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**NATIONAL SOCIALIST ARCHITECTURAL POLICY
IN THE OCCUPIED COUNTRIES
OF CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE**

I

INTRODUCTION: STATE OF THE ART

The idea of *remodelling* Central and East European cities was not new to the first half of the twentieth century. However, under National Socialism it acquired a new quality that converged with the idea of remodelling Europe. The German Reich created in 1933 also unwaveringly implemented the *Führerprinzip* – the leader principle – in the realm of urban planning. The introduction of the law on the remodelling of German cities from 4 October 1937 created the legal foundations for this, setting the future course and technical principles.¹ This decision was implemented not only as domestic policy, but also as a form of propaganda. And this was not just in the German Reich: a similar programme was envisioned for the occupied countries. Albert Speer played a decisive normative role in this process; he was General Building Inspector for Berlin (GBI), but in 1937 also became responsible for other cities. He assessed designs for urban planning and architectural construction submitted by other architects in about four dozen German cities undergoing remodelling. These included building proposals outside Berlin, the subject of the present article.² In this way, he became the Nazi regime's leading urban planner. As such, he acted as an advisor in the occupied countries as well, although he also had authority to take decisions. How did the law on

¹ Reichsgesetzblatt [hereinafter: RGBl.] I 1937, p. 1054–5, 'Gesetz über die Neugestaltung deutscher Städte', 4 October 1937, amongst others, set out the GBI's area of responsibility.

² Bundesarchiv [German Federal Archive; hereinafter: BArch], R 4606/3274-3435.

remodelling German cities influence urban planning and architecture in the German Reich as a whole and, as a consequence, in the annexed territories? To what extent were the annexed or occupied territories analysed here affected as a result?

The level of the research on this subject differs greatly depending on the political region. There are studies and documentary collections on individual topics and buildings above all for the German heartland. Various projects have examined Berlin, Munich, Nuremberg and Hamburg. There is a useful collection of primary sources on further cities that underwent remodelling, and for example individual studies on Weimar, Stuttgart, Linz, Strasbourg, and Wilhelmshaven.³ In addition, a number of works on architectural history provide a comparative framework, above all through their examination of leading architects.⁴

³ Jost Dülffer, Jochen Thies, and Josef Henke (eds.), *Hitlers Städte. Baupolitik im Dritten Reich. Eine Dokumentation* (Köln et al., 1978); Christine Wolf, “‘Rassisches klassisches Weimar’ – Zentrale Räume nationalsozialistischen Lebens: Entwürfe für eine mustergültige ‘Gauhauptstadt’”, in Christoph Bernhardt et al. (eds.), *Geschichte der Planung des öffentlichen Raums* (Dortmunder Beiträge zur Raumplanung, 122, Dortmund, 2005), 137–52; Wolfgang Christian Schneider, ‘Hitlers “wunderschöne Hauptstadt des Schwabenlands”. Nationalsozialistische Stadtplanung, Bauten und Bauvorhaben in Stuttgart’, *Demokratie und Arbeitergeschichte*, ii: *Geschichtsschreibung – Medienkritik – Unterrichtsmaterialien* (1982), 51–95; Roland Müller, ‘Die Neugestaltungspläne der “Stadt der Auslandsdeutschen” Stuttgart’, in Tilman Harlander and Wolfram Pyta (eds.), *NS-Architektur: Macht und Symbolpolitik* (Kultur und Technik, 19, Berlin, 2010), 153–67. On the historical background, see Roland Müller, *Stuttgart zur Zeit des Nationalsozialismus* (Stuttgart, 1988), 355–8; Werner Durth and Winfried Nerdinger (eds.), *Architektur und Städtebau der 30er/40er Jahre. Ergebnisse der Fachtagung des Deutschen Nationalkomitees für Denkmalschutz in München, 26.–28. November 1993* (Schriftreihe des Deutschen Nationalkomitees für Denkmalschutz, 48, Bonn, 1994); Tilman Harlander, ‘Zwischen Großstadtfreundschaft und Bombenkrieg – Stadtwohnen in 1933 bis 1945’, in *idem* (ed.), *Stadtwohnen. Geschichte – Städtebau – Perspektiven* (Zwickau, 2007), 220–31.

⁴ Timo Nüßlein, *Paul Ludwig Troost (1878–1934)* (Hitlers Architekten, 1, Wien et al., 2012); Sebastian Tesch, *Albert Speer (1905–1981)* (Hitlers Architekten, 2, Wien et al., 2016); Lioba Schmitt-Imkamp, *Roderick Fick (1886–1955)* (Hitlers Architekten, 3, Wien et al., 2014); Hans Reichhardt and Wolfgang Schäche (eds.), *Von Berlin nach Germania. Über die Zerstörung der Reichshauptstadt durch Albert Speers Neugestaltungsplanungen* (Ausst.-Kat.) (Berlin, 1984); Winfried Nerdinger (ed.), *Bauen im Nationalsozialismus: Bayern 1933–1945* (München, 1993); Matthias Schmidt, *Albert Speer: Das Ende eines Mythos. Speers wahre Rolle im Dritten Reich* (Bern, 1982); Heinrich Breloer, *Speer und Er. Hitlers Architekt und Rüstungsminister* (Berlin, 2005); Susanne Willems, *Der entsiedelte Jude. Albert Speers Wohnungspolitik für den Berliner*

The specific conditions of urban planning in Fascist Italy⁵ and several associated states such as Austria (the *Ostmark*)⁶ or fascist Slovakia⁷ containing cities that won Hitler's favour have also received attention. Of equal importance is the research on urban planning in the occupied or annexed territories of Poland,⁸ Alsace and the

Hauptstadtbau (Publikationen der Gedenk- und Bildungsstätte Haus der Wannsee-Konferenz, 10, Berlin, 2002), 20–69.

⁵ A selection: Christine Beese, *Marcello Piacentini. Moderner Städtebau in Italien* (Berlin, 2016); Harald Bodenschatz and Daniela Spiegel (eds.), *Städtebau für Mussolini. Auf der Suche nach der neuen Stadt im faschistischen Italien* (Schriften des Architekturmuseums der Technischen Universität Berlin, 4, Berlin, 2011); Katharina Trowitzsch, *Rom ist anders. Analyse der Wohnsiedlungsentwicklung im 20. Jahrhundert* (Städtebau, 1, Dortmund, 2007); Sandro Scarroccchia, *Albert Speer e Marcello Piacentini. L'architettura del totalitarismo negli anni trenta* (Milano, 1999); Giorgio Ciussi, 'Pagano und Terragni. Faschistische Architektur als Ideal und als Staatsstil', in Hartmut Frank (ed.), *Faschistische Architekturen. Planen und Bauen in Europa 1930 bis 1935* (Stadt, Planung, Geschichte, 3, Hamburg, 1985), 123–38.

⁶ Ingrid Holzschuh and Monika Platzer (eds.), *Wien. Die Perle des Reiches. Planen für Hitler* (Zürich, 2015); Ingo Sarlay, *Hitlers Linz. Die Stadtplanung von Linz a.d. Donau 1938–1945. Kulturelle und wirtschaftliche Konzeptionen, Planungsstellen und Wirtschaftspläne* (PhD Diss., Graz, 1985).

⁷ Marián Potočár, 'Námestie slobody v Bratislave: kontinuita a premeny architektonických stratégií', in Henrieta Moravčíková et al., *Moderné a/alebo totalitné v architektúre 20. storočia na Slovensku: (pre)myslieť architekturu / Modern and/or totalitarian in the architecture of the 20th century in Slovakia: (re)thinking architecture* (Bratislava, 2013), 152–9; Miroslav Hrdina, 'Národ, štát a architektúra. Významné súfaže a stavebné podujatia na Slovensku v 40. rokoch 20. storočia', in Bohunka Koklesová (ed.), *V hľadani prameňov. Zborník z konferencie konanej v dňoch 24. a 25. septembra 2009 pri príležitosti životného jubilea historičky, teoretičky a kritičky umenia Ivy Mojžišovej* (Bratislava, 2010), 142–51, esp. 146–8; Elena Stoličná, 'Angažovaný romantizmus. Architektúra slovenských Nemcov v rokoch 1939–1945', *Architektúra & Urbanizmus*, xxxi, 4 (1997), 161–76; eadem, 'Konzervativizmus ako účinné sérum. Staviteľské aktivity nemeckej národnostnej menšiny na Slovensku v rokoch 1939–1945', *Projekt. Revue slovenskej architektúry*, xxxix, 5 (1997), 70–3.

⁸ The sources and secondary literature on Poland are extremely comprehensive. This study will only briefly mention some examples that examine Warsaw. Sources: Friedrich Gollert, *Warschau unter deutscher Herrschaft. Deutsche Aufbauarbeit im Distrikt Warschau* (Krakau, 1942); Stanisław Piotrowski (ed.), *Dziennik Hansa Franka* (Sprawy polskie przed międzynarodowym trybunałem wojennym w Norymberdze, 1, Warszawa, 1956); Marian Marek Drozdowski (ed.), *Archiwum Prezydenta Warszawy Stefana Starzyńskiego II* (Warszawa, 2008), 220–94; Krzysztof Dunin-Wąsowicz et al. (eds.), *Raporty Ludwiga Fischera, gubernatora dystryktu warszawskiego. 1939–1944* (Warszawa, 1987), esp. 69–167, Annex 1: 'Dwuletni raport szefa dystryktu

Saarland,⁹ which forms a separate chapter of architectural history, albeit one where the quality of the research differs greatly. It can serve as a point of reference for this article, above all in regard to the implantation of particular socio-political norms through urban planning and architecture.¹⁰ For the occupied territories of the former Czechoslovakia, no relevant research has been conducted.¹¹

Based on the existing research, one can formulate the thesis that the rehierarchisation of European cities was based on the Nazi understanding of the value and rivalry of cities postulated in the 1920s and 1930s, while another modus was deliberately chosen for the occupied territories.

warszawskiego z dnia 30 września 1941 r. za okres od 26 października 1939 do 1 października 1941 r.'; Literature: Arnold Bartetzky, 'Die korrigierte Geschichte. Nationalstil und Nationalerbe in der polnischen Architektur und Denkmalerbe vor und nach dem Zweiten Weltkrieg', in Dieter Bingen, Peter Oliver Loew, and Dietmar Popp (eds.), *Visuelle Erinnerungskulturen und Geschichtskonstruktionen in Deutschland und Polen seit 1939* (Das Gemeinsame Kulturerbe / Wspólne Dziedzictwo, 5, Warszawa, 2009), 123–47; Czesław Madajczyk, *Die Okkupationspolitik Nazideutschlands in Polen 1939–1944* (Köln, 1988); Niels Gutschow and Barbara Klain, *Vernichtung und Utopie. Stadtplanung Warschau 1939–1945* (Hamburg, 1994); Tomasz Szarota, 'Alltag in Warschau und anderen besetzten Hauptstädten', in Christoph Kleßmann (ed.), *September 1939. Krieg, Besatzung, Widerstand in Polen* (Göttingen, 1989), 73–94; *idem*, *Warschau unter dem Hakenkreuz. Leben und Alltag im besetzten Warschau, 1.10.1939 bis 31.7.1944* (Paderborn, 1985); and finally: Martin Kohlrausch, 'Warschau im Zweiten Weltkrieg. Besatzung und nationalsozialistische Stadtplanung', in Fritz Mayrhofer and Ferdinand Opll (eds.), *Stadt und Nationalsozialismus* (Beiträge zur Geschichte der Städte Mitteleuropas, 21, Linz, 2008), 23–43.

⁹ There is no reliable work on the art or architectural history of the Saarland. On Elsass see Wolfgang Voigt, *Planifier et construire dans les territoires annexés. Architectes allemands en Alsace de 1940 à 1944* (Publications de la Société Savante d'Alsace, Collection Recherches et Documents, 78, Strasbourg, 2008), 35–114; *idem*, 'Eine Hauptstadt für das annektierte Elsaß: Paul Schmitthenners Plan für das "Neue Straßburg"', in Rainer Hudemann and Rolf Wittenbrock (eds.), *Stadtentwicklung im deutsch-französisch-luxemburgischen Grenzraum (19. u. 20. Jh.)* (Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Saarländische Landesgeschichte und Volksforschung, 21, Saarbrücken, 1991), 322–3; see Roman Heiligenthal, *Neubau Straßburgs. Grundlagen und Vorschläge* (Siedlungsstudien, 11, Heidelberg, 1941).

¹⁰ Cf. Jörn Düwel and Niels Gutschow, *Baukunst und Nationalsozialismus. Demonstration von Macht in Europa. 1940–1943* (Berlin, 2015).

¹¹ One exception: Miloš Hořejš, *Protektorátní Praha jako německé město. Nacistický urbanismus a Plánovací komise pro hlavní město Prahu* (Praha, 2013).

II FIRST AND SECOND-CLASS CAPITAL CITIES IN NATIONAL SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION POLICY

Above all, the motor for developing a specific architecture with a classicising vocabulary that could represent Berlin, and thus the German Reich, was the comparison to the great world metropolises and their grand, classicising buildings that emerged at the beginning of the twentieth century. As early as September 1933, at a meeting with representatives of the *Reichsbahn* and the municipality of Berlin, Hitler proclaimed that Berlin, as the capital of a 65-million-strong nation, had to reach a level of urban development and culture to rival all capitals of the world. And, indeed, a comprehensive construction programme was initiated encompassing, among other areas, residential, administrative, industrial, financial and recreational building that would reflect the ‘new’ Greater Germany as a leading world power. In 1937, the *Reichsführer* demanded that Speer impose upon the growing building chaos in Berlin a clear line that would do justice to the spirit of the Nazi movement and the essence of the capital of the German Reich.¹²

A 1934 memorandum reveals that Hitler earmarked 60 million *Reichsmarks* over 20 years to finance the remodelling of Berlin. A board of trustees would administer the funds. A corresponding discretionary sum would be transferred to the GBI each year.¹³ After the war began, the original goal changed, however. Berlin no longer had to compete with other cities; instead the imperial capital of the German people had to surpass all other cities. Accordingly, on 25 June 1940, Hitler spoke fanatically of “the Reich’s now most important building task”; he issued a decree demanding the completion of the “capital of the Greater German Reich” by 1950.¹⁴ This decree, symbolically given the date of

¹² RGBl. I 1937, p. 103.

¹³ Harald Engler, *Die Finanzierung der Reichshauptstadt. Untersuchungen zu den hauptstadtbedingten staatlichen Ausgaben Preußens und des Deutschen Reiches in Berlin vom Kaiserreich bis zum Dritten Reich (1871–1945)* (Veröffentlichungen der Historischen Kommission zu Berlin, 105, Berlin and New York, 2004), esp. 416–18. Speer was 31 years old when he took up this office. The services of experienced architects of the time such as Paul Schmitthenner from Stuttgart or Hermann Jansen from Berlin were not called upon.

¹⁴ BAArch, R 3/1809, p. 33; see Martin Moll (ed.), *‘Führer-Erlasse’ 1939–1945. Edition sämtlicher überlieferter, nicht im Reichsgesetzblatt abgedruckter, von Hitler während*

the capitulation of France, viewed the redesign of the capital Berlin by the General Building Inspector Albert Speer. A further, third decree on the GBI of 18 October 1940 transferred the task of implementing the remodelling of the Reich capital directly to the GBI. Something similar happened for the redesign of the cities of Munich, Linz and Hamburg and the construction of the party buildings in Nuremberg.¹⁵

The ideology granted other European capitals only a subordinate role; in practice, some would be reorganised or demoted, and others, not least due to their racial inferiority, eradicated completely. Radical theories of urban planning, such as plans for new cities and settlements, were to be vigorously realised in the occupied and annexed territories. The plans addressed several themes: the ‘organic’ city, an urban concept developed by Hans Bernhard Reichow for the New German East (although it was only put partially into practice in the Federal Republic after the war, albeit under the name of ‘auto city’);¹⁶ the old town and its *improvement* for reasons of functionality; the construction of *Gau* complexes with an administrative quarter, and, finally, the new ‘German’ towns. However, here, too, the role of the mighty GBI was evident. Rudolf Wolters, author of the as yet unpublished ‘Chronicle of the General Building Inspector for the Reich Capital, 1941’, recorded that, immediately after a meeting with Hitler, Speer informed a number of cities that the *Führer* had personally instructed him to oversee their remodelling. Alongside those in the “Greater German Reich”, these included several in the *Reichsgau* Sudetenland and the *Reichsgau* Wartheland. Speer named specifically the cities in Eastern and Central Europe, such as Posen and Prague (*sic!*); until 1941, therefore, he was also responsible for the countries of Central

des Zweiten Weltkrieges schriftlich erteilter Direktiven aus den Bereichen Staat, Partei, Wirtschaft, Besatzungspolitik und Militärverwaltung (Stuttgart, 1997), 500. The term *Germania* promoted in the research cannot be found except in the unreliable *Table Talk* and goes back to Reichardt and Schäche (eds.), *Von Berlin nach Germania*. Cf. Dagmar Thorau *et al.* (eds.), *Mythos Germania. Vision und Verbrechen* (Berlin, 2014). On the Reichsbank, see Hans Wilderotter (ed.), *Das Haus am Werderschen Markt. Von der Reichsbank zum Auswärtigen Amt* (Berlin, 2000).

¹⁵ BAArch, R 43 II/1016, Speer’s Letter to the Head of the *Reichskanzlei* Dr. Lammers of 4 July 1940, with a decree in Adolf Hitler’s own hand of 25 June 1940, published in Dülffer, Thies, and Henke (eds.), *Hitlers Städte*, 35–6.

¹⁶ Hans Bernhard Reichow, *Die autogerechte Stadt. Ein Weg aus dem Verkehrs-Chaos* (Ravensburg, 1959).

and Eastern Europe.¹⁷ In the new *Reichsgaus* administered according to Reich law, urban planning became part of the programme just as in the occupied territories such as Bohemia and Moravia.

III THE EAST

Only an examination of specific cases can answer whether the building in the occupied or annexed territories followed the norms for reshaping the new German space established in the 'Old Reich' or whether it developed independently, above all in 'the East', where urban planning was envisaged as a means of overcoming the unbridled 'urban masses'. How far were National Socialist realpolitik and ideology reflected in an aesthetic or practical order? Where were such connections created in the areas of urban planning and architecture? Examples in contemporary Poland provide a suitable basis for comparison and make clear the different concepts employed by National Socialist planners. Here one must further ask whether norms of urban planning and architecture prescriptively shaped these measures or realities and, if yes, then to what extent. Alongside the above-mentioned theory of Reichow, one can bring up other theoretical points of reference, for example the Central Place Theory of Walter Christaller, a measurable, order-based system. Following the attack on Poland, Christaller started working in a freelance capacity for the *Reichskommissar* for the Consolidation of German Nationhood, a section of the SS. He developed numerous categories for the 'centrality' of particular locations in cities all the way down to individual buildings. However, contrary to frequent suppositions, he did not have any direct influence because he only worked as a consultant. His Central Place Theory only became widely known after the war. This was also the case, for example, for his theory of supply and demand together with distribution, which indeed to this day forms, for example, the basis of marketing strategies (Fig. 1 a–b).¹⁸

¹⁷ Archiv des Instituts für Zeitgeschichte, München [Archive of the Institute of Contemporary History, hereinafter: AifZ], Akz. 4259/69, ED 99, 'Chronik des Generalbauinspektors für die Reichshauptstadt 1941', vol. 1, authored by Rudolf Wolters, 7–9, report for February, paraphrased on p. 8.

¹⁸ Walter Christaller, *Die zentralen Orte in Süddeutschland. Eine ökonomisch-geographische Untersuchung über die Gesetzmäßigkeit der Verbreitung und Entwicklung der*

In addition, the secondary literature suggests a continuity of German settlement in the occupied territories entirely along the lines of Gottfried Feder's "new city". The evidence for this is seen in Feder's political and technical collaboration with all urban planners of the period. The 'new city' was a city of 20,000 inhabitants with organic settlements built on a green space. This was to be designed on the basis of comprehensive spatial planning.¹⁹ Many architects followed the precepts he established (Fig. 2).²⁰

Nevertheless, a caveat is necessary here. Feder's influence as a decision-maker decreased after he lost the post of *Reichskommissar* for Settlement. Consequently, other leading urban planners may have gained influence over industrial and residential building at his expense. These could have included those from the Office of the Four Year Plan under Hermann Göring or, increasingly, those from the GBI office. Wolters describes the Berlin office's increasing activity in this area from 1941.²¹

To what extent were the above-mentioned theories put into practice in other occupied territories, for example those in the former Czechoslovakia acquired through the Munich Agreement? What professional groups took part in drawing up and implementing these programmes? The stated goal here was an orderly organisation of the German *Lebensraum*, to be implemented using various measures. These included institutionalised regional studies and

Siedlungen mit städtischen Funktionen (Jena, 1933). Christaller, too, turned to rural forms of settlement; see *idem*, *Die ländliche Siedlungsweise im Deutschen Reich und ihre Beziehungen zur Gemeindeorganisation* (Einzelschriften des Kommunalwissenschaftlichen Instituts an der Universität Berlin, 7, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1937), incl. maps, for Poland as part of "middle Europe", see pp. 5–7. See also Karl R. Kegler, *Zentrale Orte. Geschichte einer 'Theorie' zwischen NS-Staat und Bundesrepublik. 1930–1960* (PhD Diss., RWTH, Aachen, 2011).

¹⁹ Gottfried Feder, *Die neue Stadt. Versuch der Begründung einer neuen Stadtplanungskunst aus der sozialen Struktur der Bevölkerung* (Berlin, 1939). Feder gained Hitler's attention with his antisemitic studies of interest; see *idem*, *Das Manifest zur Brechung der Zinsknechtschaft des Geldes* (Diessen vor München, 1919). Even in *Mein Kampf* he is mentioned several times; see the index in Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf. Eine kritische Edition I–II*, ed. by Christian Hartmann *et al.* (Berlin and München, 2016).

²⁰ Erich Bökler, 'Die Gestalt der Städte des neuen Ostens', *Raumforschung und Raumordnung*, v, 3–4 (1941), Annex 65, 212–21.

²¹ AIfZ, ED 99, 'Chronik des Generalbauinspektors für die Reichshauptstadt 1941', vol. 1, 31–9, report for June.

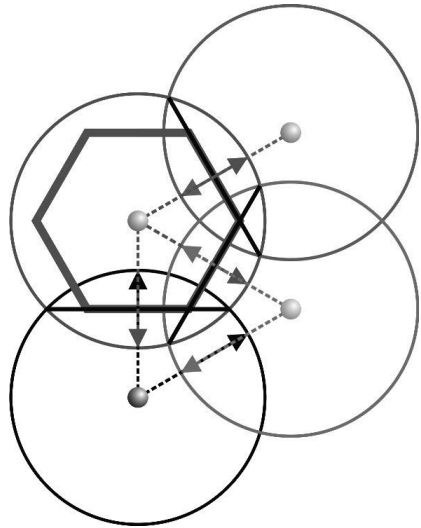
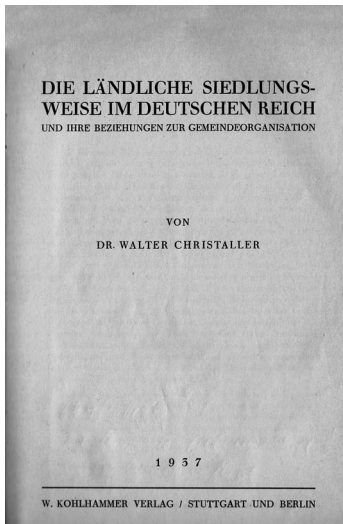


Fig. 1 a–b. Walther Christaller's *Central Place Theory*; a – *idem*, *Die ländliche Siedlungsweise im Deutschen Reich und ihre Beziehungen zur Gemeindeorganisation* (Einzelschriften des Kommunalwissenschaftlichen Instituts an der Universität Berlin, 7, Stuttgart and Berlin, 1937), title page; b – today's reception as in Wikipedia free online encyclopaedia (image: Wikimedia Commons).

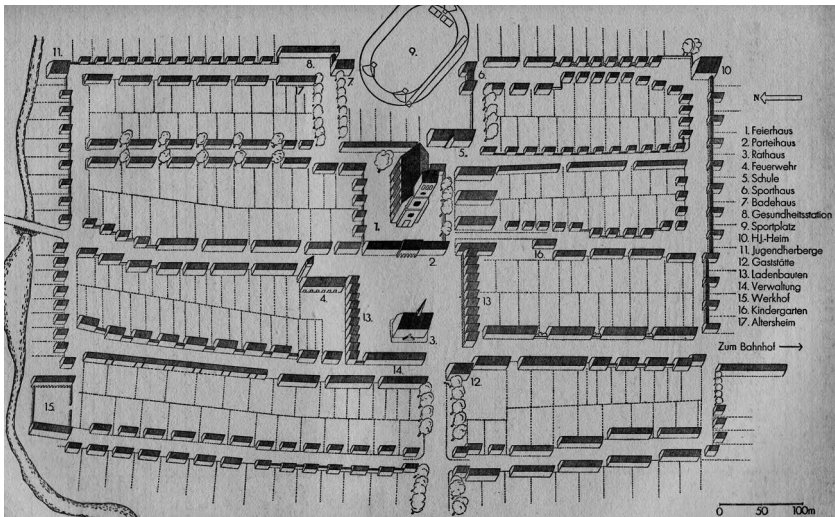


Fig. 2. Design for a small town in the East; Erich Böckler, 'Die Gestalt der Städte des neuen Ostens', *Raumforschung und Raumordnung*, v, 3–4 (1941), 213 (Annex LXV).

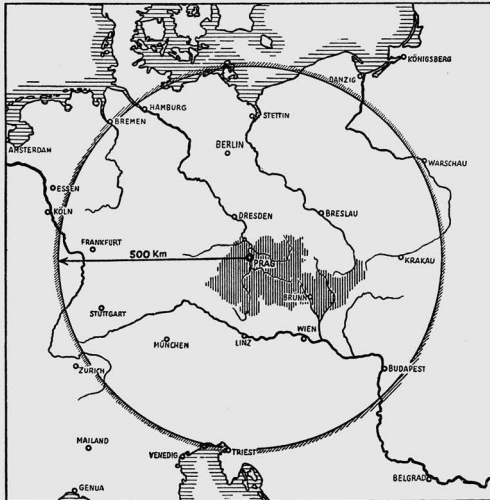
AUFGABEN DER PLANUNG UND GESTALTUNG

Das Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren als Planungsraum

VON WILHELM FISCHER

Tausend Jahre hindurch gehörten Böhmen und Mähren zum Deutschen Reiche und waren Lebensraum für Deutsche und Tschechen. Nur kurz war im Verhältnis hierzu die politische und wirtschaftliche Trennung, doch hat sie genügt, um viele Fäden zu zerreißen, die neu zu knüpfen sind, und um Barrieren zu errichten, die niedergefallen

Art ihrer Arbeit wird sich in manchem von der Tätigkeit der deutschen Landesplanungsgemeinschaften unterscheiden. Manche Aufgaben, die im übrigen Reichsgebiet dem Landesplaner beschäftigen, werden hier entfallen, andere dagegen werden stärker hervortreten, so die Abtimmung von Vorhaben, die für den früher isolierten Raum geplant



Harte 1. Die Lage von Böhmen und Mähren in Mitteleuropa

werden müssen. Im Herzen Mitteleuropas liegen die Sudetenländer, ein Kreis von 500 km um Prag umschließt gleichmäßig die deutschen Nord- und Ostseehäfen, das rheinisch-westfälische Industriegebiet und die Mittelmeergebietshäfen Triest und Fiume (Harte 1). Erhebt daher die Raumordnung nach dem Willen des Führers den Anspruch, den Lebensraum des deutschen Volkes in einer den Notwendigkeiten von Volk und Staat entsprechenden Weise zu gestalten, so kann sie an Böhmen und Mähren als dem Kernstück des großdeutschen Raumes nicht vorbeigehen. Die

waren, auf die übergeordnete Planung des Reiches. Gemeinam bleibt für beide die Aufgabe, die Voraussetzungen für jede fruchtbare Arbeit an der Raumordnung zu schaffen durch Festkellung und Erforschung der Gegebenheiten von Natur und Mensch, von Landwirtschaft und Bevölkerung.

Seiner Lage nach ist das Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren ein Teil des süddeutschen Raumes und steht mit den Nachbargebieten Bayern, Sachsen, Schlefien und insbesondere mit der Ostmark von jeher in enger Verbindung. Wegen

spatial planning, which initially was employed to this purpose.²² The following examines conflicts beyond the heartland of the Reich in the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia, which received the status of a 'planning space' (Fig. 3). Can one really see here a gulf between the ideologies and the professional positions as a first glance might suggest?²³

IV PRACTICES OF COLONISATION IN THE OCCUPIED PROTECTORATE OF BOHEMIA AND MORAVIA

At first sight, these occupied territories were deprived of any claims to grandeur and the 'blood and soil' policy of settlement was propagated with professional support. However, there is a strong contrast between this initial impression and what actually happened in architecture. This is evident from a rigorous comparison of two settlements from the Czech space, the *Werkbund*-settlement Baba built in a functionalist style in Czechoslovakia (1928–32) and the 'blood and soil' settlement in Kladno constructed in the Protectorate (1941), with two in Germany, the Weißenhofsiedlung *Werkbund*-settlement in Stuttgart (1927) and Göringheim near Regensburg (1937–45).²⁴ This article argues that the Nazi settlement plans did not signify a step back in twentieth-century architectural history. Instead, they were a targeted measure that applied a traditional, nativist formal language to questions of urban planning and architecture. This gave them their propagandistic value and, consequently, the status of ideology. The

²² Ernst Jarmer, *Ordnung des deutschen Lebensraumes* (Die Verwaltungs-Akademie. Ein Handbuch für die Beamten im nationalsozialistischen Staat, 2: Der Aufbau des nationalsozialistischen Staats, 1, 27, ed. by Hans Heinrich Lammers and Hans Pfundtner, Berlin, 1940²). On the organisation of the *Reichs- und Landesplanung* and its remit, see *ibidem*, 9–10. Cf. Hanns Kerrl, *Reichsplanung und Raumordnung* (Die Verwaltungs-Akademie. Ein Handbuch für die Beamten im nationalsozialistischen Staat, 2: Der Aufbau des nationalsozialistischen Staats, 1, 24, Berlin, 1938).

²³ Wilhelm Fischer, 'Das Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren als Planungsraum', *Raumforschung und Raumplanung. Monatsschrift der Reichsarbeitsgemeinschaft für Raumforschung*, v, 10–12 (1941), 502–15.

²⁴ For a study of this large topic, see Tilman Harlander, *Zwischen Heimstätte und Wohnmaschine. Wohnungsbau und Wohnungspolitik in der Zeit des Nationalsozialismus* (Basel, 1995); on the Protectorate, see n. 10.

Land Office, whose remit included settlement policy, played a fundamental role in this process of colonisation and Germanisation in the Protectorate. The Czechoslovak government dissolved the Land Office on 25 April 1935. However, with the occupation in 1939, the new Nazi rulers revived it, placing it under SS *Obersturmbannführer* Ferdinand Fischer in 1940. On 23 March 1944, Heinrich Himmler, the SS *Reichsführer* entrusted with comprehensive powers, demanded that ethnic German settlers (from both Germany's pre- and post-1938 borders) be settled with land in the incorporated Eastern territories and the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia. On 12 May that year, the Land Office obediently confirmed that it would devote everything to "implementing" the "task of settlement entrusted them".²⁵ Consequently, the Land Office was not only involved in several building plans in the linguistic enclaves, such as Iglau or Wischau, but also in the Protectorate itself, for example the above-mentioned Kladno (Fig. 4).²⁶ This, to a certain extent, confirmed Christaller's theory.

On the other hand, the 'Planning Commission for the Capital Prague and Surrounding Area', created by an administrative edict of the Protectorate government (no. 48/1940) on 25 January 1940,

²⁵ See Karel Fremund and Václav Král (eds.), *Die Vergangenheit warnt. Dokumente über die Germanisierungs- und Austilgungspolitik der Naziokkupanten in der Tschechoslowakei* (Prag, 1960); in particular, the decree of the SS *Reichsführer* as plenipotentiary responsible for administering the confiscation of land for the settlement of ethnic Germans ('Verordnung des Reichsführers SS als Generalbevollmächtigter für die Reichsverwaltung über die Beschlagnahme von Land für die Ansiedlung von Volksdeutschen'), doc. no. 30, 1944, 23 March, Berlin (p. 162).

²⁶ On the land office, see Miloš Hořejš, 'Spolupráce Böhmischemährische Landesgesellschaft, Bodenamt für Böhmen und Mähren a Volksdeutsche Mittelstelle na germanizaci české půdy na Mělnicku a Mladoboleslavsku (1939–1945)', *Terezínské listy*, xxxiv (2006), 89–124. On Jihlava, see *idem* and Richard Němec, 'Städtebau und Architektur in Iglau im Dienst der kommunalen Politik des Nationalsozialismus', in Jiří Jedlička (ed.), *Tschechen und Deutsche in der Vysočina. Zusammenleben – Trennung – Dialog – Zusammenarbeit* (Havlíčkův Brod, 2014), 357–91. On a contemporary perspective on Kladno, see Werner Knapp, *Die Industriestadt. Bergstadt Kladno in Böhmen* (Architektur-Wettbewerbe. Schriftenreihe für richtungsweisendes Bauen, 8, Stuttgart, 1942); for an analysis of this, cf. Miloš Hořejš, 'Kladenská kolonie Siedlung jako příklad politické instrumentalizace architektury', in Radoslava Schmelzová and Dagmar Šubrtová (eds.), *Kladno minulé a budoucí* (Kladno, 2007), 65–76. The settlement in Wischau was unknown until now; on this, see the materials in Státní okresní archiv Vyškov [State District Archive Vyškov], Archiv města Vyškov II, sign. 841–902.

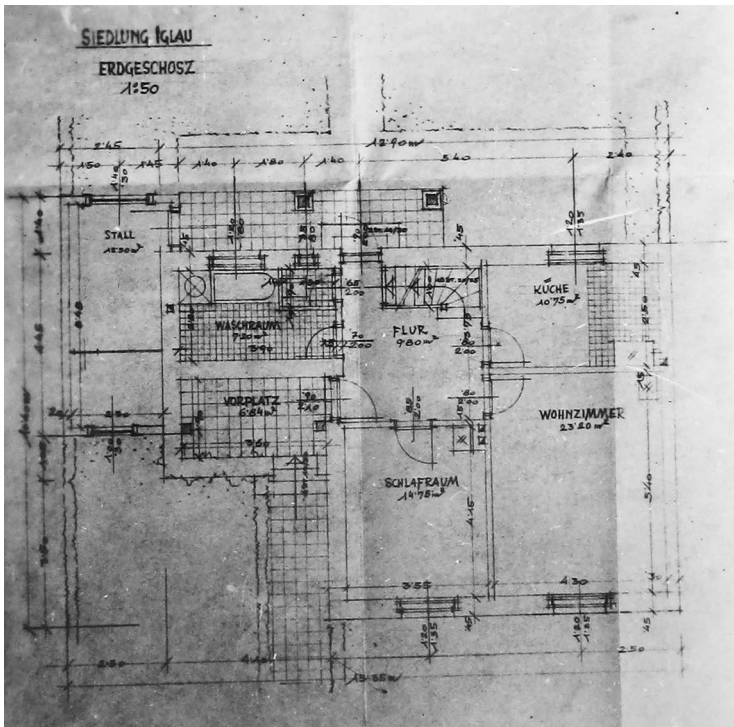
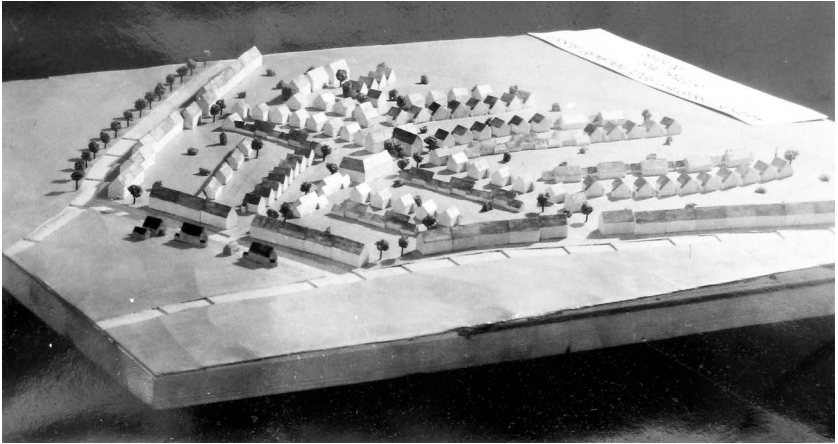


Fig. 4. Iglau, model of a settlement and plan of a typical house, initiated by the Prague Land Office; SOkA Jihlava, archival fonds AM Jihlava, Presidiální registratura, box 28, sign. 2687.

gained importance.²⁷ The central Berlin authorities, above all Speer, increasingly focused on it: the technical expertise of its staff and its comprehensive remit meant that it was an ideal instrument of power. In the name of a concerted settlement policy, its authority was extended to the satellite towns in a 50 km radius around Prague. In this way, like the GBI in Berlin, it was not tied to the capital's city limits.²⁸

The first chairman of the Prague Planning Commission was Reinhold Niemeyer, who had worked on GBI's staff responsible for the rebuilding of the capital since 1938. Niemeyer, who had been the spatial planner in Berlin-Brandenburg, in addition headed the Prague Planning Commission from 15 February 1940 to 12 March 1941.²⁹ He then took up a position as head of the 'Department for Research and Planning in the East'. In 1943, he was brought into Speer's task force on reconstruction, but according to Niels Gutschow his role here has been exaggerated.³⁰ The Planning Commission took up

²⁷ The governmental decree (*Regierungsverordnung*) no. 48/1940 was supplemented by further decrees (no. 98 of 29 Feb. 1940; no. 217 of 20 June 1940). Materials on the Prague Planning Commission are present in the Národní archiv Praha [National Archive, Prague, hereinafter: NA Praha], Zemský úřad Praha [hereinafter: ZÚ], no. 462, box 291, Adolf Benš, Jaroslav Fragner, Alois Mikuškovice, and František Fiala, 'Zpráva o revisi a zhodnocení prací plánovací komise pro hlavní město Prahu a okolí za dobu od 15.II.1940–5.V.1945' [Report on the revision and evaluation of the work of the Planning Commission for the Capital Prague and Surrounding Area in the period 15 Feb. 1940 to 5 May 1945; hereinafter: 'Zhodnocení práce plánovací komise'], typed manuscript, Prague, 9 Oct. 1945, 1–33, in the Federal Archive (BArch, R 113/0412, R 113/2409, R 4606/3390, and others) and dispersed among Polish archives (for example, Archiwum Państwowe w Poznaniu [State archive in Poznań, hereinafter: AP Poznań], 299, 'Namiestnik Rzeszy w Okręgu Kraju Warty' 1939–1945, I/9. Raumordnung und Landesplanung, sign. 387, 'Über die Neugestaltung von Prag').

²⁸ RGBl. I 1937, p. 1054; RGBl. I 1940, p. 1387.

²⁹ Reinhold Niemeyer was represented by the First Vice President Hermann Hans Wunderlich and the Second Vice President Alois Mikuškovice (NA Praha, ZÚ, no. 462, box 291, 'Zhodnocení práce plánovací komise', 1–33).

³⁰ In a conversation with the author 2016 Niels Gutschow questioned the role of the staff for reconstruction. Cf. Friedrich Tamms, 'Niemeyer Reinhold', in *Handwörterbuch für Raumforschung und Raumordnung*, 3 vols. (Hannover, 1970²), ii: I–Ra, esp. 2107–10. Niemeyer had already commented on the question of the Eastern Europe in several lectures in the past, see Reinhold Niemeyer, 'Deutschland und der osteuropäische Raum', *Raumforschung und Raumordnung. Monatschrift der Reichsarbeitsgemeinschaft für Raumforschung*, iv, 1–2 (1940), 151–71. Cf. Werner Durth and Niels Gutschow, *Träume in Trümmern. Stadtplanung 1940–1950* (München, 1993), 53–74.

from the Prague Regulatory Commission (founded on 5 February 1920, Law No. 88, 1920 Collection), which had had a three-year mandate until 1939. Like the Regulatory Commission, it sought to modernise Prague, but its main task was to follow more closely the demands of the new rulers in the realm of urban planning and specific architectural commissions. Emanuel Hruška, a Czech urban planner who collaborated with the National Socialist regime, sketched out these needs as early as 1939. At the same time, he announced the work of the new institution and emphasised, in a propagandistic tone, Albert Speer's qualities as an urban planner.³¹ This, together with the internal bureaucratic communication, reveals the goals of Nazi propaganda, which understood the necessity of praising the Reichs planning as the measure of all things.

In total, 35 Czech and 14 German architects worked for the Prague Planning Commission; two others came from Korea and Lithuania. The head of the Planning Commission had to report on its activity every quarter to the *Reichsprotector*.³² The structure of the Planning Commission corresponded to that of the GBI, which also had a position of transregional influence, in a number of ways. The chairman had complete authority. From the beginning, there were specialists responsible for the departments of rail, water, civil architecture, technology, industry and insurance, as was the case in the GBI. Unlike the GBI, however, the Prague Planning Commission had no decision-making power. By contrast, the Berlin municipality lost its authority to determine the physical shape of the city, at least with regard to important commissions exceeding 50,000 m².³³ The Prague municipality, on the other hand, kept the

³¹ Emanuel Hruška, 'K ukončení činnosti Státní regulační komise', *Architektura. Spojené časopisy Stavba, Stavitel, Styl*, i (1939), 151–2. Cf. Otokar Fierlinger, 'Plánovací komise pro hl. město Prahu a okolí', *Architektura. Spojené časopisy Stavba, Stavitel, Styl*, ii (1940), 74; Max Urban, 'Regulační plán Prahy', *Architektura. Spojené časopisy Stavba, Stavitel, Styl*, i (1939), 27.

³² NA Praha, ZÚ, no. 462, box 291, 'Zhodnocení práce plánovací komise'. Internal bureaucratic background and a more precise listing of the department heads are in Miloš Hořejš, 'Plánovací komise pro hlavní město Prahu a okolí a její podíl na plánování prostoru v protektorátu Čechy a Morava', *Terezínské listy*, xxxvii (2009), 45–77, esp. 45–6.

³³ See the decree on the General Building Director for the Capital of the Reich, RGBI. I 1937, p. 103, Berlin, 30 Jan. 1937; and a memo of the GBI to the OB Berlin of 16 Feb. 1938; ed. in Wolfgang Schäche, *Architektur und Städtebau in Berlin zwischen*

last say in approving construction projects in the city. The Planning Commission was nothing more than an office, paid jointly by the state and the city, that awarded planning projects to private architects.³⁴ Nevertheless, in the Protectorate, as in Berlin, there were tensions between the planning office and the municipality. The latter was represented by Josef Pfitzner, a fanatical Sudeten German nationalist and deputy mayor of Prague. The views of the Czech mayor of Prague, Otakar Klapka, were simply ignored. On 16 March 1939, just one day after the occupation of Czechoslovakia, Pfitzner was appointed deputy mayor on the advice of the German occupying forces; Adolf Hitler lauded him.³⁵ This laid the way for numerous power struggles, as seen in the dispute between Pfitzner and Niemeyer.

Certainly, the Sudeten German Pfitzner had, from the beginning, given thought to “Prague’s status as the capital of the country and city of more than a million inhabitants”.³⁶ However, these were not compatible with the agenda of the Reichs German spatial planner Reinhold Niemeyer, who envisaged a generally applicable plan of development with fixed plans for each city quarter. Consequently, Pfitzner attacked Niemeyer as incompetent. In response, Niemeyer thwarted Pfitzner’s proposals, which sponsored selected individual buildings. The incident over the placement of the Hitler Youth houses so exacerbated the conflict³⁷ that *Oberlandrat* Freiherr von Watter

1933 und 1945. *Planen und Bauen unter der Ägide der Stadtverwaltung* (Die Bauwerke und Kunstdenkmäler von Berlin, spec. no. 17, Berlin, 1991), 583, no. 14.

³⁴ An exception for Berlin was the first and last call for tender for the University City in Berlin, see Elke Dittrich, *Ernst Sagebiel. Leben und Werk (1892–1970)* (Berlin, 2005), 237; Brigitte Jacob, *Emil Fahrenkamp. Bauten und Projekte für Berlin* (Berlin, 2007), 362–70. On the funding of the commissions of the Prague Planning Commission, see NA Praha, ZÚ, no. 462, box 291, ‘Zhodnocení práce plánovací komise’, 17–20.

³⁵ Alena Mišková and Vojtěch Šustek (eds.), *Josef Pfitzner a protektorátní Praha v letech 1939–1945*, i: *Deník Josefa Pfitznera. Úřední korespondence Josefa Pfitznera s Karlem Hermannem Frankem* (Documenta Pragensia Monographia, 11/1, Prag, 2000), 77; one can find here, too, statements on the relationship of the occupiers to the Czech representatives of the city.

³⁶ NA Praha, Státní tajemník u říšského protektora v Čechách a na Moravě, Praha [hereinafter: ÚRP-ST], sign. 109-4-1053, in Mišková and Šustek (eds.), *Josef Pfitzner*, i, 283–8, no. 7. The letter to the *Regierungsrat* Gies of 31 Oct. 1939 *ibidem*, 287.

³⁷ On this: Richard Němec, ‘Architektura a ideologie. Výchovné instituce Adolfa Hitlera v protektorátu Čechy a Morava a v Říšské župě Sudety’, *Umění/Art*, lxi (2013), 542–71.

talked of an ugly power struggle between Pfitzner and Niemeyer and feared for possible harm to the German reputation.³⁸ As early as 5 December 1941, Heydrich, the deputy Protector, hoped to replace Pfitzner. Pfitzner would only keep his position until a 'suitable German' could be found to replace him.³⁹ This case, too, reveals broad similarities to the situation in Berlin. Here, Speer followed a relentless strategy and everyone who did not agree with imminent measures or demolition work already underway was removed. This included Berlin's *Oberbürgermeister* Julius Lippert after Speer appealed to Hitler.⁴⁰

Speer finally became an internationally renowned architect with his construction of the German pavilion in Paris for the 1937 Expo to rival Boris Mikhailovich Iofan's monument embodying Russian power. As mentioned above, in his capacity as GBI for Berlin, from 1937 he was responsible for other cities. Accordingly, he became the chief urban planner of the Nazi regime and, as such, was involved in the occupied countries. He evaluated numerous plans for urban development and individual architectural designs in 41 German cities undergoing remodelling. These included the proposed building plans outside Berlin of interest to this article.⁴¹ Thus, Speer, after the cancellation of his first planned visit for 13 April 1940,⁴² went to the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia in order to evaluate the proposals for urban development there (Fig. 5).

³⁸ NA Praha, ÚŘP-ST, sign. 109-4-1050, published in Vojtěch Šustek (ed.), *Josef Pfitzner a protektorátní Praha v letech 1939–1945*, ii: *Měsíční situační zprávy Josefa Pfitznera* (Documenta Pragensia Monographia, 11/2, Praha, 2001), 104–25, no. 8, progress report of the Deputy Primator Prof. Dr. Josef Pfitzner for the period from 1 Apr. to 31 May 1941, here Annex A/1, 121–19, 10 July 1941, Watter to Frank on the progress report of the Deputy Primator.

³⁹ NA Praha, Německé státní ministerstvo pro Čechy a Moravu, Praha [hereinafter: NSM], Prag, 9 Dec. 1941, minutes Gies; *ibidem* also further correspondence. The tense relationship is described, albeit from another perspective, by Vojtěch Šustek, 'Nacistická kariéra sudetoněmeckého historika', in Míšková and Šustek (eds.), *Josef Pfitzner*, i, 8–70, here 21–9.

⁴⁰ Reichhardt and Schäche (eds.), *Von Berlin nach Germania*, 46, no. 7. Some of the minutes of Hitler's meetings with the Berlin city administration 1933–5 are in Dülffer, Thies, and Henke (eds.), *Hitlers Städte*, 88–116.

⁴¹ BArch, R 4606/3274-3435.

⁴² NA Praha, ÚŘP-ST, no. 1979, sign. 109-6/71, box 114, reported in a letter from Jarmer to the Divisional Head Wilhelm Fischer of the Spatial Planning Group of the *Reichsprotector* of 22 April 1940.

Programm für den Besuch des Herrn Generalbauinspektors
in Prag am Donnerstag, dem 4. Dezember 1941.

6

- 5,45 Uhr Eintreffen des Zuges Hiberner Bahnhof Prag.
- 8,00 Uhr Aussteigen.
- 8,30 Uhr Frühstück auf der Burg.
Teilnehmer: Generalbauinspekteur und Frau
C. und Frau Heydrich
- 9,30 Uhr Vortrag des komm. Leiters der Fünungs-
kommission für Prag und Umgebung, Prof. Wunderlich,
in Anwesenheit von
Generalbauinspekteur Speer
C.
Staatssekretär Frank
Min. Dirigent Dr. Fuchs
Oberlandrat v. Watter
Min. Rat Dr. Fischer
- 10,30-12,30 Uhr Stadtrundfahrt.
- 12,30 Uhr Mittagessen.
Teilnehmer: Generalbauinspekteur
C.
Staatssekretär Frank
Prof. Wunderlich
Min. Dirigent Dr. Fuchs
Oberlandrat v. Watter
Min. Rat Dr. Fischer
- 15,00-16,30 Uhr Burg-Besichtigung.
- 16,30 Uhr Schlussbesprechung.
- 17,00-17,30 Uhr Tee bei Frau Heydrich.
Teilnehmer: C.
Generalbauinspekteur und Frau
- 20,00 Uhr Abendessen.
Teilnehmer: Generalbauinspekteur und Frau
C. und Frau Heydrich
4-Gruf. Frank und Frau
4-Staf. Böhme und Frau
Oberlandrat Frh. v. Watter und Frau
4-Stubaf. Min. Rat Dr. Fischer u. Frau.
- 64. an Oberb. Gies*
1/12
z. cc. d.
1. 6/12. 47.

Fig. 5. Programme for Albert Speer's visit to Prague on 4 Dec. 1941; NA 109-12/124, fol. 6.

However, his visit to the protectorate also had an ‘economic’ aspect. Almost as an afterthought, Speer requested that Heydrich immediately place at his disposal 15,000 able-bodied Czechs for his projects. The same number would be needed each year, both during and after the war. In subsequent visits, he also discussed questions of the Czech armaments industry, which had acquired an indispensable role in the war underway.⁴³ In 1944, Speer, now wearing a military uniform in his position as *Reichsminister* for Armaments and Munitions, paid another visit to the Mladá Boleslav munitions factory.⁴⁴

Heydrich took Speer’s visit as an opportunity to indicate his growing influence in the Protectorate and present his radical concept of urban planning for the city on the Vltava. In many respects, this drew on the plans drawn up for the Reich, yet – at least, so the thesis went – also corresponded to the ideas of the *Generalplan Ost* under Heinrich Himmler.⁴⁵ Hermann Hans Wunderlich gave a lecture on the plan for Prague. Under the National Socialists, he had become professor at the German Technical University in Prague; at the same time, he was the second chairman of the Planning Commission.⁴⁶ Alongside Speer those present were von Watter, K. H. Frank and Ministerial Secretary Fischer from the spatial planning group of the Office of the *Reichsprotektor*. This was the entire elite responsible for the fate of the occupied territory of the Protectorate; it possessed a decisive

⁴³ NA Praha, Úřad říšského protektora v českých a na Moravě, Praha [hereinafter: ÚŘP], sign. 114-3-17/116-176, published in Miroslav Kárný, Jaroslava Milotová, and Margita Kárná (eds.), *Deutsche Politik im ‘Protektorat Böhmen und Mähren’ unter Reinhard Heydrich 1941–1942. Eine Dokumentation* (Nationalsozialistische Besatzungspolitik in Europa 1939–1945, 2, Berlin, 1997), 201–8, doc. no. 65, 30 Dec. 1941, Heydrich’s seventeenth report to Bormann on the situation in the Protectorate *ibidem*, 204, no. 6.

⁴⁴ The photographic record of this is kept at NA Praha, NSM, sign. 110-9/11.

⁴⁵ Richard Némec, ‘Hitler’s “Generalsiedlungsplanung Ost”. A Case only for Poland? A Forgotten Dimension of National-Socialist Spatial and Town Planning in the Former Czechoslovakia’, *Planning Perspectives*, xxxi, 1 (2016), 1–29.

⁴⁶ Hermann Hans Wunderlich was born in Karlsbad, studied at the Prague DTH, and completed his doctorate there on the topic of redesigning Karlsbad (Hermann Wunderlich, Stavební archiv Magistrátu města Karlovy Vary, Plansammlung, Regulierungsvorschlag für den ‘Weltkurort’ Karlsbad [Prag, 1931]). He ended his career as the head of the construction department of the Kaufhof Plc in Cologne on the Rhine. For Wunderlich’s biography, see Miloš, *Protektorátní Praha*, 86–90.

influence on urban planning.⁴⁷ Rudolf Wolters from the GBI recorded that Speer had made a range of suggestions to the *Reichsprotektor* on the reconstruction of the hotel, the layout of the street along the banks of the Vltava, the motorway bridge, the construction of public buildings, recreational areas for the population and the location of a new German centre. He aided the remodelling of Prague by offering his advice and the services of his architects in Berlin (Fig. 6).⁴⁸

The occupiers achieved a temporary consensus supported by several representatives of the Reichs idea. It received concrete form as a comprehensive construction plan along the German example. Accordingly, Niemeyer proclaimed at the beginning of 1940 a virtual comprehensive building plan that involved the redevelopment of the city and a guarantee of *modern* accommodation. The comprehensive building plan itself has not been preserved. However, its contents can be seen in several planning documents that served as the basis of plans for green spaces drawn up by Hermann Mattern from Potsdam in May 1942 in return for a total sum of 550 million crowns.⁴⁹ Equally, it is possible to get a glimpse of the comprehensive building plan from other individual commissions, namely those produced by Antonín Minář, Erich Langhammer, and others.

The comprehensive building plan (zoning) used the preparatory work of the Czechoslovak Regulatory Commission. It worked on matters ranging from the panorama, the division of Prague into several districts and the topic of 'green in an urban space' to the layout of the new city districts, for example in the Old Town where a headquarters for the Hitler Youth was planned on the Letná hill. Building would not be allowed in Nusle due to the poor sunlight, but it would be permitted in the city centre's courtyards. To this effect, studies were

⁴⁷ NA Praha, ÚŘP-ST, no. 2477, sign. 109-12/124, 'Programm für den Besuch des Herrn Generalbauinspektors in Prag am Donnerstag, dem 4. Dezember 1941'.

⁴⁸ AIfZ, ED 99, 'Chronik des Generalbauinspektors für die Reichshauptstadt 1941', i, 72-3.

⁴⁹ The documents of the plan are preserved at Institut plánování a rozvoje hl. m. Prahy [hereinafter: IPR Praha], Fond Maxe Urbana (Plánovací komise pro hl. m. Prahu a okolí, 1939-1945) [hereinafter: FMU], Akquis.-Nr. 47 001 - 47 054. Cf. Šustek (ed.), *Josef Pfitzner*, ii, 81-90, no. 6, sign. 4, Progress Report of the Deputy Mayor Prof. Dr. Josef Pfitzner for the period from 29 Sept. to 28 Oct. 1940; *ibidem*, 204-22, no. 11, sign. 5, Progress Report of the Deputy Mayor Prof. Dr. Josef Pfitzner for the period from 1 Oct. to 30. Nov. 1941, here p. 210.

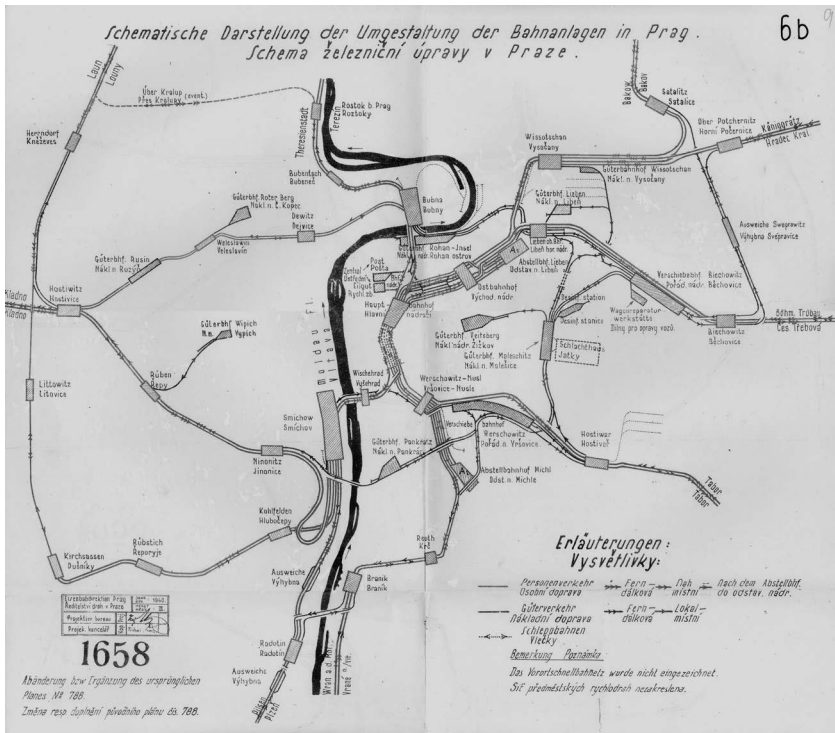


Fig. 6. Project of the Planning Commission for the Capital City of Prague for the rebuilding of the railway system of Prague, prepared by Reinhold Niemeyer for Albert Speer's visit to Prague; NA Praha 109-4/1139, box 64, plan no. 6b (fol. 9).

conducted for the areas of Albertov, Radlice, Lorenzburg (Petřín) and for several problem zones such as the district and the Crusaders' Square (Křižovnické náměstí), the Veitsberg (Žižkov) or the region between the Republic Square (Náměstí Republiky); the Viennese office Theiß und Jaksch planned here a 'new city centre' on the eastern edge of the Old Town;⁵⁰ the transformation of the North City by Erwin Ilz was already on the table, the North-South axis was planned (Fig. 7).

At the same time, detailed studies of the communications infrastructure and the rail and rapid transit network were prepared.

⁵⁰ See Georg Schwalm-Theiß, *Theiß und Jaksch. Architekten 1907–1961* (Wien, 1986), 116, as well as a recent exhibition at the Viennese Centre for Architecture (Architekturzentrum Wien), on this see Holzschuh and Platzer (eds.), *Wien*.

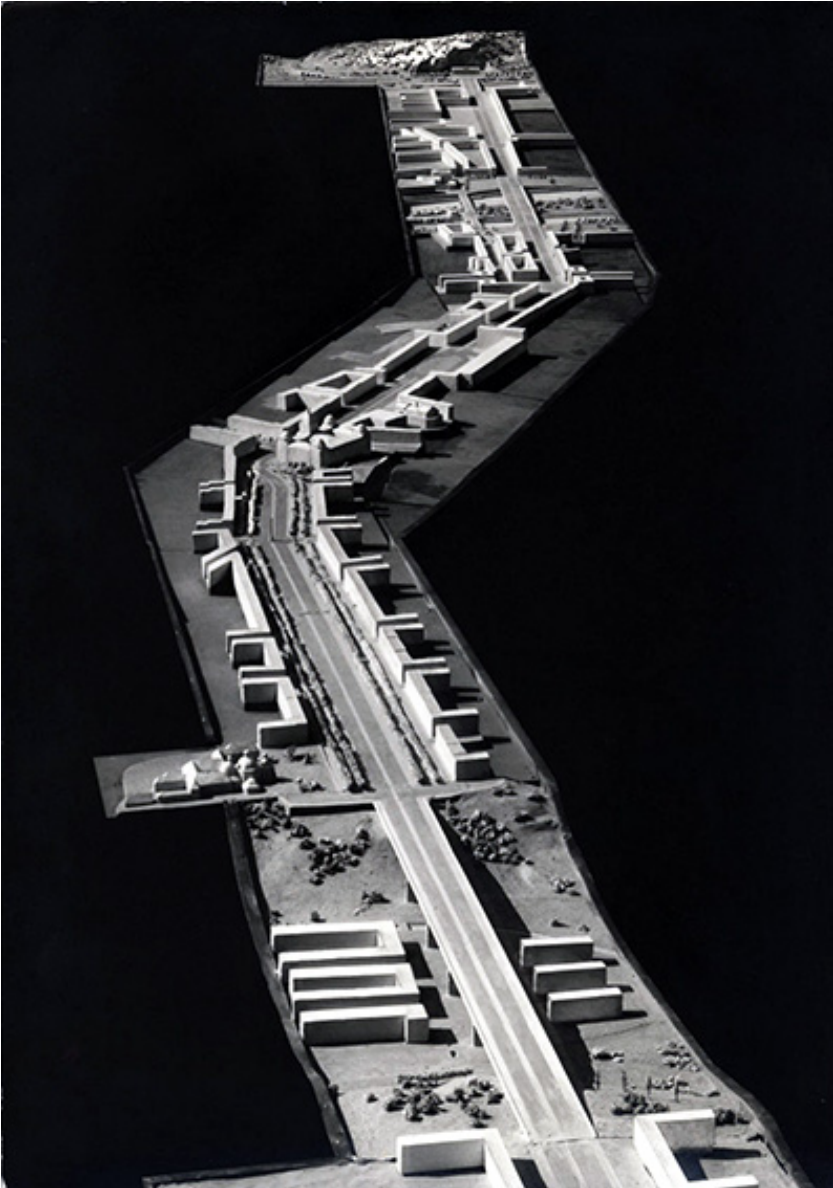


Fig. 7. Plan for Prague, Planning Commission for the Capital City of Prague, the North-South axis; IPR, archival fonds FMU, acquisition no. 84.352.

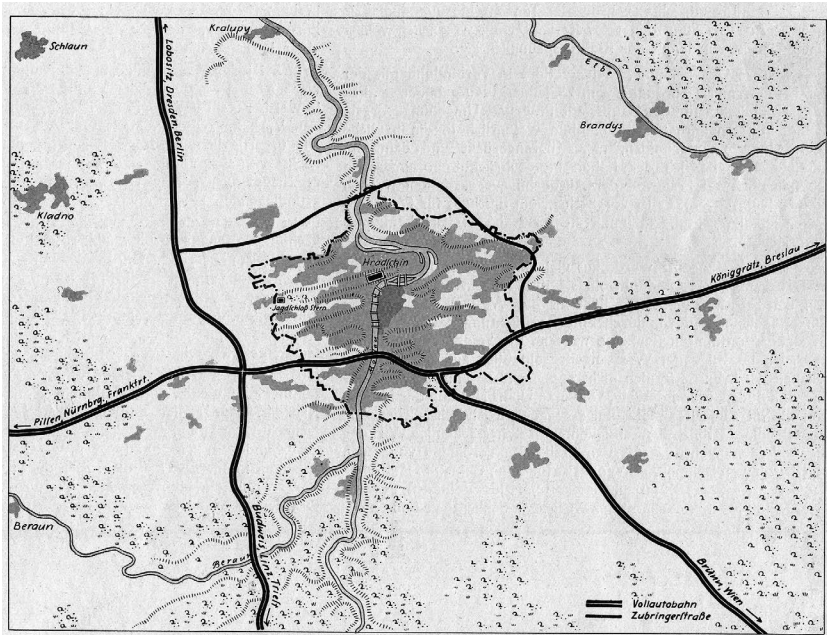


Fig. 8. Prague, the bypass, motorway plan in the Occupied Territories; Rudolf Hoffmann, 'Die Autobahnplanung im Raum von Gross-Prag', *Die Strasse*, vii, 19/20 (1940), 431.

While these drew on the plans of the Prague Regulatory Commission, the leading planners of the National Socialist regime were also involved in their formulation.⁵¹ Thus, on 29 March 1939, the General Inspectors for the German motorway Fritz Todt and Paul Bonatz laid down the overall plan for the development of the motorway and its bridges in Bohemia. The province's motorways were to be adapted to

⁵¹ See the report by Emanuel Hruška, 'Pražská rychlodráha. Prager Schnellbahn', *Architektura. Spojené časopisy. Stavba, Stavitel, Styl*, i (1939), 76–8, with drafts, as well as the still non-political report: *idem*, 'O pražskou rychlodráhu', *Stavba. Měsíčník pro novou architekturu a urbanismus*, xiv, 1 (1937), 22 f. Alois Nový, 'Dopravní otázky velkoměsta', *Architektura. Spojené časopisy. Stavba, Stavitel, Styl*, iii (1941), 286. Niemeyer summoned the Architects Blum from Hannover and Halter from Munich (NA Praha, ZÚ, no. 462, box 291, 'Zhodnocení práce plánovací komise', here p. 9). Cf. Pavel Fojtík, 'Ještě jedno ohlédnutí do historie pražského metra', *DP-Kontakt*, ix, 7 (2004), 4.

the German norms and a system of bypasses and orbital roads worked out (Fig. 8).⁵² Both concepts had recent models: the ring road around Berlin and the bypass in Frankfurt am Main. It was certainly no coincidence that from 1931 Niemeyer was the *Stadtrat* responsible for overseeing the construction industry in Frankfurt am Main and in 1938 was transferred to Berlin to become *Landesrat* and regional planner for Brandenburg.⁵³ In addition, on 3 November 1939 in Berlin, there were positive discussions with Todt concerning two artery roads in the Protectorate running North-South and East-West. The planned connections were Prague – Lovosice – Dresden – Berlin, then Prague – Pilsen – Nuremberg, Prague – Náchod – Breslau, and finally Prague – Budějovice – Linz.⁵⁴

The view of the new rulers is clear from one extremely sensitive measure, Paul Schmitthenner's remodelling of Old Town Square with its Town Hall and the associated removal of the Hus monument. Josef Pfitzner wrote a comprehensive report on this.⁵⁵ He took away all the Czechoslovak, Bohemian and Jewish monuments and symbols that could provide a sense of identity. These included the busts of Masaryk from the offices, above all from the council chamber of the Prague Town Hall. His approach to the public space was similar: all monuments to Wilson or Palacký disappeared overnight.⁵⁶ Schmitthenner's pupil Denis Boniver, who in 1941 was appointed to the DTH in Prague together with Diez Bradni, assessed his Stuttgart teacher's project for the construction of a Prague Town Hall in an official report. He called it a largely successful measure of urban planning whose scale

⁵² Cf. Rudolf Hoffmann, 'Die Autobahnplanung im Raum von Gross-Prag', *Die Strasse*, vii, 19/20 (1940), 430–4.

⁵³ On Niemeyer, see BArch, NS 5-VI-17683 Niemeyer; and Tamms, 'Niemeyer Reinhold'.

⁵⁴ Fig. also in Emanuel Hruška, 'Dálnice v česko-slovenském státě. Autostrades en Tschécho-Slovaquie', *Architektura. Spojené časopisy. Stavba, Stavitel, Styl*, i (1939), 25–7; cf. Václav Líd and Tomáš Janda, *Stavby, kterým doba nepřála. Výstavba dálnic v letech 1938–1956 na území Čech a Moravy* (Praha, 2006), 13; NA Praha, ZÚ, no. 462, box 291, 'Zhodnocení práce plánovací komise', 12.

⁵⁵ See NA Praha, ÚRP-ST, sign. 109-14-142, publ. in Míšková and Šustek (eds.), *Josef Pfitzner*, i, 487–9, doc. no. 47 (Letter to State Secretary K. H. Frank of 12 Dec. 1941).

⁵⁶ Míšková and Šustek (eds.), *Josef Pfitzner*, i, 369–70, no. 28; *ibidem*, 503–6, nos. 56–7; NA Praha, ÚRP-ST, sign. 109-4-1050, publ. in Šustek (ed.), *Josef Pfitzner*, ii, 223–35, no. 12 (Progress Report of the Deputy Mayor Prof. Dr. Josef Pfitzner for the period from 1 Dec. to 31 Jan. 1942, here 233–4, no. 15).

did not make any claims to grandeur.⁵⁷ However, Reinhold Niemeyer's internal description of the meaning and purpose of the measures in the occupied Protectorate were much more realistic. As a close colleague of Speer and in the spirit of a clearly formulated National Socialist ideology, he described the political and ideological role of the 'remodelling' of Prague, which had certainly undergone *Gleichschaltung* on all social and administrative levels: "in a few years, the planned remodelling of Prague will, for every visitor to Prague, grant a purely German face to Prague, although only 21,000 Germans live in this city with a population of over a million".⁵⁸ The city would be redesigned by introducing an effective North-South and East-West street axis on the pattern of Berlin. This, together with further urban features such as bridges and green spaces supported by striking identity-shaping measures within the city, would achieve the Germanisation envisaged by contemporaries.

On the other hand, alongside the ideological or ideologized considerations, private profit was important to the various architects.

⁵⁷ Denis Boniver and Paul Schmitthenner, 'Arbeiten aus drei Jahrzehnten', *Der Baumeister. Das Architektur-Magazin*, xlii (1944), 1–24. It was planned to remove about 2/3rds of the existing building fabric, overwhelmingly buildings from the nineteenth century; in their place, a new square would be created. The project, however, did not come to fruition, so that the North wing initially was not affected, although in the last days of the war it was finally destroyed by the Wehrmacht, see Hartmut Frank, 'Raumkunst, Typus, Monument', in Wolfgang Voigt and Hartmut Frank (eds.), *Paul Schmitthenner 1884–1972. Anlässlich der Ausstellung "Schönheit ruht in der Ordnung. Paul Schmitthenner 1884–1972" vom 16. August bis 9. November 2003, veranstaltet vom Deutschen Architekturmuseum, Dezernat Kultur und Freiheit, Stadt Frankfurt am Main (Tübingen and Berlin, 2003)*, 100–24, esp. 115 and 167, no. 117). People have been studying the rebuilding for several years, see 'K ideové soutěži na přestavbu Staroměstské radnice', *Stavba. Měsíčník pro novou architekturu a urbanismus*, xiv, 1 (1937), 195–202, editorial.

⁵⁸ NA Praha, ÚŘP-ST, no. 1312, sign. 109-4/1066, box 59, Letter from President of the Planning Commission Niemeyer to the State Secretary of 12 March 1941; *ibidem*, Copy of a Report by Niemeyer to the *Oberlandrat* Freiherr von Watter from 5 March 1941, Re: Regulating Kampa, or the Letter of 27 Feb. 1941, 1–15, quoted on p. 13 (also BArch, R 4606/3390, fol. 92 ff.). On the percentage of the German-speaking population and their participation in the elections, see Alfons Adam, "Prag ist und bleibt ein slawisches Prag". The German parties in the Prague local elections of the first republic", in Dietmar Neutzat and Volker Zimmermann (eds.), *Die Deutschen und das östliche Europa. Aspekte einer vielfältigen Beziehungsgeschichte (Festschrift für Detlef Brandes zum 65. Geburtstag)* (Essen, 2006), 227–46.

The 'Planning Commission for the Capital Prague and the Surrounding Area' administered a yearly budget of more than 3.5 million crowns and always had a balanced budget and a set amount for architectural planning.⁵⁹ For example, Diez Brandi of Prague's Technical University received 65,000 crowns for a building study of Lorenzburg and Kampa, Paul Bonatz got 90,000 crowns for designs of motorways and bridges and Franz Dischinger from Berlin wrote an invoice for 25,000 for designs for a bridge (Fig. 9); at 100,000 crowns, Werner Theiss from Vienna invoiced the highest sum for a plan to develop the Republic Square. However, Czech architects profited financially from building projects.⁶⁰ How far were these architects involved in planning and implementing measures that – even if only temporarily – contributed to the consolidation of the totalitarian regime and, as a result, to the wide-reaching Germanisation of their own, occupied nation of the former Czechoslovakia? Beyond this important question is the topic of Slovakia, which after the 30 September 1938 Munich Agreement became autonomous Republic, a clerico-fascist satellite state of the Greater German Reich under Jozef Tiso. On 14 March 1939, the first law of the new parliament of the now 'independent' Slovakia came into force, establishing a new identity.⁶¹ It is also necessary to discuss how architectural history should view and assess these phenomena connected to the former Czechoslovakia. An examination of several architects' biographies offers a possible approach. Werner Durth and Niels Gutschow did path-breaking work on Germany that traced the private and professional entanglements of architects with the regime during and after the wars. These led to a number of critical studies in architectural history, for example those by Winfried Nerdinger,

⁵⁹ There are points of comparison here with the GBI, albeit not in terms of size: there was no limit on the GBI's budget. Cf. statement of Karl Maria Hettlage, the leader of the administration office of the GBI (AIFZ, ED 99, 'Chronik des Generalbauinspektors für die Reichshauptstadt 1941', vol. 1, pp. 20–21, report for 26. April).

⁶⁰ Local architects and urban planners who received payments were: Arch. Bechyně, K. Roškot, J. Frágner, J. Štěpánek, Jiří Novotný, J. Gočár, J. Honzík/Arch. Obrtel, J. Sokol, Fr. Šrámek, Dr. Šula, Dr. Lisková, Havlíček, A. Benš, A. Engel, J. Vančura, J. Štursa, J. Kittrich, J. Klika, Boh. Kněžek, Dr. Hruška, Dr. Bulíček u.a. (NA Praha, ZÚ, no. 462, box 291, 'Zhodnocení práce plánovací komise', 16–21).

⁶¹ 'Zákon... o samostatnom Slovenskom štáte', *Slovenský zákonník* (14 March 1939).

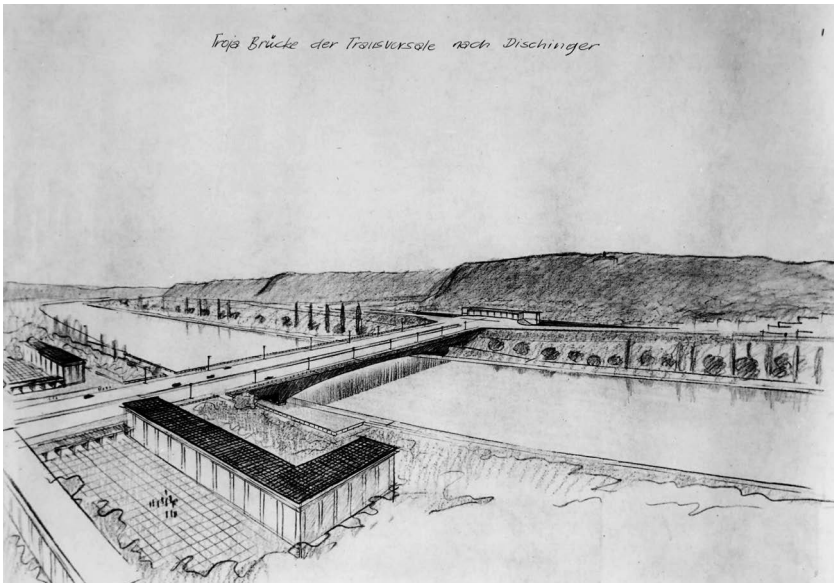


Fig. 9. Prague, design for the motorway bridges in Nusle on behalf of the Planning Commission for the Capital City of Prague, Franz Dischinger, Berlin; NA Praha, ÚRP-ST, sign. 109-5/106, no. 16, fol. 11.

Harald Bodenschatz and Susanne Anna.⁶² The *Düsseldorf Architectural Debate* makes clear how enduring this is. Recently, Klaus Steiner, who was born in Austria in 1943 and has compiled a unique collection of plans that document the redesign of Vienna, sarcastically brought to light numerous details with an insider's perspective.⁶³ There has not yet been a corresponding study of Central and East Europe. Shortly

⁶² Werner Durth, *Deutsche Architekten. Biographische Verflechtungen 1900–1970* (Zürich, 2001); Durth and Gutschow, *Träume in Trümmern*, 113–213; Durth and Nerdinger (eds.), *Architektur und Städtebau*; Harald Bodenschatz, 'Rom – Moskau – Berlin. Städtebau und Diktatur', in Hans-Jörg Czech and Nikola Doll (ed.), *Kunst und Propaganda im Streit der Nationen 1930–1945* (Dresden, 2007); Susanne Anna (ed.), *Architekten-Streit. Wiederaufbau zwischen Kontinuität und Neubeginn* (Düsseldorf, 2009). For Sagebiel's activity in Bavaria, see, for example: Dittrich, *Ernst Sagebiel*, 95–101.

⁶³ Interview with Klaus Steiner: 'Es ist wichtig, zu wissen, wo die Dinge herkommen – auch wenn sie aus der rechten Ecke kommen', in Holzschuh and Platzer (eds.), *Wien*, 187–97.

after the end of the war, Karl Jaspers brought up the question of the responsibility of various social groups for the Nazis' crimes. He claimed that separating the specific and proven crimes of the National Socialist elite from the uninvolved people or, as the case may be, collaborators, led to a simplistic view of one's own guilt-free history.⁶⁴ However, other interpretations are also relevant to this study. One can use the model developed by Renzo De Felice to understand such behaviour. In the 1960s, he deviated from the common belief that Europe was thoroughly morally and ideologically corrupted. He formulated a socio-economic theory whereby the accumulative classes in Fascist Italy acquiesced to the ideology out of considerations of profit before they finally crossed over into whole-hearted ideological support.⁶⁵ Hans Mommsen and Götz Aly, who conducted pioneering research on such social groups in Germany, drew attention to these pecuniary aspects.⁶⁶ Christine Beese returned to these ideas in the context of urban planning for Rome.⁶⁷ After all, numerous Czech architects, such as Adolf Benš and Antonín Minář, had worked on the North-South axis project. The Czech architect Hruška put forward his own alternative concept for the redesign of the Town Hall.⁶⁸ In Slovakia, the government planned a comprehensive remodelling of the capital city. In charge was the chief architect of Bratislava Vladimír Pojtek.⁶⁹ This poses for future researchers the question of the

⁶⁴ Karl Jaspers, *Die Schuldfrage* (Heidelberg, 1946), 53.

⁶⁵ Renzo De Felice, *Le interpretazioni del fascismo* (Roma and Bari, 1969), 29–41, 119–25. This interpretation is firmly based on the primary sources (*idem*, *Mussolini e Hitler. I rapporti segreti 1922–1933. Con documenti inediti* (Quaderni di Storia, 33, Firenze, 1975).

⁶⁶ Hans Mommsen, *Beamtenum im Dritten Reich. Mit ausgewählten Quellen zur nationalsozialistischen Beamtenpolitik* (Stuttgart, 1966); Götz Aly and Susanne Heim, *Vordenker der Vernichtung. Auschwitz und die deutschen Pläne für eine neue europäische Ordnung* (Frankfurt am Main, 2013²; 1st edn. 1991 – which also looks at the role of scholarship in the “common project of Greater Germany”); Götz Aly, *Macht – Geist – Wahn. Kontinuitäten deutschen Denkens* (Berlin, 1997), 194–6.

⁶⁷ Beese, *Marcello Piacentini*; cf. Bodenschatz, ‘Rom – Moskau – Berlin’, 58–61.

⁶⁸ Pfitzner reported that the Czech collaborator Hruška responded to the demands of the Protectorate government flexibly and delivered a concept for the redesign of the Town Hall (see Šustek [ed.], *Josef Pfitzner*, ii, 13–25, doc. no. 1, Report on the Period 1 Jan. to 20 Feb. 1940, 18, no. 1). On his plans for the axis, see the planning documents in the IPR Praha.

⁶⁹ The Ministry for Transport and Public Works planned for Bratislava a university town (1940–1) and an imposing governmental quarter on the Freedom

pecuniary interest of both German, Czech and Slovak architects in the Nazi system. It also raises the long taboo matter of the extent – and indeed relevance – of their active collaboration.

V

URBAN PLANNING OR SPATIAL PLANNING?

The planning for Prague was, at least partially, kept secret, like the GBI planning for Berlin: it was intended for the period after the war, which according to Reinhold Niemeyer would end no later than 1941.⁷⁰ All the Planning Commission's studies were treated as a precursor to post-war plans. This was increasingly true even after the halt on building and the realisation that the war would go on. In 1945, the relevant materials were seized alongside other secret document of the Nazi occupation, the so-called Štěchovice treasure.⁷¹ This explains why the commission's activity remained practically unknown until the appearance of a document collection in 2001-4 and several studies by Miloš Hořejš and one by Jeffry Diefendorf brought attention to it.⁷²

Square (*Náměstie Slobody*, 1942–3). A tender was put out for the university town on 2 Nov. 1940, and equally at the beginning of 1942 one for the governmental quarter. The III Department, Civil Engineering, Projects and Reconstruction was responsible for the preparation. See BArch, R 4606/605, 13 Nov. 1943, Hans Stephan to Albert Speer, internal memo, re: Pressburg. The communique gives more information and details, for example on the national consciousness of the Slovaks (see *ibidem*, Speer's letter to the German envoy in Bratislava, 30 Sept. 1943, which mentions the intention of publishing a monograph on Slovakia that will mention the Bratislava tender). Cf. Hans Stephan, 'Die Formung einer Hauptstadt', *Die Kunst im Deutschen Reich. Ausgabe B: Die Baukunst*, vii, 12 (1943), 223–8; Vladimír Pojtek, 'Budúce univerzitné mesto v Bratislave', *Elán*, xii, 9 (1942), 4–6; *idem*, 'Budujeme Vládnú štvrť v Bratislave', *Elán*, xiv, 1 (1943), 4–8.

⁷⁰ NA Praha, ÚRP-ST, no. 1385, sign. 109-4/1139, box 64, on the remodelling of Prague, 1–16, with appendices and 12 plans.

⁷¹ Archive K. H. Frank from March 1939 to April 1945 and part of the private archive K. H. Frank from 1936 to 1940, NA Praha, ÚRP-ST. The contents are completely digitalised at <<http://www.badatelna.cz>> [Accessed: 20 March 2016], no. 109. The administrator of the archive, Monika Sedláková, gives more information on the archive and an alternative answer to its secrecy in the introduction to the archival guide.

⁷² Jeffry M. Diefendorf, 'Planning for the Mark Brandenburg and for Prague during the Third Reich', *Planning Perspectives*, xxvi, 1 (2011), 91–103; Hořejš, *Plánovací komise*, 45–77.

Both Hořejš and Diefendorf made substantial contributions to the research on the Prague Planning Commission. While Diefendorf used the archives in Cologne, Hořejš worked on materials that today are stored in the Prague National Archive. By way of conclusion, I shall employ other unused sources, above all from the German Federal Archive (BArch), to extend the discussion by contextualising the developments described in the article within the decisions taken by the central German authorities. The prehistory of these processes at the highest state and political level has not yet been studied. Initially, this was closely tied to the planning at the Central Office for Regional Development and spatial Planning (*Reichsstelle für Raumordnung* – RfR).

Ernst Jarmer was the civil servant responsible, chosen by the head of the RfR Hanns Kerrl,⁷³ who led the administrative section of the RfR.⁷⁴ As early as 3 November 1939, he reported to the State Secretary of the Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia K. H. Frank that in the matter of planning in Prague and the surrounding area one should observe the division between the *Reichsprotektor* and Speer “in a formal regard”; however, “in a material regard” it was necessary to decide whether autonomy would be maintained or whether it was possible to introduce German *Reichsrecht*, i.e. the law on the remodelling of German cities from 4 October 1937. This decision was reserved for Adolf Hitler alone (Fig. 10).⁷⁵

Thus, only a few months after the occupation of Czechoslovakia, the German RfR was considering specific questions regarding the redesign of Prague and the choice of architects to carry it out. At the same time, this explains the strength of the involvement of the central German authorities as well as the participation of Albert Speer and other German architects from the Reich. The situation certainly did not develop in a straight line. The attempts by the RfR to include the Protectorate’s capital on the official list of cities to be remodelled

⁷³ Hanns Kerrl has by all means a high professional profile; see *idem*, ‘Die Reichsarbeitsgemeinschaft für Raumforschung. Rede bei ihrer Begründung am 27.1.1936’, *Zeitschrift für Geopolitik*, ii, 13 (1936), 130–4, with a meeting of the Reich Working Group for Spatial Development on 16 Dec. 1935 in Berlin (133–4).

⁷⁴ See the organigram of the RfR from 1939 (BArch, R 113/2030); analysed in Marcel Herzberg, *Raumordnung im nationalsozialistischen Deutschland* (Dortmunder Materialien zur Raumplanung, 25, Dortmund, 1997), 40.

⁷⁵ NA Praha, ÚRP-ST, no. 1979, sign. 109-6-71, box 114, Letter to the State Secretary of 3. Nov. 1939, with supplementary material.

Prag, den 3. November 1939.

Dem Herrn Staatssekretär
vorgelegt.

Wie ich bereits gestern meldete, findet heute um 10,30 Uhr bei dem Herrn Reichsprotector der Vortrag von Herrn Ministerialrat Dr. Fischer über die Planung von Prag und Umgebung statt. Herr Ministerialrat Fischer steht Ihnen vor dem Termin zur Verfügung, falls Sie noch irgendwelche Auskünfte wünschen. Die angeschlossenen Vorgänge (2 Aktenmappen) behandeln den letzten Stand der Dinge. Nach dem Inhalt der Vorgänge ist zwischen der formalen und der materiellen Behandlung der Dinge zu unterscheiden. In formaler Hinsicht ist der Gegensatz: Reichsprotector - Speer beachtlich und in materieller Hinsicht wäre zu unterscheiden, ob es bei dem Erlass einer die Materie regelnden Regierungsverordnung - also bei der Aufrechterhaltung der Autonomie - verbleiben soll oder ob die Einführung von Reichsrecht - Gesetz über die Neugestaltung deutscher Städte - in Frage kommt. Diese Lösung dürfte nach der Entscheidung, die der Führer getroffen hat, auf keinen Fall in Betracht zu ziehen sein.

[Signature]

Zusatz.

Im Hinblick auf Ihre Verhinderung habe ich die Vorgänge Herrn Ministerialrat Dr. Fischer zur Aushändigung an Herrn Unterstaatssekretär übergeben und diesen verständigt, dass Sie an der Besprechung nicht teilnehmen werden. Der Herr Unterstaatssekretär wies bei der Gelegenheit darauf hin, dass heute nur die formale Behandlung der Dinge zur Erörterung stände.

13/40

V. D. C.

7. u. d. 13/4. 40. Planung von Prag u. Umgebung

Fig. 10. Letter from Ernst Jarmer, head of the administrative section of the RfR to the State Secretary K. H. Frank, 3 Nov. 1939; NA Praha, ÚRP-ST, no. 1979, sign. 109-6-71, box 114, fol. 14.

failed. By contrast, another city of the former Czechoslovakia, now in the *Reichsgau* Sudetenland, Reichenberg (Liberec), was successfully included. It became capital of the *Gau* and, as such, achieved considerable significance.⁷⁶

A study of the relevant materials in the Federal Archive revealed, in addition, that the formation of the Prague Planning Commission, at least at the beginning, was within the RfR's remit. In addition to the documentary records themselves, this is evident from the original title of the Commission, although it later changed. Initially, it was called 'Spatial Planning and Land-Use Planning Commission' (*Raumordnungsplan- und Flächennutzungsplankommission*) or, as stated in numerous drafts, the 'Regulatory Commission', until finally the name 'Planning Commission', and thus the views of the urban planners, was victorious (Fig. 11).⁷⁷ The RfR, however, lost not only the battle over the title, but also, as this tension-laden procedure finally makes clear, the power struggle. Stronger Reich authorities were the winners in the conflict. This provides evidence for the RfR's drastic loss of power, which in the end benefited the Reich Commissioner for the Consolidation of German Nationhood (RKF) under Heinrich Himmler. Specifically, it went to the relevant department under the SS *Reichsführer* that answered to the Reich Main Security Office (*Reichssicherheitshauptamt* – RSHA); it was no coincidence that its leader was Reinhard Heydrich, the Deputy *Reichsprotektor* for Bohemia and Moravia. Himmler seized all the RfR's powers for himself. Albert Speer and the GBI was compensated within the German-wide administrative mechanisms in that he acted in an advisory capacity. Accordingly, on the level of construction planning, too, the *Führerprinzip* was mercilessly pursued.

VI CONCLUSIONS

It was not only in the Protectorate that the power struggle between the two poles – spatial planning and urban planning – was decided in the latter's favour. A point of comparison for the place of grand buildings, residential areas and urban planning within the annexed areas could be the developments in urban planning and architecture

⁷⁶ BArch, R 4606/3396.

⁷⁷ A draft is preserved at: NA Praha, ÚŘP-ST, no. 1979, sign. 109-6-71.

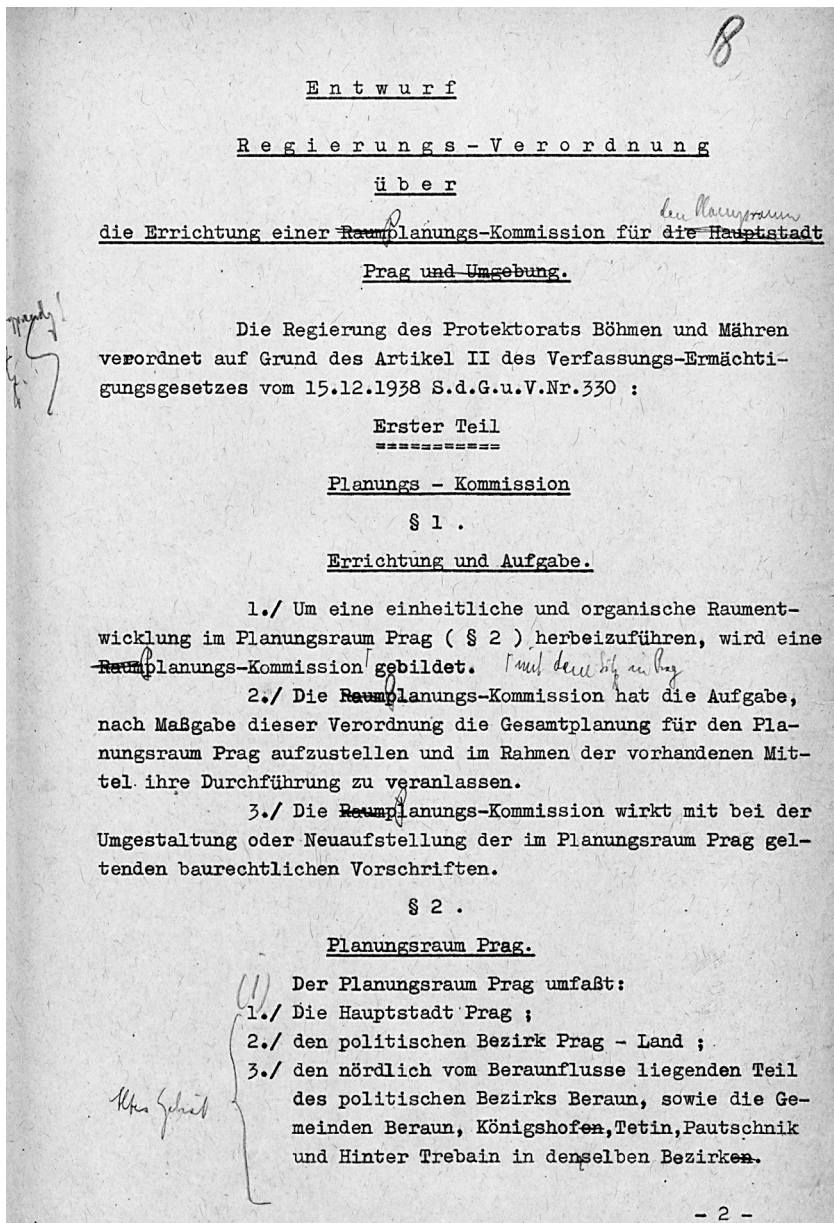


Fig. 11. Draft of a regulatory decree on the future Planning Commission for the Capital City of Prague; BArch R 113/0412.

in the pre-1938 German Reich. This provides as yet overlooked nuance to the internal dilemma regarding the opaque remit of professional National Socialist planners and the open conflict between “urban and spatial planning”, as discussed by Andreas Tröster of the Planning Office in Vienna. For outsiders, this power struggle was less obvious. Nevertheless, an organisationally closed system emerged.⁷⁸ The plan to remodel the cities in the territories occupied by the National Socialists is little known in architectural history but well documented in the surviving archival records. Here, in many ways, the new power elite showed itself at its most active. From the perspectives of politics, social history and urban planning, the proposed remodelling, including that of Prague, displayed a unique tendency: it became the stage for far-reaching political decisions and extensive ruminations regarding regional development (spatial planning) and urban planning. The desired remodelling of many cities in the territories occupied by the Nazis as part of the new National Socialist Greater Germany is closely related to the formal models of ‘Reich architecture’. One can see organisational, administrative and technical parallels.

trans. Christopher Gilley

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⁷⁸ An inept position given the increasing significance of the planning officers was expressed by the national planner Richert to the chief advisor for spatial development on 23 Nov. 1942: AP Poznań, 299, 1/9, ‘Raumordnung und Landesplanung’, sign. 385, 1–3 (paged as 149–51), Andreas Tröster, Landesplanung (Planungsbehörde in Wien, Ostmark), Wien, quote pp. 1–2.

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