conference at the Charles Warren
Center. Harvard University, April 30. (Revised 28
June 2005). Unpublished.
<http://warrencenter.fas.harvard.edu/builtenv/Paper%20PDFs/Hayden.pdf> Accessed October 2013.

1997. *Power of Place*.
MIT Press.

Hawkins, John.
2001. *Army of Hope, Army of Alienation: Culture and*
Contradiction in the American Army Communities of
Cold War Germany. Greenwood Publishing Group.

Hoyt, Stephan V.
2008. "Cold War Pioneers in Intelligence and
Analysis." In *Intelligence and National Security*.
Volume 23, Issue 4. Routledge.

Huyssen, Andreas.

2003. *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory*. Stanford University Press.

Jacobs, Jane

1958. *The Exploding Metropolis*.
New York, Doubleday.

Kolb, David

1990. *Postmodern Sophistications: Philosophy, Architecture, and Tradition*. University of Chicago.

Knowles, Caroline and Paul, Sweetman

2004. "Working with visible evidence: an invitation and some practical advice." In *Picturing the Social Landscape: Visual Methods and the Sociological Imagination*.
Routledge.

Kuhn, Stefan

2012. *A Tale of Two Islands*. 2-channel video installation.
16 minutes.

Latham, Alan.

1999. "Powers of Engagement: On Being Engaged, Being Indifferent, and Urban Life." In *Area*. Vol. 31, No. 2, pp. 161-168. Royal Geographical Society.

Lauterborn, David.

2009. Interview of Col. Gail S. Halvorsen. In *Military History*. <http://www.historynet.com/interview-with-gail-halvorsen-the-berlin-candy-bomber.htm>.
Accessed November 2012.

Lee, Thompson.

2006. *Farewell to a Grand Old Landmark*. Webpage.
<http://280th-usasa-berlin.com/BA%20002%20080%20Templehof%20Story.html>.
Accessed August 2013.

Lefebvre, Henri.

1991. *The Production of Space*. Trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith. Wiley-Blackwell.

Low, Setha M.

2009. Towards an anthropological theory of space and place. In *Semiotica* 175 – ¼, pp. 21-37.
Walter de Gruyter.

2001. "The Edge and the Center. Gated Communities and the Discourse of Urban Fear." In *American Anthropologist*. Vol. 103, No. 1, pp. 45-58. American Anthropological Association.

Lynch, Kevin.

1960. *The Image of the City*.
MIT Press.

Marcus, George.

1995. "Ethnography in/of the World System: Emergence of Multi-Sited Ethnography." In *Annual Review of Anthropology*. Vol. 24, pp. 95-117.
Annual Review.

Milach, Rafal.

2012. "7 Rooms." Photography Exhibit. C+O Gallery Berlin. May 2012.

Nora, Peter.

1989. "Between Memory and History: *Les Lieux de Memoire*." In *Representations* 26. Spring 1989.
University of California.

Pauwels, Luc.

2010. "Visual Sociology Reframed: An Analytical Synthesis and Discussion of Visual Methods in Social and Cultural Research." In *Sociological Methods Research*. 38; 545. Sage.

Paeschke, Carl Ludwig.

1998. *Flughafen Tempelhof. Die Geschichte einer Legende*. Ullstein Hc.

Pierce, Charles.

1984. *The Writings of Charles S. Peirce: A Chronological Edition Volume 2*. Published by the Pierce Edition Project, Indiana University Press

Pink, Sarah.

2001. *Doing Visual Anthropology*. Sage.

Prosser, Jon.

1992. "Personal Reflections on the Use of Photography in an Ethnographic Case Study." In *British Educational Research Journal*. Vol. 18, No. 4, pp. 297-411.
Taylor & Francis, Ltd.

Ruby, Jay.

1992. "Speaking For, Speaking About, Speaking With, or Speaking Alongside: An Anthropological and Documentary Dilemma." In *Journal of Film and Video*.
Vol. 44, No. ½, International Issues, pp. 42-66.
University of Illinois Press.

Sebald, W.G.

2004. *On the Natural History of Destruction*.
Penguin Books.

Simon, Taryn.

2011. *A Living Man Declared Dead and Other Chapters I—XVIII*. Photographic Work.

Sontag, Susan.

1973. *In Plato's Cave, On Photography*.
New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux.

S&S (Stars & Stripes)

1946. October 24. *Truman Pledges Full US Support to Peace, Asserts War Rumors Block World Recovery.*
Newspaper article.

1946. November 8. *ET [European Theater] Chief Says Troops Won't Leave.* Newspaper article.

Tagesspiegel.

2010. January 9. *Teufelsberg – die Ruine auf dem Trümmerhaufen.* Newspaper article.

Taussig, Michael.

1993. *Mimesis and Alterity*.
Routledge.

USA (U.S. Diplomatic Mission to Germany.)

1990. September 12. *Treaty of the Final Settlement with Respect to Germany.*
<http://usa.usembassy.de/etexts/2plusfour8994e.htm>
Accessed September 2013.

Vaughn, Dai.

1999. *For Documentary: Twelve Essays*.
University of California Press.

Websters Dictionary

“Emblem.” <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/emblem>.
Accessed October 2013.

Wells, Camille

(in) Hayden, Dolores.
1997. *Power of Place*.
MIT Press.

Weidenhofer, Kai.

2013. *“Wall on Wall.”* Photographic installation and exhibit at the Berlin Wall on Mühlenstraße in Friedrichshain-Berlin.

Whincup, Tony.

2004. “Imaging the Intangible. In *Picturing the Social Landscape: Visual Methods and the Sociological Imagination*. Eds. Caroline Knowles and Paul, Sweetman. Routledge.

WORKS CITED | Archive Images.

6941stst Guard Battalion Archives

Pg. 44 bottom.

Allied Museum Berlin Archives

Pp. 36, 44 left, 78 top and bottom.

Berlin-Brigade.com

Pp. 21 left, 35 left, 42 left, 59 left, 66 left, 85 left, middle.

Bundesarchiv (German Federal Archives)

Pg. 4 top.

Constien, Andreas

Pp. 59 left, 60.

Decker, Bob

Pg. 59 center,

Koslowski, Gerhard

Pg. 62.

Kouns, William H.

Pp. 17, 23 left, 29, 33, 38 bottom, 41 right.

Landesarchiv Berlin (Berlin State Archives)

Pp. 22 top, 22 left and middle, 42 center, 66 middle.

Moneyhon, Dar

Pg. 64

Nachama, Andreas

Pg. 93 top (right and left).

United States Air Force (USAF)

Pg. 74 left and right.

United States Army Intelligence and Security Command. (INSCOM)

Pp. 21 middle, 22 right, 24 top.

US National Archives and Records Administration.

Pp. 4 bottom, 44 top right.

Wolters, Rudolf

From *Stadtmitte Berlin*, Tübingen 1978. pg. 203
Pg. 55.

SITE VISITS | CORRESPONDENCE

November 11 2011 Teufelsberg

- Explored Teufelsberg with Paulo Witte
- Got kicked out by EMGE security.

May 30, 2012 Allierten Museum

- Meeting with Gundula Bavendamm

May 31, 2012 Landesarchiv

- Int. mtg. with Frau Fischer

Spring / Summer 2012 McNair

- Phorms School
- McNair Chapel

June 1, 2012

- Explored Clay HQ with Lee Evans
- The day before it was turned over to the development company

July 1, 2012 McNair Chapel

- Attended Gottesdienst at Chapel
- Same carpet
- Herr Hofsommer, parade in front of Clay HQ

July 4, 2012 Clay HQ

- Fourth of July
- The Fight (the schism between the two veteran groups)
- Cheerleaders
- Square Dancers

July 4, 2012 McNair

- Fourth of July
- Miller MGD, Miller Lite
- Cheerleaders

July 26, 2012 Tberg

- First interview with William H. Kouns in Mitte.
- Importance of working up there.
- No windows.
- We felt we were doing something important.

November 26, 2012 Zehlendorf-Steglitz Wanderung

- Wandered through Zehlendorf. Found Clay Allee, the HQ, Truman Plaza, Dachsheide
- Cole Sports Center....saw it in the blue evening, remembered the gym on base.
- Carvings on the tree
- Gov. housing on Luchsweg. Alarm with siren lights
- Scanning the structures for traces.
- Taylor Street, it was so obvious the additions to the landscape I knew
- Flanagan Street
- TAR School, still with painted english words and slogans on the building.
- Truman Plaza, just getting started.

November 29, 2012 Gospel Choir at Hüttenweg

- German/American mix.
- Pastor Williams standing at his 'spot' watching.
- Full House
- Parts of the structure that were Porous? Wooden pews.
- Using the eucharist room for a pre-show prayer.

December 15, 2012 Andreas Ludwig Interview in Steglitz.

- Little Greenwich Village in Berlin / Guitar lessons to GI's
- Changed after '79 non-drafted Army
- Remnants left in the Grunewald from maneuvers
- Could I get a photo of his installation pass?
- Photo of something found in the Grunewald?
- 70s and 80s were lax in security. Black market goods.

December 17, 2012 Heide Dolbhofer interview and tour of the chapel.

- All Saints decided to stay at their Spiritual Home.
- Expenses of the building.
- 2014 rental agreement is done.
- Independent of Arch Diocese
- Labor of Love taking care of the building. "It isn't a construction that can go on forever."
- Heide as the lubricant between groups.
- Gulf War was heightened security. Easter Sunday, no Passport no entry.

December 17, 2012 Zehlendorf

- Walk around Truman Plaza
- Visited Allierten Museum
- Visited Cole Sports Center
- Photographed Truman Wall...it would be gone in a month
- Marshall Center, obvious lights

January 8, 2013

- Visited Clay Ausstellung for the first time. Met Gd. Battalion Members, Krueger, Fleischer, Andy, Jörg, Werner, Lothar. Had unstructured interviews with the group.
- Introduced myself to Frau Görlitz
- Photographed Clay HQ, buildings are being gutted. They have been 'breached' and remain so.

January 11, 2013 Tempelhof

- Interview with Andreas Fritschke

January 11, 2013 Fumi Shoyoye

- Interview with JFK Student and Zehlendorf native at St. Oberholz
- Mother was in the PX
- Grandmother was Miss Volksfest

January 15, 2013 Teufelsberg

- First proper visit with Shalmon & Co

- Ingo (unstructured Interview)
- David (unstructured Interview and tour)
- Shalmon (semi-structured Interview and tour)
- Lev (unstructured interview and tour // fence duty)

January 18, 2013 Tempelhof

- Interview and tour with Herr Nickel

January 20, 2013 Hüttenweg Chapel

- 2nd visit.
- Catholic Service
- Several us Interviews.

January 21, 2013 Hüttenweg Chapel

- Quick chat with Heide
- Photos of the building.

January 21, 2013 Clay HQ/ Görlitz

- Interview and tour with Fr. Görlitz and Bleck u. Söhne Bauherr.

January 21, 2013 Jasper

- Interview with Jasper // JFK and Zehlendorf – Steglitz

January 22, 2013 Reinhart Bronewski

- Interview with Reinhart, former 'Golf-Papa'

January 30, 2013 Tempelhof

- Tour with Herr Eisenmann

January 31, 2013 Teufelsberg

- K
- Polish People
- Shalmon
- Monopol Photo Shoot
- Frantzi

March 1, 2013 Tempelhof

- Int. with Daniele De Bie and Katharina from BBB

March 4, 2013 Zehlendorf

- Part of Christian's mapping class.
- Dachsheide
- Cole Sports // Blau Weiss Tanzverein

March 14, 2013 Clay HQ// Gd. Btln.

- Andy showed me around again
- Fleischer, unstructured interview.

March 15, 2013 Clay HQ

- Interview with Fr. Görlitz and tour around the site.

March 16, 2013 Hüttenweg Chapel

- All Saints St. Patricks Day Party
- Stations of the Cross

March 19, 2013 Dachsheide / Turner

- Interview with Förster Constien
- Short discussion with the lumberjacks in the Grunewald. (American Red Oak)

March 21, 2013 Jesuit College

- Interview with Father Felber

March 22, 2013 Hüttenweg Chapel

- First Shabbat visit.
- Several unstructured discussions.

March 24, 2013 Hüttenweg Chapel

- Palm Sunday // All Saints

March 25, 2013 Franz Sprenger

- Interview in Potsdam

March 26, 2013 Teufelsberg

- Interview II with Bill Kouns

March 31, 2013 Clay HQ

- Sunday meal at austellung
- Spent day with Chillie Diaz

April 4, 2013 Teufelsberg

- Lev
- Pushy guy at the gate.

April 9, 2013 Hüttenweg Chapel

- Scouts meeting

April 30, 2013 Hüttenweg Chapel

- Court of Honor

May 2, 2013 Alliierten Museum

- Mtg. II with Gundula Bavendamm

May 9, 2013 Clay HQ

- BBQ with Gd. Btln.

May 13, 2013 Hüttenweg Chapel

- Interview with Jackie, headmaster for Montessori Kindergarten
- us Interviews with two moms, Astrid u. ?

May 15, 2013 Turner Barracks / Dachsheide

- Interview with Kosi and son Eberhard.

May 20, 2013 Hüttenweg Chapel

- PFF Gottesdienst

May 22, 2013 Hüttenweg Chapel

- Interview with Pastor Williams

May 23, 2013 Hüttenweg Chapel

-Interview with Heide

May 23, 2013 Teufelsberg

-Email correspondence with Lew McDaniel

May 26, 2013 Hüttenweg Chapel

-Mass Prep // Trinity Sunday

May 26, 2013 Zehlendorf

-Interview with Coleman Cain and Family.

May 29, 2013 Teufelsberg

-Hanging in the unit with Shalmon & Co.

-Personal trainer.

-David

-Lev and K are gone

May 30, 2013 Tempelhof

-Interview II and photo session with Andreas Rickets

June 8, 2013 Hüttenweg Chapel

-Shabbat

June 13, 2013 Teufelsberg

-Buch vorstellung

June 14, 2013 Tempelhof

-Halvorsen Event

June 14, 2013 Teufelsberg

-Graffiti with K & Co.

June 15, 2013 Hüttenweg Chapel

-Shabbat

June 11, 2013 Teufelsberg

-Photographed the skaters on the hill.

-Hung out with a Shalmon & Co. Met Martin and the other guide.

-Shot photos of K playing music in the cupola.

-Dudes refusing to pay and leaving.

June 11, 2013 – Sukkat Schalom Hüttenweg

-Shabbat on Friday night plus Saturday morning.

-Police are friendly with the Gemeinde, one of them helps set up chairs.

-Magnet on the wall for the ? Torah scroll, covering up the Cath / Protest. Lit.

-Covers up holes to kitchen

-Temporary china walls between food and congregation.

-Desire to have a different space.

June 12, 2013 Tempelhof

-Interview with Elke Dittrich

June 22, 2013 Hüttenweg Chapel

-Shoshana Bat Mitzwah

June 25, 2013 Tempelhof

-Tour with Elke

June 26, 2013 Dachsheide

-Sheep shearing

June 26, 2013 Clay HQ

-Interview and Tour with Franz Sprenger

July 1, 2013 Tempelhof

-Jen tour / interview at Bread and Butter Berlin

July 2, 2013 Tempelhof

-Opening Party for BBB

July 3, 2013 Tempelhof

-BBB

July 4, 2013 Clay HQ

-Helped prepare Clay HQ for party

July 4, 2013 Tempelhof

-Closing day for BBB

July 6, 2013 Clay HQ

-4th of July Party

July 11, Teufelsberg

-Tour with Samuli

July 26, 2013 Hüttenweg Chapel

-Shabbat Visit

July 27, 2013 Teufelsberg

Phone Interview with Kevin Scott

July 28, 2013 Hüttenweg Chapel

-PFF Gottesdienst

August 3, 2013 Teufelsberg

-Interview with Haesecke-Diesing in Neukölln

August 29, 2013 Clay HQ

-Richtfest

September 2, 2013 Clay HQ

-Interview with Görlitz

-Interview with Torsten

-u.s. Interview and tour with Michael

September 3, 2013 Tempelhof

-Interview III with Andreas Fritschke.

September 8, 2013 – Teufelsberg//Tag des Offenen

Denkmals.

- Stefan complains about money
- Not officially a 'monument'
- Security / Not working for the vendors.
- David and other creators / artists.

September 15, 2013 – Visit with Shalmon in Wedding

- Photos übergabe.
- The company
- Nicki

September 17, 2012 – Email Correspondence with:

- Katz / Turner Tankers
- Dar Moneyhan / Turner Tankers
- Bob Decker / Turner Tankers

September 28, 2013 – Visit with Guard Battalion

- Unloaded closet at Clay

October 1, 2013 – Final visit with Frau Görlitz

- Portraits on the Balcony
- Airlift Edeka

October 1, 2013 – Visit with Andreas Constien

- Video

84 TOTAL 'VISITS'.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Above all, I wish to thank my best friend and wife, Djamila Grossman for her faith and confidence in me and my photography. I would also like to express my gratitude to the DAAD for supporting my studies, this project and our life here in Berlin over the last two years. Thank you to all those who offered their time and insight into my questions. Thank you to AAA mentor Tom Greaves, Gundula Bavendamm from the Allied Museum Berlin, Lothar Kurzius with the 6941st Guard Battalion, Bill Kouns, Christian Reichel, Mark Curran, Samantha Fox, Emily Smith, Julia Eksner, Yulia Mahr, Francesco Dragone, Mikko Toiviainen, Tami Liberman and all of G4.

I'd also like to thank my advisor Samuli Schielke for making time for me before it was 'official', Undine Frömming, Tobias Becker and the rest of the VMA staff.

Declaration in lieu of oath

by

Michael Terry

I hereby assert that my Master thesis - or in the case of group-work my *marked part* of the thesis- was independently composed/authored by myself, using the referred sources and support.

I additionally assert that this thesis has not been part of another examination process.

I agree/disagree that a copy of my master thesis can be borrowed from the library.

Berlin, date
6 October 2013



(Signature)