

From the Heritage of the German “Other” to the Heritage of the “Other” Germany: American policy on German architectural heritage between the Second World War and the Cold War

Vom Erbe des deutschen „Anderen“ zum Erbe des „anderen“ Deutschlands: Amerikanische Denkmal-Politik in Deutschland zwischen Zweitem Weltkrieg und Kaltem Krieg

Deutsche Zusammenfassung

Während des Bombenkriegs gegen Nazideutschland waren die Vereinigten Staaten an der großflächigen Zerstörung architektonischen und kulturellen Erbes deutscher Städte beteiligt. Dies stellte die USA vor ein ernsthaftes moralisches und grundsätzliches Problem. Der Bombenkrieg erforderte es, das deutsche Volk und seine Kultur als grundsätzlich „anders“ aufzufassen, während gleichzeitig der Beitrag der Deutschen zu eben jener Kultur, um deren Rettung die Alliierten kämpften, außer Frage stand. Aus diesem Dilemma heraus entwickelte die US-Regierung im Krieg verschiedene Strategien, um das kulturelle Erbe Deutschlands vor der Zerstörung zu bewahren und so die Bombenangriffe auf die Zivilbevölkerung zu rechtfertigen.

Als nach dem Krieg die UdSSR als das neue „Andere“ hervortrat, wurden diese Strategien überarbeitet und weiterentwickelt, mit dem Ziel, Deutschland als ein natürliches wenn auch fehlgegangenes Mitglied der Gemeinschaft demokratischer Staaten in das westliche Bündnis zu integrieren. Der Beitrag umreißt die US-amerikanischen Strategien und zeichnet die wechselnden Sichtweisen der US-Regierung auf das architektonische Erbe Deutschlands vom Krieg bis in die frühe Nachkriegszeit nach. Dabei wird herausgearbeitet, dass die Interessen der zu Verbündeten gewordenen Feinde sich zwar teilweise entsprachen, teilweise aber auch in schroffem Gegensatz zueinander standen.

In the Second World War, the United States along with Britain and the other Allies participated in the destruction of vast amounts of architectural and cultural heritage in Germany. The air war, and in particular the strategy of “area” or “carpet” bombing of non-strategic targets adopted by Bomber Command in late 1940, resulted in the loss of countless historic monuments throughout enemy territory, including churches and palaces, castles, town halls, theatres and opera houses, museums and libraries, public sculptures, fountains and gardens – in short, in the elimination of broad sections of what had been the glory of Old Europe.

Far from a matter of indifference to the Americans, the destruction of German heritage was a source of considerable anxiety. Indeed, it presented them and the other Western Allies with a serious dilemma: the strategy of indiscriminate bombing, in order to be justifiable on any level, required the casting of the German people as intrinsically and irredeemably “other”, as having “no real mental relations” with the West;¹ yet there was also an inescapable awareness that German

heritage was in fact integral, indeed foundational to Western heritage and to Western civilization – and that destroying it was therefore incompatible with the goal of saving civilization that was the primary reason for fighting the war. To resolve this dilemma, the United States government developed a set of special wartime policies intended to reconcile enmity with affinity by granting limited protection to German architectural heritage, or at least exempting selected elements of it from complete destruction. After the war’s end these policies were revised and further developed, especially as the Soviet Union emerged as the new “Other” and the notion of Germany’s fundamental cultural and historical affinity with the West changed from an inconvenient truth into a useful ideological and rhetorical premise. Now German architectural heritage became a focus of intensive American efforts to exploit both culture and history as weapons in the Cold War struggle for dominance in Central Europe.

The following discussion outlines these efforts and policies, tracing the shift in American perceptions of

German historic architecture from the wartime into the immediate postwar years and the official recasting of this architecture from the heritage of the German “Other” to the heritage of the “other” Germany.

Indiscriminate bombing and the heritage of the German “Other”

In the early stages of the war, the military leadership in Britain and later the United States was committed to bombing only military, industrial and other strategic targets. This was in keeping with the international consensus on the allowable use of air power that had developed since the First World War, as well as with international law. A similar German commitment in word was not upheld in deed: the indiscriminate bombing of Warsaw by the *Luftwaffe* in September 1939 was followed by the destruction of large sections of Rotterdam in May 1940.

For many military officials in Britain, the *Luftwaffe*'s actions in Poland and Holland seemed to justify their own government in abandoning any legal or moral scruples when it came to the use of air power against Germany.² But it was not until the first “*Blitzkrieg*” attacks on England itself that the impetus was given for a decisive shift in British policy. Devastating raids such as that on the historic centre of Coventry caused an outpouring of anti-German sentiment in Britain and beyond, sentiment that was further whipped up by those in Government pushing for a tougher bombing agenda. One particularly outspoken proponent was Sir Robert Vansittart, Chief Diplomatic Advisor to the British Foreign Office. Vansittart had lived and studied in Heidelberg as a young man and therefore claimed to speak with authority about the “character and system” of “the Germans”. In late 1940, he recorded a series of lectures for the BBC in which he proposed to illustrate Germany’s “long and unbroken record of evil-doing” through a survey of that country’s history: from the bloody deeds of the ancient *Germanen* down to World War I and now the National Socialist movement. In order to prevent further human suffering at their hands, he argued, it was necessary to be “sternly practical”, to “discard ... the ‘vague and lyrical’ view of Germany” and to “keep strictly to the record – the worst ever”.³

This “vague and lyrical” view was indeed widespread among Vansittart's colleagues and countrymen, many of whom nurtured a belief in the existence of a “better” Germany – peace-loving, rooted in noble cultural traditions, and committed to the same Christian principles

that guided social and political conduct in the rest of the “civilized” world. This view of the Germans as a kindred people was countered by Vansittart with a clear image of them as “other”:

*“Germany as a whole has always been hostile and unsuited to democracy... [W]e live at opposite poles... We have not a main idea in common... Our terms and concepts, our aims and admirations, are in complete contrast, even if the labels are the same. We have no real mental relations with Germans.”*⁴

This kind of rhetoric proved highly effective with the general public, and by late 1940 Churchill and the British military leadership saw themselves as having been given a mandate to adopt a policy of unrestricted bombing. “This course,” they believed, “had been justified by previous German action”; furthermore, they were convinced that it “would be justified as a strategy in the outcome” – namely, a collapse in German morale that would lead directly to that country’s surrender.⁵

The decision to engage in “morale bombing” was confirmed in 1942 and again in early 1943, at the Casablanca Conference attended by Churchill, Roosevelt and de Gaulle. What was never made explicit in these discussions, but was nevertheless clear to all concerned, was that the attack on morale would inevitably cause the deaths of innocent men, women and children, while at the same time destroying hospitals, schools and other public welfare institutions, as well as museums, churches and other priceless cultural and historical monuments. This was indeed part of the point: as theorized by military strategists between the wars, the effectiveness of morale bombing lay in its impact on the things the enemy holds most dear, among them the built symbols of his history, culture and identity. The German command, for its part, was quite clear on this: the theory was already being implemented in Warsaw and was the guiding principle behind the so-called “Baedeker Raids” on historic English towns during 1942. Implicit within the strategy – and key to its successful application – was the conceptualization of the enemy as fundamentally “other”, and the denial of the right of his culture and identity to exist. This was explicit in the case of Warsaw and the planned elimination of Polish culture as part of the “*Generalplan Ost*” for German territorial expansion – as well as in the destruction of sites and artifacts of significance to the Jewish population and other groups characterized by the Nazis as “less than human”.⁶ The Allies may not have explicitly denied the humanity of the German people, but they did see them as having forfeited many of their natural

human rights through their support of the National Socialist regime. Similarly, if Bomber Command did not target historic cities in Germany expressly for their cultural value, neither did they stop short of drawing heritage into the attack on morale. In fact, the period of “experimentation” that followed the decision to begin unrestricted bombing was marked by careful study of the unique urban conditions of towns such as Aachen, Münster and Lübeck – conditions such as narrow, winding streets and many wood-framed, half-timbered houses – to see whether they could be exploited in the effort to achieve maximum destruction.⁷

The American military leadership, once that country entered the war in late 1941, accepted their British colleagues’ approach. At the same time, top officials with the US Army Air Force (USAAF) stressed “the American principle of precision bombing of targets of strictly military importance” during raids undertaken in daylight conditions.⁸ Indiscriminate bombing was in fact never popular with constituents at home, failing for a variety of reasons to win the kind of public support seen in Britain: American memories of World War I were less traumatic, for example, and the US population was not directly affected by the Blitz; moreover, America was home to many German immigrants, including thousands who had recently fled the Nazi regime and openly opposed it. Hence there may have been less readiness in America to view the Germans as entirely “other”. Despite policy, however, USAAF bombing in fact evinced little real accuracy and caused much serious damage. Those on the receiving end of their attacks in German cities mourned the loss of cultural heritage that resulted, and suspected the Allies of targeting that heritage deliberately. Official propaganda condemned the Allies’ “barbaric lust for destruction” and characterized them – cynically and hypocritically – as “*Kultur-Schänder*” or “desecrators of culture”.⁹

Such accusations were repudiated by both the American and the British military leadership, and yet the implication that the Allies were no better than the Nazis – no better than the “other” from whom they continually sought to differentiate themselves – nevertheless hit home, and discomfort with the destruction of German cities grew. It eventually came to a head in mid-1943, as public upset over the major raid on Hamburg, in which it was reported that tens of thousands of civilians had likely been killed and large areas of the city devastated, put pressure on leaders to give a clear demonstration of the commitment to principles that was supposed to set them apart from their opposite numbers in Hitler’s Germany. In Washington, a group of influential figures

from the worlds of art and academia that had been lobbying for special consideration for cultural monuments since early 1942 now stepped up its campaign.¹⁰

This alliance of curators and scholars, led by Archaeological Institute of America president William B. Dinsmoor, approached President Roosevelt and the State Department with a plan to form a committee for the “protection and conservation of works of art and of artistic or historic monuments and records in Europe”. Lending his support to their proposal was Secretary of State Cordell Hull, who agreed that the adoption of a preservation policy would clearly proclaim the Allies’ “practical concern in protecting the symbols of civilization from injury and spoliation”; furthermore, it would give them “a moral effect of positive advantage” over the Germans.¹¹ With public pressure continuing to mount, Roosevelt allowed himself to be persuaded, and in August 1943 the “American Commission for the Protection and Salvage of Artistic and Historic Monuments in War Areas” was officially founded. The task of the “Roberts Commission”, as it came to be known, was to “protect and conserve works of art and artistic or historic monuments and records in Europe to the extent allowed by military operations”¹² – the final proviso being included at the insistence of Roosevelt and the Joint Chiefs of Staff. The Commission’s work was primarily to involve compiling and editing lists of monuments and collections which should be avoided by American bomber crews – and, later, respected by ground troops – as well as maps clearly indicating where these monuments and collections were located. The latter, when used in combination with the USAAF’s precision bombing technique, were expected to increase the chances that at least the most important monuments in a targeted city might come through the war intact.¹³

The public relations value of the initiative was exploited from the start. In a statement issued by the War Department, the formation of the Roberts Commission was presented as proof positive that “[e]very effort consistent with military expedience is being made to preserve such art objects as come within the scope of Allied military operations”.¹⁴ The lists compiled by the Commission’s staff reflected this emphasis on the public’s perception: they were dominated by famous monuments – cathedrals, palaces, etc. – as icons recognizable to those parts of the American public who knew and cared about heritage. The focus on major monuments was also a shrewdly pragmatic one, since these were likely to be the only things it was actually possible to save under the conditions of “total war”. Moreover, as architectural historian Lucia Allais has argued, being

able to assert that “every effort was being made” to save these iconic works may also have delivered a real tactical benefit, in that it freed the USAAF to destroy everything else.¹⁵ In the event, however, the efforts of the Roberts Commission were not to be crowned with success. Although the USAAF accepted the Commission’s carefully-prepared lists and maps, few of these appear to have been actually distributed to bomber crews, or consulted with any care during the course of a mission. As one researcher has established, there was in fact “no significant instance where the course of military operations was directly affected by regard for the cultural importance of sites or buildings”.¹⁶ The “saturation” of Dresden in February 1945 seems to offer ample proof of this; the injunctions of the Roberts Commission clearly had little impact there. And yet the formation of the Commission is usually described as “one of the more admirable features of American bombing policy”¹⁷ – a circumstance that seems to confirm Allais’ suggestion that the real goal of Allied policy with regard to monuments was not “the imposition of an ethical absolute, but rather the projection of a symbolic effect”.¹⁸

Regret and rapprochement after 1945

This concern with symbolic effects was also characteristic in many ways of American policy toward German heritage after the war’s end. The bombing of Dresden remained an embarrassment: one British MP called it “a blot upon our escutcheon” that would “stand for all time”,¹⁹ and Churchill himself acknowledged it as “a serious query against the conduct of Allied bombing”.²⁰ The extent of the damage done to other cities likewise came as a shock to the occupation forces as well as to the public at home, whom the media was now providing with a first close-up look behind enemy lines. Wrote one American officer touring his former targets, “One gets a feeling of horror; nothing, nothing is left”.²¹

These feelings of embarrassment, shock and horror may have added impetus to American efforts to “protect and salvage” the remains of Germany’s architectural heritage after the war’s end. Central to this effort was the work of the “Monuments, Fine Arts and Archives” section of the War Department (MFA&A). The so-called “Monuments Men” comprised a corps of approximately eighty officers and enlisted men specially selected from both the American and British armed forces for their museum experience and their background in art history.²² They were to accompany the advancing armies into conquered territory and to prevent both Allied and enemy soldiers as well as local residents “from damag-

ing national monuments and from damaging or looting public or private collections”; they were also empowered to carry out emergency measures for the protection of these monuments and collections, while at the same time supporting “the maintenance or reactivation of the civilian administrative machinery which controls them”.²³ To these duties was soon added the task of overseeing the return of artworks and valuables that had been removed into safe storage to the churches and museums to which they belonged, as well as the work for which the Monuments Men are perhaps best known, that of locating and recovering works of art looted by the Nazis and returning them to their rightful owners.

This kind of activity was meant to style the Allied forces both at home and among local German residents as the rescuers and restorers of European culture, rather than its destroyers. By assisting in salvage efforts and helping local cultural and preservation authorities to reorganize, the Monuments Men were to compensate in some degree for the destruction wrought by Allied bombers on what was now being acknowledged and embraced as the common heritage of all Western nations. These and similar attempts at rapprochement on a cultural level were also a small but vital part of the United States’ growing commitment to “rehabilitating” its former enemy. This effort first of all involved denazification, demilitarization and democratization as a moral obligation to humanity, for the sake of global peace and security. Increasingly importantly, however, the rehabilitation of Germany was also becoming part of a larger effort to consolidate and fortify opposition to the emerging new threat to Western civilization posed by the Soviet Union. For in the battle of ideologies that would soon develop into the Cold War, Germany was becoming a primary battleground.

West vs. East and the heritage of the “other” Germany

With the adoption of the Marshall Plan in 1947, America finally and fully committed to shaping Germany into a “Western-oriented, democratic” state with a “market-oriented economy and institutionalized protection for individual rights”.²⁴ This commitment was only strengthened by the Berlin Blockade of June 1948 to May 1949. Indeed, this first major clash of the Cold War marked an important turning point in German-American postwar relations, as historian Michael Ermarth explains: by forcing close cooperation between the two nations in dealing with the immediate impact of the crisis, and by joining them in a common cause

against a shared enemy, the Blockade had the effect of “turn[ing] the occupation into a partnership of mutual commitment” and making Germany the “ally of the Allies”.²⁵ To be sure, attitudes toward Germany did not change overnight: accepting as an ally the country that had been a ferocious and implacable enemy through two world wars was no simple matter and required powerful ideological and rhetorical support and justification. Fortunately for American policy-makers, the elements for such justification lay readily to hand: they could be found, for example, in the longstanding discourse of the “other”, better Germany, as well as in the discourses of “*christliches Abendland*” and “*Europa*” which were being actively promoted by the Germans themselves. Taken up and developed, these lines of argument would make it possible to accept and embrace Germany as an original and natural – if badly lapsed – member of the Western family. Churchill had already pointed the way in his famous Zürich address of September 1946, when he had counted Germany along with France and England among “the great parent races of the western world” and called for a “blessed act of oblivion” with regard to the past, for the sake of achieving, at long last, a European community “united in the sharing of its common inheritance”.²⁶

Germany would therefore be welcome in the West – that is, once the country had succeeded in gaining control over its “will to war” and again become entirely the “other” Germany of the pre-Bismarck tradition. In this area as in the economic sphere, America was willing to offer assistance: the Marshall Plan included “cultural and moral re-education” as part of its strategy for promoting German recovery.²⁷ More specifically, the plan recommended training in the democratic process, as well as the careful cultivation of those ideals and pursuits which Churchill had identified as the core of the “common inheritance” of the nations of Europe: “Christian faith and Christian ethics”, along with “culture, the arts, philosophy and science”. The goal of such efforts would be to accomplish the “reorientation” of German thought back toward the attitudes required for successful and peaceable reintegration into Europe. At the same time, these efforts should also help to cement the country’s allegiance to the West and thus make of it an effective bulwark against Communism.

The “common inheritance” evoked by Churchill of course included architectural heritage, and it too was assigned a role in winning Germany for the West. Experts recruited to advise the US Office of Military Government (OMGUS) recommended that the Germans’ own rich artistic tradition be used to develop the quali-

ties in their national character that America wished to see flourish and prevail. “The approach that seems likely to be successful,” read a report submitted to General Lucius Clay in June 1949, “appears to be: To select and emphasize those elements in the German tradition which are most in consonance with American aims”. Specifically, it was recommended that America actively support “the restoration of historic structures and monuments” that had been damaged in the war, especially those of “international significance”. This should help promote “a greater sense of international solidarity and of international obligation”; it should also provide “nuclei” for the broad-based reform of German society.²⁸

The OMGUS mandate in Germany ended before these recommendations could be implemented, but they were passed on to the civilian US High Commission for Germany (HICOG), which replaced OMGUS upon the election of Konrad Adenauer as Chancellor of the new the Federal Republic of Germany in September 1949. The new Commissioner, former Assistant Secretary of War John J. McCloy, was likewise committed to the goal of “reorientation” and like his predecessor was convinced that culture represented one of the most powerful means available for achieving the political and social ends toward which his government was striving. His vision of how this means was to be used, however, was in many ways more ambitious than General Clay’s had been. As described by one HICOG official, McCloy’s aim was “to create a new intellectual and social climate” in Germany through the implementation of what would amount to “a Marshall Plan in cultural matters”.²⁹ Central to this plan was a unique initiative known as the Special Projects Program (SPP), established in early 1950.³⁰ The brainchild of McCloy himself, SPP was a matching grant program designed to support local artistic, educational and social welfare undertakings demonstrating a clear commitment to “the democratic, cultural approach which seeks to re-integrate Germany into the West European community of nations”.³¹ To receive a share of these funds, German citizens with an idea for a project were required to submit a detailed description and proposal through their *Kreis* Resident Officer; he would then pass these materials on to the *Land* Commissioner for review, and so on up through the occupation hierarchy until the most promising candidates finally reached the desk of McCloy himself.

Among the wide range of projects eligible for funding were restorations and reconstructions of damaged historic monuments – much as advisors to OMGUS had recommended the previous year. One of the first to receive a grant was the proposed reconstruction of

the Goethehaus in Frankfurt (Image 1). Destroyed in an Allied air raid in March 1944, the house in which Goethe had been born was one of the most pregnant ruins of the war, standing together with the Frauenkirche in Dresden as a symbol of all that Germany had once been and was no longer (Image 2). After the war’s end, the owners of the house, a private foundation known as the Freie Deutsche Hochstift that had acquired and restored it in the 19th century, immediately began campaigning for its reconstruction. Their arguments were clear and in many ways compelling: the house should be made to stand again as a reminder of the “spirit of Goethe”, and by extension a symbol of all that was fundamentally good and worthy in the German character; its restoration would thus contribute to building the new society by restoring to the German people a valid model of thought and action, one that could serve as a source of inspiration and guidance for the future.³² These points were emphasized in the international fundraising campaign directed at bourgeois conservatives within Germany, as well as at sympathetic audiences abroad; particularly generous with donations were American companies and organizations, as well as many private individuals. The project was not uncontroversial, however. Critics such as Walter Dirks, cofounder of the journal *Frankfurter Hefte* and a prominent advocate of radical political reform, argued powerfully that to restore Goethe’s house and other buildings like it would be to restore a vision of German national identity that was no longer valid and would, in the end, make fundamental reform impossible. He and others – among them some Americans – also feared that a re-awakening of the perennial cult of Goethe could contribute to a rebirth of German nationalism.³⁴

The Hochstift and its supporters clearly disagreed – and so too did High Commissioner McCloy and the administrators of the SPP, who in 1950 awarded a grant of DM 150,000 toward the completion of the project (Images 3, 4).³⁵ McCloy explained the decision by describing the Goethehaus as “an instance not only of reconstruction, but also of rededication to what is finest in the spiritual heritage of Germany”.³⁶ Added Assistant High Commissioner Benjamin J. Bittenweiser,

*“It is encouraging that Germans are beginning to try to forget the nightmare of the Hitler regime and supplant it with memories and the revival of the better Germany which produced Goethe and Schiller; Schopenhauer and Kant; Beethoven and Wagner, Roentgen and Einstein and the countless other bright luminaries in Germany’s vast firmament of great figures of culture, art, science and all the other learned professions.”*³⁷

For McCloy and the SPP staff, moreover, the “rebirth of nationalism” which many feared might develop around the Goethehaus was rather a positive than a negative development, to be understood as “proper ... pride in one’s country”.³⁸

Here then was a perfect example of the “blessed act of oblivion” called for by Churchill, one that could clearly be seen to serve the higher goal of European community and international peace. At the same time, it also directly promoted American cultural-political aims, scoring points for the USA in its Cold War struggle with the USSR – for as Hochstift chairman Ernst Beutler was careful to point out in his correspondence with SPP administrators, “[t]he Soviet authorities immediately realized the importance to the Germans of the monuments associated with Goethe, and they rebuilt the Goethe House, the Wittumspalais, the Schiller House, and the Herder Church in Weimar”.³⁹ For their part, McCloy and his staff succeeded in adding five more heritage monuments to the much longer list of “nuclei” for the growth of Western-oriented democracy in Germany that were funded by the SPP: the church of St. Gereon in Cologne, the “Kulturraum” in Bamberg, the Volkssternwarte (Observatory) in Recklinghausen, the Staatstheater in Nuremberg, and the Schauspielhaus in Frankfurt.⁴⁰ Then in 1952, following the signing of the Bonn-Paris conventions, HICOG began to scale down its activities; no further funding for the SPP was made available and the program gradually came to an end.

America and German heritage: Converging and diverging interests

In granting funds for the reconstruction of historic monuments such as the Goethehaus in Frankfurt, the Special Projects Program aimed at realizing these buildings’ potential as instruments for the “reorientation” of German society. Wrote HICOG chief historian Roger H. Wells in the official publication describing the program, “[i]t is hoped that the HICOG Special Projects will be, not just sticks and stones, but centres of a new intellectual climate”.⁴¹ The notion that the architecture of the past could be a valuable model and resource for a reformed Germany of the future, and that monuments could function as “nuclei” for the regeneration of urban, social and political life, was also a key one in the Germans’ own discourse on reconstruction. For both Germans and Americans, rebuilding these monuments was a means of reintegrating Germany back into the community of European nations and of forging a new, stronger bond between it and the West. For Ger-



1 The Goethehaus in Frankfurt, ca. 1900

many, reacceptance into this community was a question of basic survival, and therefore of the utmost urgency and importance; for America, bringing Germany into “the solidarity of free peoples” was also vital to making of that country “a reliable partner” in the new alliance

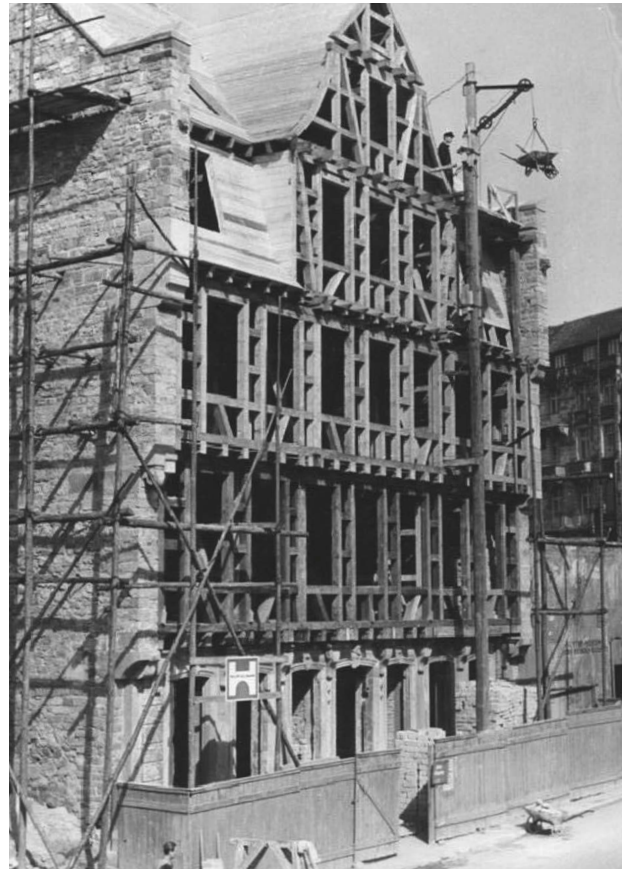
it was attempting to forge against the Soviet Union.⁴² The investment in rebuilding German heritage thus served both American and German interests. That said, their perceptions of the function and significance of heritage in postwar Germany did not align in every re-



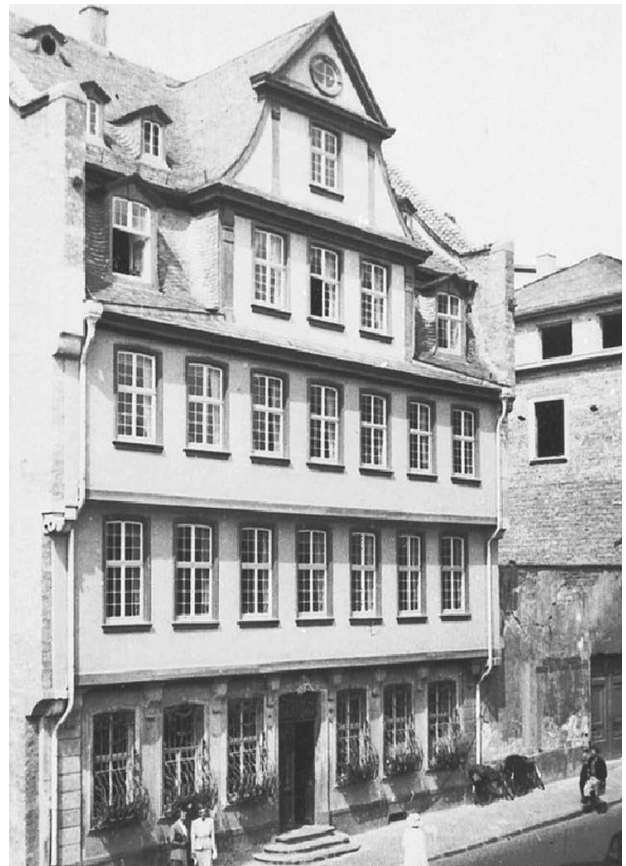
2 The ruins of the Goethehaus in March 1944

spect, but contained some fundamental differences – differences that at times were the cause of friction between the two groups, for example in Munich (see the essay by Carmen Enss in this volume). While both shared a concern with issues of identity in the wake of the ideological and material collapse brought on by Nazism and total war, and while both assigned heritage a key role in redefining identity, the interest of the American government was not finally the restoration of a specifically German identity, or that of a particular place such as Munich, but rather the promotion of European or Western identity as the basis for the consolidation of a supranational community; it was not cultural specificity that was important, but rather the general cultural principle of “Western” civilization – as the binding element behind organizations such as NATO, for example. Just as it had been with the Roberts Commission during the war, the goal of American postwar policy with regard to German heritage was thus primarily “the projection of a symbolic effect”.

While groups such as the Deutsche Hochstift were able to win American support in attaining what were arguably specifically German goals, they did so by working within the discursive framework of European and Western culture promoted by the United States. These goals and these local, particular identities necessarily remained under-expressed in the international discourse: in the decades after the Second World War, the notion of “German heritage” was downplayed in favour of German expressions of European and Western heritage. Indeed, to a certain extent German identity during



3 Reconstruction work on the Goethehaus, spring 1949



4 The fully reconstructed Goethehaus in 1951

these decades was dissolved conceptually into the identities of Europe and the West; only relatively recently has it again become possible to speak of a specifically “German heritage”. Interestingly, the latter once again seems to be emerging as “other”, especially in relation to the United States – but in the positive sense of being distinct and unique, self-conscious and self-assured, and thus perhaps capable of inspiring what McCloy would have called “proper pride in one’s country”.

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- 17 For example by Diefendorf, Jeffrey M. 1993 (as in note 10), p. 8.
- 18 Allais, Lucia 2009 (as in note 15).
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