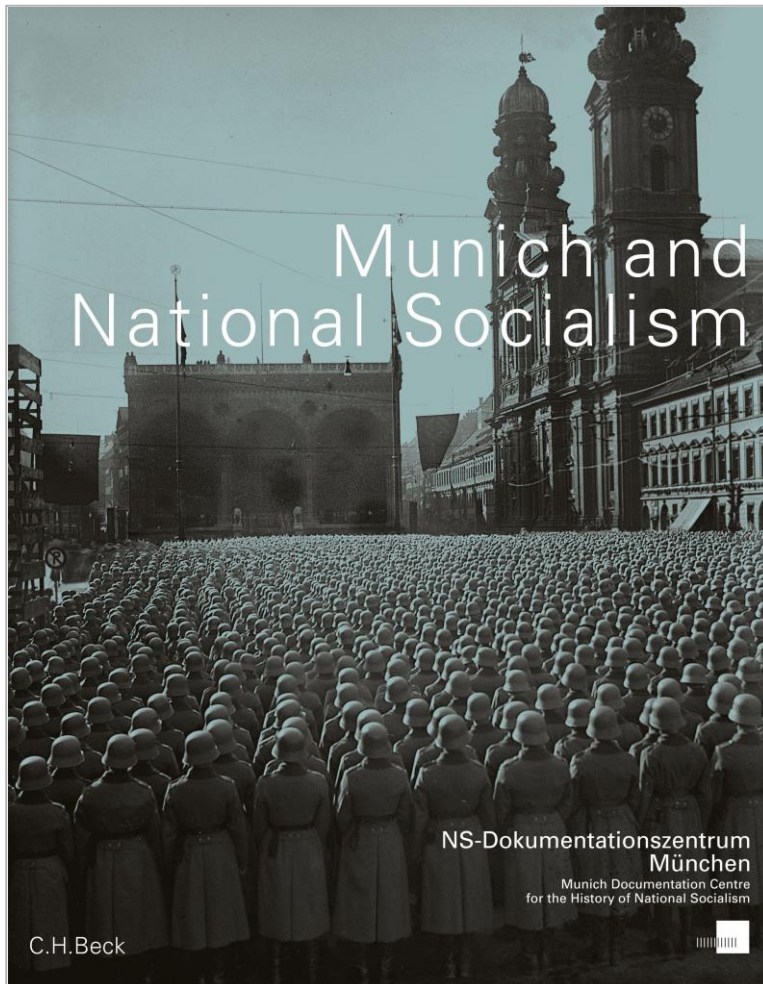


**Unverkäufliche Leseprobe**



**Winfried Nerdinger**

**Munich and National Socialism**

Catalogue of the Munich Documentation Centre  
for the History of National Socialism

624 Seiten mit 850 teils farbigen Abbildungen. In  
Leinen

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# Introduction

In January 1947, the two Nazi 'Temples of Honour' (Ehrentempel) on Munich's Königsplatz were demolished by order of the US authorities. The coffins of the 16 people laid to rest there were removed. They had been shot in the attempted coup on November 9, 1923 and honoured as 'martyrs' and 'blood witnesses' of their 'movement' by the National Socialists in a pseudo-religious ritual.<sup>1</sup> The almost two-metre tall, 21 by 21 metre pedestals remained standing. At first, they were hidden behind a fence, and then in 1956, in light of the 800th anniversary of the city of Munich, they were covered over with plants. Grass grew over them and the pedestals disappeared from view – a veritable symbol of the repression and 'politics of the past' (Vergangenheitspolitik) of the early Federal Republic.<sup>2</sup> In the conflicted post-war society of West Germany, the few opponents of the Nazi regime and its many accomplices and followers joined together in a sort of truce in order to reconstruct the destroyed nation. The wounds would heal, but the price of this was that almost all former party members, even those who had committed serious crimes, were integrated into the society of West Germany in the mid-1950s. The pedestals on Königsplatz disappeared beneath the overgrowth, and atop the slaughterhouse<sup>3</sup> left behind by the Nazi regime, the economic miracle flourished.

The repression of the National Socialist past proceeded in Munich in the first two decades after the war much as it did in the rest of West Germany.<sup>4</sup> Only when a generational shift occurred in the 1970s and 1980s did wide sections of the population gradually begin to develop a consciousness of guilt and responsibility. While people in many West German cities began to intensively discuss Nazi history and to refer to it in public spaces, efforts to

engage with the history of the 'Third Reich' in Munich remained quite modest for a long time.

Yet, the former 'Capital of the Movement' (Hauptstadt der Bewegung) had a very special reason and a particular obligation to face up to its past. Munich was tied to and entangled in National Socialism more than any other city. Although the Nazi 'seizure of power' (Machtübernahme) and the war of extermination cannot be explained from the perspective of a city history alone, Munich citizens as well as Munich authorities and institutions bore a decisive share of responsibility for the emergence and spread of the radical right-wing, anti-Semitic party, as well as for the rise of Hitler, Himmler, and Heydrich. It was from Munich that the Dachau Concentration Camp was organised – the epitome of the Nazi system of terror and its 'school of violence'. In 1938, the 'Munich Agreement' was concluded here, which has caused the name of the city to be associated with a failed appeasement policy and annexation throughout the world ever since. And it was in Munich's City Hall on November 9, 1938 that the call for a pogrom against the Jews arose – thus launching the Holocaust. Why of all places was Munich in the 1920s fertile ground for pioneers and murderers of the later Holocaust? Why did some of the worst crimes originate in Munich? These questions deeply affect the self-understanding of a city that has advanced to become the 'secret capital' of the Federal Republic and has profited from a self-made image as the 'world city with a heart' (Weltstadt mit Herz).

It was only in the 1990s that citizens' initiatives, city district groups, regional commissions, and individual politicians in Munich, with the support of national and international media, gained enough influence to finally make

the Munich city council (in 2001) and the Bavarian state parliament (in 2002) pass a resolution to build a Documentation Centre for the History of National Socialism on the premises of the former 'Brown House', the party headquarters on Königsplatz. Then, engaged citizens and associations joined together to form an initiative to accompany and advance further discussions and actions concerning the future centre. In 2008, a contract was finally agreed between the federation, the Bavarian state, and the municipality concerning the financing of the building after protracted stages with consultants and committees. In 2008/09, an architectural competition followed, and in March 2012 the cornerstone of the new building designed by the Berlin architectural firm Georg Scheel Wetzel was laid.

In 2011/12, on behalf of the cultural department of the city of Munich, Hans Günter Hockerts, Marita Krauss, Peter Longerich, and Winfried Nerdinger developed a plan for the Documentation Centre's exhibition on the basis of previous consultations and recommendations from an advisory board of scholars. In 2012, the publisher of the present volume was appointed the centre's founding director. He compiled the script for the permanent exhibit together with a team of scholarly colleagues, as well as with those who had drafted the initial plan, several external working groups, and numerous other historical experts. The plan was implemented in cooperation with several exhibition designers and involved on-going adaptation to architectural and pedagogical requirements.

Several crucial provisions provide the framework for the Documentation Centre for the History of National Socialism in Munich. It is not a museum or exhibition hall, nor is it a research or study centre, but rather a 'place for learning and remembrance about the history of National Socialism' in Munich. Thus, it is, on one level, about historically documenting the emergence, development, and after-effects of National Socialism in Munich with a few central, guiding questions: 'Why Munich?', 'How did this descent into a society of radical exclusion come about?', 'How did racism and violence escalate in the war?' On another level, it is intended as a place where visitors can recognise that what happened then is still pertinent to us today. Accordingly, the exhibition also includes the way the Nazi past has been dealt with from the post-war

period to the present, and it aims to teach and yield insight into how 'democracy can fail', into 'marginalisation as the beginning of inhumanity', and 'against forgetting – for democracy'.

Consequently, the Documentation Centre is, above all, a place where the historical events and contexts are conveyed as objects of knowledge,<sup>5</sup> because knowledge about National Socialism is declining among the general population almost at the same rate as scholarly research on it is growing. However, only on the basis of knowledge can one gain insight and develop critical reflections. For this reason, it is the aim of the Documentation Centre to become a place where dealing with the crimes of National Socialism can reassure us of our democratic achievements, which have to be defended anew every day.

Reinhart Koselleck has pointed out that remembrance of National Socialism needs to begin with this question: "What should be remembered?"<sup>6</sup> It is a matter of remembering a "negative event" – a lack of freedom, murder, and crime. Historically, this sort of "negative memory" has always been shaped by an attempt to compensate for past misdeeds by means of revenge, punishments, or acts of atonement, or conversely to reinterpret "negative memories" as something positive. "However, there is no such interpretation that could retroactively excuse the crimes of National Socialist Germans." As a result, the answer to the question of what should be remembered must be "that for us Germans there is only the one possibility: The perpetrators and their misdeeds must be included in the remembrance and not only the victims alone. This distinguishes us from other nations. For we are politically responsible, and therefore we must bear in mind the criminals and their crimes and not just commemorate the victims."<sup>7</sup>

Thus, dealing with the perpetrators and their actions and motivations forms the basic content of the Documentation Centre. This orientation is strengthened through the incorporation of authentic 'perpetrator sites' (Täterorte), because the Centre occupies the site of the former Nazi Party headquarters on Königsplatz, then called the 'Forum of the Movement', right in the heart of the Nazi district, where about 6000 people kept the various party organisations and their activities functioning until the end of the war.

Even the location of the Documentation Centre is relevant, focusing our attention on the perpetrators of the mass crimes. This placement provides a crucial foundation for the exhibition's entire concept: The authentic 'perpetrator sites' form part of the documentation and its presentation. Only by bringing into view the perpetrators and their accomplices, the causes, backgrounds, motivations, and structures that led to the racist war of extermination and to the Holocaust can be found and highlighted. Herein lies the very special meaning of an exhibition at a site where the perpetrators planned their crimes: Sites that commemorate victims are about empathy with those who were persecuted, but looking at the victims cannot explain why they were persecuted. Therefore, the task, function, and location of the Documentation Centre demand a specific approach and an appropriate form of presentation. The perpetrators, of course, must not be seen in isolation because they are not being remembered for their own sake but on account of the crimes for which they are responsible. Consequently, the inclusion of both the victims and multiple perspectives is indispensable in relating this history.

The connecting of space and memory, as well as the reference to the numerous neighbouring historical sites, are fundamental components of the exhibition and are also something unique to Munich's Documentation Centre. Through its connection with the sites where the events took place, the documentation of historical events becomes especially concise and persuasive because the visitor has a direct experience – nothing has been staged or virtually reimagined, rather it occurred exactly here. Moreover, because of the topological, location-orientated structure of human memory, the location and the historical event are particularly tightly linked to the act of remembering. Thus, anchoring this history in Munich's urban space is an important part of the centre's message.<sup>8</sup>

The subject of communication leads to the question of how we should remember. The spoken word and single events disappear with one's individual experience, yet remembrance can be passed on to later generations by means of objectification in the form of an image, text, film, or something similar. No original works or objects are used to present the perpetrators' worlds in the permanent exhibit because doing so would lead to their aes-

theticisation and create an aura around them. Additionally, the documentation of the actions of perpetrators at a 'perpetrator site' has to exclude any form of empathising or emotionalising. Therefore, the exhibition exclusively uses reproductions and reproducible media including photography and film, together with explanatory texts. The aim is to contextualise historical events and clearly mediate them in an objective way. It is about explaining and understanding, or, in the words of Klaus von Dohnanyi: "We need ruthless enlightenment, we need a bright light to really illuminate the dark past."<sup>9</sup>

In order to appeal to and reach as many visitors as possible, the permanent exhibit is structured to present information at various levels and in greater or lesser depth to accommodate visitors' different interests and length of stay. Since the time the average visitor has is limited, the documentation is divided into 33 themes that concisely present the events and problems in a comprehensible, well-grounded, and contextualised way. These themes are arranged vertically in large light boxes that guide the visitor through the exhibition. Each theme is presented as a large image which is in turn juxtaposed against a small image that helps to deepen the context, while a brief text in German and English explains the connections. Images alone would remove the actions from the social structures that brought them about; the context would remain 'invisible'.<sup>10</sup> Whereas with texts alone the information would remain abstract. Therefore, visual representations and written explanations of contexts and structures are interconnected; visual experience and rational, conceptually structured analysis require and complete one another.

The exhibit is thus based largely on the power of images, which has always promoted action and conscious reflection in observers. Images have the potential to "conjure up moments from the past in a constantly new present"; they allow written statements to come "to their greatest development in interaction with the picture or even in conflict with the visual sphere".<sup>11</sup> In addition, pictures have their own visual and logical meaning beyond the verbal realm because "what can be shown cannot be said".<sup>12</sup> This deictic power or the "iconic evidence"<sup>13</sup> is an important element of presentation and didactics. Yet, since pictures also always convey the subjective viewpoint of the photographer and because viewers attribute different

meanings to them depending on their own framework of understanding and iconography, they are contextualised and – if required – critically elucidated in order to challenge the viewpoint or perspective generated by the ‘perpetrator’s’ camera and to address the limits of one’s own understanding.<sup>14</sup>

In the exhibition, the vertically presented basic information, which is supplemented with films and maps, is combined with a horizontally presented level of information that invites visitors to extend their stay. On this level, the themes are further differentiated and here visitors can deepen their understanding of different problems. Media guides that have been developed for specific groups of visitors and themes provide additional information as well as authentic recordings, thus yielding greater insight into individual experiences. To further deepen their understanding, individual visitors and groups can view all of the documentation once again in a ‘learning centre’ in the basement at media tables and research stations and acquire additional information via a databank that is continually being expanded. For teaching in group settings seminar rooms are also available.

To conclude, let us turn to the question of why we should remember. To answer this, Koselleck quoted the title of the memoirs of Anita Wallfisch-Lasker, the cellist of Auschwitz – ‘You all should inherit the truth’ – and explained that this formed a precise summary of the task of the historian. This task is understood at Munich’s Documentation Centre for the History of National Socialism as a call to continual reflection and elucidation because there is “no history if one lets the past and with it its crimes” rest; history is a “reconstruction”, a “court proceeding” and an “on-going trial”.<sup>15</sup> No Documentation Centre for the History of National Socialism, however,

can compensate for things not done in one’s parental home, in school, or in German society more generally since 1945. Visiting it cannot immunise one against right-wing radicalism and anti-Semitism. The Documentation Centre is a clearly visible sign in the city of Munich, one which shows that both its citizens and those politically responsible are facing the history of their city, where the seed of Nazi crimes was nurtured; and that they have taken on a duty to remember and, with this, have made knowledge available for the purpose of elucidation and self-assurance of democratic achievements. This attitude is manifested in the prominently positioned new building on the Königsplatz and in the centre’s intentional confrontation with the surrounding buildings of the Nazi era. That is why in November 2014 the overgrown pedestal of the northern ‘temple of honour’ was cleared off, making the Nazi past of the city once again visible at this site and relating it to the Documentation Centre sitting opposite. Cleared off, the base, as a ‘silent witness’, forms the counterpart to the untouched overgrown southern pedestal, which continues to instantiate the repression of the now 70 years that have passed since the war.

The Documentation Centre for the History of National Socialism in Munich will pass on the duty to remember to all visitors and future generations; it will inform and elucidate and demand on-going engagement with the past. The guiding maxim of the Documentation Centre is a quotation by Primo Levi: “It happened, and thus it can happen again.”<sup>16</sup> So the leitmotif of the centre is: ‘That has something to do with me!’ Everybody carries the responsibility of ensuring that what started in Munich and ended in the Holocaust never happens again.

Winfried Nerdinger



**On the Nazi Party's 'Regional Party Rally' on July 3, 1932, some 10,000 Storm Battalion and SS men as well as Hitler Youth paraded through Munich. The point of such marches was to demonstrate the party's dominance of the public sphere. This image of Hitler inspecting the parade on Widenmayerstraße was aimed to reinforce that impression.**

**The 'Iron Front', a collective of social democratic and liberal groups, sought to combat right-wing violence and defend the Weimar Republic. Their logo consisted of three arrows against a red backdrop.**

## 1929–1933

### The Path to Power – Democracy Can Fail

The first tremors of the Great Depression in 1929 shook the Weimar Republic to its economic and political core, and the Reich government's economic policies only made the crisis worse. Massive social tensions and deeply ingrained cultural antipathies rose to the surface. Masses of people slipped into poverty, and the mood in general became one of disgruntlement.

That played into the hands of the political extremists, in particular the Nazi Party. Over a short span of time, the fringe party acquired masses of followers. The Nazis' share of the vote in national parliamentary elections shot from 2.6 percent in 1928 to 37.4 percent in July 1932. As a catch-all movement for people who were fed up with the status quo, the Nazi Party attracted voters from all segments of the populace. They were particularly popular among the middle and lower-middle classes. But the Nazis' unrestrained political agitation and the manipulative power of modern propaganda can only partially explain the electoral successes of the radical Right. Another factor was the German electorate's proclivity toward authoritarian attitudes, and especially its willingness to submit to a 'strongman' and his promises of salvation in times of crisis.

Mass support brought Hitler to the brink of power. But responsibility for the decision to name Hitler Reich Chancellor in January 1933 rests with the 'camarilla' around Reich President Paul von Hindenburg, a group of quasi-courtiers backed up by traditional military, industrial, administrative and large-scale agricultural elites. These interests had been lobbying for a transition to an authoritarian regime since 1930, and they thought tying Hitler to the government would help them achieve their aims.

The Nazi Party's path to power was not an inevitable, triumphant march. The defensive measures of the state and civilian resistance never came together to form an effective counter-force. The Weimar Republic failed because people didn't oppose extremism vigorously enough.

## Demagogic Protest Party during Depression



Confrontation between Storm Battalion and the police in Munich, ca. 1930

Rapidly rising unemployment played into the Nazi Party's hands in the seven elections between December 1929 and November 1932. The party cast itself as a radical alternative to the Weimar Democracy, which was dismissed as a bloodless bureaucracy and a complete failure.

By 1929, having undergone major reforms in terms of its finances, party structure and propaganda, the Nazi Party was perfectly set up for near constant campaigning. Between 1930 and 1932, the propaganda efforts of the Nazi Party dwarfed the other parties' outlays for publicity. The party also used modern methods like films, audio records and airplanes to advance its messages. Thanks to its strict organisation, the Nazi Party was present in practically every part of Munich and appealed to almost all professions. The Storm Battalion carried out door-to-door canvassing and also used violence to disrupt the campaigns of other

parties. The Nazi Party received support from the upper classes and German industry, but the central factor in the party's rise was the willingness of its members to donate their money and time.

By late 1929, the effects of the Great Depression had made themselves clearly felt in Munich and helped cause a massive surge in support for the Nazi Party. The number of party members in Munich rose from 2700 in early 1929 to around 5000 in September 1931. In the national parliamentary election of 1928, the Nazi Party took 10.7 percent of the votes, well above the party's percentage in other large cities and its national average of 2.6 percent. In the national parliamentary elections of July 1932, the Nazis were able to increase their share of the vote in Munich to 28.9 percent. But until March 1933, the party proved unable to siphon off more votes from the conservative 'Bavarian People's Party' (Bayerische Volkspartei, BVP) and the left-wing parties.



Jobless people in front of the employment office on Thalkirchner Straße, article in the 'Münchner Illustrierte Presse', March 15, 1931

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Hordebefehl der Horde 1. der Scher 1.  
 Datumsnummer dem H.-J. Befehl vom 15. 3. 30.

Am Samstag, den 22. März 1930 abends findet in München die Jugendaktion gegen die Verklagung der deutschen Jugend durch den Youngplan statt. Die Knackgebung ist verbunden mit Fackelzug und Verbrennung aller Schand- und Schmelldokumente.

Sammela : 20 Uhr (pünktlich) am Harras (Tremb: 6&16)

Austrüstung: Dienstsack, Armbiade, Brotbeutel.

§6 des H.J. Befehles : Während der ganzen Veranstaltung verhalten sich alle tadellos. Beachten aller Hitlerjugend. Da die H.J. muss durch Zucht, Ordnung und Disziplin auffallen.

§7 des H.J. Befehles : Als Liedertexte sind zu lernen:  
 a) Wir treten zum Beten.....  
 b) Wenn alle untreu werden.....

Ich erwarte, dass in Anbetracht dieser Veranstaltung, die sich um unsere eigene Zukunft handelt, ob wir Sklaven oder freie Menschen werden wollen, sich auch der letzte Mann einfindet.

Zeigt, dass Ihr zur Stelle sein könnt, wenn man Euch ruft. Am Samstag rufen wir Euch! Setzt alles darauf auch dabei gewesen zu sein.

-Wir wollen keine Sklaven werden!

München, den 19. März 1930.

Order to 'Hitler Youth' Munich, March 19, 1930

The 'Hitler Youth', founded in 1926, was the most important National Socialist young people's organisation. Until 1932, it was a subordinate part of the Storm Battalion and was deployed during the 'years of struggle' for propaganda purposes. Militarily drilled 'Hitler Youth' took part in street fights and marches. They received precise instructions on how to behave.



Nazi Party stickers as mass propaganda in Munich, autumn 1931



SS men distributing flyers on the corner of Schellingstraße and Barer Straße, ca. 1930





Nazi Party campaign poster, 1930



Nazi Party campaign poster, 1932



Nazi Party results in national parliamentary elections, 1928–1933



Nazi Party campaign poster, 1932

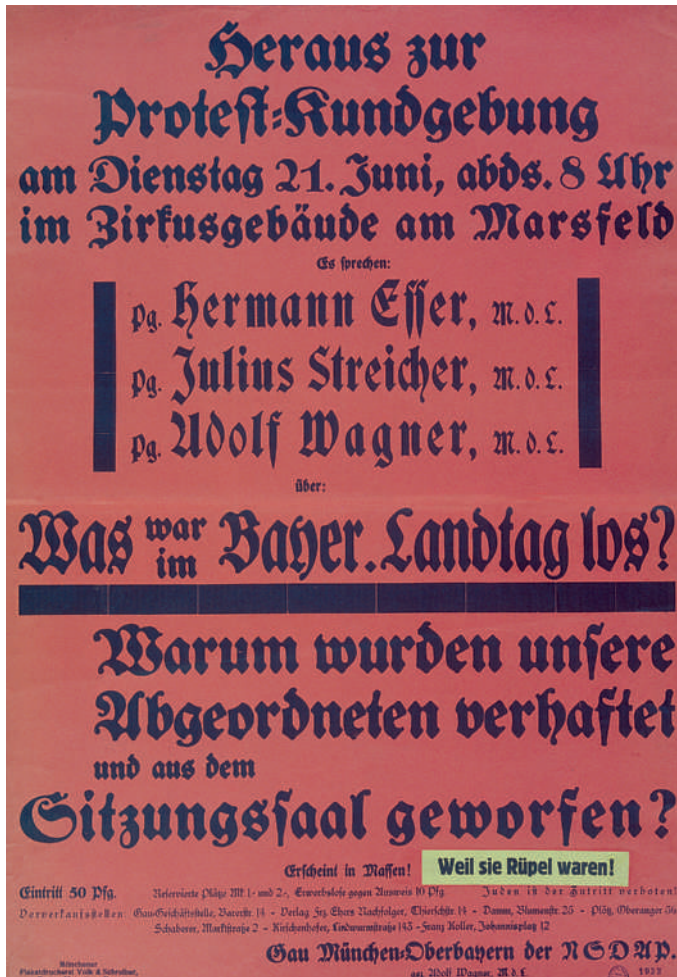


Nazi Party campaign poster, 1932



Nazi Party campaign poster, 1932

## Opposition to the Nazi Party in Munich



Nazi Party poster with printed commentary, June 1932

A number of factors hindered the Nazi Party from taking power in the Bavarian capital. The Depression hit Munich later and unemployment was lower than in the rest of Germany. But above all, the other large parties – the ‘Bavarian People’s Party’ (Bayerische Volkspartei, BVP), the ‘Social Democratic Party’ (Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands, SPD) and the ‘Communist Party’ (Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands, KPD) – succeeded in retaining most of their voters until March 1933.

The majority of Catholic Munich rejected the Nazi Party and supported the BVP. This extremely conservative party was capable of appealing to voters on the far Right and used its strength in guilds, professional associations and government offices to keep the Nazi Party at arm’s length. Unlike the judicial system’s lax approach to Nazi offences, the police and the Bavarian Interior Ministry tightened up their stance toward Munich Nazis from 1930 on and were somewhat successful in blunting Nazi propaganda and organisation drives. It wasn’t until the election of March 1933, after the Nazi Party had taken power nationally, that the party could agitate at will.

Nonetheless, the Bavarian state and the BVP did not go all out to impede the Nazi Party in the run-up to 1933. There was no decisive move to ban the party, which perhaps could have averted the Nazis’ eventual rise to power. Only the labour movement consistently opposed the Nazi Party. Circles within the BVP may have registered the danger the Nazis posed to personal liberty and civil rights. But there was an unmistakable proclivity toward anti-democratic and even anti-Semitic ideas within the BVP. In 1932 and 1933, several BVP leaders remained neutral, while others voted for a coalition with the Nazis in Bavaria and on the national level.



Confrontation between the police and the Storm Battalion, July 1931



Confrontation on Amalienstraße between the police and the Storm Battalion, who wore white shirts during a ban on their uniforms, 1931



Bavarian State Police occupying the 'Brown House', April 13, 1932



Storm Battalion march after the lifting of the uniform ban, 1932

**Einweihungsfeier  
unseres Parteihomes verboten**

**Die Bayerische Volkspartei verbietet private Veranstaltungen**

Die sogenannte bayerische Regierung lassen die Vorbeeren der Nationalsozialistenverfolgung in „Preußen“ nicht schlafen. Wo neues Blut vermehren wir:

Die Einweihungsfeier unseres Parteihomes in Garmisch diese Heimstätte von der Münchener Volkspartei mit der „Wiedergründung“ verboten werden, das sei eine öffentliche Veranstaltung innerhalb der Gemeindefreiheit . . .

Diese unerhörte Schandtat charakterisiert das heutige müßige und impotente bayerische Regime. Hilftes und unläßig gegen die marxistische Diktator etwas zu unternehmen, laßt es nach lächerlichen Vorwänden, um die einzige aktiv antimarkistische Bewegung zu terrorisieren. Im englischsprachigen Parteinteresse wird damit das Schicksal Bayerns schwer geschädigt.

Zum Verbot vermerken wir: Einladungen nur Parteigenossen sind, die aplerfreudig den Anlauf des Helms ermöglicht hatten. Das Haus ist also **Gründerfestum**, und wer sich auf dem Fest versammelt, geht die Herren Stängel und Genossen überhaupt nichts an. Die Herrschalten, die über das Heiligtum des Freiwortigentums so viel schreien, haben sich damit selbst exiliert.

Sie sollen nur so weitermachen. Das Volk beginnt, seine Feinde schon zu erkennen, denen es Damesausbeutung, Youngdiktat mit den verlogenen Versprechungen verdankt.

Der große Aufklärungsfeldzug in Bayern wird bald beginnen und sich diesmal auch gegen die Schächer der Marxistenpolitik gegen die Unbayerische Volkspartei richten.

Editorial on the prohibition of the opening ceremonies of the 'Brown House' in the 'People's Observer', July 5, 1930



# Fort mit Koch!

Einem halben Meter weiter rechts oder links, das ist hier die Frage

In der Dreierstraße in München liegt das Braune Haus. Das Gebäude ist der Sitz der Reichleitung der nationalsozialistischen Bewegung. Eigentümer ist die deutsche Partei, d. h. jedes einzelne Reichsmitglied. Das Gebäude liegt in einem Grundstück, das nach vorne, links und rechts von dem Bau zur Straße hinreicht und mit einem eigenen Stufenstamm abgegrenzt ist. Vor dem Gebäude befindet sich ein freier Platz, also eine Art Vorgarten, der zum Besitz des Hauses gehört. Jeder Bürger, der durch jeden Winkel des Hauses geht, also auf eigenem Grund und Boden. Jeder G.M.-Mann, der irgendeinen öffentlichen oder wirtschaftlichen Verkehr, ist ein geschütztes Mitglied des Vereins und damit Mitglieder dieses Hauses. Er bewohnt also sein Eigentum.

Nunmehr nimmt sich die Polizei heraus, dem Besitzer eines Hauses zu befiehlt, in welchem Räume er sich in seinem Haus bewegen darf und wo er in seinem Haus und auf seinem Grund und Boden zu stehen hat. Das heißt also, die Polizei hat das zum Samstag nicht bedeutet, daß in München ein Mensch sich bewegen dürfte. Sie hat auch nicht bedeutet, daß dieser Mensch irgendwo auf der Straße stehen dürfe, aber sie verbietet ihm, daß er auf seinem eigenen Grund und Boden stehen dürfe. Der G.M.-Mann konnte sich z. B. am Samstag, wenn er ihn besitzet, eine Straße und noch länger, auf einem Platz, der ihm nicht gehörte, befinden. Am Moment aber, in dem derselbe G.M.-Mann nun sein eigenes Haus betritt, auf dem Grundstück kommt, darf er nun nicht mehr stehen bleiben. Oder er muß einen anderen Weg annehmen. Das war am Samstag so. Befiehlt die Polizeidirektion München, daß er am nächsten Montag oder Dienstag

umgekehrt wieder nur stehen bleiben darf auf seinem Grund, wenn er den anderen Weg ausgehen und diesen früheren wieder eingezogen hat. Die Reichsleitung der nationalsozialistischen Bewegung in München sollen weite sein, jedenfalls aber sind sie für den geschützten öffentlichen Verkehrsverkehr.

Die Nationalsozialistische Partei läßt ihr Eigentum durch die eigenen Befugten bewachen, d. h. durch ihre Mitglieder. Dieser war es sogar in unserer langjährigen Zeit noch nicht verboten, daß ein Befugter auf sein Eigentum aufsteigt. Die Partei ist dies weiter, um einen Verkehr zu regeln, der in ihrer Geschäftshalle erlaubt ist und der keinen Menschen, einschließlich der verschiedenen Polizeigebäude, daher etwas angeht. Dann da wir in einer Republik leben, hat der Untertan noch nicht jegliche Eigenrechte gegenüber der Polizei, sondern nur Rechte. Außerdem könnte es ja morgen einer tiefenigen Polizeidirektion ausfallen, zu verlangen, daß die Staatsbürger sich nicht links, sondern rechts an den Tisch setzen, daß die Polizei nicht beim Fenster, sondern bei der Tür stehen müssen und so ähnliche wichtige Vorschriften zur Aufrechterhaltung der Staatsterritorien.

Der Polizeipräsident von München, Herr Koch, hat nun ansehend die Auffassung, daß den Nationalsozialisten eine Bewachung ihres Haus- und Grundeigentums an sich nicht aufzuerlegen. Dies ist die Auffassung, daß dies ebenjenseitig die Polizei angeht. Er hat aber weiter die Auffassung, daß wenn schon ein Nationalsozialist sein Braune Haus bewohnt, es dann nicht in dem Umfang tun darf, den er als Parteigenosse trägt, sondern in einem Umfang, den der Herr Polizeipräsident vorschreibt. Dieser schließt sich aber allerdings nicht, d. h. also: Der Herr Polizeipräsident läßt es ganz offen, welcher Weg nun

genehmigt ist, für den Nationalsozialisten als Hausfriede getreten zu werden, und welcher Weg verboten ist. Der Herr Polizeipräsident ist endlich noch der Ansicht, daß wenn der Nationalsozialist seinen Grund besitzt und schon seinen Boden, er dann nicht dort stehen dürfen, sondern dort stehen zu dürfen hat, wo er sich gerade hinsetzen möchte, sondern dort stehen zu dürfen hat, wo der Herr Polizeipräsident will, daß der Mann nicht in der linken Türhälfte steht, weil die offen ist, sondern in der rechten, also 1/2 Meter weiter rechts. Das gilt aber nicht, es nur für die Obergeschosse. Denn bei der Seitenstraße will der Herr Polizeipräsident, daß der Mann, der als Eigentümer dort auf seinem Grund und Boden steht, wieder ein paar Meter weiter nach hinten zu stehen hat. Warum muß er auch schon gerade auf seinem eigenen Grund und Boden stehen? In der Stadt könnte er nämlich doch überall herumfahren. Aber so will es nun der Herr Polizeipräsident nicht haben. Und er hat die Möglichkeit, seinen Willen durchzusetzen, denn woher hat er sonst die Polizei? Wird nicht gerade dadurch am schärfsten bewiesen, wie wenig reich die Willensmacht dieses Mannes ist? Verhältnishes kann jeder wollen, aber daß, was die anderen Menschen überhaupt nicht begreifen, durchzuführen, und zwar kraft eigenen Willensvermögens, das hat die Bedeutung einer solchen Einrichtung aber daß dem glauben Menschenverstand dasjenige hinaus in die Zukunft der „Nationalist“. So erprobt man am besten, ob der Untertan auch wirklich gewillt ist, erwidern seiner politischen Obrigkeit zu gehorchen!

Wille erging in der Ausführung auf die Rotverordnungen des Herrn Reichspräsidenten Generalfeldmarschalls von Hindenburg hinsichtlich die politische Herbeiführung, daß der die Türe bewachende Nationalsozialist in seinem Haus nicht links, sondern rechts zu stehen habe.

Das Verbot ist nicht so, daß dieser Mann nun die Türe öffnen und dabei von außen gesehen wurde und daß er damit nicht mehr dort stand, wo er eigentlich in seinem Haus sein sollte, sondern er hätte stehen müssen. Ein noch größeres Verbotnis wollte es, daß dieser Mann auf seinem Grund und Boden sich mit einem anderen Mann in einem Kampf hat, in ein Gefecht eintritt und dabei um etwa 100 Zentimeter seinen Platz verliert.

Das größte Verbotnis aber war es, daß diese rassistischen Verträge von einem demokratischen, völkervertreuer, seine Aufgaben erfüllenden Staatsbürger der Gerechtigkeit übergeben wurden, der zur Verhütung weitem Umfusses dann selbst eintritt in die Polizeidirektion räumte mit der Wirkung des Gefährlichen.

Das ist der Ausgangspunkt.



Die Erstürmung des Braunen Hauses durch die Schupo

'Get Rid of Koch', article about Julius Koch in the 'People's Observer', July 7, 1931



Julius Koch, 1881 Hofheim – 1951 Munich  
Beginning in 1907, Koch was a lawyer working for the Bavarian government. In 1922, he became government councillor at the Munich police directorship, and in 1929, he was named Police President. During his tenure in that office, he kept the activities of the Nazi Party under close surveillance and took action against Nazi violations of the law. His steadfastness made him a target for Nazi Party defamation campaigns. On April 16, 1933, in the wake of the Nazis' assumption of power, Koch was fired. After the Second World War, he returned to the Bavarian civil service.



March by a defensive formation of the 'Iron Front' in Munich, February 12, 1932, front left with raised fists: Wilhelm Hoegner, Thomas Wimmer

To protect parliamentary democracy against increasing anti-democratic violence, the 'Social Democratic Party', the 'Centre Party', the 'German Democratic Party' and some other small parties founded an overarching defensive militia on February 24, 1924. The paramilitary 'Reich Banner Black-Red-Gold' agitated for the Weimar Republic and pro-

tected political events from disruption. In 1931, when the conflict with the 'National Opposition', chiefly the 'Stahlhelm' and the Storm Battalion, heated up, the leadership of the 'Reich Banner' formed the 'Iron Front' together with the 'Social Democratic Party', the 'General German Labour Union League' and other associations.

'The National Socialists' Swindle of the People', transcript of speech held by 'Reichstag' Deputy Wilhelm Hoegner, 1930





'Iron Front' demonstration on Gebtsattelstraße on July 3, 1932. Front centre, second row with fist raised, 'Landtag' Deputy Rosa Aschenbrenner ('Social Democratic Party').



'It's Time! Take Action!', 'Münchener Post' supplement, July 29, 1932

# Deutsches Volk erwache!

die Nationalsozialist. Deutsche „Arbeiter“-Partei  
ihre Führer und ihre Geldgeber.

## Offiziere:

General von Epp  
General Eismann  
General Prinz August Wilhelm von Preußen  
General Eberdt  
Oberst Fromm  
Oberst von Ulrich  
Oberst Hiel  
Oberleutnant Göb  
Oberleutnant Kriebel  
Major Buch  
Major Binlage  
Major Schmidhuber  
Kapitänleutnant von Källinger  
Hauptmann Göring  
Hauptmann Stennes  
Hauptmann Pfeffer  
Leutnant Heines

## Prinzen, Junker usw.:

Erzprinzip Wilhelm von Preußen  
Fürst von Thurn und Taxis  
Prinz Arenberg  
Herzog von Koburg  
Prinz Schaffan von Schaumburg-Lippe  
Graf Reventlow  
Graf Kauffling  
Graf Zedlitz  
Graf Häcker-Muslau  
Graf Eitel-Winter-Deisnitz  
Graf Schaffgotsch-Warmbrunn  
Freiherr von Butler, ostpreussischer Junker  
Freiherr von der Goltz, " "  
G. von Heimendahl, " "  
H. von Gottberg, " "  
Rittergutsbesitzer Demisch " "  
" von Dourich " "  
" von Gersowandt " "  
" von Wietersheim " "  
" von Rüdthofen-Bogustawich " "  
" von Rüdthofen-Köblhöhe " "

## Geldgeber:

Stobawerke, franz. Kriegslieferung	Geheimratier Hundhausen	Geheimrat Wechlein
Dortgawerke	Geheimrat Schneider	Geheimrat Bruckmann
Geheimratier Kirdorff	" von Buschnit	Geheimrat Kublo, Landrat bei
" von Arzbaber	" Ford	derer, Industriellenverbandes
" Wutschmann	" Weder	Kommerzienrat Wellheim

Das ist nur eine unvollständige Zusammenstellung.

## Mussolini

brutelt die nationalsozialistische Bewegung folgendermaßen:

„Es genüge, die Namen der Führer der Nationalsozialisten anzudeuten, lauter Wärdentücker aus der wilhelminischen Zeit, die nicht wie in Italien die Wolfe des Volkes repräsentieren, das die Opfer des Krieges brachte. Es sind Vertreter der Militärkaste, die Generationen hindurch Deutschland mitregierte, es in die Katastrophe von Versailles führte und jetzt mit Hilfe einer nationalsozialistischen Bewegung, die ausschließlich ihren Interessen dient, versucht, den politischen Boden und die wirtschaftliche Macht wieder zu erlangen.“

**Vorwahr, ein verdienter Auftritt für den Verrat Hitlers an Südtirol!**

Diese Charakterisierung demohrtet das Sprichwort: Verdrer bedient man sich wohl, aber man verachtet sie auch!

**Wähler! Einer solchen Partei könnt ihr rote eure Stimme geben!**

Sozialdemokratischer Verein München, B. A. Thomas Müller, 83

'German People, Wake Up!', 'Social Democratic Party' poster, 1931

## Junge Republikaner heraus!

Gebt den Patent-Helden vom Hakenkreuz auf ihr Treiben die richtige Antwort, reht euch ein in die

**Jungmannschaft d. Reichsbanners Schwarz-Rot-Gold  
Bezirk Neuhausen**

Gegen Faschismus  
Gegen die Partei der Ehrlose  
Gegen die Partei verkalkter Studienräte, Hochschulprofessoren, pensionierter Generale und Fememörder.

**Für die freie, soziale Republik!**

**Junge Arbeiter, kommt in unsere Schutz-Sportabende!**

Schutz-Sportabende jeden Mittwoch ab 8 Uhr in der Turnhalle der Gerner-Brauerei.

Call for young people to join the youth division of the 'Reich Banner Black-Red-Gold' Neuhausen, 1932



## Faces of the Other Munich

Opposition to the Nazi Party in Munich between 1925 and 1933 spanned many segments of society and political groups. Most prominent were several individuals who clearly recognized the deadly threat the National Socialists posed for personal liberty and the rule of law.

The workers' movement was most consistent in its battle against this danger. Toni Pfülf, Wilhelm Hoegner and Thomas Wimmer ('Social Democratic Party', Sozialdemokratische Partei Deutschlands, SPD) were very outspoken in calling upon people to fight the Nazi Party. By the mid-1920s, the social democratic newspaper 'Münchener Post' had become an important medium to this end. Leading representatives of the 'German Communist Party' (Kommunistische Partei Deutschlands, KPD) in Bavaria, such as the 'Reichstag' deputies Franz Stenzer and Hans Beimler and the Bavarian Par-

liament (Landtag) Deputy Dora Hösl vehemently protested against the Nazis.

The pacifist and women's rights activists Anita Augspurg and Lida Heymann lobbied for Hitler to be expelled as early as 1923 and consistently spoke out against the Nazi Party. Thomas Mann and other leading cultural figures in Munich like Karl Vossler took a stand against nationalist thinking and opposed Nazi anti-Semitism. Several people associated with Bavarian Catholicism in Munich also actively worked against Hitler. They included Fritz Gerlich, the publisher of the weekly magazine 'The Straight and Narrow' (Der gerade Weg), who was an uncompromising enemy of the Nazis.

Many of the early opponents of the Nazi Party were imprisoned in the Dachau Concentration Camp after Hitler assumed power. Several, including Gerlich and Stenzer, were murdered there.





Thomas Mann, 1875 Lübeck – 1955 Zurich

Thomas Mann moved to Munich in 1894 and by 1933 had written a great number of his literary works in the city. During the Weimar Republic, he went from being a critic to a passionate defender of democracy, and his voice gained additional significance when he won the 1929 Nobel Prize for Literature. In February 1933, he left Munich on a lecture tour and never returned, living in exile first in Switzerland and then in the US. In Nazi Germany, he was considered a traitor. His house was confiscated, and his German citizenship revoked. In a series of speeches, articles and essays beginning in 1936, Mann was one of the fiercest critics of National Socialism. He continued to express his political views after 1945, and his rejection of the idea of 'inner emigration' led to heated controversies in post-war Germany.

*"The Germany that deserves that name has finally had enough of allowing the air in our fatherland to be poisoned, day for day, by boasts and threats from the National Socialist press and by the half-clownish drooling of so-called leaders, who call for the adversaries to be beheaded, hanged, fed to the crows and done away with in 'nights of the long knives' and who inform us, rightly, of what would immediately happen, should they ever get their way."*

Thomas Mann, What We Must Demand [An Appeal to the Reich Government], Berliner Tageblatt, August 8, 1932

*"Will the bloody atrocities of Königsberg finally open the eyes of the admirers of this soulful 'movement' that calls itself National Socialism, the babbling pastors, professors, lecturers and literati who follow it? Will such atrocities finally open their eyes as to the true spirit of this popular disease, this mishmash of hysteria and stale romanticism, whose bellowed German jingoism is actually a caricature and reduction of everything German to the level of the mob."*

Thomas Mann, What We Must Demand [An Appeal to the Reich Government], Berliner Tageblatt, August 8, 1932



Antonie (Toni) Pfülf, 1877 Metz – 1933 Munich

Pfülf was a Social Democrat and teacher in Munich. She was a member of the National Constitutional Assembly in 1919 and became a 'Reichstag' Deputy the following year. She advocated equal rights for women, young people's issues and the abolition of the death penalty. Beginning in 1930, she also publicly called for resistance to National Socialism. After the Nazi Party's triumph in national elections on March 5, 1933, she was taken into temporary custody. Upon her release, she tried but failed to organise parliamentary resistance within the 'Social Democratic Party'. Bitterly disappointed, she took her own life on June 8, 1933.

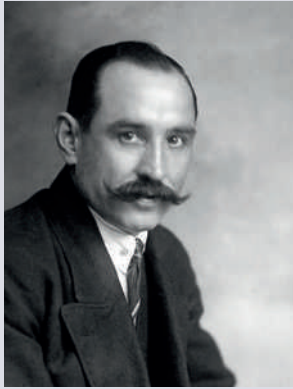
*"The speaker dismissed the National Socialists as loud-mouths [...]."*  
*"[...] the moderator of the event gave her the final word. She used it to call upon proletarian workers to engage in bitter struggle against National Socialism."*  
*"Her whole speech was a declaration of war on National Socialism."*

Police reports about 'Social Democratic Party' election events with Toni Pfülf on September 11, 1930 and January 22, 1932 in Weiden



'Social Democratic Party' campaign poster for the 'Reichstag' election, March 5, 1933





Thomas Wimmer, 1887 Siglfing/  
Erding – 1964 Munich

A trained carpenter, Wimmer became active in trade unions before the First World War. In 1919, he was made Chairman of the 'Majority Social Democratic Party', and in 1924–1933 he served as a 'Social Democratic Party' member of the Munich City Council. Beginning in 1925, he repeatedly took a clear public stance against the Nazi Party. On March 10, 1933, the Nazis took him into 'protective custody', and on June 17, they banned him from serving on the city council. Wimmer was arrested numerous times during the 'Third Reich'. After the Second World War, he became one of democratic Bavaria's leading politicians, serving as a 'Landtag' Deputy (1946–1958) and as Lord Mayor of Munich (1948–1960).

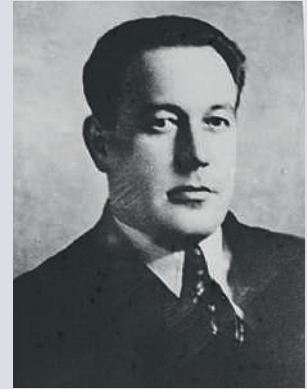
*"After the putsch of 1923, we luckily no longer have to hold back the draft constitution for the 'Third Reich' from the general public [...] It concludes with Frick's statement about dictatorship: that just as Mussolini eradicated the Marxists in Italy, the same will have to be achieved in our country through dictatorship and terrorisation. Because these facts are clear, we will work toward preventing them from achieving state power."*

Thomas Wimmer at a city council meeting, April 28, 1931, 'Münchener Gemeindezeitung' newspaper, May 9, 1931



Viktoria (Dora) Hösl, 1902 Munich –  
1953 Munich

Dora Hösl grew up in poverty as a foster child in the Upper Palatinate. After the birth of her son in 1923, she moved to Munich, working as a tobacco roller in the Austria cigarette factory. There she became a member of the works council, and in 1932, she was elected to the Bavarian 'Landtag' as a 'Communist Party' Deputy. The Nazis arrested 'Red Dora' on March 10, 1933 and interned her in Stadelheim Prison and the Moringen Concentration Camp (1936/37). When released, she was kept under police surveillance in Munich. In 1942, she was arrested once again and sentenced to three years imprisonment for listening to enemy radio stations. After the end of the war, she withdrew from the public eye and lived out her days in Munich.



Franz Stenzer, 1900 Planegg –  
1933 Dachau Concentration Camp

Railroad worker Franz Stenzer joined the 'Communist Party' in 1920 and was promoted to the Southern Bavarian distrikt directorate four years later. In 1929, he was a candidate for the 'Communist Party' Central Committee. In late 1930, he became editor-in-chief of Munich's 'Neue Zeitung' newspaper. In 1932, he was elected a Central Committee instructor and a 'Communist Party' 'Reichstag' Deputy. In all of these functions, he vigorously resisted National Socialism. In late May 1933, he was arrested and taken to the Dachau Concentration Camp, where he was severely abused and murdered by SS men.



'Social Democratic Party' campaign poster for the Bavarian 'Landtag' election, April 1932



'Communist Party' poster: 'The Time of Reckoning with Fascism', April 21/22, 1932



'Down with the Fascists', 'Communist Party' Giesing poster, ca. 1930



IFFF poster calling for global disarmament, January 13, 1932



Lida Gustava Heymann, 1868 Hamburg – 1943 Zurich  
 Together with her partner Anita Augspurg, Lida Gustava Heymann battled for women's rights and pacifism. In 1919, she became the Vice-President of the 'Women's International League for Peace and Freedom' (WILPF) and co-publisher of the magazine 'Woman in Policy', which publicly warned about the danger posed by National Socialists. In return, the Nazis began violently disrupting WILPF events. In 1923, Heymann, Augspurg, and Ellen Ammann unsuccessfully demanded that Hitler be expelled from Germany. The final WILPF peace rally took place in January 1933 in Munich. At the end of that month, Heymann was outside of Germany and never returned.

"International and national politicians, together with the international and national press, treated this movement of brainless violence with an undue measure of respect. That was the only way National Socialism could have achieved the degree of significance in Germany it possesses today. Now, no amount of distance, silence or disinterest is of any use. Now, we need to critically confront this movement. That's particularly important for women since in the Third Reich women will once more be shunted off into the realms of children, the kitchen and the church, as they were during the Wilhelmine period. They will once again be degraded to the status of baby-producing machines and servants of men."

Lida Gustava Heymann in 'Woman in Policy' magazine, March 1931

"The rowdy behaviour of the 107 deputies in the Reichstag, the National Socialists action against the Remarque film, their attitudes toward the racial question, which have no justification and reveal no knowledge of history, the constant fistfights between Nazi disciples and anyone who thinks differently, their homicides, their rabble-rousing and lying in the press ... these and a thousand other things are gradually opening the eyes of voters from September 1930. But a huge amount is still left to do to banish this peril."

Lida Gustava Heymann in 'Woman in Policy' magazine, March 1931



March 24, 1932 issue of 'The Straight and Narrow'



"National Socialism means lies, hatred, fratricide and boundless misery. Adolf Hitler preaches the right of lies."

Fritz Gerlich in 'The Straight and Narrow', July 31, 1932

Fritz Gerlich, 1883 Szczecin – 1934 Dachau Concentration Camp

In the 'Süddeutsche Monatshefte', and especially after he became the editor-in-chief of the 'Münchner Neueste Nachrichten' in 1920, the conservative, Catholic journalist Fritz Gerlich was heavily critical of Marxism and Bolshevism. But with the Hitler Putsch of 1923, Gerlich became a dedicated opponent of the Nazi Party. In the weekly newspaper 'Illustrierter Sonntag', renamed 'Der Gerade Weg' (The Straight and Narrow) in 1932, he published articles revealing embarrassing details about criminal activities among Nazi elites. On March 9, 1933, he was physically abused by Storm Battalion men and taken into 'protective custody'. Four days later, 'The Straight and Narrow' was banned. Gerlich was shot to death in the Dachau Concentration Camp on June 30, 1934.



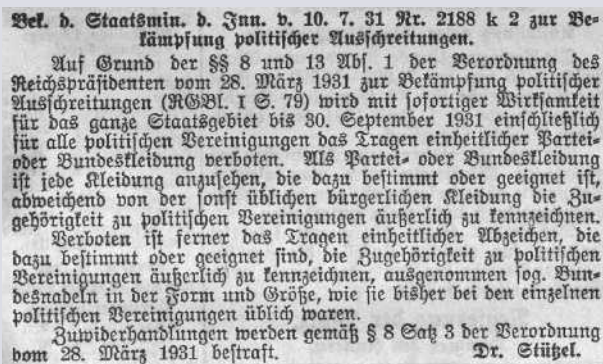
Karl Stützel, 1872 Speyer – 1944 Munich

Karl Stützel obtained his doctorate in law in Munich, joined the 'Bavarian People's Party' after the First World War and took up a post in the Bavarian Interior Ministry. In 1920, he became a ministerial councillor and in 1924 the interior minister of the Held government. He took a consistently hard line against the nascent Nazi Party. In 1925, he prevented Hitler from being granted German citizenship. In 1930, he prohibited the Storm Battalion and SS from wearing

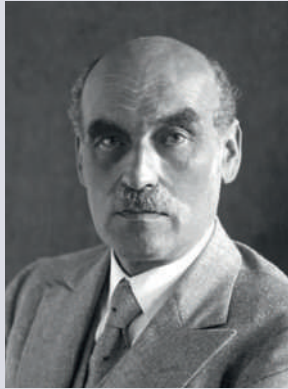
their uniforms, and in 1932, he temporarily banned both organisations. He also ordered two searches of the 'Brown House'. On March 9, 1933, the National Socialists removed him from office and abducted him during the night. They took him to the 'Brown House' where he was severely abused. Afterwards he lived in seclusion in Munich.

*"By the way, I very much agree with you in thoroughly regretting the less-than-spirited, perhaps negligent behaviour of some police officials and government offices in the fight against National Socialism. [...] Is it any wonder that a small-time patrolman on the street, despite the proper attitude, feels constrained and paralysed when he sees that prosecutors, senior judges, forestry officials, teachers, professors etc. act as virulent Nazis without a single hair being ruffled???"*

Karl Stützel, Letter to Privy Councillor Heim, December 18, 1931



Announcement signed by the Bavarian Interior Minister, Karl Stützel, about the fight against political unrest, July 10, 1931



Karl Vossler, 1872 Hohenheim – 1949 Munich

Karl Vossler was a professor of Romance Studies at Munich University from 1911 and university rector in 1926/27. He came out early against National Socialism and anti-Semitism and for the Weimar Republic. At a celebration in 1926, he had the Republic's banner hoisted above university buildings and encouraged Jewish fraternities to participate. In January 1927, at ceremonies marking the founding of the German Reich, Vossler criticised ethnic-chauvinist and National Socialist vocabulary and myths, saying the universities needed to commit themselves to supporting the Weimar Republic. On October 1, 1937, he was removed from his office as professor for 'political unreliability'. From March to August 1946, Vossler helped rebuild the university as its rector.

*"If Germany's academic youth continues to surround, separate and isolate itself with party programmes of class and racial hatred, with swastikas and similar intellectual barbed wire, it will hardly help them develop as human."*

Karl Vossler, 'The University as a Place of Education', lecture to the 'German Students' League' in Munich, December 15, 1922

*"Fellow students! You have done much in recent years to remove alcoholism from university life, yet you simultaneously run the risk of becoming intellectually intoxicated by political slogans and myths. If the academic youth is unable to stay sober, then I can only look with concern to the future of the 'Reich', whose founding we celebrate today."*

Karl Vossler, 'Politics and Intellectual Life', speech commemorating the founding of the German Empire January 1927, Munich

*"As a non-Jew, the only concern the Jewish question brings along for me is: How can we get rid of the blight that is anti-Semitism?"*

Karl Vossler in 'Abwehr-Blätter, Reports from the Society for the Defence Against Anti-Semitism', May 1930

## The Seizure of Power in Munich



Hitler in Munich for the anniversary of the founding of the Nazi Party, February 24, 1933

Initially, Hitler's appointment as Reich Chancellor on January 30, 1933 and the national parliamentary election on March 5, 1933 did not alter the balance of power in either Bavaria or Munich. The Nazis garnered a greater share of the Munich vote, 37.8 percent, than ever before, but that figure was still substantially lower than their national average of 43.9 percent. The Bavarian state government, led primarily by the 'Bavarian People's Party' (Bayerische Volkspartei, BVP), energetically resisted all efforts at 'forced coordination' by the Reich and sought to preserve Bavarian autonomy.

The suspension of basic civil rights after the 'Reichstag' fire on February 28, 1933 was a decisive step on the road to the Nazis' taking power in Munich. On March 9, Storm Battalion units provoked public unrest

on the streets, and National Socialists raised the swastika over the City Hall. These events served as pretence for the Reich government under Hitler to install the Nazi Party 'Reichstag' Deputy Franz Ritter von Epp as Reich Commissioner for Bavaria. Epp, who was involved in the dissolution of the Munich soviet republic in 1919, was charged with ensuring 'peace and order', and by mid-March, he had bullied the Bavarian government into standing down. Munich Lord Mayor Karl Scharnagl (BVP) resigned on March 20 after massive threats by Munich 'Regional Leader' and Deputy Bavarian Interior Minister Adolf Wagner. On March 22, 1933, the Dachau Concentration Camp opened and quickly became a symbol of terror and ever-present threat.



**Karl Fiehler, 1895 Braunschweig – 1969 Dießen am Ammersee**  
 Trained as a commercial clerk; joined Munich's city administration in 1918; 1920 Nazi Party membership; 1923 joined the

'Stoßtrupp Hitler'; took part in the Hitler Putsch and was imprisoned with Hitler in Landsberg; 1925–1933 Honorary City Councillor and Nazi Party Parliamentary Leader; 1933–April 1945 Munich Lord Leader; 1935 Nazi Party Reich Leader; pioneer of Nazi persecution measures on the local level; three and a half years imprisonment after the war; 1949 sentenced to two years of labour camp in denazification procedure; sentence suspended due to previous incarceration; worked as a bookkeeper until retirement.



Swastika flag at Munich's city hall, March 9, 1933



Bavarian State Premier Heinrich Held at the entrance of the Bavarian governmental headquarters, the Montgelas Palais, occupied by the Storm Battalion, March 9, 1933

**Heinrich Held, 1868 Erbach/Taunus – 1938 Regensburg**

As of 1899, Heinrich Held worked as a journalist and publisher in the Bavarian city of Regensburg and was involved in the Christian labour union scene. In 1907, he became a 'Landtag' Deputy and in 1914 the Bavarian Chairman of the Centre Party. In 1918, he helped found the 'Bavarian People's Party'. As State Premier from 1924 to 1933, he succeeded in stabilising political conditions in Bavaria and pursuing conciliatory

policies toward the Reich government in Berlin. But he underestimated the danger presented by the Nazi Party. After being stripped of power by the Nazis on March 9, 1933, Held withdrew from politics.

*"Spent the evening at Hitler's. It was decided there that tomorrow is Bavaria's turn. Heinrich Held won't be a hero."*  
 Joseph Goebbels, diary entry, March 9, 1933



Propaganda photo of roll call at the Dachau Concentration Camp, June 28, 1938

# Dealing with Munich's "Tattered Past"

Winfried Nerdinger

Translated by Julie Gregson

The arrival of US soldiers from the 42nd Rainbow Division at the City Hall in Munich's Marienplatz on the afternoon of April 30, 1945 marked the end of National Socialist era in the 'Capital of the Movement' and the start of the confrontation with what Thomas Mann called the city's "tattered past".<sup>1</sup> The chequered history of this 'Vergangenheitsbewältigung' (coming to terms with the past)<sup>2</sup> has finally prompted the opening of the Munich Documentation Centre for the History of National Socialism 70 years after the end of Second World War. It has been designed to serve as a place of remembrance and learning on the site of what was once the headquarters of the Nazi Party, the 'Brown House', in the heart of the former party district around Königsplatz.

After their arrival in Munich, the Americans swiftly and rigorously set about implementing their war aims: the eradication of National Socialism and militarism and the 'reeducation' and democratisation of the Germans.<sup>3</sup> As has been customary for victors throughout history, the Americans had no qualms about demonstrating who was boss in their appropriation of what the defeated had left behind. This is exemplified by a photo of US photographer Lee Miller in Hitler's apartment in Prinzregentenplatz in May 1945. She had a colleague take a picture of her lying in Hitler's bath with his framed image propped up on the edge of the tub, truly savouring the victory over the formerly so powerful 'Führer' with this appropriation of his private sphere.<sup>4</sup> US troops occupied Wehrmacht and SS barracks and had apartment blocks and housing estates cleared, including the Nazi Model Settlement built in Ramersdorf in 1934, so that they could live in them. They used the Bürgerbräukeller beer hall, which was the start-

ing-point of the Hitler Putsch and the ritual celebrations of November 9, as a Red Cross Club and the Königsplatz as a baseball pitch. An officer's casino was set up inside the 'House of German Art' and a Post Exchange (PX) in the 'Regional Air Command' (Luftgaukommando), while the 'Führer Building' and the 'Administration Building' served as a collecting point for art looted by the Nazis. The US armed forces chose the National Socialist Reich Quartermaster's Office in Tegernseer Landstraße as the seat of command of the military government. Locally it soon became known as 'Kowtow Alley' (Bücklingsallee) because if you wanted to get something approved you had to make a pilgrimage there.

Over the next few months, public life was subject to a process of extensive monitoring and 'cleansing'. Party members were removed from all authorities and offices and replaced by people who were deemed trustworthy on the basis of their proven or suspected opposition to National Socialism. As a result, the former Mayor of Munich, Karl Scharnagl, who was forced out of office in 1933 and briefly interned in Dachau Concentration Camp in 1944, regained his post in May 1945. As early as June 1945, posters were put up listing the people dismissed from municipal positions. Their names were also read out on radio in a bid to publicly demonstrate the renewal process that had been set in motion. By the beginning of 1947, more than 4200 people had been removed from the city administration. The judiciary, schools, and universities were also 'cleansed' of Nazi Party members. By the end of 1946, some 80 per cent of teaching staff at the Ludwig Maximilians University (LMU) had been forced into (temporary) retirement.<sup>5</sup> At the Technische Hoch-

schule (THM) that figure was 73 out of 119,<sup>6</sup> while four of 12 professors at the Academy of Fine Arts were similarly affected.<sup>7</sup> The formerly high-ranking party members were made to clear rubble and sweep the streets in a very visible sign of atonement.

This 'cleansing' process was not just restricted to people. National Socialist symbols, names, and other signs also had to be removed from public places. Munich residents took the first step themselves, bringing the National Socialist Memorial crashing down from the 'Feldherrnhalle' onto the street below in the early days of June 1945. In an act of ritual decontamination and 'transformation', the pewter coffins of the so-called 'blood witnesses' (Blutzeugen) were removed from the 'Temples of Honour', melted down and used to repair the tram lines. The printing press letters used to print Hitler's 'My Struggle' (Mein Kampf) were symbolically recast to print the first edition of the *Süddeutsche Zeitung* on October 6, 1945. Some Nazi symbols can, however, still be seen today in the ornamental work of certain buildings.<sup>8</sup>

These initial acts of redemption and the public shunning of National Socialism went hand-in-hand with the bestowing of honour upon the regime's opponents. A memorial service with Romano Guardini for the members of the 'White Rose' took place as early as November 1945. At the unveiling of a plaque commemorating the resistance group, which consisted of students and a professor from Ludwig Maximilians University in November 1946, Karl Vossler, the university's first post-war rector, gave a speech in honour of 'our seven comrades' and held them up as an example for the students.<sup>9</sup> This, however, also marked the beginning of Munich's preoccupation with the student resistance, which, for a long time, overshadowed the memory of the resistance of other social groups.

At an early stage, however, the initially strict denazification policies of the US authorities met resistance from political circles at municipal and Bavarian state level and this resistance was soon to grow. Karl Scharnagl, who co-founded the 'Christian Social Union' (CSU) party in August 1945 as a melting pot for people of all Christian-conservative persuasions, played a significant role in this development. On August 9, Munich city council under Scharnagl's leadership accepted a plan to rebuild the city put forward by Karl Meitinger, head of municipal planning.

Although it was entitled 'The New Munich', it aimed to restore the historic city centre, two-thirds of which had been destroyed, to its original state. The declaration that "in a few decades we will have our beloved Munich back as it was before"<sup>10</sup> served, on the one hand, to reject the encroachment of modernity into the city centre. On the other hand, it was the expression of a backwards-looking attitude, which sought to repress a sense of culpability for the destruction by restoring the city to its pre-war state. The 'Meitinger plan' formed the basis for Munich city planning for the next few decades.

At a memorial service on November 1, 1945, Scharnagl had already started conflating the 'victims of war' with the 'victims of National Socialism', thus helping to establish the notorious consensus that all Germans felt themselves to be 'victims' and equated their suffering with that of the real victims of the Nazi regime.<sup>11</sup> This attitude was cemented by Scharnagl's announcement in the city council on March 10, 1946 that a 'square for the victims of National Socialism' was to be created diagonally opposite the former Gestapo headquarters. Although this was the central place for public remembrance of the National Socialist era, it was only allocated a space comparable in size to a traffic island and thus symbolised in the decades to come the continuing refusal to engage with personal guilt, or with the history and the social context of the 'Capital of the Movement'.<sup>12</sup> Primo Levi, a prisoner in Auschwitz, encountered this attitude in October 1945, writing: "As I wandered around the streets of Munich, full of ruins, [...] I felt as if I was moving amongst throngs of insolvent debtors, as if everybody owed me something, and refused to pay."<sup>13</sup>

The problems surrounding denazification quickly became apparent. All adult Germans had to fill out a questionnaire to determine their degree of involvement with the Nazi regime. Responsibility for collecting this data about the entire population was passed into German hands in 1946. While the Allies were busy demonstrating the guilt of the perpetrators in exemplary legal fashion at the Nuremberg Trials, the will to implement denazification in the German civilian courts specifically set up for this purpose was quickly fading. Increasingly, repression and denial mechanisms supplanted any engagement with Nazi crimes and personal involvement.<sup>14</sup> By concentrating on what they saw as their own victimhood, the former 'ethnic



comrades' (Volksgenossen) became immune to the infinite suffering of the marginalised and persecuted. At the same time, the focus was narrowed down to a small group of perpetrators.<sup>15</sup> The Bavarian bishops had already reinforced this attitude in their pastoral letter of April 1946, which made a distinction between the few "murderous companions of Hitler and Himmler" and the "huge army of innocent people".<sup>16</sup>

The erasure of traces of the past in public space accompanied this repression of responsibility on the part of ordinary Germans. Cardinal Faulhaber suggested that the two 'Temples of Honour', the central sites of the Nazi cult in Königsplatz, should be turned into Catholic and Protestant chapels even though it was precisely those institutions that had never publicly distanced themselves from the regime during the Nazi era and had not supported their members' acts of resistance.<sup>17</sup> When the temple buildings were dynamited at the prompting of the US authorities in January 1947, the Bavarian Ministry of Education and the Arts issued a directive urging the creation of a "definite form [...] which tells the spectator nothing about the fact of change nor the nature of that change" and the avoidance of a "ruinous state".<sup>18</sup> As a result, the plinths were first concealed by a wooden fence and then planted with greenery before they finally disappeared beneath the vegetation. The majority of residents adopted this characteristic attitude of 'letting the grass grow over things' and these overgrown plinths can be seen as an index of this psychological repression, which lasted for decades.

The announcement of the Truman Doctrine in March 1947, which ushered in the Cold War, led to a grave shift in the way that the Nazi past was approached. Increasingly, West Germans were being regarded as western allies in the fight against communism and bolshevism rather than as defeated enemies. The judicial process of denazification quickly began to lose steam. The 'Civilian Tribunals' turned into whitewashing factories in which the vast majority of those complicit in the Nazi regime were largely exonerated by their classification as passive 'followers' (Mitläufer).<sup>19</sup> Civil servants, police officers, and lawyers began to return to public office, and many of the dismissed professors had already been reinstated at Munich University by the end of 1947.<sup>20</sup> US authorities stifled

criticism voiced by intellectuals in the magazines 'Der Ruf' and 'Ende und Anfang'.<sup>21</sup>

Anti-communism brought exculpation. Splitting off anti-Semitism from the anti-bolshevism of the Nazi era enabled the participants in the war of annihilation against the Soviet Union to join the ranks of fighters for a free western world.<sup>22</sup> Under the heading of anti-communism, people could reinterpret their own Nazi pasts as a battle against materialism and dechristianisation. Christian, occidental traditions took the place of the German 'people's community' (Volksgemeinschaft) as the bulwark against 'eastern' barbarism.<sup>23</sup> Art historian Hans Jantzen, who had been in the service of the National Socialists, wrote in the foreword of the first edition of the Munich magazine 'Geistige Welt' in April 1946: "The new magazine will attempt to build a gateway from rubble and ruins, through which we can help to rescue the thoughts of that intellectual entity that we revere as the Occident with all its lofty values".<sup>24</sup> These "mutterings about the Occident became a political and ideological surrogate for the lost Reich"<sup>25</sup> and formed a kind of basso continuo, which helped in Bavaria, in particular, to drown out and repress questions about guilt and shame.<sup>26</sup>

The eminent German historian, Friedrich Meinecke, provided the thrust of the argument in 1946.<sup>27</sup> "The German catastrophe" was, he explained, the result of the Enlightenment, rationalisation, and dechristianisation. He saw Nazism as the fall from grace of a society that had strayed from the values of Goethe's Age. Thus, the Nazi era could be incorporated into the history of modern civilisation, and, at the same time, the crimes of the Germans could be erased. As early as March 1946,<sup>28</sup> Johannes Neuhäusler – who was later to become auxiliary bishop of Munich – even presented the Catholic Church as a place of resistance against National Socialism in his publication 'Cross and Swastika' (Kreuz und Hakenkreuz). In January 1947, Munich's Mayor Karl Scharnagl similarly blamed modernity for "precisely this dissolution and destruction of the healthy forces of our people based on our historic development"<sup>29</sup> and the concomitant rise of Nazism. At the same time, this type of thinking prompted Rudolf Pfister, the editor of the Munich architecture magazine 'Baumeister', to oppose any form of modern architecture in Munich and to defend Nazi architects, such as

Paul Schmitthenner and Paul Bonatz, as the guardians of tradition.<sup>30</sup>

Bavaria's deeply reactionary Minister for Education and the Arts, Alois Hundhammer, was a strong supporter of this falling back on Christian traditions. With the help of the governing CSU, he managed to reintroduce corporal punishment in Bavarian schools in 1947 and prevent the introduction of multi-faith schools.<sup>31</sup> These steps undermined the declared will of the US authorities to introduce a new democratic school system and abolish authoritarian education, which they believed had given rise to and decisively supported the Nazi system. It thwarted precisely what Theodor W. Adorno later demanded as the basis for "education after Auschwitz" and for "coming to terms with the past" (*Aufarbeitung der Vergangenheit*), namely the reform of the social and cultural conditions that had made Auschwitz possible in the first place.<sup>32</sup> In 1948, Hundhammer banned further performances of Werner Egk's ballet 'Abraxas' in the Prinzregententheater because, in his eyes, it caused "moral damage" to the audience.<sup>33</sup> Although Hundhammer was himself persecuted during the Nazi era, this censorship demonstrated that Christian-patriarchal ethics were more important to him than a democratically-based plurality combined with critical enlightenment not least about the Nazi era.

In a declaration about the Munich Academy of Fine Arts from 1949, the ministry's backwards-looking cultural policy is as shocking as it is clear:

"Even the so-called Third Reich with its dictatorship in cultural matters had little effect on the Munich Academy, and it was largely left in peace in terms of staffing policy apart from a few exceptions. The dreadful effects of the Second World War with its awful consequences for art and culture [and] the inundation of our homeland by people from all over the world may temporarily have a negative impact on the general cultural approach. However, the academy sees, even under the current state system, a clear obligation in the legacy that has been passed down from the age of princes and kings to serve pure art and to educate those artists who pass strict selection criteria and to rescue the arts for a better age, uninfluenced by competing tendencies and opinions".<sup>34</sup>

This evocation of a feudal past and an ostensibly pure form of art was intended to cover up the fact that the

Munich Academy of Fine Arts had been the 'Capital of German Art' during the Nazi era. It had been the domain of Hitler's favourite artist Adolf Ziegler, the organiser of the 'Degenerate Art' exhibition and the president of the Reich Chamber of Fine Arts. Modernism remained frowned upon in the academy even four years after the end of the war.<sup>35</sup> Consequently, Nazi artists, such as Richard Knecht and Josef Wackerle, were able to become honorary members there in 1949 and 1951 respectively. The institution's Nazi past went unexplored until the end of the 1960s when students mounted protests against Hermann Kaspar, who had designed the interior of Hitler's Reich Chancellery and had taught there unhindered since 1938 save for a short interruption in 1946.<sup>36</sup>

In 1948, the ministry set up a Bavarian Academy of Fine Arts, which was intended to serve as the most important place for the cultivation of art. Thomas Mann spoke contemptuously of a "creation of the present clerical-reactionary Ministry of Education and the Arts, which had reintroduced corporal punishment".<sup>37</sup> Instead of rehabilitating and promoting modernism, which had been attacked by the National Socialists, the academy became a repository of artists and writers who had served National Socialism. Karl Alexander von Müller, the official historian of the National Socialist movement<sup>38</sup>, was even accepted as a member in 1953 and Hans Egon Holthusen was President from 1968 to 1974. Holthusen had proudly acknowledged his voluntary membership of the SS and also refused to resign when the Auschwitz survivor Jean Améry responded: "You joined the SS voluntarily. I ended up somewhere else, completely involuntarily."<sup>39</sup>

In 1950, an elaborate exhibition was staged by the academy under the patronage of Cardinal Faulhaber. The show entitled 'Ars Sacra' was opened by Martin Heidegger. It evoked a Europe endowed with meaning by Christianity and thus functioned as a direct companion piece to Hans Sedlmayr's publication 'Loss of the Centre' (*Verlust der Mitte*), which damned the entire process of modernisation and secularisation and became, as a result, from 1948 onwards the cult and comfort book of all conservatives, going through many print runs: "At just the right moment, Sedlmayr offered the conservative elites an apparently visionary instrument to deal with the past that

allowed them to channel all their feelings of guilt and worry into resentment of modernism and enlightenment."<sup>40</sup>

Revealingly, Sedlmayr, a Nazi Party member from 1930 to 1932 and from 1938 to 1945, was appointed professor at Munich University in 1951. In the realm of public space, the reconstruction of the Wittelsbach residence was in tune with this backlash. While most German states were converting their former princely residences to suit present-day purposes, Munich decided to restore the severely damaged complex largely in keeping with the original in order to document the alleged bonds between the Bavarian people and the Wittelsbachs through a 'reconstructed' continuity.<sup>41</sup>

The founding of the Federal Republic of Germany marked another grave shift in the way that the Nazi past was confronted.<sup>42</sup> The surviving opponents of the Nazi regime came to a truce with former Nazi sympathisers and 'ethnic comrades' in a society that was in the throes of reconstruction and was receiving financial support from the Marshall Plan to form a bulwark against communism. Together, they cleared away the war damage and built up the economy; the Nazi past was pushed into the background or completely tuned out. Hannah Arendt described these mechanisms after her visit to Germany in 1950: "If you observe how the Germans busily stumble through the ruins of their 1000-year-old history and merely shrug with their shoulders about the destroyed landmarks, or how they resent it, if you remind them of their terrible deeds, then you realise that busyness has become their chief weapon in warding off reality."<sup>43</sup> Arendt also pointed out the consequences of the incipient economic miracle for the process of 'Vergangenheitsbewältigung'. The reintroduction of the free market economy meant that industry and trade was once more being put into the hands of those people who had been "staunch supporters of the regime" and who were consequently "regaining their old power over the working-class".<sup>44</sup> The literary counterpart to Arendt's analysis is Wolfgang Koeppen's novel 'Pigeons on the Grass' (Tauben im Gras). In a montage of Munich milieus and characters it condenses the repressed thoughts and the hopes, as well as the re-emerging Nazi spirit of the ruined city, into oppressive metaphors.<sup>45</sup>

The time span from the founding of West Germany in 1949 to the mid-1950s is characterised by a 'Vergangen-

heitspolitik' (politics of the past) that was systematically aimed at integrating almost all former party members into West German society. Everything from the federal government's first amnesty law in 1949 to the law regulating the legal position of people affected by Article 131 of Germany's Basic Law in 1951 and the second Amnesty Act of 1954 were endeavours made by all of the political parties "to end, and, in part, even to reverse the political cleansing that the Allies had implemented since 1945 and which had been initially supported by the democratic parties licensed by them".<sup>46</sup> "The almost complete reintegration of the National Socialists including their top personnel bar a few exceptions" was carried out in the early 1950s and "the fact that members of the Nazi elite and even the mass murderers from the security police and security service got away largely scot-free and even went on, in some cases, to live as highly-regarded citizens in high positions despite the millions of victims claimed by National Socialist policy"<sup>47</sup> was a scandal with grave consequences for society, which has adhered to the Federal Republic "like the mark of Cain"<sup>48</sup> right up to the present-day. "The fact that post-war Germany was built on a slaughterhouse and that the majority of the butchers went into retirement there is a fact that can never be completely emotionally grasped."<sup>49</sup>

The efforts of politicians of all parties, including many who had been persecuted by the Nazi regime, to "blanket the past with forgetting"<sup>50</sup>, homogenised the torn society to some degree, but these endeavours also promoted a "climate of callousness"<sup>51</sup>, in which people called for a line to be drawn under the past and in which Nazi criminals held sway. At a public rally in 1951, CSU politician and former Storm Battalion member, Richard Jaeger, called for the pardoning of serious war criminals incarcerated in Landsberg Prison. His demand was supported by church circles and was welcomed with applause.<sup>52</sup> The judicial persecution of Philipp Auerbach should be seen in this same context. Auerbach, who had tirelessly raised his voice in support of those persecuted by the Nazi regime since his appointment in 1946 to the post of 'State Commissioner for victims of racial, religious and political persecution', was seen as a thorn in the side of those keen to repress all uncomfortable memories. The former concentration camp prisoner committed suicide in 1952 after

his indictment for trivialities in a trial conducted by former Nazi judges.<sup>53</sup>

Bavaria was not exceptional in terms of its repression of the Nazi past. However, some two million expellees from the so-called Sudetenland and from Silesia were resettled in Bavaria. They amounted to around 20 percent of the state's electorate and these potential voters were taken into particular consideration in the first few decades after the end of the Second World War. Many of the expellees, who were practically regarded as 'Bavaria's fourth tribe' and who were, in part, effectively organised in their own party, the 'Federation of Expellees and People Deprived of Rights' (Bund der Heimatvertriebenen und Entrechteten), vociferously called time and again for rights of residence in their former homelands and for the revision of treaties, refusing at the same time to confront their own Nazi history. Few cared to mention that the expulsion had come about because of the Nazi regime. Political interests and concessions meant that Bavarian policies towards the expellees were counterproductive in their effect on attempts to deal with the Nazi past and reinforced mechanisms of repression.

The targeted integration of Nazi perpetrators into West German society was combined with a careful degree of political dissociation from far-right ideology.<sup>54</sup> While memories of the Nazi era were being repressed on a massive scale, so as not to disturb the alleged collective 'healing sleep' (Heilschlaf),<sup>55</sup> it was also seen as important to demonstrate signs of a change of heart and opposition to any resurgent neo-nazism, which would have endangered the fledgling democracy. As a result, the synagogue in the Reichenbachstraße that was vandalized in 1938 was one of the first Jewish places of worship in Germany to be restored and handed over to the small Jewish community in May 1947. This first visible act of atonement to the Jewish citizens who had been driven out of Munich and murdered was funded by the city authorities. However, it took another 60 years before there was a really convincing sign that the Jewish community was welcome again in the heart of Munich society with the building of the Jewish Centre in Jakobsplatz.

The central focus of democratic reorientation was the 'America House' (Amerikahaus), which was initially housed in the former 'Führer Building'. Between 1948

and 1957, it received 10 million visitors, who became acquainted there with western and, in particular, North American lifestyles and democracy. In 1957, the institution moved into an impressive new building, financed by the Bavarian state, in Karolinenplatz in the heart of the former Nazi party district. In the following decades, the new 'America House' remained a place of encounter with Anglo-Saxon culture and politics, but it never aroused the same intensive interest from Munich residents as it had in the early post-war years.<sup>56</sup> In the course of reeducation, institutions were set up in Munich, such as the 'District Youth Circle' (Kreisjugendring), the 'International Youth Library (Internationale Jugendbibliothek) founded by Jella Lepman, the Munich School of Political Science, as well as the Institute of Contemporary History (Institut für Zeitgeschichte), which became in the vanguard of scholarship into the Nazi past in Germany and which has remained an important source of new approaches and ideas. From 1977 onwards, the multi-volume series 'Bavaria in the Nazi Period' (Bayern in der NS-Zeit), which was initiated by the then institute director Martin Broszat, provided the first comprehensive depiction of the Nazi period in Bavaria. Although it had only been published shortly beforehand, Max Spindler's 'Handbook of Bavarian History' (Handbuch der Bayerischen Geschichte) had only devoted a few inadequate pages to this era. And while Munich became the centre for the scholarly investigation of Nazi history thanks to the Institute of Contemporary History, this awareness-raising work had little effect on the wider public. In essence, the associations of former victims of the Nazi regime were the only ones active in this arena. Tireless in their battle against forgetting, they wanted to see Nazi criminals finally brought to justice, but were mostly treated as disturbing fringe groups.

In the process of 'reconstruction', which, in reality, mostly involved creating new buildings, the traces of destruction wreaked by the war disappeared from the city's public spaces and memories also faded with the new development. That was not least because former Nazi buildings were deliberately neutralised and put to cultural and administrative use. The 'Führer Building' became the city's Academy of Music, cultural institutes moved into the Nazi Party's 'Administration Building', while visitors to the 'House of German Art' became ac-

quainted with the art that had once been vilified there. The popular carnival festivities held in this Nazi building also did their bit towards helping make Munich residents feel at home there. For decades there was nothing indicating the building's original purpose – a sign of repression rather than rational education. Very few Munich buildings continued to show visible traces of the recent past.<sup>57</sup> The best examples are the Alte Pinakothek, where the bomb crater was filled with a construction built of bricks reclaimed from the rubble in accordance with Hans Döllgast's plans, along with his alterations to St. Bonifaz and the South Cemetery (Südfriedhof). This preservation of history was more a step born out of necessity than a political statement from an architect who had planned the expansion of what is today Torún in Northern Poland into the capital of a regional party district (Gauhauptstadt) during the Nazi era. Later, he would keep on calling for his own thrifty reconstruction of the Pinakothek to be modified to fill the growing need for prestigious cultural buildings.<sup>58</sup> The Siegestor (victory gate), which was transformed into a memorial by former SS member Josef Wiedemann, was the only intentional symbol of architectural remembrance that was conceived to last. However, its inscription: "Dedicated to victory, destroyed in war, an admonition to peace" (Dem Sieg geweiht, im Krieg zerstört, zum Frieden mahnend) referred in a broadbrush fashion, like most symbols of remembrance from the early post-war period, to a completely unspecific past and continues to do so today.<sup>59</sup>

Public acts of remembrance only became rather more concrete when it came to street signs and small memorial plaques, i.e. in rather inconspicuous places. In 1946, the 'Danziger Freiheit' (which had been called 'Feilitzschplatz' up to 1933) was renamed 'Münchener Freiheit' in remembrance of the 'Freiheitsaktion Bayern', an uprising against the Nazi regime in the final days of the war, and the squares around the university were renamed after members of the 'White Rose'. These symbols to commemorate acts of resistance or the people involved were, however, ultimately only minute gestures and hardly enough to prompt a critical confrontation with the historical context or shed any light on it.<sup>60</sup> In contrast to these slender references, the press and radio, namely those institutions that the US authorities had equipped

with sufficient autonomy in the early post-war years, kept on naming the perpetrators and describing the contexts informing Nazi crimes, as well as calling for debate. In the 'Süddeutsche Zeitung', Ernst Müller-Meiningen Jr. dedicated himself to this topic, writing numerous articles over several decades and confronting his readers with the failure to address the Nazi era and its ongoing legacy.<sup>61</sup> Walter von Cube, when he was Editor-in-Chief of the Bavarian radio broadcaster Bayerischer Rundfunk, used the medium of radio for public education in its best possible sense. In 1972, Cube resigned in the face of plans to politically monitor and restrict reporting freedoms.

The tendency to repress the Nazi past, which had been generally prevalent, began to come under fire at the end of the 1950s. The setting up of the 'Central Office of the Judicial Authorities for the Investigation of National Socialist Crimes' in Ludwigsburg in 1958 and the subsequent trials had made the excesses of the war of annihilation and the dimensions of the Holocaust generally public.<sup>62</sup> In addition, the wave of vandalism against Jewish institutions in 1959/60 revealed just how virulent right-wing extremist and Nazi ideology remained. Surveys of school children's knowledge about the National Socialist era also revealed shocking ignorance and led to the modification of school syllabuses not only in Bavaria.<sup>63</sup> Yet, the 'Vergangenheitspolitik' that had been customary up to then hardly changed. Despite the trials against Eichmann and the murderers of Auschwitz, the German judiciary continued to show in the 1960s, too, little appetite to increase their efforts to bring Nazi criminals to justice. Moreover, the myth of the 'clean Wehrmacht' did not merely continue to be propagated in the course of rearmament. It was also accompanied by a completely insensitive celebration of German military tradition. And thus, the first official tattoo of the Federal Border Force was held on June 11, 1961 in front of the 'Feldherrnhalle' – one of the places in Munich most contaminated with Nazi history. It was to be followed by numerous acts of this kind, some in the presence of the Bavarian State Premier, in Königsplatz, a place no less historically fraught.

The tactlessness caused by this neglect of commemorative culture should be seen alongside several acts of 'Wiedergutmachung' (Reparations Policy) of a mainly symbolic kind. In 1960, Munich City Council set up an edu-

cational exchange for pupils and teachers and a cultural exchange with Israel, as well as a visiting programme for former Jewish citizens of Munich and their descendants that still exists today.<sup>64</sup> In 1965, a memorial stone – albeit a rather meagre one – was finally erected on the ‘Square for the Victims of National Socialism’ (Platz der Opfer des Nationalsozialismus) and in 1965, the memorial on the site of the former main synagogue in Herzog-Max-Straße constituted the first prominent public symbol of remembrance marking the destruction of Jewish life in Munich. The German ‘Economic Miracle’ (Wirtschaftswunder) and the flourishing modernisation and planning optimism<sup>65</sup> further weakened any tendency towards critical self-reflection and reinforced an attitude that Franz Josef Strauß (a ‘Christian Social Union’ politician) bluntly encapsulated for the ‘silent majority’ in the 1969 elections: “A people that has made these economic achievements has a right not to want to hear any more about Auschwitz.”<sup>66</sup>

In the late 1960s, sons and daughters erupted in protest against their mothers and fathers, following almost quarter of a century of (partly) shameless repression and refusal to confront the past. In Munich, this pent-up discontent exploded particularly dramatically at the Academy of Fine Arts. The protests, which were directed at Hermann Kaspar and others, did not, however, even lead to his resignation, and the confrontation with the past faded somewhat into the background in the face of the general uprising against ossified structures.<sup>67</sup> An arson attack on a Jewish retirement home in 1970 revealed how dangerous anti-Semitism remained or had again become. It was the first time that anti-Semitic violence had claimed Jewish lives in post-war West Germany. However, the successes of the flourishing city, which promoted itself internationally as the democratic counterpart of the former Reich capital – Berlin – during the 1972 Olympic Games, also favoured a number of attempts to sweep the city’s Nazi legacy under the carpet of the ‘world city with a heart’ (Weltstadt mit Herz).<sup>68</sup> In the 1970s, the generation of Germans who had been members of the ‘Hitler Youth’ and anti-aircraft auxiliaries in the later years of the war rose to leading positions in society.<sup>69</sup> As a result, the protests of the 1968 movement were still unable to gain the necessary social momentum to bring about a new approach to the Nazi past.

It was generational change in the 1980s that was to finally usher in a gradual process of rethinking among wide sections of the population.<sup>70</sup> The examination of the Nazi past shifted to new forms of commemorative culture and away from the idea of ‘Vergangenheitsbewältigung’ – an idea that had never really been implemented. This process was fuelled by numerous public debates but, especially, by the activities of ordinary citizens in history workshops or in district committees,<sup>71</sup> who, working according to the motto ‘Dig where you are standing’,<sup>72</sup> systematically brought to light new insights about the Nazi period from their immediate surroundings. The circle of victims and perpetrators continued to expand ever further. Increasingly, the focus began to fall upon the entire German ‘people’s community’ as the – more or less active – base of the Nazi regime. Only then did interest begin to be directed towards places associated with the perpetrators (Täterorte), which had been blanked out for decades.<sup>73</sup> In Munich, these initiatives led to the commemoration four decades after the end of the war of the two ‘Jew Camps’ in Berg am Laim and in Milbertshofen. For the city’s Jewish residents, these camps were the gateways to the Holocaust, but they had completely disappeared from the city’s memory.<sup>74</sup> In addition, in 1984, a citizens’ initiative led to the putting up of a public sign to mark another ‘Täterort’, the former Gestapo headquarters in Briener Straße.<sup>75</sup>

Yet, while in other cities similar initiatives literally led to excavation work and gradually to the establishment of documentation centres in Berlin, Nuremberg and Cologne,<sup>76</sup> the end of the 1980s saw the start of efforts in Munich to further neutralise or rather obliterate the architectural traces of National Socialism. In 1987/88, the granite slabs were removed from Königsplatz, the largest Nazi construction element in terms of area in Munich, with the declared aim of getting rid of the architectural reminder of the Nazi era. Plans were also drawn up to build museums in the place of the plinths of the Nazi ‘Temples of Honour’.<sup>77</sup> However, these plans to dispose of Nazi history were withdrawn after they met stiff resistance from many residents and in the following decade the confrontation with the city’s National Socialist past shifted to the level of exhibitions, conferences, and publications.<sup>78</sup>

Apart from the erection of an information board in Königsplatz in 1996, there were, nevertheless, no further

references made to the city's Nazi past in public space. Neither residents nor visitors could find anything that referenced the National Socialist past of the former 'Capital of the Movement' or spurred them on to investigate it. For years, proposals from citizen's circles and critical art happenings came to nothing.<sup>79</sup> The breakthrough only began towards the end of the 1990s, when efforts became more concrete with the development of plans to turn the site of the former 'Brown House' into a documentation centre for the history of National Socialism. Citizens' initiatives, with the backing of the press and some politicians, had gained so much political weight that in November 2001, Munich City Council agreed to construct a place of learning and remembrance on the site of the former Nazi party headquar-

ters in Brienner Straße. In 2002, the Bavarian state parliament agreed to participate in the funding of the planned building and also made the land available. Nevertheless, the project remained on a knife edge because of budget constraints and wrangling over responsibilities. It was kept alive largely by the citizens' associations who had joined forces to establish the documentation centre.<sup>80</sup> Only gradually did a broad cross-party and cross-faction consensus begin to form. In 2008, a contract about the financing of the building was signed by the federal government, the state of Bavaria and the city government and in 2012, the foundation stone was laid for the new building. The city of Munich has faced up to its historical responsibility: "late but not too late".<sup>81</sup>