Regine Heß
(Re–)Building Nations: Housing Regimes in Postwar Israel and Germany

Kann man in Hoyerswerda küssen? (Can you kiss in Hoyerswerda?)
Brigitte Reimann

Sovereignty and Territoriality from Refugee Crisis to Welfare State

This article examines nation building and housing in Israel and Germany between 1948 and 1962. In this period, the State of Israel, the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and the German Democratic Republic (GDR) were new nation-states with recently established territories. They struggled to form a new citizenship out of a mixed people, traumatised by war, displacement and the loss of homes and families. They had to structure or restructure their political bodies as well as their architectural and technical infrastructure. Besides the birth pangs of establishing themselves as nation states, they were forced to solve their housing crises and absorb the then highest numbers of refugees in the world.

The genocide of European Jews and the persecution of opponents of the Nazi regime left its mark on nation building in Israel and Germany. Both before and after the Shoa, many European Jews emigrated to Israel. The remaining German population, in turn, was confronted by the occupying powers with the extermination that had taken place under their noses. After their founding, the three states prosecuted the perpetrators. In Germany, trials often took a long time and the sentences were not always to the benefit of the victims.[1] The GDR declared its support for the Stalinist sphere of power by giving itself an identity as the state of those who had been persecuted by the Nazis. It also took an anti-Israeli stance. The FRG, on the other hand, was obliged to conclude a compensation agreement with Israel to indemnify the survivors in order to become a member of the Western economic and military alliances.[2] This agreement enabled Israel to develop slowly into a welfare state. The Shoa and the persecution of political opponents not only became a part of the Israeli identity and an important aspect of economic and security politics, but a part of German identity as well.

Thanks to its inclusion in the Marshall Plan, the European Coal and Steel Union and the European Economic Community the development of the FRG into a welfare state was rapid. In the GDR, in consequence of Stalin's ban on participation in the Marshall Plan, development was slower.

All three states had new borders in the East, which they sought to stabilise through settlement policies. The GDR built two *socialist cities* in the border area with Poland. Together with the steel and coal industry, Stalinstadt and Hoyerswerda were founded. In the FRG, a state-subsidised *border zone* was declared. Bavaria, which had a border with Czechoslovakia and thus with the Sudetenland, founded four towns for displaced persons at former armaments industry sites. The largest was Waldkraiburg for displaced Sudeten Germans. The State of Israel established a dense network of settlements on the border with Jordan in a traditional Arab

settlement area. 600,000 of them had been displaced in the War of Independence of 1948/1949.[3]

Within the confined scope of this article, I wish to take a closer look at the new towns of Stalinstadt, Hoyerswerda and Waldkraiburg. One might ask, for example, whether there is evidence of an architecture of ethnic minorities. To consolidate this analysis, the new town of Hohnerkamp near Hamburg is included as an example of a «normal» garden city settlement. Such places although of varying quality sprang up all over Germany in the 1950s.

Selecting a single example from the Israeli settlements of the period makes little sense, since these were ready-made mass settlement projects. There, it was a matter of building (not rebuilding) the state. In order for the State of Israel to assert itself in the Middle East, it needed citizens who could exercise their basic rights to housing, work and security in the region. Thus began a vast colonisation project, of which I would like to present two types, the garden city and the mass residential district.

Refugees were directed to these new cities. In Israel, this totalled 1.3 million people: Shoah survivors and members of Jewish communities from the Maghreb, Iraq and Yemen.[4] 25,000 families, some of whom had spent years in tent cities, were distributed among 400 new villages, small towns or expansion zones.[5] The FRG took in 12.8 million expellees (as they were called in the FRG), the GDR 4.4 million resettlers (as they were called in the GDR). They were German minorities who had been expelled from Poland, Czechoslovakia (Sudetenland), Hungary, Yugoslavia and Romania.[6] They bolstered the existing population in Israel by 50%[7] and in the FRG by 24%[8]. In the GDR, on the other hand, the population size remained roughly the same.[9]

In the post-war period, new towns were built on the peripheries of both the German states as well as onto cities. It is well-known that housing shortages were combated by the construction of state-subsidised housing estates on the outskirts of cities.[10] But the question of borders or boundaries, who lived there and how, has yet to be addressed. The search for answers, however, is a useful way of placing postwar housing within a new framework – that of nation building, geopolitics and segregation. How do ethnic minorities express themselves in architecture and public space? How do they cope with their life as an *imagined community* (Benedict Anderson) of new citizens on the periphery?

The Role of Housing in Nation Building

Yael Allweil has examined the characteristics of *housing* in both a sociological and an architectural way. She understands it as an action of the modern state and its overarching goal of nation building and establishing nationalism. From 1945 onwards, Allweil argues, the discourse on affordability and mass housing had shifted to the domain of planners and authorities.[11] She concludes that the standard of architecture and the social experiments of the 1920s declined in the interests of producing and distributing affordable housing.

Enforcing the right to housing for every citizen was the primary goal of the young welfare state of Israel.[12] Its implementation defined who was provided with what kind of housing and where, and thus accorded the status of citizen. Allweil distinguishes between ‹good›, ‹bad› and ‹ugly› housing:

> ‹Good› housing was defined as housing which enabled nation-building and the formation of future citizens. ‹Bad› housing was defined as hindering nation-building, undermining

the gathering of self-governing future citizens, and was therefore detrimental to national collective claims to the homeland. ‹Ugly› housing contributes to nation building by claiming the homeland and accumulating citizens, yet it was run down or poorly serviced and thereby had negative consequences for the invented traditions and imagined communities of nations.[13]

It thus introduces a social categorisation. The advantage of this is that, on the one hand, housing construction can be understood as an instrument in the social exercise of power. On the other hand, by observing the transition from ‹good› to ‹ugly› housing, it can also be incorporated into the analysis. ‹Good›, ‹bad› and ‹ugly› are contingent categories in architecture and urban planning and are not easy to apply analytically. However, if they are correlated with the ‹success› of the nation state in the long term, e.g. with the growth of population and cities, with the level of security and the integration of minorities, they appear useful. From an interdisciplinary point of view, ‹ugly› is no longer a purely aesthetic category, but also a socio-historical one, which derives its significance from the changing *condition* of architecture.[14] By introducing this categorisation into the historiography of German post-war housing, we extend it to the level of critique. To write architectural history not only as a history of its design and construction means going beyond ‹good› housing and tracking what happens after the occupants have moved in. We can then add a socio-historical perspective and make statements about whether it is not only successful as architecture but also as sustainable housing. When we, as architectural historians, come to understand the state-citizen-relation or state-community-relation, we are also able to observe the influence of actors other than architects.

In introducing the concept of the *imagined community,* Allweil brings in a sociological concept which is also commonly used in German architectural sociology.[15] By drawing on Eric Hobsbawn's famous figure of *invented traditons,* she points up the fragility of *imagined communities* and political frameworks. In inventing traditions, nations give themselves a «sense of timeless ritual» that lends their actions greater legitimacy.[16] Allweil understands the *repopulation* of Erez Israel as such a ritual. This is why she distinguishes the formation of the Jewish nation-state from the established European nation-states.[17] While I agree with this distinction, I would suggest that the GDR be viewed through the same lens as Israel. For this postwar nation-state was also defined by an *invented tradition:* that of a socialist Germany that had been suppressed until 1945, from which the GDR emerged. It was also rooted in the architecture of the so-called *national tradition,* which the construction of the GDR was was supposed to celebrate. Stalinist residential architecture and Prussian classicist decoration were used in the construction of Berlin's Stalinallee and Stalinstadt.[18]

The FRG, by contrast, was the legal successor to the German Reich and restructured its institutions, economy and culture. In its early years, the federal state was dominated by a mix of styles from *Neues Bauen* and National Socialist architecture, along with regionalism and US modernism.[19] Conversely, the GDR broke with the tradition of the imperialist Reich and legitimised itself by establishing new parties, a new economic system and the idea of a new type of citizen in the workers' and farmers' state. That its architecture nevertheless appeared to be a continuation of Third Reich style was also evident in the work of GDR architects after Stalin's death.[20] If, however, we understand a housing regime with Allweil as

an action (to house), scheme of action (set of policies, funding schemes etc.), value system (a basic right, identity marker), actor involved (who performs the act of housing, and who benefits from it), architectural form (physical houses) and settlement (location and typology),[21]

the stylistic similarity becomes comprehensible: the housing regime of the GDR differed from the Third Reich in all respects other than that of architectural form, since this had been dictated by Stalin himself and was in keeping with international neoclassicism.

Politics and notions of proper or improper citizenship can thus also be thought of together in the postwar nation building during the Cold War. The additional comparison with Israel is warranted by the architectural transfer between Germany and Palestine in the interwar period. In the garden city there was an international model that was adapted to different housing regimes. The actors also often belonged to a common network that was reactivated after 1945.

Housing Regimes in Israel and Germany

The most important planner on the Israeli side was Arieh Sharon. As head of the Department of *Physical Planning* in Israel, he was directly responsible to Prime Minister David Ben Gurion.[22] *Physical Planning* was voted in by the Knesset in 1949, thereby conferring it with legal status.[23] The plan was to divide the country into 24 districts comprising over 400 new settlements with 20,000 to 50,000 inhabitants[24], including 30 cities.[25] Geographically, 92% of the land was state property, which had been expropriated from its expelled Arab owners by the Absentee Property Law.[26]

There is no comparable office in the West German government apparatus. Housing policy was determined by the two housing laws, which integrated housing construction free of any aesthetic constrictions into the social market economy. To this end, the state invested 64 million Deutsch Marks.[27] As Hilde Strobl and Andres Lepik have shown, the most important actor was the non-profit trade union enterprise *Neue Heimat.*[28] It built 460,000 homes. Its chief planner was Ernst May. Sharon was also chief architect in the service of the Histadrut trade union with the construction companies Solel Boneh and Shikun.

In total, four million new homes were built in the FRG by 1960, 58% of them as social housing.[29] The land was held in state, municipal or private ownership. By 1957, the GDR had built almost a million homes.[30] Both in the GDR and in postwar Israel, the land was the common property of the people (although who exactly belonged to the people differed: workers and Jews yes, Arabs and capitalists only to a limited extent).

Land planning was centrally controlled. With the introduction of master architect positions, powerful planning positions were established that gave access to the head of state.[31] One of these master architects was Richard Paulick, who, like Sharon, had graduated from the Bauhaus. Both were convinced supporters of their respective state ideologies; the former of socialism and the latter of socialist-Zionism. In the postwar nation building in the GDR and Israel, housing and architects were regarded, respectively, as utilitarian devices and public servants. The Minister of Construction, Lothar Bolz, formulated this in the *Sixteen Principles of Urban Development* as follows: «The people are the client, the people provide the means, not to be given theories, but to be given housing.»[32] The *Sixteen Principles* were ratified in the *Volkskammer* (the GDR parliament) in 1950, and thus, like the *Physical*
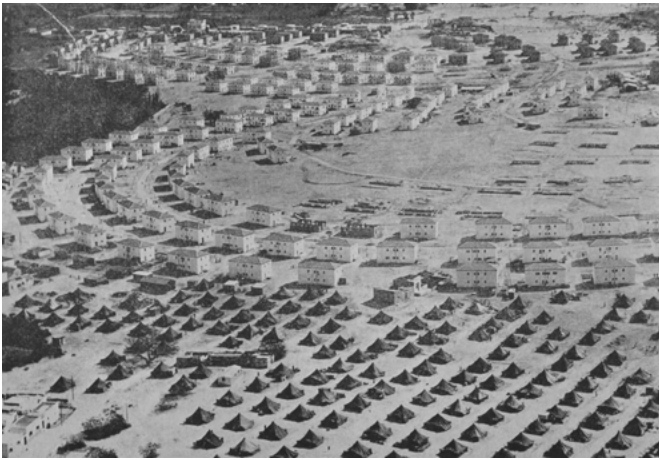
1 Arieh Sharon / Planning Department, Detail of *Physical Planning in Israel* showing the Development Town Bat Yam with its refugee camp

Plan, were given a legally binding character. Bolz' Israeli colleague, Housing Minister Mordechai Bentov, saw the form of housing and settlement as determining the form of society: by shaping the environment, Bentov said, society could be socially and morally educated.[33] The credo here was the continuation of the pioneer Zionist rural settlement pioneered in the 1910s.[34] It was based on the ethos of rooting oneself in the homeland by working the land and establishing and securing political borders through settlements.

In the GDR, on the other hand, there was a struggle to define a unifying ethos. How were loyal citizens to be educated to live and work in the socialist state and not to flee to the FRG? Through the construction of housing: Walter Ulbricht presented the first five-year plan in 1950, which earmarked the enormous sum of 27 billion East German DM for «new industrial assets and cultural construction such as schools, etc., the reconstruction of the destroyed cities (...), the new iron and steel works on the banks of the Oder [the eastern border, RH]» and «the construction of an entire city complex [the future Stalinstadt, RH]»; in addition: «the expansion of heavy industry requires the construction of additional housing for workers.»[35] The capital Berlin as well as the most important industrial centres, i.e. 53 cities in total, were to be rebuilt for another 4 billion East German DM according to plans drawn up by the *Ministerium für Aufbau* (Ministry for Construction). Ulbricht demanded an architecture reflecting the «national character of our people» and expressive «of the will to battle and build», but:

> What is most important is that, from the rubble of the cities destroyed by the American imperialists, cities emerge which are more beautiful than ever. (...) In urban planning, our experts should start from the concern for people in terms of work, housing, culture and recreation.[36]

In the GDR, housing was subject to a top-down regime to produce an industrialised environment for the new citizen-worker. The socialist nation state defined itself through anti-imperialism and socialism. With its strategy (already cultivated under National Socialism) of blaming the Americans – and thereby exonerating itself – for the destruction, the SED combined the vision of the «most beautiful cities», constructed according to the *invented tradition* of the GDR's battle-ready *imagined community.*

2 Child in a Development Town, second half of the 1980s, Photographer: Doron Bacher, Still from a film by Orly Malessa, Beit Hatfutsot, The Museum of the Jewish People, Tel Aviv, 2016

Zionist Development Towns

In 1948/1949, 80 development towns were established on the Israeli eastern border, where members of the army trained as farmer-soldiers lived.[37] The Planning Department conceived them as simple garden cities based on the principle of self-help (Fig. 1): identical detached houses with two storeys and four apartments with perforated façades, hipped roofs and balconies.[38] The oval formation of the streets was inherented from the British New Towns.[39] As time went on, they were built as large prefabricated housing estates (Fig. 2): flat-roofed terraced houses and high-rise residential buildings on pilotis. Landscaping was planned, but difficult to maintain in the desert climate – a reminder of ‹ugly› housing, which these settlements had meanwhile become.

In the flat topography there was the rectilinear ground plan of the *towel settlement,* where the side streets were cul-de-sacs. The centre was marked by public buildings, with kindergarten, school, youth club, clinic, shopping and administration buildings, depending on size. Establishing the settlement as a self-help organisation, defending the territory and running the agricultural cooperative was deemed ‹good› housing of proper citizens.[40]

Among these citizens were a group of Ethiopian Jews who came to Israel in the 1980s. In films produced on the occasion of the exhibition *Operation Moses – 30 Years After* in 2016, the participants reflect on their experiences of integration.[41] In the visual juxtaposition of Ethiopian and Israeli housing, the bewildering transition to the modernist settlement and way of life becomes clear.

Expellees' Towns

In the densely populated and industrialised FRG, refugee settlements such as Waldkraiburg in the east of Upper Bavaria were established, where during the Third Reich armaments and chemical plants had been located, along with concentration and forced labour camps.[42] Today a memorial site near Waldkraiburg commemorates them. After the war and expulsion, Sudeten Germans lived there in bunkers and provisional accommodation which they built themselves, and received supplies from international aid organisations. From 1949 Waldkraiburg was rebuilt with funds from the Marshall Plan and the government.[43] There are memorials for this as well. To this day the town is still referred to as a *Vertriebenenstadt* (expellees' town).

The state housing agency *Bayerische Wohnungsfürsorge* replaced the emergency shelters with simple apartment buildings arranged as *towel settlement*[44]: three-

3 Waldkraiburg, Aerial photograph, before 1956
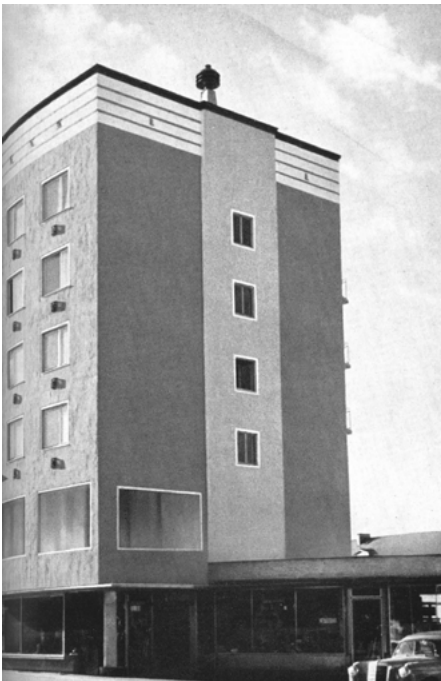
4 Waldkraiburg, Residential and commercial block, Architect unknown, before 1956. The fire brigade tower is evident from the light-coloured plaster and the siren on the roof

to four-storey concrete structures with about 20 apartments, centrally arranged entrances, perforated façades and gabled roofs stand in communal green areas (Fig. 3). Bunkers and storage buildings were integrated into the architecture, such as the fire brigade tower, which remained visible in one of the multi-storey buildings (Fig. 4).

The refugees introduced Bohemian manufacturing processes with a glass works in Upper Bavaria.[45] The Sudeten German sculptor Wilhelm Srb-Schloßbauer created a *Rübezahlbrunnen*, which recalls a well-known legend of the Sudeten mountains. The Munich architect Gustav Gsaenger built the Protestant parish church with a

5 Gustav Gsaenger, Protestant church in Waldkraiburg, 1958–1962, circa 1958, Variations
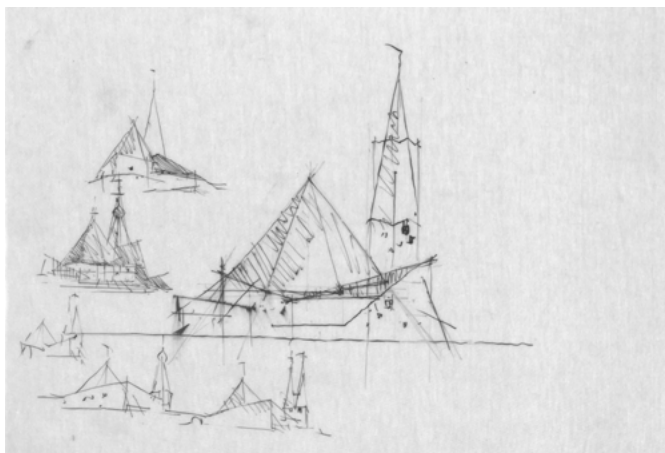
pitched roof and campanile, although an early sketch shows it with onion domes and twin spires, possibly inspired by the Teynkirche in Prague (Fig. 5).

At the micro level, the residents and new citizens exerted an influence on each other. But the refugees kept to themselves in the small towns, where no account of their former lifestyle was taken by the architecture. Instead, a migrant artist placed a commemorative plaque in the public space. An indigenous artist, on the other hand, chose not to. In addition, industrial and concentration camp architecture have left their mark on the city.

The first *Neue Heimat* estate was the Hohnerkamp, designed by Hans Bernhard Reichow, and built in 1953/1954 for 2,000 residents on the outskirts of Hamburg.[46] The estate, situated on a slope, consists of two-, three- and six-storey single-family, terraced houses and tower blocks houses on curved streets with cantilevered flat roofs, ribbon windows and balconies facing communal green spaces and gardens. Reichow implemented his ideas of *Organische Stadtbaukunst*[47] (organic urban design), which he had developed as director of construction in Stettin. The organic city and the reconstruction of war-torn cities were based on the principle of the National Socialist *Ortsgruppe* (local grouping), from which the Polish and Jewish population was excluded. Reichow was familiar with the British New Towns and transformed the *Ortsgruppe als Siedlungszelle* (local chapter as residential cell) into the *neighbourhood unit* after 1945.[48] Devoid of means, the repellees could not afford a privately owned home in the Hohnerkamp. Despite state support, the FRG's housing regime perpetuated the social and ethnic segregation that had existed in bizarre forms under National Socialism.

Socialist Towns

In 1951 and 1955 the towns of Stalinstadt and Hoyerswerda were founded together with steel and lignite plants (Figs. 6, 7). Hoyerswerda was also known as Wojerecy since it was in the territory of the Sorbian people, whom the GDR granted the status of cultural autonomy according to the Soviet principle of multi-ethnicity.

During the Cold War, urban planning was declared a systemic issue: the GDR government and its architects proclaimed the superiority of the *socialist city* over a *Stadtlandschaft* (cityscape) such as the Hohnerkamp, which with some justifica-

tion they branded a continuity of Nazi urban planning.[49] Kurt W. Leucht and later Paulick were largely responsible for the planning of Stalinstadt in the style of the *national tradition:* a city for 30,000 inhabitants with a main street, town hall, cultural centre and department store, with clinic, park, parade ground and memorial for Soviet prisoners of war, surrounded by *Wohnkomplexe* (residential complexes) with schools, kindergartens, restaurants and shops. The city plan is fan-shaped and oriented towards the steelworks. Enclosing car-free courtyards and paths, the so-called *Wohnkomplexe* are located between the main and side streets. They consist of two to four-storey, flat-roofed, long horizontal blocks with front gardens and squares flanking the streets. From the street lamps to the houses, the city is decorated on the neoclassical model: plinths, ground floors, central axes and flat roofs are adorned with risalites, round arches, altanes, decorative panels and coloured, rusticated rendering. The massive cornices enhance their monumentality. In this «expression of the anti-fascist social order», in the words of the Minister for

6 Kurt W. Leucht (overall planning), Stalinstadt, Straße der Jugend, circa 1953

7 Richard Paulick/VEB Hochbauprojektierung Cottbus, Hoyerswerda, 1962, Group of eightstorey blocks of flats in large panel construction

Construction, Lothar Bolz,[50] lived the industrial workers and their families; proper citizens in ‹good› housing.

However, following Stalin's death, the Hohnerkamp became the model for the second socialist city of Hoyerswerda.[51] Around 1956, the first buildings were still linear blocks with hipped roofs, ornamented façades and canopies much more ornate than in Waldkraiburg.[52] While this was done according to garden city principles, the so-called *Häusergruppen* (groups of houses) later designed by Paulick consisted of eight-storey, axisymmetrical high-rise residential blocks with loggias, French windows, bay windows and cantilevered flat roofs. Classicist decoration is only faintly visible on these rationalist, prefabricated concrete panel buildings. For Hoyerswerda was to be a «symbol of everyday life in the GDR» and no longer of the power of the working class.[53] One resident, Hans Kerschek, however, criticised it as ‹bad›, even as ‹ugly› housing:

> The monotony of today's Hoyerswerda is the result of incoherent accretions, with no unifying concept. The houses are scattered in the midst of functionless green spaces, carefully arranged in one complex, a little confused and jumbled in the other. This is also aesthetically unsatisfactory (...).[54]

The *socialist cities* were not built for refugees but for the *werktätige Klasse* (working class to be distinguished from *Arbeiterklasse*). Refugees were not recognised in the GDR, though ethnic minorities like the Sorbs were. At the first meeting of the (exclusively non-Sorbian?) planners, a Sorbian cultural centre and «Sorbian ornamentation» were requested as part of the architecture, but these were later no longer mentioned.[55] As in Waldkraiburg, art had to bridge this gap: in 1959, senior site manager Ferdinand Rupp called on «young artists as employees» from the big cities to come to Hoyerswerda.[56] The author Brigitte Reimann, from whom the quote at the beginning is taken, was not the only one to answer this call; she created a literary monument to Hoyerswerda in the famous novel *Franziska Linkerhand*. The sculptor Jürgen von Woyski also moved to the outskirts of the town. He was a resettler from Pomerania and created public sculptures in Hoyerswerda, such as a fountain with a female Sorbian farmer – the counterpart to the *Rübezahlbrunnen* in Waldkraiburg.

Conclusions

No architectural iconography of ethnic minorities ever emerged, either in the development towns, the repellees' towns or in the socialist towns. They were simply not involved in the conception of their settlements. It was left to the immigrants and immigrant artists to create the markings of identity in public space. In the GDR, the credo of «emphasising the socialist character of the city» prevailed.[57] Woyski, therefore, had to symbolise the housing regime rather than the citizens of Hoyerswerda. Here too, residents' criticism followed.[58] Such criticism was unknown in Waldkraiburg. Today the city is a multiethnic community and has grown to become the largest in the district, which makes it a success in terms of the criteria defined at the beginning of this article.

Hoyerswerda was still under construction up to the end of the GDR. After that, as a result of emigration to the West, demolition began. In 1991, Hoyerswerda gained international notoriety when up to 500 right wing radicals carried out racist attacks on a workers' hostel and a refugee centre for an entire week, with virtually no attempt on the part of the police to intervene.[59] Hoyerswerda, which was crit-

icised from the outset for its monotony, lack of order and isolation, became ‹bad›
housing, nation-building and the «gathering of self-governing future citizens»[60] un-
sustainable.

Stalinstadt, renamed Eisenhüttenstadt in 1961, also experienced depopulation
after reunification. But since the steelworks is still in production to this day, it is
economically healthier than Hoyerswerda. The buildings are mostly in good con-
dition. The extent to which it is now considered typical of the GDR of the 1950s is
evident in the film *The Silent Revolution* about the resistance of high school students
on the occasion of the Hungarian uprising. It was shot in 2018 at the original Sta-
linstadt location.[61]

In Israel, the new citizens often became underprivileged citizens, living in pe-
ripheral areas and at risk of attack thanks to their assignment to development
towns with a lack of participation and job opportunities. Although the first-time
residents identified themselves with marginalised communities, 72% of them later
chose to leave.[62]

Social and ethnic segregation also prevailed in the FRG: Germans who could
afford the privately-owned housing lived in Hohnerkamp, while dispossessed refu-
gees lived in Waldkraiburg. Since the economy and the welfare state still function
in the FRG today, the latter were not exposed to marginalisation as in dwindling
Hoyerswerda.

During the production of this volume, the peaceful life at Waldkraiburg has
been upended by a series of four arson attacks on shops run by inhabitants with
Turkish background. Six people were injured. The police have arrested a man who
claims to be a follower of the terrorist organisation Islamic State, and found further
bombs and explosives in his possession.[63]

In the nation building of the GDR, the two *socialist cities* were successful as long
as their citizens earned well in industry, lived in prosperity and did not come into
conflict with state power. Since the GDR did not pursue an active integration policy,
migrants were in many cases subjected to threats with impunity.[64] When the state
collapsed in 1989, coexistence in Hoyerswerda broke down in an outburst of Nazi
violence.

The bourgeois housing for workers in Stalinstadt also became ‹bad› housing
when the dissident members of the community withdrew from nation building.
After their exodus, however, the ‹good› housing was continued by consensus of the
residents. ‹Good›, ‹bad› and ‹ugly› housing in nation building are, as already postu-
lated at the beginning of this article, not only a question of architecture and urban
planning, but also of equitable integration and social policy.

Acknowledgements

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Notes

1   The juridical authorities in East and West Germany investigated 50,000 individuals; Ulrich Herbert, *Best. Biographische Studien über Radikalismus, Weltanschauung und Vernunft 1903–1989,* Munich 2016, p. 468-536.

2   The reparations offer acceded to the demand of the socialist Mapai government (The Workers Party of Eretz Israel) to pay US$3,000 per person for the reception of 500,000 immigrants, for a total of US$1.5 billion; Yaakov Sharett, Die Kontroverse um Reparationen in Israel, in: *Neue Städte für einen neuen Staat. Die städtebauliche Erfindung des modernen Israel und der Wiederaufbau in der BRD. Eine Annäherung,* ed. by Karin Wilhelm a. Kerstin Gust, Bielefeld 2013, p. 279-288, p. 280.

3   Yael Allweil, *Homeland. Zionism as Housing Regime, 1860–2011,* London/New York 2017, p. 170-171, 173.

4   Hermann Kinder a. Werner Hilgemann, *dtv-Atlas zur Weltgeschichte. Karten und chronologischer Abriß,* 2 Vols., Vol. 2: *Von der Französischen Revolution bis zur Gegenwart,* Munich 1996, p. 498.

5   Zvi Efrat, *The Object of Zionism. The Architecture of Israel,* Leipzig 2018, p. 276/277.

6   Kinder/Hilgemann 1996 (as Note 4), p. 298.

7   Roy Kozlovsky, Temporal State of Architecture. Mass Immigration and Provisional Housing in Israel, in: *Modernism and the Middle East,* University of Washington Press, ed. by Sandy Isenstadt a. Kishwar Rizvi, Seattle/London 2008, p. 139-160, p. 140.

8   Günther Schulz, *Wiederaufbau in Deutschland. Die Wohnungsbaupolitik in den Westzonen und der Bundesrepublik von 1945 bis 1957,* Düsseldorf 1994, p. 36.

9   By 1955 it had fallen by around 1%; https://de.statista.com/statistik/daten/studie/249217/umfrage/bevoelkerung-der-ddr/, last accessed 18 March 2020.

10   Schulz 1994 (as Note 8); Wüstenrot-Stiftung (ed.), *Geschichte des Wohnens,* 5 Vols., Vol. 5: *1945 bis heute: Aufbau, Neubau, Umbau,* ed. by Ingeborg Flagge, Stuttgart 1999.

11   Allweil 2017 (as Note 3), p. 7.

12   Arab citizens, however, remained subject to military law.

13   Allweil 2017 (as Note 3), p. 15.

14   This was the approach Minoru Yamasaki adopted in researching the Pruitt-Igoe housing estate in St. Louis (1952–1976), which had become ‹ugly›. Not only did it discredit mass housing construction, but the architectural profession as a whole; ibid., p. 7.

15   Heike Delitz has shown how the *imaginary institution of community* (Cornelius Castoriadis) is contingent on the symbolic rather than the real; Heike Delitz, *Gebaute Gesellschaft. Architektur als Medium des Sozialen,* Frankfurt/New York 2010, p. 29-35.

16   Allweil 2017 (as Note 3), p. 20.

17   Ibid., p. 11.

18   Initially, the reconstruction of destroyed cities such as Dresden or Rostock was also executed in this style.

19   In many state offices, as well as in the Federal Ministry of Housing, there was a continuity of National Socialism; Schulz 1994 (as Note 8), p. 194.

20   Werner Durth/Jörn Düwel/Niels Gutschow, *Architektur und Städtebau der DDR,* 2 Vols., Vol. 1: *Ostkreuz. Personen, Pläne, Perspektiven,* Frankfurt/New York 1998, p. 166.

21   Allweil 2017 (as Note 3), p. 6.

22   Arieh Sharon, *Tikun Fisi be'Israel (Physical Planning in Israel),* Tel Aviv 1951 (in Hebrew and English).

23   Anna Minta, *Israel bauen. Architektur, Städtebau und Denkmalpolitik nach der Staatsgründung 1948,* Berlin 2004, p. 54.

24   Zvi Efrat, Mold, in: *Constructing a Sense of Place: Architecture and the Zionist Discourse,* ed. by Haim Yacobi, Hants/Burlington 2004, p. 76-88, p. 83.

25   Minta 2004 (as Note 23), p. 247.

26   The law was passed in 1952; Zvi Efrat, Erfindung des modernen Israel und der Sharon-Plan. Betrachtungen über ein Unbehagen, in: Wilhelm/Gust 2013 (as Note 2), p. 95-111, p. 98.

27   Between 1950 and 1957; Schulz 1994 (as Note 8), p. 355.

28   In 1950, the *Neue Heimat* was born out of the trade union housing construction of the Weimar Republic; *The Neue Heimat 1950–1982: A Social Democratic Utopia and its Constructions,* ed. by Andres Lepik a. Hilde Strobl, exh. cat., Architecture Museum of the TU Munich, Munich 2019, p. 9.

29   Schulz 1994 (as Note 8), p. 336.

30   Circa 970,000 apartments; ibid., p. 336.

31   Tobias Zervosen, *Architekten in der DDR. Realität und Selbstverständnis einer Profession,* Bielefeld 2016, p. 65-112.

32   Lothar Bolz, Die Sechzehn Grundsätze des Städtebaus, Erläuterungen zu den am 27. Juli 1950 von der Regierung der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik beschlossenen Grundsätzen (Explanatory notes on the principles adopted by the Government of the German Democratic Republic on 27 July 1950), quoted from Durth/Düwel et al. 1998 (as Note 20), Vol. 2: *Aufbau. Städte, Themen, Dokumente,* p. 84-87, p. 87.

33   Minta 2004 (as Note 23), p. 52.

34   Allweil 2017 (as Note 3), p. 171.

35 Walter Ulbricht, Die Großbauten im Fünfjahresplan, quoted from Durth/Düwel et al. 1998, Vol. 1 (as Note 20), p. 83-84.

36 Ibid.

37 Efrat 2018 (as Note 5), p. 276.

38 Cf. Fig. 5 in the article by Joachim Trezib in this edition.

39 The author of the County of London Plan, Patrick Abercrombie, was a consultant in Israel in 1948. A photograph shows him with Ben Gurion, Sharon and the planning department in Eilat; *Arieh Sharon. The Nation's Architect,* ed. by Eran Neuman, Tel Aviv 2018 (in Hebrew), p. 245.

40 Allweil 2017 (as Note 3), p. 175.

41 Beit Hatfutsot, The Museum of the Jewish People in Tel Aviv; https://www.bh.org.il/event/operation-moses-30-years-2/, last accessed on 19 February 2020.

42 A definitive list of repellees' cities throughout Germany does not exist. German Wikipedia lists 25 settlements; https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Vertriebenenstadt, last accessed on 2 March 2020.

43 R. M. Douglas, «*Ordnungsgemässe Überführung». Die Vertreibung der Deutschen nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg,* Munich 2012, p. 391/392.

44 Walter Brand, Waldkraiburg. Die Stadt im Grünen, in: *Waldkraiburg, Geretsried, Traunreut,* Special edition of Zeitschrift Bayerland, Munich not dated [circa 1956], p. 7-15.

45 Ibid., p. 14.

46 Regine Heß, Hohnerkamp, in: Lepik/Strobl 2019 (as Note 28), p. 132/133.

47 Hans Bernhard Reichow, *Organische Stadtbaukunst. Von der Großstadt zur Stadtlandschaft,* Braunschweig 1948.

48 David Kuchenbuch, *Geordnete Gemeinschaft. Architekten als Sozialingenieure. Deutschland und Schweden im 20. Jahrhundert,* Bielefeld 2010, p. 141-161.

49 Durth/Düwel et al. 1998, Vol. 1 (as Note 20), p. 187-193, 263. There were also architects in the GDR who applied the National Socialist principle of the local chapter as a residential cell to the new city, which in the Soviet Union was known as the *Quartal,* and in the GDR as the *Wohnkomplex;* ibid., p. 500-504, p. 502.

50 Lothar Bolz, 16 Grundsätze, quoted from ibid., p. 379.

51 Renowned GDR architects visited the Hohnerkamp; ibid., p. 473-476.

52 See illustration of Bereitschaftssiedlung Brigittenhof; ibid., p. 493.

53 Ibid., p. 487.

54 Hans Kerschek, Hoyerswerda und die Aufgabe der Architekten, in: *Deutsche Architektur,* 1964, Vol. 13, No. 4, p. 219-220, p. 219 (translated by KD).

55 Durth/Düwel et al. 1998, Vol. 1 (as Note 20), p. 491/492.

56 Traugott Stephanowitz, Jeder Auftrag eine Aufgabe. Besuch bei dem Bildhauer Jürgen von Woyski in Hoyerswerda, in: *Bildende Kunst,* 1959, Vol. 6, No. 7, p. 451-455, p. 452.

57 Traugott Stephanowitz, Kunstwerke in Hoyerswerda, in: *Bildende Kunst,* 1964, Vol. 11, No. 10, p. 534-538, p. 538.

58 Unfortunately without further details

59 https://de.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ausschreitungen_in_Hoyerswerda; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Hoyerswerda_riots, last accessed on 10 March 2020.

60 Allweil 2017 (as Note 3), p. 15.

61 https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/The_Silent_Revolution_(2018_film), last accessed on 13 March 2020.

62 Analysis of interviews with inhabitants of eight development towns; Erez Tzfadia, Trapped Sense of Peripheral Place in Frontier Space, in: Yacobi 2004 (as Note 24), p. 119-135, p. 126-129.

63 https://www.sueddeutsche.de/bayern/waldkraiburg-anschlagsserie-polizei-festnahme-1.4902593, last accessed on 12 May 2020.

64 Peter Ködderitzsch a. Leo A. Müller, *Rechtsextremismus in der DDR,* Göttingen 1990.